On Languages and International Organisation



Samuel Dong

The Queen's College

University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in International Relations

Trinity 2025

Acknowledgements

I am immensely grateful for these past few years at Oxford, enabled financially by the generosity of the Clarendon Fund and the Queen's College. To the others that have made this work possible, I shall endeavour here to express a fraction of my gratitude.

To my supervisor, Professor Ranjit Lall, I am in your debt for your kindness, perspicacious guidance, and belief in this admittedly somewhat unconventional project through its twists and turns.

My deep gratitude extends to my examiners, Professors Todd Hall and Christina Davis, for their expertise and gracious support; to Professor Inken von Borzyskowski, who provided invaluable feedback; to Professor Karolina Milewicz, under whose tutelage the first inklings of this study took shape; and to the many brilliant minds here who have lent their time and energy.

For indispensable assistance, sage advice, and welcome distractions, I express my heartfelt appreciation to the staff and students at the Department of Politics and International Relations, my academic home at Oxford.

I am obliged as well to countless other peers, colleagues, students, and mentors who have influenced me intellectually over the years. In particular, Professors Shuanglin Lin at Peking and Ian Ayres at Yale, I have not forgotten your attentive counsel in the fledgling stages of my scholarly training. Thank you.

To the friends that these fleeting years in Britain have gifted me, too many to name, from DPIR and elsewhere: Thank you for the discussions, the formals, the coffees, the strolls; the journey. It has been such a privilege to walk with you. May we grow and flourish together in the years ahead. *Quod feliciter vortat.*

Finally, I dedicate these pages to those I am blessed to call my family, both chosen and by blood; living and in memory. How lucky I am! For I would choose you in the next life, and here you are already.

Abstract

This dissertation investigates the role of languages in the effects, design, and origins of international organisations in three standalone papers. The first addresses how English became the *lingua franca* of modern diplomacy, as its ascendancy over French was not assured. I argue that its rise was an institutional consequence of post-war multilateralism. I reveal that the English-language norm, which I measure using novel data on 10,295 UN speeches from 1946 to 2021, diffused through international organisations where English is an operational language.

The second asks how these language rules are determined in international organisations. Reconceptualising them as institutional design choices over which founding members bargain, I argue they are marked by a trade-off between efficiency and fairness, distributing linguistic privilege unequally among members. Using original data on the language regimes of all 437 post-war international organisations, I show linguistic diversity reduces inclusiveness, while the power and preferences of linguistic coalitions determine whose languages become institutionalised.

The third paper investigates patterns of institutional founding memberships. I argue that common languages facilitate cooperation by providing common interpretive frameworks and reducing transaction costs. I validate this using a novel global language dataset covering 202 states from 1945 to 2014, the first to account for changes in domestic language policies over time. Additionally, I find that domestic language function and legal status affect patterns of cooperation.

I make three primary disciplinary contributions. Methodologically, I contribute three original datasets that allow quantitative researchers in International Relations and International Political Economy to control for sociolinguistic confounders. Theoretically, I provide insight into outstanding questions in the study of international organisation: how institutions generate social externalities, how their members set internal standards, and how sociocultural homophily affects institutional cooperation. Empirically, I uncover the ways a global politics of languages shapes the institutions that underpin the international order.

Contents

1 Introduction **1**

1.1 Institutional Externalities and Language Spread 6

1.2 Language Rules as Institutional Design 10

1.3 Common Language and Institutional Membership 13

2 The Institutional Diffusion of English in Diplomacy **18**

2.1 Introduction 20

2.2 *Lingua-francas* and Transnational Norm Spread 23

2.3 Theorising Diffusion: An Institutional Framework 27

2.4 Language Norms in the UN General Assembly 36

2.5 Model and Data 45

2.6 Empirical Analysis 52

2.7 Illustrative Example: The Case of *Francophonie* 70

2.8 Discussion and Conclusion 79

3 Language Regimes in Intergovernmental Organisations **82**

3.1 Introduction 84

3.2 Language Rules as Institutional Design 89

3.3 Distributional Conflict and International Institutions 97

3.4 Determinants of Intergovernmental Language Regimes 102

3.5 Descriptive Analysis 113

3.6 Data and Methodology 123

3.7 Results 136

3.8 Conclusion 152

4 National Languages and International Cooperation 155

4.1 Introduction . . . 157

4.2 Institutional Cooperation in International Theory . . . 159

4.3 A Sociolinguistic Theory of Organisational Membership . . . 164

4.4 Operationalising National Languages . . . 177

4.5 Domestic Language Policies in the Post-war Era . . . 181

4.6 Research Design . . . 191

4.7 Findings . . . 199

4.8 Conclusion . . . 211

5 Conclusion 214

Bibliography 220

Appendices

A Appendix to Chapter 2 246

A.1 Robustness: Main Analysis . . . 246

A.2 Robustness: Simultaneity and Endogeneity . . . 266

A.3 Robustness: Disaggregation and Heterogeneity . . . 269

B Appendix to Chapter 3 280

B.1 Illustrative Interviews . . . 280

B.2 Robustness: *H1* and *H2* . . . 283

B.3 Robustness: *H3* . . . 291

B.4 Robustness: *H4* . . . 310

C Appendix to Chapter 4 327

C.1 Baseline Robustness . . . 327

C.2 Extended Robustness . . . 348

Datasets

I UNGD Language Norms Dataset **372**

II IGO Language Regimes Dataset **887**

III Domestic Language Policies Dataset **1454**

When I place before me and ponder, my most illustrious Queen, the antiquity of all the things that have been recorded for our memory and recollection, I find one thing and can conclude with certainty:

that language was always the consort of empire, and followed it, such that together they began, grew, and flourished, and, later, together they fell.

— Antonio de Nebrija,
Prologue to *Grammar of the Castilian Language* (2016 [1492])

1 Introduction

To the layperson, any talk of 'international relations' is likely to evoke an association with multilingualism. Yet languages receive surprisingly little attention in disciplinary International Relations (IR), even in studies of cultural diversity in the international order (Reus-Smit 2018). Birthed in Britain in the wake of Versailles, IR became, and remains, an 'American social science' (Hoffmann 1977). The unbroken dominance of English as the *lingua franca* of the discipline offers a potential accounting for why the academic study of international politics has largely passed over languages as an object of investigation. Indeed, 'hegemony can also occlude the world to those who live within it' (Menton 2026).[1]

But as IR scholars increasingly recognise, the story of international relations is veritably one of 'inter-*lingual*' relations (Wigen 2015). Because of this, which languages gain currency internationally matters for whose ideas are heard and who gets silenced, with profound implications for our understanding of how 'the international' is organised. As Vincent Pouliot (2025) contends, 'linguistic multiplicity works a bit like the proverbial canary in the mine of world politics,' uncovering 'the deeper dynamics at work on a global scale, especially inequalities between groups and societies.'

[1] Quoted in Pouliot (2025). This manuscript is not yet published at the time of writing.

If one accepts the premise that hierarchy matters for world politics (Mattern and Zarakol 2016), then languages should be taken seriously for their importance to international ordering projects (Heiskanen 2021). More specifically, Wigen (2015) observes that '[t]oday's international language hierarchies are partially tied up with international organisations like the UN, which, by and large, emerged as the institutionalisation of international power relations after the Second World War.' This is therefore a dissertation on languages and international organisation.

International organisations (IOs), particularly those of the intergovernmental variety (IGOs), are foundational to the post-war liberal international order. Yet as institutional scholarship advances both theoretically and empirically, new puzzles about IOs arise. I contend that a focus on languages can provide new insight into three longstanding but 'key questions regarding international institutions—why states create them, how states design them, and the extent to which they affect state behavior' (Lupu 2016).

First, on institutional origins: *who creates international organisations with one another?* Burdened by the need to respond to neorealists on neorealist terms, neoliberal theories of international cooperation treated states as abstract and anonymous entities, bracketed consideration of sociality and domestic characteristics. In recent years, a new literature foregrounding social context has made headway in uncovering empirical determinants of institutional co-participation. Likely due to the relative newness of this tradition, however, scholars have not had the chance to sufficiently consider how culture and domestic cultural politics affect membership in international institutions.

Second, on institutional design: *how do states determine internal standards in international organisations?* Once again bedevilled for decades by the need to demonstrate that 'institutions matter,' rational design scholars focussed their efforts on how institutions might help states achieve joint gains in collaboration games. Coordination games, involving the selection of one among multiple Pareto-optimal equilibria, receive increasing attention by those who underscore the im-

portance of distributional issues. Internal standards-setting, however, represents a special and relatively unexamined case of these games where states have no credible exit options, severely constraining the space for weak states to manoeuvre. Yet mundane standards-selection, arguably widespread in institutions, may generate unanticipated effects, prompting closer examination.

Third, on institutional effects: *how do international organisations shape the social fabric of the world order?* Beginning in the 1990s, a rich scholarship has underlined the importance of IOs for the transnational spread of ideas and practices in world politics. Besides exerting influence through their bureaucratic activities, international institutions are social sites where states interact. A substantial empirical literature has found institutional socialisation responsible for diffusing a wide variety of norms, shaping state behaviour in unanticipated ways. Though the transmission of norms is fundamentally a discursive process that piggybacks on linguistic practices, a gap remains in our understanding of the underlying language norms themselves.

With a focus on languages, the three standalone papers of this dissertation provide answers to these questions in reverse order. Chapter 2 departs from a simple question: *how did English become the lingua franca of international diplomacy?* Its ascendance over French was not guaranteed despite contemporary Anglo-American power. I argue that the answer lies in multilateralism as a defining feature of the liberal international order,[2] which amplifies the functional need for a *lingua franca*. Within multilateral institutions, the rise of language rules institutionalised anglophone linguistic hegemony. Using a novel dataset of language norms at the United Nations (UN) General Assembly from 1946 to 2021, I find that membership in institutions where English is an operational language makes states more likely to adopt English for their own use in diplomacy.

An empirical conundrum then emerges: *what determines the language rules of international organisations?* Chapter 3 conceptualises language rules as institutional

[2]Ruggie (1992) notes that this differentiates *American* hegemony from American *hegemony*.

design. By specifying which languages should be used for which functions, *language regimes* involve a trade-off between efficiency and fairness: states prefer to use their own language for IO operations, but costs imply not everyone can get what they want, distributing linguistic privilege unequally among an organisation's founding members. I sketch a theoretical framework wherein coalitions, bound together by shared languages, bargain over regime design when forming institutions. Using another novel dataset of language rules in all organisations created between 1945 to 2014, I find that efficiency concerns matter most for *how many* languages are institutionalised. *Who* receives this privilege is a product of coalition power and strength of coalition preferences, determined by domestic language function.

This raises a final and foundational puzzle: *who creates international organisations with one another?* Chapter 4 proposes that sharing a common language facilitates cooperation by providing common understandings of the world and by reducing transaction costs. This mitigates the difficulties of incomplete contracting under uncertainty via a social and a rational mechanism. To substantiate this, I compile a time-series cross-sectional global dataset on changes in national language policies from 1945 to 2014. I find strong evidence that common national languages facilitate institutional co-creation. I also find homophily effects related to sharing *functionally convergent* languages, or those which marry the functions of national identity and administration. This effect also exists for shared *de jure* languages, possibly because states may seek out international partners with certain sociolinguistic characteristics in order to lock in their favoured domestic language policies.

The papers in this dissertation make three primary contributions to disciplinary IR. First, methodologically, I contribute three original datasets on languages designed to be interoperable with existing data used in the quantitative study of international organisation. My IGO Language Regimes Dataset, for example, is easily merged onto any data based on the Correlates of War (COW) IGO family of datasets. As well, my UNGD Language Norms Dataset corrects for a well-documented but frequently ignored form of statistical bias that arises in the dominant approach to quantitatively modelling the translated text of UN speeches as data (Lucas

et al. 2015). Finally, shared language is a standard control in international trade studies in International Political Economy (IPE), but existing global datasets on national language do not account for policy change over time. To my knowledge, my Domestic Language Policies Dataset is the first to do this. For transparency, all three datasets are affixed to this thesis in human-readable form, along with all data sources consulted and detailed coding rationale. The release of these data will help scholars better control for language-based confounders, whether or not language is the topic of their study.

Second, I provide a fresh perspective on longstanding theoretical issues in international organisation. Though IR scholars recognise that international norms are grounded in language, they have not explained how *linguistic norms* gain currency in international politics, perhaps due to what Pouliot (2025) calls an 'incomplete linguistic turn' in the discipline. By showing how IO language rules help diffuse the English-language norm, my first paper remedies this gap and contributes to scholarship on institutional externalities. Likewise, the study of institutional design, long hamstrung by the burden of proving that 'institutions matter,' has only started taking coordination games seriously in recent decades. My second paper shows how efficiency, power, and preferences shape standard-settings games with no credible exit, a specific but empirically common strategic setting. Finally, a burgeoning literature on determinants of institutional membership has rightly highlighted the importance of ideology and geopolitics, but it has sidelined domestic cultural determinants. My third paper demonstrates how language drives sociocultural homophily in international politics, shaping patterns of institutional cooperation.

Lastly, at the empirical level, I contribute a wealth of evidence on how the global politics of languages shape the institutions undergirding the liberal international order. Beyond documenting how languages are distributed in international life, I uncover the institutional foundations through which linguistic hierarchies are produced, stabilised, and amplified. Following language from national policy to multilateral design and transnational diffusion shows that language plays an infrastructural role in global governance. It matters for who participates, who makes

the rules, and who gets to be heard. Yet the disciplinary core, which continues to be predominantly anglophone and American, remains 'deaf' to the polyglot nature of world politics, an observation eliciting frustration from prominent IR scholars, for many of whom English is a non-native language (Acharya 2016; Suzuki 2021; Pouliot 2025). Through this dissertation, I hope to render linguistic issues visible in the study of international. I consider this my most important contribution.

I proceed as follows. Sections 1.1, 1.2, and 1.3 briefly review motivating literature on institutional externalities, institutional design, and institutional membership, respectively. They also contain more detailed synopses of the three papers in this thesis. Chapter 2 then addresses the institutional diffusion of English in post-war diplomacy; Chapter 3, the design of languages regimes in international organisations; and Chapter 4, how domestic language policies matter for patterns of international cooperation. Chapter 5 concludes.

1.1 Institutional Externalities and Language Spread

How do international institutions shape the social fabric of the international order? The predominantly functionalist orientation of mainstream institutionalist scholarship has mostly focussed research into IO effects on whether organisations achieve what they set out to do. Since the Cold War, a generation of scholars have incorporated 'unanticipated consequences' (Martin and Simmons 1998) into the institutional research programme, uncovering extensive externalities. International institutions affect state behaviour through the activities of bureaucrats (Barnett and Finnemore 1999) as well as through their role as sites where diverse state and non-state actors interact (Johnston 2001; Checkel 2005).

In particular, institutions are central to creating and diffusing international norms. Changes in state behaviour are not necessarily prompted by domestic demand, but often learnt via participation in international organisations. In her classic study, Finnemore examines the worldwide spread of national science policy organisations,

concluding that UNESCO 'taught' certain states the value of such institutions (1993). Gheciu (2005) finds NATO, a military alliance until then thought to be irrelevant to domestic politics, responsible for helping national elites in Central and Eastern Europe adopt liberal-democratic ideals. More recently, researchers applying quantitative text-as-data methods find that EU accession brings lasting change to policy preferences, as measured using corpuses of official statements (Chelotti, Dasandi, and Jankin Mikhaylov 2022).

Such behavioural changes are also brought about by states' institutional participation patterns in the aggregate, and not just particular IGOs. Quantitative evidence further shows states that interact with one another more in *structured* IGOs tend to converge on similar policy positions (Bearce and Bondanella 2007; Taninchev 2015). *Who* states interact with also matters. Pevehouse's research suggests, for example, that domestic political reform is brought about by participation in organisations composed of predominantly democratic members (2002a; 2005). Similarly, interaction with fellow member states who score high on human rights performance encourages better behaviour on this front (2010). Notably, these behavioural changes occur without being explicit organisational goals.[3]

Alongside the World Polity school of sociological institutionalism,[4] this literature shows how institutions shape state practices by serving as transnational conduits for norms, which fundamentally provide a 'language and grammar of international politics' (Cortell and Davis 2000). Yet norms themselves are '*anchored in language* and revealed by repeated speech acts' (Krook and True 2012).[5] In international politics, whose languages are spoken naturalises certain points of view and occludes others (Pellerin 2012). Given the importance scholars in this tradition attribute to the 'discursive role' of IGOs (Risse 2000), it is surprising that the *language*

[3]Some evidence even suggests committing to human rights treaties *decreases* human rights performance (Hathaway 2001; though see Simmons 2009).

[4]See Meyer, Krücken, and Drori (2009) for an overview of this tradition, spearheaded by sociologists at Stanford in the late-twentieth century (Meyer et al. 1997).

[5]Emphasis mine.

norms underlying the spread of substantive norms in world politics has remained unexamined.

This thesis starts by questioning a state of affairs so hegemonic it goes mostly unremarked in disciplinary IR: *why does modern diplomacy take place in English?* Hindsight tempts us to think it a natural outcome of Anglo-American dominance. Yet despite gilded-age English supremacy in business and finance, in diplomacy, French actually gained ground against English during the interwar era (Shenton 1933). As noted by linguists, historical examples abound of domain-specific dominant languages failing to expand into other areas of practice (Ostler 2006; Northrup 2013). In other words, today's English hegemony in world politics is a highly contingent outcome.

Chapter 2 addresses this puzzle by proposing that, like the cases reviewed previously, the spread of *language norms* in world politics may also be an unintended externality of IGOs, particularly following the Second World War. As multilateral institutions developed during this period, IGOs increasingly regimented their procedural language rules, enshrining some as operational languages whilst leaving others in the cold. The rise of *language regimes* in the proliferating constellation of post-war IGOs accommodated English as a language of diplomacy, first alongside, and then ahead of, French. This institutionalised Anglo-American sociolinguistic power and marked a sharp split with centuries of European diplomatic language norms. Language rules structure the social environments in which participants in international organisations interact, tilting the linguistic playing field in favour of English under post-war American hegemony.

As a result, I argue that IGOs where English is an operational language have served as a site for diffusing the English-language norm in diplomatic relations via state socialisation. To test this theory, I turn to sociolinguistic behaviour at the UN General Debates, a yearly extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly where state representatives are allowed a relatively free choice over the languages they may use. These data are neither available in the existing General Debates corpus dataset

(Jankin, Baturo, and Dasandi 2025)[6] nor digitised elsewhere. I resort to hand-coding language information for more than 10,000 speeches based on over seven decades of original UN verbatim records, cross-referencing English- and French-language versions of the documents to ensure accuracy. The UNGD Language Norms Dataset, designed to be interoperable with the General Debates Corpus, covers all statements made at the General Debates from 1946 to 2021.

The empirical findings, which I arrive at using panel fixed-effects regression, support my contention. Aggregate membership in anglophone IGOs has a notable effect on state adoption of the English-language norm, even when controlling for diffusion through other channels, while further analysis employing first-differencing, temporal lags, and instrumental variables regression strategies increase confidence in the direction of causality. Of note, the effects are mostly driven by membership in *monolingual* anglophone IGOs, where English is the *sole* operational language. Economic anglophone organisations have a particularly strong effect on English norm diffusion, showing how using standardised language for cooperation over technical matters may have wider-reaching social effects.

Additionally, I disaggregate outcomes by differentiating *written* and *spoken* language norms, since states may choose to submit official copies of their statements to the UN in a different language than their orations. Results show that English appears to be more deeply internalised as a written *lingua franca*, suggesting shifts in linguistic behaviour generally stem from a rationalistic cost-benefit calculus rather than hardcore socialisation. An illustrative case of Francophone countries, however, suggests that in rare cases, changes in linguistic behaviour result from socialisation into new identities, though this does not happen exclusively through IO participation.

This chapter extends IO scholarship by extending its insights on externalities into a previously neglected domain: language. Whilst prior research has shown how international institutions transmit norms, shape preferences, and even transform

[6]Confirmed via communication with corresponding author, 8-22 September 2023.

domestic political behaviour, it has rarely considered the linguistic foundations through which such normative diffusion occurs. By reframing language itself as a social norm that can spread through institutional participation, I fill a theoretically foundational but empirically overlooked gap on how the communicative infrastructures of IGOs shape the social fabric of international politics. In doing so, I bridge functionalist analyses of institutional effects with sociological accounts of norm diffusion, showing that the spread of English as the post-war diplomatic *lingua franca* is not a mere by-product of material hegemony, but an institutional process with its own logic.

1.2 Language Rules as Institutional Design

As often happens in research and in life, the answer to one question begets another. In attributing the diffusion of the English-language norm to membership IGOs where English is an operational language, another puzzle emerges: *what are the determinants of language rules of international organisations?* A review of the institutional languages in IGOs shows significant variation, as some organisations all but institutionalise an inefficient Tower of Babel in their constitutions, whilst others operate unilingually or bilingually. Given the discussion of American hegemony, power must intuitively have something to do with *how many* and *whose* languages are permitted for use by institutional language rules. But it is unclear exactly how this is the case.

The empirical puzzle also begs related theoretical questions in the study of international organisations. How do international institutions set internal standards? The dominant perspective on institutional design is the rational functionalist approach, whose tenets are most clearly summarised by Koremenos, Lipson, and Snidal (2001b). This agenda, which the authors call the 'Rational Design of International Institutions,' departs from the premise that designs reflect states' considerations of how to resolve problems preventing them from jointly achieving Pareto-efficient improvements. Its calling card is treating the characteristics of underlying

cooperation problems as an independent variable to explain institutional variation. In an archetypical example, Rosendorff and Milner (2001) point to conflicts about the distribution of gains and uncertainty about future domestic conditions to explain why trade institutions are designed with (costly) opt-out clauses. Flexibility, they argue, softens states' unwillingness to commit to arrangements they realise may disadvantage them in the future.

Both Rational Design disciples and contemporary critics alike, however, are keenly aware that the project tends to de-emphasise power and distributional concerns in favour of the search for Pareto-efficiency. In many ways, this is an inheritance of regime theory and the neoliberal institutionalism of the 1980s, which found itself under attack from neorealist arguments that relative gains concerns prevent states from engaging in substantive cooperation (Grieco 1988; Mearsheimer 1994). Institutionalists sought to defend themselves by showing that relative gains matter only in limited cases (Snidal 1991; Powell 1991). This preoccupation with showing realists that 'institutions matter' meant dropping distributive issues from the core agenda of IO studies (Martin and Simmons 1998).

Scholars, however, did not forget that multiple equilibria lie along the Pareto frontier (Krasner 1991). Distributional concerns frequently affect cooperation outcomes, to no one's surprise (Morrow 1994), especially in problems like Krasner's study of global telecommunications standards. Yet the Rational Design approach is not fully equipped for examining all such questions. Its functionalist commitments mean that, even when distribution is the underlying cooperation problem facing states, institutional design features are *a priori* understood as reflecting, at least partially, an attempt to mitigate conflict over allocation. In contrast, what Voeten (2019) terms 'distributive rationalist' approaches have shed the psychological burden of proving that 'institutions matter,' allowing them to discard functionalist assumptions.

An exemplar of this approach is Gruber's (2004) 'power politics' theory of institutional design, which does not assume that institutions try to improve social welfare

compared to the *status quo*. Gruber is unafraid to assert that weak states may end up as 'losers' in institutional cooperation when strong states use their power to rig designs to their advantage. Though he recognises that weak-state participation in a regime does not constitute *a priori* evidence of their transformation from 'losers' to 'winners,' Gruber arguably does not go far enough. His primary interest lies in explaining how 'winners' design institutions to prevent sabotage by potential 'losers,' preserving cooperation. This is because his theory assumes weak states still have the option to withdraw, and therefore must be cajoled. But in many cases in international politics, weak states lack credible exit threats.

The design of *IGO language regimes*, which I define as the explicit rules delineating which languages should be used for which functions in international institutions, is one such example. Some measure of agreement over them must be reached in order for IO members to proceed to substantive issues. But it is altogether absurd to suggest that a state might withdraw from an organisation due to dissatisfaction over language rules. In Chapter 3, I treat language regime design as a standards-setting coordination problem. States would prefer their own languages become institutionalised in language regimes, as doing so externalises the costs of translation. At the same time, costs and practical concerns dictate that not everyone can receive this privilege. IGO language regimes are thus characterised by a trade-off between efficiency and fairness.

I sketch a bargaining framework where 'linguistic coalitions' of states sharing common languages lobby to institutionalise their languages. States must eventually come to a settlement, even if unsatisfactory, since language rules are ancillary to organisational functions. Besides robbing them of outside options, this fact also nixes their ability to increase bargaining power using linkage strategies, resulting in a situation where bargaining power approximates state power. I hypothesise linguistic diversity among members will reduce *how many* languages are included, whilst democracy will increase it via norms of representativeness. As to *whose* languages receive inclusion, I contend power is determined by coalition headcount or capabilities, whilst *preferences* derive from domestic language function.

I test my theory on the IGO Language Regimes Dataset, which also serves as the basis for the *independent* variable in the preceding chapter, which I construct using institutional documents from all 437 IGOs created after the Second World War. I find that member linguistic diversity indeed makes language regimes significantly less inclusive. Democratic membership, however, does not make them more inclusive, highlighting the overbearing importance of cost-effectiveness in international organisation design. In contrast, strong evidence suggests the numerical strength and material power of coalitions matters for *whose* languages are selected for institutionalisation. Additionally, the coincidence of symbolic and administrative functions in one language, or what I call 'functional convergence,' generate stronger preferences for regime language inclusion.

Besides resolving the empirical puzzle posed by the first chapter, this chapter also sheds light on the power dynamics in coordination games with no credible exit. Unsurprisingly, power matters greatly in such situations. Yet the result that *numerical strength* of coalitions matters, and not just material power, points to an interesting characteristic of this coordination game: unlike in bargaining settings where coalition formation must be greased with side-payments, there is no major downward pressure coalition size in standards-setting games. This is because standards, including languages, are not just non-rival and non-excludable 'public goods' for those who adhere to them, but also 'hypercollective goods' that *increase* in value with users (de Swaan 2001). In other words, power is not the only name of the game: the strength of the 'glue' that binds coalitions together also matters for bargaining outcomes.

1.3 Common Language and Institutional Membership

As before, the resolution of one puzzle generates another. If the spread of the English-language norm is attributable to the institutionalisation of English in language regimes, and if language regimes are shaped by the characteristics of linguistic

coalitions among IGO founding members, then what of the sociolinguistic characteristics of IGO co-founders in the first place? As with other questions about IOs, early institutionalist theories explaining international cooperation treated states as interchangeable units. Bracketing sociality and domestic characteristics was considered necessary to respond to neorealism on neorealist terms (Milner 1997). In recent decades, particularly after the end of the Cold War, scholarship has begun to address crucial concerns about *who* cooperates in the international system (Koremenos, Lipson, and Snidal 2001b).

Pioneering empirical studies on institutional membership show that economic development and democracy correlate with the decisions to join IGOs (Jacobson, Reisinger, and Mathers 1986; Shanks, Jacobson, and Kaplan 1996; Beckfield 2003; Boehmer and Nordstrom 2008). Subsequent research has sought to unpack underlying mechanisms, particularly with regard to regime type. Domestic variation in the structure of electoral systems, as well as how political power is concentrated, matters for international cooperation through IGOs (Martin 2000; Minnich 2005; Rey and Barkdull 2005; Vreeland 2008). Democratising states' desire to signal commitments to reforms also makes them more frequent participants in international institutions (Mansfield, Milner, and Rosendorff 2002); Pevehouse 2005; Mansfield and Pevehouse 2006; Gray 2013).

As triumphalist enthusiasm for liberal democracy fades with the waning of the unipolar moment, scholars are increasingly turning their attention to other correlates of IGO membership. Ross and Voeten (2016), for example, find that oil wealth reduces IGO-joining propensity, since income from oil-exporting decreases the need attract FDI and gain access to foreign markets. More crucially, however, the literature has turned from *monadic* state characteristics to homophily, investigating the tendency of similar states to associate more with one another. Foregrounding sociality, a budding literature understands institutional cooperation as a function of geopolitical alignment. Voeten (2021) represents perhaps the most ideationally-minded approach, using spatial modelling to show how states sort themselves into IGOs based on shared ideology. Other scholars also point to the clique-like nature

of institutional memberships, but measure alignment using alliance relationships and foreign policy similarity (Davis and Pratt 2021; Davis 2023).

Despite explicit attention to sociality (Davis 2025), few empirical studies in this relatively new tradition have had the chance to explore the relationship between sociocultural variables and IO formation. An exception is Greenhill (2015: 149-53), who constructs a composite measure of cultural similarity to predict IGO-joining behaviour. This study, however, does not further disaggregate cultural characteristics; yet shared ethnicity, religion, and language may reasonably give rise to different cooperation tendencies. In addition, it does not distinguish *forming* IGOs from *joining* them. As Jupille, Mattli, and Snidal (2013) argue, creating an IGO from scratch is qualitatively more difficult than joining an extant institution, 'just as, in the security realm, starting, joining, or continuing a war are very different decisions. Our theories should be clearer on which decision (forming versus joining) they purport to explain,' write Pevehouse and von Borzyskowski (2017).

Chapter 4 addresses these gaps by examining how shared sociolinguistic characteristics among states shape their propensity to co-found IGOs. Building on the previous chapters, I propose that a common language serves as both a cognitive and practical facilitator of cooperation, lowering coordination costs and fostering mutual trust among potential co-founders. While material incentives and geopolitical alignments remain critical, states that share common languages should also be more likely to found IGOs with one another than those that do not.

I advance that sociolinguistic homophily operates through two primary mechanisms. A social pathway can reinforce identity-based trust in the best case, echoing findings from sociolinguistics and social psychology showing that shared language strengthens in-group identification and perceptions of reliability. Even absent in-group identification, however, the sociality of common language grounds shared norms and interpretive frameworks that help mitigate uncertainty about partners' intentions, facilitating incomplete contracting by stabilising expectations. Second, without assuming sociality, a rational pathway distinguishes language from other

characteristics including cultural or religious affinity. Common languages enhance communicative efficiency by reducing semantic and material transaction costs, allowing for smoother negotiation and agreement during the formative stages of institutional design.

To date, however, global language datasets either try to estimate year-by-year changes in speaker populations, a notoriously unreliable exercise (Laitin 2000), or simply use time-invariant indicators of national language (Egger and Toubal 2016: 274), making it impossible to validate my theory using pre-existing data. I thus construct my third original datset, the Domestic Language Policies Dataset, which presents year-by-year information on continuity and change in domestic policies on national languages. The dataset is assembled from constitutions, major language laws, and curated secondary sources for all 202 state members of the Correlates of War international system between 1945 and 2014, covering a total of 10,188 state-years. Besides distinguishing *de facto* languages from those with statutory status, I also record changes in *language function* as languages may either act as a symbol of national identity, a vehicle for work and administration, or both, a situation I call 'functional convergence.'

Empirically, I find robust support for a common-language effect, even after accounting for shared religion and ethnicity, colonial history, geography, regime type, and economic development. I also find an important role for shared functionally convergent languages, as the coincidence of identity and administration in them functions activates both social and rational pathways. In addition, I find that states sharing *de jure* national languages are more likely to create institutions together. In an analogy to new democracies that seek to lock in reforms via international cooperation (Pevehouse 2002b), I attribute this to a 'second image reversed' logic (Gourevitch 1978): states passing legislation to safeguard or change a linguistic *status quo* may try to bind future spoilers to their preferred domestic language policy by committing to further interactions with same-language partners. Overall, the three types of common language effects persist across specifications and survive extensive robustness checks and lag structures.

Taken together, the three substantive claims recast language from background noise into institutional infrastructure. If IGOs are social environments that generate externalities, then the languages they privilege are not incidental. They organise attention, calibrate who is fluent and who is foreign, and channel which ideas travel with least friction. Focussing on the distributional consequences of language politics sheds light on the three theoretical questions in IR theory that motivate this dissertation, concerning how institutions shape behaviour, how power shapes institutional design, and how sociality shapes membership in institutions. Besides contributing to institutionalist IR scholarship, I seek to recover what the discipline has too often naturalised away: that language is part and parcel of the international order.

2

The Institutional Diffusion of English in Diplomacy

How did English become the lingua franca of modern diplomacy? Language norms matter for whose ideas gain currency in the international system, and the ascendancy of English over French was never assured. I locate the answer in the proliferation of intergovernmental organisations after 1945. Building on International Relations scholarship on institutions and norm transmission, I argue that IGOs have served as a site for the diffusion of *lingua franca* English via state socialisation. Multilateral institutions increasingly regimented their procedural language rules as they developed. Consequently, under post-war American hegemony, participants in international organisations interact in multilateral social environments with English atop the linguistic hierarchy, facilitating spread of the English-language norm.

I test this theory on novel panel data on the original languages of 10,295 statements made at the annual United Nations General Debates, where states have a relatively free choice over language use, between 1946 and 2021. I find robust support for the proposition that the English-language norm diffuses through aggregate membership in IGOs with English as an operational language, even after controlling for adoption through other channels. I further extend the analysis to probe the depth of internalisation, concluding that *written* English is likely internalised at a deeper level than *spoken* English. Besides showcasing the importance of institutions, the results also allude to the limits of socialisation, with consequences for the diffusion of substantive norms in international politics as well as for the durability of specific elements of the liberal international order.

2.1 Introduction 20
2.2 *Lingua-francas* and Transnational Norm Spread 23
2.2.1 Historical *Lingua-francas* and their Spread 23
2.2.2 Norm Diffusion Processes in International Theory . . . 25
2.3 Theorising Diffusion: An Institutional Framework . . . 27
2.3.1 The Sociolinguistics of Multilateral Environments 27
2.3.1.1 Multilateralism and the Need for a *Lingua Franca* 28
2.3.1.2 English and IGOs under American Hegemony 28
2.3.2 *Lingua Franca* Diffusion and Socialisation Theory 30
2.3.2.1 The Concept: Socialisation into Language Norms 31
2.3.2.2 The Role of International Institutions 32
2.3.2.3 Synthesising Rational and Social Mechanisms . 32
2.3.3 Empirical Expectations 34
2.4 Language Norms in the UN General Assembly 36
2.4.1 Suitability and Data Processing 37
2.4.2 Temporal Trends in Language Norms 39
2.4.3 Geographic Trends in Language Norms 41
2.5 Model and Data 45
2.5.1 Regression Strategy 46
2.5.2 Dependent Variables 47
2.5.3 Independent Variables 48
2.5.4 Control Variables 50
2.6 Empirical Analysis 52
2.6.1 Hypothesis Tests 53
2.6.1.1 Baseline Results 53
2.6.1.2 Robustness Checks 58
2.6.2 Mitigating Endogeneity Concerns 60
2.6.3 IGO Disaggregation and Covariate Heterogeneity 65
2.7 Illustrative Example: The Case of *Francophonie* 70
2.7.1 *Françafrique* as the Francophone Core 71
2.7.2 Language Norms among Allophone States 73
2.7.3 Navigating Dual Francophone-Anglophone Identities . . 76
2.8 Discussion and Conclusion 79

2.1 Introduction

The overwhelming dominance of the English language in international relations is often taken for granted. In contrast to the multilingual internationalism of the interwar period (Kim 1999), globalisation in the post-Cold War era has unfolded largely in English. Consequently, recent scholarship has underscored how anglophone monolingualism affects knowledge production by naturalising certain points of view in IR (Aydinli and Aydinli 2024).[1]

Nor is the *conduct* itself of world politics immune. As an example, the preponderance of English in international juridical bodies 'accelerates the transfer of ideas' from 'anglophone legal orders into international law' (Hernández 2010). This includes concepts like 'fairness,' 'bias,' 'compromise,' and 'reasonableness,' rooted deeply in the anglophone common-law tradition (Wierzbicka 2006: 16, 103-40). Language, too often overlooked, matters for both theory and practice in world politics.

Historians often trace the dominance of English in international diplomacy to the Paris Peace Conference, where Lloyd George and Woodrow Wilson pressed for the Treaty of Versailles to be written in English (MacMillan 2001: 55-6; Northrup 2013: 112-3). Sensing that 'the text of the treaty would determine the new language of international politics,' French Prime Minister Georges Clemenceau pushed for French as the treaty's sole authentic language, in line with diplomatic precedent (Biltoft 2010: 28). But English won parity with French, breaking with tradition; the League of Nations subsequently adopted both for the authentic texts of the League Covenant and as the languages of League operations. Thus, Ostrower claims, 'English linguistic ascendancy as an idiom of diplomatic intercourse took place⋯ following the First World War' (Ostrower 1965: 150, 359-66).

But English dominance was by no means guaranteed. For one, sizeable internationalist movements found success in promoting artificial languages, such as Esperanto, for interstate intercourse (Garvía 2015). For another, major international treaties

[1] See also d'Aoust (2012); Pellerin (2012).

continued to be signed solely in French, with commentators confident that French would maintain its stranglehold over diplomacy despite English predominance in commerce (Roumiguère 1926: 326-30).

Finally, English was in fact *losing* ground to French in the League of Nations. Writing in 1933, a Syracuse University sociology professor observed: 'although the League is legally bilingual, a situation exists in practice which amounts to a virtual control by French. Outside of the English-speaking group, almost all other countries express themselves in French' (Shenton 1933: 381). The dictum that 'language follows power' thus cannot fully explain the dominance of English, since Anglo-American might was already on full display in 1919, decades before the post-WWII era.

How, then, did English become the lingua franca *of post-war diplomacy?* I locate the answer to this puzzle in the centrality of intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) to post-war international relations. Crucially, beginning with the League, IGOs regimented institutional languages by assigning them official status. Drawing on constructivist theories, I argue that membership in IGOs where English is an operational language, or anglophone IGOs, socialises non-English-speaking states into adopting English as a diplomatic *lingua franca* by shaping the linguistic environment in which states interact. I consider both 'rationalist' and 'constructivist' potential socialisation mechanisms, placing them along an ideal-typical spectrum of internalisation depth.

I test my theory on a novel dataset of the languages used for 10,295 speeches made at the General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) from 1946-2021. I employ panel fixed-effects regression analysis, using first-differencing, instrumental variables regression, and analysis employing lags of the independent variable to account for endogeneity. I find robust evidence that membership in anglophone IGOs, particularly *monolingual* anglophone IGOs, increases the use of English as the diplomatic *lingua franca*. Furthermore, differentiating between writ-

ten and spoken English shows differences in internalisation depth, with socialisation into the former running 'deeper' than the latter.

I make three primary disciplinary contributions. First, I contribute theoretically to established research on norms and socialisation. Norms are '*anchored in language* and revealed by repeated speech acts' (Krook and True 2012), 'providing a *language and grammar* of international politics' (Cortell and Davis 2000).[2] IR, however, has mostly ignored sociolinguistic practices, such as translation (Caraccioli 2021), that constitute both international norms and world politics more broadly. I remedy this gap by studying the language norms that underlie the transmission of substantive norms in IR. Second, I make an empirical contribution by expanding the rich literature on the socialisation effects of membership in international institutions. Finally, the most widely-used corpus of General Debate speeches for quantitative studies lacks information on original languages (Jankin, Baturo, and Dasandi 2025). This biases any conclusions drawn from those data (Lucas et al. 2015; Windsor 2022). My dataset is designed to be paired with the UN General Debate Corpus, thus mitigating an overlooked source of bias in quantitative text analyses in IR.

I proceed thus. In Section 2.2, after surveying historical *lingua franca* spread, I highlight the role of IGOs in the international diffusion of various recent phenomena. In Section 2.3, I propose a theoretical framework grounded in state socialisation. This connects the rise of institutionalised multilateral diplomacy to pressures for states to increasingly interact in linguistically-regimented environments dominated by English. I then set out expectations and hypotheses. Sections 2.4 and 2.5 introduce my novel dataset and research design, whilst Section 2.6 details the analysis. As part of a discussion of the results, Section 2.7 illustrates changes in English usage at the General Debate by members of the *Francophonie*, a least-likely grouping for *lingua franca* adoption. Section 2.8 concludes.

[2]Emphasis mine.

2.2 *Lingua-francas* and Transnational Norm Spread

Lingua-francas, or common languages, facilitate communication between people that do not share native languages, and may exist in either or both written and spoken forms. The diversity of macro-level factors across historical eras makes it difficult to generalise causes for their spread; contemporary research into diffusion processes in international sociology and IR provides the most appropriate parallel. Both sociologists and IR scholars emphasise the importance of organisations as sites where norms, ideas, and practices diffuse. Yet IR research on international norm diffusion has overlooked the possibility of *lingua franca* diffusion, motivating this study.

2.2.1 Historical *Lingua-francas* and their Spread

Language is fundamental to interstate communication; indeed, the history of international relations is one of 'inter-lingual' relations (Wigen 2015). A *lingua franca* is used for communication between people that do not share a native language. The original 'Lingua Franca' facilitated seaborne trade in the Mediterranean Basin. As a Romance-based pidgin with no native speakers, it was passed down orally as an exclusively *spoken* language (Operstein 2021). A *lingua franca* may also function as a non-verbal 'scripta franca,'[3] such as the character-based Classical Chinese writing system in premodern East Asia. Finally, like medieval Latin and modern-day English, diplomatic *lingua-francas* may facilitate both spoken and written communication between states.

Linguists and historians identify several macroscopic factors leading to adoption of *lingua-francas*, but their spread defies generalisation. Foremost among purported causes is coercive force. Yet the dictum that 'world powers make world languages' (Firth 1964) is a 'pernicious belief, widespread even among linguists:' Ostler notes that the empirical evidence supporting this claim is riddled with exceptions, such as

[3]Term coined by Denecke (2014).

the Romans, who failed to spread Latin to their east (Ostler 2006: 20-1). Language spread may not even be desired. The Dutch actively discouraged the adoption of their language in their East Indies colonies to limit access to power (Wright 2016: 128).

Rarely does a language expand by imposition; more critical are the incentives faced by those who eventually adopt it (Northrup 2013: 16). Trade and commercial contact offer good reasons to learn a language, and are thus critical avenues for adoption. Absent both trade and conquest, religious esteem is responsible for the expansions of other *lingua-francas*, such as Sanskrit in Southeast Asia (Ostler 2010). And finally, in recent centuries, certain *lingua-francas* have gained acceptance owing to attractive ideological and scientific innovations. This dizzying multiplicity of factors, combined with variation in domain-specificity, leads to difficulty generalising to outcomes. For example, though Phoenician once dominated trade, 'it never became a medium of political communication' (Ostrower 1965: 134-6, 140).[4]

As a result, various disciplines disagree on the causes of English expansion. Historians narrate the process by geography and historical era, attributing growth first to settler-colonisation and imperialism and later to Anglo-American hegemony in the twentieth century (Northrup 2013). From a legal perspective, Rosemary Salomone locates the rise of English in the neoliberal trifecta of globalisation, internationalisation, and a knowledge-based economy (2022: 7-8). A linguist by training, David Crystal quips that 'after a while, any account of the social history of English⋯starts to repeat itself. Under each heading, the narrative identifies a major domain of modern society, puts it in a historical perspective, then discusses the extent to which it now uses or depends upon English' (2010: 123). Explaining the spread of English as the *lingua franca* of modern diplomacy thus requires a better-specified approach rooted in IR theory.

[4]For a general discussion, see chapter 8 in Ostrower's volume titled 'Diplomatic and International Languages Distinguished' (1965: 128-51).

2.2.2 Norm Diffusion Processes in International Theory

Lingua franca spread via adoption by non-native speakers, which Ostler calls 'diffusion' (Ostler 2006: 19), bears similarities to diffusion as conceptualised in IR. As 'the process through which policies, practices, ideas, or events spread from one jurisdiction to another,' diffusion underlies phenomena varying from global isomorphism in education systems to the adoption of human rights norms by states (Greenhill 2025: 237). Here, I briefly review the beginnings of sociological diffusion research in sociology before discussing diffusion in constructivist IR. Both sociology and IR highlight *institutions* as sites where ideas and practices diffuse, motivating my theoretical framework.

Stanford sociologists spearheaded the study of international diffusion in the 1970s and 1980s. Grounded in the sociological institutionalist tradition, 'World Polity Theory' proposed that an expanding 'world culture' explained the resemblance of constitutions, laws, bureaucratic structures, and other phenomena across national borders (Boli and Thomas 1997; Meyer et al. 1997).[5] Whilst conflict and IPE scholars studied the diffusion of peace and conflict, democratic governance, and economic policies,[6] the sociological institutionalist mantle of World Polity Theory was most enthusiastically taken up in IR by constructivist scholars (Finnemore 1996). Seeking to theorise non-material influences on world politics, they aimed both to show concrete examples of normative behaviour and to explain how norms emerge and spread (Hoffmann 2010).[7]

World Polity Theorists and IR scholars both emphasise *institutional environments* as diffusion sites. The former highlight INGOs and transnational civic society; in IR, the emphasis on states leads to a focus on IGOs (Peez 2022). Such 'thick institutional environments' are prime settings for norms and practices to spread when government officials and other actors interact. (March and Olsen 1998; Johnston

[5]For a more detailed overview, see Meyer, Krücken, and Drori (2009). Also called 'World Society Theory,' World Polity Theory developed in isolation from the English School of IR, with which it shares some affinities. See Buzan (2004).

[6]See, e.g., Mitchell (2002); Gleditsch and Ward (2006); Cao (2009, 2010).

[7]See, e.g., Katzenstein (1996); Tannenwald (1999).

2001, 2008). First generation norm scholars in IR notably studied the transmission of norms via IGO-embedded epistemic communities (Finnemore and Sikkink 1998; Keck and Sikkink 1999; Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink 1999).

A vast empirical literature spanning theoretical and empirical divides has shown how a variety of normative phenomena diffuse through IGOs. Some scholars focus on membership in specific organisations. Using qualitative case-study methods, Finnemore (1993) argues that UNESCO prompted states to create bureaucracies for scientific research, while Gheciu (2005) demonstrates how NATO socialised political elites into adopting liberal-democratic norms. Quantitatively, Strang and Chang (1993) show the effect of ILO standards on national welfare programmes; more recently, Chelotti, Dasandi, and Jankin Mikhaylov (2022) combine text-as-data methods with regression analysis to uncover changes in state preferences before and after EU accession.

Other scholars study effects brought about by IGO membership in aggregate. Research on democratisation suggests political reforms may spread via membership in IGOs with predominantly democratic members, even when controlling for diffusion through geographic channels (Pevehouse 2002a, 2005). Participation in certain types of institutions has also been shown to promote peace (Russett, Oneal, and Davis 1998; Boehmer, Gartzke, and Nordstrom 2004; Pevehouse and Russett 2006). Still other studies have shown IGOs to diffuse economic policies (Cao 2009, 2010), policy interests (Bearce and Bondanella 2007; Taninchev 2015), and LGBTQ+ and other human rights (Greenhill 2010, 2015). Even corruption may diffuse through IGO networks (Hafner-Burton and Schneider 2019).

On the whole, however, scholarship on normative diffusion retains a bias towards desirable, 'liberal norms' (Peez 2022). Neutral but fundamental practices, including the linguistic behaviour that forms the subject of this article, have gone largely ignored. Despite acknowledging that norms in world politics are 'anchored in language and revealed by repeated speech acts' (Krook and True 2012), IR scholars

have overlooked the possibility that languages, too, may diffuse through organisational channels. This lacuna motivates my theoretical framework, which I develop in the following section.

2.3 Theorising Diffusion: An Institutional Framework

The previous section noted the centrality of institutions to diffusion processes. Here, I argue that membership in IGOs where English serves as an operational language has led states to adopt it as a diplomatic *lingua franca*. I first expound on why IGOs should be sites for the diffusion of English: Multilateral diplomacy places state actors in environments where they are surrounded by and often forced to use English, which sits atop the world's institutional linguistic hierarchy. Second, I specify a theoretical framework rooted in the study of socialisation in IR. Finally, I differentiate written from spoken language to probe the degree of internalisation of language choices, and present my hypotheses.

2.3.1 The Sociolinguistics of Multilateral Environments

The institutionalisation of multilateralism regimented intergovernmental language rules, *ipso facto* placing English at the top of a linguistic hierarchy within the constellation of IGOs today. This process occurred gradually. First, multilateralism, especially conference diplomacy, necessitates a common *spoken* linguistic medium, which was by default French during the Concert of Europe. Second, the rise of international *organisations* as a particular form of multilateralism heralded bureaucratic rationalisation in the international sphere. After 1919, ascendant Anglo-American power called into question the default *lingua franca* status of French, leading to the gradual, explicit regimentation of language rules in IGOs. Finally, the American penchant for multilateral diplomacy led to a proliferation of IGOs after 1945. English remains 'more equal' than other operational languages in practice, oftentimes in spite of nominally equal status.

2.3.1.1 Multilateralism and the Need for a *Lingua Franca*

Multilateralism is a generic institutional form of international interaction based on generalised principles of conduct (Ruggie 1992). Unlike bilateralism, it generates functional pressures for linguistic regularity and unity for practical reasons. In bilateral negotiations, translation only occurs between two languages and is therefore relatively costless. When more parties speaking more native languages are added, however, the number of translation pairs increases quadratically, making real-time interpretation both costly and infeasible.[8] In addition, larger gatherings increase the breadth and complexity of issues to be discussed. In practice, using too many languages breaks down what international legal scholars call the 'presumption of simultaneity' in trans-lingual negotiations (Tabory 1980: 190-3).

This is especially true in multilateral *conference diplomacy*, which came to define European international politics following the Congress of Vienna (Riitberger 1983). In addition to a *written* language to record correspondence and agreements, a *spoken* language is needed for in-person deliberation. Prior to the nineteenth century, French was already dominant in European courts as liturgical Latin lost purchase and Louis XIV implemented changes to foreign policy practice, widely adopted by other European states. As a result, despite Napoleon's defeat, the use of French at the Congress of Vienna went virtually unquestioned.[9] Despite the blow to the prestige of the French state, regularised interactions in successive Congresses further cemented the French language as the written and spoken *lingua franca* of European diplomacy.

2.3.1.2 English and IGOs under American Hegemony

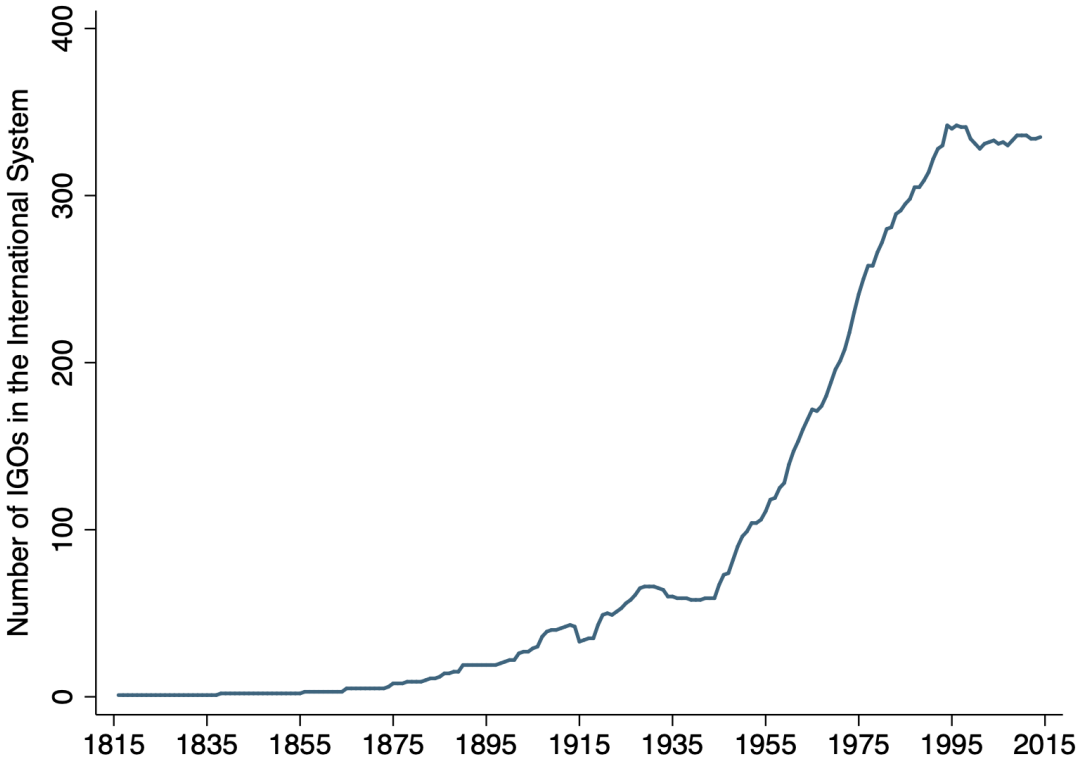
The conclusion of World War I brought two important shifts. First, Versailles heralded a wholesale 'move to institutions' (Kennedy 1987), paving the way for multilateral diplomacy through IGOs to become an inherently legitimate procedural form (Ruggie 1992). Before that, the first nineteenth-century formal international

[8] A detailed discussion is found in Chapter 3.

[9] For an excellent overview, see Ostrower (1965: 272-319).

organisations regulated specific public goods but were not yet integral to international politics (Reinalda 2009). Second, linguistic arrangements within those formal organisations underwent a shift from *implicit monolingualism* to *explicit bilingualism*. Before Versailles, French implicitly served as the *lingua franca*; at Versailles, linguistically conscious British and American delegations upended this assumption. Anglo-American war contributions won English pride of place next to French as an 'official language' of the newly-established League of Nations (Ostrower 1965: 359-66). Since the League served as a template for other organisations, the regimentation of languages through explicit operational rules became part of the increasing bureaucratic rationalisation of international life.

Figure 2.1: Number of IGOs in the international system, 1815-2014



The United States neither joined the League nor attempted to re-engineer the world during the interwar era. After 1945, in contrast, the Americans moulded the international order according to their penchant for multilateralism. The proliferation of formal IGOs as an institutional form in the post-war era thus reflects what

Ruggie calls '*American* hegemony and not American *hegemony*' (Ruggie 1992). The explicit regimentation of operational languages increased as a consequence of this frenetic institutional expansion. Building on the League model, the United Nations institutionalised a system of 'official' and 'working' operational languages copied by the numerous organisations that followed. But whilst Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish were all named official languages, only English and French held status as 'working languages' at the outset, placing them on a tier above the rest.

This tiered inequality persists in IGOs today. In practice, English in particular remains 'more equal' than other languages. Given temporal and technical constraints, negotiations often take place in English alone (van Els 2006). Numerically, too, English is the most common operational language in post-war IGOs, with French coming in second (see Chapter 3). Thus, today's hierarchy of institutionalised languages is 'not derivative of individual states' current hard power,' but rather embedded in IGOs as an institutional form that achieved prominence during American hegemony (Wigen 2015). The indispensability of IGOs to modern international politics forces states to interact in hierarchical sociolinguistic environments, setting the stage for them to adopt English in particular as the *lingua franca* of post-war diplomacy.

2.3.2 *Lingua Franca* Diffusion and Socialisation Theory

Given the preceding empirical background, *how* has English diffused through multilateral IGOs? I approach the question using a state socialisation framework. I understand socialisation as the process through which states come to internalise norms from elsewhere in the international system (Alderson 2001)[10] through 'regular and sustained interactions within broader social contexts' (Bearce and Bondanella 2007).[11] This understanding, prevalent in IR, also aligns with the sociological concept of socialisation, describing how 'new members are conditioned

[10]See also Ikenberry and Kupchan (1990); Risse (1997: 16).
[11]See also Checkel (1999); Johnston (2001).

into ways of behaviour that are preferred in a specific society' (Barnes et al. 1980: 35). I expound on the appropriateness and components of a socialisation framework here.

2.3.2.1 The Concept: Socialisation into Language Norms

There are at least two good reasons why *lingua franca* adoption may be a valid outcome of international socialisation. First, constructivist studies in IR often focus on normative behaviour, having long emphasised that norms are '*anchored in language* and revealed by repeated speech acts' (Krook and True 2012), 'providing a *language and grammar* of international politics' (Cortell and Davis 2000).[12] Yet only recently have scholars begun to investigate the linguistic bases of norm diffusion. Empirical work by Simmons and Shaffer (2024), who conceptualise and measure 'rhetorical norms' as particular ways of speaking that diffuse through *rhetorical socialisation* in the UN, represents one such step. Here, I move the focus to norms about the choice over *languages*, furthering our understanding of other socialisation processes.

Second, a direct analogue between states and individuals exists in the concept of language socialisation. Anthropologists and sociolinguists use this to refer to the process whereby novices acquire 'knowledge, orientations, and practices' pertaining to language use, allowing them to 'participate effectively and appropriately in the social life of a particular community' (Garrett and Baquedano-López 2002). In a parallel to IR studies on institutional socialisation, anthropological studies have also taken an interest in institutional contexts, such as workplaces (Roberts 2010). As individual-level analogies are an oft-used heuristic in IR theory, the anthropological analogue lends credence to conceptualising 'language socialisation' at the state level. Nevertheless, recognising that psychological processes cannot simply be 'scaled up' (Alderson 2001), I proceed in a strictly IR theoretical framework.

[12] Emphasis mine.

2.3.2.2 The Role of International Institutions

Why should we expect socialisation in the diffusion of English through IGOs? A lack of alternatives is one thing. '[T]o rule out (or control for) coercion by IOs as an alternative explanation' is a prerequisite for attributing behavioural change to socialisation (Fink 2013). Unlike policies or norms in substantive issue-areas of international politics (Carter and Stone 2015; Alexander and Rooney 2019), states' language choices are unlikely to elicit coercion. Nor does the provision of new information through IGOs (Johnston 2001) make sense as an explanation for language spread: unlike human beings, state foreign-affairs apparatuses do not literally learn languages through IGOs. Thus, a lack of alternatives makes socialisation more likely to underlie any observed effect.

Crucially, however, socialisation occurs by definition through 'regular and sustained interactions within broader social contexts' (Bearce and Bondanella 2007). In addition to being contractual constructs, institutions are *social* spaces (Johnston 2001) where socialisation is well-known to occur (Haas 1998, cited in Johnston 2008). Two caveats are in order. First, here, I focus on IGOs as *sites* for, rather than active promoters of, socialisation (Checkel 2005; Zürn and Checkel 2005). Second, though IGO socialisation may also operate at the level civil society,[13] this study foregrounds the role of government personnel in state socialisation. IGO membership forces state officials to interact with counterparts in linguistically-regimented environments. Ultimately, this cumulative social contact in IGOs prompts state apparatuses to internalise English for diplomatic settings, even when other languages are still conceivably on the menu.

2.3.2.3 Synthesising Rational and Social Mechanisms

Central to socialisation is the concept of internalisation, or the extent to which norms assume a 'taken-for-granted' character (Risse 1997: 16). The *extent* of internalisation features in many prominent conceptual accounts of socialisation. I argue that instead of limiting socialisation to a solely rationalist or constructivist

[13] See, e.g., Gheciu (2005).

process, considering both perspectives is the best way to probe the depth of *lingua franca* internalisation. Though often associated with constructivist scholarship, socialisation is in some contexts attributable to reinforcement mechanisms and 'rationalist' strategic calculation (Schimmelfennig 2005).

Here, I am interested in internalisation depth, which concerns whether a state has merely adopted the dominant *lingua franca*, or whether the state has adopted English in particular. At shallower levels of internalisation, states simply conform their behaviour to that of other group members; only further on does socialisation take on a 'taken-for-granted' quality. Though the 'logic of consequences' and the 'logic of appropriateness' overlap considerably, the former plays a relatively greater role at shallow stages of internalisation, while the latter are likely to predominate at a deeper level (Goldmann 2005). Thus, following a well-established conceptual tradition in studies of socialisation, [14] I consider both rationalist and constructivist socialisation pathways as co-occurring mechanisms that differentially reflect the depth of internalised language choices.

From a rationalist 'logic of consequences' perspective, social interactions may prompt changes in behaviour via *cost-reduction*. Participation in anglophone IGOs strongly incentivises states to adopt English to reduce the semantic (Collin 2013)[15] and material costs inherent in diplomatic translation (Liu 2015: 13-4; Wigen 2015; Caraccioli et al. 2021). Otherwise, states must expend resources to standardise separate vocabularies for internationally-derived concepts. For this reason, post-colonial Bangladesh still uses English in judicial rulings despite specific legislation passed to implement Bengali in public administration.

Shifting from a 'logic of consequences' to a 'logic of appropriateness,' *role-playing*, or adaptation to behaviour that agents perceive as socially appropriate, reflects a deeper level of internalisation (Checkel 2005). State officials may seek to avoid social marginalisation resulting from being unwilling or unable to use English, which

[14]See, e.g., Risse, Ropp, and Sikkink (1999); Wendt (1999); Kent (2002); Lewis (2003); Checkel (2005).

[15]See also Cohen (1991, 2001).

would put them in a disadvantaged position (Nick 2001; Van Els 2005). Conversely, mastery of the *lingua franca* affords social recognition. Kobayashi, Krause, and Yuan (2022) contend, for example, that Imperial Russian elites' socialisation into French, the continental *lingua franca* of the era, allowed them to 'participate more actively in European diplomatic conferences.'

At the deepest level of internalisation, shifts in identities drive behavioural change.[16] Language remains an important symbolic marker of state identity today (see Chapter 4),[17] making sociolinguistic identity change the least plausible outcome in this study. Yet definitive examples exist: The aforementioned Imperial Russian elites eventually embraced French so wholeheartedly that it became a semi-official language for domestic purposes as well (Kobayashi, Krause, and Yuan ibid.). As one of the more conservative members of the Holy Alliance, Imperial Russia was heavily invested in the Concert of Europe. Analogously, embracing English in diplomacy may reflect acceptance of the American-led post-war liberal international order more broadly.

2.3.3 Empirical Expectations

Though I do not attempt to distinguish between socialisation mechanisms here, observing different aspects of language behaviour may allow me to ascertain the depth of language norm internalisation. First, I argue for the importance of differentiating spoken language from its purely written function. I then formulate hypotheses that go beyond ascertaining the existence of an effect, providing a first measure for probing the degree of internalisation. Next, I discuss caveats related to measuring and operationalising the dependent variables.

The use of English as a solely written medium represents a lower level of internalisation than using it both as a written and spoken medium. As noted previously, diplomatic *lingua-francas* may be written, spoken, or serve both functions. Classical Chinese acted as a 'scripta franca,' facilitating international epistolary communication between officials that might nevertheless pronounce words differently

[16] See, e.g., Jepperson, Wendt, and Katzenstein (1996: 54), for whom norms themselves constitute 'collective expectations about proper behavior for a given identity.'

[17] For historical arguments, see also Deutsch (1942); Geertz (1963); Fishman (1972).

(Denecke 2014). The age of conference diplomacy led European states to employ spoken French for in-person negotiations. In modern diplomatic practice, official agreements, treaties, and records require a written language. Crucially, however, state representatives may choose to employ another language for in-person spoken communication, even if they compose official documents solely in English.

Written English is more easily internalised as its standardised vocabulary is essential for complex international communication. Compared to spoken language, written language requires a high degree of precision to adequately communicate technical concepts in specialised domains. After independence, for example, postcolonial states frequently invited Western linguists to develop their native languages, which often lacked writing systems (Blommaert 2007; Wright 2016). Nevertheless, parliamentary debates and judicial procedures in many Commonwealth countries take place in a mix of local languages and English, whilst proceedings and records are rendered solely in English. Thus, the adoption of English as a *written* language may simply be necessary for the functioning of a rationalised modern bureaucracy.

By contrast, employing *spoken* English meets a much higher bar for internalisation for several reasons. For a state apparatus, producing an English written text is less demanding than the extemporaneous competency required for English speech. In many cases, officials in IGOs must overcome 'linguistic insecurity' when speaking in a foreign language to a chamber full of judgemental peers (Nick 2001; Van Els 2005). A state that has staffed its diplomatic apparatus with English-fluent officials has necessarily internalised the language more deeply than a state whose officials would prefer to speak a different language in diplomatic settings.

Based on this distinction between written and spoken language, I submit the following hypotheses. *H1* represents the lowest level of normative internalisation. By contrast, if both *H1* and *H2* hold, socialisation likely exceeds ideal-typical cost-reduction.

H1: States with more memberships in anglophone IGOs are more likely to use English as a written language in diplomacy.

H2: States with more memberships in anglophone IGOs are more likely to use English as a spoken language in diplomacy.

Besides testing for the mere existence of language norm diffusion, the two hypotheses above represent a first step at probing the *extent* to which states have internalised *lingua franca* English. Several brief comments are in order. First, the hypotheses impose scope conditions on the measurement of dependent variables. Ideally, we should observe behaviour where representatives from different states address the same multilateral groupings, eliminating concerns about bilateral characteristics affecting language choices. More importantly, we should measure the dependent variables where state representatives are given at least some degree of choice in both written and spoken language. Otherwise, we would simply be measuring the effect of language rules in the setting in question.

Second, the operationalisation must pay sufficient attention to alternative routes through which English may diffuse. Socialisation may occur through other diplomatic channels, such as bilateral diplomacy with Anglosphere states. Additionally, other forms of English-using international contact at the level of private and civil society may generate upwards pressure on governmental apparatus to adopt English as well. Finally, empirical evidence for an IGO socialisation effect must account for other, altogether distinct pathways for *lingua franca* diffusion.

2.4 Language Norms in the UN General Assembly

The language choices of League speeches over time formed the original empirical puzzle motivating this research. To examine the effect of IGO membership on post-war *lingua franca* spread, I turn to the General Debate of the United Nations General Assembly. Every autumn, diplomats and national leaders take to the podium for fifteen minutes to deliver an on-the-record statement representing the views of their governments (Peterson 2006). IR scholars studying policy preferences through public statements have found ‘no better source than the UNGA debates

for exploring official discourse on a global scale' (Simmons and Shaffer 2024) for measuring a range of outcomes, including socialisation (Chelotti, Dasandi, and Jankin Mikhaylov 2022).[18]

Similarly, I use the language choices of national statements made at the General Debates to operationalise the adoption of English as a *lingua franca*. Consistent with my theoretical framework, scholars argue that the UNGA is a profoundly social institution (Franda 2006: 224). The universal membership of this 'town square of international politics' (Abbott and Snidal 1998) makes it globally representative. And since states value this opportunity to speak, they rarely decline to make a speech, making behaviour temporally consistent and thus comparable across decades (Simmons and Shaffer 2024).

2.4.1 Suitability and Data Processing

Although the UN is itself an IGO with its own language rules, linguistic behaviour at the General Debate is appropriately treated as a dependent variable for several reasons. First, states write their statements in this forum without consulting or coordination with each other, meaning that General Debate statements are relatively free from 'social pressure for group conformity' and thus reflect independent behaviour (Chelotti, Dasandi, and Jankin Mikhaylov 2022). Second, as a yearly focal point in world politics, the General Debate is an extraordinary event separate from normal IGO life (Peterson 1986: 267).

Third, the theoretical framework distinguished between *written* and *spoken* language use as potentially revealing different degrees of internalisation. The language rules of the UNGA produce a natural and observable differentiation between *H1* and *H2*. States *ipso facto* must make a choice of spoken language when their delegates step up to the podium, and the carefully scripted nature of General Debate statements ensures a written component to this process, making for two language choices that can, and often do, differ. Since UNGA language rules require

[18] See, e.g., Binder and Heupel (2015); Hecht (2016); Mitrani (2017); Gray and Baturo (2021); Kentikelenis and Voeten (2021); Adams and Mitrani (2023); Baturo and Gray (2024a, 2024b).

that speeches made in non-working languages be submitted in translation in a working language, the choice of written *lingua franca* is measurable by whether a state produced a working-language submission in English, as opposed to another working language.[19] Fortuitously, both choices are observable in practice as they are recorded in the verbatim records of the UNGA dating back to 1946.

Fourth, the theoretical framework requires that the dependent variable be measured in a multilateral forum where states have a relatively free choice over the languages they speak. The General Debate fulfils these criteria. Language rules in the forum are relatively lax, and state representatives are free to deliver statements in any language so long as their delegations submit a translation or provide interpretation into one of the six UNGA working languages. UN staff are then responsible for translation into the other working languages. Thus, in theory, information should be transmitted faithfully regardless of which language is spoken, allowing us to observe linguistic choices under relatively weak constraints. Further evidence shows that states carefully craft their statements, meaning that language choices are unlikely to be haphazard (Chelotti, Dasandi, and Jankin Mikhaylov 2022).

These factors make linguistic behaviour at the General Debate a suitable measure of the extent to which states have internalised linguistic norms from their external interactions in the broader constellation of IGOs.

As it currently focusses on language as discourse instead of 'languages,' the existing effort to digitise the General Debate corpus utilises only the official English translations of the speeches registered with the UN, and states' language choices receive only passing mention (Jankin, Baturo, and Dasandi 2025).[20] To rectify this omission, I obtained all 1,620 procès-verbal documents from the UN Digital Library System covering 75 annual General Debates from their inception. Each individual document contains the full text of multiple speeches. I record the original language

[19]Speeches made in a working language are *de facto* submitted in that language as well, though additional translations into other working languages can also be furnished.

[20]Correspondence with the lead author confirms that this omission is intentional, as the team lacked the resources to reliably compile consistent information on language choices for the entirety of the dataset.

or languages of every speech, as well as the UNGA working language in which the delegation submitted its translation.

The poor quality of digitised records prior to 1993 frustrated the extraction of text through computerised methods such as optical character recognition. To address this issue and account for potential changes in formatting over the years, I found and recorded language information for each statement manually. I cross-verified all data using both the English and French versions of the procès-verbal documents, both available from 1946, to ensure consistency in reporting. In total, the dataset covers 10,295 official annual General Debate speeches made by 201 states from 1946 to 2021. The only missing data are for the 89 speeches made in 1948 and 1949, in which the General Debate was recorded in summary fashion instead of verbatim. For comparability between countries and across time, I do not consider extemporaneous responses made in right of reply.

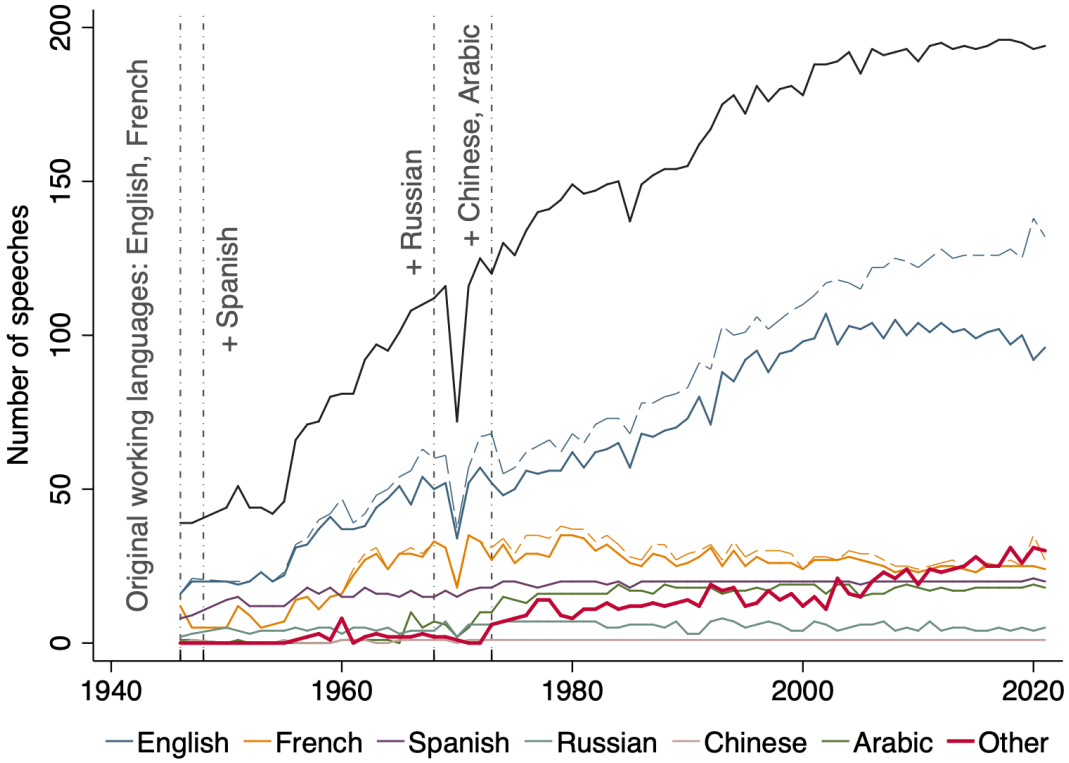
2.4.2 Temporal Trends in Language Norms

Figure 2.2 shows the languages in which states have delivered their General Debate statements over time. The solid lines represent counts of speeches pronounced in a given language, whilst the dashed lines for English and French include the tally of delegation-provided working-language submissions of speeches made in other languages.

Several trends are apparent. In both absolute and relative terms, English and French grew in use during the founding decades of the UN, mainly thanks to the independence of former British and French colonies that simultaneously expanded the number of states in the international system. The first three decades of the General Debate also bore witness to the widening of the UNGA language regime. Responding to the demands of Latin American states and countries of the Soviet bloc, Spanish and Russian were added to English and French as working languages in 1948 and 1968 respectively. Additionally, following the entry of the People's Republic of China and increasing numbers of Arab states into the UN, 1973 saw

the final addition of Chinese and Arabic as working languages, which have not changed since.

Figure 2.2: Languages of the United Nations General Debates, 1946-2021



The decades following witnessed a decline of spoken French and stagnation for Spanish, Arabic, Russian, and Chinese. As a share, French usage falls by over half from a high of 30.2 percent of speeches in 1971 to just 12.4 percent in 2021. Once they are added to the language regime, usage of the other four non-English working languages gradually declines as a proportion, indicating that they are not taken up as media of wider communication.

In stark contrast is the explosive growth in the use of spoken English. In 1974, when the UNGA language regime stabilised, 36.9 percent of speeches were pronounced in English. This figure grows steadily to a maximum of 56.9 percent in 2002 before declining as a share to 49.5 percent of speeches in 2021. Alongside these trends is the slow but steady growth of speeches pronounced in non-working languages, accounting for only 5.4 percent of speeches in 1974 but almost trebling to 15.5

percent in 2021. Spoken linguistic behaviour at the General Debate speeches thus coalesces around English as the singular *lingua franca* at the expense of French.

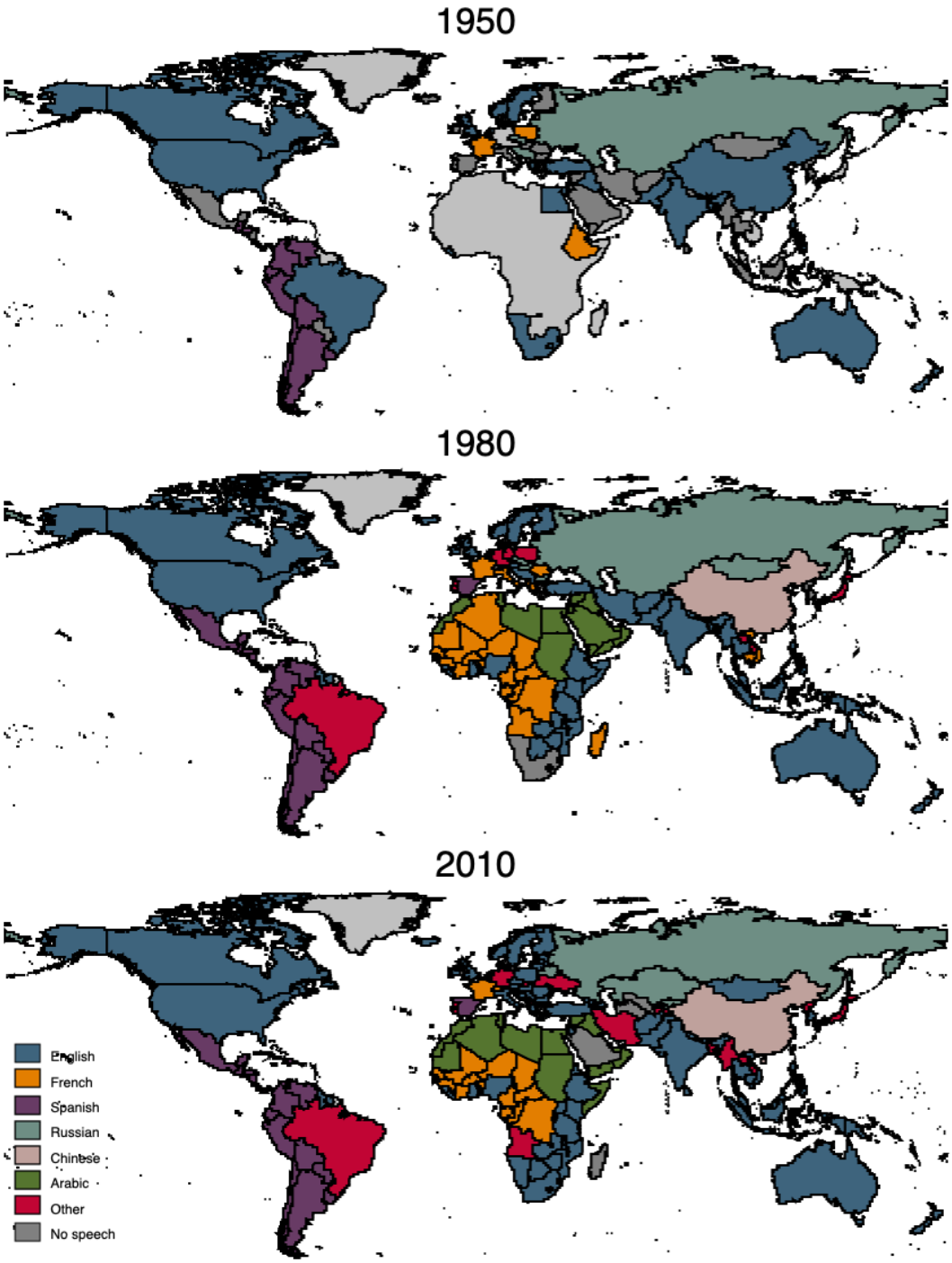
The disparities between the six UNGA working languages as languages of submission, instead of spoken languages, tell a similar story. Arabic, Chinese, Spanish, and Russian are almost never used as submission languages. French is more-often used for this purpose, but only to a limited extent. In stark contrast, English shows consistent growth. In 1974, 42.3 percent of speeches were either spoken or submitted in English; this figure rises to a whopping 71.5 percent in 2020. In 2021, *fully 29 of the 30* delegations making speeches in non-working languages submitted an English translation (the exception was the Andorran delegation, which spoke in Catalan and submitted in French).

Growth in English as a *lingua franca* thus comes from two sources. First is the increase in states directly speaking in English from the beginning of the UN, which stalls around the turn of the millennium. Second is the increasing use of English as a *submission* language for states pronouncing their statements in a non-working language, but choosing English for their required translation into one of the six UN working languages. This gathers steam well past the turn of the century, showcasing the increasing prominence of English as the spoken, and even more-so the written, *lingua franca* of post-war diplomacy.

2.4.3 Geographic Trends in Language Norms

Figure 2.3 places the temporal trends described above in geographical context. Overall participation at the General Debate is limited in the early years of the UN, even among independent countries. Only English, French, Spanish, and Russian see use in the 1950 general debate. With the exception of Brazil, South American participants pronounce their speeches in Spanish. Russian is the language of choice for not only the Soviet Union but also a number of European Eastern Bloc states, including Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Figure 2.3: Geographic distribution of speech languages



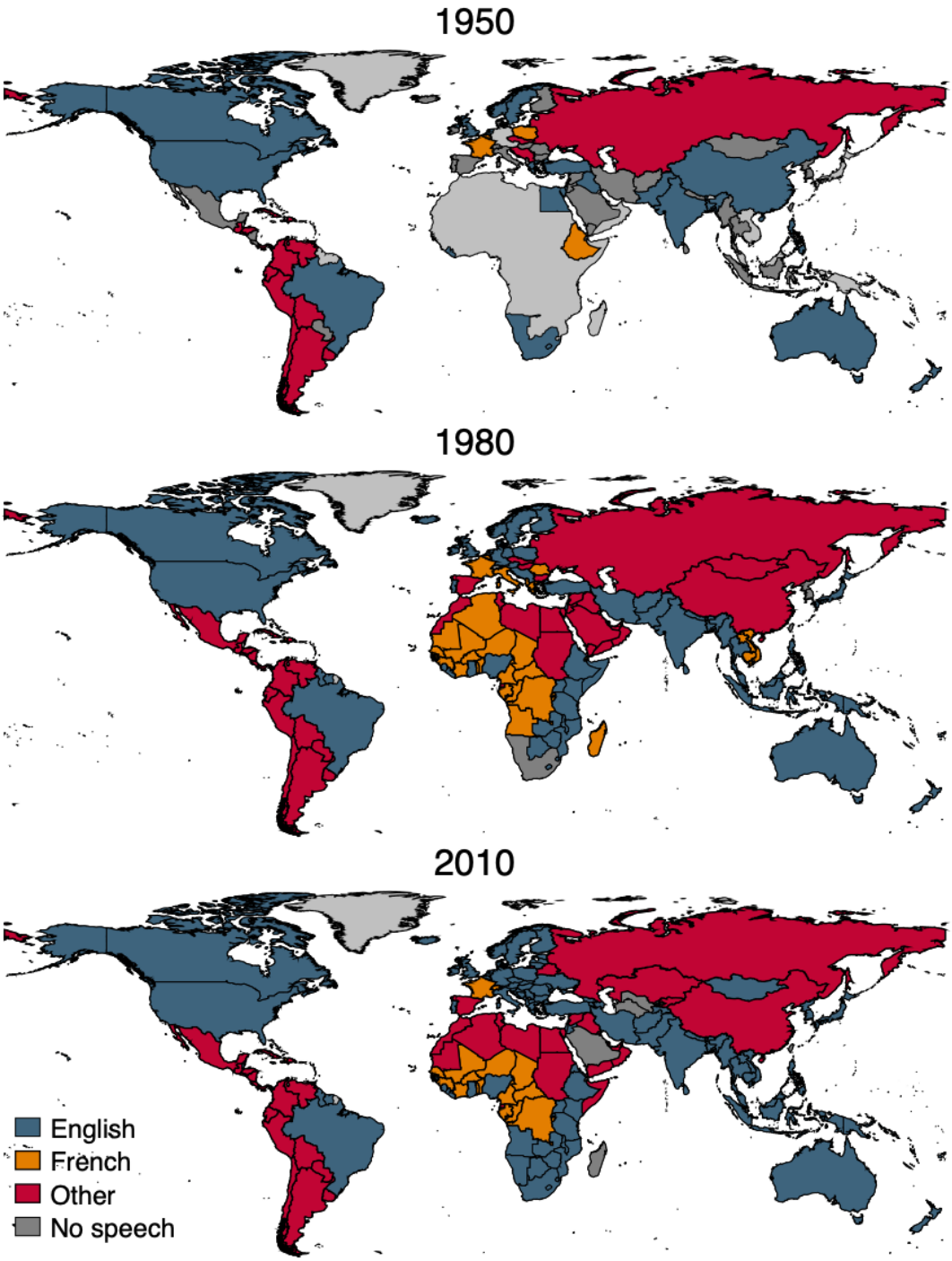
Even at this stage, English is spoken by General Debate participants across a wide geographic range. Former British colonies South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India, and Pakistan, as well as protectorates and mandates including Egypt and Iraq, make their statements in English. So, too, does Nationalist China, which received significant American assistance during the Second World War; the Philippines, a former American colony; and Brazil, another allied state. The persistent stature of French as a former diplomatic *lingua franca* is evidenced by its use beyond the French colonial sphere, in Eastern Europe (Poland) as well as in Africa (Ethiopia).

By 1980, the decolonisation process is largely complete, bringing significant change to the linguistic map. French still retains use outside of its traditional sphere of influence in Italy, Greece, Romania, and Angola. Growth, however, derives from the independence of former French colonies in Africa and Indochina. Russian, too, sees increasing adoption as a spoken language by the limited number of states within the Soviet orbit, including the Mongolian People's Republic. As compared to mid-century, states including Brazil and China defect from English in favour of their native languages by 1980. But English extends its reach through the independence of swathes of the former British Empire across Africa and Asia, as well as through growth on the 'extensive margin' in the Nordic states, Yugoslavia, Iran, Afghanistan, and Indonesia.

The third panel shows the spoken language situation in 2010, whereupon a movement in favour of national languages degrades the influence of French and Russian across the former French and Soviet spheres of influence. As an oral medium, English was arguably more predominant in 1980 than in the new millennium. Despite gaining new users across Europe, in Indochina, and in the former Soviet satellites, states like Myanmar, Bangladesh, Iran ditch the *lingua franca* in favour of speaking their national languages.

The growth of *lingua franca* English in diplomacy is far more pronounced when measuring *written* instead of spoken English in Figure 2.4. In 1950, the distribution of submission languages at the General Debate almost exactly mirrors the spoken

Figure 2.4: Geographic distribution of submission languages



language situation. This begins to change by 1980. Brazil, for example, speaks in Portuguese but opts to submit its statement in English. Though not necessary for Arabic-, Chinese-, French-, Spanish- and Russian-speaking states, who may also submit their statements in those languages, it becomes increasingly popular elsewhere.

In these quarters, this strategy becomes the dominant behaviour by 2010. In 1980, for example, the Laotian representative spoke in Lao but submitted a French-language statement; Vietnam and Cambodia both spoke and submitted French-language statements. Thirty years later, all of the former French Indochinese states have ditched French in both written and spoken practice. Vietnam and Cambodia both speak and submit in English; Laos retains spoken Lao, but submits an English-language statement instead of a French one. Visual analysis of the geographic distribution of language norms corroborates conclusions in Figure 2.2: as time goes on, states speaking in a native language increasingly choose to submit their written statements in English instead of another UN working language, driving overall adoption of the English-language norm.

2.5 Model and Data

My research design uses panel fixed-effects regressions to test my hypotheses on my dataset of General Debate speech languages. In this process, I decompose the independent variable by distinguishing IGOs with English as an operational language, or anglophone IGOs generically, from *monolingual* anglophone IGOs where English is the *only* operational language. I use a range of econometric techniques including first-differencing, models employing lags of the independent variables, and an instrumental variables estimation to account for endogeneity. I additionally disaggregate the data by IGO and state characteristics to probe the depth of internalisation of English.

2.5.1 Regression Strategy

The unit of observation in my analysis is the country-year. I use a fixed-effects panel OLS specification with clustered standard errors to allow for autocorrelation in residuals within countries across years (Bertrand, Duflo, and Mullainathan 2004). State fixed-effects account for time-invariant country-specific unobservables, while year dummies partial out time trends affecting all units. I run nested models, adding successive controls to the parsimonious case to show that results are not a spurious product of suppression effects from the added controls. The regression takes the form:

$$\Pr(english_{it}) = \alpha + \beta_1 anglophoneIGOs_{it-1} + \boldsymbol{X_{it}^T}\boldsymbol{\beta_2} + \lambda_i + \omega_t + \epsilon_{it}$$

Where β_1 is the coefficient of interest and $\boldsymbol{X_{it}}$ is a vector of controls for state i in year t, with $\boldsymbol{\beta_2}$ containing the corresponding coefficients. Country and year fixed-effects are denoted by λ_i and ω_t, respectively. The key predictor in each regression is lagged by one period to account for simultaneity bias.

My choice of the linear probability model (LPM) is motivated by the relative ease of interpreting LPM coefficients as compared to log-odds. For robustness, I also calculate fixed-effects panel logit (i.e., conditional logit) models to ascertain the results of my main analysis. I conduct baseline tests on the subset of states that do not use English as an official language as defined by the CIA World Factbook, with adjustments made by Melitz and Toubal in their seminal article on the economics of language and international trade (Melitz and Toubal 2014).

To further address endogeneity and begin probing mechanisms and internalisation depth, I run several supplementary analyses. First, I employ a first-differencing strategy by introducing a lag of the dependent variable. Doing so addresses simultaneity bias by accounting for whether a state used English as a *lingua franca* in the previous year. Coefficients on the full model are thus interpreted as linear *changes* in probability brought about by the predictors, relative to the previous year.[21]

[21] See Wooldridge (2010) for technical details.

The panel nature of the data enables the use of successive lags of the independent variable as predictors. In addition to mitigating reverse-causality, this allows me to parse potential mechanisms through timing. Shorter lags are likely to indicate a more strategic adoption of English, whilst longer lags may correspond to deeper socialisation that takes place over longer timescales.[22] Building on this, I also use two-stage least-squares estimation using lags of the key predictors as an instrument, as is common in empirical scholarship.

In addition to the above, I decompose IGO memberships by IGO type and specific Anglosphere member states to parse out substantive issues that lead to diffusion. Finally, I test for heterogeneity with a number of covariates at the state level for a more nuanced understanding of conditions that lead to language norm change via participation in institutions.

2.5.2 Dependent Variables

Using the original dataset of General Debate language choices, I create two binary indicators to operationalise the outcome variables corresponding to my hypotheses. To test *H1*, I use an indicator for whether the delegation-provided working-language translation of a General Debate statement was submitted in English. This includes speeches pronounced in English, which are de-facto considered by the UN to have been submitted in English. I use an indicator for whether a substantive plurality of a statement was pronounced in English to test *H2*.[23]

Outcomes for my primary operationalisation of *H2* are thus mutually exclusive: a speech pronounced in English *ipso facto* cannot be pronounced in any other language. However, over 1 percent of speeches in the dataset are in fact multilingual, as speakers may switch between languages in the middle of a speech, often more than once. In the most extreme case, then-prime minister of Canada Stephen Harper

[22] See Bearce and Bondanella (2007) and Chelotti, Dasandi, and Jankin Mikhaylov (2022) for the use of lags to distinguish between types of socialisation.

[23] I define substantive plurality according to the count of numbered paragraphs within a statement, including quotes of religious texts but excluding at-length quotes of contemporary sources.

switched between English and French a whopping 34 times during the 2014 General Debate. Considering this possibility, I relax the mutual-exclusivity assumption and allow for code-switching within speeches in a supplementary analysis. Table 2.1 displays summary statistics of the dependent variables.

Table 2.1: Descriptive statistics for dependent variables

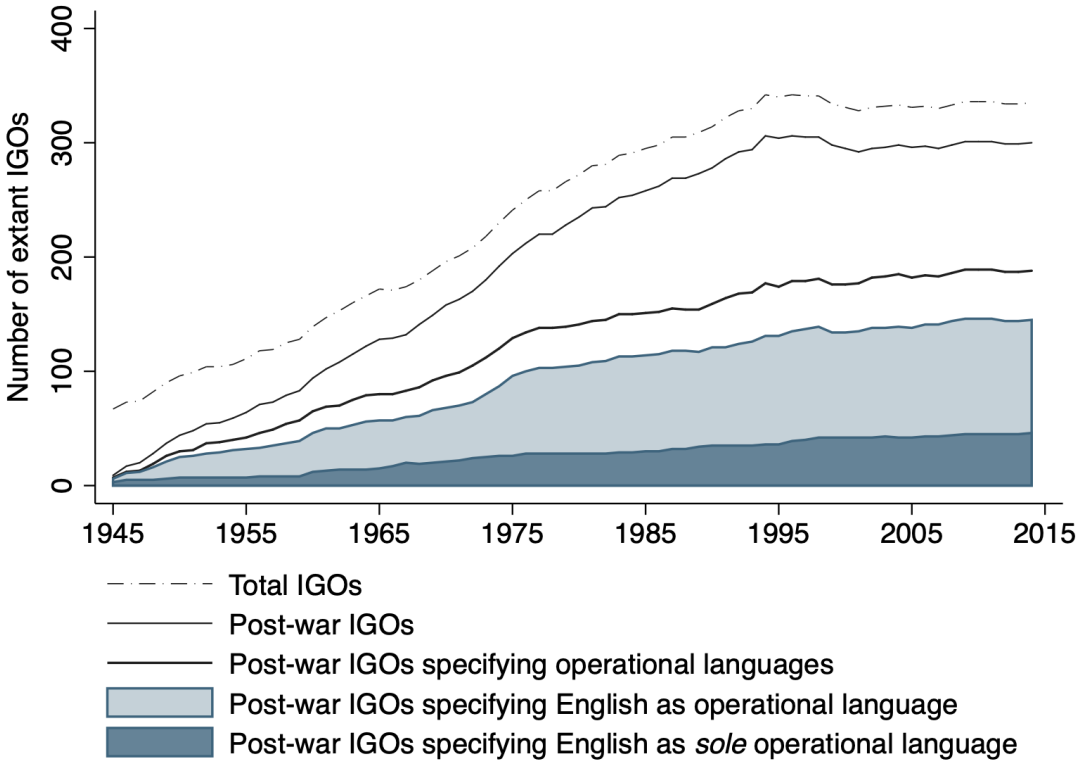
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
English submission	0.436	0.496	0	1	7,634
English speech	0.325	0.468	0	1	7,634
Any English in submission	0.440	0.496	0	1	7,634
Any English in speech	0.330	0.470	0	1	7,634

2.5.3 Independent Variables

I use data on language rules from the IGO Language Regimes Dataset, which builds on the most recent release of the Correlates of War IGO Dataset (Pevehouse et al. 2020) for all IGOs created after 1945. This periodisation is appropriate for several reasons. First, the dependent variable only begins in 1946, a year after the founding of the UN. Relatedly, 1945 was the watershed marking a veritable 'explosion in institution-building' (Raustiala 2012: 296). Of the 534 IGOs included in the COW IGO dataset, which begins its records in 1816, fully 437 or 82 percent were created in or after 1945. Additionally, the practice of specifying operational languages was not consistent until the establishment of the UN. Pragmatic constraints also prevent the systematic retrieval of relevant primary documents for earlier IGOs.

I operationalise my primary independent variable, anglophone IGOs, as the proportion of a state's aggregate memberships in post-war IGOs where English is explicitly an operational language. As detailed in Chapter 2, I define operational languages as those used for deliberation and administration within the organisation. Doing so captures the languages used in the day-to-day operations of the IGO, the process which I hypothesise leads to socialisation. Empirically, these are languages explicitly designated by IGO primary source documents as 'official,' 'working,' or

Figure 2.5: English as an operational language in post-war IGOs



some other clearly demarcated operational capacity. Figure 2.5 shows the growth of these 'anglophone IGOs' over time.

Among post-war IGOs that explicitly specify operational languages, only 44 individuals organisations are *explicitly monolingual* in English. It is plausible that the diffusion of English as a diplomatic *lingua franca* is driven by this relatively small subset of institutions. A second operationalisation disaggregates ANGLOPHONE IGOs into MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOs and MULTILINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOs, both proportional variables, to explore potential heterogeneity in their effects. In separate robustness checks, I employ counts instead of proportional measures. In all cases, I use the count of TOTAL IGOs to account for inter-state differences in IGO participation rates. Data on IGOs are taken from the Correlates of War IGO dataset (Wallace and Singer 1970; Pevehouse et al. 2020), and all membership variables are lagged by one period to mitigate simultaneity bias. Descriptive statistics are shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2: Descriptive statistics for independent variables

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Anglophone IGOs	0.490	0.122	0	1	7,145
Monolingual anglophone IGOs	0.093	0.063	0	1	7,145
Multilingual anglophone IGOs	0.397	0.104	0	1	7,145
Total anglophone IGOs	24.863	12.939	0	69	7,145
Total monoling. anglo. IGOs	4.518	3.225	0	18	7,145
Total multiling. anglo. IGOs	20.345	10.994	0	56	7,145
Total IGOs	50.271	22.568	2	125	7,145

2.5.4 Control Variables

My research design seeks to balance parsimony against the need to capture a range of potential confounders. I thus include only controls that are sufficiently theoretically motivated, with the understanding that state fixed-effects will partial out most of the variation driven by country-specific characteristics, while year-dummies will control for unobservable unit-agnostic temporal trends.

States might internalise the use of English as a diplomatic *lingua franca* from avenues outside of institutional memberships. Two salient alternatives emerge. First, if the theory is incorrect, then bilateral diplomacy may be important than multilateral diplomacy. This motivates me to account for the number of each state's diplomatic missions abroad (Boehmer, Gartzke, and Nordstrom 2004; Bearce and Bondanella 2007). Anglosphere missions is the share of a state's total diplomatic missions abroad in English-speaking countries with total missions as the denominator. Data are taken from the COW Diplomatic Exchange dataset (Bayer 2006).

Second, the effect may not even derive from a diplomatic route. Since foreign trade correlates strongly with non-diplomatic *lingua franca* adoption (Ku and Zussman 2010), I include the proportional anglosphere trade variable as well as log anglosphere trade. Data are taken from the COW International Trade dataset (Barbieri, Keshk, and Pollins 2009; Barbieri and Keshk 2016). The fixed-effects specification captures religious, cultural, and related time-invariant influences.

States' domestic characteristics may also influence language choices. Since democracies in the American-led liberal order might be more prone to adopting the English-language norm, I employ the well-known POLITY2 score with data taken from the Centre for Systemic Peace (Marshall and Gurr 2020). In addition, I account for LOG GDP PER CAPITA, as the ability to run a complete diplomatic apparatus in a native language instead of a colonial language requires linguistic infrastructure that depends highly on national wealth. Data are taken from the World Bank's World Development Indicators (World Bank 2023).

The theory, which foregrounds American power in creating the multilateral system, also requires controlling for foreign policy differences with the United States. As is standard, I do so using the UNGA VOTE DIFFERENCE WITH USA variable, which measures the absolute difference between UNGA roll-call voting ideal points for the current year (Bailey, Strezhnev, and Voeten 2017). There is also the issue of whether states' national languages are used in an official capacity in the General Assembly; states with this privilege would be less inclined to use English as a diplomatic medium in the General Debate. Because national language policies change over time, static indicators cannot capture variation. I thus match my Domestic Language Policies Dataset, introduced in Chapter 4, to changes in the UNGA working language regime to produce the binary indicator UNGA NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

I account for two more confounders that result from measuring *lingua franca* usage at the General Debate. First, *who* speaks at the General Debate has changed over the decades. Whilst the General Assembly was initially designed as a domain for professional diplomats, national leaders now deliver up to half of all General Debate speeches (Gray and Baturo 2021; Baturo and Gray 2024a, 2024b). Since national leaders and professionally-trained diplomats and ministers bring different linguistic skillsets, I construct the binary NATIONAL LEADER indicator by scraping the 'AskDAG' webpages of the Dag Hammarskjold Library for General Debate speaker information (United Nations 2023).

The UN General Debate itself is also a distinct intergovernmental environment through which linguistic behaviour may diffuse. This may be especially noteworthy in the wake of decolonisation in the 1960s, which heralded the entry of large numbers of English-speaking states to United Nations. To account for this possibility, I control for the percentage of states in each country's home geographic region using English at the previous General Debate. The PEER ENGLISH SUBMISSIONS and PEER ENGLISH SPEECHES variables are among the strongest alternatives to my hypotheses. Table 2.3 shows descriptive statistics of the variables introduced above.

Table 2.3: Descriptive statistics for control variables

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
ANGLOSPHERE MISSIONS	0.18	0.07	0.00	0.80	6,880
TOTAL MISSIONS	53.46	33.53	0.00	167.00	6,885
ANGLOSPHERE ALLIES	0.18	0.17	0.00	1.00	6,955
TOTAL ALLIES	28.61	19.25	0.00	96.00	6,958
ANGLOSPHERE TRADE	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.75	6,588
LOG TOTAL TRADE	8.37	2.36	-0.22	15.49	6,680
LOG CORE ANGLOSPHERE AID	3.62	2.10	-4.61	9.75	5,002
POLITY2	0.27	7.38	-10.00	10.00	7,171
LOG GDP PER CAPITA	7.42	1.75	3.27	12.18	7,381
UNGA VOTE DIFF. WITH USA	2.55	1.13	0.00	4.99	7,024
UNGA NATIONAL LANGUAGE	0.59	0.49	0.00	1.00	8,135
NATIONAL LEADER	0.25	0.43	0.00	1.00	7,691
PEER ENGLISH SUBMISSIONS	0.55	0.24	0.00	1.00	7,838
PEER ENGLISH SPEECHES	0.46	0.20	0.00	1.00	7,838

2.6 Empirical Analysis

The empirical analysis proceeds as follows. First, I run a baseline analysis of nested fixed-effects regressions and subject the findings to a demanding series of robustness checks. Next, an extended analysis addresses simultaneity using time-lags and first-differencing. I also attempt to address endogeneity using instrumental variables estimation. Finally, I explore heterogeneity by independent variables, disaggregate

IGOs by the English-speaking composition of their members, and by organisational issue-area.

The results strongly support both hypotheses. The effects of membership in anglophone IGOs, particularly *monolingual* ones, persist when first-differencing the dependent variable. They are additionally present for a substantial number of lags of the independent variable; an instrumental variables estimation further increases confidence in these conclusions. There is little evidence of heterogeneity by domestic characteristics including regime type, wealth, and geopolitical alignment. Disaggregation, however, suggests that the effect is driven in particular by anglophone economic IGOs.

2.6.1 Hypothesis Tests

H1 and *H2* concern two potential outcomes of membership in IGOs where English is an operational language: adoption of English as a working language of official submissions, and adoption of English as a spoken language. I proposed that *H1* represents a minimum bar for socialisation, whilst observing both *H1* and *H2* together constitutes a higher bar for a deeper level of internalisation. Here, I present the baseline results of my hypotheses and tests of their robustness. As detailed in the discussion on research design, all models employ clustered standard errors.

2.6.1.1 Baseline Results

Table 1 displays baseline results with ENGLISH SUBMISSION as the dependent variable. I begin with the most parsimonious specification before successively introducing controls for IGO membership and the full slate of alternatives. The undifferentiated ANGLOPHONE IGOS predictor is positive and significant in columns (1)-(3), which iteratively add controls to the parsimonious specification. Columns (4)-(6) repeat the analysis but distinguish MONOLINGUAL from MULTILINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOS, showing that the effect of aggregate English-using IGO memberships is driven specifically by *monolingual* organisations.

Coefficients on MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOs are more than double their counterparts in the undifferentiated models, pointing to the impact of participation in anglophone environments that provide no linguistic alternatives. The lack of any noticeable effect on TOTAL IGOs stands in contrast and points to the importance of institutional language rules. It suggests diffusion of English-language norms occurs specifically in organisations where English is an operational language, and not via engagement in IGOs more generally.

Table 2.4: Effect of anglophone IGO membership on submission language (*H1*)

	English submission					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Anglophone IGOs	0.730**	0.811***	0.648**			
	(0.328)	(0.220)	(0.248)			
Monolingual anglophone IGOs				1.749***	1.939***	1.891***
				(0.591)	(0.388)	(0.434)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs				0.410	0.450*	0.246
				(0.281)	(0.229)	(0.233)
Total IGOs	-0.003	-0.001	-0.002	-0.003	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere missions		0.265	0.255		0.360*	0.357*
		(0.194)	(0.192)		(0.192)	(0.189)
Total missions		-0.000	-0.000		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade		0.426*	0.446		0.353	0.375
		(0.255)	(0.285)		(0.239)	(0.255)
log total trade		0.045**	0.058**		0.042**	0.054**
		(0.022)	(0.023)		(0.020)	(0.021)
Polity2		0.002	0.001		0.002	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita		-0.028	-0.037		-0.029	-0.036*
		(0.024)	(0.023)		(0.022)	(0.021)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.069***	-0.064***		-0.051**	-0.043**
		(0.019)	(0.020)		(0.020)	(0.021)
UNGA national language		-0.416***	-0.339***		-0.381***	-0.294***
		(0.091)	(0.077)		(0.086)	(0.066)
National leader		0.008	0.006		0.012	0.010
		(0.015)	(0.015)		(0.014)	(0.014)
Peer English submissions			0.333**			0.355***
			(0.132)			(0.120)
Constant	0.281**	0.371***	0.050	0.268*	0.321**	0.002
	(0.137)	(0.134)	(0.164)	(0.139)	(0.136)	(0.164)
Observations	6654	5485	5401	6654	5485	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.055	0.184	0.206	0.077	0.199	0.224
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

In addition to the variables of interest, four covariates display consistent effects. The coefficient on LOG TOTAL TRADE suggests that overall integration into the global economy, and not trade links with English-speaking countries, correlates with *lingua franca* adoption, perhaps precisely because trade in non-English-speaking dyads so often relies on English. Conversely, UNGA VOTE DIFFERENCE WITH USA shows a significant negative effect. Though insufficient to support causal claims, this result shows an interesting empirical association between the use of English and geopolitical distance with the United States.

The other notable controls concern language rules *per se*. Column (2) shows that when a country's national language is also one of the UNGA working languages, the presence of that alternative reduces the probability of submitting a statement in English by 42 percent, though the magnitude of this figure drops in columns (3), (5), and (6). This dovetails with the assumption that states will choose to externalise translation costs when given the option to do so. Finally, columns (3) and (6) include a geographic diffusion variable that takes on significance in both regressions, suggesting that norm diffusion from regional peers also occurs *outside* of memberships in IGOs. Ultimately, this result also improves confidence in *H1*, as both ANGLOPHONE IGOS and MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOS remain highly significant even when PEER ENGLISH SUBMISSIONS is included.

Table 2.5 displays analogous tests of the second hypothesis. Once again, coefficients on the key predictors are positive and highly significant across parsimonious and full specifications, increasing confidence in the results. As in *H1*, the diffusion of the spoken English norm appears most strongly driven by memberships in *monolingual* organisations. Notably, all coefficients on both ANGLOPHONE IGOS and MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOS are somewhat reduced in magnitude compared to their equivalents in Table 2.4, suggesting that the *written* English norm diffuses more readily through international institutions than spoken English.

Table 2.5: Effect of anglophone IGO membership on speech language (*H2*)

	ENGLISH SPEECH

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Anglophone IGOs	0.599**	0.690***	0.539***			
	(0.237)	(0.192)	(0.176)			
Monolingual anglophone IGOs				1.178**	1.266***	1.277***
				(0.475)	(0.432)	(0.386)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs				0.417**	0.505**	0.299
				(0.196)	(0.206)	(0.194)
Total IGOs	-0.001	0.000	-0.000	-0.001	0.000	-0.000
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions		-0.001	-0.017		0.048	0.044
		(0.178)	(0.173)		(0.187)	(0.180)
Total missions		-0.001	-0.001		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade		0.554**	0.541**		0.517**	0.498**
		(0.222)	(0.228)		(0.215)	(0.211)
log total trade		0.043**	0.050**		0.041**	0.047***
		(0.017)	(0.019)		(0.016)	(0.018)
Polity2		-0.001	-0.002		-0.001	-0.002
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita		-0.036	-0.036		-0.036*	-0.036
		(0.022)	(0.023)		(0.022)	(0.022)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.082***	-0.079***		-0.072***	-0.067***
		(0.021)	(0.020)		(0.024)	(0.021)
UNGA national language		-0.188**	-0.131*		-0.170**	-0.104*
		(0.081)	(0.069)		(0.078)	(0.063)
National leader		-0.089***	-0.091***		-0.087***	-0.089***
		(0.023)	(0.022)		(0.022)	(0.022)
Peer English speeches			0.388***			0.406***
			(0.095)			(0.098)
Constant	0.270***	0.317**	0.013	0.263**	0.292**	-0.018
	(0.101)	(0.123)	(0.145)	(0.104)	(0.126)	(0.144)
Observations	6654	5485	5401	6654	5485	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.026	0.088	0.109	0.032	0.091	0.114
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Attention to the control variables supports the assertion that submitting and speaking in English are qualitatively different outcomes. The UNGA national language indicator, highly significant in the negative direction in Table 2.4, has only a marginal effect on spoken English. Whilst delegations are required to submit their written statements in a working language, there is no such injunction on delivering their verbal statements in another idiom. The result shows that, on balance, states appear averse to delivering a *spoken performance* in the *lingua franca* even when they may have already presented an English version in writing.

Differences in the impact of UNGA working language rules across the two outcomes draw attention to the sociality of oral communication in diplomatic settings.

Furthermore, the coefficients on NATIONAL LEADER in columns (2), (3), (5), and (6) of Table 2.5 show that heads of state or government are roughly nine percent less likely to address the General Assembly in English than lower-ranking representatives. The performative dimension of spoken language norms may explain this pattern. Bureaucrats, ministers, and specially-appointed representatives face different incentives from politicians at the highest level. Whilst a foreign ministry may be socialised into using English in diplomacy, national leaders travelling abroad are often consciously putting on a show for their domestic constituents (Ostrander and Rider 2019). For leaders, addressing diplomats in the UN chamber alongside 'fellow citizens at home' in front of the cameras 'can have a large impact on their language choice' (Kawashima 2021).

The symbolic importance of language to state identity, coupled with the considerable media attention lavished upon the yearly General Debates, amplifies this dynamic. Commentators in India, for example, cheered their Home Minister's announcement in 2014 that Prime Minister Narendra Modi would deliver his September speech to the UN in Hindi (Press Trust of India 2014). Thus, speaking a native language on the international stage potentially implies a performance of nationalism for domestic consumption in a way that does not apply to written communication.

Finally, states more frequently make English-language speeches when more of their regional peers have done so in the previous General Debate. Furthermore, this positive effect is larger in magnitude than its analogue in Table 2.4, the PEER ENGLISH SUBMISSIONS variable. This lends further credence to the proposition that linguistic norms diffuse through socialisation. While peers' written language choices are not immediately apparent, the ENGLISH SPEECH outcome is readily observable. Altogether, besides supporting the two main hypotheses, this analysis

provides some evidence that oral language norms are altogether more social than the practice of submitting written statements in English.

2.6.1.2 Robustness Checks

A battery of comprehensive robustness tests increases confidence in the baseline analysis. In Table A.1 through Table A.8, I check to ensure that alternative ways of measuring the dependent and independent variables do not affect results. I replace the proportional measures of anglophone IGO membership with count variables. I then use ANY ENGLISH IN SUBMISSION and ANY ENGLISH IN SPEECH as alternative dependent variables that relax the assumption of single-language statements. I also verify that positive results are not a quirk of the fixed-effects OLS specification. I repeat the entire nested analysis using random-effects estimation and conditional logistic regression, with standard errors clustered on states as in the main models. All findings support the main analysis.

To confirm the validity of my controls for extra-IGO international activity, I rerun the full models with further controls. In addition to diplomatic missions and trade, I include the proportion of alliances with Anglosphere countries, as well as a count indicator for total alliances, with data taken from the Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions dataset (Leeds et al. 2002). I also include a logged variable for total aid from the core Anglosphere countries (United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand). ANGLOPHONE IGOS shows no effect in column (2) of Table A.9, where ENGLISH SUBMISSION is the outcome variable. Columns (3) and (4), however, show that the added controls do not lessen the influence of MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOS, further highlighting the role of this class of institutions. The addition of alliance and aid variables in Table A.10 does not affect any conclusions about *H2* derived from the baseline analysis.

The main results analyse only the population of non-Anglosphere states. Table A.11 and Table A.12 relax this assumption in two ways. First, columns (1) and (2) in both tables test *H1* and *H2* on the full set of states. Effects of ANGLOPHONE IGOS and MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOS remain robust on both outcome

variables for the expanded sample, though coefficient magnitudes are smaller than their analogues in the main tables. In comparison, confining the analysis to the Anglosphere negates the effect of both predictors, an unsurprising finding given that these states are already English-users. This disaggregation confirms that results are not spurious, but rather a genuine result of language norm adoption by non-Anglosphere countries.

In addition to the above, I subset the main sample by population, GDP, regime type, and wealth to examine whether results are driven by certain state characteristics. I create these subsets in several steps. I average each state's values for these four attributes over all years in the dataset. I then split each sample by each time-averaged median value. For regime type, I classify states as either democracies, anocracies, or autocracies based on the Polity definition. Finally, I test *H1* and *H2* on each of the nine subsets generated by this process, with results shown in Tables A.13 to A.21.

No consistent patterns emerge when subsetting by population and GDP. Analysis of regime type in Table A.17, Table A.18, and Table A.19 shows that the institutional diffusion effect of MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOs is strongest for anocratic states, whilst only sporadic effects are observed for democracies and autocracies. This, however, may be a product of the significantly reduced sample size for these latter two regime-types.

Wealth makes a noticeable difference. Table A.20 shows no institutional diffusion effect for states with above-median time-averaged levels of per capita GDP. Large and significant coefficients observed on the variables of interest in Table A.21 imply that the diffusion effect for both written and spoken English is almost entirely driven by poor states. This is somewhat surprising given the discussion of costs in the theory. The finding may be explainable, however, if weaker states use language choices at a forum like the UNGA as a 'soft signal' of alignment to the Anglosphere hegemon. Richer countries, in contrast, may choose to eschew this type of relatively costless signalling.

2.6.2 Mitigating Endogeneity Concerns

The baseline analysis and associated robustness tests account for plausible theoretical alternatives to institutional diffusion. However, they still leave open the possibility that aggregate anglophone IGO membership and *lingua franca* norm adoption are co-determined by other factors. Though causality is difficult to prove concretely, this analysis represents an initial attempt to mitigate concerns about endogeneity by exploiting the panel nature of the observational data collected.

I do this in several ways. First, I add a lag of the dependent variable to the right-hand side of the regression equation, which accounts for state linguistic behaviour in the previous year's General Debate. Coefficients on the full model are thus interpreted as linear *changes* in probability brought about by the independent variables. In Table 2.6, columns (1) and (2) reveal that states are roughly 50 percent more likely to submit an English-language written statement if they already did so the previous year. The effect of of English speech lag in columns (3) and (4) is also substantial, at about 40 percent. In this instance, past performance is indeed the best predictor of future performance.

Table 2.6: First-differenced panel fixed-effects OLS models

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
English submission lag	0.532***	0.519***		
	(0.039)	(0.040)		
English speech lag			0.400***	0.396***
			(0.036)	(0.036)
Anglophone IGOs	0.270**		0.304**	
	(0.127)		(0.142)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		0.977***		0.874***
		(0.238)		(0.294)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.049		0.119
		(0.132)		(0.154)
Total IGOs	-0.001*	-0.001	-0.001	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere missions	0.151	0.201*	0.039	0.076
	(0.104)	(0.104)	(0.126)	(0.130)
Total missions	-0.000	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001*

	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	0.568***	0.525***	0.526***	0.491***
	(0.168)	(0.157)	(0.152)	(0.141)
log total trade	0.028**	0.027**	0.028**	0.026**
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.012)
Polity2	0.001	0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.019	-0.018	-0.018	-0.017
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.016)	(0.015)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.035***	-0.024**	-0.049***	-0.040***
	(0.010)	(0.010)	(0.013)	(0.014)
UNGA national language	-0.190***	-0.170***	-0.085*	-0.066
	(0.048)	(0.044)	(0.046)	(0.042)
National leader	0.006	0.008	-0.084***	-0.082***
	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Peer English submissions	0.059	0.076		
	(0.066)	(0.062)		
Peer English speeches			0.156**	0.172**
			(0.070)	(0.072)
Constant	0.012	-0.021	-0.031	-0.060
	(0.114)	(0.115)	(0.108)	(0.109)
Observations	5154	5154	5154	5154
Adjusted R^2	0.427	0.432	0.244	0.247
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Even when accounting for past behaviour, coefficients on anglophone IGOs and monolingual anglophone IGOs retain positive significance despite a drop in magnitude as compared to the undifferenced tests of both *H1* and *H2*. Patterns of significance on covariates are also similar to the main results. Whilst UNGA vote diff. with USA is negative across both outcomes, UNGA national language only impacts English submission in columns (1) and (2). Conversely, speeches delivered by national leaders are less-frequently enunciated in English but no less likely to be accompanied by a written submission in the *lingua franca*, as in the baseline analysis.

Furthermore, the undifferenced models in Table 2.4 showed a smaller effect on

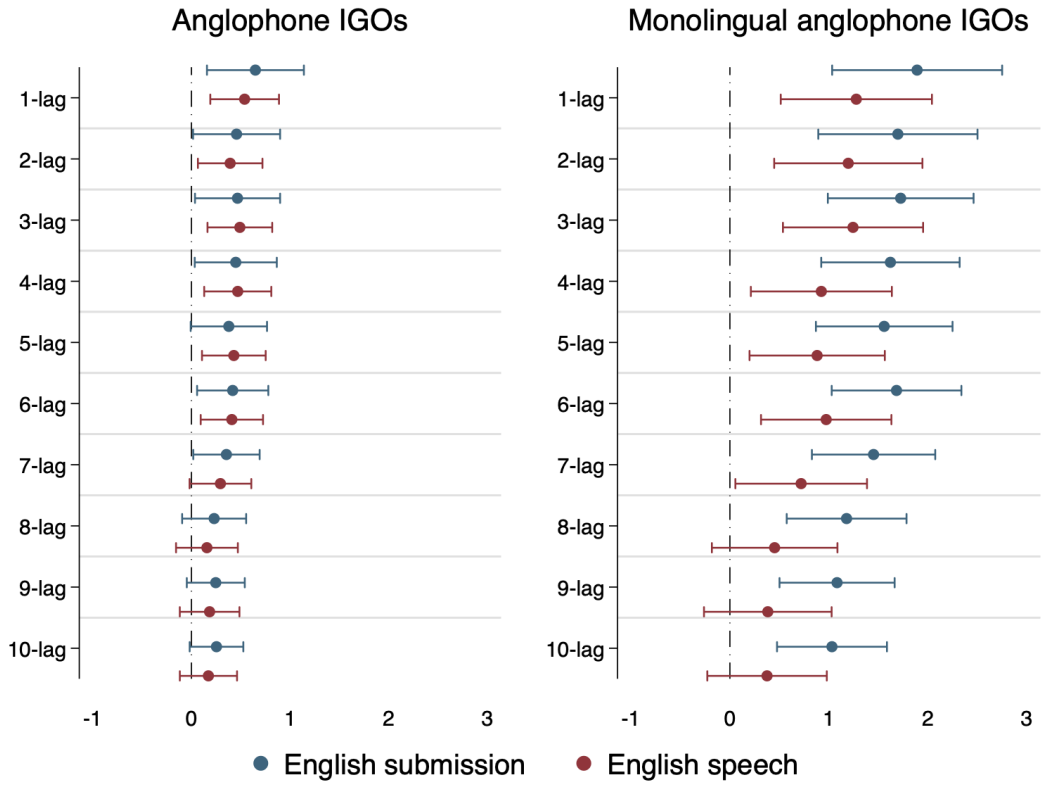
English submission via diffusion through regional peers than the analogue in *H2*, peer English speeches. Table 2.6 provides even more evidence for the sociality of spoken English as opposed to written English, as first-differencing removes the effect of peer English submissions altogether. The regional diffusion effect of Peer English speeches remains positive, pointing to the importance of observable peer behaviour. The persistence of these patterns supports the argument that written and spoken language norms are fundamentally different outcomes.

I turn next to lags of the *independent* variables. Recall that key predictors are already lagged by one period in the baseline tests. Here, I further estimate the effect of successive lags of anglophone IGOs and its disaggregated counterparts for both *H1* and *H2*. Besides addressing residual concerns about simultaneity, doing so is also a potential way to probe internalisation depth, since deeper socialisation should occur over longer time horizons. Effects on only the shorter lags would indicate a more instrumental and perhaps even anticipatory adoption of English, whilst continuing effects on longer lags might indicate evidence of deeper socialisation (Bearce and Bondanella 2007).

Figure 2.6 plots the effects of anglophone IGOs and monolingual anglophone IGOs with 95-percent confidence intervals from full-model regressions, with precise regression coefficients found in Table A.22 and Table A.23 in the Appendix. IGO membership variables are lagged by the number of periods indicated, whilst all other controls are kept current for comparability with the baseline model. Fully consistent with expectations, effects are weaker and smaller in magnitude for longer lags of the independent variables. Additionally, the larger coefficients on monolingual anglophone IGOs support the conclusion that participation in single-language organisations drives the effect.

Furthermore, a comparison across *H1* and *H2* again reveals heterogeneity in the logics of written and spoken *lingua franca* diffusion. In the left panel of Figure 2.6, the effect of membership in undifferentiated anglophone IGOs on English speech loses significance after eight lags. By contrast, for submissions in English, even the

Figure 2.6: Full-model coefficients from separate regressions with lagged predictors



tenth lag of ANGLOPHONE IGOs is marginally significant ($p = 0.067$). Differences are even more pronounced in the right panel. Whereas all lags of MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOs past $t - 7$ have null effects at conventional significance thresholds for ENGLISH SPEECH, their coefficients retain strong significance for ENGLISH SUBMISSION for all lags estimated ($p < 0.001$).

Lagging the predictors provides another way to mitigate endogeneity using instrumental variables estimation, as is commonly done in empirical economics and political science. First, the high degree of autocorrelation between lags of the independent variable all but ensure instrument strength. Second, though the foregoing analysis shows a statistically significant effect of successive lags of the independent variables, they may reasonably only do so by affecting anglophone memberships in the subsequent period. In other words, anglophone IGO memberships in period $t - 2$ should not affect language choices in period t that do not involve anglophone IGO memberships in $t - 1$.

This logic may be probed empirically: if the exclusion restriction is met, then we should expect re-running the baseline regression whilst controlling for the instrumental lag to produce no significance on the additional, lagged predictor. Table A.24 shows that this indeed the case for all combinations of dependent variables and predictors *except* for the regression of English speech on *monolingual anglophone IGOs*. In column (4) of this Appendix table, the instrument is significant whilst the primary predictor registers a null effect. Proceeding with the analysis, Table 2.7 presents results of the instrumental variables regression, with full first-stage estimates shown in Table A.25.

Table 2.7: Two-stage least-squares regressions

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.595**		0.510**	
	(0.297)		(0.218)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		2.206***		1.570***
		(0.507)		(0.491)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.136		0.268
		(0.242)		(0.204)
Total IGOs	-0.002	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.266	0.358*	0.004	0.062
	(0.201)	(0.197)	(0.180)	(0.186)
Total missions	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	0.478*	0.407	0.527**	0.486**
	(0.288)	(0.251)	(0.233)	(0.213)
log total trade	0.062***	0.059***	0.047**	0.046**
	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.018)
Polity2	0.001	0.001	-0.002	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.038	-0.041*	-0.034	-0.037
	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.024)	(0.022)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.066***	-0.038*	-0.080***	-0.062***
	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.022)
UNGA national language	-0.347***	-0.294***	-0.132*	-0.097
	(0.079)	(0.066)	(0.070)	(0.063)
National leader	0.008	0.012	-0.088***	-0.086***
	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.022)	(0.022)

Peer English submissions	0.323**	0.341***		
	(0.136)	(0.120)		
Peer English speeches			0.394***	0.411***
			(0.096)	(0.100)
Constant	0.066	-0.011	0.042	-0.026
	(0.173)	(0.171)	(0.153)	(0.153)
Observations	5368	5368	5368	5368
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
First-stage F-stat	10.175	13.122	12.381	8.914

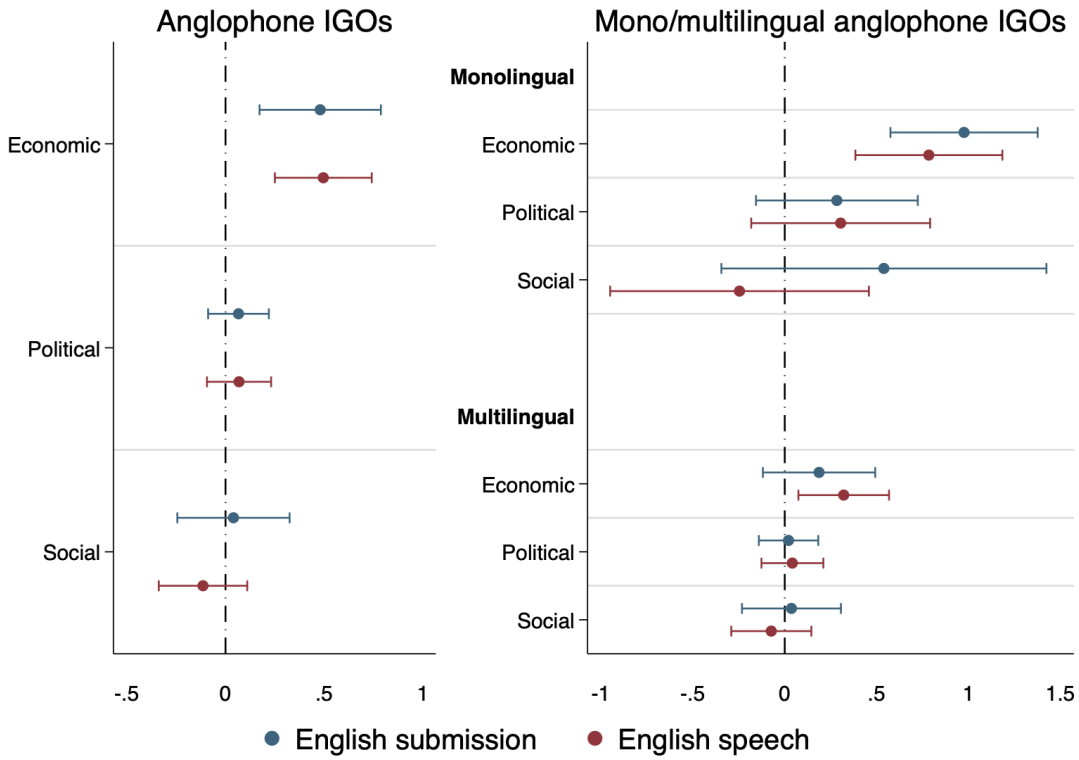
Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

First-stage F-statistics in columns (1)-(3) pass the standard threshold of 10 denoting a strong first stage (Sovey and Green 2011). Results in column (4) do not ($F = 8.914$). I ignore this column as, in addition, the empirical test did not confirm that the additional lag on *monolingual anglophone IGOs* fulfilled the exclusion restriction in this case. Despite the caveats discussed previously, effects of interest in columns (1)-(3) are all in the expected direction and take on high levels of significance. With the understanding that conclusively proving causality is beyond the capacity of this research, I nevertheless submit that, at a minimum, this analysis improves confidence in the baseline tests of my theory.

2.6.3 IGO Disaggregation and Covariate Heterogeneity

I next undertake an extended analysis, turning first to IGO characteristics. Figure 2.7 plots coefficients from two sets of full-model regressions that disaggregate IGOs into the three organisational issue-areas identified in the COW IGO dataset. Right away, the left panel reveals a marked absence of an effect for either political or social anglophone IGOs. In contrast, membership in anglophone economic IGOs positively predicts both English submission and English speech. Disaggregation in the right panel shows that this result is primarily driven by monolingual anglophone economic IGOs, but even membership in multilingual anglophone economic IGOs bears significantly on English speech.

Figure 2.7: Disaggregation by IGO type



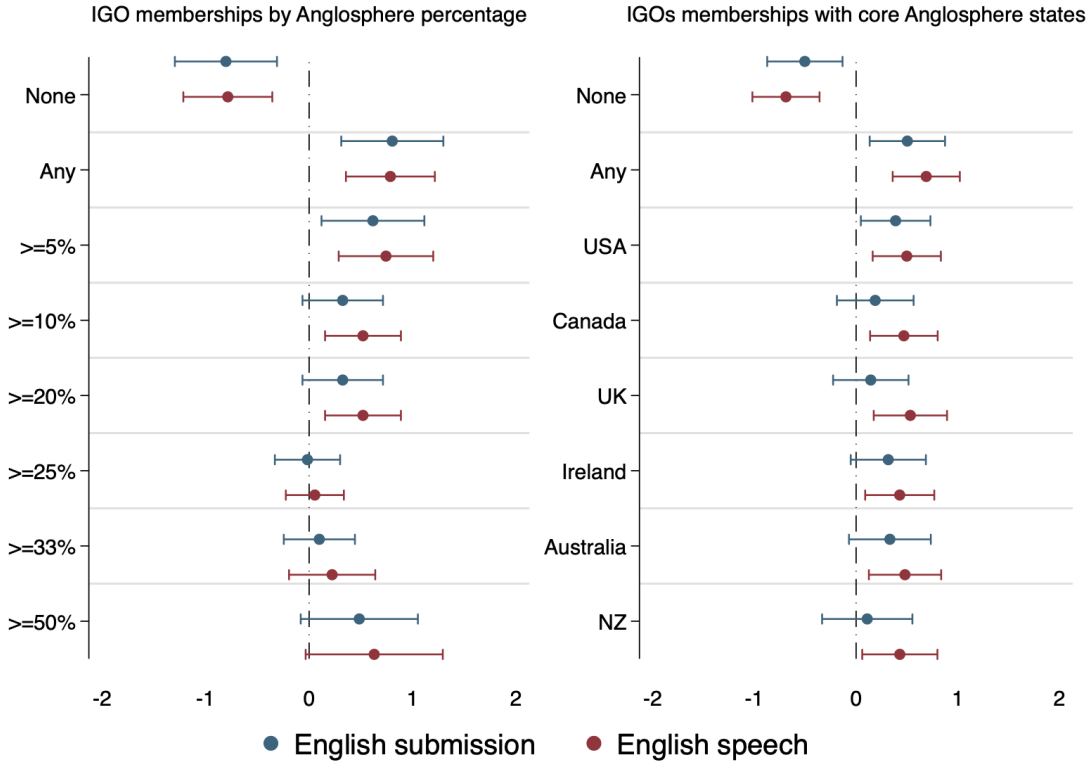
These unsurprising results lend some credence to the rationalist socialisation mechanism. Negotiation and cooperation on taxes, tariffs, trade, and other cross-border economic issues requires a comparatively high level of linguistic precision, and the wholesale adoption of English is more efficient than maintaining many standardised technical vocabularies across multiple languages. The pragmatist orientation of economic organisations tends to side-line concerns about the identity functions of language. Membership in monolingual anglophone economic organisations is unsurprisingly the most consequential driver of language norm adoption for both written and spoken English.

Finally, I address the issue of the English-speaking composition of IGOs. Member states determine which operational languages will be used in the organisations they create, with Chapter 3 detailing how the material and numeric strength of linguistic coalitions helps them institutionalise their languages in IGO language regimes. For example, the USA is almost guaranteed to use English in the IGOs in which it is

a member. This observation necessitates the exclusion of variables for joint IGO memberships with the USA from the main models, as the resulting multicollinearity would have made coefficients unstable.

I remedy this in Figure 2.8 below, which shows coefficients from regressions that proxy the concept of anglophone IGOs using member states' linguistic characteristics instead of IGO rules. Predictors in the left panel represent counts of memberships in IGOs with the indicated proportions of Anglosphere countries; predictors in the right panel are counts of joint IGO memberships with the six core states of the English-speaking world.[24] Coefficients, detailed in Tables A.34 through A.37 in the Appendix, are taken from 32 separate regressions which include full controls.

Figure 2.8: Full-model coefficients from separate regressions using IGO cooperation partners as predictors



[24]Political definitions of the Core Anglosphere always include the US, UK, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. As Srdjan Vucetic, an expert on the Anglosphere in International Relations, refers to Ireland as 'a possible sixth member of the Anglosphere core' (2008: 45), I include Ireland here.

Unsurprisingly, the left panel shows a *negative* effect of memberships IGOs with no English-speaking members at all. By contrast, IGOs with at least one Anglosphere peer have a significant effect on both English submissions and speeches. This may reflect precisely the *lingua franca* role of English: In interpersonal interactions, for example, it is common for non-English speakers to switch into English to accommodate an English speaker, but not the other way around. Somewhat surprisingly, significance drops off when the IGOs are those with larger proportions of Anglosphere peers, suggesting a qualitative instead of a quantitative difference in the number of Anglosphere IGO peers required to diffuse the English-language norm.

Of the Anglosphere states, the USA, Canada, UK, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand sit atop a global sociolinguistic hierarchy. As 'norm-providers;' their accents and varieties of English are often considered correct and 'native,' while the English spoken in other Anglosphere states is often derided as derivative.[25] The panel to the rights shows that memberships in IGOs without them significantly reduces English adoption, whilst their presence has a positive effect. It is unsurprising that increased institutional contact with them may create a qualitatively unique sort of sociolinguistic peer-pressure.

I now return to the discussion on heterogeneity the subset analysis, which uncovered potential variation when distinguishing states by time-averaged regime type and wealth. Subjecting those observations to further tests, however, yields no coherent conclusion. Table A.26 interacts the anglophone IGO membership variables with Polity2 scores, and Table A.27 re-runs this analysis using discrete regime type categories. Though patterns of significance on all key predictors are comparable to the main analysis, none of the interaction terms register even a marginal effect. Table A.28, which assigns states into regime-type categories based on their time-averaged Polity scores, further confirms the null finding. Overall, evidence does not suggest that domestic political institutions affect language norm adoption.

[25]There is a wealth of literature on this topic, beginning with Kachru (1988).

The subset analysis also suggested that the main effects are driven by poorer countries adopting *lingua franca* English, which I speculated may stem from a need by weaker states to 'signal' their alignment with strong English-speaking states. I further test this by interacting the independent variables with LOG GDP PER CAPITA in Table A.29. Column (2) shows a significant negative effect of LOG GDP PER CAP. × MULTI. ANGLO. IGOS. This hints that, holding aggregate memberships in multilingual anglophone IGOs constant, positive changes in wealth correlate with *lower* tendencies to submit statements in English. However, column (2) of Table A.30, which repeats the analysis by interacting the predictors with a dummy for above-median time-averaged log GDP per capita, shows a negative coefficient on the interaction with MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOS instead. Furthermore, columns (1) of both tables show no overall effect for the interaction with membership in undifferentiated ANGLOPHONE IGOS.

Additional tests pose further challenges to this line of reasoning. A 'signalling' effect might also reasonably imply that, holding anglophone IGO memberships constant, English adoption should vary with *changes* in geopolitical alignment with the United States. However, no significance is observed on the interaction of the predictors with UNGA VOTE DIFF. WITH USA in Table A.31. Though it is conceivable that the need to 'signal' to international partners using language choices becomes weaker as states become wealthier, the evidence presented here is insufficient to definitively support this speculation.

Building on the discussion on symbolic dimension of spoken language choices, column (4) in Table A.32 shows that national leaders of countries with more participation in anglophone IGOs are *less* likely to speak in English. This supports the argument that linguistic nationalism may generate domestic audience costs to speaking English, particularly because public opinion responds to leader behaviour in highly-televised diplomatic settings (Simon and Ostrom 1989). As states become increasingly integrated into anglophone institutions, it is possible that they may become more anxious about preserving their national linguistic identities in the face of perceived anglophone hegemony.

This logic receives further support in Table A.33, where the coefficient on UNGA NATIONAL LANG. × ANGLOPHONE IGOs in column (1) is significant and negative. This implies that states using UNGA working languages domestically are *less* inclined to adopt English for statement submission as they join *more* anglophone IGOs. Though quantitative evidence linking hesitation to adopt English to linguistic anxiety is limited, I turn next to a qualitative discussion of language practices at the General Debates to show why socialisation into an anglophone identity, the deepest potential internalisation outcome, is overall unlikely.

2.7 Illustrative Example: The Case of *Francophonie*

A qualitative example can provide finer-grained evidence on the nature of language socialisation. Here, I break down observed variation by placing states' language choices at General Debates in comparative historical context. I focus on members of the *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie* (OIF), founded in 1970 and sometimes described as a French version of the Commonwealth (Brysk, Parsons, and Sandholtz 2002).

Through an institutionalised system of multilateral summitry, the OIF devotes comparatively more attention to maintaining the international status of French, reflecting linguistic anxiety across the former French colonial space (Adamson 2007). At the Third Francophone Summit in Dakar in 1989, for example, OIF member states adopted a resolution exhorting member-state delegates to international organisations in particular to 'be vigilant' about using French in those environments to support 'defence and promotion' of the language (*Organisation internationale de la Francophonie* 1989: 492-3).

This lends support to speculation that increased participation in anglophone institutions may breed anxieties and conscientious efforts to defend linguistic identity in diplomacy, captured in my analysis by the negative coefficient on UNGA NATIONAL LANG. × ANGLOPHONE IGOs in column (1) of Table A.33. Scholarly

sources back up the claim that a 'Francophone world' has been discursively constructed over decades by post-colonial elites and French policymakers in *explicit opposition* to English-language hegemony in the international order (Glasze 2007). *Francophonia* is thus said to constitute an 'institutionalised ideology' based on 'multinational nationalism' (Kessler 1999: 436-7) as part of a 'language-based movement in world politics' (Weinstein 1976). As such, the francophone states constitute a hard test and least-likely crucial case of English-language norm internalisation, particularly via hardcore socialisation into a new, English-speaking linguistic identity.

Current and former OIF members can be divided on the basis of variation in their language choices at the General Debate into roughly three groupings: Those using French exclusively; those using a language other than French or English; and those using both French and English.

2.7.1 *Françafrique* as the Francophone Core

Of 49 states in total, only 15 have delivered, and thus *ipso facto* submitted, all of their General Debate speeches in French for the entire coding period. Besides France and Monaco, all are former French or Belgian colonies; with the exception of Haiti and the Comoros, all are located in West and Central Africa. This grouping largely overlaps with the concept of *Françafrique*, a term used to describe strong patronage links between France its former sub-Saharan African colonies. Criticised by journalists and activists for alleged political clientelism and corrupt economic and military exchanges with France, these states are characterised by a relative economic underdevelopment and high dependency on the former metropole (Wallerstein 1965; Bovcon 2013).

Linguistically, despite a growing shift to African languages in domestic education policy (Albaugh 2009), French often remains the language of government in the absence of a unifying alternative. For instance, whilst Kikongo, Lingala, Swahili, and Tshiluba are the four 'national' languages of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, French remains the vehicle of interethnic communication (Calvet 1987).

Table 2.8: Current or former *Francophonie* members speaking only French at the General Debates

Year	BEN	BFA	CIV	COD	COG	COM	FRA	GAB	HTI	MCO	MLI	NER	SEN	TCD	TGO
1946							F		F						
1947							F								
1950							F								
1951							F		F						
1952							F								
1953							F								
1954							F								
1955							F		F						
1956							F		F						
1957							F								
1958							F								
1959							F		F						
1960					F				F		F		F		
1961				F	F			F	F		F	F	F		F
1962		F			F				F		F	F	F		F
1963	F	F		F	F			F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1964	F				F			F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1965	F		F		F		F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1966	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F		F	F	F	F	
1967		F		F	F		F	F			F	F	F	F	F
1968	F			F	F		F	F	F		F		F	F	F
1969		F	F	F	F		F	F	F		F		F	F	
1970					F		F		F						F
1971	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1972	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1973	F	F		F	F		F	F	F		F	F	F		
1974	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1975	F	F		F	F		F	F			F	F	F	F	F
1976	F	F		F	F	F	F	F			F	F	F	F	F
1977	F	F	F	F	F	F	F		F		F	F	F	F	F
1978	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1979	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1980	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1981	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1982	F	F		F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1983	F	F		F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1984	F	F		F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1985	F	F		F	F	F	F		F		F	F		F	F
1986		F		F	F	F	F		F		F	F	F	F	F
1987	F	F		F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1988	F	F		F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1989	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1990	F	F		F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F
1991	F	F	F		F	F	F	F	F/E/O		F		F	F	F
1992	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F/O		F	F	F	F	F
1993	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
1994	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F/E/O	F	F	F	F	F	F
1995	F	F		F	F		F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
1996	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
1997	F	F	F	F/E	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
1998	F	F	F	F	F	F/O	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
1999	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2000	F	F	F	F/E/O	F	F/O	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2001	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2002	F	F	F	F	F	F/O	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2003	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F/O	F	F	F	F	F	F
2004	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2005	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F
2006	F	F	F	F	F	F/O	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2007	F	F	F	F	F	F/O	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F
2008	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2009	F	F	F	F	F	F/O	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2010	F	F	F	F	F	F/O	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2011	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2012	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2013	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F/E	F	F	F	F	F
2014	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2015	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2016	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2017	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2018	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2019	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
2020	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F		F	F	F	F
2021	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F

'/' denotes code-switching, with first letter denoting main speech language.
'E' denotes English; 'F' denotes French; 'O' denotes another language or languages.

Furthermore, even with a potentially unifying national language, misaligned incentives prevent actors from unilaterally discarding French (Laitin 1993). Though most Senegalese are Wolof-speaking, for example, French remains the language of state affairs, helping elites retain strong ties to France.

No internalisation of English is observed for this group of states, as conditions for both rationalist and constructivist socialisation mechanisms are lacking. In terms of cost-reduction, persistent post-colonial dependency skews the calculus in favour of retaining French. Since French remains oft-used in diplomacy, these states are less-inclined to adopt English via role-playing. Furthermore, domestic linguistic conditions hinder shifts in the dependent variable through identity-change, and elites retain a deeply-institutionalised French-speaking identity. The defence of French is occasionally even made explicit: At the 1966 General Debate, the Chadian representative expressed dismay at the loss of status 'accorded to the French language, which is accepted as a working language of the United Nations on the same footing as English', and called for steps to be 'taken without delay to remedy this injustice' (United Nations General Assembly 1966: 8).

2.7.2 Language Norms among Allophone States

A second group of 19 states has employed a language other than French or English to pronounce at least one General Debate speech. I call them 'allophone' states, borrowing a Canadian term denoting those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French (Ma 2020). This grouping displays substantial geographic diversity. Politically and economically, they tend to enjoy a relatively higher level of development and less dependency on France than the first group. In addition, they all possess an institutional linguistic alternative to French for the purposes of governance, administration, and national identity.

After Arabic was made a working and official language of the UN in 1973, for example, states including Tunisia, Morocco, Lebanon, and Mauritania embarked on a gradual process of using Arabic as both a speech language as well as a written language for submission. This may well reflect both the reduction in costs prompted

by the change in language rules as well as the expression of a transnational Arab identity in the wake of the Yom Kippur War.

Table 2.9: Current or former *Francophonie* members speaking a language other than French or English at the General Debates

Year	ALB	AND	ARM	BGR	CPV	EGY	GNB	GNQ	GRC	KHM	LAO	LBN	MAR	MDA	MKD	MRT	ROU	STP	TUN
1946						F			E			F							
1947						E			F			F							
1950						E			E			F							
1951						E			F			F							
1952						E			E			F							
1953						F			E			E							
1954						F			F										
1955						E			F			E							
1956	F			O		E			E	F	F		F				F		F
1957	F			F		E			F	F	F	E	F				F		F
1958	F			O		E			E	F	F		F				F		F
1959	F			O		E			E	F	F	F	F				E		F
1960	O			O		O			F	F	F	E	F				O		F
1961	F			O		E			F	F	F	F	F				F		F
1962	F			F		E			F	F	F	F	F			F	F		F
1963	F			F		E			F	F	F		F				F		F
1964	F			F		E			F	F	F		F				F		F
1965	F			F		E			F	F	F	E	F				F		F
1966	F			F		O			F	F	F		O				F		F
1967	F			F		O			F	F	F	E	F			F	F		F
1968	F			F		O			F	F	F	F	F			F	F		F
1969	F			F		O		O	F	F	F	F	F			F	F		F
1970	F									F		F	F						F
1971	F			F		O			F	F	F	F	F			F	F		F
1972	F			O		E			F	F	F	F	F			F	F		F
1973	F			O		E			F	F	F	F	F			F	F		F
1974	F			O		O		O	E	F	F	O	F			F	F		O
1975	F			O				O	F	F	O		F			F	F		O
1976	F			O	O	O	F		F	O	O	E	F			F	F	F	F
1977	F			O	O	O	O		F	O	O	O	F			F	F	O	O
1978	F			O	O	O	O	O	F	O	O	O	O			F	F	F	O
1979	F			O	O	O	O	O	F	F	F	O	O			F	F	F	O
1980	F			O	O	O	F	O	F	F	O	O	O			F	F	F	O
1981	F			O	O	O	O	O	F	F	O	O	O			F	F	F	F
1982	F			O	O	O	O	O	E	E	F		O			F	F	F	F
1983	F			O	O	O	O	O	E	F	O	E	O/F			F	F	F	F
1984	F			O	O	O	O	O	E	F	O	O	O			O	F	F	O
1985	F			O		O			O	F	O		F			O	F	O	O
1986	F			O	O	O	O	O	O	F	F	O	F			O	E	O	F/O
1987	F			O	O	O	F	O	O	F	O	E	F			O	E		F
1988	F			O	O	O	O	O	O	F	F	O	F			O	E	O	O
1989	F			O	O	O	O	O	E	F	F		O			O	E	O	O
1990	O			O	O	O	O	O	E		O	O	O			O	E		O
1991	E			E	O	O	F	O	E	F	O	O	O			O	E	F	O
1992	F		F	F	O	O	F	O	E		O	O	O	F		O	E	O	O
1993	E		E	O	O	O	O	O	E	E/F	O	O	O	E	E	O	F		O
1994	E	O	F	E	O	O	O	O	O	F/E	O	O	O	O	E	O	F		O
1995	E	O	E	E		O	O	O	O	E	O	O	O	F	E	O	F		O
1996	F	O	E	E	O	O	O	O	E	E/F	O	O	O	F	O	O	F		O
1997	E	O	E	E	O	O	O	O	E		O	O	O	F	O	O	F		O
1998	E	O	O	E	E	O	O	O	E		O	O	O	O	E	O	F	E	O
1999	F	O	E	E	O	O	O	O	E	O	O	O	O	E	E	O	E		O
2000	E	E	E	E	O	O	O	O	E	E/F	O	O	O	E	E	O	E/F/O		O
2001	F	E/F/O	E	F	O	O	O	O	E	E/F	O	O	O	O	E	O	E	O	O
2002	E	O	E	O	O	O	O	O	E	E/F	E	O	O	E	E	O	E/F	E	O
2003	O	O	E	F	O	O	F	O	E	E	E	O	O	O	E	O	E/F	O	O
2004	E	O	E	E/F	O/F	O	O	O	E/F	E	O	O	O	E	E	O	E/F	F/O	O
2005	F	O	E	F	O	O	O	O	E	E	O	E	O	E	E	O	E/F	O	O
2006	O	O	E	F/E	O	O	O	O	E/F	E	E	E	O	E	E	O	E/F	E	O
2007	E	O	E	F/E	O	O	O	O	E/F	E	E	E	O	E	E	O	F/E	E	O
2008	O	O	O	E	O	O	O	O	E/F	E	E	O	O	E	O	O	E/F	O	O
2009	E/F	O	E	E	F/O	O	O	O	E	E	O	O	O	E	O	O	E/F	O	O
2010	O	O	E/F	E/F	F	O	O	O	E	E	O	O	O	E	O	O	E/F	O	O
2011	E	O	O	E	O	O	O	O	E/F	E/F	O	O	O	E	O	O	E/F	O	O
2012	E	O/F/E	E/F	E	O	O		O	E/F	E	E	O	O	O	O	O	E/F	O	O
2013	E	O	E/F	E	O	O	O	O	E/F	E	O	O	O	E/F	O	O	E/F	O	O
2014	E	O	O	E	O	O	O	O	E/F	E	O	O	O	E	O	O	E/F	O	O
2015	E	O	O	E	O	O	O	O	E	E	O	O	O	E	O	O	E	O	O
2016	E	O	E/F	E	O	O	O	O	E	F	O	O	O	O	O	O	E/F	F	O
2017	E	O	O	E	O	O	O	O	O	E/F	E	O	O	O	E/O	O	E	O	O
2018	E	O	E/F	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	E	O	O	O	O	O	E	O	O
2019	E	O	E	E	O	O	O	O	E	E/F	E	O	O	O	E/O	O	E	O	O
2020	E	O	E	O	O	O	F	O	E	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	E/F	O	O
2021	E	O	O	E	O	O	O	O	E	O	E	O	O	E	O	O/F/E	E	O	O

'/' denotes code-switching, with first letter denoting main speech language.
'E' denotes English; 'F' denotes French; 'O' denotes another language or languages.

Some of these states adopt a multilingual repertoire that includes French, English, and another language. For a majority of these types of states, English has no domestic status as a national language, being a purely external *lingua franca* increasingly adopted as a medium of intergovernmental communication. Thus, Laos, Cambodia, Moldova, Greece, and post-Cold-War Bulgaria have all used English alternatingly with their national languages. Such states, especially the European exemplars, are participants in institutional environments of increasing density, particularly since the end of the Cold War.

For all states in this group, overwhelmingly, the idea of belonging to a French-speaking community is relatively marginal compared to competing national or transnational identities; hence the use of spoken Albanian by Albania; Greek by Greece, and Portuguese by Sao Tome and Principe, Guinea-Bissau, and Cape Verde, and so forth. In all of these cases, a gradual shift in *submission* language from French to English also occurs. Despite submitting official translations of their national-language General Debate speeches in French in earlier decades, they primarily do so in English after the late 1980s. After beginning their UN membership by making spoken statements in French, Cambodian and Laotian delegates gradually shifted to speaking in Khmer and Lao, respectively. In earlier years, they submitted translations in French before transitioning to consistently doing so in English, the sole official language of the most deeply institutionalised IGO in the region, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Thus, for this group of second states, rationalist and constructivist factors appear to work in tandem in prompting shifts away from French, as they are less restrained by both political, economic, and domestic linguistic factors than the first group of states. Changes in spoken linguistic behaviour appear largely driven by identity-related concerns, as they frequently opt to speak in their national languages. The occasional use of English appears both pragmatic and automatic, and can plausibly be chalked up to adaptation to an English-dominated era of globalisation through cost-reduction and habituation via increased international intercourse taking place in English. Where a national language is not a valid submission language, speaking

in the national language whilst submitting statements in English appears to be the favoured compromise between expressions of national identity, cost concerns, and international norms.

2.7.3 Navigating Dual Francophone-Anglophone Identities

A final group of 15 states has never used a language other than English or French, but has made at least one English speech at the General Debates. Examples include Belgium, Switzerland, Luxembourg, Guinea, Burundi, and Madagascar. Many enjoy both OIF and Commonwealth membership, and use English to assert pre-existing anglophone identities without surrendering the use of French.

Of particular interest, states with dual anglophone-francophone linguistic identities including Canada, Cameroon, Mauritius, and the Seychelles often switch between English and French within the *same* speech. Sociolinguists argue that this code-switching behaviour asserts membership in more than one linguistic community (Myers-Scotton 1989).

In most of these cases, French is used for greeting and closing remarks, whilst English use used for the bulk of substantive content communicated in a speech. The most extreme code-switching observed actually hampers understanding: Stephen Harper, then-prime minister of Canada, switched languages a whopping 34 times during his 2014 General Debate speech. Examination of the official audio-visual record shows UN interpreters in a state of confusion. Such identity-driven use of English, however, is a rarity among OIF states.

Rwanda is a rare francophone state that has been socialised almost entirely into an English-speaking identity, a trend apparent in Table 2.10. Under Juvénal Habyarimana, Rwanda maintained close ties with France and with Belgium, the former colonial and mandatory power (Prunier 1996: 89). In the tragic aftermath of the genocide, Rwanda pivoted away from the francophone world politically, economically, and linguistically (Samuelson and Freedman 2010). In 2008, the Ministry of Education proclaimed English the sole language of instruction (Gahigi 2008).

Table 2.10: Current or former *Francophonie* members speaking only French and English at the General Debates

Year	BDI	BEL	CAF	CAN	CHE	CMR	DJI	DMA	GIN	LCA	LUX	MDG	MUS	RWA	SYC
1946		F		E/F							F				
1947				E											
1950		F		E											
1951		F		E											
1952		F		E											
1953		F		E											
1954				E											
1955				E/F											
1956				E											
1957		F		E											
1958		F		E											
1959		F		E					F						
1960		F		E		F			F		F				
1961			F	E		E			F			F			
1962		F	F	E		F			F			F			
1963	F	F	F	E					F			F		F	
1964	F		F	E		F						F			
1965			F	E		F			F			F		F	
1966	F	F	F	E/F		F			F			F		F	
1967	F	F		E		F					F	F		F	
1968	F	F	F	E		F			F		F	F	F	F	
1969	F	F	F	E		F			F		F	F	E	F	
1970		F		E		F			F			F		F	
1971	F	F	F	E		F			F		F	F	E	F	
1972	F	F	F	E		F			F		F	F	E	F	
1973	F	F	F	E					F		F	F	E/F	F	
1974	F	F	F	E		F			F		F		E	F	
1975	F	F	F	E		F			E			F	E	F	
1976	F	F	F	E		F			F			F	E	F	
1977	F	F	F	E		F			F		F	F	E	F	E
1978	F	F	F	E/F		F					F	F	E	F	E
1979	F	F	F	E/F		F	F	E	F		F	F	E	F	F
1980	F	F	F	E/F		F	F		F	E	F	F	E	F	F
1981	F	F	F	E/F		F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E	F	F
1982	F	F	F	E/F		F	F		F	E	F	F	E	F	
1983	F	F	F	E		F	F		F		F	F	E	F	F
1984	F	F	F	E/F		F/E	F	E	F	E	F	F	E	F	
1985	F	F	F	E/F		F/E	F		F		F	F	E	F	
1986	F	F	F	E/F		F/E	E		F		F/E		E	F	
1987	F	F	F	E/F		F	F		F	E	F	F	E	F	
1988	F	F	F	E/F		F	F		F	E	F	F	E	F	
1989	F	F		E/F		F	E	E	F	E	F	F	E	F	F
1990	F	F	F	E/F		F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E	F	F
1991	F	F	F	E/F		F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E	F	F
1992	F	F		E/F		F	F	E	F		F	F	E	F	F
1993	F	F	F	E/F		F	F	E	F	E	E		E/F	F	F
1994	F	F	F	F/E		F	E	E/F	F	E	F	F	E/F	F/E	F
1995	F	F	F	E/F		F	F		F	E	F	F	E/F	F	
1996	F	F	F	E/F			E	E	F	E	F	F	E	E	F
1997	F	F	F	E/F			E	E	F	E	F	F/E	E/F	F	F
1998	F	F	E	E/F		F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E/F	F	E
1999	F	F		E/F		F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E/F	F	
2000	F	F	F	E/F			F	E	F	E	F	F	E/F	F	
2001	F	F	F	E/F		F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E	F	E
2002	F	F	F	F/E	F	F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E/F	F	
2003	F	F	F	F/E	E	F		E	F	E	F	F	E/F	F	E
2004	F	F	F	E/F	F	F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E/F	F	F
2005	F	F	F	F/E	F	F		E	F	E	F	F	E/F	E	
2006	F	F	F	E/F	F	F		E	F	E	F	F	E/F	E	F
2007	F	F	F	F/E	F	F		E	F	E	F	E	E/F	E	E/F
2008	F	F	F	E/F	F	F		E	F	E	F	F	E/F	E	E
2009	F	F	F	E/F	F	F	E	E	F	E	F	F	E/F	E	E
2010	F	E/F	F	E/F	F	F		E	F	E	F		E/F	E	E
2011	F	E/F	F	E	F	F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E/F	E	
2012	F	F	F	E/F	F	F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E/F	E	E/F
2013	F	F	F	E/F	F	F		E	F	E	F	F	E/F	E	E
2014	F	F	F	E/F	F	F		E	F	E	F	F	E	E	E/F
2015	F	F	F	E/F	F		F/E	E	F	E	F	F	E/F	E	E
2016	E/F	F	F	E/F	F	F		E	F	E	F	F	E/F	E	E
2017	F	F	F	E/F	F/E	F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E	E	E/F
2018	F	F	F	E/F	F	F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E	E	E
2019	F	F	F	E/F	F	F/E	F/E	E	F	E	F/E	F	E	E	E
2020	F	F	F	E/F	F	F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E	E	E
2021	F	E/F	F	E/F	F	F	F	E	F	E	F	F	E	E	E

'/' denotes code-switching, with first letter denoting main speech language.
'E' denotes English; 'F' denotes French; 'O' denotes another language or languages.

The following year, Rwanda acceded to the Commonwealth of Nations despite never having been a British colony. There is evidence that important segments of Rwandan society internalised an English-speaking identity during this period (Johnstone 2019).[26] Accordingly, the dataset shows that Rwanda also abandoned the use of French at the General Debate: Beginning in 2005, Rwandan delegates have consistently spoken in English and shunned French. Rwanda, however, remains the only verifiable case of English adoption via identity-change in the set of states analysed here.

On balance, comparative analysis supports the conclusion that whilst the use of English has increased even amongst francophone states, a hard case for linguistic change, internalisation remains relatively shallow. A minority of OIF member states with relatively weak material capabilities and weak competing linguistic identities face both strategic and social incentives to stick to French entirely. Although a majority of states in the sample use some English, they do so mainly for practical reasons. Identity-related factors are more likely to encourage states to employ their national languages on the international stage, with English used as a compromise medium of written communication.

This analysis cannot show that these shifts in *lingua franca* adoption are necessarily driven by participation in anglophone IGOs. Nevertheless, the comparisons above support the quantitative analysis by verifying that language norms can and do change over time, even for a comparatively 'hard' group of states. It appears furthermore that socialisation depth into the English language is relatively shallow, at least amongst current and former OIF members, with the identity-change mechanism almost nonexistent.

[26]See in particular the personal communication with a Rwandan youth leader, who states: 'one thing we know, we are English ··· French is taught here as a language, but the first official language is English.'

2.8 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has argued that international institutions, a core feature of the American-led international order, have also been a conduit for the spread of English in international diplomacy. Four main conclusions can be distilled from the empirical analysis, which strongly supports the theory. First, there is clear evidence of an institutional diffusion effect, with *H1* and *H2* receiving robust confirmation even when controlling for a variety of alternatives. The effect of socialisation by anglophone IGOs is observed even when accounting for extra-IGO diplomacy, international economic ties, geographic diffusion, past language choices, and endogeneity. Second, the observed effect appears to be driven mostly by membership in monolingual anglophone IGOs, which is intuitive given our assumptions about linguistic environments in which socialisation takes place.

Third, disaggregation shows that there is indeed a basis for differentiating *H1* and *H2*: the use of written English appears to be a fundamentally different outcome compared to spoken English. In addition, it appears that norm adoption is more a result of 'shallow,' instrumental calculation rather than 'deep' socialisation. The positive effect of anglophone IGO memberships operates on longer timescales for written than spoken English; in addition, membership in economic IGOs are much more consequential than social IGOs, pointing to the importance of the technical and rationalised aspects of international life. Finally, joint IGO membership with the core Anglosphere states is an important driver of English adoption, showing that hierarchy exists even within the English-speaking bloc.

The purpose of this study has primarily been to theorise and establish the existence of a a diffusion effect, as well as provide a first look into the depth of the internalisation of English. Large-N analysis greatly advances our understanding of the rise and fall of languages in the international system. Thus far, IR scholars of the 'linguistic turn' have largely focussed on language as discourse instead of languages. Yet *which* languages are used for the conduct of international affairs matters for *whose* ideas dominate in international politics. Findings in this article dovetail with previous IR

research. Given the importance of IGOs as a post-war organisational form, their effect on language use, which underlies all intergovernmental communication, is unsurprising.

Evidence for the relatively shallow depth of the internalisation of spoken English likewise showcases the limits of IGO socialisation, with broader consequences for the persistence of certain features of the current international system. The overwhelming worldwide dominance of the English language is part and parcel of the liberal international order, and language scholars have long understood that English is embedded in a global political economy (Ricento 2012).

Once debated by the regime theorists of the 1980s, the durability of international arrangements absent hegemonic support has again increased in relevance in the 2020s. This study speaks to those questions as they relate to patterns of language use. With nationalism on the rise and the liberal international order increasingly under threat, the limitations of international interdependence and international institutions are apparent. My results broadly support the conclusion of famed linguist Nicholas Ostler, who predicts a 'soft landing' for English: widespread use, but not worldwide dominance (Ostler 2010). In the longer term, English is probably not special: sooner or later, like all historical *lingua-francas*, its pre-eminence will likely one day be eclipsed.

This study suggests several avenues for future research. First, small-N research designs are needed to substantiate precise socialisation mechanisms, which I am unable to further explore using my methodology. By examining both written and spoken language choices, using a variety of econometric techniques, and conducting a qualitative examination of language behaviour, I have taken a first step in probing internalisation depth, but socialisation pathways remain largely speculative. Socialisation theorists employing ethnographic methods, interviews, and process-tracing would help to rectify this omission in my work.

Second, as they are designed to be matched to UN General Debate speeches, the language data gathered present an abundance of possibilities for IR scholars inter-

ested in political discourse. To date, the digitised UN General Debate Corpus has found wide use among IR and politics scholars employing quantitative text-as-data methods to study state rhetoric on the international stage. However, the current corpus exists only in English and has no data on original languages, resulting in biased word-frequency distributions when modelling text quantitatively (Lucas et al. 2015). Fortunately, my data rectifies this omission. Additionally, the data opens up investigation into which languages are used to express certain kinds of rhetoric, opening up the study of language in IR to include 'languages' as well as discourse proper.

Finally, this research also speaks to a metatheoretical debate on knowledge production in the academic study of international politics. Scholars have long observed that IR tends to be an American discipline (Maliniak et al. 2018). In recent years, the call for a 'Global International Relations' has increased awareness of the marginalisation of scholars working outside of the 'core' of IR scholarship (Acharya 2014). But these discussions take place solely in English, perpetuating a linguistic unilateralism that continues to homogenise the field (Aydinli and Aydinli 2024). In this light, the present article hopefully represents a small step not only in IR theorising and empirical research, but also in reflecting on the all-encompassing ways in which language is implicated in 'the international.'

3

Language Regimes in Intergovernmental Organisations

What explains the choice of institutional languages in international organisations? Language rules vary widely across organisations, are often contentious, and can affect institutional outcomes. This chapter provides an answer by conceptualising language choices as institutional design. As IGO language regimes unequally distribute linguistic privilege among organisational membership, they are marked by a trade-off between efficiency and fairness. I propose that they are the result of institutional bargaining. Depending on how a language functions domestically, its institutional status in an IGO may bring a state either symbolic, pragmatic, or both types of benefits. States sharing common languages have inherent incentives to form coalitions, whether explicit or implicit, over language regime design.

I test these propositions on an original dataset of initial language regimes covering all IGOs created between 1945 and 2014. I find linguistic diversity among member states makes language regimes significantly less inclusive. Democratic membership, however, does not lead to increased inclusivity. *Which* languages attain institutional status is determined by the characteristics of states in linguistic coalitions. Strong evidence suggests that the numerical strength and material power, as well as the domestic convergence of symbolic and administrative functions in one language for coalition members, boost the chance that their languages attain inclusion in a regime. These answers provide insights into how efficiency, fairness, power, and preferences affect an as-of-yet under-explored aspect of institutional design.

3.1 Introduction 84
3.1.1 Motivation and Argument 85
3.1.2 Contributions and Roadmap 87
3.2 Language Rules as Institutional Design 89
3.2.1 Existing Typologies of Institutional Language Rules . . 89
3.2.2 Defining IGO Language Regimes 90
3.2.3 IGO Language Regimes as International Institutions . . 94
3.2.3.1 The Efficiency-Fairness Trade-Off 95
3.2.3.2 Two Dimensions of IGO Language Regimes . . 96
3.3 Distributional Conflict and International Institutions . 97
3.3.1 The Rational Design of International Institutions 98
3.3.2 Distributive Rationalism and Power Politics 99
3.3.3 Coordination Problems and Standards-Setting 100
3.4 Determinants of Intergovernmental Language Regimes 102
3.4.1 A Bargaining Framework 103
3.4.1.1 Actors: Linguistic Coalitions 103
3.4.1.2 Preferences: Language Inclusion Utilities . . . 104
3.4.1.3 Interaction: Institutional Bargaining 106
3.4.2 Explanations for Regime Coverage 108
3.4.2.1 *H1*: Linguistic Diversity 108
3.4.2.2 *H2*: Democratic Membership 109
3.4.3 Explanations for Regime Language Choice 111
3.4.3.1 *H3*: Linguistic Coalition Strength 111
3.4.3.2 *H4*: Domestic Functional Convergence 112
3.5 Descriptive Analysis 113
3.5.1 Coding and Construction 114
3.5.2 Trends in Regime Coverage 115
3.5.3 Trends in Regime Language Choice 120
3.6 Data and Methodology 123
3.6.1 Dependent Variables 123
3.6.2 Independent Variables 126
3.6.3 Competing Alternatives and Standard Controls 129
3.6.4 Model Specification: Regime Coverage Analysis 132
3.6.5 Model Specification: Regime Inclusion Analysis 133
3.7 Results 136
3.7.1 *H1* and *H2*: Determinants of Regime Coverage 136
3.7.2 *H3*: Coalition Strength and Regime Inclusion 141
3.7.3 *H4*: Functional Convergence and Regime Inclusion . . . 146
3.8 Conclusion 152

3.1 Introduction

In late March 2022, Malaysian Prime Minister Ismail Sabri Yaakob floated the idea of lobbying to make Malay, Malaysia's national language, an official language of the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). 'Language is the soul of the nation,' he emphasised to his parliament's upper house (Lay 2022). Noting that 'over 300 million of ASEAN's population use Malay in daily speech,' he promised to discuss the proposal with other heads-of-state before formally tabling it (Azmi 2022).

Perhaps he thought those numbers would make his proposal an easy sell. His Indonesian neighbours thought otherwise. 'In terms of history and linguistics, and how it has been internationally recognized,' the Indonesian culture minister stated wryly, days later, 'It is more fitting for the *Indonesian* language to be at the forefront as a medium of communication for official ASEAN meetings' (Purba 2022).[1]

The punchline: From a purely linguistic perspective, Standard Indonesian and Standard Malay are two varieties of a single language (Ewing 2004: 227). In the linguist's lexicon, they are 'mutually intelligible,' meaning Malay-speakers can converse with Indonesian-speakers. Indeed, many Malaysians consider Indonesian a Malay dialect, and Indonesia a part of a greater 'Malay world' (Kahn 2006: 92-104).

To Indonesians, however, *Bahasa Indonesia* is categorically *not* Malay, but rather a symbol of sovereignty and independence, the linguistic glue uniting the seventeen-thousand-odd islands of a post-colonial nation (Azmi 2022). In other words, the fuss is political. And, until it is resolved, English, the language of Malaysia's erstwhile colonisers, and the de-facto main language of tiny Singapore, sandwiched in between the two Southeast Asian giants, will remain ASEAN's sole working language.

Language conflicts do not arise in all intergovernmental organisations (IGOs). But the latent pressures underlying them can boil over, affecting international

[1] Emphasis mine.

cooperation. In 1999, for example, after assuming presidency of the Council of the EU, Finland chose Finnish, English, and French as working languages for several informal ministerial gatherings. When denied the addition of German, the Germans and Austrians withdrew their participation, showcasing the importance of the issue for the parties involved (Kraus 2008: 130).

3.1.1 Motivation and Argument

Whether they explode or are smoothed over, the forces affecting IGO language choice matter for a range of issues of interest to the discipline. First, language rules shape the social environments for high-stakes negotiations as well as mundane bureaucratic operations, and *rules* themselves are often exploited. To stall deliberations, delegates at the European Parliament sometimes insist on time-consuming interpretations despite being perfectly capable of understanding the original speech (Kraus ibid.: 126; Bueno Bernal 1999: 330).

Interview evidence sheds additional light. For example, though it makes use of its institutional right to real-time interpretation between UN working languages, one national delegation to a Europe-based UN agency occasionally corrects the interpreter on diction and verbiage. Translation rules can thus provide a 'cushion' for multilingual diplomats who can make adjustments to how they would like to be understood and invoke plausible deniability when dissatisfied.

Second, language rules determine *whose* languages are used for institutional business, which affects power dynamics in IGOs more generally (Gazzola 2014: 75-81). Sociolinguists and language scholars note that speaking a foreign language may marginalise staff and delegates in IGOs (van Els 2005). In further interviews, staff in prominent organisations emphasised that, explicitly or implicitly, difficulties with language either filtered out participants outright or occasionally frustrated staff from performing their requisite duties, skewing the terrain for who gets to effectively participate in international institutions.

More crucially, empirical observation also presents a puzzle: Institutional language choices vary significantly across institutions. As of 2025, the EU's twenty-four official languages cover all national languages of its twenty-seven members. By contrast, the African Union only adopted Swahili as an official working language in 2022 (BBC News 2022). And while the Malay-Indonesian kerfuffle from the opening anecdote remains unresolved, ASEAN business continues in English only. What of the lesser-known organisations forming the backbone of the international order? Motivated by these questions, I seek to explain general variation in language rules across IGOs.

This chapter conceptualises language rules as institutional design. *How many* and *which* languages an IGO chooses to institutionalise is marked by a trade-off between efficiency and distribution. Rules are thus *language regimes* that codify a distribution of linguistic privilege among IGO members. Heuristically, I propose understanding IGO language regime formation as a coordination game between coalitions bargaining over standards. States with a common language naturally coalesce into 'linguistic coalitions,' since, depending on the function of the language back home, they receive symbolic, pragmatic, or both types of benefits when it attains institutional status.

To explain *regime coverage*, or *how many* states get to institutionalise their languages in the IGO, I hypothesise that efficiency concerns reduce the regime coverage of linguistically-diverse IGOs. Second, fairness concerns should increase regime coverage in IGOs with more democratic membership. To explain *regime language choice*, or *whose* languages are included, I generate explanations by disaggregating coalition *power* as well as *preferences* stemming from domestic language policies. Using regression analysis, I test these propositions on a novel dataset of the original language regimes of all IGOs created between 1945 and 2014.

I find that at the IGO level, linguistic diversity consistently decreases regime coverage, but democratic membership does not increase it. Thus, efficiency appears to trump fairness in the design of IGO language regimes. At the level of individual

languages, linguistic coalition strength predicts inclusion in IGO language regimes. Inclusion is furthermore a function of the domestic alignment of the *symbolic function* of national identity and the *pragmatic function* of national administration in states' national languages, which I call 'functional convergence.' This implies that power politics and domestic factors, which affect state preferences over other elements of institutional design, also apply to IGO language regimes.

3.1.2 Contributions and Roadmap

I contribute by filling empirical and theoretical gaps. First, the preceding chapter shows that institutional language rules matter for language norms in world politics. A glaring question immediately emerges: *what determines those rules in the first place*? Providing a robust explanation for the independent variable in the previous chapter increases the internal validity of the project as a whole.

Furthermore, this is not achievable using pre-existing academic sources. Though international historians have traced decades-long debates over working languages in IGOs, such scholarship reflects an often-Eurocentric bias towards prominent organisations where records are most available, such as EU or UN agencies (Ostrower 1965; Tabory 1978, 1980). In contrast, I systematically collect global data on IGO language rules that allow for conclusions to be drawn that apply across time and space. The IGO Language Regimes Dataset I have assembled can additionally aid the study of other facets of organisations, particularly those relying on the analysis of institutional texts.

Theoretically, I contribute to the study of institutional design in world politics. Recent scholarship has explored IGO characteristics from funding rules and voting formulae to the nationalities of secretariat staff (Posner and Sykes 2014; Graham 2017; Novosad and Werker 2019; Parizek and Stephen 2021). In a very mundane sense, these arrangements all rely on being able to communicate in the first place, which must be accomplished through language. I thus fill an overlooked but fundamental gap in the study of institutional politics.

At a more abstract level, and similar to the studies above, I show how international standards-setting, particularly in coordination games, reflects the preferences and ability of powerful states rather than being efficient and interest-neutral (Gruber 2004). Plagued by the burden of demonstrating how 'institutions matter,' decades of institutionalist scholarship have focussed study on how underlying cooperation problems affect the realisation of joint gains (Voeten 2019).

This has occurred at the expense of coordination problems that are less 'interesting,' but no less fundamental, to world politics. As Martin and Simmons (1998) note in their call to re-centre politics in institutional design research, '[m]any equilibria may exist along the Pareto frontier, and specifying one of these as the locus of cooperation, through bargaining and the exercise of state power, dominates empirical examples of international cooperation...In most circumstances, states have simultaneously to worry about reaching efficient outcomes and resolving distributional conflict.' The present study is one such archetypical example.

I proceed as follows. After reviewing existing conceptualisations of IGO language rules, Section 3.2 defines 'IGO language regimes,' explains why they are characterised by a trade-off between efficiency and fairness, and situates them within the study of institutional design in IR. In Section 3.3, I review approaches to distributional issues in international institutional politics. By understanding language regime choice as a coordination problem over standards-setting, I argue that explaining variation in IGO language regime design must adequately account for state *power*.

Section 3.4 outlines a heuristic framework based on implicit or explicit bargaining between linguistically-defined coalitions of states, presenting four hypotheses on IGO language regime design along with competing explanations. In Section 3.5, I introduce the IGO Language Regimes Dataset, explaining the data collection and coding process in detail. Section 3.6 describes variable operationalisation and empirical design for quantitatively testing my hypotheses. Results, which support

three of the four hypotheses and are robust to alternative explanations, are found in Section 3.7. Section 3.8 concludes.

3.2 Language Rules as Institutional Design

The present endeavour requires a robust conceptualisation of institutional language rules. Here, I borrow *language regimes* from comparative politics as a starting point, differentiating them from language policy. After reviewing existing typologies of international language rules, I propose an IGO-specific definition of 'language regimes' and elaborate on different types. Finally, I situate my definition within the study of international institutions in IR. I expound on the trade-off between efficiency and fairness as a key feature of IGO language regimes, and I identify two dimensions along which they vary.

3.2.1 Existing Typologies of Institutional Language Rules

The concept of 'language regimes' originates from the study of national language policies as domestic political institutions.[2] In comparative politics, they are the explicit, *de jure* rules stipulating which languages can be used in which circumstances, institutionalising a 'distribution of linguistic powers' among different groups (Liu 2009: 15). Like the neoliberal institutionalist definition of regimes in IR, they 'standardise expectations and coordinate behaviours' (Krasner 1983: 2).

Why language *regimes*, instead of language *policy*? The two are related, but distinct. Two primary reasons support my choice. First, language regimes are *political* constructs. In contrast, 'policies,' oriented towards specific courses of action, highlight instrumentality. Investigating language regimes instead of language policy emphasises the contested nature of IGO language rules.

Second, the narrower scope of language regimes affords greater analytical utility. As previously stated, language regimes are explicit rules. In contrast, the standard definition of 'language policy' encompasses not only the 'laws, regulations, and

[2]See Laitin (1988): 289-90 on the rationale for treating language policies as domestic political institutions.

rules' aimed at changing or maintaining a linguistic situation, but also agents' beliefs and ideas about language as well as their actual practices (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997: xi; Spolsky 2004: 5).

It is true that actual language practices in IOs rarely conform to *de jure* rules on language use (de Varennes 2012: 155-7, 159-62).[3] English, for instance, appears to have squeezed out German in the European Commission despite their nominally equal status (van Els 2006: 212-3). But focussing on explicit regulations separates beliefs and actions from rules, and thus avoids defining regimes tautologically (Haggard and Simmons 1987). My focus is therefore on language regimes as *explicit* institutional rules instead of beliefs or empirical patterns of practice.

The Language Planning and Policy (LPP) discipline provides a conceptual starting point by referring to 'domains of language use,' the specific contexts where language rules are relevant (van Els 2006: 221). LPP classification schemes at the 'supranational level' spotlight European institutions (Gazzola 2014: 100; de Varennes 2012: 149-93). In 1998, de Swaan (1998: 14) identified the official/public domain; the EU bureaucracy; and private communication between EU citizens as the three domains of EU language use. Van Els' definition (2006: 221) differentiates simply between the institutional and non-institutional domains of the EU, collapsing two of de Swaan's domains into one. Other definitions, such as Spolsky's (2009: 206-24), incorporate not only IGOs but also internationally-oriented organisations such as the British Council, showcasing definitional proliferation.

3.2.2 Defining IGO Language Regimes

How, then, should we conceptualise language regimes in IGOs? Three principles undergird my attempt at definition. First, I seek to understand language rules as institutional arrangements in IGOs. Second, I seek empirical operationalisability. Third, I aim for systematic and generalisable inquiry. I thus build my conceptualisation of IGO language regimes upon de Varennes' four 'levels of language policies' in supranational organisations. These are: the languages of the treaties

[3] See also Ammon 2006: 321-3 for an EU-specific discussion.

Table 3.1: Typologies of supranational language use domains by language policy scholars

Language Scholar	Domains of Supranational Language Use
De Varennes (2012)	**(1) 'Treaty languages'** Languages of the texts establishing the organisation **(2) 'Official languages'** Languages used for deliberations of the organisation itself **(3) 'Working languages'** Languages used for work within the internal structures of the organisation **(4) 'Languages of external communication'** Languages used in exchanges with the organisation's clientele or the public
Spolsky (2009)	**(1)** Language policies of **monolingual organisations for language promotion** (e.g., the British Council) **(2)** Language policies for **internal and external communication** of supranational organisations **(3)** Language policies of IGOs **aimed at changing member states' domestic language policies** (e.g., European Parliament's promotion of language teaching)
Van Els (2006)	**(1) The EU institutional domain** Language use by EU institutions for internal and external communication **(2) The EU non-institutional domain** Language use between EU agents outside EU institutions
De Swaan (1998)	**(1)** The **official/public** domain Includes the European Parliament and the externally-oriented communications of the European Commission **(2)** The domain of **the EU bureacuracy** **(3)** The domain of **communication between European citizens**

establishing the organisation, languages for deliberation, languages for work within internal structures, and languages for communication with clientele or the public. De Varennes calls them 'treaty languages,' 'official languages,' 'working languages,' and 'languages of external communication' (2012: 152).

I adapt the above. First and foremost, I eliminate 'languages of external communication,' yielding a classification amenable to the three principles outlined above. Firstly, this study concerns institutional arrangements of IGOs; doing so avoids mixing public and private communications. Secondly, de Varennes' conceptualisation allows easy operationalisation by focussing on mentions of 'treaty languages,' 'official languages,' and 'working languages' in IGO documents. Thirdly, since many IGOs sat far from the public eye for most of the twentieth century (Parizek and Stephen 2021), ignoring external communications and focussing on internal structures maximises common ground across all organisations.

Based on this rationale, I define an IGO language regime as follows.

Definition 3.1. *An IGO* LANGUAGE REGIME *is (1) a set of languages and (2) an institutional function for their use within the IGO, as specified by explicit rules.*

The definition comprises two elements. First, IGO language regimes include a set of languages. But as we have seen with Malay and Indonesian, naming a 'language' is political. I call a system of communication a language if and only if IGO member states agree to consider it one.[4] Thus, I understand 'Chinese' to be one language, even if 'Chinese' may refer to Mandarin, Cantonese, Wu or other varieties. Conversely, mutually intelligible forms of speech constitute separate languages if IGO language rules treat them separately. For example, Article 8 of the Framework Agreement on the Sava River Basin states:

> *The official languages of the Sava Commission and its Secretariat, permanent and ad hoc expert groups shall be the official languages of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian), Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian.* (International Sava River Basin Commission 2002).

[4] Liu (2015: 7) makes a comparable move on the same grounds.

Linguists classify Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian as varieties of a single language (Sipka 2019: 166, 206). However, since the politics of nationhood has yielded three different names (Richter Malabotta 2004: 81), the regime above encompasses four languages: Bosnian, Croatian Serbian, and Slovenian.

The second element of an IGO language regime is an institutional function. Here, I consolidate de Varennes' categorisation of 'treaty languages,' 'official languages,' and 'working languages' in into two types of IGO language regimes, *formal* and *operational*. The first type is a *formal* language regime:

Definition 3.2. *An IGO's* FORMAL LANGUAGE REGIME *comprises the languages of the authentic texts of an the IGO's founding document or documents.*

These languages are often indicated in the documents' final provisions; the text's different-language versions are presumed to be equally authoritative unless otherwise agreed. The 'treaty languages' of the European Union, for example, constitute a formal language regime. Formal languages are thus those that legally constitute the existence of an IGO and express its members' commitments.

The next type of IGO language regime is an *operational* language regime.

Definition 3.3. *An IGO's* OPERATIONAL LANGUAGE REGIME *comprises the languages used for deliberation between IGO delegates and those used for the administration of the IGO.*[5]

These languages are often indicated in founding texts or separate protocol documents. Operational language regimes include both 'official languages' and 'working languages.' Indeed, those terms originated at the San Francisco Conference as part of a compromise on language rules (Ostrower 1965: 407-8). Though distinctions between them have since blurred,[6] the centrality of both to deliberation and administration, as well as the UN's grouping of these linguistic functions together,

[5]See Kudryavtsev and Oudraogo (2003: 4).

[6]Kudryavtsev and Oudraogo (ibid.: 4). For example, Regulation no. 1/58 of the European Communities mentions 'official' and 'working' languages but does not differentiate between them (Kraus 2008: 114).

justifies viewing both 'official' and 'working' languages as elements of operational language regimes.

Table 3.2: Summary of IGO language regime classification

	Formal Language Regime	Operational Language Regime
Equivalent	'Treaty languages'	'Official' and 'working' languages
Function	Used to constitute the IGO as a legal entity	Used for deliberation between delegates and administration of the IGO
Indication	Often mentioned in the final provisions or closing protocol of the IGO's founding treaty, charter, or agreement	Often found in 'rules of procedure' or protocol documents, in provisions regarding 'official languages,' 'working languages,' 'official working languages,' 'languages of the organisation,' or similar phrasings

It is worth clarifying that an IGO's formal and operational regimes may not share languages in common. For example, although Arabic has been an official and working language of the UN since 1978, the authentic texts of the UN Charter were not updated to include the Arabic translation (Kudryavtsev and Oudraogo 2003: 4). Arabic is thus an *operational* but not a *formal* language of the UN. Indeed, it is possible for there to be zero overlap between the two. The official languages of the Sava River Commission are Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian, and Slovenian, but the Framework Agreement establishing the organisation is authentic only in English (International Sava River Basin Commission 2002). Thus, there is no overlap between the Commission's operational and formal language regimes.

3.2.3 IGO Language Regimes as International Institutions

Defined in this way, IGO language regimes are not just political institutions, but also *international institutions*, particularly in the rationalist sense (Duffield 2007). IR scholars have coalesced around understandings of institutions as '*sets of rules*

meant to govern international behavior,' encoded in 'statements that forbid, require, or permit particular kinds of actions' (Simmons and Martin 2013: 327).[7] IGO language regimes fit this bill. I contend that their design is marked by a trade-off between efficiency and distribution, describable in terms of variation along the two dimensions of *coverage* and *language choice*.

3.2.3.1 The Efficiency-Fairness Trade-Off

The costs of translating between languages, combined with the costs of speaking someone else's language, imply a trade-off between efficiency and fairness within IGO language regimes. Translation is costly in terms of time, funds, labour, and misunderstandings (Liu 2015: 13-4; Wigen 2015). The EU, for example, devotes fully €1 billion per year to maintain its translators and interpreters (Katsarova 2022), providing a rationale for using fewer institutional languages. However, languages are often symbolic of national identity (Gazzola 2006; Wright 2016), and speaking a second language can be tiring for staff and delegates (Gazzola 2014: 169). The psychological costs of 'defecting' to another language make language loyalty 'an extreme case of consumer loyalty' (de Swaan 2001: 28).

Thus, IGO language regimes are marked by a trade-off between efficiency and fairness (Spolsky 2009: 208). Efficiency considerations dictate that time, money, and errors be saved by reducing the number of regime languages. But while this reduces costs for the IGO as a whole, it distributes privilege unequally by imposing asymmetric burdens on speakers of non-regime languages (Taylor 2014). Since speakers of these languages must *ipso facto* bear the additional costs of using the institutional languages in order to participate in the organisation (Church and King 1993; van Parijs 2011), fairness considerations generate upwards pressure on the number of languages in IGO language regimes (Pool 1991, 1996). Ultimately, the efficiency-fairness trade-off means regime design is indeterminate when IGO membership is linguistically diverse.

[7] Emphasis in the original.

3.2.3.2 Two Dimensions of IGO Language Regimes

Institutional designs are of interest to IR as they vary along some dimension(s) (Koremenos, Lipson, and Snidal 2001b). I identify two dimensions of IGO language regimes that can reveal insights into the efficiency-fairness trade-off. First is *regime coverage*, or *how many* states have a national language included in the regime. Second is *regime language choice*, or *which* languages are included in the regime. Together, these questions are fundamentally about representation, which matters strongly for IGO legitimacy (Gravier 2013). They describe 'to how many' and 'to whom' a regime distributes linguistic privilege. The first dimension is regime coverage.

Definition 3.4. *Regime coverage is the proportion of IGO member states with a national language institutionalised in an IGO language regime.*

As in Chapter 4, a national language refers to one 'used in the business of government at the national level' (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2024), regardless of whether this use is *de jure* or *de facto*. Thus, 'national languages' include Japanese in Japan, Jamaican Creole in Jamaica, and Māori in New Zealand.

Coverage describes the concentration of linguistic privilege. When coverage is high, linguistic privilege is dispersed, and many states have a national language in the regime. For example, all national languages of all EU members are EU operational languages. The *Organisation internationale de la Francophonie* also has a high-coverage regime, since French, the sole operational language, is a national language of almost all of its members.

At the opposite end, when coverage is low, linguistic privilege is concentrated, and only few states have a national language in the regime. For example, ASEAN's sole working language is English, a national language in only 2 of 10 member states. Similarly, NATO has low-coverage regimes: Its official and treaty languages, English and French, are national languages of only 6 of 30 member states. Regime coverage can tell us *how many*, but not *which* states, are linguistically privileged. The second dimension is *regime language choice*.

Definition 3.5. *Regime language choice is the set of languages institutionalised in an IGO language regime.*

Language choice, a qualitative variable, tells us where privilege is concentrated. To quantify this, I turn my attention to the level of individual languages and examine whether they have institutional status in the regime, i.e., *inclusion*. A language of an IGO member state is said to be 'included' if it is institutionalised in the regime. This allows quantitative examination of factors affecting the qualitative dimension of regime language choice, without losing sight of the historical specificity of each language. Russian, for example, is included in the operational language regime of the UN, but not NATO.

3.3 Distributional Conflict and International Institutions

In the previous section, I argued that IGO language regime choice is a question of institutional design. Fundamentally, both formal and operational regimes are marked by a trade-off between efficiency and distribution. Here, I develop a foundation for a theoretical perspective for explaining variation in the two dimensions that capture this trade-off. I first review the rational functionalist literature on institutional design, which de-emphasises power and distributional issues in favour of questions about how strategic environments lead to Pareto-efficient outcomes.

In contrast, rather than assuming institutions reflect attempts to solve distributional issues in the classic functionalist mould, distributive rationalist approaches depart from a commitment to the inherent importance of distributional conflict. Power asymmetries, instead of being confounders to be explained away, are considered integral to institutional design. I situate the present study in this vein. I posit that language regime choice most closely resembles a public coordination game over standards-setting, a strategic setting well-suited to an approach that foregrounds power and preferences without losing sight of efficiency concerns.

3.3.1 The Rational Design of International Institutions

The most obvious place to look for a theoretical foundation is the agenda laid out by Koremenos, Lipson, and Snidal (2001b). At its core, the 'rational functionalist approach'[8] argues that states design institutions to mitigate issues preventing joint gains. It takes the nature of cooperation problems to be solved as the independent variable to explain variation in institutions. Its main focus is on how regimes are designed *efficiently* given the obstacles to cooperation their creators face.

Rational functionalism arguably dominated turn-of-the-century institutional scholarship. Rosendorff and Milner (2001), for example, argue that distributional concerns and uncertainty about future domestic conditions leads states to design international trade institutions with a certain amount of flexibility, facilitating agreement. Likewise, Richards (2001) argues that future uncertainty and distributional conflicts over gains from cooperation led states to design an inefficient, cartel-like post-war civil aviation regime, while prisoners-of-war treaties are also designed with consideration to underlying strategic cooperation problems (Morrow 2001). Scholars have used the rational design approach to explain institutional variation in settings from regional organisations (Haftel and Thompson 2006) to trade agreements (Baccini, Dür, and Elsig 2015).

Contemporary critics (Martin 1992; Gruber 2000, 2004), later scholarship extending the rational functionalist approach (Koremenos 2013; Hooghe, Lenz, and Marks 2019), and even the progenitors of the Rational Design agenda itself agree that it places insufficient emphasis on power and its attendent distributional consequences to explain outcomes that fall outside the project's original scope (Koremenos, Lipson, and Snidal 2001a). This shortcoming is not specific to the rational functionalist approach. The study of regimes and institutions in IR has consistently foregrounded Pareto-optimality in international arrangements. In contrast, as early as the mid-1980s, 'distributive consequences...[had fallen] from the center of consideration' in institutionalist scholarship (Martin and Simmons 1998).

[8]Voeten (2019) uses this term as a shorthand for the perspective advocated by the Rational Design of International Institutions project.

The insight that distributional conflict shapes institutional design is not new (Morrow 1994). Even from within the confines of regime theory, Krasner (1991) notes that reaching the Pareto frontier is just one problem states face; they must also select one among multiple equilibria. Why, then, the neglect? In his review of the literature, Voeten (2019) makes a strong case that rational institutionalists downplayed the explanatory importance of power-political considerations to demonstrate to realists that institutions could make a difference even under anarchic conditions. As a result, even when they broached the topic of distribution, functionalists began with the premise that institutions are designed to *address* distributive conflict. Krasner, for example, writes that 'institutions can *make a difference* if they lock in a particular equilibrium⋯explaining why powerful states may choose to institutionalize these patterns rather than relying solely on ad hoc cooperation (1991).[9]

3.3.2 Distributive Rationalism and Power Politics

In contrast, what Voeten (2019) terms 'distributive rationalist' approaches reject the core argument of rational functionalism. Instead, they 'start by asking who would benefit from institutional rules, and what means do these actors have to get what they want?' Doing so does not require accepting realist arguments about the epiphenominality of institutions (Mearsheimer 1994). Oatley and Nabors (1998), for example, embrace the argument that the creation of Basle Accord redistributed international gains. *Contra* functionalism, however, they argue Anglo-American financial market power combined with preferences for rent-seeking, arising from US domestic politics, to produce the agreement. *Within* IGOs, Lall (2017, 2023) shows that states' pursuit of parochial interests has a measurable negative impact on institutional performance.

In other words, distributive rationalism goes beyond 'integrat[ing] efficiency concerns associated with collaboration and the distributional concerns associated with coordination' (Martin and Simmons 1998). Instead, it dispenses with the assumption that institutions are necessarily geared towards improving Pareto-efficiency,

[9]Emphasis mine.

embracing a view where they can instead be 'arenas for acting out power relations' (Evans and Wilson 1992). Voeten (2019) argues that *bargaining power* is central to this perspective. In this setting, scholars often focus on how materially-weaker states may nevertheless have recourse to other strategies that increases their capacity for action (Schneider 2011; Long 2016; Novosad and Werker 2019; Snidal et al. 2024; Daßler, Heinkelmann-Wild, and Huysmans 2025).

In many cases, however, material power and bargaining power coincide, skewing outcomes in unsurprising ways. Randall Stone (2011) argues that powerful states' influence over international economic organisations arises both due to their outsized financial contributions *and* because they have better outside options than weaker states. Though Voeten (2019) notes a residual 'inclination to equate arguments that focus on clashes between actors with divergent interests and asymmetric power with claims that institutions are epiphenomenal,' studies focussing on powerful states nevertheless generate novel insights. Weighted voting rules in regional organisations, for example, help powerful states launder their influence (Lim and Vreeland 2013). Recent scholarship shows that funding rules are just as effective as weighted voting in translating power into control over IGOs (Graham and Serdaru 2020).

3.3.3 Coordination Problems and Standards-Setting

As I have defined them, IGO language regimes institutionalise a distribution of linguistic privilege among an organisation's membership. Empirically, states prefer for their own national languages to become regime languages and are often willing to unilaterally bear the burden of such an arrangement. For example, in addition to agreeing in 2018 to fund the promotion of Hindi within the UN system, the Indian government has continually lobbied to make Hindi an official UN language and is willing to pay a substantial sum for the privilege (Varma 2024). At first glance, this appears an example of 'privileged groups' emerging to support a public good (Snidal 1985). There is indeed a strong case to be made that common languages function as global public goods. Taylor (2014) notes that a language facilitates

communication between its speakers in a way that is both non-excludable and non-rival.

Just because *languages* have this property, however, does not make *language regime design* a public-goods provision problem. As Snidal (1985) cautions, 'analysts sometimes mistake the existence of joint gains from international cooperation for proof of the preexistence of jointness and public goods. In particular, the establishment of the "regime" itself is often taken to be a public good...But as distributional questions (i.e., which order?) become important relative to pure efficiency considerations (i.e., any order rather than chaos), the public goods assumptions become less tenable.' Indeed, the cooperation problem at hand is arguably *purely* distributional. The existence of *a* regime is guaranteed, since states must come to *some* form of agreement in the opening stages of IGO formation over which languages to use, or else no further institutional activity could take place. Failure to agree on a regime is not only the least preferable outcome, it is clearly altogether untenable.

Language regime choices therefore resemble coordination games which, as typified by 'the paradigmatic Battle of the Sexes, involve multiple equilibria over which the actors have strongly divergent preferences' (Martin and Simmons 1998). The question here is not how institutionalising a language regime can resolve distributional conflict, but rather *how distributional conflict shapes language regimes*, which calls for a distributive rationalist perspective (Voeten 2019). Such an outlook discards the traditional rational-design emphasis on game-theoretic mechanics of particular strategic settings. Many such studies combine functional and distributive logics. The topic also lends itself to an approach where power and preferences combine with efficiency concerns to shape distributional outcomes in institutional choice.

With this in mind, I propose studying language regime design as a *standardisation problem* for two main reasons. First, theoretically, this aligns with the coordination framework, since '[i]n problems of standardization, such as transborder data flows, state preferences approach the ideal type of coordination problem' (Martin 1992). Non-distributional issues like enforcement are almost completely irrelevant

for coordination over standards, especially those with network externalities, since actors prefer an undesirable standard to no standard at all. Spruyt (2001) notes that '[i]nterconnectivity standards, for example, provide little incentive for defection once an agreement has been reached on a given standard.'

Empirically, languages indeed function as standards that generate positive network externalities: the value of each individual language actually *increases* in the number of its speakers. Political economists argue that this makes languages a special type of public good, a *hypercollective* good (de Swaan 2001: 27-33). And since no person may learn an infinite number of languages, choosing which language to acquire is a decentralised, private standards-selection problem. Turning the focus to IGO language regime design simply moves from the domain of *decentralised private organisation* into the realm of *centralised public governance*.[10] I draw out the implications of this perspective in the following section, where I also set forth hypotheses on language regime determinants.

3.4 Determinants of Intergovernmental Language Regimes

I have defined language regimes and their dimensions of interest, conceptualised them as coordination problems over public standards, and argued for a distributive rationalist approach that takes power into account alongside traditional questions about efficiency. Here, I introduce a theoretical framework appropriate for this endeavour and propose hypotheses that follow.

First, I sketch a heuristic framework grounded in institutional bargaining between linguistic coalitions to account for regime formation. Next, I lay out my hypotheses. Linguistic diversity and democratic membership should affect regime coverage, or *how many* states have their languages included in the regime. The strength of linguistically-defined coalitions, as well as the domestic status of languages within states, should determine *which* languages attain inclusion.

[10] See Spruyt's typology of standards governance (2001).

3.4.1 A Bargaining Framework

Institutional bargaining denotes negotiation between actors aiming to reach an agreement over institutional design (Young 1989). Building on work in comparative politics (de Swaan 2001: 177-9; Liu 2009, 2015), I propose that initial IGO language regimes result from bargaining among founding members. Such a framework is also appropriate for the study of *international institutions*. Empirically, historical evidence from the founding of important organisations shows that explicit bargaining over language regime choice does indeed occur.

This framework helps us conceptualise the influences that determine negotiated outcomes. Aware that they will face asymmetric costs if forced to participate in a foreign language, members form 'linguistic coalitions' with other states sharing their language. Coalition members may derive symbolic, pragmatic, or both types of utility if they manage to secure institutional status for their language. Furthermore, because the value of a language *increases* in the number of users, linguistic coalitions are exceptionally difficult to dismantle. However, the ancillary nature of the language issue means weak states have scant recourse to linkage strategies or outside options. Material power and headcount therefore correlate strongly with bargaining power. IGO language regimes are the result of these bargains, whether they occur through implicit consensus or explicit negotiation.

3.4.1.1 Actors: Linguistic Coalitions

First, who bargains? In this framework, the answer is 'linguistic coalitions.' I define linguistic coalitions as groups of states with a least one national language in common. Coalition members have shared interests in institutionalising their languages, and bargaining outcomes are determined by coalition characteristics.

Two observations justify analysing linguistic coalitions as units. First, actors with common interests usually form coalitions to increase their chances of bargaining success (Goodpaster 1994). Interests sometimes must be explicitly negotiated,[11]

[11]See, for example, Alpert and Bernstein (1974) on voting coalition formation at the UN on the China representation issue.

but coalitions can and do tacitly form around inherent interests (1994). These often stem from domestic characteristics. For example, scholars argue that democracies share a preference for organising international affairs through rules, and act in concert to promote them (Milewicz 2020: 163-78). In this way, common languages can foster coalition formation.

Second, and to expand on the first point, a common idiom is the *single most intuitive basis* for coalition formation when institutional languages are the only issue at stake. As discussed below, states have incentives to *independently* advocate to institutionalise their own national languages, making the language issue most amenable to tacit coalition formation. Second, since shared languages reduce communication costs, larger linguistic coalitions have more reasonable appeals to efficiency in addition to fairness. Unlike coalitions for issues that must be greased by side-payments, there is no major source of downward pressure on linguistic coalition size.[12]

In fact, as a *standard*, the hypercollective-goods property of languages makes linguistic coalitions exceptionally difficult to disband. Whereas parliamentary coalitions may often be plucked apart by divergent interests, the 'glue' that binds common-language coalitions together theoretically *strengthens* with coalition size, since in economic terms, the value of a language increases with its users. Furthermore, because many states have multiple national languages (Stewart 1968), a state may simultaneously belong multiple linguistic coalitions in my framework. There is no contradiction in multiple coalition membership, since a multilingual state will derive at least *some* utility if any its languages are included in the regime, a point I expand on below.

3.4.1.2 Preferences: Language Inclusion Utilities

States have incentives to bargain over IGO language regimes because they gain utility from the use of their national languages in international institutions. The type(s)

[12]See Riker (1962) on the 'size principle,' which holds that coalition members use side-payments to induce new membership, but only up to the point that they believe is necessary to win the negotiation.

of utility gained depends on the domestic functions of a language. Languages are both communicative, i.e., they transmit information, as well as symbolic, i.e., they demarcate national identity (Gazzola 2006: 394).[13]

There are thus three ways that national languages can function within the ambit of domestic language policy.[14] Languages may exclusively be symbols of national identity, such as Irish in Ireland. Languages may also exclusively be used for national administration, such as English in India. These functions may finally converge in a single language used for both national identity and national administration, such as Japanese in Japan. Three different combinations of utility arise.

First, languages of national identity generate *symbolic utility* for states when included in IGO language regimes.[15] Due to the efficiency-fairness trade-off, institutional status for a language is a socially-scarce 'positional good.'[16] Regime inclusion thus becomes a marker of status and prestige (Ammon 2006: 329). However, when languages are purely symbols of national identity, a state gains symbolic utility but no *pragmatic* utility. Indeed, when the EU made Irish a full working language in 2006, Irish newspapers criticised the move for creating unnecessary costs (The Irish Independent 2006).

Second, languages of national administration generate *pragmatic utility* for states when included in IGO language regimes, because this reduces the costs of participating in the organisation. Thus, India gains pragmatic utility when English is included in an IGO language regime. However, when regime languages are purely tools of national administration, they do not bestow *symbolic* utility.

Finally, states can derive *both pragmatic and symbolic utility* from language inclusion in an IGO language regime. This occurs when identity and administration functions coincide in a language, a situation I call 'functional convergence.' The inclusion of Russian as a working language of the UN in 1968 generated pragmatic

[13]For an in-depth discussion, see Edwards (1985).

[14]I follow the scheme outlined in Cooper (1989: 100-3), also used by the Ethnologue. See Eberhard, Simmons, and Fennig (2024).

[15]I borrow the terms 'symbolic' and 'pragmatic' from Spolsky (2009: 212).

[16]See Pouliot (2014: 193-200) on status competition over institutional privileges in IGOs.

utility by reducing the costs faced by Russian-speaking Soviet delegates and staff; it also brought symbolic utility by elevating the international status of the Soviet Union, which had at its core a Russian cultural identity (Aronova 2017).

3.4.1.3 Interaction: Institutional Bargaining

States necessarily either engage in negotiations about language regime design or otherwise arrive at implicit consensus. Among the best-documented examples of explicit bargaining is the League of Nations (Ostrower 1965: 359-66). Representatives devoted two of over 300 sessions of the Peace Conference exclusively to debate over the formal languages of the Treaty of Versailles and the attendant League Covenant, as well as the deliberations of the conference leading up to it.

The historical record of 15 January 1919 reveals *explicit* appeals by state representatives to efficiency, fairness, power, and preferences. French foreign minister Stéphen Pichon advocated a unilingual French-language regime, arguing that allowing all states to speak in their own languages 'would make deliberations impossible.' His elocutions also emphasised the beauty and supposedly inherent superiority of French, suggesting that its inclusion would have yielded *symbolic* utility for representatives of the French state in addition to *pragmatic* utility. British Prime Minister Lloyd George, in contrast, invoked the principle of representativeness. In doing so, he appealed specifically to the strength of the English-speaking coalition, which had coalesced around himself and US President Woodrow Wilson, as defined by its demographic majority:

> 'the United States, with a population of over one hundred million inhabitants, where the official language is English, not to speak of the Empire and India, where more than three hundred million inhabitants understand this language and where there is a total of over one hundred seventy million people speaking English who will find themselves represented at this Peace Conference' (Conference of Paris, Council Session of 15 January 1919, in Scott 1924: 8).

At this point, Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Emanuele Orlando piped up, countering that 'if the treaty was going to have an English version, then it should have an Italian one as well' (Biltoft 2010: 28). M. Quinones de Leon of Spain and M.

de Aguero of Cuba added that fairness considerations and the *numeric* strength of the Spanish-speaking coalition dictated that, if English were to be included, then Spanish should logically also receive the privilege. Señor Titoni, a member of Orlando's delegation, reminded the Assembly that 'the issue of language was an exceedingly delicate one and a matter of national pride' (Biltoft 2010: 30).[17] So heated became the debate that the Assembly agreed to temporarily punt the matter to a committee.

In the end, only English and French became treaty languages at Versailles and official languages in the new League of Nations. This demonstrates how, in language regime choice, bargaining power maps strongly onto material power. In many domains of international politics, issue linkage and outside options open up room for 'weak' states to increase their bargaining leverage (Snidal et al. 2024; Daßler, Heinkelmann-Wild, and Huysmans 2025). Such strategies are not possible for the language issue.

In the grand scheme of things, language regime design is ancillary to the IO, which has bigger fish to fry. First of all, this greatly reduces weak states' incentives to make concessions on other, more substantive issues in exchange for language inclusion. Secondly, it eliminates outside options. No state could credibly threaten to withdraw from IO founding negotiations due to dissatisfaction over language choice. In contrast, weak states depend on powerful states for the functioning of the institution in the first place (Snidal 1985; Stone 2011). This gives powerful states substantial 'go-it-alone power' (Gruber 2004) when it comes to language regimes. For example, despite the exclusion of Russian from the UNGA's working languages until 1968, Soviet representatives simply flouted the UNGA language rules by speaking in Russian anyway (Tabory 1980).

For this reason, I employ 'bargaining' not as a full-fledged theoretical model but rather a heuristic framework. 'Bargaining power' in some senses boils down to an aggregation of which states, with which capabilities, have which preferences.

[17] For an account more proximate to the original events, see also Nicolson (1933).

Though this lacks finesse, it is appropriate for the linguistic standards-setting problem. According to Spruyt (2001), 'efficency calculations may suffice to create hierarchy when standards adoption takes on characteristics of a coordination game.' He argues that across early modern Europe, only the English state succeeded in standardising weights and measures due to its relative dominance over local lords and private merchants. As applied to the present case, the fact that states must come to *some* agreement over language choices to proceed to substantive issues implies that power will play an outsized role in determining how efficient outcomes will be allocated.

3.4.2 Explanations for Regime Coverage

Which empirical factors determine the balance between efficiency and fairness arrived at via institutional bargaining? Using the framework developed above as my starting point, I first address regime coverage. I hold that linguistic diversity within an IGO's membership will reduce regime coverage, because translation costs increase exponentially in the number of languages added. In contrast, democratic membership should increase regime coverage via considerations of equality and fairness.

3.4.2.1 *H1*: Linguistic Diversity

Translation costs create pressure to reduce the number of regime languages. Logically, IGOs should be less linguistically representative when their membership is linguistically diverse. Mathematically, the marginal cost of adding an additional language increases quadratically in the total number of regime languages, which a 1977 UN report calls the 'multiplier effect' of languages (King, Bryntsev, and Sohm 1977: 34-6). Specifically, the relationship between the number of languages k and the number of translation pairs between them $t(k)$ follows the relation:

$$t(k) = \frac{k(k-1)}{2}$$

Moving from $k = 2$ to $k = 3$ means going from 1 to 3 pairwise translations, an increase of 2. However, moving from $k = 3$ to $k = 4$ means going from 3 to 6

translations, an increase of 3. This problem steadily worsens when more languages are added. For translating documents, this is a headache, but doable (BBC News 2004).

Less true for real-time interpretation. The EU, with over 20 working languages, has taken to 'relay interpretation' where English is used as a link language between uncommon pairs like Maltese-to-Swedish. Inevitably, however, relay interpretation requires more time and generates more errors (van Els 2005: 227; Kraus 2008: 122-3). Thus, efficiency concerns are likely to decrease regime coverage as organisational membership increases in linguistic diversity. I submit the *linguistic diversity hypothesis*:

H1: IGOs with more linguistically diverse members should have lower regime coverage.

So far, I have treated languages as completely distinct systems of communication to highlight their political nature. However, languages may be linguistically more or less similar. Portuguese and Spanish are both Indo-European languages with a degree of mutual intelligibility. Portuguese and Arabic, however, belong to completely different language families. It is thus easier to bridge the Portuguese-Spanish divide than Portuguese-Arabic. As regime coverage may also depend on linguistic similarity, I test the *linguistic similarity alternative*:

A1: IGOs with more diversity in language families among members should have lower regime coverage.

3.4.2.2 *H2*: Democratic Membership

Fairness and inclusivity considerations create pressure to add languages to a regime, even when inefficient. Building on IR research suggesting that domestic regime type affects IGO institutional design (Tallberg et al. 2016), I further hypothesise that democratic IGO membership increases language regime coverage. Government officials 'socialized into democratic norms' may be more likely to support democratic policies in institutions (Checkel 2005; Grigorescu 2007; Weise 2015), including

increased linguistic representation.[18] This may stem from a sense of appropriateness rather than instrumental calculus (Dingwerth, Schmidtke, and Weise 2020).

Democracies may also promote more-inclusive language regimes in order to increase institutional legitimacy via 'strategic legitimation' (Suchman 1995). International organisations have frequently been lambasted for their 'democratic deficit' (Nye 2001; Zürn 2004). Appeals to democratic participation strengthen the claim that all should be able to use their own language in IGOs (Gazzola 2006: 397-9). Given the negative impact of low legitimacy on institutional performance (Tallberg and Zürn 2019), democracies have rationalistic incentives to pursue democratic legitimation by adding institutional languages. Democratic weight among organisational membership should highlight fairness concerns, increasing IGO language regime coverage. I submit the *democratic membership hypothesis*:

H2: IGOs with more democratic members should have higher regime coverage.

However, recent scholarship shows that what appears to be the effect of democratic norms on state behaviour in international institutions may in fact reflect geopolitics. Carter and Stone (2015) find that the propensity of democratic states to support the American position in UNGA roll-call votes is a result of alignment with the United States rather than a commitment to democratic principles *per se*.[19] Crucially, alignment is not fully a function of democratic political system, especially during the Cold War. Embrace of the democratic norm of representativeness may stem from an embrace of the US-led liberal international order instead of domestic regime type.[20] I thus submit the *geopolitical alignment alternative*:

A2: IGOs with members more aligned with the United States should have higher regime coverage.

[18] See Plotke (1997) on representation and democracy.

[19] See, e.g., Alexander and Rooney (2019) for further discussion on US coercion and institutional outcomes.

[20] I thank Inken von Borzyskowski for this insightful suggestion.

3.4.3 Explanations for Regime Language Choice

Thus far, discussion on the coverage of IGO language regimes has concerned how many states obtain linguistic privilege, but not *which* states get *what*. Here, I examine which languages are included in regimes. First, based on the contention that power matters for standards-setting coordination problems, I propose that stronger linguistic coalitions are more liable to have their languages included in the regime. Second, languages which combine the domestic functions of national administration and national identity for coalition members are more likely to be included, as this 'functional convergence' yields the strongest bargaining preferences.

3.4.3.1 *H3*: Linguistic Coalition Strength

Bargaining outcomes reflect power asymmetries (Knight and Schwartzberg 2020). Unsurprisingly, politically and economically powerful states are more likely to achieve favourable settlements in international institutions (Schneider 2011). I propose the same is true for linguistic coalitions bargaining over the design of IGO language regimes.

Here, I conceptualise coalition 'strength' in two ways. First is numeric strength. Coalitions with more members can make more convincing arguments for language inclusion on grounds of efficiency. Early arguments for including Spanish as a UN working language referenced this 'practical aspect:' Fully 'eighteen political units,' representing 'exactly one-third of the community of nations,' were Spanish-speaking at the time (Tudisco and Tov 1953). Second, strength may simply mean 'power' broadly construed, which also matters in inter-state bargaining (McKibben 2015). Powerful coalitions simply have more financial, human, and logistical resources at their disposal to achieve their goals.

Importantly, they may also command deference by virtue of their power, since 'power' in international politics is relational (Barnett and Duvall 2005). In most cases, institutional bargaining power is 'diffuse' (Gruber 2004) and does not exactly

reflect material power (McKibben 2015: 178). This is especially true when parties have recourse to credible threats.[21]

But threatening to destabilise or withdraw from an international institution due to dissatisfaction over language rules is clearly absurd. Furthermore, as discussed previously, the marginal position of the language issue makes issue linkage intractable. Precisely because weak states lack recourse to outside options and linkage strategies, bargaining power in language regime formation approximates the 'balance of power between all the competing states,' as suggested by one language policy scholar (Ammon 2006). And as demostrated by historical evidence from the Paris Peace Conference, state representatives explicitly appealed to the power of their linguistic coalitions. I thus submit the *coalition strength hypothesis*:

H3: Languages backed by stronger coalitions in IGOs are more likely to achieve regime inclusion.

Whilst bargained-for outcomes reflect power asymmetries, they may also reflect more structural forms of inequality (Knight and Schwartzberg 2020). Languages in particular do not exist in isolation in IGOs, but rather within a global linguistic 'ecology' (Calvet 2006). Historically, international *lingua-francas* reflect the rise and fall of powerful polities whose influence extended well beyond their borders (Ostler 2006, 2010; Wright 2016). A similar dynamic may affect IGO language regimes. To account for this, I test the *global prevalence alternative*:

A3: Languages used by stronger groups of states worldwide are more likely to achieve regime inclusion.

3.4.3.2 *H4*: Domestic Functional Convergence

In many ways, the *coalition strength hypothesis* reflects realist thinking about international institutions (Mearsheimer 1994). However, IR theory also accepts that states preferences, often determined by domestic factors, matter (Putnam 1988;

[21]When bargaining over domestic language policy, a weak ethnolinguistic group can credibly threaten to destabilise a newly-formed state if unhappy with its allocation of linguistic privilege (Laitin 1988; Liu 2009, 2015).

Milner 1997; Fearon 1998). Recall that when languages only serve a national identity function, states gain symbolic but not pragmatic utility from regime language inclusion. Likewise, when languages are purely tools of administration, inclusion generates pragmatic but not symbolic utility.

But when a language is functionally convergent (i.e., it serves both identity and administration functions), inclusion bestows states with a combination of symbolic and pragmatic utility. Functional convergence should therefore generate the strongest preferences for inclusion in an IGO language regime. During bargaining, the prospect of achieving both utilities should incentivise a state to lobby for the inclusion of functionally convergent languages more effectively, and with fewer reservations, than otherwise. The *functional convergence hypothesis* follows:

H4: Languages backed by coalitions with higher rates of functional convergence are more likely to achieve regime inclusion.

Spotlighting domestic language situations suggests a confounding factor. Colonialism has often given rise to the partitioning of different functions to different languages. Colonisers (the UK, France, Japan) and states that managed to ward off full colonial domination (China, Thailand) are monolingual at the national level. Their languages are functionally-convergent. In contrast, postcolonial states have often continued using metropolitan languages for national administration for lack of native-language infrastructure (Gill 2005). It is possible, that lack of colonial history better explains regime language inclusion than domestic functional convergence. Finally, I submit the *colonial history alternative*:

A4: Languages backed by coalitions with more members without colonial history are more likely to achieve regime inclusion.

3.5 Descriptive Analysis

In this study, I analyse only the *initial* language regimes of IGOs. Though language regimes often expand when new members join, such as for EU accessions, empirical data are often unavailable for regime changes in smaller organisations. Focussing

on initial regimes is a workable compromise, as they set the parameters for later path-dependent evolution.

The lynchpin of my analysis is an original pooled cross-sectional dataset of the initial language regimes of all IGOs created after the Second World War. Alongside other pre-existing data, this collection effort allows measurment of variation along the two dimensions of IGO language regimes I identify. Here, I first describe data collection and processing before proceeding to a descriptive discussion of trends.

3.5.1 Coding and Construction

The IGO Language Regimes Dataset covers all organisations created between 1945 and 2014. 1945 marks both a watershed in international institutional life (Raustiala 2012: 296) as well as a qualitative transition to multilingualism in organised international diplomacy, beginning with the UN language regime (Tabory 1980: 6). These observations make the year 1945 a natural starting point. I obtained all data on IGOs from the most recent (2020) release of the Correlates of War (COW) database, with data coverage until 2014 (Pevehouse et al. 2020).

On the basis of the 1945-2014 sub-sample, which contains 437 IGOs and 202 total states in the international system, I constructed a dataset of initial operational and formal language regimes of IOs. For each organisation, I gathered and coded data on language regimes according to a pre-defined codebook. Generally, initial language rules were from treaties registered with the United Nations Treaty Series (UNTS). Where this was not possible, other sources including multilingual legal databases and publicly available documents from each organisation were referenced. Since IGO language rules are sometimes updated, documents containing revised language rules were ignored.

For formal languages, all treaties registered with the UNTS indicate the languages of the texts in which the agreement is authentic. For treaties from other sources, reference to languages is often contained in the closing protocol or 'eschatocol' (e.g., 'les deux textes faisent également foi⋯' 'in three copies, deposited with⋯').

If no language received specific mentioned, I referenced other sources to verify the authenticity of treaty texts and recorded relevant language information according to the pre-defined codes. In these cases, I also engaged in an exhaustive multilingual search for versions of the treaty in other languages.

For operational languages, I searched for language provisions within the founding treaty, original rules of procedure, or other foundational institutional documents referencing 'official languages,' 'working languages,' 'official working languages,' 'languages of the organisation,' and other such phrasings. In some cases, the simplicity of provisions ('the official languages of the organisation are⋯') allowed me to record information unambiguously. If this was not possible, I cross-referenced other documents to isolate the languages used for deliberation, documentation, and administration in the organisation, following my definition of language regimes. I ignored any languages explicitly used solely for external communication.

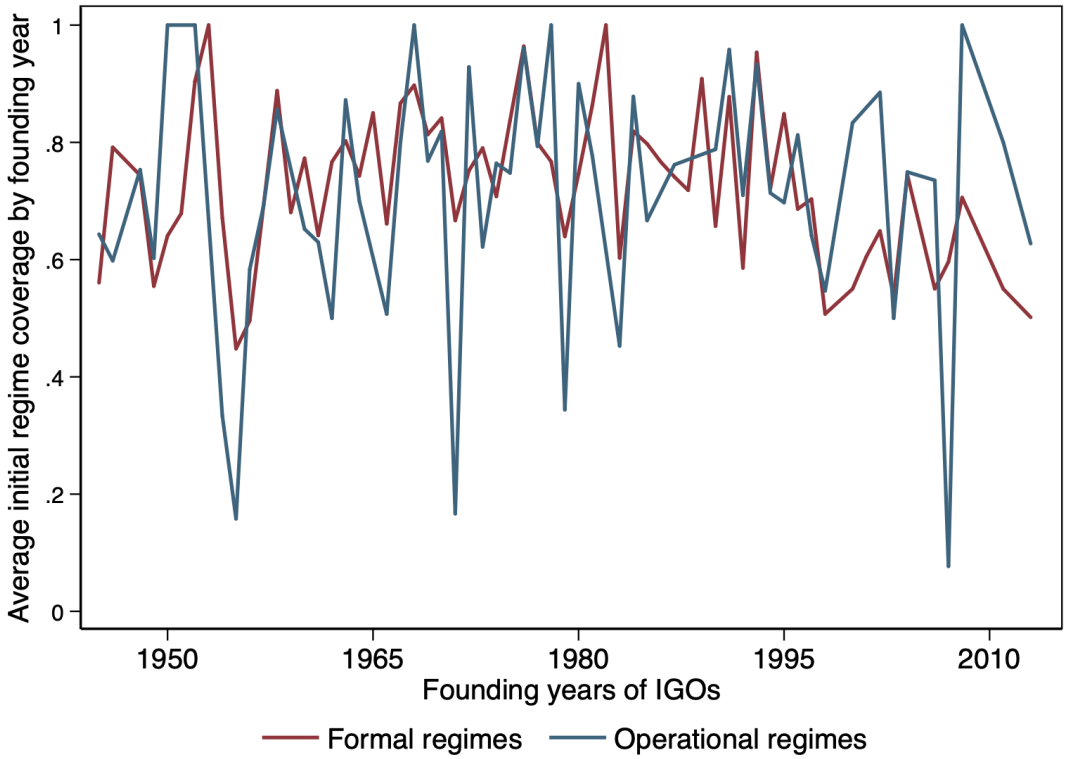
Not all of the 437 institutions created between 1945 and 2014 have explicit language regimes. 70 organisations have no linguistic regulations whatsoever, while 165 organisations boast an explicit operational language regime. All of these organisations also have explicit formal regimes. Taken together, 367 organisations have explicit formal language regimes. In the interest of rigour, these figures only include IGOs for which original copies of the relevant *initial* documents are available, a very strict criterion. For transparency, all language regime information, accompanying coding rationale, and all sources consulted for every single organisation are found in the Appendix.

3.5.2 Trends in Regime Coverage

Figure 3.1 displays changes in the average coverage of formal and operational language regimes for IGOs founded in the post-war era. Visually, high year-to-year variance is apparent. Furthermore, no obvious temporal trend emerges. For example, operational language regime coverage hits a global minimum for organisations founded in 2007 (0.077), but local minima also occur in 1955 (0.157) and 1971 (0.167). Comparing formal and operational regimes also shows no glaring differences

in mean coverage. However, variance appears somewhat lower for formal regimes than operational regimes. In an analogue to the preceding example, the lowest mean formal regime coverage (0.448) occurs for IGOs created in 1955.

Figure 3.1: Average regime coverage by IGO founding year



Other trends are more readily-observable when moving to the IGO unit of analysis. Fully 142 individual organisations boast full-coverage formal language regimes ($coverage = 1$). By contrast, this is true for the operational language regimes of just 55 IGOs. At the other extreme, only 12 organisations have *zero* formal coverage; the analogous number is only 5 IGOs with operational $coverage = 0$. From this, it is not unreasonable to speculate that linguistic non-inclusion in operational regimes poses higher barriers to participation than in formal regimes. This is because formal languages only apply at the moment of the IGO's founding, whereas operational languages are continuously used over the organisation's lifetime.

Table 3.3 and Table 3.4 show the 40 institutions with the highest and lowest rates of operational and formal regime coverage. Notably, but unsurprisingly, the

highest-coverage regimes are found in EU institutions or their predecessors. The European Central Bank, the European Union, the European Monetary Institute, the Working Committee of the Danube Countries, and the European Training Foundation not only have full coverage but include many languages (12, 10, 10, 10, and 9, respectively). The Working Committee of the Danube Countries also has the highest-coverage operational language regime, at *coverage* = 1 with 10 languages.

Table 3.3: IGOs with highest and lowest operational regime coverage

Full Name of Organisation	**Coverage**	**Langs**	**Year**
Working Committee of the Danube Countries	1.000	10	1998
European Union	1.000	9	1993
Council for Mutual Economic Aid	1.000	7	1949
Nordic Patent Institute	1.000	5	2008
European Investment Bank	1.000	4	1957
European Atomic Energy Commission	1.000	4	1958
European Economic Community	1.000	4	1958
Caribbean Organization	1.000	4	1960
European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation	1.000	4	1960
Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean	1.000	4	1969
	⋮	⋮	⋮
Danube Commission	0.167	2	1949
Organization for the Collaboration of Railways	0.167	2	1956
International Organization for Legal Metrology	0.158	1	1955
Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization	0.083	1	1979
European Association of National Metrology Institutes	0.077	1	2007
Group on the Balkan Agreement on Cooperation on Tourism	0.000	2	1971
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries	0.000	1	1960
Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion	0.000	1	1994
Northeast Atlantic Fisheries Commission	0.000	1	1998
Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative	0.000	1	2003

Interestingly, IGOs with the lowest-coverage language regimes are also found in Europe. The Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion and the Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative, for instance, are among the few IGOs for which both formal and operational $coverage = 0$, at least at founding. A characteristic of these low-coverage organisations is that they employ a *lingua franca* for institutional operations, in this case English, that is spoken natively by none of the organisation's members. The Balkans and the Baltics in particular count several more such organisations, including the International Sava River Basin Commission, Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea (VASAB), and the Council of the Baltic Sea States. Emerging in the wake of the Cold War as the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia collapsed, these IGOs relied heavily on US assistance and expertise, leaving a mark on their language regimes.

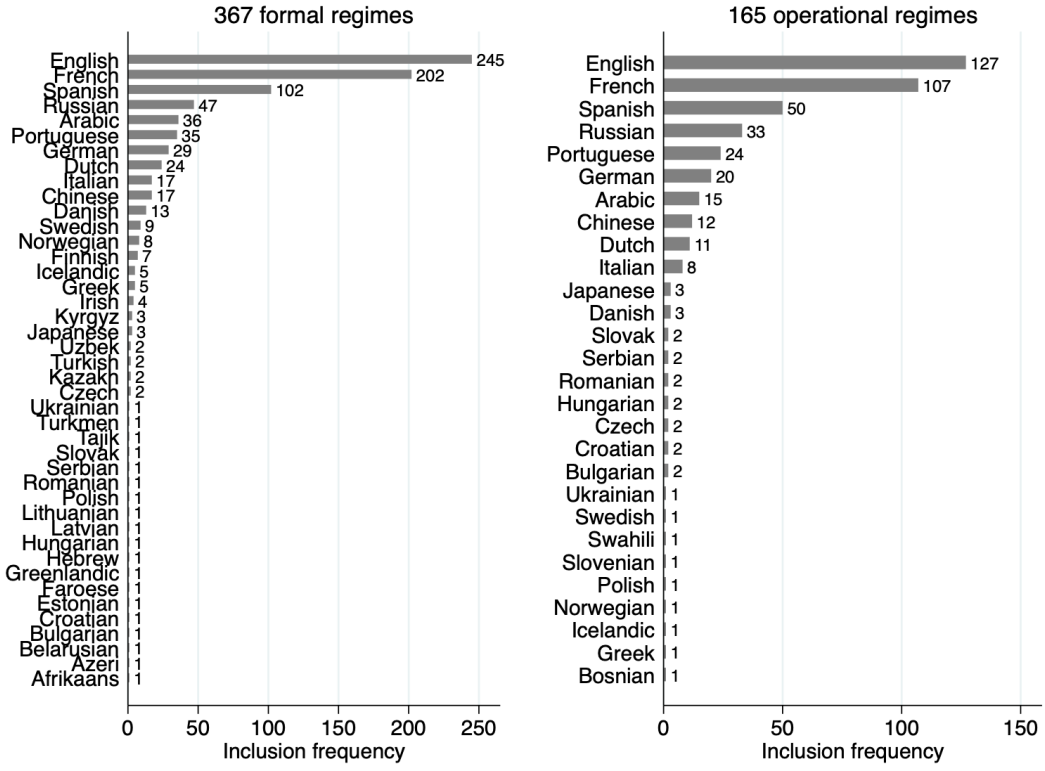
Table 3.4: IGOs with highest and lowest formal regime coverage

Full Name of Organisation	Coverage	Langs	Year
European Central Bank	1.000	12	1998
European Union	1.000	10	1993
European Monetary Institute	1.000	10	1994
Working Committee of the Danube Countries	1.000	10	1998
European Training Foundation	1.000	9	1990
West-Nordic Foundation	1.000	7	1987
Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean	1.000	6	1969
Joint Administration of the Turkic Culture and Arts	1.000	6	1993
Maritime Analysis and Operations Centre - Narcotics	1.000	6	2008
International Coffee Organization	1.000	5	1963
	⋮	⋮	⋮
Northeast Atlantic Fisheries Commission	0.000	2	1998
Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries	0.000	1	1960
Central European Free Trade Association	0.000	1	1992
Council of the Baltic Sea States	0.000	1	1992
Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation	0.000	1	1992
Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion	0.000	1	1994
Regional Cooperation Agreement for the Promotion of Nuclear Science and Technology in Latin America and the Caribbean	0.000	1	1998
Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea	0.000	1	1998
International Sava River Basin Commission	0.000	1	2002
Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative	0.000	1	2003

3.5.3 Trends in Regime Language Choice

I proceed to examine regime language choice, which better captures the historical specificity of which languages are enshrined in IGO language regimes. Figure 3.2 gives total counts of language inclusion for all languages across the entire dataset. English and French are clearly far and away the most common institutional languages, followed by Spanish in a distant, but clear, third place. Russian, too, is unambiguously the fourth-most used language in both operational and formal language regimes for post-war IGOs. Thereafter, rankings become much less clear. Many languages appear only once; the vast majority of national languages never made it into any IGO language regime.

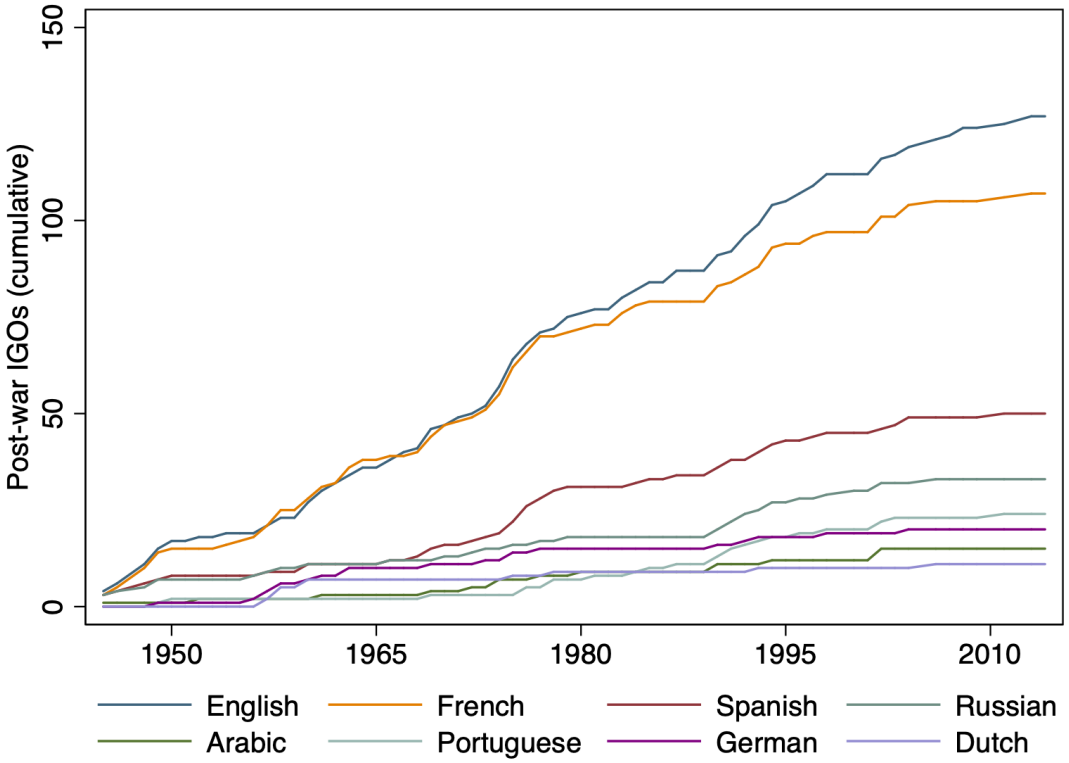
Figure 3.2: Formal and operational regime language choice



When do these languages achieve regime inclusion? Figure 3.3 displays cumulative temporal trends for the eight operational languages that appear most often in the dataset. The two major *lingua-francas* of the early twentieth century, English and French, are neck-and-neck in regime inclusion rate for the first few decades

of the post-war era. This likely reflects a hangover of salient interwar institutional language norms. As the two official languages of the League of Nations, they also became the original working languages of the United Nations, in an arrangement perpetuating what Ostrower calls the 'Anglo-French linguistic condominium' (Ostrower 1965: 365).

Figure 3.3: Cumulative operational regime inclusion for selected languages

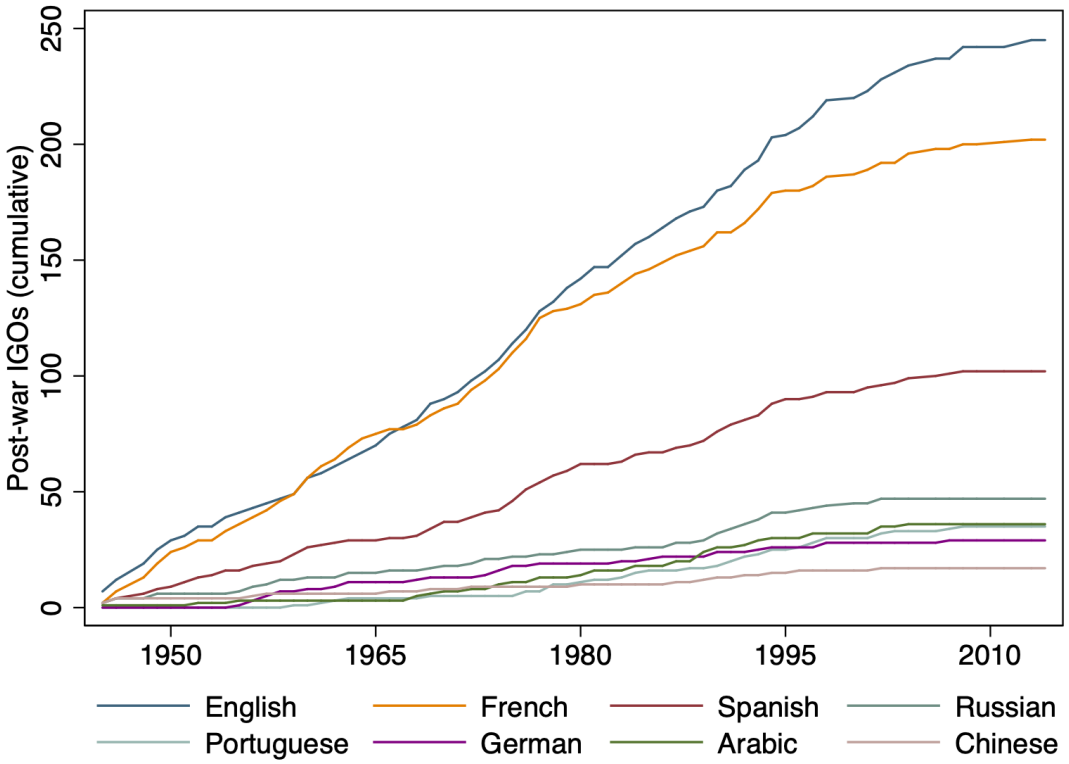


Around the mid-to-late 1970s, however, a clear break occurs as English definitively pulls ahead of French as an operational language. This trend accelerates somewhat as the post-Cold-War era solidifies American dominance of the international system, providing descriptive support for the argument about English and multilateralism in Chapter 2. Interestingly, despite Soviet efforts to make Russian a world language (Aronova 2017), its status as such is not borne out in data on post-war language rules. In the late 1960s, Spanish lurches ahead of Russian, which flatlines as an operational language. Though the post-Cold-War generated a bump in Russian-speaking Eurasian IGOs, Russian is simply not on the same tier as English, French,

and Spanish.

Gaps are even wider in temporal trends for formal languages, shown in Figure 3.4. Just like in Figure 3.3, English and French are used roughly at the same frequency until the late 1970s. Though the exact reasons for changes in time trends lie beyond the scope of this analysis, it suffices to note that, past this sharp break, French lags far behind English in use as a formal language for new IGOs. And unlike for operational languages, Russian is never seriously a contender for third place, with Spanish notching consistent growth from the beginning of the post-war era that continues to the end of the period.

Figure 3.4: Cumulative formal regime inclusion for selected languages



Use of other languages, even those with substantial numbers worldwide speaker populations including Portuguese, Arabic, and Chinese, pales in comparison to the three most widely-used treaty languages. Overall, this analysis empirically supports the conclusion that there is a linguistic hierarchy within post-war IGO language regimes, with positions in the hierarchy becoming clearer as the decades advance.

3.6 Data and Methodology

I test my hypotheses on the pooled cross-section of IGOs in the years of their creation. Notably, *H1* and *H2* concern regime coverage, for which the unit of analysis is simply the individual IGO. In contrast, *H3* and *H4* must be validated with the *language-IGO* (or the *coalition-IGO*, since languages may also be analysed in terms of the coalitions backing them) as the unit of observation. Here, I first detail the construction and characteristics of all variables and display summary statistics for both levels of analysis. I then outline the specifics of my regression models.

3.6.1 Dependent Variables

I first address regime COVERAGE, the proportion of IO member states who have at least one national language included in the regime. Let R_k represent the set of languages in regime R (formal or operational) of organisation k. In formal terms, $coverage_{R_k}$ is defined as:

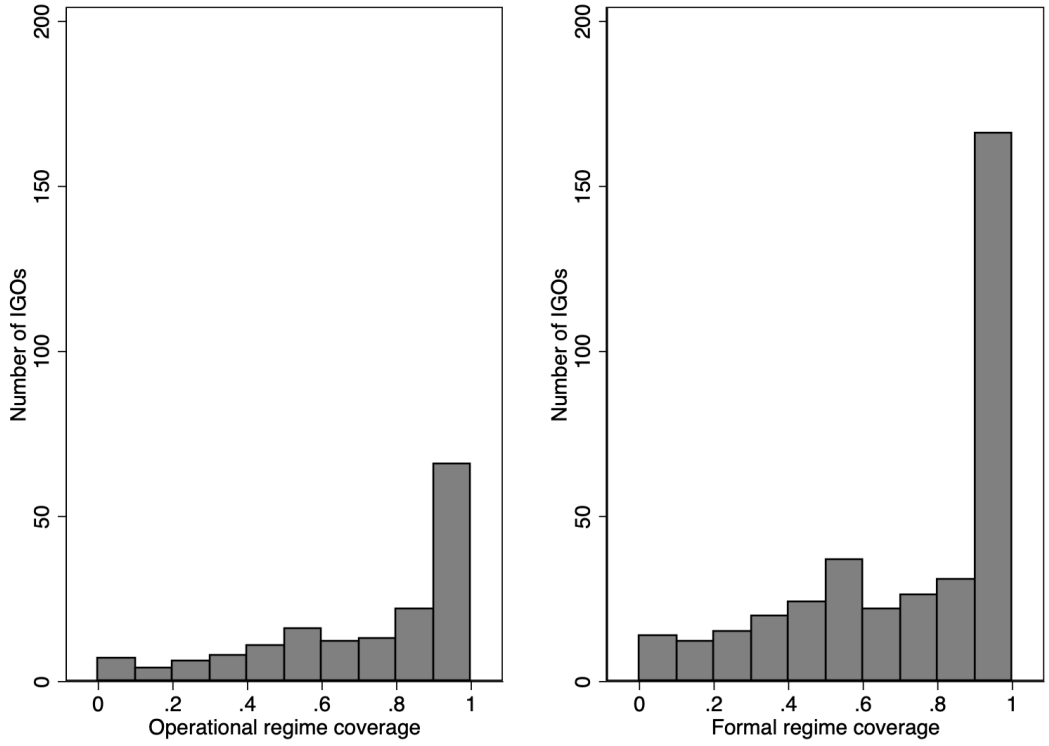
$$coverage_{R_k} = \frac{\sum_{i_k=1}^{N_k} \mathbb{1}(\exists \lambda_{i_k} \in \Lambda_{i_k} s.t. \lambda_{i_k} \in R_k)}{N_k}$$

The denominator N_k represents the number of founding members for organisation k. In the numerator, Λ_{i_k} is the set of all national languages of state i at the time it participates in the founding of organisation k. The symbol λ_{i_k} denotes an individual national language of founding member state i_k within this set. Thus, $\mathbb{1}(\exists \lambda_{i_k} \in \Lambda_{i_k} s.t. \lambda_{i_k} \in R_k)$ is an indicator that equals 1 when a national language of IGO member state i_k is also included in regime R_k.

The coverage variable sums across IGO members and divides by total membership count. If $coverage = 1$, then all states have at least one national language in the regime; if $coverage = 0$, no state has a national language in the regime. Notably, large pluralities of regimes of both types have full coverage.

I move next to the dependent variable at the language-IGO unit of observation. Recall that regime language choice is a qualitative variable that needs to be quantified, which I do using INCLUSION as a binary variable. A national language of an

Figure 3.5: Distribution of regime coverage



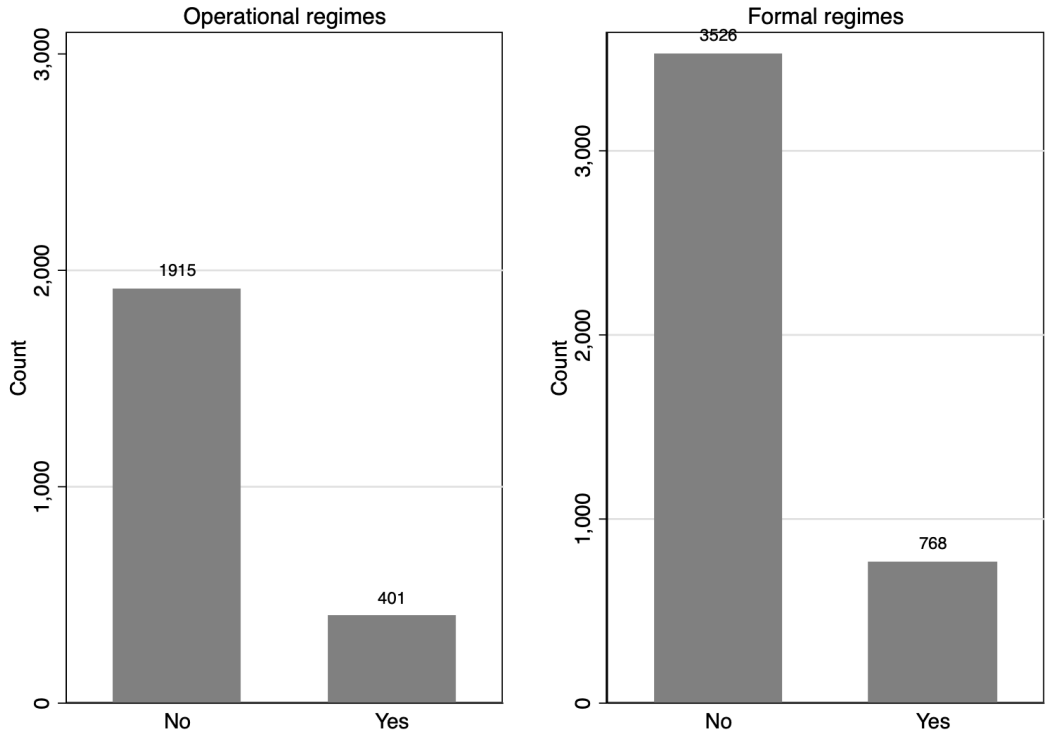
IO member state is *included* in a regime when explicitly specified by the regime rules. In formal terms, this is:

$$inclusion_{\lambda_k}(R_k) = \mathbb{1}(\lambda_k \in R_k) \forall \lambda_k \in \Lambda_k$$

Here, Λ_k is the set of all national languages in use by founding members of organisation k. The indicator $inclusion_{\lambda_k}(R_k) = 1$ if and only if a language λ_k is included in regime R_k.

Importantly, inclusion is *not* defined for $\lambda_k \notin \Lambda_k$, meaning I do not calculate inclusion for languages without national status in any IGO member state. For example, I ignore Korean when analysing ANZUS, because Korean is not a national language in any ANZUS state. This prevents bias from irrelevant data points, but ignores regime languages that are not national languages of member states. As an additional example, I remove observations when France, Germany, and Italy form an organisation with English as an official language.

Figure 3.6: Distribution of regime inclusion



As detailed in Section 3.5, the regime COVERAGE and INCLUSION variables are constructed based on very strict criteria. In the main analysis, I only include the operational and formal language regimes of IGOs for which *original copies* of the relevant *initial* documents on language rules are available. This deflates my data significantly. In the robustness checks, I employ two alternative operationalisations that sacrifice some of this rigour for data density.

First, an alternative construction of operational language regimes includes IGOs missing original initial documents, with language rules inferred from other organisational documents or from secondary sources. This increases data availability for the OPERATIONAL COVERAGE variable from 165 to 240 IGOs, as shown in Table 3.5. For the regime inclusion analysis, Table 3.6 shows that relaxing the criteria increases the number of operational language coalitions from 2,316 to 2,977.

I also operationalise a 'general language regime' for each IGO in the dataset. This pools all information obtained on language rules for the organisation, regardless of

whether a language is an operational language or a treaty language. It is also agnostic to whether information derives from original initial documents, other organisational documents, or secondary sources. As it employs the most lenient criteria, the GENERAL COVERAGE variable covers all 437 IGOs. Similarly, GENERAL INCLUSION is available for all 4,951 observations at the coalition-IGO level.

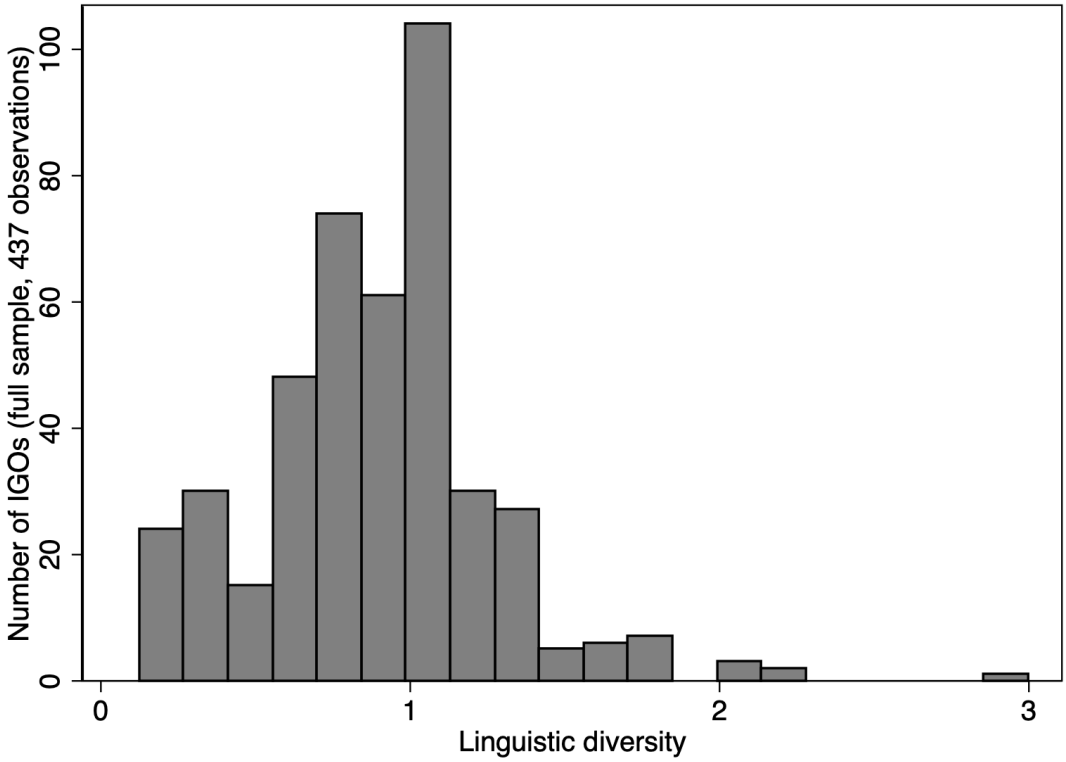
3.6.2 Independent Variables

I defined linguistic diversity as the total number of national languages divided by the number of IGO member states. To operationalise linguistic diversity, I calculate the ratio of the number of national languages to the number of founding members in an organisation. The denominator comes from the COW dataset, and the numerator is taken from the Domestic Language Policies Dataset, introduced in detail in Chapter 4. There are no missing data, as I have hand-coded national languages for all states.

When linguistic diversity < 1, at least two states share a common language. AUKUS has a linguistic diversity of 0.33, as one national language (English) is in use among its three members. When linguistic diversity > 1, at least one member state is multilingual. The linguistic diversity of the Southern African Customs Union is 2.2, as its five member states count 11 national languages among them. When linguistic diversity $= 1$, there are as many national languages as there are states; each state has on average one national language. A visual examination shows that this appears to be true or close to true for the average organisation in the sample.

Next, I measure democratic membership of an IGO using Polity scores taken from the Polity IV project (Marshall, Gurr, and Jaggers 2019). The DEMOCRACY variable is operationalised as the average of the Polity2 scores among the organisation's founding members. As shown in Figure 3.8, the distribution is right-skewed. This suggests that democracies are more likely to form international institutions with one another, aligning with a long line of empirical research on institutional membership patterns (Jacobson, Reisinger, and Mathers 1986; Shanks, Jacobson, and Kaplan 1996; Boehmer and Nordstrom 2008).

Figure 3.7: Distribution of linguistic diversity

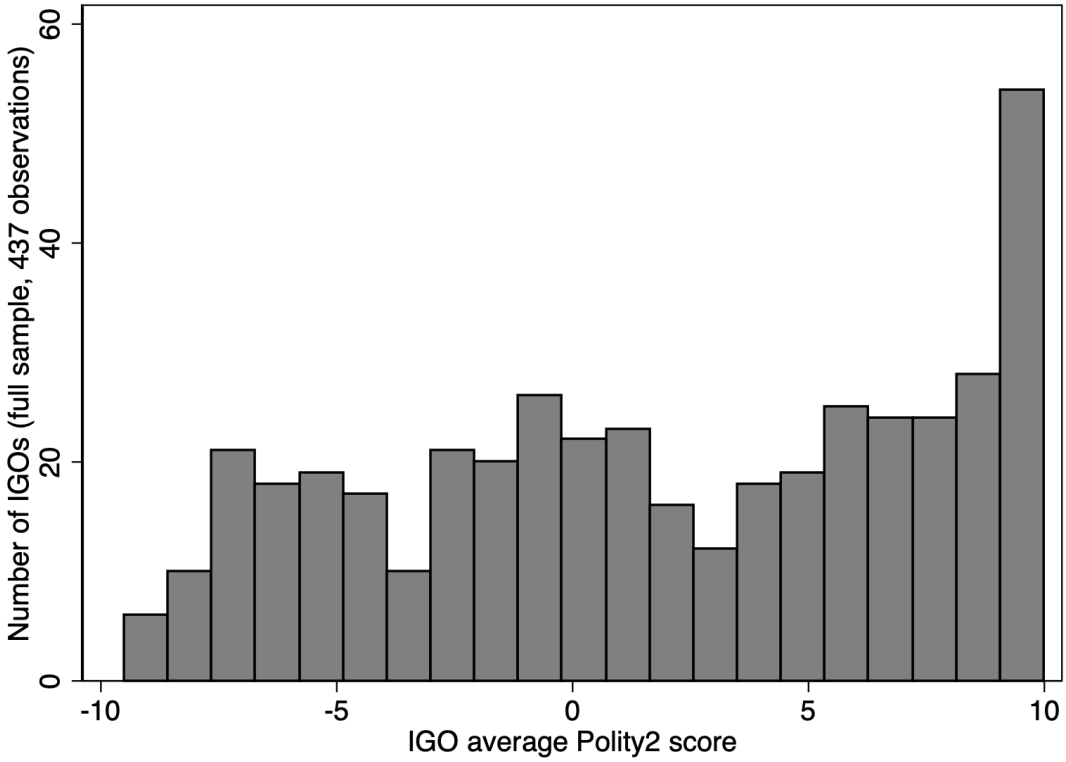


I turn next to coalition strength, with the language-IGO as the unit of observation. Since a linguistic coalition shares a common language by definition, the number of linguistic coalitions in an IGO is always equal to the number of national languages among its entire membership. A single state may thus constitute a coalition on its own; for example, Mexico is the only state within NAFTA where Spanish is a national language.

In the main analysis, I operationalise coalition strength in two ways, both as proportional variables, as power is relative to the other members of the organisation.[22] First, I proxy coalition strength as the number of states in a linguistic coalition, normalised by the number of IGO members at founding. I call this variable COALITION SIZE. Second, I measure material power using the Composite Index of National Capabilities (CINC) score. Analogous to the above, I divide this

[22]I thank Todd Hall for pointing this critical observation.

Figure 3.8: Distribution of democracy

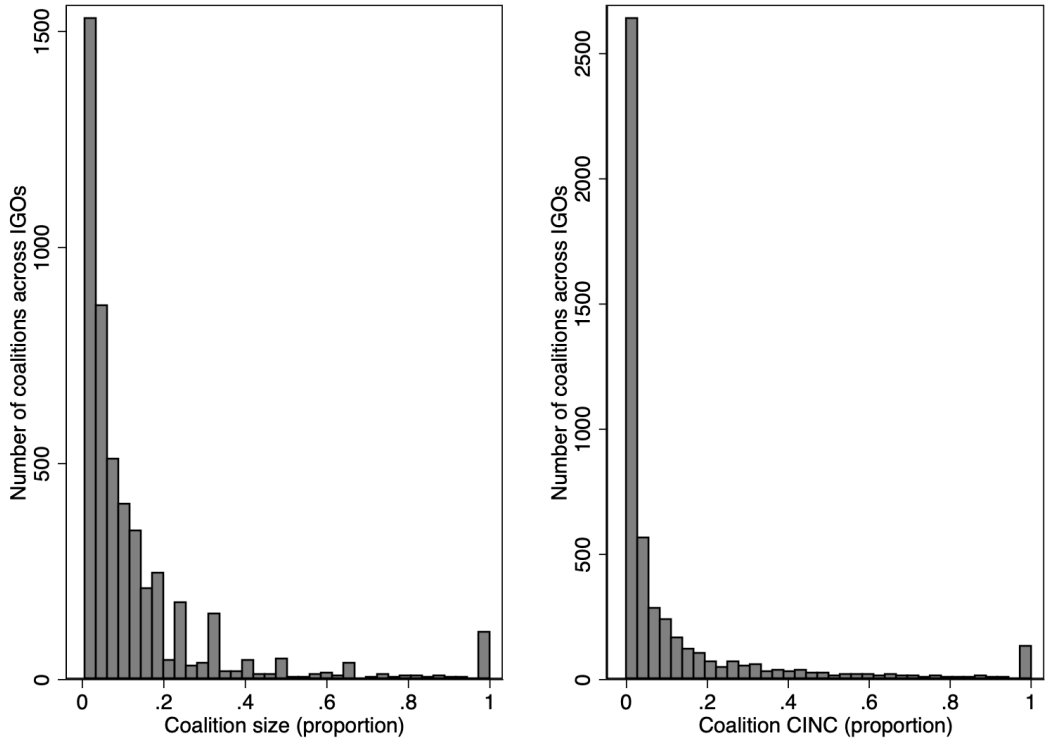


by the aggregate CINC among founding members for COALITION CINC Figure 3.9 shows that both measures are, unsurprisingly, highly left-skewed.

I employ two further measures of power in the robustness checks. First, I proxy economic power with each linguistic coalition's share of total IGO GDP using Bolt and van Zanden's Maddison-style historical estimates (2024). Second, since speaker population also matters for linguistic dominance, I also operationalise coalition strength using the log of the total population of the linguistic coalition, with data taken from the COW database (Singer et al. 2019).

Finally, I derive functional convergence for languages in each state by year from the Domestic Language Policies Dataset. For each linguistic coalition, I aggregate state-level data by summing over coalition member states. The variable represents the proportion of functionally-convergent states in a linguistic coalition. As shown in Figure 3.10, this variable is highly skewed towards extreme values.

Figure 3.9: Distribution of coalition strength (numeric weight and material power)

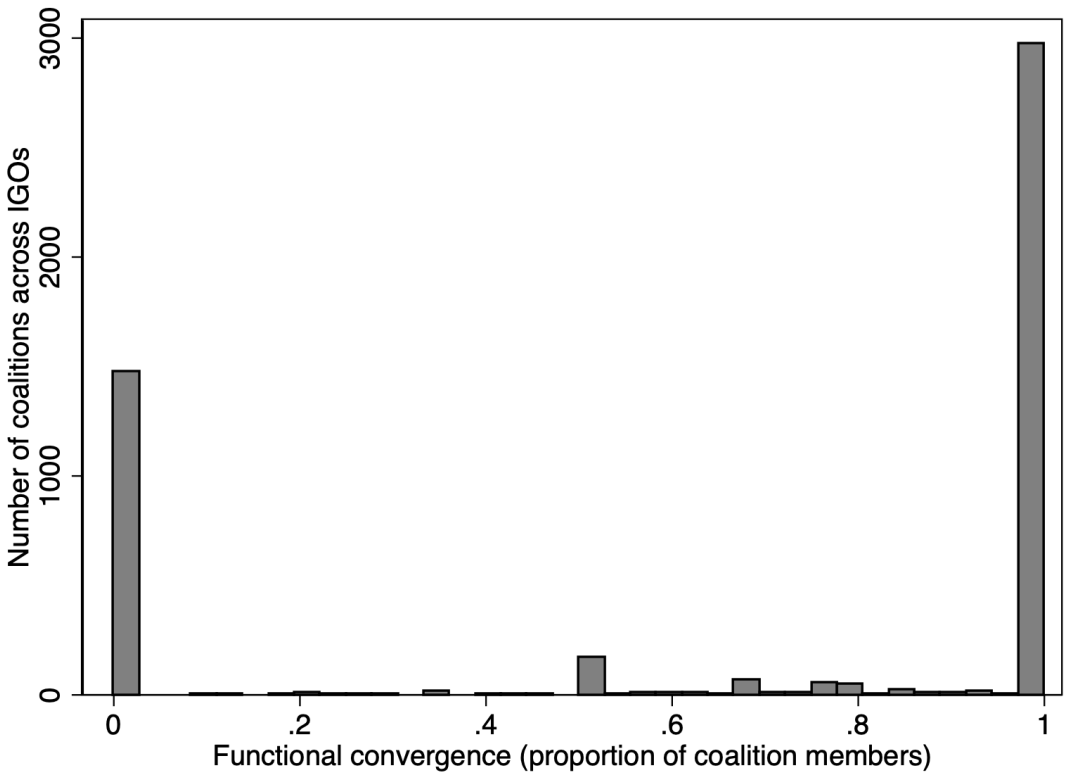


3.6.3 Competing Alternatives and Standard Controls

In addition to baseline models, I also test my main hypotheses against competing explanations. To measure LINGUISTIC SIMILARITY for the *linguistic similarity alternative*, I group national languages by language family. Language families are comparable to phylogenetic 'family trees' in biology, reflecting common linguistic ancestry, with linguistic data available from the Glottolog (Hammarström et al. 2021). I control for the number of language families covered by the national languages of member states, normalised by IGO SIZE.

Next, to account for the *geopolitical alignment alternative*, UNGA VOTE DIFFERENCE WITH USA (AVG) measures the average distance between American ideal-point calculated from its UNGA roll-call votes and the members of the IGO, a common measure of alignment in empirical studies. Data on UNGA voting ideal points are taken from Bailey, Strezhnev, and Voeten's widely-used dataset (2017).

Figure 3.10: Distribution of functional convergence in linguistic coalitions



For the alternative to the *coalition strength hypothesis* I operationalise the global prevalence of a language in two ways. First is the proportion of states in the international system which uses the language in a given year. Second is the total CINC score of all states in the international system that use the language. These correspond to my two operationalisations of coalition strength.

Finally, states strong enough to ward off colonial dominion (or even become colonisers themselves) are more likely to have functionally-convergent languages. To account for the *colonial history alternative*, I include a variable indicating whether a state has been colonised since 1700. The NO COLONIAL HISTORY variable treats settler-colonial states as lacking colonial history, allowing me to distinguish the effects of settler colonialism (e.g, Australia) from extractive colonialism (e.g., Ghana).

Besides these hypothesis-specific alternatives, I also employ a slate of standard controls in all regressions. First, the total number of coalitions in an IGO may affect both coverage and language choice. More coalitions, and thus more languages,

reasonably imply lower inclusion probability for any given language given more candidates to choose from. Second, larger IGOs may simply choose different language regimes than smaller ones. These two effects are separate from LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY, which is a ratio; the same LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY value may reasonably result from different inputs. I thus add TOTAL COALITIONS and IGO SIZE as controls on all regressions.

Next, in an analogue to IGO SIZE, I control for the combined CINC score among all IGO members, IGO CINC. The rationale for this is simple. The Senegal River Development Organisation had three founding members (Mali, Mauritania, and Senegal), as did NAFTA, but the two groups clearly differ greatly in power. Furthermore, by controlling for both total power and IGO SIZE, I effectively control for the average power of states in the organisation.

Institutions also differ in their issue area, and different types of organisations may require different language regimes, depending on their needs. Thus, I add covariates for IGO type from the COW IGO data, which classifies organisations as either economic, social, or political organisations. As these classifications are mutually exclusive, I add only controls for SOCIAL IGO and POLITICAL IGO, retaining economic organisations, the most plentiful type in the sample at 228 individual IGOs, as the base category.

The *scope* of an organisation may also affect language regime selection. Universal IGOs, for example, are likely to select different languages than regional ones. I thus add an indicator for whether an IGO is a regional organisation, with the variable obtained from Davis and Pratt (2021). Next, the geographic regions to which members belong likely affect regime characteristics. A regional organisation with primarily transatlantic membership, for example, will likely have different language choices than Asian institutions. I add six control variables for the proportion of IGO members from the five UN top-level regions (Africa, Asia, Americas, Europe, Oceania) plus the Middle East.

These variables inevitably unable to capture all variation. In the regime coverage analysis, I employ language fixed-effects to isolate unobservables idiosyncratic to each language. If a language in the dataset is never included in the regime, the fixed-effect predicts failure perfectly, dropped the observations. This has two consequences. First, it significantly reduces the number of observations for the analysis. Second, it prevents observations from dropped languages from inflating the data with extraneous zeroes. Results should therefore be insulated from both unnecessarily high statistical power and zero-inflation.

IGO characteristics may also affect language choice. Year of IGO founding and funding sources are both likely to matter for language regime design, but data for members' initial financial contributions are largely unavailable. To remedy this, I run robustness checks for the regime inclusion analysis (at the language-IGO level) with IGO fixed-effects to guard against omitted-variable bias. Note, however, that both sets of fixed effects cannot be applied to the regime coverage analysis, as they would overdetermine results at the IGO level.

Table 3.5 presents descriptive statistics for all dependent, independent, alternative, and standard control variables in this analysis at the IGO unit of observation, whilst Table 3.6 does the same at the coalition-IGO level of observation, where I also control for the *H1* and *H2* predictors, LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY and POLITY2 (AVG). GDP and population are scaled down by a factor of 1,000,000 for readability.

3.6.4 Model Specification: Regime Coverage Analysis

I test the two regime coverage hypotheses using robust OLS regression. I test H1 and H2 together in the main analysis for ease of visual interpretation, and I also run models testing H1 and H2 separately in the Appendix. My full model is:

$$coverage_{R_k} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 diversity_k + \beta_2 democracy_k + \boldsymbol{X_k^T \beta} + \epsilon_k$$

Here, the unit of observation is the IGO, denoted by k. The dependent variable is the coverage of regime R_k. The quantities of interest are the estimates for the

Table 3.5: Descriptive statistics for regime coverage analysis

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Operational coverage	0.73	0.29	0.00	1.00	165
Formal coverage	0.73	0.30	0.00	1.00	367
Operational alternative	0.71	0.31	0.00	1.00	240
General coverage	0.77	0.28	0.00	1.00	437
Linguistic diversity	0.88	0.37	0.12	3.00	437
Polity2 (avg)	1.91	5.73	-9.50	10.00	433
Linguistic similarity	0.33	0.24	0.04	2.00	437
UNGA vote diff w USA (avg)	1.98	1.07	0.00	4.33	434
Total coalitions	11.33	12.88	1.00	88.00	437
IGO size	14.41	17.72	1.00	134.00	437
IGO CINC	0.14	0.19	0.00	0.93	437
Economic IGO	0.52	0.50	0.00	1.00	437
Social IGO	0.31	0.46	0.00	1.00	437
Political IGO	0.17	0.38	0.00	1.00	437
Regional organisation	0.69	0.46	0.00	1.00	437
African states (%)	0.27	0.39	0.00	1.00	437
American states (%)	0.20	0.34	0.00	1.00	437
Asian states (%)	0.11	0.24	0.00	1.00	437
European states (%)	0.31	0.39	0.00	1.00	437
Mideast states (%)	0.07	0.18	0.00	1.00	437
Oceanic states (%)	0.03	0.11	0.00	1.00	437

coefficients β_1 and β_2. $\boldsymbol{X_k}$ is a vector of IGO-level controls, and elements in $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ are the corresponding coefficients. The error term ϵ_k denotes residual variance.

To ensure that suppression effects are not driving my results (Lenz and Sahn 2021), I run nested models by first using a bivariate parsimonious specification for each language regime type. I next add the full slate of covariates, and then add alternatives in the final iteration. Models with different combinations of controls may be found in the Appendix.

3.6.5 Model Specification: Regime Inclusion Analysis

In contrast to the first two hypotheses, *H3* and *H4* examine each coalition in an organisation individually, and examine whether their language achieves regime inclusion. Because inclusion is a binary outcome, coefficient estimates represent

Table 3.6: Descriptive statistics for regime inclusion analysis

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Operational inclusion	0.17	0.38	0.00	1.00	2,316
Formal inclusion	0.18	0.38	0.00	1.00	4,294
Operational alternative	0.18	0.38	0.00	1.00	2,977
General inclusion	0.20	0.40	0.00	1.00	4,951
Coalition size	0.14	0.19	0.01	1.00	4,951
Coalition CINC	0.12	0.22	0.00	1.00	4,951
Coalition GDP	0.17	0.26	0.00	1.00	2,323
Coalition population	0.12	0.22	0.00	1.00	4,951
Functional convergence	0.66	0.45	0.00	1.00	4,951
System prevalence	0.05	0.08	0.01	0.34	4,951
Total system size	150.62	38.73	64.00	195.00	4,951
System language CINC	0.04	0.08	0.00	0.52	4,951
No colonial history	0.43	0.48	0.00	1.00	4,951
Linguistic diversity	0.88	0.28	0.12	3.00	4,951
Polity2 (avg)	1.75	4.84	-9.50	10.00	4,934
Total coalitions	25.93	23.49	1.00	88.00	4,951
IGO size	33.70	33.20	1.00	134.00	4,951
IGO CINC	0.27	0.28	0.00	0.93	4,951
IGO GDP	5774.13	8586.91	2.58	43936.10	2,323
IGO Population	1164.63	1419.26	0.29	6055.91	4,951
Economic IGO	0.50	0.50	0.00	1.00	4,951
Social IGO	0.31	0.46	0.00	1.00	4,951
Political IGO	0.19	0.39	0.00	1.00	4,951
Regional organisation	0.53	0.50	0.00	1.00	4,951
African states (%)	0.33	0.37	0.00	1.00	4,951
American states (%)	0.15	0.22	0.00	1.00	4,951
Asian states (%)	0.13	0.22	0.00	1.00	4,951
European states (%)	0.30	0.33	0.00	1.00	4,951
Mideast states (%)	0.05	0.11	0.00	1.00	4,951
Oceanic states (%)	0.03	0.08	0.00	1.00	4,951

linear changes in inclusion probability. Additionally, as the unit of observation is the coalition-IGO, outcomes for languages within IGOs are correlated. I remedy this by using standard errors clustered on coalition language. For the *coalition strength hypothesis*, I estimate two full models. The first is:

$$\Pr(inclusion_{\lambda_k}(R_k)) = \beta_0 + \beta_{size} size_{\lambda_k} + \boldsymbol{X_k^T \beta} + \boldsymbol{\theta_\lambda} + \mu_{\lambda_k}$$

Where coalition strength is operationalised as numerical weight using the COALITION SIZE variable. In the second, coalition strength is proxied by COALITION CINC:

$$\Pr(inclusion_{\lambda_k}(R_k)) = \beta_0 + \beta_{power} power_{\lambda_k} + \boldsymbol{X_k^T \beta} + \boldsymbol{\theta_\lambda} + \mu_{\lambda_k}$$

In both specifications, the subscript λ_k denotes that the unit of observation is the linguistic coalition for language λ in IGO k. The dependent variable is the log-odds of the probability that λ_k is chosen for regime R_k, $\forall \lambda_k \in \Lambda_k$, the set of all national languages among organisation k's founding membership (as per the definition of $inclusion_{\lambda_k}(R_k)$).

The quantities of interest are β_{size} and β_{power}. $\boldsymbol{X_k}$ is a vector of IGO-specific controls, while $\boldsymbol{\theta_\lambda}$ is a vector of language fixed-effects for all languages. Including them drops observations for languages that are never included in language regimes, substantially reducing observations and preventing zero-inflation of results. In robustness checks, I also include θ_k, denoting an IGO-specific fixed effect. Unobserved variation enters into the residual term μ_{λ_k}. To test the *functional convergence hypothesis*, I specify:

$$\Pr(inclusion_{\lambda_k}(R_k)) = \beta_0 + \beta_{FC} FC_{\lambda_k} + \beta_{size} size_{\lambda_k} + \boldsymbol{X_k^T \beta} + \boldsymbol{\theta_\lambda} + \mu_{\lambda_k}$$

The independent variable of interest is now FUNCTIONAL CONVERGENCE, the proportion of states in each coalition where the language is functionally convergent, with the coefficient of interest β_1 reflecting its impact. As in the regime coverage analysis, I guard against suppression effects by first running parsimonious models. $size_{\lambda_k}$ is present as I control for COALITION SIZE. The full models also include controls for LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY and POLITY2 (AVG).

3.7 Results

Results support *H1*, *H3*, and *H4*, but not *H2*. First, linguistic diversity among membership correlates with less-inclusive regimes, even when controlling for the linguistic similarity alternative. Second, neither democracy nor geopolitical alignment with the US-led liberal international order has increased IGO language regime coverage. Efficiency considerations thus appear to weigh heavily on IGO language regime design, while fairness considerations do not.

Third, increased coalition strength strongly correlates with regime language inclusion. This holds for various conceptualisations of coalition strength, and stays robust in the presence of the global prevalence of languages as an alternative, showing that power makes a difference in interstate bargaining over IGO language regimes. Finally, functional convergence increases language inclusion probability in regimes. This effect is not explained by the alternative, colonial histories of states in linguistic coalitions. Preferences for language choice thus appear to stem from language function.

3.7.1 *H1* and *H2*: Determinants of Regime Coverage

The first hypothesis postulates a negative relationship between linguistic diversity among founding membership and an IGO's regime coverage. Table 3.7 displays regression results, with operational and formal regime coverage outcomes shown in columns (1)-(3) and (4)-(6), respectively. Coefficients on LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY take the expected direction across models. For both regime types, the bivariate case, unsurprisingly, displays the highest levels of significance. Adding the slate of full controls reduces the magnitude of the coefficient but does not negate its effect.

Table 3.7: Effect of linguistic diversity on regime coverage

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Linguistic diversity	-0.297***	-0.218**	-0.255**	-0.195***	-0.090*	-0.119**
	(0.065)	(0.107)	(0.128)	(0.046)	(0.047)	(0.056)
Linguistic similarity			0.070			0.057
			(0.141)			(0.074)

Total coalitions		-0.010**	-0.010*		-0.015***	-0.014***
		(0.005)	(0.005)		(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO size		0.006	0.006		0.009***	0.009***
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		-0.252**	-0.257**		-0.298***	-0.301***
		(0.110)	(0.111)		(0.086)	(0.086)
Social IGO		-0.019	-0.018		-0.033	-0.033
		(0.041)	(0.040)		(0.029)	(0.029)
Political IGO		0.025	0.024		0.046	0.046
		(0.053)	(0.053)		(0.035)	(0.035)
Regional organisation		0.043	0.046		0.077**	0.078**
		(0.049)	(0.050)		(0.032)	(0.032)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	165	165	165	367	367	367
Adjusted R^2	0.091	0.343	0.339	0.056	0.411	0.411

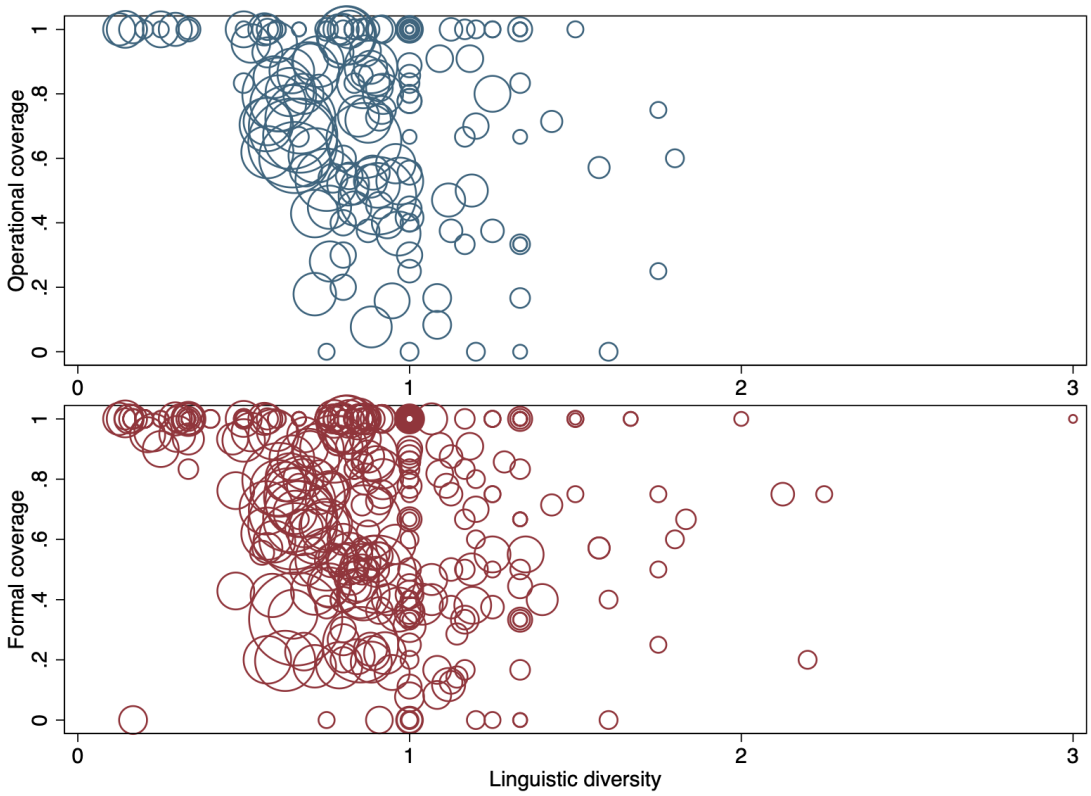
Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Crucially, the addition of linguistic similarity as a competing alternative in columns (3) and (6) does not affect conclusions. Even when controlling for language families, coefficients on linguistic diversity remain comparable to the baselines shown in columns (2) and (5). This suggests that the 'linguistics' of languages are less consequential for IGO language regimes than their 'politics,' lending credence to the proposition that institutional language rules are about more than the mere ease of communication.

Slopes for linguistic diversity are steeper for operational coverage than for formal coverage. This may be a result of differences in costs to regime coverage between the operational and formal domains. Whereas formal regime languages only concern IGO constitutional documents, operational languages are used in day-to-day operations, making additional languages comparatively 'costlier' to add in operational regimes, resulting in a higher 'elasticity' of coverage to linguistic diversity. Figure 3.11 further explores this using two-way scatterplots with regime coverage on the y-axis against linguistic diversity on the x-axis. Each point, visually weighted by IGO size, represents an individual organisation.

The negative relationship is apparent for both regime types. Almost all IGOs lie in the triangular region to the upper-right of the diagonal demarcated by $y = -x$.

Figure 3.11: Bivariate scatterplots of regime coverage by linguistic diversity



As LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY among most organisations is less than one (meaning, simply, that states often share languages), data points are clustered in the region between 0 and 1 on the x-axis. There are, however, more exceptions to this trend for formal regimes than for operational regimes. Notably, in the lower panel, the IGO with the highest level of linguistic diversity (the East African Common Services Organisation) also has full formal regime coverage despite English being its sole treaty language. Its anglophone membership, all former British colonies, also boast native-language domestic language polices.

Unlike for *H1*, however, Table 3.8 does not support *H2*, the democratic membership hypothesis. POLITY2 (AVG) has no effect across all six columns. Interestingly, the geopolitical alignment alternative variable in columns (3) and (6), UNGA VOTE DIFFERENCE WITH USA (AVG), is similarly insignificant. Several controls, however, stand out. In all relevant specifications, IGO SIZE is strongly significant in the positive direction, whilst TOTAL COALITIONS is highly negative. As each coalition

corresponds to an IGO member's national language, these coefficients effectively re-confirm the linguistic diversity hypothesis, since LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY is calculated as the quotient of these two variables. Thus, holding IGO SIZE constant, increasing the number of languages among them unsurprisingly reduces regime coverage.

Table 3.8: Null effect of democratic membership on regime coverage

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Polity2 (avg)	-0.006	0.005	0.001	-0.006	0.005	0.001
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)
UNGA vote diff w USA (avg)			-0.021			-0.021
			(0.028)			(0.028)
Total coalitions		-0.019***	-0.018***		-0.019***	-0.018***
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO size		0.013***	0.012***		0.013***	0.012***
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		-0.225*	-0.245**		-0.225*	-0.245**
		(0.115)	(0.112)		(0.115)	(0.112)
Social IGO		-0.014	-0.013		-0.014	-0.013
		(0.040)	(0.040)		(0.040)	(0.040)
Political IGO		0.053	0.028		0.053	0.028
		(0.051)	(0.047)		(0.051)	(0.047)
Regional organisation		0.043	0.029		0.043	0.029
		(0.049)	(0.051)		(0.049)	(0.051)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	165	165	164	165	165	164
Adjusted R^2	0.006	0.324	0.351	0.006	0.324	0.351

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

I first run several robustness tests to validate the null results shown in Table 3.8. First, instead of Polity2 (avg), I measure democracy as the number of democracies in an IGO divided by its total membership. As is standard practice, I code states as democracies if their Polity2 scores are 6 or greater. Surprisingly, the bivariate specifications in columns (1) and (3) of Table B.1 actually show a *negative* relation between democratic membership and regime coverage.

In Table B.2, I replace DEMOCRACIES (%) with a raw count variable for democracies, with the understanding that IGO SIZE will account for differences in member numbers. The negative relation between democratic membership and regime cov-

erage in fact *strengthens* in column (1) as compared to the previous table. In both sets of regressions, however, the addition of controls and the competing alternative negates any negative effect of democracy.

I next seek to account for potential confounding effects of democracy on findings for the linguistic diversity hypothesis. Table B.3 tests *H1* in the presence of *H2*, showing that the addition of the POLITY2 (AVG) variable does not affect conclusions about the negative effect of LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY on both operational and formal regime coverage. I also consider time effects. Over the decades, new norms of inclusiveness have pushed IGOs to become more open, and to employ democratic rhetoric in justifying their aims (Parizek and Stephen 2021), making it necessary to control for founding year.

Year fixed-effects are inappropriate due to limited total observations at the IGO level. As a standard workaround, I bin IGO founding year using decade dummies. Though Figure B.1 shows no temporal differences in coverage for operational regimes, an inverted U-shape appears in the second panel. Organisations founded between 1965 and 1984 are more likely to have higher formal regime coverage than average. I re-run the main analysis with these dummies in Table B.4. Though significance decreases slightly in specifications with full controls, LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY still retains a noticeable effect.

Moving on, I verify robustness using alternative operationalisations of the dependent variables. Both the alternative operational coverage variable and the general coverage variable, described in Section 3.6, increase the total amount of usable data. Table B.5 shows an even more pronounced effect on ALTERNATIVE OPERATIONAL COVERAGE and GENERAL COVERAGE as compared to their analogues in the main analysis. The very strict criteria used to construct the primary dependent variables should increase confidence in conclusions drawn from the main results.

Additional robustness tests seek to uncover subsets of the data that are driving the observed effects for *H1*. Tables B.6 through B.8 each re-run the analysis for economic, social, and political IGOs. No effect is observed at all for operational

regime coverage on economic IGOs as compared to the other two issue-areas, suggesting that elasticities to changes in linguistic diversity are lower for language regimes when dealing with economic matters.

For both operational and formal regimes, the effect of LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY is strongest for social IGOs, as shown in Table B.7. Yet the effects wash out in columns (3) and (6) with the addition of the REGIONAL ORGANISATION dummy and member region controls. Finally, to further probe this effect, I re-run the analysis on regional and non-regional organisations. Comparing Table B.9 and Table B.10 suggests that the main results are strongly driven by *regional* organisations, though data sparsity in the non-regional sample means this conclusion remains speculative.

3.7.2 *H3*: Coalition Strength and Regime Inclusion

Table 3.9 models the effects of coalition size on language inclusion probability using OLS regression. For both operational and formal language regimes, the main predictor is the single most important determinant of the outcome. In the parsimonious cases in columns (1) and (4), language inclusion is overdetermined when COALITION SIZE = 1. Adding successive controls reduces the coefficient on COALITION SIZE and increases adjusted R^2. Across both operational and formal regimes, the coefficient of interest remains highly significant ($p < 0.001$).

Table 3.9: Effect of coalition size on regime inclusion

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	1.482***	0.711***	0.724***	1.210***	0.658***	0.673***
	(0.064)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.036)	(0.044)	(0.044)
System language prevalence			-0.344			-0.477**
			(0.249)			(0.200)
Total system size			0.001			0.001***
			(0.000)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		0.000	-0.001		0.001	-0.000
		(0.001)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO size		0.001	0.001		0.001	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.088*	-0.042		-0.142***	-0.091**
		(0.048)	(0.043)		(0.042)	(0.038)
Social IGO		-0.004	-0.005		-0.007	-0.013
		(0.019)	(0.019)		(0.017)	(0.018)

Political IGO		0.036	0.040*		0.029	0.028
		(0.023)	(0.023)		(0.020)	(0.020)
Regional organisation		0.028	0.026		0.031*	0.029*
		(0.019)	(0.019)		(0.016)	(0.016)
Linguistic diversity		-0.102*	-0.107**		-0.108***	-0.113***
		(0.054)	(0.053)		(0.030)	(0.029)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.005*	-0.008**		-0.001	-0.005**
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4277	4277
Adjusted R^2	0.389	0.655	0.656	0.353	0.589	0.593

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Furthermore, columns (3) and (6) show that *H3* is robust to the global prevalence alternative. In fact, system language prevalence, the proportion of states worldwide using the relevant language, actually bears a negative effect in column (6). Though the reasons for this result lie beyond the scope of my analysis, it nevertheless suggests that as linguistic coalitions increase in size, they more effectively advocate for their language in both operational and formal regimes. As in the regime coverage analysis, operational inclusion appears more elastic to changes in coalition size than formal inclusion, further supporting speculation that differences in the *expected intensity of use* in formal and operational languages shape the way their regimes are designed.

I turn next to operationalising coalition strength as material power in Table 3.10. The coefficients of interest are once again significant in the expected direction ($p < 0.001$ across all models). Furthermore, whereas the competing hypothesis for coalition size had opposite magnitude to what was expected, columns (3) and (6) in this table show no measurable effect of system language CINC, the combined system-wide CINC score of all countries speaking a coalition's language. Taken together, these observations suggest that the global prevalence of a language has limited influence on bargaining dynamics within IGOs. This is somewhat surprising given the predominance of English and French in IGO language regimes worldwide, detailed in Section 3.5.

Table 3.10: Effect of coalition power on regime inclusion

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	1.219***	0.524***	0.544***	1.004***	0.517***	0.517***
	(0.052)	(0.050)	(0.053)	(0.032)	(0.037)	(0.038)
System language CINC			-0.565			0.150
			(0.379)			(0.245)
Total system size			0.000			0.001***
			(0.000)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		-0.001	-0.002		-0.001	-0.002
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.002)
IGO size		0.002	0.002		0.002	0.002*
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.105**	-0.066		-0.152***	-0.106***
		(0.049)	(0.045)		(0.041)	(0.037)
Social IGO		-0.002	-0.003		-0.003	-0.008
		(0.020)	(0.020)		(0.017)	(0.017)
Political IGO		0.035	0.039*		0.029	0.028
		(0.023)	(0.023)		(0.020)	(0.020)
Regional organisation		0.031	0.030		0.032**	0.031*
		(0.020)	(0.020)		(0.016)	(0.016)
Linguistic diversity		-0.062	-0.065		-0.076**	-0.079***
		(0.054)	(0.054)		(0.030)	(0.029)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.004	-0.006		-0.000	-0.003
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4277	4277
Adjusted R^2	0.354	0.645	0.646	0.324	0.584	0.587

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

They are reconcilable, however, by two observations. First, because regime inclusion for each language λ_k is only defined over Λ_k, the set of all national languages among IGO members, the analyses excludes cases where an entirely foreign language is used for intergroup communication to prevent data inflation. As a consequence, this regression does not analyse English-language use among only non-English-speaking states. Second, English is by far the most prevalent domestic national language (see Section 4.5 in Chapter 4). English-language prevalence *within* each organisation thus better explains the widespread institutional use of English, rather than purely *external* system influences at the time of regime formation.

I proceed to ascertaining the robustness of *H3*. Table B.11 and Table B.12 swap

OLS estimation for logistic regression models. To check that the large regression coefficients are not a spurious result of complete separation, Table B.13 re-estimates the bivariate specifications using Firth logit regression, which uses a penalised likelihood function, yielding coefficients comparable to the standard logit estimates. Table B.14 and Table B.15 employ a probit specification, yielding smaller coefficients. All results are significant, supporting *H3*.

I next return to a linear probability setting and control for a series of unobservables. Robustness tests for the regime coverage analysis employed founding decade dummies due to the limited number of IGOs overall. As data density is not a concern at the coalition-IGO unit of observation, I proceed by adding year fixed-effects in Table B.16 and Table B.17. Though significance on a number of covariates disappears, the effects of both COALITION SIZE and COALITION CINC remain robust across all models, further increasing confidence in the analysis.

The main results employ clustering to account for intra-IGO dependences when calculating standard errors, but this does not account for IGO-specific unobservables. Table B.18 and Table B.19 add IGO fixed-effects, absorbing *all* IGO-level variation and thus eliminating the need for separate IGO-level controls. As in the main analysis, these results attribute strong significance ($p < 0.001$) to coefficients on COALITION SIZE and COALITION CINC across all specifications for both operational and formal regimes, even in the presence of the global prevalence alternative. Adjusted R^2 statistics show that these models account for much more variation than the baseline. Additionally, Table B.20 and Table B.21 replicate the above in a logit setting using conditional logistic regression grouped on the individual IGO, further boosting confidence in the robustness results.[23]

Findings are also robust to alternative variable operationalisations. In Table B.22 and Table B.23, I replace OPERATIONAL INCLUSION with the ALTERNATIVE OPERATIONAL INCLUSION variable, increases the number of IGOs in the analysis by allowing for language regime data from non-original and secondary sources.

[23]Language fixed-effects are not included as the proliferation of language dummies leads to non-convergence of the likelihood function. See Menard (2008).

These tables also swap FORMAL INCLUSION for the pooled GENERAL INCLUSION variable. Effects are comparable to those in the main analysis, which uses the more conservative dependent variables.

Next, I operationalise coalition strength using alternative independent variables. First, I use GDP-based measures instead of CINC. GDP is likely to matter more for bargaining outcomes in IOs due to the importance of financial contributions for organisational survival. States with larger economies have more financial resources at their disposal for these ends, potentially bestowing them with more bargaining power. This contrasts with CINC, an abstract measure of composite material capabilities, the vast majority of which are not immediately fungible in the context of international institutions' administrative operations. Table B.24 shows that missingness in GDP data significantly reduces observations. Nevertheless, COALITION GDP is highly significant ($p < 0.001$) across columns (1)-(6). In contrast, the GDP-equivalent alternative hypothesis, SYSTEM LANGUAGE GDP, has no discernible effect.

Population-based measures of strength produce comparable results. Table B.25 shows without qualifications that coalition population exerts a large and statistically significant effect on the probability of language inclusion across both operational and formal regimes. Once again, the insignificant coefficient on the alternative SYSTEM LANGUAGE POPULATION variable indicates this result is independent of the total worldwide number of speakers, hinting at the importance of intra-IGO dynamics and the appropriateness of a bargaining framework.

Indeed, larger populations are a *fungible* form of power in the IGO bargaining context, as they bestow linguistic coalitions with better arguments for institutional representativeness. Addint to the League examples, Ostrower, who examines documents from the founding of the United Nations, uncovers an explicit line of reasoning at the San Francisco Conference based on population figures against making Spanish a UN working language. 'Demography favored this argument,' he writes, 'since the number of people speaking or understanding Russian and Chinese

is four times larger than the number of people speaking or understanding Spanish' (Ostrower 1965: 414).

The fact that coalition size, CINC, GDP, and population *all* generate similar effects on regime language choice supports my earlier assertions: though 'bargaining power' may not be perfectly quantifiable *per se*, having 'more' in an abstract sense does indeed help coalitions achieve their goals in standard-setting coordination games.

Tables B.26 through B.31 subset the data by IGO type. COALITION SIZE and COALITION CINC are consistently large and significant for economic, social, and political IGOs alike, despite the disparity in data density across each of the sub-samples. Notably, these results hold for both operational and formal language regimes. Finally, Tables B.32 through B.35 analyse differences by regional and non-regional IGOs. All coefficients on the 24 regressions across these four tables far exceed conventional significance thresholds. Worth noting is that both COALITION SIZE and COALITION CINC consistently have larger effects on regional as opposed to non-regional organisations, though the precise reasons for this exceed the scope of this analysis.[24]

3.7.3 *H4*: Functional Convergence and Regime Inclusion

Finally, I analyse the effects of domestic language function. Since states may derive either or both symbolic and pragmatic utility from institutionalising their languages in IGO language regimes, they should have the strongest bargaining incentives for national languages that are *functionally convergent*, fulfilling both administration and identity functions at the domestic level. Table 3.11 shows the results. In columns (2) and (5), I add the proportional NO COLONIAL HISTORY variable to test the colonial history alternative, but leave out language fixed-effects. FUNCTIONAL CONVERGENCE continues to exert a strong effect despite the competing explanation in both cases.

[24]For theories of regionalism concerning institutional norms, see Acharya (2004, 2011).

Table 3.11: Effect of functional convergence on regime inclusion

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.135***	0.074***	0.052	0.137***	0.067***	0.062**
	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.031)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.025)
No colonial history		-0.043***	-0.090*		-0.014	-0.017
		(0.012)	(0.047)		(0.013)	(0.037)
Coalition size		1.529***	0.694***		1.265***	0.650***
		(0.076)	(0.063)		(0.040)	(0.045)
Total coalitions		0.002	-0.000		0.002	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO size		-0.002	0.001		-0.001	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		0.037	-0.076		-0.041	-0.143***
		(0.050)	(0.047)		(0.043)	(0.042)
Social IGO		-0.017	-0.003		-0.015	-0.007
		(0.020)	(0.019)		(0.018)	(0.017)
Political IGO		0.023	0.038		0.021	0.030
		(0.025)	(0.023)		(0.021)	(0.020)
Regional organisation		0.029	0.030		0.025	0.031*
		(0.021)	(0.019)		(0.017)	(0.016)
Linguistic diversity		-0.203***	-0.099*		-0.180***	-0.104***
		(0.065)	(0.053)		(0.041)	(0.030)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.005*	-0.005*		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4277	4277
Adjusted R^2	0.025	0.432	0.656	0.025	0.408	0.590

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

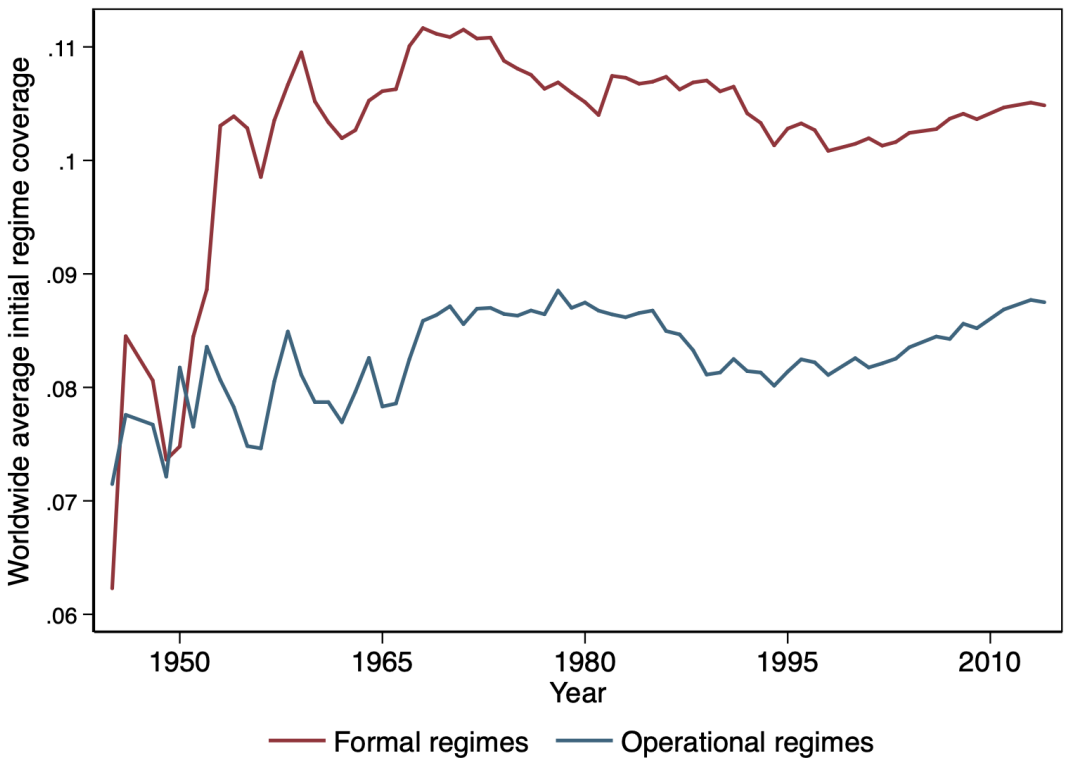
With the addition of language fixed-effects in columns (6), the coefficient of interest also retains significance despite a slight drop in magnitude. In column (3), however, functional convergence registers no significance. *Why is this the case?*

I return to the core difference between operational and formal regimes. Because formal regimes are used to constitute the organisation as a legal entity, their use is relatively costless. In contrast, agreeing to an extra operational language implies committing to its use on a regular basis for an unknown length of time. Qualitatively, organisations frequently use more treaty languages than operational languages. The Statute of the European System of Central Banks and of the European Central Bank, for example, was originally authentic in all of the authentic

languages of the Maastricht Treaty at the time of its founding in 1998 (Danish, Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Irish, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Swedish). English, however, remains the European Central Bank's only operational language until the present.

Due to disparities in data coverage, differences between operational and formal regimes are not immediately apparent either in the descriptive statistics or in the descriptive analysis. However, re-calculating Figure 3.1 in Section 3.5 rectifies this. Whereas Figure 3.1 evaluates average regime coverage for each year, Figure 3.12 shows a *cumulative*, running average over extant post-war IGOs that stabilises over time, facilitating comparison between the two regime types. A clear gap in inclusivity immediately emerges between formal and operational regimes, with the former displaying higher coverage (and thus, higher rates of language inclusion) overall.

Figure 3.12: Cumulative average regime coverage of post-war IGOs



Stronger preferences for language inclusion are thus easier to accommodate as

'treaty' languages rather than as operational languages used in day-to-day affairs. This is fully consistent with the observation that coefficients on COALITION SIZE and COALITION CINC are larger for OPERATIONAL INCLUSION than for FORMAL INCLUSION in Table 3.9 and Table 3.10. Because treaty languages are less costly to add, less coalition strength is required to attain institutionalisation in a formal language regime. Ultimately, then, coalition strength is about *ability*, while functional convergence concerns preferences.

For which languages should we expect stronger preferences? A starting point is the qualitatively different standing of English and French, distinctive as global colonial languages in addition to their outsized role in IGO language regimes. Figure 4.3 in Chapter 4 shows that over the post-war era, aggregate worldwide rates of domestic functional convergence are much lower for these two *lingua-francas* than for other colonial languages, notably Spanish and Portuguese. Additionally, English- and French-language coalitions make up 591 of 4,951, or over 10 percent, of total observations. Table 3.12 re-analyses the data with these coalitions excluded.

The differences are stark. For the full model with formal inclusion as the outcome variable, the coefficient on FUNCTIONAL CONVERGENCE not only increases in significance but close to doubles in size (0.116, vs 0.062 in column (6) of Table 3.11). Changes are likewise immediately present in column (3), the full model for OPERATIONAL INCLUSION. Here, the coefficient of interest falls well below conventional significance ($p < 0.001$), with magnitude more than double its counterpart in the previous table. These results support the argument that including English and French depresses the effects of functional convergence.

Table 3.12: Effect of functional convergence on regime inclusion, excluding English and French

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.100***	0.075***	0.121***	0.109***	0.076***	0.116***
	(0.015)	(0.013)	(0.033)	(0.011)	(0.010)	(0.024)
No colonial history		-0.022**	-0.124*		-0.011	-0.106**
		(0.010)	(0.069)		(0.013)	(0.048)
Coalition size		1.270***	0.888***		0.975***	0.689***

		(0.084)	(0.096)		(0.047)	(0.058)
Total coalitions		0.003*	0.001		0.002*	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO size		-0.002	0.000		-0.001	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		0.004	-0.048		-0.099**	-0.139***
		(0.052)	(0.050)		(0.043)	(0.041)
Social IGO		0.001	0.004		-0.011	-0.010
		(0.020)	(0.020)		(0.018)	(0.018)
Political IGO		0.027	0.035		0.019	0.017
		(0.027)	(0.025)		(0.021)	(0.021)
Regional organisation		0.019	0.025		0.039**	0.051***
		(0.020)	(0.020)		(0.016)	(0.017)
Linguistic diversity		-0.203***	-0.124**		-0.187***	-0.122***
		(0.059)	(0.056)		(0.040)	(0.033)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.005	-0.003		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	2079	2079	2079	3798	3785	3785
Adjusted R^2	0.026	0.321	0.436	0.029	0.314	0.384

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

I run robustness tests on both the full sample and the 'allophone' sample, to borrow a Canadian term denoting those whose mother tongue is neither English nor French (Ma 2020). I first replace OLS with logistic regression, with the full sample in Table B.36 and the allophone subset shown in Table B.37. Changes to the coefficients of interest across these two tables are highly comparable to their equivalents in the main analysis. The same patterns are also visible when re-estimating using probit models in Table B.38[25] and Table B.39, further justifying the rationale for excluding English- and French-language coalitions.

Next, I revert to OLS regression but employ IGO founding year fixed-effects for both samples. Patterns of significance in Table B.40 and Table B.41 are again comparable to those in the main analysis. This is furthermore observable in the following two tables, under the strictest specification which absorbs all IGO fixed-effects. The main predictor in column (3) in Table B.43 displays significance well below the conventional threshold ($p < 0.001$). A small but positive coefficient is

[25]Two models are dropped from this table due to non-convergence of the likelihood function.

observed even in column (3) of the full-sample analysis in Table B.42 ($p = 0.058$). Putting aside these particular results, FUNCTIONAL CONVERGENCE is highly significant in the remaining columns across all aforementioned tables, for both the full sample and the allophone subset.

I proceed to alternative variable operationalisations. Table B.44 and Table B.45 swap the main dependent variables for ALTERNATIVE OPERATIONAL INCLUSION and GENERAL INCLUSION. Results from the full sample analysis are comparable to the baseline. For the allophone sample, the more lenient operationalisation of operational language regimes in columns (1)-(3) yields slightly larger coefficients on FUNCTIONAL COVERGENCE. Notably, the key value in column (3) is conventionally significant.

I turn at last to data subsetting. Comparing Tables B.46, B.47, and B.48 yields no definitive conclusions on which types of IGOs are driving the effect for the full sample, though the effect seems to be larger and more consistent for economic organisations, which account for a plurality of the data. In contrast, in the allophone subset analysed in Tables B.49 through B.51, functional convergence effects on operational regimes appear strongest for *economic* IGOs. Additionally, the effect is pronounced across all IGO types for formal regimes. Comparing regional and non-regional organisations in Tables B.52 through B.55 tentatively suggests that regional organisations are driving the overall effect; furthermore, the effects are clearly stronger for allophone coalitions than for the full sample.

Overall, this analysis supports the conclusion that preferences, which originate at the domestic level, matter for language rules in international institutions, a trend that becomes clearer when the outsized influence of English and French are excluded from analysis. As well, formal language regimes are better-able to accommodate the stronger preferences for language inclusion that result from functional convergence.

3.8 Conclusion

What explains the choice of institutional languages in international organisations? Motivated by potential insights into institutional design, this chapter has argued that language rules in international institutions are best conceived as 'language regimes,' characterised by an efficiency-fairness trade-off. Using a heuristic framework where states sharing national languages form coalitions to bargain over IGO language regime design, I proposed four hypotheses on the determinants of *how many* and *whose* languages would attain institutiona status in IGOs, along with attendant competing alternative explanations.

Testing them on a novel dataset yielded several unambiguous results. Empirically, linguistic diversity among IGO membership reduces regime coverage, but democratic membership fails to increase it. Furthermore, numerical strength and material resources (as well as other measures of 'power' in the abstract including GDP and population) strongly boost a linguistic coalition's chances of institutionalising their languages. As well, the intensity of *preferences*, as proxied by the domestic functional convergence of identity and administration in a national language, help linguistic coalitions attain more favourable bargaining outcomes. Results are robust to controls and alternative explanations.

Disagreements over language are not only about the possibility of communication. Though they are ancillary to international institutions' priorities, language regime design choices are nevertheless *political choices* over how to distribute privilege. Widely-observed trends of increasing organisational representativeness have not extended to the design of IGO language regimes: When it comes to institutional language choice, efficiency, and not fairness, is king. Predictably for coordination games in world politics, these 'efficient' outcomes are most likely to be in the favour of powerful states, as well as states with strong domestic preferences, since states have little recourse to outside options for increasing their bargaining leverage.

Though arguably somewhat unsurprising, these results show how seemingly ancillary issues shape aspects of the global order that we take for granted. Chapter

2 has shown that operational language rules, a *dependent* variable in the present analysis, are responsible for the diffusion of English as the *lingua franca* of modern diplomacy. Besides shedding light on the centrality of both preferences and ability to standards-setting in institutional design issues, this project also brings IR into conversation with other disciplines. Comparative politics scholars have theorised domestic language policies as products of bargaining between ethnic groups with implications for state stability (Laitin 1988; Liu 2009, 2015), but this research is largely unknown to IR.

Several directions for future research present themselves. Empirically, the IGO Regimes Dataset is a potential disciplinary contribution in its own right. Though beyond the ambitions of this dissertation, the data collected are designed to be interoperable with the COW IGO family of datasets. Broadly speaking, adding language-related control variables to other analyses, even on seemingly unrelated topics, may help validate their conclusions given how language rules structure social environments. The data also represent a useful starting point for considering how language rules specifically affect IGO outcomes, in the mould of the second chapter of this thesis.

Theoretically, this study also opens a potential research agenda by pointing to 'language politics' as a site of status competition in IR.[26] When seeking to improve their relative standings in international social hierarchies (Gotz 2021), states often acquire aircraft carriers, space programmes, world-class universities, and jockey for the right to host the Olympics (Pu and Schweller 2014: 148-9).

Official language recognition in IGOs plays a similar role. Since the mid-twentieth century, 'the status of an official language of the U.N. [has proxied a] country's standing on the world stage,' with various delegations clamouring for Arabic, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu, Portuguese, and Indonesian to be added to the existing set of official languages (Aronova 2017). In this way, the global prevalence of a state's language also reflects status and hierarchy in the international system.

[26]See, e.g., Ammon (2006); Aronova (2017).

Research potential also extends beyond international institutions narrowly defined. The politics of international language promotion, for example, have already attracted some attention from scholars of foreign policy and international affairs. In the first place, much has been made of China's Confucius Institutes (Gil 2017), but little attention has been devoted to why cultural diplomacy of this type has been structured around language. A new look at these activities through an institutional lens may inject new life into a topic that has so-far mostly been understood as 'soft power' (Nye 2008), an arguably murky theoretical category (Hall 2010).

Ultimately, language politics are foundational to the constitution of international orders. In the next chapter, I expound on this point with a study of how domestic language policies shape the composition of international organisations. For now, I conclude with the words of Vincent Pouliot (2025), who writes the following of the 'alleged demise' of the liberal international order in September 2025:

> 'It is hard to imagine US hegemony in the way that it has developed but for the concomitant spread of English as the first truly global lingua franca (Vucetic 2011). By contrast, China's ongoing ascent in soft power is significantly curtailed by the geographical concentration of Mandarin locutors, numerous as they are. While proponents of the liberal international order seldom if ever address its linguistic foundation, it is hard to imagine how today's system could be so entrenched, and last for so long, without it.'

4

National Languages and International Cooperation

Why do states choose to create international organisations with some partners and not others? Existing explanations of institutional membership emphasise regime type and geopolitical alignment, but often neglect cultural determinants. This paper advances the argument that common national languages increase the likelihood of states co-creating IGOs, an outcome dogged by the difficulties of incomplete contracting. Shared languages facilitate cooperation through a social pathway, by fostering community and stabilising expectations, and a rational pathway, by lowering translation costs and reducing uncertainty about future behaviour. Additionally, differences in language function and legal status should also affect the ability of common languages to foster cooperation.

I test these propositions with an original global dataset of national language policies covering 202 states from 1945 to 2014. Regression estimation provides strong evidence that states sharing national languages, particularly those that serve both administrative and identity functions as well as those with *de jure* status, are more likely to co-found international institutions. The results show that language differs from other cultural variables including religion and ethnicity, and that domestic language politics can shape international institutional outcomes. This study broadens theoretical understandings of cooperation, diversifies empirical determinants of IGO membership, and introduces the first time-varying global dataset of national language policy in the post-war era.

4.1 Introduction 157
4.2 Institutional Cooperation in International Theory . . . 159
4.2.1 Systemic Theories of Institutional Creation 160
4.2.2 Domestic Determinants of IGO Membership 161
4.2.3 International Institutions and their Social Context . . . 162
4.3 A Sociolinguistic Theory of Organisational Membership 164
4.3.1 The Challenge of Cooperating through Institutions . . . 165
4.3.1.1 The *How* and *Who* Problems in Cooperation . 165
4.3.1.2 Incomplete Contracting and Partner Choice . . 166
4.3.2 The Transnational Connectivity of Languages 168
4.3.2.1 The Social View: Linguistic Communities . . . 168
4.3.2.2 The Rational View: Translation Costs 170
4.3.3 Domestic Language Policies and Multilateral Institutions 171
4.3.3.1 National Languages and IGO Membership . . 172
4.3.3.2 Language Policy: Function and Legal Status . 174
4.4 Operationalising National Languages 177
4.4.1 The Need for New Data 177
4.4.2 Dataset Construction and Coding 178
4.5 Domestic Language Policies in the Post-war Era 181
4.5.1 National Languages and State Multilingualism 182
4.5.2 The Functional Dimension of Language Policy 184
4.5.3 The Legal Dimension of Language Policy 188
4.6 Research Design 191
4.6.1 Regression Setting 192
4.6.2 Dependent and Independent Variables 193
4.6.3 Control Variables 194
4.6.3.1 Group-level Cultural and Geographic Controls 194
4.6.3.2 Group-level Political and Economic Controls . 195
4.6.3.3 IGO and State Controls 197
4.7 Findings 199
4.7.1 Baseline Regression 200
4.7.2 Baseline Robustness Tests 202
4.7.3 Fixed-Effects and Lagged Predictors 204
4.7.4 Heterogeneity by Institutional Characteristics 207
4.8 Conclusion 211

4.1 Introduction

In recent decades, membership in intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) has re-emerged as a topic of interest in International Relations (IR). Responding to post-Cold-War empirical research on how international institutions can mitigate conflict, scholars have observed that understanding *which states* join international organisations is crucial if effects are to be attributed to the organisations themselves (Downs, Rocke, and Barsoom 1996). Studies have emerged to address this critique. In line with the 'Democratic Peace' tradition, work on the determinants of IGO membership throughout the 2000s and 2010s focussed on democracy and democratic transitions in relation to the decision to join organisations.

As a consequence, other determinants of institutional membership have received much less attention in the literature. Yet if IGO co-memberships are indeed a product of social interactions in international society (Davis 2025), then the search for potential determinants of IGO membership should extend far beyond variations in regime type. Taking seriously theoretical insights about sociality in international politics requires careful study of other bases for shared identities, values, and meanings that can give rise to institutionalised forms of interstate community and organisation (Adler and Barnett 1998).

In this chapter, I advance the goals above by examining the role of common languages in the propensity of states to create IGOs with one another. Doing so additionally helps to contextualise the specific conclusions drawn in the preceding chapters. In Chapter 2, I find that aggregate membership in IGOs where English is an operational language is at least partially responsible for its spread as the *lingua franca* of diplomacy. In Chapter 3, I further find that language rules are determined by the domestic characteristics of linguistic coalitions among founding IGO members. I turn subsequently to the linguistic bases of IGO memberships in the first place, both as the logical next step in this agenda and as a research question in its own right.

Here, I focus on *founding* members for two reasons. First, empirically, my previous chapter concerns *initial* IGO language regimes as determinative for subsequent interactions, justifying an emphasis on IGO creators rather than late-joiners. Second, and theoretically, IGO creation and joining are events of a different nature (Jupille, Mattli, and Snidal 2013). Creators and joiners face different barriers to membership: Existing institutions can screen out aspirants based on criteria that even founders may not fulfil (Kaoutzanis, Poast, and Urpelainen 2016). Yet much of the existing literature either confounds creation and joining, or otherwise assumes that IGOs exist that can be joined (Pevehouse and von Borzyskowski 2017).

I argue states that share national languages are more likely to create international organisations with one another. In doing so, I build on insights about of the role of sociality in overcoming the difficulties of incomplete contracting, a problem that plagues even institutionalised forms of cooperation under anarchy. Through a social pathway, shared language provides common understandings that stabilise expectations and reduce uncertainty about cooperation partners, even when substantive interests diverge. But even bracketing sociality, a common language reduces the semantic and material costs to communication via a rational pathway.

I test this theory by gathering yearly data on the domestic functions and legal status of national languages for the 202 states in the post-war Correlates of War (COW) interstate system (Pevehouse et al. 2020). This novel data covers 10,188 state-years from 1945 to 2014. Using a variety of regression specifications, I find strong support for my argument. Further analysis confirms that the dual symbolic and pragmatic functions of language differentiate it from other eminent categories of cultural identity, including ethnicity and religion. Additionally, I find that *de jure* language policy affects IGO co-founding propensity, showing how domestic language politics can also affect *international* cooperation.

This study makes several disciplinary contributions. Theoretically, I build on scholarship in institutionalist IR by synthesising insights about community and sociality with rational understandings of language as a determinant of institutional partner

choice. Empirically, I diversify the recent literature on the topic beyond regime type and move towards verifying that 'states are more likely to cooperate the more closely they identify with each other, rather than against each other' (Hopf 2016). Methodologically, I provide the first global dataset of national language *function* and policy *changes* in the post-war era. Thus far, quantitative empirical studies have essentialised language as a time-invariant state attribute. The Domestic Language Policies dataset is thus a contribution in its own right, paving the way for causal investigation of the effects of language in trade and in other areas of IPE.

The chapter proceeds as follows. In Section 4.2, I review disciplinary scholarship on international cooperation and the topic of IGO membership therein. Next, Section 4.3 outlines a sociolinguistic theory of IGO founding membership, expounding on the dual symbolic and pragmatic function of national languages, as well as the role of *de jure* domestic status. Sections 4.4 and 4.5 introduce my original data and undertake descriptive analysis. Section 4.6 outlines the research design, while Section 4.7 tests the hypotheses generated by the theory, details empirical findings, and undertakes further disaggregated analyses. The final section concludes.

4.2 Institutional Cooperation in International Theory

IGO membership has re-emerged in recent years as a topic of interest for international organisation scholars, but empirical studies on formation and membership have elided cultural explanatory factors. Whilst paradigmatic theories of cooperation foregrounded the formation of organisations, they employed a systemic perspective to challenge neorealism, thus bracketing issues of membership and its domestic determinants. With the end of the Cold War, empirical studies began to fill this gap, but concentrated on monadic, demand-side explanations of membership and on democracy as an independent variable.

In the past decade, a new literature has emerged that takes seriously the social context of both joining and forming international institutions. Empirically, net-

work analysis highlights homophily, or the tendency of similar actors to associate more with one another, in interstate relations. From this perspective, IGOs more frequently appear as exclusive clubs rather than public goods, and geopolitics and ideology have emerged as the predominant explanations for IGO membership. However, taking sociality seriously motivates building on this literature by extending homophily beyond political similarity towards other cultural variables.

4.2.1 Systemic Theories of Institutional Creation

In the 1970s, as the disciplinary core of IR solidified, workhorse theories of international cooperation emerged amidst contemporary political challenges in the Western world. The Vietnam War, the collapse of the Bretton Woods system, the Oil Crisis, and the stalling of European integration prompted realist-oriented scholars to consider systemic sources of global order. Spearheaded by Krasner (1976), Hegemonic Stability Theory extended Kindleberger's (1973) perspective on the interwar financial crisis to international politics. Scholars in this tradition held that hegemons are necessary for stable cooperation to emerge, creating a supply of international institutions to which weaker states subscribe (Gilpin 1981).

Against this backdrop, neoliberal institutionalism sought to show that cooperation could continue and expand even without a hegemon. Scholars adapted game-theoretic insights from economics to provide demand-side explanations of institutional cooperation under anarchy (Keohane 1984; Axelrod and Keohane 1985; Oye 1986; Snidal 1985; Keohane and Nye 1977). For the present purposes, these traditions invite attention to the formation of institutional arrangements (Pevehouse and von Borzyskowski 2017), as well as the importance of trust and stable expectations for cooperation to emerge (e.g., Kydd 2000). Yet by the 1980s, 'regime theorists' had deemphasised the study of formal organisations towards more abstract analyses of international governance (Haggard and Simmons 1987).

This scholarship presents further challenges for the present research. First, much of this work remains situated in 'grand theorising,' with only limited large-N empirical study. More importantly, in seeking to respond to neorealism on neorealist

terms, these theories treat states as like units and bracket sociality and domestic characteristics (Milner 1997).[1] Finally, they largely elide questions of membership, to which subsequent studies turned their attention (Koremenos, Lipson, and Snidal 2001b).

4.2.2 Domestic Determinants of IGO Membership

Liberal IR scholars addressed the issues of empirical richness, domestic challenges, and IGO membership with the disciplinary return to domestic-international linkages. Building on (neo)functionalism (Mitrany 1933; Haas 1958), which had lost steam as European integration stalled in the 1970s (Putnam 1988), pioneering empirical studies on institutional membership showed that economic development and democracy correlate with the decisions to join IGOs (Jacobson, Reisinger, and Mathers 1986; Shanks, Jacobson, and Kaplan 1996; Beckfield 2003; Boehmer and Nordstrom 2008).

Subsequent theoretical and empirical research has sought to unpack underlying mechanisms, particularly with regard to regime type. Scholars find that variation in electoral systems and the concentration of political power affects states' propensity to cooperate through IGOs (Martin 2000; Minnich 2005; Rey and Barkdull 2005; Vreeland 2008). IGO membership matters for new democracies. Reformers can lock in reforms by binding their governments to international commitments, making them harder for subsequent governments to undo (Moravcsik 2000). Demand for IGO membership also stems from democratising states' need to credibly signal their commitments to a variety of domestic and international actors (e.g., Milner 1997; Mansfield, Milner, and Rosendorff 2002); Pevehouse 2005; Mansfield and Pevehouse 2006; Gray 2013).

Several shortcomings are present. First, emerging at the 'end of history' (Fukuyama 1989), this literature developed alongside liberal IR's embrace of Democratic Peace Theory, which hoped to demonstrate the pacifying effects of IGO membership

[1] Though see, e.g., Krasner's (1995) argument that states with weaker economies may join international organisations to safeguard their interests against richer countries.

as the third leg of the 'Kantian tripod' (Russett, Oneal, and Davis 1998). As a result, research on the determinants of IGO membership scrutinised the impacts on cooperation of a limited range of independent variables, in particular democracy and democratisation, at the expense of other domestic-level explanatory factors. Yet Ross and Voeten (2016), for example, find that oil wealth reduces the need to attract FDI and gain access to foreign markets, decreasing the propensity for oil-exporting states to join IGOs, showing that attention to other factors can yield new insights.

Furthermore, the above literature elides international social context by concentrating on monadic state characteristics. Theoretically, however, IR scholars employing network analysis highlight the importance of the sociological concept of homophily, or the tendency of like actors to associate with one another, in analysing interstate cooperation (Maoz 2012). In this view, similar states should cooperate more with another. Empirically, Mansfield and Pevehouse (2006) find that new democracies join institutions with more democratic members to amplify the credibility of their signalling. Boehmer and Nordstrom (2008) further demonstrate with a dyadic design that states that trade more and have similar levels of democracy and development are indeed more likely to be co-members in IGOs. Such insights, however, have not been widely incorporated into studies of IGO membership until more recently.

4.2.3 International Institutions and their Social Context

Since the 2010s, quantitative international organisation research has increasingly foregrounded the social context of international institutions. Building on a methodological tradition applying network analysis to IR (Hafner-Burton and Montgomery 2006; Hafner-Burton, Kahler, and Montgomery 2009), one growing strand of literature analyses interstate alliance and investment ties (Kinne 2013, 2018; Kinne and Peinhardt 2024). Network-analytic methods also feature in studies of intergovernmental organisations proper. For example, Greenhill and Lupu (2017) describe notable shifts in membership patterns in post-war international relations,

using these changes in IGO co-participation to explain interstate peace in a separate paper (Lupu and Greenhill 2017).

Additionally, attention to social relations underlines that IGO membership is not open to all. IGOs frequently 'screen out' undesirable candidates (Donno, Metzger, and Russett 2015). However, literature on the domestic roots of cooperation often confounds joining and forming IGOs, or otherwise assumes 'that IGOs exist which can meet the requirements of domestic actors' (Pevehouse and von Borzyskowski 2017: 8). But as Jupille, Mattli, and Snidal (2013) argue, creating an IGO from scratch is an altogether more costly decision than simply acceding to an existing one. Thus, Poast and Urpelainen (2013) explicitly analyse joining and forming institutions as substitute strategies to explain why democratising states are more likely to form new organisations rather than join existing ones.

As a result of the above, scholars increasingly see IGO formation as often more akin to creating exclusionary clubs instead of simply providing public goods (Davis and Wilf 2017; Davis and Pratt 2021; Hooghe, Lenz, and Marks 2019). From this perspective, for example, democratising states often design strict accession rules for the new IGOs they form, preventing 'spoilers' from entering their groups (Kaoutzanis, Poast, and Urpelainen 2016). States may sign preferential trade agreements less out of a desire to boost trade than to gain leverage in ongoing disputes in the WTO (Mansfield and Reinhardt 2003). Given that the 'anonymous cooperation' imagined by neoliberal IR of the 1980s is an empirical fiction, foregrounding social context draws attention to the centrality of power, norms, and interests to the complex decisions behind IGO membership (Davis 2025).

A prominent new body of work sees joint IGO membership as a function of geopolitical alignment. In studying accession to the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, for example, Rodrigues Vieira (2018) re-interprets democracy as an indicator of closeness to American foreign policy. Other scholars measure alignment via military alliance and foreign policy similarity (Davis and Pratt 2021; Davis 2023). In recent years, Voeten (2021) represents the most ideationally-minded approach,

using spatial modelling to show how states sort themselves into IGOs based on shared ideology.

From this point of departure, observing that 'English school and constructivist theory lay the foundation for giving social meaning to international organizations' (Davis 2025) broadens our attention to other social variables. Hopf (2016) thus surmises that states may be 'more likely to cooperate the more closely they··· understand themselves as similar, whether allies, friends, democracies, modern, civilized, Catholic, or something else.'

Yet surprisingly few empirical studies have explored the relation between sociocultural variables and institutional formation. An exception is Greenhill (2015: 149-53), who constructs a composite measure of cultural similarity to predict IGO-joining behaviour but does not disaggregate further. However, there is no a priori reason why Adler and Barnett's (1998: 51) assertion that 'cultural···homogeneity can lead to greater interaction and association, and the development of new organizations and institutions' cannot extend beyond security arrangements to IGOs more generally. In the next section. I develop my theory with a view to addressing the abovementioned lacunae.

4.3 A Sociolinguistic Theory of Organisational Membership

This section lays out my theory and testable hypotheses. Briefly, I argue that states with common national languages are more likely to form IGOs with one another.[2] I proceed in three parts. First, to establish why we should entertain shared language as a basis for interstate interactions, I lay out theoretical gaps in understandings of institutional partner choice. Second, I lay out a social and a functional mechanism by which common languages can foster transnational community and reduce the

[2]My theory concerns IGO founding and not joining, as the former is more difficult than the latter (Jupille, Mattli, and Snidal 2013). Though similar insights likely apply to IGO joining as well, scholars note that 'calculations about membership are fundamentally different for IO originators from IO joiners' (Pevehouse and von Borzyskowski 2017). I thus limit my scope conditions in the interests of rigour.

costs to communication. Finally, I tie these insights to participation in multilateral institutions. I refine my assertion about shared language and IGO membership by noting differences in language function and legal status within the ambit of domestic linguistic policy, and draw appropriate conclusions.

4.3.1 The Challenge of Cooperating through Institutions

Here, I outline the problematique of IGO membership and set up my response. Though neoliberal theory shows how institutions stabilise cooperation under anarchy, its main insight into institutional membership is limited to how the number of partners affects cooperation. Postfunctionalist theory argues that diffuse reciprocity enabled by interstate community can facilitate incomplete contracting. On balance, however, postfunctionalism foregrounds national communities, limiting international cooperation. Yet its theoretical foundations suggest language-based pathways that foster international community, on which I build.

4.3.1.1 The *How* and *Who* Problems in Cooperation

There are clear, functional imperatives for states to engage in cooperation and contribute to the provision of global public goods (Mitrany 1933; Haas 1958; Young 1994; Mattli 1999; Hale, Held, and Young 2013). Yet cooperation between sovereign states presents substantial difficulties in an anarchic system. Self-interested states have incentives to misrepresent their intentions and to renege on prior commitments in order to secure narrow benefits at their partners' expense (Olson 1965).

As is well-known, institutionalising patterns of cooperation helps mitigate these concerns by providing information and by foregrounding the consequences of bad behaviour for future interactions (Keohane 1984). Yet uncertainty persists even under institutionalised cooperation. Though states may still gain from participating in institutions, they may end up worse off in relative terms (Gruber 2000). Risk-averse states try to choose between alternative strategies to minimise uncertainty where possible. A smorgasbord of existing institutions allows states to 'forum shop' (Busch 2007; Alter and Meunier 2009). States tend to stick with the 'devil they

know,' creating new institutions only when extant ones cannot be used, joined, or modified for their needs (Jupille, Mattli, and Snidal 2013).

Unsurprisingly, the creation of new institutions brings further uncertainties. Since states cannot anticipate all outcomes, they necessarily use flexible clauses to deal with contingencies (Downs and Rocke 1997; Abbott and Snidal 2000). Forgoing the 'letter of the law' for 'incomplete contracting,' however, is a risky business, one in which institutional failure is a relatively mild concern.[3] Ambiguity in institutional design may result in great powers getting their way at the expense of weaker states (Stone 2011). In the worst cases, states may find themselves committed to courses of action leading to war and existential ruin. Thus, whereas institutionalised cooperation addresses *how* states cooperate (Gruber 2000: 15-32), the subsequent issue of IGO creation poses a *who* question: the choice of cooperation partners.

4.3.1.2 Incomplete Contracting and Partner Choice

Rather than 'who' *per se*, the neoliberal answer to this question concerns *how many* states cooperate. Two-player cooperation in the repeated Prisoners' Dilemma under the 'shadow of the future' can be sustained relatively easily (Axelrod 1984). However, adding more players complicates the picture, even with institutions to cushion the impact (Axelrod and Keohane 1985). Expanding the zone of cooperation shrinks the potential space for Pareto improvements, makes individual defection more likely, and frustrates targeted punishment (Oye 1986: 19-20). Though acknowledging that discriminatory strategies can 'reduce the number of significant players in a game and thereby render cooperation more likely' (ibid.: 21), game theorists are relatively unconcerned with state preferences over partnership.

Contra neoliberalism, Hooghe, Lenz, and Marks take the view that the '*Who Question*' is in fact 'theoretically and empirically prior to the *How Question*.' In particular, the observation that governance is necessarily interpersonal requires understanding the sociality of incomplete contracting, leading to a consideration of

[3]For a comprehensive overview of incomplete contracting problems in economic theory and the economic analysis of law, see Eisenberg (2018).

communities, described as 'bounded group[s] with shared understandings' (2019: 13-4). Building on Ostrom (1990), they argue that community, marked by 'a common vocabulary of discourse and a background of implicit practices and understandings' (Sandel 1998: 172), is required to sustain cooperation beyond the narrow world of the two-person Prisoners' Dilemma. Though uncertainty and disagreement can never be fully eliminated, community generates the preconditions for *diffuse reciprocity*, or 'atemporal exchange over incommensurate values,' facilitating public-goods provision even under uncertainty.

The core premise of their postfunctionalist institutional theory is that community allows states to transcend the 'logic of consequences' and situate themselves in the domain of argumentative rationality (Risse 2000). However, whilst accepting a role for transnational collectivities in institutional cooperation, they observe that 'community beyond the national state is thin by comparison to that within states' (Hooghe, Lenz, and Marks 2019: 47). As a result, they emphasise national community in line with Mitrany (1948, 1966), considering it a constraint first and foremost. This makes international organisation a trade-off between functionalist imperatives, which benefit from scale, and the size-reducing tendencies of *national* identification. On balance, this view holds that the challenges of incomplete contracting are exacerbated by a prevailing understanding of common identity that foregrounds the national state.

Hooghe, Lenz, and Marks operationalise the potential for normative commonality among IGO members using religion, culture, geography, regime type, and legal tradition, but neglect language (2019: 47, 148-150). This is puzzling given the emphasis they place on argumentative rationality in facilitating incomplete contracting. Risse (2000) underscores that a precondition of the above is sharing 'a "common lifeworld" (*gemeinsame Lebenswelt*), a supply of collective interpretations of the world and of themselves, as provided by *language*, a common history, or culture.'[4] If even anarchy constitutes a 'thin' common lifeworld that can support a

[4]Emphasis mine.

transnational culture (2000), then the effects of literally sharing a language should not be ignored.

4.3.2 The Transnational Connectivity of Languages

Here, I argue that common languages foster transnational community through two ideal-typical channels. First, building on the foregoing discussion, attention to sociality foregrounds the primacy of language in constituting collective groups. In the best case, sharing a language may give rise to a common sociolinguistic identity; in the minimal case, linguistic communities still stabilise expectations and reduce uncertainty about partner behaviour, even when substantive interests diverge. Second, even when bracketing assumptions about sociality and diffuse reciprocity, semantic and material costs arise when translating across linguistic barriers, impeding communication. Shared languages thus facilitate incomplete contracting by lowering the barriers to effective communication.

4.3.2.1 The Social View: Linguistic Communities

A wealth of scholarship in social psychology, anthropology, communication studies, political studies, and, unsurprisingly, sociolinguistics, suggests that language-based collectivities enable other collective identities to emerge (Lambert 1967; Clement 1996; Giles and Johnson 1981, 1987; Gumperz 1982; Heller 1987; Joseph 2004; Sachdev and Bouris 2005). Even the Public Choice tradition, on which postfunctionalism implicitly builds, accepts this premise. Vincent Ostrom makes this point in a chapter titled 'An institutional analysis of the place of languages in the political economy of life' (Vincent Ostrom 1997: 151-74). In addition to being 'a public good within the boundary conditions of any particular collectivity,' language plays a more fundamental role in community formation. It is foundational to human sociality as we understand it, since '[a]ll of life in human societies is bound up with the matrices of language and the uses made of languages.'

> 'The way languages are associated with institutions, goods, cultures, and personality attributes means that we find languages permeating all aspects of human existence as we have come to know the human condition' (ibid.: 171-2).

Linguistic communities are therefore, in some sense, *constitutive of* the national communities that Hooghe, Lenz, and Marks foreground in their postfunctionalist theory. The modern industrial state developed alongside unified linguistic standards which enabled communication between distant groups of people (Gellner 1983).[5] Ideationally, the 'fixity [of] language⋯in the long run helped to build that image of antiquity so central to the subjective idea of the nation' (Anderson 1991: 44). Evidence also suggests that, in many cases, language is a defining cornerstone of national identity (Suleiman 2003). Empirically, supermajorities in all countries studied in a 2016 survey considered the ability to speak the national language necessary for being considered a true national, outstripping the importance of birthplace and religion (Stokes 2017).

This discussion suggests sharing a language can also anchor *transnational* communities. In a maximalist scenario, shared languages may support language-based collective social identities, giving rise to in-group favouritism (Tajfel and Turner 1979). This is not a necessity, however.[6] In the minimal case, shared language produces common understandings that stabilise expectations about others' future behaviour. As Elinor Ostrom notes based on Vincent Ostrom's institutional analysis of language, 'If the participants in a situation come from many different cultures, *speak different languages*, and are distrustful of one another, the costs of devising and sustaining effective rules are substantially increased' (2009: 27).[7] Even when substantive values and interests diverge, interacting with a same-language partner reduces the uncertainty inherent in incomplete contracting, *ceteris paribus*. In other words, membership in a linguistic community serves as a heuristic that helps actors sit down with 'the devil they know.'

[5]See Orman (2017) for a comprehensive overview of and critical engagement with Ernest Gellner's conceptualisation of language.

[6]A look at North and South Korea, for example, will disabuse anyone of that notion.

[7]Emphasis mine.

4.3.2.2 The Rational View: Translation Costs

Languages also facilitate institutional cooperation in a more mundane way, by enabling communication. For believers in the importance of community, Karl Deutsch spotlights communication as the 'cement of social groups in general and political communities in particular,' leading to collective identification and eventually, transnational security communities (Adler and Barnett 1998: 7). But even without assuming community, a language greases interactions for entirely *asocial* agents. Communicating across linguistic boundaries (i.e., translation) is semantically and materially costly (Wigen 2015).[8] Sharing a language reduces both types of costs.

First, crossing language barriers incurs semantic costs. If languages are understood as systems of codes, then 'the fact that [no] two codes [are] isomorphic creates obstacles for the translative operation' (Brisset 2003). Through dense interaction, languages have historically become 'entangled,' enabling an approximation of direct translation for many concepts (Wigen 2015). Yet this is more true for simple, universal objects than for abstract notions. 'Rooted in a certain cultural soil, words do not always travel well,' creating the potential for misunderstanding in international negotiations (Cohen 2001). In high-stakes diplomacy, subtle mistranslations may lead to consequential blowouts.[9] In sum, the potential for meaning to be lost in translation can frustrate communication and hinder cooperation.

Second, language barriers also impose material costs on communication. In an institutional setting, the immediate act of interpretation or translation requires physical space, equipment, the hiring of trained personnel, and time, all of which cost money (van Els 2006). More significant costs, however, are found 'behind the border,' to borrow an analogy from international trade. Standardising a national language and promulgating it through a functioning national education system require substantial state capacity (see Coulmas 1992; Laitin 1992); the same is true

[8] Wigen terms them *semantic transaction costs* and *financial transaction costs*, respectively.
[9] See, e.g., Khruschev's infamous 'we will bury you' remark (Birkby 2014).

of training competent multilingual personnel and codifying translations for foreign concepts.[10] Thus, communication is less costly within a linguistic community.

Empirical evidence from IPE suggests that, unlike other sociocultural characteristics, language affects patterns of trade through transaction cost-reduction. Beginning in the 1990s, international economists documenting deviations from orthodox theories of trade (Trefler 1995) turned their attention to the distribution of linguistic skills as a potential cause. A well-established literature now provides evidence that common languages facilitate bilateral trade (Melitz 2008; Egger and Lassman 2012, 2015; Selmier and Oh 2013; Melitz and Toubal 2014; Fidrmuc and Fidrmuc 2016). Ultimately, 'language is a tool, while culture is not: parties cannot transact in a culture; they must transact in a language' (Selmier and Oh 2013), making language unique among cultural variables in facilitating transnational interaction.[11]

4.3.3 Domestic Language Policies and Multilateral Institutions

Here, I adapt the foregoing insights to multilateral institutions and set out testable hypotheses. First, as interstate interactions are largely an elite affair, common *national* languages, as opposed to other languages, should encourage states to form IGOs with one another. This is supported by a *social* pathway, which encourages inter*state* community, and a *rational* pathway that reduces transaction costs. Observing that national languages change over time, I situate them within the ambit of domestic language policies.

This draws attention to functional and legal dimensions of domestic language use. 'Functionally convergent' national languages are simultaneously pragmatic tools of national administration and symbols of national identity. States sharing them should form more IGOs together, due to the combination pragmatic and

[10]For example, for an overview of linguistic reforms during Japan's Meiji-era modernisation, see Ueda (2021).

[11]Though see Robichaud and de Schutter (2012) for a critical overview of instrumentalist conceptions of language.

symbolic benefits that accrue from doing so. Additionally, states sharing *de jure* national languages should also should form more IGOs together, as institutional participation helps them change and lock in domestic policies.

4.3.3.1 National Languages and IGO Membership

As sociolinguists observe, no truly monolingual country exists; a multitude of languages are spoken across any given state (Calvet 1987). In IPE, aggregate second- and minority-language ability affects international trade patterns (Melitz and Toubal 2014; Fidrmuc and Fidrmuc 2016). If this is so, which languages matter for the present research?

I argue that *national* languages, which I define as *the languages used in the business of government at the national level* (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2024),[12] are relevant to IGO founding membership. In contrast to trade, a decentralised and profit-oriented market process, multilateralism is top-down and driven by national elites representing their states in an official capacity. To ensure precision and avoid embarrassment, diplomats and national leaders often speak exclusively through translators despite being conversant in a foreign language.[13] Sociolinguists rightly note the tendency among laypersons to essentialise states as effectively monolingual (Blommaert 2007). However, more so than *transnational* interactions, formal *international* settings approximate the reified one-nation, one-language ideal.[14]

This discussion, combined with the previous arguments about cooperation challenges and linguistic connectivity, reveals two pathways of influence that encourage states to select institutional partners with whom they share a national language.

First, related to the formation of communities is a *social* pathway. In the maximal case, language-based collective identities, such as the category of 'Lusophone' or Portuguese-speaking states, may emerge.[15] States are commonly conceived of as

[12]Many sources use 'official languages' for this purpose and reserve the term 'national languages' for language(s) shared by the general public (Choudhry and Houlihan 2021: 6-7). The two concepts may, and often do, overlap.

[13]See, e.g., Kent et al. (2025).

[14]See Silverstein (1996) on 'monoglot ideology.'

[15]See also Suleiman (2003) for the Arabic language and the Arab states.

corporate actors in international politics, taking on identities of their own (Wendt 2004). The *inter-lingual* nature of international relations (Wigen 2015 foregrounds national language as a meaningful social category or 'type identity,' akin to labels like 'African,' 'democracy,' or 'landlocked' (Wendt 1999: 226).[16] Once established, collective identification can lead to increasingly thick webs of institutionalised interactions, as with the 'Anglosphere' (Vucetic 2008) or ever expanding zone of 'Francophone' cooperation (Weinstein 1976).[17]

But this is not necessary to foster cooperation. In the minimal case, shared languages by definition provide the 'common vocabulary of discourse' and 'background of implicit practices and understandings' that mark a community (Sandel 1998: 172). Though international linguistic communities are 'thin,' especially by the standards of national communities, they are nevertheless 'thicker' than the alternative case, and certainly thicker than the 'common lifeworld' Risse (2000) argues emerges via anarchy alone. Such a community eases incomplete contracting by stabilising expectations about future behaviour. Even when interests diverge and the logic of consequentiality obtains, establishing bounds on uncertainty, which can never truly be eliminated, helps states cooperate with 'the devil they know.'

Second, the transaction costs inherent in communication imply a *rational* pathway of influence. Interaction across linguistic barriers imposes both semantic and material costs; this is especially true of interstate relations (Caraccioli, Wigen, et al. 2021). Cheney, for example, argues that Lord Napier considered the English rendering

[16]See Fearon (1999: 17-20) for the distinction between 'role' and 'type' identities. Whereas the former exists only with relation to obligations in specific situations, '[t]ype identities refer to labels applied to persons who share or are thought to share some characteristic or characteristics, in appearance, behavioral traits, beliefs, attitudes, values, skills (e.g., language), knowledge, opinions, experience, historical commonalities (like region or place of birth), and so on.' Wendt (1999: 225) borrows the term from Fearon in his *Social Theory of International Politics*, *collective* identity, which emerges from role and type identities (ibid.: 229), receives much more attention in constructivist IR scholarship.

[17]Wendt explicitly states that 'not all type identities are collective because not all involve identification,' quipping that '[o]ne can be a "French-speaker" without identifying with the French (the example of France's failed effort to form a collective identity with Algeria comes to mind)' (Wendt ibid.: 229). Here, however, I am concerned with an international francophone identity unrelated to French nationhood. See Glasze (2007) for the discursive foundations of francophone identity.

of '夷'[18] an 'outrage against the British crown,' providing a pretext to attack China in 1834 (2021). Relatedly, Russian, Chinese, and Mongolian disagreement over translations in the 1915 Treaty of Kyakhta produced an interpretive free-for-all regarding Mongolian sovereignty (Tachibana 2014). The stakes of interstate negotiations raise the upper bound on semantic costs in the international setting.

Though the material costs of translation may seem trivial for states, the resources and organisational capacity required to maintain standardised vocabularies and train linguistically-competent personnel are substantial. Failure to incur these costs results in a phenomenon 'well known to all diplomats with experience in the work of international organisation or various other multilateral conferences: delegates who do not speak one of the official or working languages well (or who are simply too self-critical about it) hesitate to take the floor at all, or miss the best moment to do so. Thus, they considerably reduce their own delegation's input and probably also reduce the potential value of the final result of the meeting' (Nick 2001). Based on the ensemble of the above, I arrive at my first hypothesis:

H1: States that share national languages are more likely to create international organisations with one another than states that do not.

4.3.3.2 Language Policy: Function and Legal Status

The focus on states and national governments requires rejecting the assumption that languages are time-invariant cultural attributes, often present in the empirical literature on trade (Egger and Toubal 2016: 274). Recent work in IPE shows that as a dynamic instrument, language-in-education policies help states attract foreign investment (Kim, Liu, et al. 2015; Liu 2015: 176-202). Comparative politics has long understood language as part and parcel of state policy. This is particularly true of *national* languages, bound up in state rationalisation, nation-building, and other political goals (see, *inter alia*, Laitin 1977, 1988; Shohamy 2006; Cardinal and Sonntag 2015).

[18]Variously translated as 'barbarian' or 'foreigner.'

It is thus necessary to analyse national languages within the ambit of domestic *language policies*. Language policy scholars define their subject of inquiry as incorporating the (1) the actual linguistic practices of a group, (2) their beliefs and values about languages, and, finally, (3) management and planning activities aimed at modifying language practice (Spolsky 2004). Language policies thus extend beyond narrow *de jure* regulations that form part of component (3).

Recall that I defined 'national languages' as the languages used in the business of government at the national level. A language-policy perspective suggests that national languages may differ in function and legal status. I define a *domestic language policy* as *the set of a state's national languages, plus their respective functions and legal statuses*. Theoretically, this definition allows for state multilingualism at the national level (e.g. Belgium, India, etc), a common phenomenon (Stewart 1968). Empirically, it allows for operationalisation suited to quantitative study. I expound next on the *functional* and *legal* dimensions introduced.

The functional dimension concerns uses of a national language as well as beliefs towards it. First, a language may be used day-to-day for the pragmatic purposes of national administration. This includes the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of government, bureaucratic functions like record-keeping, and public-oriented communications. Second, a language may fulfil a symbolic role as a marker of national identity. Note that these two functions need not overlap. Irish in Ireland, for example, leaves its mark on the business of national government, which is nevertheless substantively conducted in English. I use the term *functional convergence* to describe the situation where administrative and identity functions coincide in one language.

My argument here mirrors the one I made in Chapter 3. States gain *pragmatic* benefits when they form IGOs with partners with whom they share an administrative language. This operates primarily through the rational pathway. Though states may not self-identify with such a language, the ability to undertake substantive work in the same language in the domestic and international arenas greatly reduces

transaction costs. Likewise, states gain *symbolic* benefits when they form IGOs with partners sharing an identity language, a process that foregrounds the social pathway. Despite potential translation costs, sharing an identity language greatly enhances prospects for collective identification.

Logically, sharing a convergent language activates both pathways, generating both pragmatic and symbolic benefits for states. My second hypothesis is thus a modification of my first:

H2: States that share functionally convergent national languages are more likely to create international organisations with one another than states that do not.

The second dimension of languages concerns their legal status. First, a *de facto* language owes its use in national government to established convention without explicit statutory basis. This was the case for English in the United States for much of its existence, proclaimed the 'official language of the United States' by executive order only in March 2025 (Davies 2025). Conversely, a statutory or *de jure* language[19] is deemed a language of the state by explicit statute, either in a constitutional provision or by national linguistic legislation.[20]

A national language may acquire *de jure* status either ex-post by legalising an established fact, or as part of an attempt to change a *status quo*. Both situations should affect IGO partner choice through the logic of the 'second image reversed' (Gourevitch 1978). Ex-post linguistic legislation, which may appear superfluous at first blush, strongly signals renewed commitment to defending a *status quo*. The infamous 1994 Toubon Law, legislating the use of 'correct' French, emerged in reaction to perceived encroachment of English in public life (Grigg 1997). At the same time, French policymakers revamped their engagement with Francophone African states to enlist them as a bulwark against perceived Anglo-American cultural homogenisation (Albaugh 2009).

[19]Though some sources call this an 'official language,' I avoid this term as it is too easily confounded with 'national language' and implies statutory status. See also Choudhry and Houlihan (2021: 6-7).

[20]Note that domain-specific provisions, such as a requirement that roadway signs nationwide include English text, do not meet these criteria.

Similarly, participating in international institutions can help governments who pass aspirational linguistic legislation change the domestic *status quo*. The logic is similar to new democracies that seek to lock in domestic reforms through international commitments (Moravcsik 2000; Pevehouse 2002b). An example is post-genocide Rwanda, which declared English an official language, tightened links with anglophone organisations, and joined the Commonwealth of Nations (Johnstone 2019). By seeking out international partners that use the new *de jure* language, a government commits itself to building the domestic linguistic machinery required to maintain those links.

Noting that both ex-post and aspirational legalisation work in the same direction, my final hypothesis emerges:

H3: States that share de jure national languages are more likely to create international organisations with one another than states that do not.

The following section describes the adaption of this theory to the task of gathering the requisite data and details the process of doing so.

4.4 Operationalising National Languages

4.4.1 The Need for New Data

Recent data collection efforts for dimensions of national cultural identity, particularly by politics scholars studying peace and conflict, have produced rich time-varying data on ethnic groups and religious adherents in states (Vogt et al. 2015; Brown and James 2018). Language, however, presents a unique challenge. In particular, the number of speakers of each language in each country is particularly difficult to estimate consistently, since '[c]ensus and survey reports on language abilities and language use are egregiously untrustworthy' (Laitin 2000).

The difficulty of estimating speaker populations does not necessarily preclude other quantitative measures of language. In international economics, where shared language is a standard control variable in analyses employing the gravity model of

trade, the most widely used datasets on common languages differentiate between official, spoken, and native languages and include indices of similarity between languages (e.g., Melitz and Toubal 2014). However, they ignore temporal variation entirely. Though language economists openly acknowledge this shortcoming (Egger and Toubal 2016: 274), it remains unaddressed largely because shared language is rarely of primary interest in IPE.

On the flip side, empirical scholars in conflict studies pay attention to temporal variation. However, studies either use language as a proxy for culture more broadly, or otherwise proxy for language using ethnicity (e.g., Gartzke and Gleditsch 2006), leading to problematic conclusions. Despite attempting to rectify this by coding for linguistically-defined segments in ethnic groups, even the most recent advances in data collection (Bormann, Cederman, and Vogt 2017) nevertheless assume that language practices *within* ethnic groups remain constant over time.

Yet even this modified assumption remains untenable. As just one example, it fails to capture the linguistic situation in Singapore, where in 1957, just 0.2 percent of the ethnic Chinese majority spoke English as a native language (Chua 1964: 155). By 2020, however, this figure had soared to 47.6 percent (Wong 2021: 27). Notwithstanding this dramatic linguistic shift, the *proportion* of ethnic Chinese in the total population has barely changed over the period. Ethnicity-based proxy measures of language are thus inadequate for the present research on interstate cooperation.

4.4.2 Dataset Construction and Coding

Dispensing with ethnicity-based measures of language, I present a new dataset tailored to the present inquiry, focussing on national language policy instead of speaker population. I consider a system of communication to be a language if a state considers it one. Highly mutually intelligible forms of speech, such as Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian, constitute separate languages if they are explicitly treated separately as such by states. This also applies in the other direction: My coding subsumes the various Arabic and Chinese dialects, for example, into overarching

categories, defined along written instead of spoken lines. This is appropriate as institutional cooperation is a legalistic domain that relies on formal written contracting.

I periodise data collection from 1945 to 2014 for three reasons. First, the end of the second World War marks a watershed in institutional development, with multilateral IGOs playing a qualitatively different role in international life under post-war American hegemony than previously. Focussing exclusively on the modern international relations reduces the influence of unobservable confounders. Relatedly, information on historical language policies becomes less reliable for earlier eras. 1945 represents a natural cut-off in balancing data quantity and concerns about data reliability. Finally, language data cannot be separated from the dependent variable, institutional cooperation. I base my dataset on the Correlates of War Intergovernmental Organisations Dataset, which extends until 2014 (Pevehouse et al. 2020).

I gather primary documents on national language policies from 1945 to 2014. Target documents include all state constitutions and basic texts, as well as comprehensive, nationwide linguistic legislation. I supplement these primary documents with information from the *aménagement linguistique dans le monde* database, maintained by Jacques Leclerc at the University of Laval. The database catalogues the diachronic evolution of language policies based on a variety of qualitative historical sources (Leclerc 1993). As information on language legislation is occasionally incorrect or out of date, I cross-verify all data on the legal status of languages in *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* with the corresponding primary documents.

To classify and code the unstructured information on language policies, I turn to the Ethnologue, a linguistic database first developed by Christian missionaries in the 1930s for proselyting purposes (Lewis, Simmons, and Fenning 2014). Though the Ethnologue database is arguably 'today's most comprehensive linguistic encyclopaedic reference,' it is not updated yearly, and cannot provide granular time-

series data for speaker demographics (Liu and Pizzi 2018). These shortcomings notwithstanding, the Ethnologue coding scheme incorporates information on status and function, allowing me to operationalise the conceptualisation outlined in my theory.[21] The intersection of the legal and functional dimensions of language policy produces the typology of national languages in Table 4.1, with category names and operational definitions taken from the Ethnologue coding scheme.

Table 4.1: Operational typology of national languages

Dimensions	Category	Ethnologue Definition	Examples
Functional: `Convergent` *Legal:* `De jure`	Statutory national language	This is the language in which the business of the national government is conducted and this is mandated by law. It is also the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	Indonesian in Indonesia; Spanish in Spain
Functional: `Administration` *Legal:* `De jure`	Statutory national working language	This is a language in which the business of the national government is conducted and this is mandated by law. However it is not the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	English in India; Danish in Greenland;
Functional: `Identity` *Legal:* `De jure`	Statutory language of national identity	This is the language of national identity and this is mandated by law. However, it does not function as the language of government business.	Irish in Ireland; Maori in New Zealand
Functional: `Convergent` *Legal:* `De facto`	*De facto* national language	This is the language in which the business of the national government is conducted but this is not mandated by law. It is also the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	German in Germany; Japanese in Japan

Continued on next page

[21] Details of the Ethnologue classification scheme, which builds on Cooper (1989: 100-3), are documented in the methodological appendix provided by the Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2024).

Table 4.1: Operational typology of national languages (Continued)

Dimensions	Category	Ethnologue Definition	Examples
Functional: `Administration` *Legal:* `De facto`	*De facto* national working language	This is a language in which the business of the national government is conducted, but this is not mandated by law. Neither is it the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	Spanish in Andorra; English in Botswana
Functional: `Identity` *Legal:* `De facto`	*De facto* language of national identity	This is the language of national identity but this is not mandated by law. Neither does it function as the language of government business.	Jamaican Creole in Jamaica; Tokelauan in Tokelau

I code a language as having statutory status if an active constitution or piece of comprehensive linguistic legislation bestows it with legal status in a given year. If a language lacks statutory status, I follow the judgement of *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, the Ethnologue, and relevant scholarly works to determine whether it functions *de facto* as a national language. Relatedly, I triangulate language function based on *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, the Ethnologue, and relevant academic texts. An encyclopaedia detailing my coding decisions and all sources consulted for every state is available in the Appendix of this thesis. The final dataset covers information on 148 languages across 10,188 state-year observations in the 202 states in the COW international system between 1945 and 2014.

4.5 Domestic Language Policies in the Post-war Era

Here, I undertake a descriptive analysis of the Domestic Language Policies Dataset introduced in the previous section. Overall, the post-war period has borne witness to an increase in linguistic diversity. Besides steady growth in the number of individual languages achieving use in national governments around the world, states

have also increasingly adopted multilingual policies. Decolonisation and the end of the Cold War heralded notable changes in particular.

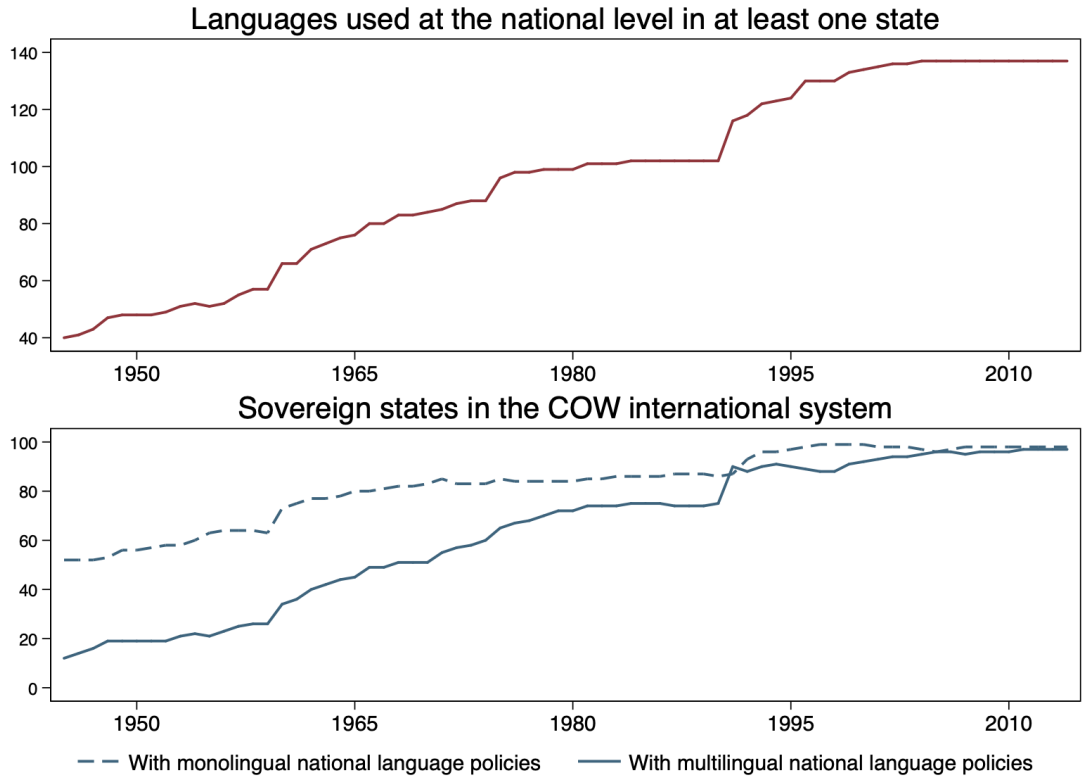
Patterns of continuity and change in the functional and legal dimensions of language policy also emerge. First, functional convergence is prevalent across space and time. In ever year in the dataset, over 95 percent of states claim at least one functionally convergent language, highlighting a remarkable empirical tendency towards consolidation. Second, states increasingly seek legal institutionalisation of national languages. Whether aspirational (passing legislation to change a *status quo*) or post-hoc (legalising an established fact), national language clauses gradually became a global norm in the decades after 1945.

4.5.1 National Languages and State Multilingualism

Linguistic diversity has risen steadily in the international system in decades since the Second World War. In 1945, just 40 individual languages were national languages, used in an official capacity at the level of national government in at least one country. Figure 4.1 shows that at this juncture, over 80 percent of the 64 sovereign states in the COW Dataset adhered to the Herderian 'one state, one language' ideal. The number of national languages in use around the globe had risen to 137 by the end of the coding period. Furthermore, the relative proportions of multilingual and monolingual states in the international system were at parity in 2014. The most recent data show 97 countries with multilingual national language policies either *de jure* or *de facto*, compared to 98 monolingual states.

Two notable periods of rapid change emerge in the data, followed by two periods of relative stability. The first period of change coincides with the wave of decolonisation in the decades after the Second World War. As the European overseas empires broke up, some postcolonial governments, eager assert their cultural independence, undertook language planning to adapt indigenous languages for modern governance, with the goal of displacing colonial languages (Blommaert 2007). In other cases, pragmatic considerations led to policies where colonial languages either coexisted

Figure 4.1: Post-war changes in national language status and state multilingualism



alongside indigenous languages or continued to be favoured well after independence (Wright 2016: 78-111).

The second period of change begins with the end of the Cold War and the dissolution of the multi-ethnic Eastern Bloc states, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Each such breakup increased both the total number of national languages in the international system as well as multilingualism, since former *lingua-francas* tend to remain in use due to their institutionalisation in the legal and social fabric of newly-independent states. After both the decolonisation and post-Cold-War periods, the growth of national languages and the march of multilingualism begin to stall after some time. From 1979 to 1989 and from 2004 to 2014, for instance, both the total number of national languages worldwide as well as the relative proportions of monolingual and multilingual states remained roughly constant.

The above describes *extensive* growth in multilingualism, ushered in by entrants to the states system. Multilingualism also witnessed *intensive* growth. In Canada,

for example, the Official Languages Act 1969 legally mandated equal status for English and French in federal government. More dramatically, post-Apartheid South Africa declared Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, and isiZulu to be official languages alongside Afrikaans and English in its 1996 constitution. Intensive *decreases* in monolingualism also occurred: In 1945, Ethiopia's *de facto* language policy employed Amharic, Arabic, English, and Tigrinya at the national level. However, the 1955 constitution declared Amharic the sole official language of the Ethiopian Empire.[22]

4.5.2 The Functional Dimension of Language Policy

In any given country, a language serves the pragmatic function of communication and the symbolic function of identification to different degrees. Recall that I defined national languages to be *functionally convergent* when used both practically for state administration and symbolically for national identity purposes. It is illustrative to examine some differences across states. Figure 4.3 visualises the distribution of administration and identity functions for several widely-used languages since the Second World War. Because of their global prominence, they rarely function as pure symbols of identity.

Most striking, however, is that even large, colonial languages tend to acquire symbolic value in addition to their roles in governance. In 2014, for example, English was functionally convergent in 44 states and used in a solely administrative capacity in 21 states. For French, these figures were 24 and 11, respectively. In fact, of the eight languages shown in Figure 4.3, only Russian in the post-Cold War era finds more frequent use as a purely administrative medium than as a dual-function language, likely due to prevailing negative attitudes toward that language in the post-Soviet space (Pavlenko 2008). Functional convergence is even more pronounced for languages like Arabic and Spanish, which have managed

[22]Detailed descriptions of all cases, as well as original and secondary sources, are found in the Domestic Language Policies Dataset.

Figure 4.2: The geographic distribution of post-war multilingualism

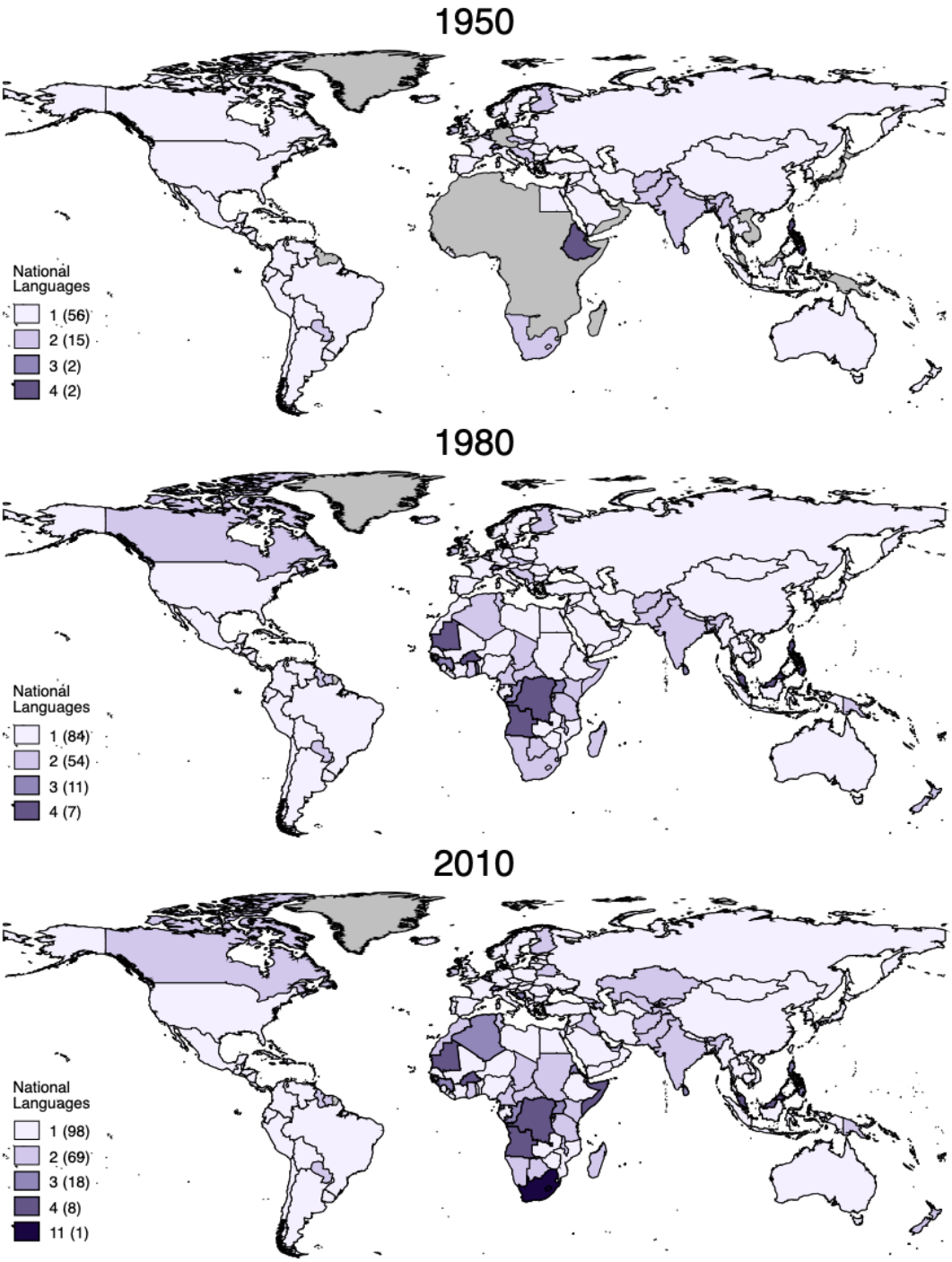
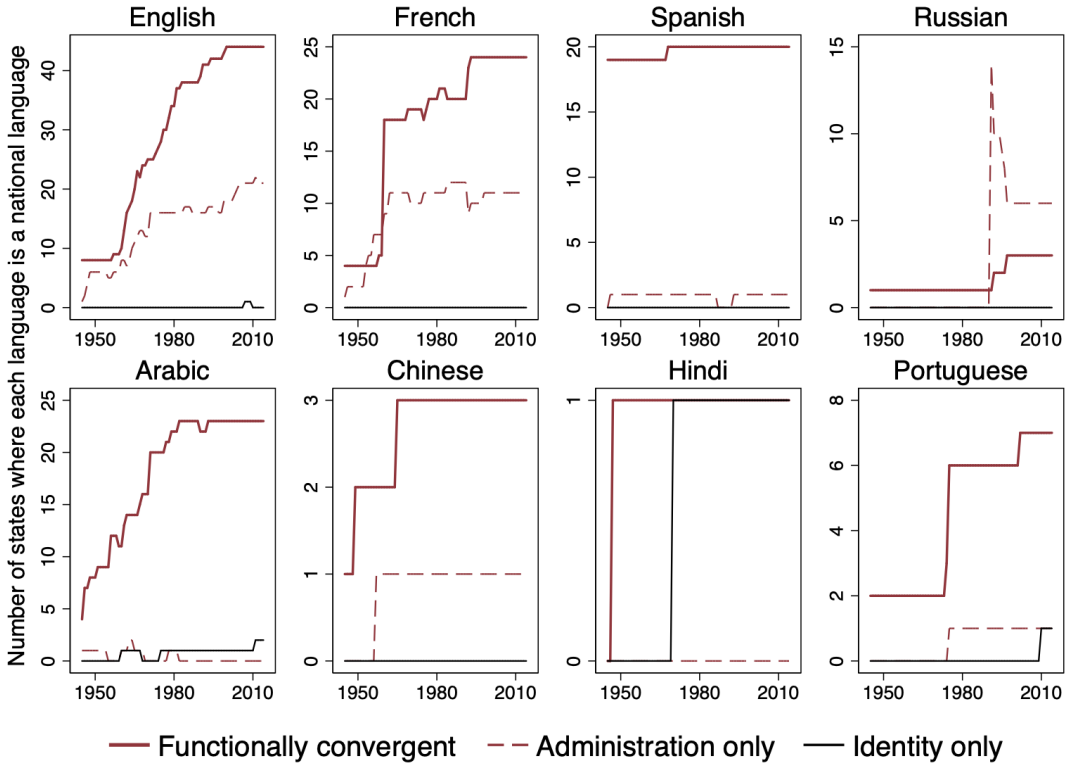


Figure 4.3: Functional differentiation of prominent languages across states

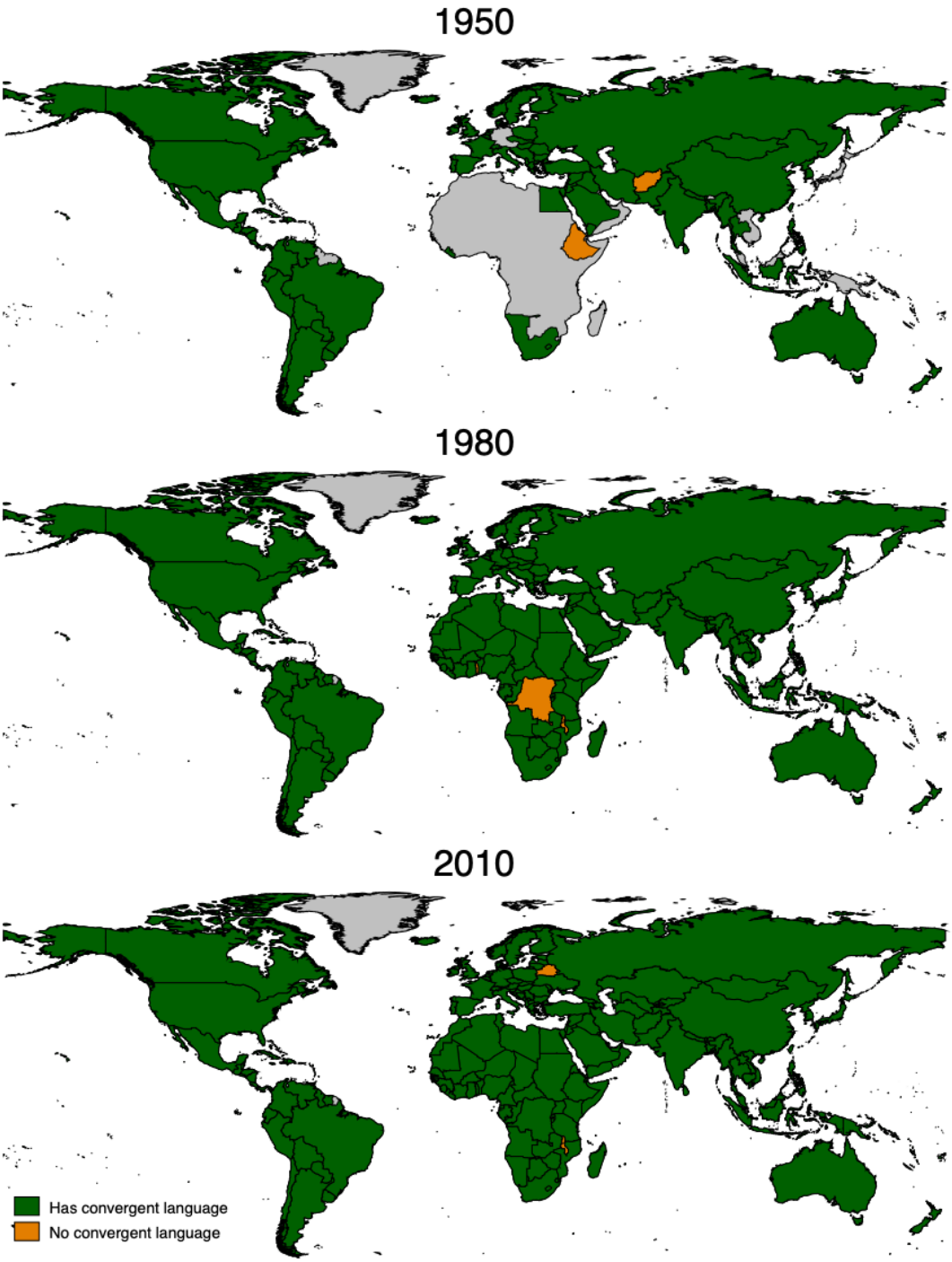


to assimilate their speakers into transnational linguistic communities (see Ostler 2006).

Returning to the example of Ethiopia, Amharic, the main linguistic symbol of Ethiopian national identity, was not meaningfully employed in state administration during the British occupation from 1941 to 1955. To the chagrin of Amharic-speakers, governance was conducted primarily in English, Arabic, and at times, Tigrinya. Following the British withdrawal, Emperor Haile Selassie swiftly implemented a monolingual policy that made Amharic functionally convergent in Ethiopia for the first time since the Second World War. Figure 4.4 shows similar changes around the world over the period of interest.

Yet the Ethiopian situation before 1955 is a rarity overall. In every year in the dataset, the proportion of states boasting at least one functionally convergent language in their national language policies stays resolutely above the 95 percent mark. The year 1960 saw a record-breaking 18 states enter the international system;

Figure 4.4: Functional convergence in national language policies



that same year, the percentage of states with functionally convergent languages hit a post-war low. But even at this juncture, just 4 of 107 states could not lay claim to a dual-function national language. The 'status planning' and 'corpus planning' activities of postcolonial states, meant to elevate the status of indigenous languages and adapt them to the imperatives of governing a modern polity (Kloss 1969; Cooper 1989), thus appear to have borne fruit. Empirically, linguistic policies tend toward functional convergence.

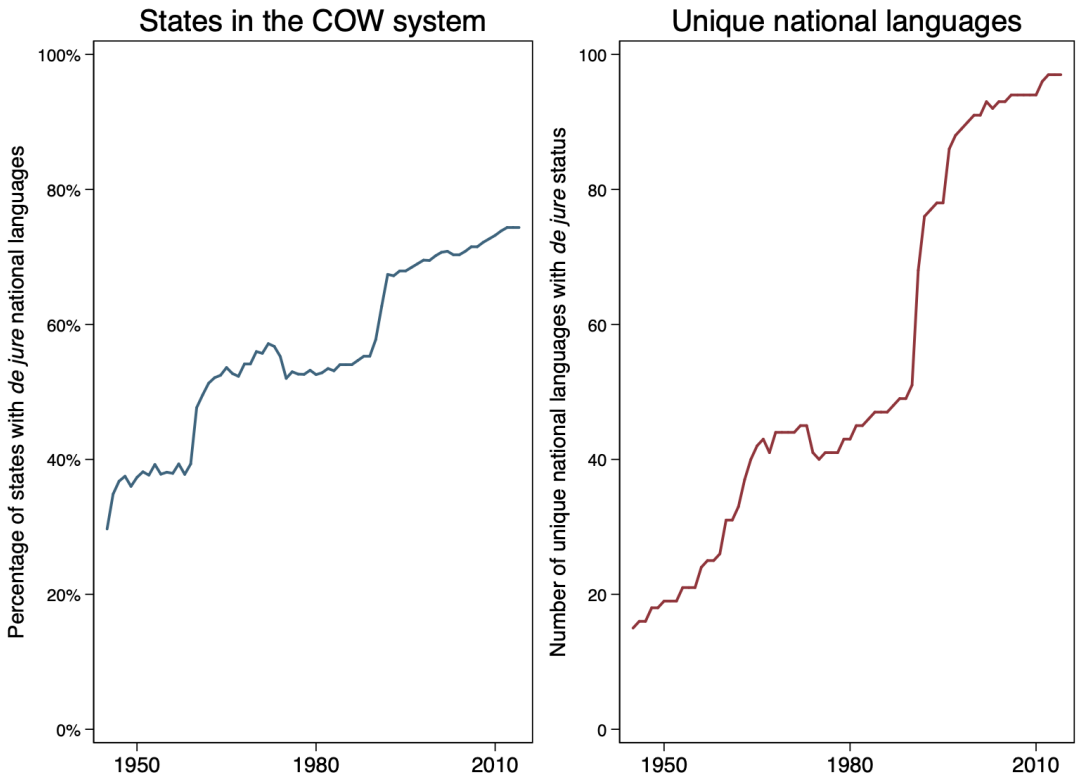
4.5.3 The Legal Dimension of Language Policy

De jure status is the other dimension of interest to this research. A national language may acquire its role *de facto* via sedimented norms without legal recognition, or its use may be legislatively prescribed. At times, this simply enshrines an established fact into law. In 1992, the second article of the French constitution was amended to explicitly declare French the 'language of the Republic.' Conversely, legislation may seek to change the *status quo*. Under Velasco, Peru declared Quechua an official language on par with Spanish and mandated its instruction in all levels of education in 1975. These legal reforms, however, were reversed in 1979 following backlash from coastal elites.

The first panel of Figure 4.5 shows how post-war language policies bestowed an ever-increasing number of languages with *de jure* status. In 1945, just 15 had been legally declared a national language in at least one state; by the end of the coding period in 2014, this recognition extended to 97 languages. Whilst some of this growth owes to newly-independent nation states, the statutory officialisation of *de facto* national languages also deserves mention. In 1983, a new Haitian constitution declared Haitian Creole an official language on par with French. Likewise, the 2013 revisions to Vietnam's 1992 constitution declared Vietnamese a national language for the first time, legally codifying a longstanding practice.

It is important to note that domestic language policies may assign statutory legal status to some languages whilst making *de facto* institutional use of another language or languages at the national level. Even considering this caveat, the second

Figure 4.5: *De jure* national language provisions in the post-war era

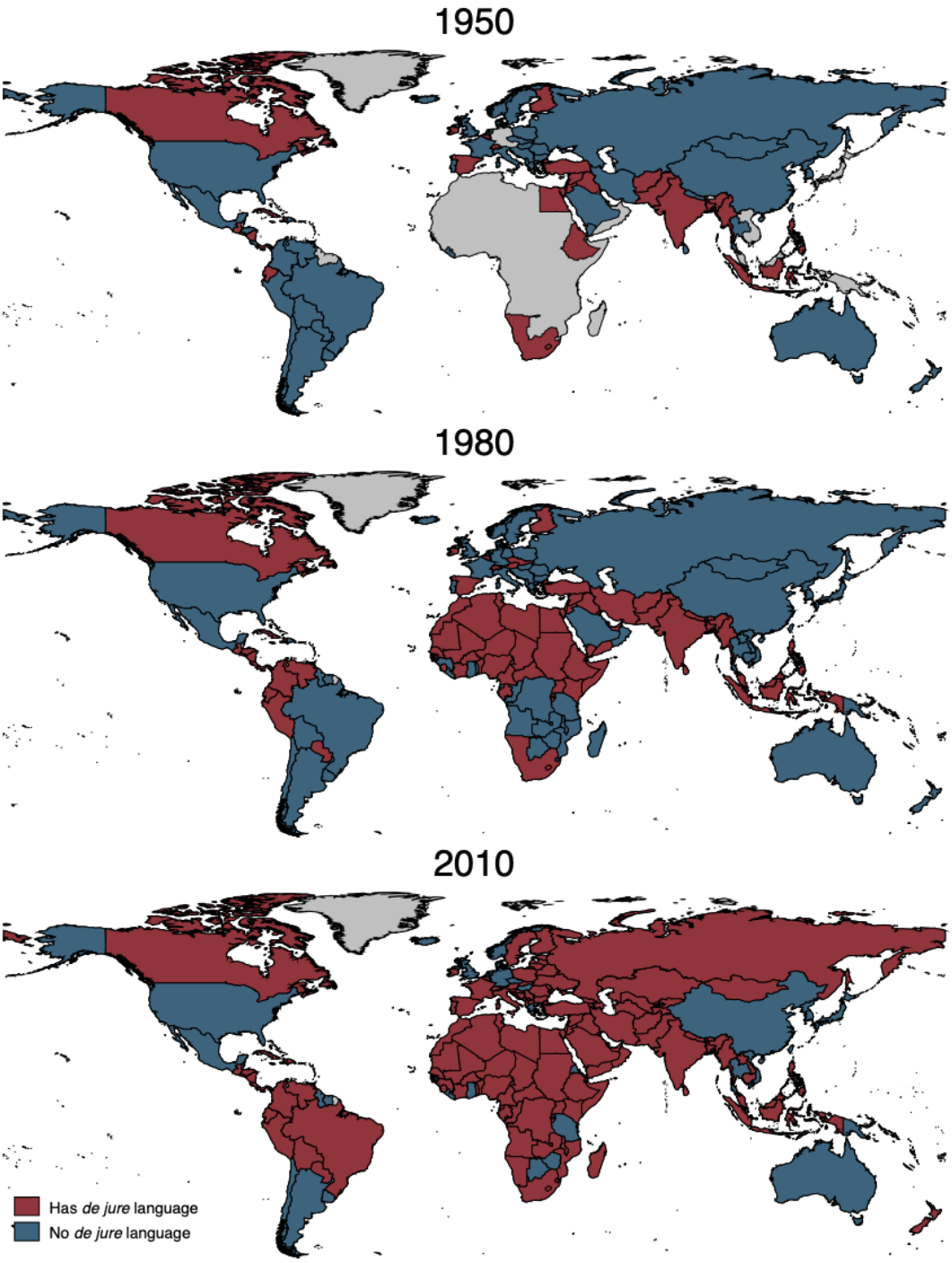


panel of Figure 4.5 reveals the extent to which formal language provisions have extended across the globe. At the beginning of the period in 1945, just 19 of 64 sovereign states, or less than 30 percent, had at least one *de jure* national language. In 1962, with decolonisation in full swing, this figure passed the 50 percent mark. Fully three-quarters of sovereign states (145 of 195) had legislation defining one or more national languages by the end of the coding period in 2014.

The data reveal two sharp upward jumps in states with national language policies, corresponding to decolonisation and the end of the Cold War. The decolonisation-era increase in legalisation appears notably sharper than the contemporaneous rise in multilingualism shown in Figure 4.1. This highlights the somewhat aspirational nature of declaring *de jure* state languages in former British and French colonies, where the transition to substantive governance in local languages required an extended period of time (Wright 2016).

In contrast, the post-Cold War spike in legalisation much more closely resembles

Figure 4.6: *De jure* national language provisions in the post-war era



the trend shown in Figure 4.1, perhaps owing to domestic language policy in the former Soviet Union. Though the USSR had no nationwide language law before 1989, the languages of the Soviet republics were employed in local administration in line with Soviet minority policy dating back to the Lenin era. Additionally, titular languages held *de jure* official status in most Union republics by the end of the 1980s. Figure 4.6, which maps the geographic distribution of this rise in national language legislation, reflects this legacy. By 2010, all former Soviet states, as well as satellites such as Mongolia, had passed linguistic legislation.[23]

Figure 4.6 also visualises the spread of linguistic legislation elsewhere. In 1950, Ecuador was the sole country in South America with a legal definition of an official language, found in the constitutions of 1945 and 1946. However, a majority of the continent had adopted such provisions by 2010. The visualisation reveals similar growth in central and southern Africa after 1980. In some cases, statutory languages arrived concomitantly with state rationalisation: Saudi Arabia's first constitution, which codified pre-existing customs and also declared Arabic the language of the state, did not emerge until 1992. What is unquestionable is the increase in *de jure* declarations of national languages in domestic language policy in the post-war era.

4.6 Research Design

The unit of analysis is the state-IGO in the year of IGO formation. Empirical scholars once used dyad-level counts of joint IGO memberships to measure institutional cooperation, either as an independent (Russett and Oneal 2001; Boehmer, Gartzke, and Nordstrom 2004; Pevehouse and Russett 2006) or dependent variable (Boehmer and Nordstrom 2008).

Whilst this is valid for bilateral dependent variables such as trade ties, the dyadic unit of analysis overlooks higher-order dependencies in the present research since IGO formation is a multilateral event (Poast 2016). Analysing the state-IGO resolves this problem (Donno, Metzger, and Russett 2015).

[23]For a detailed overview of language policy in the former Soviet Union, see Grenoble (2003).

The following subsections specify my regression specification before moving on to variables of interest and ancillary covariates at the group, IGO, and state levels. I also display summary statistics after describing data sources and variable construction for each group of indicators.

4.6.1 Regression Setting

My baseline analysis uses a linear probability model to predict MEMBER, the dichotomous dependent variable for participation in IGO creation. For state i in IGO j, the model takes the form:

$$\Pr(member_{ij}) = \alpha + \beta_H language_{ij} + \boldsymbol{X_{ij}^T}\boldsymbol{\beta_{group}} + \boldsymbol{X_j^T}\boldsymbol{\beta_{IGO}} + \boldsymbol{X_i^T}\boldsymbol{\beta_{state}} + \epsilon_{ij}$$

In the model, $\boldsymbol{X_{ij}}$ is the vector of group-level measures of similarity between the relevant state and IGO cooperation partners, the elements of $\boldsymbol{X_j}$ are characteristics of IGO j in its year of founding, and $\boldsymbol{X_i}$ represents monadic characteristics of state i. β_H is the coefficient of interest, while the coefficients on group-, IGO-, and state-level variables are contained in the vectors $\boldsymbol{\beta_{group}}$, $\boldsymbol{\beta_{IGO}}$, and $\boldsymbol{\beta_{state}}$, respectively. Since the data are a pooled cross-section, there are no time subscripts, though all time-variant independent variables in $\boldsymbol{X_{ij}}$ and $\boldsymbol{X_i}$ are lagged by one year. As IGO-level variables, dummies for year of IGO founding are also included in $\boldsymbol{X_j}$, serving as time fixed-effects.

To ensure account for unobserved time-invariant heterogeneity at the country level, I also add state fixed-effects λ_i.

$$\Pr(member_{ij}) = \alpha + \beta_H language_{ij} + \boldsymbol{X_{ij}^T}\boldsymbol{\beta_{group}} + \boldsymbol{X_j^T}\boldsymbol{\beta_{IGO}} + \boldsymbol{X_i^T}\boldsymbol{\beta_{istate}} + \lambda_i + \epsilon_{ij}$$

Separate robustness checks replace the founding-year fixed effects in $\boldsymbol{X_j}$ with IGO fixed-effects θ_j in both sets of regressions. Additionally, I run supplementary analyses using logit and probit regression, as well as random-effects OLS regression and conditional logistic regression with country fixed-effects.

4.6.2 Dependent and Independent Variables

The binary dependent variable MEMBER indicates whether a state participated in IGO co-creation for each state-IGO pairing. Some potential observations are clearly invalid; based on the COW interstate system dataset, I exclude system non-members in the year of IGO founding to avoid inflating the data with negative outcomes. Even after this step, not all of the remaining state-IGO pairings are interesting or even reasonable. To remedy this in their analysis of geopolitical discrimination in IGO membership, Davis and Pratt (2021) exclude IGOs with unrestricted membership as well as nonsensical pairings of regional IGOs with irrelevant states (such as Sweden and the African Union) based on provisions in institutional documents. I do the same for my main results by subsetting on the ELIGIBLE variable, repeating the analysis on the unrestricted sample in robustness checks.

The three hypotheses generate separate operationalisations of common national language. LANGUAGE, the independent variable for *H1*, represents the proportion of IGO partners sharing at least one national language with the state in the state-IGO pair. This is calculated by summing a dyad-level binary common language indicator over all eventual IGO members before dividing by IGO size. For a multilingual state, this variable counts all partners sharing any of its national languages. The second predictor of interest, CONVERGENT LANGUAGE, is a strict subset of the first, as it averages over a binary variable that indicates only when a language is functionally convergent in both states. I construct *DE JURE* LANGUAGE in the same manner. In robustness checks, I replace these proportional variables with raw counts. As a joint extension of *H2* and *H3*, I also test the effect of common functionally convergent *de jure* language using the CONJOINT LANGUAGE variable. Descriptive statistics are shown in Table 4.2. Independent variables are lagged by one year and thus have fewer observations than the dependent variable.

Table 4.2: Descriptive statistics for variables of interest

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
Member	0.23	0.42	0.00	1.00	15,622
Language (%)	0.20	0.27	0.00	1.00	15,361
Language (count)	4.12	7.56	0.00	63.00	15,361
Convergent language (%)	0.12	0.22	0.00	1.00	15,361
Convergent language (count)	2.47	4.98	0.00	50.00	15,361
De jure language (%)	0.07	0.16	0.00	1.00	15,361
De jure language (count)	1.47	3.59	0.00	35.00	15,361
Conjoint language (%)	0.05	0.14	0.00	1.00	15,361
Conjoint language (count)	1.07	2.86	0.00	27.00	15,361

4.6.3 Control Variables

4.6.3.1 Group-level Cultural and Geographic Controls

I control for a wide range of potential confounders. First, I control for ethnicity, religion, and colonial history as the three most salient alternative cultural characteristics to shared language. Ethnicity data are taken from the Transborder Ethnic Kin (TEK) dataset in the Ethnic Power Relations Dataset family (Vogt et al. 2015). For each state-IGO, ethnicity denotes the proportion of IGO cooperation partners that share members of any ethnic group with the relevant state. As the year 1945 is not covered, data for that year are imputed to be identical to 1946. As this coding scheme includes minority ethnic groups with limited or no access to state power, I also include an alternative indicators in the robustness checks. This is a narrower measure that restricts the criteria for shared ethnicity to include only those ethnic groups that monopolise or dominate power at the national level in their respective states.

For each state-IGO, religion represents the proportion of revealed IGO cooperation partners in which members of a religious group make up more than 5 percent of the relevant state's population. Data for this variable are taken from the Religious Characteristics of States dataset (Brown and James 2018). In robustness checks, I employ a denomination variable that decomposes religious groups into their constitutive denominations (i.e., disaggregating 'Islam' into Sunni, Shi'ite, and

Ibadi branches). I also run models with an alternative RELIGION variable that increases the criterion for common religion from 5 percent to 10 percent of total state population.

Finally, colonial history captures the proportion of member states in an IGO that belonged to the same colonial empire as the relevant state. This includes both colonies in the same colonial empire, or else were in a coloniser-colony relationship. Data are taken from the Issue Correlates of War (ICOW) project (Hensel 2018).

I include two primary geographic controls. Proximity is frequently implicated in boosting institutional ties for functional reasons (Poast 2016). First, using the COW Direct Contiguity version 3.2 dataset from the Correlates of War project (Stinnett et al. 2002), I measure CONTIGUOUS as the proportion of IGO partner states with which the relevant state shares a land or river border. This variable is time-variant, as it takes into account territorial changes over the period of the study. In an alternative measure in the robustness checks, I widen the contiguity criteria to also include water contiguity based on separation by 12 nautical miles of water, widely accepted as delimiting territorial waters.

Second, DISTANCE is the average of the population-weighted distance between the relevant country in the state-IGO pair and the eventual members of the organisation. The coefficient on this covariate is expected to be negative for obvious reasons. These data are taken from a newly-published dataset used to understand cross-border frictions in capital allocation (Pellegrino, Spolaore, and Wacziarg 2025). In robustness checks, I make use of an alternative, discrete REGION variable accounting for the proportion of IGO partner states situated in the relevant state's geographic region. The regions are defined according to the six continental regions of the United Nations geoscheme.

4.6.3.2 Group-level Political and Economic Controls

Liberal IR theory and empirical scholarship implicate domestic institutional variation in shaping international cooperation. I create two variables to account for variation in regime type amongst prospective IGO membership. In the main analysis,

POLITY2 DIFFERENCE measures the average difference in Polity2 scores between the relevant state and IGO partners in the grouping, with data taken from the PolityV update to the Polity Project (Marshall and Gurr 2020). In robustness checks, I calculate REGIME as the percentage of IGO partners sharing the same domestic political system as the prospective member state based on the three discrete regime-type categories (democracy, anocracy, autocracy) derived from the same data.

As discussed previously, recent research foregrounds geopolitical alignment as another predictor of IGO co-membership. Following Davis and Pratt (2021), my primary operationalisation, ALLIES, is a proportional measure of IGO partner states with which the relevant state shares formal alliance relations, calculated on the basis of data taken from the Alliance Treaty Obligation Provisions (ATOPs) dataset (Chiba, Johnson, and Leeds 2015). I also include several alternative and additional geopolitical measures in robustness checks. ALLIANCE PORTFOLIO is a spatial measure of policy similarity (an *s*-score) taken from the same dataset that accounts for similarity in position within the global network of alliance commitments (Signorino and Ritter 1999).

As formal alliances do not capture all elements of geopolitical similarity, I further make use of a well-known measure of geopolitical (dis)alignment, UN VOTE DIFFERENCE. This variable is an *s*-score calculated on the basis of roll-call votes at yearly UN General Assembly meetings. Finally, states in conflict are less likely to be cooperation partners. Using the Correlates of War project's Dyadic Militarized Interstate Disputes dataset (Maoz et al. 2019), I code fatal MIDs to capture the proportion of IGO partners with which the relevant state is engaged in a militarised interstate dispute that has resulted in fatalities.

For economic relations, I similarly employ two measures. The first, TRADE, is the mean of bilateral trade flows between the relevant state and other eventual members of the IGO. This measure is the primary group-level economic control in the dataset. Second, for robustness analysis, I calculate TRADE DEPENDENCE

(AVG) by averaging the values for bilateral trade dependence, i.e., total trade flows divided by the GDP of the larger state in the pair (Gleditsch 2002), over all cooperation partners within the eventual IGO. Trade data are taken from the Correlates of War International Trade dataset (Barbieri, Keshk, and Pollins 2009; Barbieri and Keshk 2016).

4.6.3.3 IGO and State Controls

Aside from group-level measures of similarity, I control for confounding variables that describe IGO- and state-level characteristics. First, since neoliberal theory makes it clear that difficulties in information provision and enforcement increase in the number of cooperation partners, I include IGO SIZE in all models. Second, since some organisations are regionally-defined, I include a dummy borrowed from Davis and Pratt (2021). In robustness checks, I also include dummies for SOCIAL IGO and POLITICAL IGO, using ECONOMIC IGO as the base category and taken directly from the COW IGO dataset.

I account separately for state-specific monadic characteristics found to affect IGO membership in previous research (Jacobson, Reisinger, and Mathers 1986; Shanks, Jacobson, and Kaplan 1996; Beckfield 2003; Boehmer and Nordstrom 2008 etc.), For regime type, I use Polity2 score taken from PolityV (Marshall and Gurr 2020). For economic size and level of development, I use new historical economic data from the Maddison Project Database to calculate logged GDP and logged GDP per capita (Bolt and van Zanden 2024). As is standard, I also control for trade openness,[24] with trade data taken from the Correlates of War International Trade dataset.

States' pre-existing patterns of IGO membership also require consideration. In all regressions, I include IGO MEMBERSHIPS, which counts total pre-existing IGO memberships in the year of IGO formation, accounting for time-varying inter-state differences in institutional participation. Finally, as the descriptive analysis uncovered differences in multilingualism and language policy dimensions by years

[24]Calculated as total trade flows divided by GDP.

since independence, I include STATE AGE in all models. Table 4.3 displays summary statistics for all control variables.

Table 4.3: Descriptive statistics for control variables

	Mean	SD	Min	Max	N
ETHNICITY (%)	0.09	0.17	0.00	1.00	15,361
ETHNICITY (COUNT)	1.61	3.06	0.00	28.00	15,361
ETHNICITY (DOMINANT) (%)	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.60	15,361
RELIGION (%)	0.74	0.32	0.00	1.00	15,361
RELIGION (COUNT)	16.41	21.98	0.00	133.00	15,361
RELIGION (10% POP.) (%)	0.65	0.35	0.00	1.00	15,361
DENOMINATION (%)	0.59	0.35	0.00	1.00	15,361
COLONIAL HISTORY (%)	0.16	0.24	0.00	1.00	15,361
COLONIAL HISTORY (COUNT)	3.48	6.52	0.00	44.00	15,361
CONTIGUOUS (%)	0.05	0.11	0.00	1.00	15,361
CONTIGUOUS (COUNT)	0.74	1.31	0.00	12.00	15,361
CONTIGUOUS (12NM) (%)	0.05	0.11	0.00	1.00	15,361
DISTANCE (AVG)	5701.71	3512.71	0.00	18755.69	15,361
REGION (%)	0.42	0.39	0.00	1.00	15,361
POLITY2 DIFFERENCE (AVG)	6.25	4.48	0.00	19.09	15,361
REGIME TYPE (%)	0.35	0.30	0.00	1.00	15,361
REGIME TYPE (COUNT)	7.59	11.44	0.00	66.00	15,361
ALLIES (%)	0.20	0.32	0.00	1.00	15,361
ALLIES (COUNT)	3.83	7.27	0.00	71.00	15,361
ALLIANCE PORTFOLIO (AVG)	0.70	0.22	-0.45	1.00	15,361
UN VOTE DIFFERENCE (AVG)	0.80	0.70	0.00	4.80	15,361
FATAL MIDS (%)	0.00	0.03	0.00	1.00	15,361
FATAL MIDS (COUNT)	0.05	0.28	0.00	6.00	15,361
LOG TRADE (AVG)	1.06	2.00	-7.34	10.61	15,361
TRADE DEPENDENCE (AVG)	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	15,361
IGO SIZE	22.21	27.15	1.00	134.00	15,622
REGIONAL ORGANISATION	0.38	0.49	0.00	1.00	15,622
SOCIAL IGO	0.27	0.44	0.00	1.00	15,622
POLITICAL IGO	0.13	0.34	0.00	1.00	15,622
ECONOMIC IGO	0.60	0.49	0.00	1.00	15,622
POLITY2	-0.29	7.41	-10.00	10.00	14,158
LOG GDP PER CAPITA	8.42	1.06	5.93	11.95	13,767
LOG GDP	17.29	2.00	11.87	23.49	13,722
TRADE OPENNESS	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.23	11,679
IGO MEMBERSHIPS	41.92	21.26	0.00	123.00	15,361
STATE AGE	123.88	207.96	0.00	1713.00	15,361

4.7 Findings

This section examines the hypotheses laid out in the theory, subjects them to comprehensive tests of robustness, and probes temporal effects as well as heterogeneity by IGO scope and type. Overall, I find strong empirical support for the role of common national languages in fostering institutional co-creation, even when controlling for a comprehensive but theoretically-informed slate of covariates. In particular, the effects of shared language outstrip those of ethnicity and religion, the latter of which actually bears negatively on membership outcomes. Common language effects are furthermore independent of shared colonial legacy and geographic proximity, indicating the importance of language as a contributory factor to cooperation in its own right.

The effects observed are robust to alternative operationalisations of control variables, regression specifications, sample subsetting, and the inclusion of fixed- and random-effects that capture unobserved interstate variation. Analyses using time-lagged independent variables increase confidence that these results are neither spurious nor a consequence of reverse causality. Common convergent and *de jure* language variables, in particular, are significant for at least 12 periods. This observation supports the argument that change and continuity in the dimensions of language policy are most likely costly, time-consuming, and, above all, consciously evaluated and engineered.

Finally, heterogeneity analysis supports the argument that homophily in functionally-convergent languages and geographic functional imperatives tend to *substitute* for one another in fostering institutional cooperation. In contrast, the comparatively stronger association between shared *de jure* language and regional organisation formation corroborates the 'second-image reversed' logic presented in the theory. I also observe a complementary link between common language and the co-formation of social and political IGOs, which more closely approximate private club-goods as compared to economic IGOs, lending further credence to the theory.

4.7.1 Baseline Regression

Table 4.4 displays baseline tests of my hypotheses using linear regression with clustered standard errors. All predictors are lagged by one period. In addition to the independent variable of interest, all models include a carefully-selected but comprehensive slate of controls. For each state-IGO combination, I include eight variables measuring shared affinity with potential cooperation partners along cultural, geographic, domestic-political, international-political, and economic lines. A further eight variables control for IGO characteristics (IGO SIZE and REGIONAL IGO) and monadic characteristics of each potential member state, as previous research has shown these to affect institutional participation. Finally, all models include time fixed-effects for the year of IGO formation.

In line with the theory, coefficients on LANGUAGE, CONVERGENT LANGUAGE, and *DE JURE* LANGUAGE are all positive and highly significant. The coefficient in column (1) is comparable but slightly smaller in magnitude than those for either common convergent language or common *de jure* language in columns (2) and (3). This hints that the effects of the latter two, which are strict subsets of LANGUAGE that do not jointly exhaust it, are diluted when other combinations of common-language pairings are added.

To illustrate, suppose L is a *de facto* administrative language in state A, which has two potential IGO partner states B (where L is a *de jure* administrative language) and C (where L is a *de jure* convergent language). In this case, the LANGUAGE variable would take on a value of 1, since L is a national language in all three states. However, CONVERGENT LANGUAGE and *DE JURE* LANGUAGE would both equal 0, since L is neither convergent nor *de jure* in state A. Regression results therefore suggest common-language ties of this type are weaker than sharing either convergent or *de jure* languages, in line with theoretical expectations.

Coefficients on ETHNICITY and RELIGION are smaller in magnitude than the language variable in their respective regressions ($p < 0.01$ for six two-way tests across all three models). More importantly, common ethnicity has no significant effect

Table 4.4: Baseline linear probability models

	(1) Hypothesis 1		(2) Hypothesis 2		(3) Hypothesis 3	
Language (%)	0.138***	(0.035)				
Convergent language (%)			0.140***	(0.039)		
De jure language (%)					0.158***	(0.037)
Ethnicity (%)	0.022	(0.036)	0.035	(0.036)	0.016	(0.037)
Religion (%)	-0.048**	(0.019)	-0.046**	(0.019)	-0.043**	(0.020)
Colonial history (%)	0.106***	(0.037)	0.133***	(0.033)	0.170***	(0.026)
Contiguous (%)	0.899***	(0.064)	0.886***	(0.064)	0.904***	(0.064)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	(0.000)	-0.000***	(0.000)	-0.000***	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.010***	(0.001)	-0.010***	(0.001)	-0.010***	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.105***	(0.022)	0.087***	(0.022)	0.106***	(0.021)
log trade (avg)	0.007**	(0.003)	0.008**	(0.003)	0.007**	(0.003)
IGO Size	0.007***	(0.000)	0.007***	(0.000)	0.007***	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.036***	(0.012)	0.041***	(0.012)	0.042***	(0.012)
Polity2	0.003***	(0.001)	0.003***	(0.001)	0.003***	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.022***	(0.006)	-0.025***	(0.006)	-0.021***	(0.006)
log GDP	0.005	(0.005)	0.005	(0.005)	0.005	(0.005)
Trade openness	0.288	(0.289)	0.386	(0.283)	0.277	(0.284)
IGO memberships	0.002***	(0.000)	0.002***	(0.000)	0.002***	(0.000)
State age	0.000*	(0.000)	0.000*	(0.000)	0.000**	(0.000)
Constant	0.099	(0.134)	0.132	(0.135)	0.098	(0.133)
Observations	11,241		11,241		11,241	
Adjusted R^2	0.371		0.371		0.371	
Founding-year FE	Yes		Yes		Yes	
State FE	No		No		No	

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

on cooperation, and furthermore, sharing a common religion actually *reduces* IGO co-formation. These findings provide preliminary evidence for the assertion that language is unique among cultural variables for its ability to foster institutional cooperation, suggesting a role for the *rational*, cost-reduction pathway that differentiates it theoretically from religion and ethnicity. Furthermore, the positive coefficient on colonial history indicates that common national language is not reducible to colonial legacy.

Geographic controls are strongly significant in the expected directions. Contiguity is by far the strongest determinant of IGO co-creation in the model, whilst population-weighted distance bears a negative effect, implying an important role for functional imperatives for cooperation that arise from geographic proximity.

The effects of institutional, geopolitical, and economic variables also align with findings from previous research, lending further credence to the results. Difference from the mean Polity2 score of potential cooperation partners reduces IGO co-creation probability, reaffirming the importance of domestic institutional homophily in IGO partner choice (Poast and Urpelainen 2013). The consequences of geopolitical alignment as measured by shared alliances among potential IGO partners, as well as economic flows proxied by average trade with the grouping, reflect findings by Davis and Pratt (2021).

Finally, coefficients on the theoretically-informed monadic covariates are not consistently significant. Notably, LOG GDP PER CAPITA is negative, running contrary to assertions in earlier scholarship that richer countries tend to participate more in institutions (Jacobson, Reisinger, and Mathers 1986; Beckfield 2003). Monadic findings are not conclusive, however, since these models do not control for state fixed-effects.

4.7.2 Baseline Robustness Tests

I verify the above results in several ways. First, I run nested regressions, iteratively adding successive groups of controls to the parsimonious case for all three hypotheses. The common national language variables remain robust despite an unsurprising drop-off in coefficient magnitude, confirming that significance does not result from suppression effects generated by model over-specification. Additionally, I repeat the main analysis with a variable for shared functionally-convergent *de jure* language, which I call CONJOINT LANGUAGE, providing a perspective that lends further support to *H2* and *H3*. Next, to further probe the unexpected negative coefficient on RELIGION, Table C.5 employs common religious denomination instead of common religion *per se*, also contained in the Religious Characteristics of States Dataset (Brown and James 2018). Whilst DENOMINATION has no effect in any of the three models, the common language measures remain robust.

Results in Table 4.4 also are robust to alternative operationalisations of key group-level predictors. First, the baseline models measure shared ethnicity based on the

presence any significant population of transborder ethnic kin, but even populous ethnic groups are often politically marginalised. A narrower measure counts only when an ethnicity monopolises or dominates a national government (Vogt et al. 2015). Second, a stricter measure of shared religion raises the bar for the population of adherents from 5 percent to 10 percent of total population. Third, an alternative measure of geographic contiguity allows for separation by up to 12 nautical miles of water, based on the internationally-recognised limit for territorial waters, as opposed to strict separation by only land and/or river borders (Stinnett et al. 2002). Fourth, I replace population-weighted distance with common geographic region. Fifth, I replace POLITY2 DIFFERENCE with common regime type. Sixth, I normalise TRADE by calculating TRADE DEPENDENCE with IGO partners. Finally, following Davis and Pratt (2021), I re-operationalise geopolitical alignment using differences in UN roll-call voting behaviour. These are simultaneously addressed in Table C.6. Though the relative importance of ETHNICITY jumps drastically, common national language coefficients remain highly significant.

The baseline models restrict sample size to exclude IGOs with unrestricted membership and geographically nonsensical state-IGO pairings for regional IGOs, such as Sweden in the African Union (Davis and Pratt ibid.). Since these assumptions are not tenable in all cases,[25] Table C.7 confirms that results from the universal sample are comparable to the main analysis. Table C.8 confirms that replacing proportion-based measures of shared state characteristics with raw counts does not alter conclusions. In Table C.9, I replace founding-year fixed effects with fixed effects for all 437 IGOs. Furthermore, Table C.10 displays results from potentially overfitted models with 24 predictors, adding similarity in alliance portfolios, fatal MIDs with potential IGO partners, and IGO type[26] to the baseline and alternative specifications of the variables described above.

[25]Consider, e.g., UK membership in SEATO.

[26]I add the COW indicators for social and political IGOs, with economic IGOs as the base category.

I also subset the data by historical era and membership scope. In Table C.11 and Table C.12, common language effects appear both during and after the Cold War. Additionally, Table C.13 and Table C.14 show that common language effects are significant for both regional and non-regional organisations. However, coefficients of interest are larger for non-regional IGOs, particularly on the LANGUAGE variable for *H1*. This suggests that the functional pressures for regional cooperation may reduce the need for facilitation via sociolinguistic homophily, a conclusion to which I return in the discussion on heterogeneity. Finally, I re-run the baseline analysis using logit and probit regression in Table C.15 and Table C.16, both of which further support all three hypotheses.

4.7.3 Fixed-Effects and Lagged Predictors

The foregoing analysis does not account for state-level unobservables. Addressing this issue and ensuring robustness along the temporal dimension, I subject all three hypotheses to further tests. First, Table 4.5 displays the results of fixed-effects regressions with standard errors clustered at the state level to ensure that results in Table 4.4 are not biased by country-specific unobservables.

Coefficients on the variables of interest remain positive and significant in all three regressions. As in the baseline scenario, common language effects outstrip those of common ethnicity, measured in the same units ($p < 0.01$ in all three models). RELIGION also takes on comparable direction and significance, as do the remainder of the group-level variables, further increasing confidence in the results presented in Table 4.4. Predictably, country fixed-effects negate the effects of REGIONAL IGO and all monadic characteristics across each of the three models. These sharp differences call for caution in drawing conclusions about ancillary state-level factors in fostering multilateral partner choice.

I repeat the robustness tests from the previous section with the addition of country fixed-effects; all common language variables remain positive and highly significant. To probe differences in regression specification, Table C.31 relaxes the fixed-effects

Table 4.5: Fixed-effects linear probability models

	(1) Hypothesis 1		(2) Hypothesis 2		(3) Hypothesis 3	
Language (%)	0.113***	(0.033)				
Convergent language (%)			0.126***	(0.038)		
De jure language (%)					0.159***	(0.038)
Ethnicity (%)	0.083**	(0.036)	0.089**	(0.036)	0.075**	(0.036)
Religion (%)	-0.083***	(0.020)	-0.086***	(0.020)	-0.081***	(0.020)
Colonial history (%)	0.070**	(0.034)	0.088***	(0.031)	0.114***	(0.024)
Contiguous (%)	0.905***	(0.065)	0.900***	(0.065)	0.906***	(0.064)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	(0.000)	-0.000***	(0.000)	-0.000***	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.010***	(0.001)	-0.010***	(0.001)	-0.010***	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.114***	(0.022)	0.102***	(0.021)	0.113***	(0.021)
log trade (avg)	0.005	(0.004)	0.005	(0.004)	0.005	(0.004)
IGO Size	0.007***	(0.000)	0.007***	(0.000)	0.008***	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.014	(0.013)	0.018	(0.013)	0.016	(0.013)
Polity2	0.001	(0.001)	0.001	(0.001)	0.000	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.003	(0.021)	-0.004	(0.021)	-0.002	(0.021)
log GDP	-0.000	(0.014)	-0.001	(0.015)	-0.004	(0.015)
Trade openness	0.072	(0.389)	0.101	(0.389)	0.034	(0.388)
IGO memberships	-0.000	(0.001)	-0.000	(0.001)	-0.000	(0.001)
State age	0.000	(0.001)	0.000	(0.001)	0.000	(0.001)
Constant	0.212	(0.203)	0.236	(0.207)	0.261	(0.207)
Observations	11,241		11,241		11,241	
Adjusted R^2	0.369		0.369		0.370	
Founding-year FE	Yes		Yes		Yes	
State FE	Yes		Yes		Yes	

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

assumption. The effect of ethnicity disappears when using the random-effects estimator whilst the common language variables register little change.

Additionally, I re-run the results using conditional logit estimation as an analogue to Table C.15. When grouped on states, logistic regression yields similarly-sized coefficients on language and convergent language and attributes substantively higher log-odds to *de jure* language (3.154 to 2.422). As the conditional (fixed-effects) logit is the more conservative empirical setting, these results strongly indicate that common language affects institutional partner choice independently of other cultural attributes.

In the foregoing results, values for language, convergent language, and *de jure* language are taken from the year prior to IGO formation. Doing so seeks to

show that the dependent variable does not drive the independent variable. However, planning decisions for both IGO formation and language policy change take place on the order of years, not months. To ensure that results are not the product of reverse causality, Table 4.6 employs successive lags of the independent variable whilst keeping lags on the other predictors at $t-1$.

Table 4.6: Fixed-effects linear probability models with time lags

	National	Convergent	*De jure*	Observations
Lag (t-1)	0.113***	0.126***	0.159***	11,241
	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.038)	
Lag (t-2)	0.069**	0.106***	0.128***	11,216
	(0.034)	(0.038)	(0.040)	
Lag (t-3)	0.054*	0.110***	0.110***	11,216
	(0.032)	(0.038)	(0.041)	
Lag (t-4)	0.032	0.085**	0.105**	11,170
	(0.030)	(0.036)	(0.041)	
Lag (t-5)	0.049*	0.106***	0.127***	10,894
	(0.027)	(0.034)	(0.039)	
Lag (t-6)	0.055**	0.114***	0.154***	10,755
	(0.026)	(0.035)	(0.041)	
Lag (t-7)	0.052*	0.097***	0.134***	10,705
	(0.027)	(0.037)	(0.041)	
Lag (t-8)	0.058**	0.108***	0.117***	10,525
	(0.027)	(0.037)	(0.041)	
Lag (t-9)	0.053**	0.106***	0.104***	10,464
	(0.025)	(0.035)	(0.039)	
Lag (t-10)	0.055**	0.110***	0.114***	10,392
	(0.024)	(0.035)	(0.040)	
Lag (t-11)	0.077***	0.143***	0.138***	10,123
	(0.025)	(0.038)	(0.041)	
Lag (t-12)	0.071***	0.139***	0.140***	9,873
	(0.026)	(0.039)	(0.041)	

All coefficients from separate regressions
Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

The first row displays the coefficients from the first three rows of Table 4.5, whilst

the subsequent rows iterate through variable values for progressively earlier time periods. Unsurprisingly, effect size changes with lag time. Between $t-1$ and $t-2$, the magnitude all three language variables shrink. This drop-off is especially salient for LANGUAGE, which loses significance at $t-4$. Somewhat surprisingly, later lags reprise a measurable positive effect, which, though smaller than in $t-1$, nevertheless remains consistently significant from $t-8$ to $t-12$.

For the common convergent and *de jure* language variables, all lagged measures are significant throughout the 12 periods examined, with reductions in effect size much smaller than their counterparts for LANGUAGE. The coefficient on CONVERGENT LANGUAGE is actually *greater* in magnitude for periods $t-11$ and $t-12$ than in the base period. From a theoretical perspective, the stronger effects for specific functional and legal dimensions reflect the the coincidence of the rational and social pathways in shared convergent languages, as well as the relatively higher ex-ante costs of instituting a *de jure* language policy, both built up over comparatively longer timescales. Together, the persistence of significant effects for lags greater than one period support the conclusion that the association between common languages and IGO co-creation is neither spurious nor the result of reverse causality.

4.7.4 Heterogeneity by Institutional Characteristics

Prior analysis in Table C.13 and Table C.14 showed differences in common language effects between regional and non-regional IGOs. I further probe this relationship by interacting LANGUAGE, CONVERGENT LANGUAGE, and *DE JURE* LANGUAGE with the binary indicator for membership scope. Table 4.7 displays the results of both baseline and fixed-effects OLS estimation. In models (1)-(3), REGIONAL ORGANISATION is positive and significant, as are the uninteracted language variables in models (1) and (2). In contrast, the interaction terms bear no effect, providing no further evidence on whether geographic functional imperatives *substitute* or *complement* sociolinguistic links.

Regression with state fixed-effects leads us to a similar conclusion. In models (4)-(6), coefficients on REGIONAL ORGANISATION lose all significance. This indicates

Table 4.7: Heterogeneous effects of common language by IGO scope

	Baseline			Fixed-effects		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Language (%)	0.158***			0.112***		
	(0.039)			(0.042)		
Convergent language (%)		0.165***			0.119**	
		(0.053)			(0.054)	
De jure language (%)			0.093			0.031
			(0.066)			(0.074)
Regional organisation × language (%)	-0.031			0.002		
	(0.032)			(0.034)		
Regional organisation × convergent language (%)		-0.032			0.008	
		(0.048)			(0.050)	
Regional organisation × *de jure* language (%)			0.080			0.149**
			(0.060)			(0.066)
Regional organisation	0.043***	0.045***	0.036***	0.013	0.017	0.005
	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.015)	(0.014)	(0.013)
Group, IGO, and state controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

that the observed full-sample tendency to join regional IGOs is in fact driven by a handful of specific states. When taking this into account, LANGUAGE in model (4) displays significance whilst the interaction term is negligible. The same is true of CONVERGENT LANGUAGE true in model (5), further increasing confidence in the universal nature of *H1* and *H2*.

Interestingly, the uninteracted effect of *DE JURE* LANGUAGE disappears in model (6) while REGIONAL IGO × *DE JURE* LANGUAGE picks up a significant coefficient of substantial magnitude. When controlling for state-level idiosyncracies, common *de jure* languages specifically facilitate the co-creation of regional organisations as compared to non-regional organisations ($p = 0.0187$). This may be the case because regional organisations are much more likely to force domestic lock-in of statutory language policies due to the unavoidable international interactions that arise from geographic proximity, lending credence to the idea that the common *de jure* language effect is indeed driven by the logic of the second-image reversed. However, results displayed in Table C.33, which repeats the analysis using conditional logit and random-effects models, show insignificant coefficients on *DE JURE* LANGUAGE and its interactions with REGIONAL IGO, qualifying this speculation.

From these six models, I draw the soft conclusion that LANGUAGE and CONVERGENT LANGUAGE tend *not* to complement regional functional imperatives toward cooperation, whilst *DE JURE* LANGUAGE tends not to act as a substitute to them.

Following the above, I proceed to differences in predictor effects by organisation type. The COW dataset classifies all IGOs as either economic, political, or social organisations. I set economic IGOs as the base category for the regressions in Table 4.8 for two reasons. Empirically, they constitute the most populous IGO type in the dataset (228 of 437 organisations). Theoretically, the public-goods nature of institutional cooperation is most salient for international economic issues. In contrast, membership in social and political groupings more closely resembles discriminatory club goods.

Table 4.8: Heterogeneous effects of common language by IGO type

	Baseline			Fixed-effects		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Lang. (%)	0.085**			0.061*		
	(0.037)			(0.034)		
Conv. (%)		0.091**			0.081**	
		(0.040)			(0.039)	
De jure (%)			0.102***			0.106***
			(0.038)			(0.038)
Soc.×lang.	0.085***			0.081***		
	(0.031)			(0.030)		
Pol.×lang.	0.239***			0.254***		
	(0.042)			(0.041)		
Soc.×conv.		0.087**			0.078**	
		(0.038)			(0.037)	
Pol.×conv.		0.254***			0.268***	
		(0.059)			(0.058)	
Soc.×*de jure*			0.103**			0.106**
			(0.050)			(0.050)
Pol.×*de jure*			0.335***			0.339***
			(0.066)			(0.067)
Social IGO	-0.045***	-0.039***	-0.035***	-0.041***	-0.035***	-0.033***
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Political IGO	-0.019	-0.001	0.005	-0.030**	-0.010	-0.004
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Columns (1)-(3) show results from baseline OLS estimation, whilst columns (4)-(6) control for state-level fixed effects. All models include time fixed-effects and all controls introduced in the main analysis. Compared to their equivalents in Table 4.4 and Table 4.5, coefficients on the common language variables drop substantially in magnitude despite retaining statistical significance. Interaction terms pick up much of the effect, hinting that substantial heterogeneity underlies the main results. I also re-run these analyses under conditional logit and random-effects OLS assumptions in Table C.34.

In all regressions in Table 4.8, coefficients on the POLITICAL IGO interaction terms are larger than the language × SOCIAL IGO interactions ($p < 0.01$ in all six models). This is also the case under alternative regression assumptions in Table C.34, once again drawing attention to the logic outlined in the theory. In general, the material stakes are much higher in political groupings, a category which includes security institutions, as compared to purely social organisations. This dynamic should amplify the role of common languages in fostering trust among potential partners in the former domain, echoing findings by Pitsuwan (2023). Overall, analyses of heterogeneous effects suggest that common languages *complement* existing discriminatory tendencies in domains with club-goods properties.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has argued and sought to demonstrate that national languages, far from being merely cultural artefacts, play a decisive role in shaping patterns of international cooperation. Whilst much of the extant literature has emphasised systemic factors or domestic regime type or material interests as the primary determinants of IGO membership, the analysis presented here introduces a powerful social dimension that is too often overlooked. Shared languages not only reduce transaction costs but may also stabilise expectations about behaviour that facilitate the incomplete contracting inherent in international organisation. Even when sub-

stantive interests diverge, common understandings arising from sharing language helps states sit down with the 'devil they know' in the international system.

These dynamics help explain why states with common national languages are more likely to enter and sustain cooperative agreements, even when other structural incentives are less favourable. Besides providing strong support for the hypotheses set forth in the theory, the results of this analysis suggest that linguistic homophily complements existing discriminatory logics in high-stakes institutions, reinforcing tendencies toward exclusivity and club-like governance. In this respect, languages function as both bridges and barriers: they can deepen solidarity among some actors while simultaneously delineating boundaries that exclude others.

In terms of internal validity, this chapter helps substantiate the conclusions from the previous chapters. Given that states tend to choose cooperation partners from within their linguistic communities, it is all the more significant that membership in anglophone organisations bears noticeably on the diffusion of English in diplomacy, providing a window into how IGOs institutionalise power differentials and transform them into international norms. Externally, the comprehensive Domestic Language Policies Dataset introduced in this chapter provides rich, time-varying information along the legal and functional dimensions of language policy. This allows empirical scholars in IR and IPE to control for sociolinguistic influences in other dimensions of global politics.

Beyond its empirical contributions, the chapter underscores the need to broaden theoretical perspectives in IR. By treating language as a a dynamic policy instrument and a constitutive element of international order, rather than merely a fixed cultural attribute, scholars can better account for the ways in which social and cultural factors interact with material interests. National languages thus emerge not only as tools of domestic administration and identity formation but also as instruments of international politics that shape the very architecture of global governance, differentiating them from other cultural categories such as ethnicity and religion. Theorising sociolinguistic homophily provides a more comprehensive

account of how international society operates in practice, particularly in a world where cultural and social bonds often underpin formal agreements.

Looking ahead, further research may investigate how sociolinguistic configurations interact with other social and non-social factors in shaping patterns of institutional membership and other outcomes of interest in international politics. In the present era, attention should also be paid to how digital technologies, translation tools, and evolving practices may alter the role of language in future forms of cooperation. By situating language at the centre of inquiry, scholars can continue to refine our understanding of how international institutions emerge, evolve, and endure. Recognising the centrality of language to international organisation allows us to appreciate the complex interplay of forces that underpin international cooperation and, ultimately, to develop richer accounts of the global order.

Every time the question of the language surfaces, in one way or another, it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore.

— Antonio Gramsci,
Notes for an Introduction to the Study of Grammar (1985 [1935])

5
Conclusion

This thesis has argued that language is central to international organisation. I began with the observation that IR has rarely treated languages as objects of study despite their obvious presence (and indeed, prevalence) in world politics. By examining how languages shape institutions, how institutions encode language in their design, and how these designs affect state behaviour, the chapters together have shown that language is part of the institutional foundations of the international order. It affects how communities of states are formed, how rules are made, and how norms spread.

The first paper examined the diffusion of English as the diplomatic *lingua franca*. I departed from the question of how English came to dominate modern diplomatic practice when its position was far from assured. The analysis located the answer in the institutional growth of multilateralism after 1945. Membership in organisations with English as an operational language exposed states to repeated interactions in an English-dominant environment, encouraging them to adopt it for diplomatic communication. Using a new dataset of over ten thousand speeches at the United Nations General Debate from 1946 to 2021, I found strong evidence that aggregate membership in anglophone IGOs increases the likelihood of using English in the General Assembly.

The effect is particularly clear for membership in IGOs that operate *solely* in English, suggesting that immersion in monolingual institutional settings generates stronger incentives for norm adoption. These findings show that the spread of English in diplomacy was not an automatic reflection of power, but an outcome of institutional participation under conditions of post-war multilateralism. They also show that language norms can diffuse through international organisations just as other norms do, although the results suggest socialisation into English may be instrumental rather than transformative.

The second paper asked *how many* and *whose* languages are institutionalised in international organisations for internal use. I conceptualised these choices as institutional design features embodying a trade-off between efficiency and fairness. Because translation and interpretation are costly, not all members can have their preferred languages included in IGO language regimes. Using a dataset of language regimes covering all IGOs created between 1945 and 2014, I found that linguistic diversity among members reduces inclusiveness, while democracy does not increase it.

The results also showed that the relative power and numerical strength of linguistic coalitions among founding states strongly predict which languages are chosen. Furthermore, when a language serves both administrative and identity functions domestically, its speakers have stronger preferences for its inclusion in organisational rules. The findings confirm that efficiency concerns dominate the design of language regimes, but also that power and domestic preferences influence who benefits from those arrangements. What appears to be a technical decision about working languages is in fact a distributional choice that privileges some members over others.

The third paper interrogated the relationship between shared languages and the creation of international organisations. I proposed that states that with common national languages are more likely to form new organisations together, as shared

membership in a linguistic community both facilitates mutual understanding, reducing uncertainty in incomplete contracting, and substantively reduces transaction costs even without assuming sociality. Drawing on a new time-series cross-sectional global dataset of national language policies from 1945 to 2014, the I found strong support for this proposition.

States that share the same national languages, or languages that perform similar administrative and symbolic functions, are more likely to co-found international organisations. The results also suggest that shared legal status of national languages matters. This insinuates that partner choice in international cooperation may serve to lock in domestic language policies in much the same way new democracies seek to cement political reforms through institutional commitments. States may choose 'others' with similar linguistic profiles to reinforce or protect domestic arrangements. In these ways, language shapes institutional cooperation from its inception.

Across the three chapters, a consistent picture emerges. Language is part of the institutional structure of international life. It diffuses through organisations as an externality of participation, it is embedded in institutional rules that distribute social privilege unequally, and it conditions the formation of new cooperative ties. Taken together, these findings link three longstanding questions in the study of international institutions: how institutions influence behaviour, how they are designed, and how states decide with whom to build them. By foregrounding language, the thesis has offered a way to connect these questions to the cultural and communicative foundations of the international order.

The results also have implications for our understanding of hierarchy in world politics. The dominance of English, often viewed as natural or inevitable, is institutional and therefore contingent. Its preeminence arose from the multilateral environments of the post-war era and is sustained by the organisations that continue to operate in it. The same logic that produced the ascendancy of English could in principle favour other languages if the structure of global institutions changes. As the balance of power and participation evolves, the linguistic composition of the international

order may also shift. What remains clear is that language hierarchies are embedded in the institutions that manage cooperation, and are therefore central to any understanding of global governance.

The empirical contributions of this thesis also extend to the broader field of quantitative IR and IPE research, both on international organisations and in related subfields including international trade. The three datasets introduced here provide new tools for examining how language interacts with political and institutional variables. Together they allow future researchers to incorporate linguistic factors into studies of cooperation, norm diffusion, and institutional design. They also improve measurement by correcting for biases that arise when multilingual realities are ignored, such as in analyses that rely exclusively on English-language texts, but contain no information on source languages. These resources help scholars systematically correct for linguistic confounders rather than finding ways to assume them away.

The findings also underscore the importance of recovering the social and cultural dimensions of cooperation that institutional theories have often bracketed. The study of international organisation has long focused on interests and capabilities, but the evidence here shows that shared understandings and linguistic commonality matter as well. States that speak the same language literally and figuratively find it easier to coordinate, negotiate, and sustain cooperation. Language thus provides a missing link between the material and the social, showing how both interact in the creation and operation of institutions.

More broadly, the argument presented here contributes to the emerging recognition that international relations are always 'inter-lingual' relations. Institutions not only transmit norms but also organise the conditions under which communication occurs. Decisions about which languages to use, which to translate, and which to omit shape whose voices are heard and whose are marginalised. The institutionalisation of English in particular has far-reaching consequences for participation and representation in global politics. Recognising this helps reveal how everyday practices of

communication sustain wider patterns of inequality, both in the practice and study of institutions.

The results also suggest directions for future research. One important next step is to investigate the micro-level mechanisms of linguistic socialisation within institutions. The large-N analyses presented here reveal aggregate patterns but not the day-to-day processes through which diplomats and officials adapt to linguistic environments. Ethnographic and interview-based studies could explore how multilingual practices operate in organisational settings and how individuals navigate linguistic hierarchies. A related direction is to extend the analysis beyond English. Other languages such as French, Arabic, Spanish, and Chinese also play important regional or functional roles in international organisations. Comparative studies could examine how different linguistic blocs interact, compete, and coexist within the wider system.

A third direction concerns technological change. Advances in translation and communication technology may alter the cost structure that has historically favoured monolingual efficiency. Future research could assess whether such technologies weaken existing hierarchies or simply reinforce them by standardising interaction around a single language. Another potential direction is to link linguistic variables to outcomes beyond institutional design and membership, such as compliance, voting behaviour, or policy diffusion, to understand how linguistic alignment affects cooperation over time. Finally, the datasets created here can be used to study how domestic language policies respond to international pressures, completing the feedback loop between the national and international levels.

In conclusion, I have argued that language is integral to understanding how the international system is organised. Institutions shape the linguistic environment of world politics, and in turn, language shapes the operation and evolution of those institutions. By tracing how linguistic hierarchies are produced and maintained through institutional externalities, design, and membership, the papers of this dissertation reveal that languages themselves are a source of order and inequality

in global politics. Recognising this opens the door to a fuller understanding of how international organisation is assembled, sustained, and changed through the words that make them possible.

Language has always been the quiet infrastructure of world politics. This thesis has sought to make it audible.

Bibliography

A/PV.1428. Twenty-first Session Official Records (4th Oct. 1966). Publisher: United Nations General Assembly. United Nations Official Document System, A/PV.1428. URL: https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/nl7/002/37/pdf/nl700237.pdf?token=1yGG2iP9FNTsO5vJPh&fe=true.

Abbott, Kenneth W. and Duncan Snidal (1998). 'Why States Act through Formal International Organizations'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 42.1, pp. 3–32.

— (2000). 'Hard and Soft Law in International Governance'. In: *International Organization* 54.3, pp. 421–456.

Acharya, Amitav (2004). 'How Ideas Spread: Whose Norms Matter? Norm Localization and Institutional Change in Asian Regionalism'. In: *International Organization* 58.2, pp. 239–275.

— (2011). 'Norm Subsidiarity and Regional Orders: Sovereignty, Regionalism, and Rule-Making in the Third World1: Norm Subsidiarity and Regional Orders'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 55.1, pp. 95–123.

— (2014). 'Global International Relations (IR) and Regional Worlds: A New Agenda for International Studies'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 58.4, pp. 647–659.

— (2016). 'INTRODUCTION: Advancing Global IR: Challenges, Contentions, and Contributions'. In: *International Studies Review* 18.1, pp. 4–15.

Actes de la troisième Conference des chefs d'état et de gouvernement des pays ayant en commun l'usage du français (1989).

Adams, Tracy and Mor Mitrani (2023). 'Juggling Identities: Identification, Collective Memory, and Practices of Self-presentation in the United Nations General Debate'. In: *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 26.2, pp. 277–298.

Adamson, Robin (2007). *The Defence of French: A Language in Crisis?* Multilingual matters 137. Clevedon, England and Buffalo, New York: Multilingual Matters. 199 pp.

Adler, Emanuel and Michael N. Barnett, eds. (1998). *Security Communities*. Cambridge studies in international relations 62. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Albaugh, Ericka A. (2009). 'The Colonial Image Reversed: Language Preferences and Policy Outcomes in African Education'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 53.2, pp. 389–420.

Alderson, Kai (2001). 'Making Sense of State Socialization'. In: *Review of International Studies* 27.3, pp. 415–433.

Alexander, Dan and Bryan Rooney (2019). 'Vote-Buying by the United States in the United Nations'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 63.1, pp. 168–176.

Alpert, Eugene J. and Samuel J. Bernstein (1974). 'International Bargaining and Political Coalitions: U.S. Foreign Aid and China's Admission to The U.N.' In: *Western Political Quarterly* 27.2, pp. 314–327.

Alter, Karen J. and Sophie Meunier (2009). 'The Politics of International Regime Complexity'. In: *Perspectives on Politics* 7.1, pp. 13–24.

Ammon, Ulrich (2006). 'Language Conflicts in the European Union: On Finding a Politically Acceptable and Practicable Solution for EU Institutions that Satisfies Diverging Interests'. In: *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 16.3, pp. 319–338.

Anderson, Benedict R. (1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised and extended edition. London and New York: Verso. 224 pp.

Aronova, Elena (2017). 'Russian and the Making of World Languages during the Cold War'. In: *Isis* 108.3, pp. 643–650.

Axelrod, Robert and Robert O. Keohane (1985). 'Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions'. In: *World Politics* 38.1, pp. 226–254.

Axelrod, Robert M. (1984). *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York: Basic Books. 241 pp.

Aydinli, Ersel and Julie Aydinli (2024). 'Exposing linguistic imperialism: Why global IR has to be multilingual'. In: *Review of International Studies* 50.6, pp. 943–964.

Azmi, Hadi (6th Apr. 2022). 'Say what? Malaysia's call for ASEAN to embrace its language irks Indonesia'. In: *South China Morning Post*. Section: This Week in Asia. URL: https://www.scmp.com/week-asia/lifestyle-culture/article/3173240/malaysias-call-asean-embrace-its-national-language-irks (visited on 10/04/2022).

Baccini, Leonardo, Andreas Dür and Manfred Elsig (2015). 'The Politics of Trade Agreement Design: Revisiting the Depth–Flexibility Nexus'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 59.4, pp. 765–775.

Bailey, Michael A., Anton Strezhnev and Erik Voeten (2017). 'Estimating Dynamic State Preferences from United Nations Voting Data'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61.2, pp. 430–456.

Bank, World (2023). *World Development Indicators*. Washington, D.C. (Visited on 18/11/2023).

Barbieri, Katherine and Omar M.G. Keshk (2016). *Correlates of War Project Trade Data Set Codebook*. Version 4.0. URL: https://correlatesofwar.org/data-sets/bilateral-trade/.

Barbieri, Katherine, Omar M.G. Keshk and Brian M. Pollins (2009). 'Trading Data: Evaluating our Assumptions and Coding Rules'. In: *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 26.5, pp. 471–491.

Barnes, James F. et al. (1980). *The World of Politics: A Concise Introduction*. New York: St. Martin's Press. 214 pp.

Barnett, Michael and Raymond Duvall (2005). 'Power in International Politics'. In: *International Organization* 59.1, pp. 39–75.

Barnett, Michael N. and Martha Finnemore (1999). 'The Politics, Power, and Pathologies of International Organizations'. In: *International Organization* 53.4, pp. 699–732.

Baturo, Alexander and Julia Gray (2024a). 'Leaders in the United Nations General Assembly: Revitalization or politicization?' In: *The Review of International Organizations* 19.4, pp. 721–752.

— (2024b). 'The Incentives of Leaders in International Organizations: Evidence from the UN General Assembly'. In: *International Interactions* 50.1, pp. 138–167.

Bayer, Resat (2006). *Diplomatic Exchange Data set, v2006.1.* URL: `http://correlatesofwar.org`.

Bearce, David H. and Stacy Bondanella (2007). 'Intergovernmental Organizations, Socialization, and Member-State Interest Convergence'. In: *International Organization* 61.4, pp. 703–733.

Beckfield, Jason (2003). 'Inequality in the World Polity: The Structure of International Organization'. In: *American Sociological Review* 68.3, pp. 401–424.

Bertrand, M., E. Duflo and S. Mullainathan (2004). 'How Much Should We Trust Differences-In-Differences Estimates?' In: *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 119.1, pp. 249–275.

Biltoft, Carolyn N. (2010). 'Speaking the Peace: Language, World Politics and the League of Nations, 1918-1935'. PhD thesis. Princeton: Princeton University. 416 pp.

Binder, Martin and Monika Heupel (2015). 'The Legitimacy of the UN Security Council: Evidence from Recent General Assembly Debates'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 59.2, pp. 238–250.

Birkby, Stuart J. (2014). ''We Will Bury You': How Mistranslation Heightened Cold War Rensions'. In: *Galaxy: The IELE Journal (Graduate School of English, Assumption University of Thailand)* 6.2, pp. 89–102.

Blommaert, Jan (2007). 'Language Policy and National Identity'. In: *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Ed. by Thomas Ricento. Reprint. Language and Social Change 1. Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell, pp. 238–254.

Boehmer, Charles, Erik Gartzke and Timothy Nordstrom (2004). 'Do Intergovernmental Organizations Promote Peace?' In: *World Politics* 57.1, pp. 1–38.

Boehmer, Charles and Timothy Nordstrom (2008). 'Intergovernmental Organization Memberships: Examining Political Community and the Attributes of International Organizations'. In: *International Interactions* 34.3, pp. 282–309.

Boli, John and George M. Thomas (1997). 'World Culture in the World Polity: A Century of International Non-Governmental Organization'. In: *American Sociological Review* 62.2, pp. 171–190.

Bolt, Jutta and Jan Luiten Van Zanden (3rd Apr. 2024). 'Maddison-style Estimates of the Evolution of the World Economy: A New 2023 Update'. In: *Journal of Economic Surveys*, joes.12618. URL: `https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/joes.12618` (visited on 03/12/2024).

Bormann, Nils-Christian, Lars-Erik Cederman and Manuel Vogt (2017). 'Language, Religion, and Ethnic Civil War'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61.4, pp. 744–771.

Bovcon, Maja (2013). 'Françafrique and Regime Theory'. In: *European Journal of International Relations* 19.1, pp. 5–26.

Brisset, Annie (2003). 'The Search for a Native Language: Translation and Cultural Identity'. In: *The Translation Studies Reader*. Ed. by Lawrence B. Venuti. In collab. with Rosalind Gill and Roger Gannon. Reprint. London: Routledge, pp. 343–375.

Brown, Davis and Patrick James (2018). 'The Religious Characteristics of States: Classic Themes and New Evidence for International Relations and Comparative Politics'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62.6, pp. 1340–1376.

Brysk, Alison, Craig Parsons and Wayne Sandholtz (2002). 'After Empire: National Identity and Post-colonial Families of Nations'. In: *European Journal of International Relations* 8.2, pp. 267–305.

Bueno Bernal, Jesús (1999). *Babilonia y Babel: El Parlamento Europeo desde Dentro*. 1. ed. Barcelona: Ediciones B, Grupo Zeta. 430 pp.

Busch, Marc L. (2007). 'Overlapping Institutions, Forum Shopping, and Dispute Settlement in International Trade'. In: *International Organization* 61.4, pp. 735–761.

Buzan, Barry (2004). *From International to World Society?: English School Theory and the Social Structure of Globalisation*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations. New York: Cambridge University Press. 318 pp.

Calvet, Louis-Jean (1987). *La guerre des langues et les politiques linguistiques*. Langages et sociétés. Paris: Payot. 294 pp.

— (2006). *Towards an Ecology of World Languages*. Trans. by Andrew Brown. Cambridge: Polity Press. 296 pp.

Cao, Xun (2009). 'Networks of Intergovernmental Organizations and Convergence in Domestic Economic Policies'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 53.4, pp. 1095–1130.

— (2010). 'Networks as Channels of Policy Diffusion: Explaining Worldwide Changes in Capital Taxation, 1998–2006'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 54.3, pp. 823–854.

Caraccioli, Mauro J. et al. (2021). 'Forum: Interlingual Relations: Approaches, Conflicts, and Lessons in the Translation Of Global Politics'. In: *International Studies Review* 23.3, pp. 1015–1045.

Cardinal, Linda and Selma K. Sonntag, eds. (2015). *State Traditions and Language Regimes*. Montreal Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. 288 pp.

Carter, David B. and Randall W. Stone (2015). 'Democracy and Multilateralism: The Case of Vote Buying in the UN General Assembly'. In: *International Organization* 69.1, pp. 1–33.

Checkel, Jeffrey T. (1999). 'Norms, Institutions, and National Identity in Contemporary Europe'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 43.1, pp. 83–114.

— (2005). 'International Institutions and Socialization in Europe: Introduction and Framework'. In: *International Organization* 59.4.

Chelotti, Nicola, Niheer Dasandi and Slava Jankin Mikhaylov (2022). 'Do Intergovernmental Organizations Have a Socialization Effect on Member State Preferences? Evidence from the UN General Debate'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 66.1, sqab069.

Chiba, Daina, Jesse C. Johnson and Brett Ashley Leeds (2015). 'Careful Commitments: Democratic States and Alliance Design'. In: *The Journal of Politics* 77.4, pp. 968–982.

Choudhry, Sujit and Erin C. Houlihan (2021). *Official Language Designation*. International IDEA Constitution-Building Primers 20. Stockholm: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. 48 pp.

Chua, S. C. (1964). *Report on the Census of Population, 1957*. Singapore: Government Printer. 314 pp.

Church, Jeffrey and Ian King (1993). 'Bilingualism and Network Externalities'. In: *The Canadian Journal of Economics / Revue canadienne d'Economique* 26.2, pp. 337–345.

Clement, Richard (1996). 'Social Psychology and Intergroup Communication'. In: *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 15.3, pp. 222–229.

Cohen, Raymond (1991). *Negotiating across Cultures: Communication Obstacles in International Diplomacy*. Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace. 193 pp.

— (2001). 'Language and Conflict Resolution: The Limits of English'. In: *International Studies Review* 3.1, pp. 25–51.

Collin, Richard Oliver (2013). 'Moving Political Meaning across Linguistic Frontiers'. In: *Political Studies* 61.2, pp. 282–300.

Cooper, Robert Leon (1989). *Language Planning and Social Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 228 pp.

Cortell, Andrew P. and James W. Davis Jr. (2000). 'Understanding the Domestic Impact of International Norms: A Research Agenda'. In: *International Studies Review* 2.1, pp. 65–87.

Coulmas, Florian (1992). *Language and Economy*. 1. publ. Oxford: Blackwell. 377 pp.

Crystal, David (2010). *English as a Global Language*. 2. ed., 10. printing. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 212 pp.

D'Aoust, Anne-Marie (2012). 'Accounting for the Politics of Language in the Sociology of IR'. In: *Journal of International Relations and Development* 15.1, pp. 120–131.

Daßler, Benjamin, Tim Heinkelmann-Wild and Martijn Huysmans (2025). 'Insuring the Weak: The Institutional Power Equilibrium in International Organizations'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 69.1, sqae146.

Davies, Maia (2nd Mar. 2025). 'Trump makes English official language of US'. In: *BBC News*.

Davis, Christina L. (2023). *Discriminatory Clubs: The Geopolitics of International Organizations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 472 pp.

— (2025). 'The Social Context of International Institutions'. In: *World Politics* 77.1, pp. 109–126.

Davis, Christina L. and Tyler Pratt (2021). 'The Forces of Attraction: How Security Interests Shape Membership in Economic Institutions'. In: *The Review of International Organizations* 16.4, pp. 903–929.

Davis, Christina L. and Meredith Wilf (2017). 'Joining the Club: Accession to the GATT/WTO'. In: *The Journal of Politics* 79.3, pp. 964–978.

De Nebrija, Antonio and Magalí Armillas-Tiseyra (2016). 'On Language and Empire: The Prologue to "Grammar of the Castilian Language" (1492)'. In: *PMLA* 131.1, pp. 197–208.

De Swaan, Abram (1998). 'The European Language Constellation'. In: *Which Languages for Europe?* Ed. by N. Bos. Report of the Conference held in Oegstgeest, The Netherlands. Amsterdam: European Cultural Foundation, pp. 13–23.

— (2001). *Words of the World: The Global Language System*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 253 pp.

De Varennes, Fernand (2012). 'Language Policy at the Supranational Level'. In: *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Ed. by Bernard Spolsky. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 149–173.

Denecke, Wiebke (2014). 'Worlds Without Translation: Premodern East Asia and the Power of Character Scripts'. In: *A Companion to Translation Studies*. John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, pp. 204–216.

Deutsch, Karl W. (1942). 'The Tread of European Nationalism—the Language Aspect'. In: *American Political Science Review* 36.3, pp. 533–541.

Dingwerth, Klaus, Henning Schmidtke and Tobias Weise (2020). 'The Rise of Democratic Legitimation: Why International Organizations Speak the Language of Democracy'. In: *European Journal of International Relations* 26.3, pp. 714–741.

Donno, Daniela, Shawna K. Metzger and Bruce Russett (2015). 'Screening Out Risk: IGOs, Member State Selection, and Interstate Conflict, 1951-2000'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 59.2, pp. 251–263.

Downs, George W. and David M. Rocke (1997). *Optimal Imperfection? Domestic Uncertainty and Institutions in International Relations*. 2nd edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 159 pp.

Downs, George W., David M. Rocke and Peter N. Barsoom (1996). 'Is the good news about compliance good news about cooperation?' In: *International Organization* 50.3, pp. 379–406.

Duffield, John (2007). 'What Are International Institutions?' In: *International Studies Review* 9.1, pp. 1–22.

Methodology (2024). In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International. URL: `https://www.ethnologue.com/methodology/` (visited on 12/02/2025).

Edwards, John (1985). *Language, Society, and Identity*. 1st ed. Oxford: Basil Blackwell (in association with André Deutsch). 245 pp.

Egger, Peter H. and Andrea Lassmann (2012). 'The language effect in international trade: A meta-analysis'. In: *Economics Letters* 116.2, pp. 221–224.

— (2015). 'The Causal Impact of Common Native Language on International Trade: Evidence from a Spatial Regression Discontinuity Design'. In: *The Economic Journal* 125.584, pp. 699–745.

Egger, Peter H. and Farid Toubal (2016). 'Common Spoken Languages and International Trade'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Economics and Language*. Ed. by Victor Ginsburgh and Shlomo Weber. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 263–289.

Eisenberg, Melvin Aron (2018). 'Chapter 36: Incomplete Contracts'. In: *Foundational Principles of Contract Law*. The Oxford Commentaries on American Law. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 497–518.

'EU tackles translation 'crisis'' (26th May 2004). In: *BBC News*. URL: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/europe/3751079.stm (visited on 05/04/2022).

Evans, Tony and Peter Wilson (1992). 'Regime Theory and the English School of International Relations: A Comparison'. In: *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 21.3, pp. 329–351.

Ewing, Michael C. (2004). 'Colloquial Indonesian'. In: *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*. Ed. by K. Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus Himmelmann. 1st Edition. London: Routledge, pp. 227–258.

Fearon, James D. (1998). 'Domestic Politics, Foreign Policy, and Theories of International Relations'. In: *Annual Review of Political Science* 1.1, pp. 289–313.

— (3rd Nov. 1999). 'What is identity (as we now use the word)?' Draft. Draft. Stanford University. URL: https://web.stanford.edu/group/fearon-research/cgi-bin/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/What-is-Identity-as-we-now-use-the-word-.pdf.

Fidrmuc, Jan and Jarko Fidrmuc (2016). 'Foreign Languages and Trade: Evidence from a Natural Experiment'. In: *Empirical Economics* 50.1, pp. 31–49.

Fink, Simon (2013). '"When I find myself in times of trouble ···": The Conditional Effect of International Organisations on Policy Convergence'. In: *European Journal of Political Research* 52.5, pp. 630–659.

Finnemore, Martha (1993). 'International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cutural Organization and Science Policy'. In: *International Organization* 47.4, pp. 565–597.

— (1996). *National Interests in International Society*. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 154 pp.

Finnemore, Martha and Kathryn Sikkink (1998). 'International Norm Dynamics and Political Change'. In: *International Organization* 52.4, pp. 887–917.

Firth, John Rupert (1964). *The Tongues of Men and Speech*. London: Oxford University Press. 211 pp.

Fishman, Joshua A. (1972). *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays*. Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers. 184 pp.

Framework Agreement on the Sava River Basin (2002). URL: https://www.savacommission.org/UserDocsImages/05_documents_publications/basic_documents/fasrb.pdf (visited on 26/03/2022).

Franda, Marcus F. (2006). *The United Nations in the Twenty-First Century: Management and Reform Processes in a Troubled Organization*. Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield. 257 pp.

Fukuyama, Francis (1989). 'The End of History?' In: *The National Interest* 16, pp. 3–18.

Gahigi, Moses (1st Dec. 2008). 'Rwanda: English Language Teaching Kicks Off'. In: *The New Times*. URL: https://allafrica.com/stories/200812010940.html (visited on 29/03/2024).

Garrett, Paul B. and Patricia Baquedano-López (2002). 'Language Socialization: Reproduction and Continuity, Transformation and Change'. In: *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31, pp. 339–361.

Gartzke, Erik and Kristian Skrede Gleditsch (2006). 'Identity and Conflict: Ties that Bind and Differences that Divide'. In: *European Journal of International Relations* 12.1, pp. 53–87.

Garvía, Roberto (2015). *Esperanto and Its Rivals: The Struggle for an International Language*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 240 pp.

Gazzola, Michele (2006). 'Managing Multilingualism in the European Union: Language Policy Evaluation for the European Parliament'. In: *Language Policy* 5.4, pp. 395–419.

— (2014). *The Evaluation of Language Regimes: Theory and Application to Multilingual Patent Organisations*. Multilingualism and Diversity Management (MDM) volume 3. Amsterdam Philadelphia: John Benjamins publ. Cie. 402 pp.

Geertz, Clifford (1963). 'The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States'. In: *Old societies and new States; the quest for modernity in Asia and Africa*. New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-Macmillan, p. 152.

Gellner, Ernest (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. 1st. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 170 pp.

Gheciu, Alexandra (2005). 'Security Institutions as Agents of Socialization? NATO and the "New Europe"'. In: *International Organization* 59.4, pp. 973–1012.

Gil, Jeffrey (2017). *Soft Power and the Worldwide Promotion of Chinese Language Learning: The Confucius Institute Project*. Bristol; Blue Ridge Summit: Multilingual Matters. 144 pp.

Giles, Howard and Patricia Johnson (1981). 'The Role of Language in Ethnic Group Formation'. In: *Intergroup Behaviour*. Ed. by John C. Turner and Howard Giles. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 199–243.

— (1987). 'Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory: A Social Psychological Approach to Language Maintenance'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1987.68, pp. 69–100.

Gill, Saran Kaur (2005). 'Language Policy in Malaysia: Reversing Direction'. In: *Language Policy* 4.3, pp. 241–260.

Gilpin, Robert (1981). *War and Change in World Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 272 pp.

Glasze, Georg (2007). 'The Discursive Constitution of a World-Spanning Region and the Role of Empty Signifiers: The Case of Francophonia'. In: *Geopolitics* 12.4, pp. 656–679.

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede (2002). 'Expanded Trade and GDP Data'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46.5, pp. 712–724.

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede and Michael D. Ward (2006). 'Diffusion and the International Context of Democratization'. In: *International Organization* 60.4, pp. 911–933.

Goldmann, Kjell (2005). 'Appropriateness and Consequences: The Logic of Neo-Institutionalism'. In: *Governance* 18.1, pp. 35–52.

Goodpaster, Gary (1994). 'Coalitions and Representative Bargaining.' In: *Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution* 9.2, pp. 243–274.

Götz, Elias (2021). 'Status Matters in World Politics'. In: *International Studies Review* 23.1, pp. 228–247.

Gourevitch, Peter (1978). 'The Second Image Reversed: The International Sources of Domestic Politics'. In: *International Organization* 32.4, pp. 881–912.

Graham, Erin R. (2017). 'The institutional design of funding rules at international organizations: Explaining the transformation in financing the United Nations'. In: *European Journal of International Relations* 23.2, pp. 365–390.

Graham, Erin R. and Alexandria Serdaru (2020). 'Power, Control, and the Logic of Substitution in Institutional Design: The Case of International Climate Finance'. In: *International Organization* 74.4, pp. 671–706.

Gramsci, Antonio (1985). *Selections from Cultural Writings*. Ed. by David Forgacs and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. Trans. by William Boelhower. London: Lawrence and Wishart. 448 pp.

Gravier, Magali (2013). 'Challenging or Enhancing the EU's Legitimacy? The Evolution of Representative Bureaucracy in the Commission's Staff Policies'. In: *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory: J-PART* 23.4, pp. 817–838.

Gray, Julia (2013). *The Company States Keep: International Economic Organizations and Investor Perceptions in Emerging Markets*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 234 pp.

Gray, Julia and Alex Baturo (2021). 'Delegating Diplomacy: Rhetoric across Agents in the United Nations General Assembly'. In: *International Review of Administrative Sciences* 87.4, pp. 718–736.

Greenhill, Brian (2010). 'The Company You Keep: International Socialization and the Diffusion of Human Rights Norms'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 54.1, pp. 127–145.

— (2015). *Transmitting Rights: International Organizations and the Diffusion of Human Rights Practices*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. 208 pp.

— (2025). 'Diffusion Processes in International Political Economy'. In: *The Oxford Handbook of International Political Economy*. Ed. by Jon C. W. Pevehouse and Leonard Seabrooke. 1st ed. Oxford handbooks series. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 237–253.

Greenhill, Brian and Yonatan Lupu (2017). 'Clubs of Clubs: Fragmentation in the Network of Intergovernmental Organizations'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 61.1, pp. 181–195.

Grenoble, L. A. (2003). *Language Policy in the Soviet Union*. 1st ed. 2003. Language Policy 3. Dordrecht: Imprint: Springer. 1 p.

Grieco, Joseph M. (1988). 'Anarchy and the Limits of Cooperation: A Realist Critique of the Newest Liberal Institutionalism'. In: *International Organization* 42.3, pp. 485–507.

Grigg, Peter (1997). 'Toubon or not Toubon: The influence of the English language in contemporary France'. In: *English Studies* 78.4, pp. 368–384.

Grigorescu, Alexandru (2007). 'Transparency of Intergovernmental Organizations: The Roles of Member States, International Bureaucracies and Nongovernmental Organizations'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 51.3, pp. 625–648.

Gruber, Lloyd (2000). *Ruling the World: Power Politics and the Rise of Supranational Institutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 316 pp.

— (2004). 'Power Politics and the Institutionalization of International Relations'. In: *Power in Global Governance*. Ed. by Michael N. Barnett and Raymond Duvall. Cambridge Studies in International Relations 98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 102–129.

Gumperz, John J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. 1st edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 225 pp.

Haas, Ernst B. (1958). *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 552 pp.

Haas, Peter (16th Apr. 1998). 'Constructing Multilateral Environmental Governance: The Evolution of Multilateral Environmental Governance Since 1972'. In: Harvard University Center for International Affairs.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M and Christina J Schneider (2019). 'The Dark Side of Cooperation: International Organizations and Member Corruption'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 63.4, pp. 1108–1121.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M., Miles Kahler and Alexander H. Montgomery (2009). 'Network Analysis for International Relations'. In: *International Organization* 63.3, pp. 559–592.

Hafner-Burton, Emilie M. and Alexander H. Montgomery (2006). 'Power Positions: International Organizations, Social Networks, and Conflict'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50.1, pp. 3–27.

Haftel, Yoram Z. and Alexander Thompson (2006). 'The Independence of International Organizations: Concept and Applications'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 50.2, pp. 253–275.

Haggard, Stephan and Beth A. Simmons (1987). 'Theories of International Regimes'. In: *International Organization* 41.3, pp. 491–517.

Hale, Thomas, David Held and Kevin Young (2013). *Gridlock: Why Global Cooperation Is Failing When We Need It Most*. Cambridge: Polity Press. 357 pp.

Hall, Todd (2010). 'An Unclear Attraction: A Critical Examination of Soft Power as an Analytical Category'. In: *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 3.2, pp. 189–211.

Hammarstrom, Harald et al. (2021). 'Glottolog 4.5'. In: Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. URL: `https://glottolog.org/glottolog/language` (visited on 05/01/2022).

Hathaway, Oona A. (2001). 'Do human rights treaties make a difference?' In: *Yale Law Journal* 118.8, pp. 1935–2042.

Hecht, Catherine (2016). 'The Shifting Salience of Democratic Governance: Evidence from the United Nations General Assembly General Debates'. In: *Review of International Studies* 42.5, pp. 915–938.

Heiskanen, Jaakko (2021). 'Found in translation: the global constitution of the modern international order'. In: *International Theory* 13.2, pp. 231–259.

Heller, Monica (1987). 'The role of language in the formation of ethnic identity'. In: *Children's Ethnic Socialization: Pluralism and Development*. Ed. by Jean

S. Phinney and Mary Jane Rotheram. 2. [print.] Sage Focus editions 81. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 180–200.

Hensel, Paul R. (2018). *ICOW Colonial History Data Set, version 1.1*. URL: `http://www.paulhensel.org/icowcol.html`.

Hernández, Gleider I. (2010). 'On Multilingualism and the International Legal Process'. In: *Select proceedings of the European Society of International Law, Volume 2, 2008*. Ed. by Hélène Ruiz Fabri, Rüdiger Wolfrum and Jana Gogolin. Vol. Volume 2. 4 vols. Proceedings of the European Society of Internation. Oxford, England and Portland, Oregon: Hart, pp. 441–460.

Hoffmann, Matthew J. (2010). 'Norms and Social Constructivism in International Relations'. In: *The International Studies Encyclopedia*. Ed. by Robert Allen Denemark and Renée Marlin-Bennett. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Hoffmann, Stanley (1977). 'An American Social Science: International Relations'. In: *International Theory: Critical Investigations*. Ed. by James Der Derian. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 212–241.

Hooghe, Liesbet, Tobias Lenz and Gary Marks (2019). *A Theory of International Organization*. Transformations in governance. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 224 pp.

Hopf, Ted (2016). 'Making Identity Count: Constructivism, Identity, and IR Theory'. In: *Making Identity Count: Building a National Identity Database*. Ed. by Ted Hopf and Bentley B. Allan. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–19.

Ikenberry, G. John and Charles A. Kupchan (1990). 'Socialization and Hegemonic Power'. In: *International Organization* 44.3, pp. 283–315.

India, Press Trust of (14th Sept. 2014). 'PM Modi to Address UN General Assembly in Hindi: Rajnath Singh'. In: *NDTV*. URL: `https://www.ndtv.com/india-news/pm-modi-to-address-un-general-assembly-in-hindi-rajnath-singh-666355` (visited on 18/09/2025).

Irish language rights to cost EU ? (14th July 2006). *Irish language rights to cost EU €677,000*. Irish Independent. Section: Irish News. URL: `https://www.independent.ie/irish-news/irish-language-rights-to-cost-eu-677000/26374765.html` (visited on 05/04/2024).

Jacobson, Harold K., William M. Reisinger and Todd Mathers (1986). 'National Entanglements in International Governmental Organizations'. In: *American Political Science Review* 80.1, pp. 141–159.

Jankin, Slava, Alexander Baturo and Niheer Dasandi (2025). 'Words to unite nations: The complete United Nations General Debate Corpus, 1946–present'. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 62.4, pp. 1339–1351.

Jepperson, Ronald L., Alexander Wendt and Peter J. Katzenstein (1996). 'Norms, Identity, and Culture in National Security'. In: *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New York: Columbia University Press, pp. 33–75.

Johnston, Alastair Iain (2001). 'Treating International Institutions as Social Environments'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 45.4, pp. 487–515.

— (2008). *Social States: China in International Institutions, 1980-2000*. Princeton Studies in International History and Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 251 pp.

Johnstone, Lyn (2019). 'Rwanda and the question of Commonwealth relevance'. In: *Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 57.3, pp. 303–323.

Joseph, John E. (2004). 'Language in National Identities'. In: *Language and Identity: National, Ethnic, Religious*. Ed. by John E. Joseph. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, pp. 92–131.

Jupille, Joseph, Walter Mattli and Duncan Snidal (2013). *Institutional Choice and Global Commerce*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 265 pp.

Kachru, Braj B. (1988). 'The Sacred Cows of English'. In: *English Today* 4.4, pp. 3–8.

Kahn, Joel S. (2006). *Other Malays: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Malay World*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 224 pp.

Kaoutzanis, Christodoulos, Paul Poast and Johannes Urpelainen (2016). 'Not letting 'bad apples' spoil the bunch: Democratization and strict international organization accession rules'. In: *The Review of International Organizations* 11.4, pp. 399–418.

Kaplan, Robert B. and Richard B. Baldauf (1997). *Language Planning: From Practice to Theory*. Multilingual Matters 108. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd. 403 pp.

Katsarova, Ivana (2022). *Multilingualism: The Language of the European Union*. Brussels: European Parliamentary Research Service, p. 10. URL: https://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/BRIE/2019/642207/EPRS_BRI(2019)642207_EN.pdf (visited on 16/04/2022).

Katzenstein, Peter J., ed. (1996). *The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics*. New Directions in World Politics. New York: Columbia University Press. 562 pp.

Kawashima, Tomoyuki (2021). 'English use by the heads of state at the United Nations General Assembly: Biennial survey of 1,540 speeches between 2004 and 2018'. In: *English Today* 37.2, pp. 92–114.

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink (1999). 'Transnational Advocacy Networks in International and Regional Politics'. In: *International Social Science Journal* 51.159, pp. 89–101.

Kennedy, David W. (1987). 'The Move to Institutions'. In: *Cardozo Law Review* 8.5, pp. 841–988.

Kent, Ann (2002). 'China's International Socialization: The Role of International Organizations'. In: *Global Governance* 8.3, pp. 343–364.

Kent, Lauren et al. (16th Aug. 2025). 'Putin gave his final words at Alaska summit in English, a language he speaks more of than he usually lets on'. In: *CNN*. URL: https://www.cnn.com/2025/08/16/europe/putin-speaking-english-alaska-summit-intl (visited on 01/09/2025).

Kentikelenis, Alexander and Erik Voeten (2021). 'Legitimacy Challenges to the Liberal World Order: Evidence from United Nations Speeches, 1970–2018'. In: *The Review of International Organizations* 16.4, pp. 721–754.

Keohane, Robert O. (1984). *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 290 pp.

Keohane, Robert O. and Joseph S. Nye (1977). *Power and Interdependence: World Politics in Transition*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 273 pp.

Kessler, Marie-Christine (1999). *La politique étrangère de la France: Acteurs et processus*. Références inédites. Paris: Presses de Sciences Po. 498 pp.

Kim, Moonhawk et al. (2015). 'Lingua Mercatoria: Language and Foreign Direct Investment'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 59.2, pp. 330–343.

Kim, Young S. (1999). 'Constructing a Global Identity: The Role of Esperanto'. In: *Constructing World Culture*. Ed. by John Boli and George M. Thomas. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 127–148.

Kindleberger, Charles Poor (1973). *The World in Depression, 1929-1939*. History of the world economy in the twentieth century 4. Berkeley: University of California Press. 336 pp.

King, C.E., A.S. Bryntsev and E.D. Sohm (1977). *Report of the Joint Inspection Unit on the implications of additional languages in the United Nations system*. JIU/REP/77/5. Geneva: Joint Inspection Unit of the United Nations, p. 58. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/660422?ln=zh&v=pdf (visited on 29/03/2022).

Kinne, Brandon J (2013). 'Network Dynamics and the Evolution of International Cooperation'. In: *American Political Science Review* 107.4, pp. 766–785.

— (2018). 'Defense Cooperation Agreements and the Emergence of a Global Security Network'. In: *International Organization* 72.4, pp. 799–837.

Kinne, Brandon J. and Clint Peinhardt (2024). 'Bilateral treaty networks: assessing cooperative spillover in defense and investment'. In: *Business and Politics* 26.3, pp. 289–310.

Kloss, Heinz (1969). *Research Possibilities on Group Bilingualism: A Report*. ERIC Number: ED037728. Quebec: International Centre for Research on Bilingualism, Université Laval, p. 94. URL: https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED037728 (visited on 29/08/2025).

Knight, Jack and Melissa Schwartzberg (2020). 'Institutional Bargaining for Democratic Theorists (or How We Learned to Stop Worrying and Love Haggling)'. In: *Annual Review of Political Science* 23.1, pp. 259–276.

Kobayashi, Kazushige, Keith Krause and Xinyu Yuan (2022). 'Pathways to Socialisation: China, Russia, and Competitive Norm Socialisation in a Changing Global Order'. In: *Review of International Studies* 48.3, pp. 560–582.

Koremenos, Barbara (2013). 'The Continent of International Law'. In: *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 57.4, pp. 653–681.

Koremenos, Barbara, Charles Lipson and Duncan Snidal (2001a). 'Rational Design: Looking Back to Move Forward'. In: *International Organization* 55.4, pp. 1051–1082.

— (2001b). 'The Rational Design of International Institutions'. In: *International Organization* 55.4, pp. 761–799.

Krasner, Stephen D. (1976). 'State Power and the Structure of International Trade'. In: *World Politics* 28.3, pp. 317–347.

— ed. (1983). *International Regimes*. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 368 pp.

— (1991). 'Global Communications and National Power: Life on the Pareto Frontier'. In: *World Politics* 43.3, pp. 336–366.

Krasner, Stephen D. (1995). 'Compromising Westphalia'. In: *International Security* 20.3, pp. 115–151.

Kraus, Peter A. (2008). 'The Language Question in the Institutional Complex of the European Union'. In: *A Union of Diversity: Language, Identity and Polity-building in Europe*. Ed. by Peter A. Kraus. Themes in European Governance. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 111–138.

Krook, Mona Lena and Jacqui True (2012). 'Rethinking the life cycles of international norms: The United Nations and the global promotion of gender equality'. In: *European Journal of International Relations* 18.1, pp. 103–127.

Ku, Hyejin and Asaf Zussman (2010). 'Lingua Franca: The Role of English in International Trade'. In: *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 75.2, pp. 250–260.

Kudryavtsev, Eduard V. and Louis-Dominique Ouédraogo (2003). *Implementation of Multilingualism in the United Nations System*. Publisher: UN, Geneva: United Nations, p. 42. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/539812 (visited on 05/04/2024).

Kydd, Andrew (2000). 'Trust, Reassurance, and Cooperation'. In: *International Organization* 54.2, pp. 325–357.

Laitin, David D. (1977). *Politics, Language, and Thought: The Somali Experience*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 268 pp.

— (1988). 'Language Games'. In: *Comparative Politics* 20.3, pp. 289–302.

— (1992). *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 205 pp.

— (1993). 'The Game Theory of Language Regimes'. In: *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique* 14.3, pp. 227–239.

— (2000). 'What Is a Language Community?' In: *American Journal of Political Science* 44.1, pp. 142–155.

Lall, Ranjit (2017). 'Beyond Institutional Design: Explaining the Performance of International Organizations'. In: *International Organization* 71.2, pp. 245–280.

— (2023). *Making international institutions work: the politics of performance*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. 1 p.

Lambert, Wallace E. (1967). 'A Social Psychology of Bilingualism'. In: *Journal of Social Issues* 23.2, pp. 91–109.

Lay, Belmont (24th Mar. 2022). *M'sia prime minister wants Malay to be second language in Asean*. Mothership.SG. URL: https://mothership.sg/2022/03/malaysia-malay-second-language-asean/ (visited on 05/04/2022).

Leclerc, Jacques (1993). *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/ (visited on 05/04/2024).

Leeds, Brett et al. (2002). 'Alliance Treaty Obligations and Provisions, 1815-1944'. In: *International Interactions* 28.3, pp. 237–260.

Lenz, Gabriel S. and Alexander Sahn (2021). 'Achieving Statistical Significance with Control Variables and Without Transparency'. In: *Political Analysis* 29.3, pp. 356–369.

Lewis, Jeffrey (2003). 'Institutional Environments And Everyday EU Decision Making: Rationalist or Constructivist?' In: *Comparative Political Studies* 36.1, pp. 97–124.

Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig, eds. (2014). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. 17th edition (online). Ethnologue. Dallas: SIL International. 557 pp.

Lim, Daniel Yew Mao and James Raymond Vreeland (2013). 'Regional Organizations and International Politics: Japanese Influence over the Asian Development Bank and the UN Security Council'. In: *World Politics* 65.1, pp. 34–72.

Liu, Amy H. (2009). 'The Politics of Language Regimes'. PhD thesis. Atlanta: Emory University. 314 pp.

— (2015). *Standardizing Diversity: The Political Economy of Language Regimes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 256 pp.

Liu, Amy H. and Elise Pizzi (2018). 'The Language of Economic Growth: A New Measure of Linguistic Heterogeneity'. In: *British Journal of Political Science* 48.4, pp. 953–980.

Long, Tom (19th Dec. 2016). 'Small States, Great Power? Gaining Influence Through Intrinsic, Derivative, and Collective Power'. In: *International Studies Review*, viw040. URL: https://academic.oup.com/isr/article-lookup/doi/10.1093/isr/viw040 (visited on 02/10/2025).

Lucas, Christopher et al. (2015). 'Computer-Assisted Text Analysis for Comparative Politics'. In: *Political Analysis* 23.2, pp. 254–277.

Lupu, Yonatan (2016). 'Why Do States Join Some Universal Treaties but Not Others? An Analysis of Treaty Commitment Preferences'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60.7, pp. 1219–1250.

Lupu, Yonatan and Brian Greenhill (2017). 'The Networked Peace: Intergovernmental Organizations and International Conflict'. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 54.6, pp. 833–848.

Ma, Clayton (22nd Jan. 2020). *Allophone*. In: *The Canadian Encyclopedia*. Digital. Toronto: Anthony Wilson-Smith. URL: https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/allophone (visited on 01/10/2025).

MacMillan, Margaret (2001). *Peacemakers: the Paris Conference of 1919 and its attempt to end war*. 1. publ. London: Murray. 574 pp.

Maliniak, Daniel et al. (2018). 'Is International Relations a Global Discipline? Hegemony, Insularity, and Diversity in the Field'. In: *Security Studies* 27.3, pp. 448–484.

Mansfield, Edward D., Helen V. Milner and B. Peter Rosendorff (2002). 'Why Democracies Cooperate More: Electoral Control and International Trade Agreements'. In: *International Organization* 56.3, pp. 477–513.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Jon C. Pevehouse (2006). 'Democratization and International Organizations'. In: *International Organization* 60.1.

Mansfield, Edward D. and Eric Reinhardt (2003). 'Multilateral Determinants of Regionalism: The Effects of GATT/WTO on the Formation of Preferential Trading Arrangements'. In: *International Organization* 57.4, pp. 829–862.

Maoz, Zeev (2012). 'How Network Analysis Can Inform the Study of International Relations'. In: *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 29.3, pp. 247–256.

Maoz, Zeev et al. (2019). 'The Dyadic Militarized Interstate Disputes (MIDs) Dataset Version 3.0: Logic, Characteristics, and Comparisons to Alternative Datasets'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 63.3, pp. 811–835.

March, James G. and Johan P. Olsen (1998). 'The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders'. In: *International Organization* 52.4, pp. 943–969.

Marshall, M.G. and T.M. Gurr (2020). *Polity V Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2018*.

Marshall, M.G., T.M. Gurr and K. Jaggers (2019). *Polity IV Project: Political Regime Characteristics and Transitions, 1800-2018*. URL: `http://www.systemicpeace.org/inscr/p4manualv2018.pdf`.

Martin, Lisa L. (1992). 'Interests, Power, and Multilateralism'. In: *International Organization* 46.4, pp. 765–792.

— (2000). *Democratic Commitments: Legislatures and International Cooperation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 234 pp.

Martin, Lisa L. and Beth A. Simmons (1998). 'Theories and Empirical Studies of International Institutions'. In: *International Organization* 52.4, pp. 729–757.

Mattern, Janice Bially and Ayşe Zarakol (2016). 'Hierarchies in World Politics'. In: *International Organization* 70.3, pp. 623–654.

Mattli, Walter (1999). *The Logic of Regional Integration: Europe and Beyond*. 1st edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 205 pp.

McKibben, Heather Elko (2015). *State Strategies in International Bargaining: Play by the Rules or Change Them?* Cambridge studies in international relations 134. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 317 pp.

Mearsheimer, John J. (1994). 'The False Promise of International Institutions'. In: *International Security* 19.3, p. 5.

Melitz, Jacques (2008). 'Language and foreign trade'. In: *European Economic Review* 52.4, pp. 667–699.

Melitz, Jacques and Farid Toubal (2014). 'Native Language, Spoken Language, Translation and Trade'. In: *Journal of International Economics* 93.2, pp. 351–363.

Menard, Scott W. (2008). *Applied Logistic Regression Analysis*. 2. ed. Quantitative applications in the social sciences 106. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications. 111 pp.

Menton, Jane Darby (2026). 'Interlingual Relations and the Limits of Hegemony: U.S. Public Diplomacy in the Arab World (2002-03)'. In: *Interlingual Relations: Global Politics in a Polyglot World*. Ed. by Mauro José Caraccioli and Einar Wigen. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Meyer, John W., John Boli et al. (1997). 'World Society and the Nation-State'. In: *American Journal of Sociology* 103.1, pp. 144–181.

Meyer, John W., Georg Krücken and Gili S. Drori (2009). *World Society: The Writings of John W. Meyer*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. 388 pp.

Milewicz, Karolina M. (2020). *Constitutionalizing World Politics: The Logic of Democratic Power and the Unintended Consequences of International Treaty Making*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 354 pp.

Milner, Helen V. (1997). *Interests, Institutions, and Information: Domestic Politics and International Relations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 309 pp.

Minnich, Daniel J. (2005). 'Veto players, electoral incentives and international commitments: The impact of domestic institutions on intergovernmental organization membership'. In: *European Journal of Political Research* 44.2, pp. 295–325.

Mitchell, Sara McLaughlin (2002). 'A Kantian System? Democracy and Third-Party Conflict Resolution'. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 46.4, pp. 749–759.

Mitrani, Mor (2017). *The Discursive Construction of the International Community: Evidence from the United Nations General Assembly*. Berlin.

Mitrany, David (1933). *The Progress of International Government*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 176 pp.

— (1948). 'The Functional Approach to World Organization'. In: *International Affairs* 24.3, pp. 350–363.

— (1966). *A Working Peace System*. Chicago: Quadrangle Books. 221 pp.

Moravcsik, Andrew (2000). 'The Origins of Human Rights Regimes: Democratic Delegation in Postwar Europe'. In: *International Organization* 54.2, pp. 217–252.

Morrow, James D. (1994). 'Modeling the forms of international cooperation: distribution versus information'. In: *International Organization* 48.3, pp. 387–423.

— (2001). 'The Institutional Features of the Prisoners of War Treaties'. In: *International Organization* 55.4, pp. 971–991.

Myers-Scotton, Carol (1989). 'Codeswitching with English: Types of Switching, Types of Communities'. In: *World Englishes* 8.3, pp. 333–346.

Nations, United (2023). *Where can I find speeches made during the General Assembly, Security Council and Economic and Social Council meetings? - Ask DAG!* Frequently asked questions (FAQs) about the United Nations. URL: `https://ask.un.org/faq/14551` (visited on 08/09/2023).

Nick, Stanko (2001). 'Use of Language in Diplomacy'. In: *Language and diplomacy*. Ed. by Jovan Kurbalija and Slavik Slavik. DiploProjects. Msida, Malta: Mediterranean Academy of Diplomatic Studies, University of Malta, pp. 17–21.

Nicolson, Harold (1933). *Peacemaking, 1919, Being Reminiscences of the Paris Peace Conference*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 378 pp.

Northrup, David (2013). *How English Became the Global Language*. First edition. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. 218 pp.

Novosad, Paul and Eric Werker (2019). 'Who Runs the International system? Nationality and leadership in the United Nations Secretariat'. In: *The Review of International Organizations* 14.1, pp. 1–33.

Nye, Joseph S. (2001). 'Globalization's Democratic Deficit: How to Make International Institutions More Accountable'. In: *Foreign Affairs* 80.4, p. 2.

— (2008). 'Public Diplomacy and Soft Power'. In: *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616.1, pp. 94–109.

Oatley, Thomas and Robert Nabors (1998). 'Redistributive Cooperation: Market Failure, Wealth Transfers, and the Basle Accord'. In: *International Organization* 52.1, pp. 35–54.

Olson, Mancur (1965). *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups*. Harvard Economic Studies 124. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press. 176 pp.

Operstein, Natalie (2021). *The Lingua Franca: Contact-Induced Language Change in the Mediterranean*. Cambridge Approaches to Language Contact. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 426 pp.

Orman, Jon (2017). 'The linguistic thought of Ernest Gellner'. In: *Social Epistemology* 31.4, pp. 387–399.

Ostler, Nicholas (2006). *Empires of the Word: A Language History of the World*. 1st edition. New York: Harper Perennial. 615 pp.

— (2010). *The Last Lingua Franca: English until the Return of Babel*. 1st U.S. ed. New York: Walker & Company. 330 pp.

Ostrander, Ian and Toby J. Rider (2019). 'Presidents Abroad: The Politics of Personal Diplomacy'. In: *Political Research Quarterly* 72.4, pp. 835–848.

Ostrom, Elinor (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 280 pp.

— (2009). *Understanding Institutional Diversity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 358 pp.

Ostrom, Vincent (1997). *The Meaning of Democracy and the Vulnerability of Democracies: A Response to Tocqueville's Challenge*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 329 pp.

Ostrower, Alexander (1965). *Language, Law, and Diplomacy: A Study of Linguistic Diversity in Official International Relations and International Law*. Vol. Volume 1. 2 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 963 pp.

Oye, Kenneth A., ed. (1986). *Cooperation Under Anarchy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 269 pp.

Parizek, Michal and Matthew D Stephen (2021). 'The long march through the institutions: Emerging powers and the staffing of international organizations'. In: *Cooperation and Conflict* 56.2, pp. 204–223.

Pavlenko, Aneta (2008). 'Russian in Post-Soviet Countries'. In: *Russian Linguistics* 32.1, pp. 59–80.

Peez, Anton (2022). 'Contributions and Blind Spots of Constructivist Norms Research in International Relations, 1980–2018: A Systematic Evidence and Gap Analysis'. In: *International Studies Review* 24.1, viab055.

Pellegrino, Bruno, Enrico Spolaore and Romain Wacziarg (23rd June 2025). 'Barriers to Global Capital Allocation'. In: *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, qjaf031. URL: https://academic.oup.com/qje/advance-article/doi/10.1093/qje/qjaf031/8171934 (visited on 08/09/2025).

Pellerin, Helene (2012). 'Which IR Do You Speak? Languages as Perspectives in the Discipline of IR'. In: *Perspectives* 20.1, pp. 59–82.

Peterson, M. J. (1986). *The General Assembly in World Politics*. Boston, London, Sydney: Allen & Unwin. 320 pp.

Peterson, M. J. (2006). *The UN General Assembly*. Global institutions series. London and New York: Routledge. 160 pp.

Pevehouse, Jon C. W. (2002a). 'Democracy from the Outside-In? International Organizations and Democratization'. In: *International Organization* 56.3, pp. 515–549.

— (2002b). 'With a Little Help from My Friends? Regional Organizations and the Consolidation of Democracy'. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 46.3, p. 611.

— (2005). *Democracy from Above: Regional Organizations and Democratization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 262 pp.

Pevehouse, Jon C. W., Timothy Nordstrom et al. (2020). 'Tracking Organizations in the World: The Correlates of War IGO Version 3.0 Datasets'. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 57.3, pp. 492–503.

Pevehouse, Jon C. W. and Bruce Russett (2006). 'Democratic International Governmental Organizations Promote Peace'. In: *International Organization* 60.4, pp. 969–1000.

Pevehouse, Jon C. W. and Inken Von Borzyskowski (2017). 'International Organizations in World Politics'. In: *The Oxford Handbook of International Organizations*. Ed. by Jacob Katz Cogan, Ian Hurd and Ian Johnstone. 1st ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–32.

Pitsuwan, Fuadi (Aug. 2023). 'Constructing Military Alliance: Shared Language as a Determinant of Alliance Sharing, Design & Duration'. DPhil. Oxford: University of Oxford. 177 pp.

Plotke, David (1997). 'Representation is Democracy'. In: *Constellations* 4.1, pp. 19–34.

Poast, Paul (2016). 'Dyads Are Dead, Long Live Dyads! The Limits of Dyadic Designs in International Relations Research'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 60.2, pp. 369–374.

Poast, Paul and Johannes Urpelainen (2013). 'Fit and Feasible: Why Democratizing States Form, not Join, International Organizations'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 57.4, pp. 831–841.

Pool, Jonathan (1991). 'The Official Language Problem'. In: *American Political Science Review* 85.2, pp. 495–514.

— (1996). 'Optimal Language Regimes for the European Union'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 121.1.

Posner, Eric and Alan Sykes (2014). 'Voting Rules in International Organizations'. In: *Chicago Journal of International Law* 15.1.

Pouliot, Vincent (2014). 'Setting Status in Stone: The Negotiation of International Institutional Privileges'. In: *Status in World Politics*. Ed. by Deborah Welch Larson, T. V. Paul and William C. Wohlforth. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 192–216.

— (2025). 'CAN IR HEAR? Grasping the Global Politics of Languages'. In: *Global Studies Quarterly* 5.3, ksaf088.

Powell, Robert (1991). 'Absolute and Relative Gains in International Relations Theory'. In: *American Political Science Review* 85.4, pp. 1303–1320.

Prunier, Gérard (1996). *The Rwanda Crisis, 1959-1994: History of a Genocide*. 2. impr. London: Hurst. 389 pp.

Pu, Xiaoyu and Randall L. Schweller (2014). 'Status Signaling, Multiple Audiences, and China's Blue-Water Naval Ambition'. In: *Status in World Politics*. Ed. by T. V. Paul, Deborah Welch Larson and William C. Wohlforth. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, pp. 141–162.

Purba, Kornelius (8th Apr. 2022). 'PM Ismail's hasty promotion of Malay as ASEAN language'. In: *The Jakarta Post*. URL: `https://www.thejakartapost.com/opinion/2022/04/08/pm-ismails-hasty-promotion-of-malay-as-asean-language.html` (visited on 10/04/2022).

Putnam, Robert D. (1988). 'Diplomacy and Domestic Politics: The Logic of Two-Level Games'. In: *International Organization* 42.3, pp. 427–460.

Raustiala, Kal (2012). 'Institutional Proliferation and the International Legal Order'. In: *Interdisciplinary Perspectives on International Law and International Relations*. Ed. by Jeffrey L. Dunoff and Mark A. Pollack. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 293–320.

Reinalda, Bob (2009). *Routledge History of International Organizations*. 1st edition. London and New York: Routledge. 846 pp.

Reus-Smit, Christian (2018). *On cultural diversity: international theory in a world of difference*. LSE international studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 264 pp.

Rey, Denis and John Barkdull (2005). 'Why Do Some Democratic Countries Join More Intergovernmental Organizations Than Others?' In: *Social Science Quarterly* 86.2, pp. 386–402.

Ricento, Thomas (2012). 'Political Economy and English as a 'Global' Language'. In: *Critical Multilingualism Studies* 1.1, pp. 31–56.

Richards, John E. (2001). 'Institutions for Flying: How States Built a Market in International Aviation Services'. In: *International Organization* 55.4, pp. 993–1017.

Richter Malabotta, Melita (2004). 'Semantics of War in Former Yugoslavia'. In: *Language, Discourse and Borders in the Yugoslav Successor States*. Ed. by Brigitta Busch and Helen Kelly. Current Issues in Language and Society. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 78–96.

Riitberger, Volker (1983). 'Global Conference Diplomacy and International Policy-Making: The Case of UN-Sponsored World Conferences'. In: *European Journal of Political Research* 11.2, pp. 167–182.

Riker, William H. (1962). *The Theory of Political Coalitions*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 300 pp.

Risse, Thomas (1997). *Cooperation among Democracies: The European Influence on U.S. Foreign Policy*. 2. print. Princeton studies in international history and politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 250 pp.

— (2000). '"Let's Argue!": Communicative Action in World Politics'. In: *International Organization* 54.1, pp. 1–39.

Risse, Thomas, Stephen C. Ropp and Kathryn Sikkink, eds. (1999). *The Power of Human Rights: International Norms and Domestic Change*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 336 pp.

Roberts, Celia (2010). 'Language Socialization in the Workplace'. In: *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 30, pp. 211–227.

Robichaud, David and Helder De Schutter (2012). 'Language is just a tool! On the instrumentalist approach to language'. In: *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Ed. by Bernard Spolsky. Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 124–146.

Rodrigues Vieira, Vinícius (2018). 'Who joins counter-hegemonic IGOs? Early and late members of the China-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank'. In: *Research & Politics* 5.2.

Rosendorff, B. Peter and Helen V. Milner (2001). 'The Optimal Design of International Trade Institutions: Uncertainty and Escape'. In: *International Organization* 55.4, pp. 829–857.

Ross, Michael L. and Erik Voeten (2016). 'Oil and International Cooperation'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 60.1, pp. 85–97.

Roumiguière, Henriette (1926). 'Le français dans les relations diplomatiques'. PhD thesis. Berkeley: University of California. 82 pp.

Ruggie, John Gerard (1992). 'Multilateralism: The Anatomy of an Institution'. In: *International Organization* 46.3, pp. 561–598.

Russett, Bruce, John R. Oneal and David R. Davis (1998). 'The Third Leg of the Kantian Tripod for Peace: International Organizations and Militarized Disputes, 1950–85'. In: *International Organization* 52.3, pp. 441–467.

Russett, Bruce M. and John R. Oneal (2001). *Triangulating Peace: Democracy, Interdependence, and International Organizations*. The Norton series in world politics. New York: Norton. 393 pp.

Sachdev, Itesh and Richard Y. Bouris (2005). 'Multilingual Communication and Social Identification'. In: *Intergroup Communication: Multiple Perspectives*. Ed. by Jake Harwood and Howard Giles. Language as Social Action 2. New York: Peter Lang, pp. 65–91.

Salomone, Rosemary C. (2022). *The Rise of English: Global Politics and the Power of Language*. New York: Oxford University Press. 471 pp.

Samuelson, Beth Lewis and Sarah Warshauer Freedman (2010). 'Language Policy, Multilingual Education, and Power in Rwanda'. In: *Language Policy* 9.3, pp. 191–215.

Sandel, Michael J. (1998). *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 231 pp.

Schimmelfennig, Frank (2005). 'Strategic Calculation and International Socialization: Membership Incentives, Party Constellations, and Sustained Compliance in Central and Eastern Europe'. In: *International Organization* 59.4, pp. 827–860.

Schneider, Christina J. (2011). 'Weak States and Institutionalized Bargaining Power in International Organizations'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 55.2, pp. 331–355.

Scott, James Brown (1924). *Le français, langue diplomatique moderne: Étude critique de conciliation internationale*. Paris: A. Pedone. 330 pp.

Selmier, W. Travis and Chang Hoon Oh (2013). 'The Power of Major Trade Languages in Trade and Foreign Direct Investment'. In: *Review of International Political Economy* 20.3, pp. 486–514.

Shanks, Cheryl, Harold K. Jacobson and Jeffrey H. Kaplan (1996). 'Inertia and change in the constellation of international governmental organizations, 1981–1992'. In: *International Organization* 50.4, pp. 593–627.

Shenton, Herbert Newhard (1933). *Cosmopolitan Conversation: The Language Problems of International Conferences*. New York: Columbia University Press. 803 pp.

Shohamy, Elana (2006). *Language Policy: Hidden Agendas and New Approaches*. 1st edition. London and New York: Routledge. 185 pp.

Signorino, Curtis S. and Jeffrey M. Ritter (1999). 'Tau-b or Not Tau-b: Measuring the Similarity of Foreign Policy Positions'. In: *International Studies Quarterly* 43.1, pp. 115–144.

Silverstein, Michael (1996). 'Monoglot "Standard" in America: Standardization and Metaphors of Linguistic Hegemony'. In: *The Matrix of Language: Contemporary Linguistic Anthropology*. Ed. by Donald Lawrence Brenneis and Ronald K. S. Macaulay. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 284–306.

Simmons, Beth A. (2009). *Mobilizing for Human Rights: International Law in Domestic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 451 pp.

Simmons, Beth A. and Lisa L. Martin (2013). 'International Organizations and Institutions'. In: *Handbook of International Relations*. Ed. by Walter Carlsnaes, Thomas Risse and Beth A. Simmons. 2nd ed. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 326–351.

Simmons, Beth A. and Robert Shaffer (2024). 'Border Anxiety in International Discourse'. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 68.2, pp. 661–677.

Simon, Dennis M. and Charles W. Ostrom Jr. (1989). 'The Impact of Televised Speeches and Foreign Travel on Presidential Approval'. In: *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53.1, p. 58.

Singer, J. David, Stuart Bremer and John Stuckey (2019). 'Capability Distribution, Uncertainty, and Major Power War, 1820-1965'. In: *Peace, War, and Numbers*. Ed. by Bruce M. Russett. Version 6.0. Beverly Hills.

Sipka, Danko (2019). *Lexical Layers of Identity: Words, Meaning, and Culture in the Slavic Languages*. Cambridge, United Kingdom ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press. 266 pp.

Snidal, Duncan (1985). 'The Limits of Hegemonic Stability Theory'. In: *International Organization* 39.4, pp. 579–614.

— (1991). 'Relative Gains and the Pattern of International Cooperation'. In: *American Political Science Review* 85.3, pp. 701–726.

Snidal, Duncan et al. (2024). 'The power of the"weak" and international organizations'. In: *The Review of International Organizations* 19.3, pp. 385–409.

Sovey, Allison J. and Donald P. Green (2011). 'Instrumental Variables Estimation in Political Science: A Readers' Guide'. In: *American Journal of Political Science* 55.1, pp. 188–200.

Spolsky, Bernard (2004). *Language Policy*. 1st edition. Key Topics in Sociolinguistics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 250 pp.

— (2009). *Language Management*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press. 308 pp.

Spruyt, Hendrik (2001). 'The supply and demand of governance in standard-setting: insights from the past'. In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 8.3, pp. 371–391.

Stewart, William A. (1968). 'A Sociolinguistic Typology for Describing National Multilingualism'. In: *Readings in the Sociology of Language*. Ed. by Joshua A. Fishman. Berlin and Boston: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 531–545.

Stinnett, Douglas M. et al. (2002). 'The Correlates of War (COW) Project Direct Contiguity Data, Version 3.0'. In: *Conflict Management and Peace Science* 19.2, pp. 59–67.

Stokes, Bruce (1st Feb. 2017). *What It Takes to Truly Be 'One of Us'*. Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, p. 34. URL: https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2017/02/01/what-it-takes-to-truly-be-one-of-us/ (visited on 02/04/2023).

Stone, Randall W. (2011). *Controlling Institutions: International Organizations and the Global Economy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 256 pp.

Strang, David and Patricia Mei Yin Chang (1993). 'The International Labor Organization and the welfare state: institutional effects on national welfare spending, 1960–80'. In: *International Organization* 47.2, pp. 235–262.

Suchman, Mark C. (1995). 'Managing Legitimacy: Strategic and Institutional Approaches'. In: *The Academy of Management Review* 20.3, pp. 571–610.

Suleiman, Yasir (2003). *The Arabic Language and National Identity: A Study in Ideology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 288 pp.

Suzuki, Shogo (2021). 'English and the Legacy of Linguistic Domination in IR'. In: *The Politics of Translation in International Relations*. Ed. by Zeynep Gulsah Capan, Filipe dos Reis and Maj Grasten. Palgrave Studies in International Relations. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 175–198.

'Swahili's bid to become a language for all of Africa' (17th Feb. 2022). In: *BBC News*. URL: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-60333796 (visited on 05/04/2022).

Tabory, Mala (1978). 'The Addition of Arabic as an Official and Working Language of the UN General Assembly and at Diplomatic Conferences'. In: *Israel Law Review* 13.3, pp. 391–410.

— (1980). *Multilingualism in International Law and Institutions*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff & Noordhoff. 284 pp.

Tachibana, Makoto (2014). 'Somewhere between "Independence" and "Autonomy": Translating Concepts in the Modern Mongolian'. In: *The History of Suzerainty: Asian Modernities and Translations*. Ed. by Takashi Okamoto. Nagoya: University of Nagoya Press, pp. 177–198.

Tajfel, Henri and John C. Turner (1979). 'An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict'. In: *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*. Ed. by William G. Austin and Stephen Worchel. 1st edition. Monterey, California: Brooks/-Cole Publishing Company, pp. 33–37.

Tallberg, Jonas, Thomas Sommerer et al. (2016). 'The Performance of International Organizations: A Policy Output Approach'. In: *Journal of European Public Policy* 23.7, pp. 1077–1096.

Tallberg, Jonas and Michael Zürn (2019). 'The legitimacy and legitimation of international organizations: introduction and framework'. In: *The Review of International Organizations* 14.4, pp. 581–606.

Taninchev, Stacy Bondanella (2015). 'Intergovernmental Organizations, Interaction, and Member State Interest Convergence'. In: *International Interactions* 41.1, pp. 133–157.

Tannenwald, Nina (1999). 'The Nuclear Taboo: The United States and the Normative Basis of Nuclear Non-Use'. In: *International Organization* 53.3, pp. 433–468.

Taylor, Issac (2014). 'Language as a Global Public Good'. In: *Res Publica* 20.4, pp. 377–94.

Trefler, Daniel (1995). 'The Case of the Missing Trade and Other Mysteries'. In: *The American Economic Review* 85.5, pp. 1029–1046.

Tudisco, Antonio and Moshe A. Tov (1953). 'Notas Sobre Hispanismo: Acerca Del Español En Las Naciones Unidas'. In: *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 19.1, pp. 345–50.

Ueda, Atsuko (2021). *Language, Nation, Race: Linguistic Reform in Meiji Japan (1868-1912)*. New interventions in Japanese studies 1. Oakland, California: University of California Press. 158 pp.

Van Els, Theo (2005). 'Multilingualism in the European Union'. In: *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 15.3, pp. 263–281.

— (2006). 'The European Union, its Institutions and its Languages: Some Language Political Observations'. In: *Language Planning and Policy in Europe, Vol. 2: The Czech Republic, The European Union and Northern Ireland*. Ed. by Richard B. Baldauf and Robert B. Kaplan. Vol. 2. Language Planning and Policy. Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters Ltd, pp. 202–251.

Van Parijs, Philippe (2011). *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World*. First published in paperback. Oxford Political Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 299 pp.

Varma, P. Sujatha (16th Aug. 2024). 'Yarlagadda roots for official language status to Hindi at UN'. In: *The Hindu*. URL: `https://www.thehindu.com/news/national/andhra-pradesh/yarlagadda-roots-for-official-language-status-to-hindi-at-un/article68532577.ece` (visited on 02/10/2025).

Voeten, Erik (2019). 'Making Sense of the Design of International Institutions'. In: *Annual Review of Political Science* 22.1, pp. 147–163.

— (2021). *Ideology and International Institutions*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 260 pp.

Vogt, Manuel et al. (2015). 'Integrating Data on Ethnicity, Geography, and Conflict: The Ethnic Power Relations Data Set Family'. In: *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.7, pp. 1327–1342.

Vreeland, James Raymond (2008). 'Political Institutions and Human Rights: Why Dictatorships Enter into the United Nations Convention Against Torture'. In: *International Organization* 62.1, pp. 65–101.

Vucetic, Srdjan (2008). 'The Anglosphere: A Genealogy Of An Identity In International Relations'. PhD thesis. Columbus: Ohio State University. 470 pp.

Vucetic, Srdjan (2011). 'What is so American about the American empire?' In: *International Politics* 48.2, pp. 251–270.

Wallace, Michael and J. David Singer (1970). 'Intergovernmental Organization in the Global System, 1815-1964: A Quantitative Description'. In: *International Organization* 24.2, pp. 239–287.

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1965). 'Elites in French-Speaking West Africa: The Social Basis of Ideas'. In: *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 3.1, pp. 1–33.

Weinstein, Brian (1976). 'Francophonie: A Language-Based Movement in World Politics'. In: *International Organization* 30.3, pp. 485–507.

Weise, Tobias (2015). 'Between Functionality and Legitimacy: German Diplomatic Talk About the Opening of Intergovernmental Organizations'. In: *Global Governance* 21.1, pp. 99–117.

Wendt, Alexander (1999). *Social Theory of International Politics*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 462 pp.

— (2004). 'The state as person in international theory'. In: *Review of International Studies* 30.2, pp. 289–316.

Wierzbicka, Anna (2006). *English: Meaning and Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 352 pp.

Wigen, Einar (2015). 'Two-level Language Games: International Relations as Inter-lingual Relations'. In: *European Journal of International Relations* 21.2, pp. 427–450.

Windsor, Leah C (2022). 'Bias in Text Analysis for International Relations Research'. In: *Global Studies Quarterly* 2.3, ksac021.

Wong, Wee Kim (2021). *Singapore Census of Population 2020, Statistical Release 1: Demographic Characteristics, Education, Language and Religion*. 1. Singapore: Department of Statistics, Ministry of Trade and Industry, Republic of Singapore, p. 228. URL: https://www.singstat.gov.sg/-/media/files/publications/cop2020/sr1/cop2020sr1.ashx.

Wooldridge, Jeffrey M. (2010). *Econometric Analysis of Cross-section and Panel Data*. 2nd ed. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press. 1064 pp.

Wright, Sue (2016). *Language Policy and Language Planning: from Nationalism to Globalisation*. 2nd edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. 388 pp.

Young, Oran R. (1989). 'The Politics of International Regime Formation: Managing Natural Resources and the Environment'. In: *International Organization* 43.3, pp. 349–375.

— (1994). *International Governance: Protecting the Environment in a Stateless Society*. Cornell Studies in Political Economy. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 221 pp.

Zürn, Michael (2004). 'Global Governance and Legitimacy Problems'. In: *Government and Opposition* 39.2, pp. 260–287.

Zürn, Michael and Jeffrey T. Checkel (2005). 'Getting Socialized to Build Bridges: Constructivism and Rationalism, Europe and the Nation-State'. In: *International Organization* 59.4, pp. 1045–1079.

Appendices

A

Appendix to Chapter 2
The Institutional Diffusion of English in Diplomacy

A.1 Robustness: Main Analysis

Table A.1: Effect of counts of IGO memberships (*H1*)

	English submission					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total anglophone IGOs	0.023***	0.013***	0.010**			
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.005)			
Total monoling. anglo. IGOs				0.036***	0.027***	0.027***
				(0.010)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Total multiling. anglo. IGOs				0.018***	0.008*	0.003
				(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Total IGOs	-0.014***	-0.007***	-0.007**	-0.013***	-0.006**	-0.005*
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Anglosphere missions		0.261	0.251		0.329	0.334*
		(0.197)	(0.194)		(0.203)	(0.201)
Total missions		-0.001	-0.000		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade		0.398	0.423		0.333	0.352
		(0.249)	(0.279)		(0.232)	(0.255)
log total trade		0.041*	0.056**		0.036*	0.048**
		(0.022)	(0.023)		(0.020)	(0.021)
Polity2		0.003*	0.002		0.004**	0.003
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita		-0.037	-0.043*		-0.038	-0.043*

		(0.025)	(0.024)		(0.024)	(0.024)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.069***	-0.065***		-0.061***	-0.054**
		(0.020)	(0.021)		(0.020)	(0.021)
UNGA national language		-0.413***	-0.335***		-0.397***	-0.309***
		(0.094)	(0.079)		(0.093)	(0.074)
National leader		0.007	0.005		0.009	0.007
		(0.015)	(0.015)		(0.015)	(0.014)
Peer English submissions			0.346**			0.372***
			(0.135)			(0.128)
Constant	0.602***	0.758***	0.354**	0.562***	0.721***	0.303*
	(0.097)	(0.136)	(0.154)	(0.105)	(0.140)	(0.157)
Observations	6654	5485	5401	6654	5485	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.072	0.177	0.201	0.079	0.183	0.210
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.2: Effect of counts of IGO memberships (*H2*)

	English speech					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Total anglophone IGOs	0.018***	0.013***	0.010**			
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)			
Total monoling. anglo. IGOs				0.025***	0.015*	0.019**
				(0.008)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Total multiling. anglo. IGOs				0.015***	0.011**	0.007
				(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Total IGOs	-0.009***	-0.006**	-0.006**	-0.009***	-0.005**	-0.005*
	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.003)
Anglosphere missions		-0.006	-0.022		0.008	0.019
		(0.181)	(0.175)		(0.195)	(0.184)
Total missions		-0.001	-0.001		-0.001*	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade		0.535**	0.529**		0.522**	0.493**
		(0.223)	(0.225)		(0.218)	(0.214)
log total trade		0.040**	0.048**		0.039**	0.045**
		(0.018)	(0.019)		(0.017)	(0.018)
Polity2		-0.000	-0.002		-0.000	-0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita		-0.046**	-0.045*		-0.046**	-0.045*
		(0.023)	(0.023)		(0.022)	(0.023)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.080***	-0.078***		-0.079***	-0.072***
		(0.021)	(0.021)		(0.023)	(0.022)
UNGA national language		-0.182**	-0.124*		-0.179**	-0.111
		(0.083)	(0.070)		(0.082)	(0.067)
National leader		-0.090***	-0.092***		-0.090***	-0.091***
		(0.023)	(0.023)		(0.023)	(0.022)
Peer English speeches			0.400***			0.420***
			(0.093)			(0.098)
Constant	0.528***	0.658***	0.281**	0.507***	0.650***	0.252*

	(0.084)	(0.129)	(0.133)	(0.087)	(0.130)	(0.133)
Observations	6654	5485	5401	6654	5485	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.034	0.085	0.108	0.035	0.085	0.110
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.3: Alternative dependent variable indicating *any* English in submission (*H1*)

	Any English in submission					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Anglophone IGOs	0.723**	0.806***	0.644**			
	(0.330)	(0.222)	(0.250)			
Monolingual anglophone IGOs				1.717***	1.891***	1.842***
				(0.587)	(0.378)	(0.424)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs				0.410	0.459**	0.257
				(0.284)	(0.231)	(0.235)
Total IGOs	-0.003	-0.001	-0.002	-0.003	-0.001	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions		0.249	0.239		0.340*	0.337*
		(0.195)	(0.193)		(0.193)	(0.191)
Total missions		-0.001	-0.000		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade		0.443*	0.464*		0.373	0.396
		(0.252)	(0.278)		(0.239)	(0.252)
log total trade		0.044**	0.058**		0.041**	0.054**
		(0.022)	(0.023)		(0.021)	(0.021)
Polity2		0.002	0.001		0.003	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita		-0.028	-0.036		-0.028	-0.036*
		(0.023)	(0.023)		(0.022)	(0.021)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.071***	-0.066***		-0.053**	-0.046**
		(0.020)	(0.021)		(0.021)	(0.022)
UNGA national language		-0.416***	-0.341***		-0.382***	-0.297***
		(0.091)	(0.078)		(0.086)	(0.067)
National leader		0.007	0.005		0.011	0.009
		(0.015)	(0.015)		(0.014)	(0.014)
English in peer submissions			0.329**			0.350***
			(0.131)			(0.120)
Constant	0.283**	0.383***	0.064	0.271*	0.335**	0.017
	(0.137)	(0.135)	(0.164)	(0.139)	(0.136)	(0.164)
Observations	6654	5485	5401	6654	5485	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.054	0.183	0.203	0.074	0.196	0.219
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.4: Alternative dependent variable indicating *any* English in speech

	Any English in speech					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Anglophone IGOs	0.607**	0.690***	0.536***			
	(0.240)	(0.191)	(0.177)			
Monolingual anglophone IGOs				1.172**	1.238***	1.237***
				(0.471)	(0.417)	(0.369)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs				0.429**	0.515**	0.307
				(0.200)	(0.207)	(0.197)
Total IGOs	-0.001	0.000	-0.001	-0.001	0.000	-0.000
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions		-0.007	-0.023		0.039	0.034
		(0.179)	(0.174)		(0.188)	(0.180)
Total missions		-0.001	-0.001		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade		0.573**	0.568**		0.537**	0.528**
		(0.223)	(0.225)		(0.218)	(0.213)
log total trade		0.042**	0.049**		0.041**	0.047**
		(0.017)	(0.019)		(0.017)	(0.018)
Polity2		-0.001	-0.002		-0.001	-0.002
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita		-0.035	-0.035		-0.035	-0.035
		(0.022)	(0.023)		(0.021)	(0.022)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.084***	-0.082***		-0.075***	-0.070***
		(0.022)	(0.021)		(0.025)	(0.023)
UNGA national language		-0.194**	-0.139**		-0.177**	-0.114*
		(0.081)	(0.069)		(0.077)	(0.063)
National leader		-0.085***	-0.087***		-0.083***	-0.084***
		(0.023)	(0.023)		(0.023)	(0.023)
English in peer speeches			0.379***			0.396***
			(0.094)			(0.097)
Constant	0.271***	0.328***	0.029	0.264**	0.304**	-0.000
	(0.102)	(0.122)	(0.145)	(0.104)	(0.125)	(0.143)
Observations	6654	5485	5401	6654	5485	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.025	0.087	0.107	0.031	0.089	0.111
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.5: Random-effects OLS regression models (*H1*)

	English submission					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Anglophone IGOs	0.793**	0.898***	0.713***			
	(0.323)	(0.212)	(0.239)			
Monolingual anglophone IGOs				1.847***	2.013***	1.843***
				(0.568)	(0.327)	(0.390)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs				0.452	0.504**	0.316
				(0.279)	(0.223)	(0.226)
Total IGOs	-0.003	-0.001	-0.002*	-0.003	-0.001	-0.002

	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere missions		0.300	0.288		0.386**	0.371**
		(0.189)	(0.187)		(0.187)	(0.185)
Total missions		-0.000	-0.000		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade		0.489**	0.467*		0.382*	0.368
		(0.227)	(0.264)		(0.220)	(0.244)
log total trade		0.050***	0.059***		0.044***	0.052***
		(0.018)	(0.019)		(0.016)	(0.017)
Polity2		0.003	0.001		0.003*	0.002
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita		-0.033*	-0.037**		-0.026	-0.029*
		(0.019)	(0.018)		(0.017)	(0.017)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.070***	-0.066***		-0.053***	-0.048**
		(0.018)	(0.019)		(0.018)	(0.019)
UNGA national language		-0.450***	-0.375***		-0.422***	-0.343***
		(0.072)	(0.064)		(0.067)	(0.057)
National leader		0.009	0.007		0.013	0.011
		(0.015)	(0.015)		(0.014)	(0.014)
Peer English submissions			0.335***			0.337***
			(0.123)			(0.112)
Constant	0.294**	0.391***	0.076	0.282**	0.325***	0.024
	(0.134)	(0.109)	(0.139)	(0.135)	(0.110)	(0.138)
Observations	6654	5485	5401	6654	5485	5401
Adjusted R^2						
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.6: Random-effects OLS regression models (*H2*)

	English speech					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Anglophone IGOs	0.677***	0.761***	0.595***			
	(0.232)	(0.192)	(0.177)			
Monolingual anglophone IGOs				1.352***	1.457***	1.353***
				(0.449)	(0.377)	(0.337)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs				0.466**	0.523***	0.331*
				(0.194)	(0.202)	(0.191)
Total IGOs	-0.001	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001	0.000	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere missions		0.055	0.034		0.114	0.093
		(0.176)	(0.172)		(0.182)	(0.176)
Total missions		-0.001	-0.001		-0.001*	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade		0.591***	0.542**		0.528***	0.476**
		(0.203)	(0.211)		(0.203)	(0.200)
log total trade		0.046***	0.049***		0.043***	0.045***
		(0.015)	(0.017)		(0.014)	(0.015)
Polity2		-0.000	-0.002		0.000	-0.001

		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita		-0.037**	-0.033*		-0.032*	-0.028
		(0.019)	(0.019)		(0.018)	(0.018)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.082***	-0.081***		-0.072***	-0.069***
		(0.020)	(0.019)		(0.022)	(0.020)
UNGA national language		-0.228***	-0.169***		-0.213***	-0.148***
		(0.066)	(0.058)		(0.062)	(0.054)
National leader		-0.088***	-0.090***		-0.085***	-0.087***
		(0.022)	(0.022)		(0.022)	(0.022)
Peer English speeches			0.399***			0.407***
			(0.090)			(0.093)
Constant	0.262***	0.327***	0.021	0.253**	0.286***	-0.017
	(0.101)	(0.104)	(0.126)	(0.102)	(0.108)	(0.124)
Observations	6654	5485	5401	6654	5485	5401
Adjusted R^2						
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No	No	No	No
State RE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.7: Conditional logistic regression models (*H1*)

	English submission					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Anglophone IGOs	8.752**	9.497***	8.401***			
	(4.350)	(3.266)	(3.228)			
Monolingual anglophone IGOs				18.016***	15.127***	14.642***
				(6.499)	(4.382)	(4.954)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs				3.894	7.000*	5.794
				(3.631)	(4.016)	(3.662)
Total IGOs	-0.058*	0.002	-0.005	-0.065**	-0.003	-0.011
	(0.031)	(0.029)	(0.028)	(0.031)	(0.030)	(0.029)
Anglosphere missions		12.581***	13.198***		12.748***	13.280***
		(4.871)	(4.975)		(4.862)	(4.931)
Total missions		-0.026	-0.030		-0.026	-0.031
		(0.021)	(0.019)		(0.021)	(0.019)
Anglosphere trade		3.943	5.840*		3.491	5.243
		(3.159)	(3.509)		(3.160)	(3.650)
log total trade		0.434	0.639*		0.384	0.569
		(0.331)	(0.358)		(0.324)	(0.368)
Polity2		0.020	0.009		0.015	0.004
		(0.041)	(0.041)		(0.042)	(0.041)
log GDP per capita		-0.347	-0.562		-0.299	-0.510
		(0.303)	(0.347)		(0.306)	(0.363)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.139	0.075		-0.094	0.127
		(0.251)	(0.265)		(0.259)	(0.269)
UNGA national language		-6.018***	-5.070***		-5.819***	-4.789***
		(0.824)	(0.834)		(0.849)	(0.860)
National leader		0.660*	0.697**		0.650*	0.684*
		(0.356)	(0.349)		(0.357)	(0.351)

Peer English submissions			3.464***			3.538***
			(1.329)			(1.308)
Observations	3069	2199	2133	3069	2199	2133
Pseudo R^2	0.170	0.385	0.411	0.194	0.388	0.414
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.8: Conditional logistic regression models (*H2*)

	English speech					
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Anglophone IGOs	7.056**	9.190***	9.202***			
	(2.994)	(2.964)	(2.831)			
Monolingual anglophone IGOs				10.766**	13.558***	15.079***
				(4.560)	(4.493)	(4.042)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs				5.062*	7.074**	6.607**
				(2.790)	(3.209)	(3.096)
Total IGOs	-0.017	-0.006	-0.010	-0.019	-0.008	-0.012
	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.023)	(0.022)
Anglosphere missions		3.102	3.969		3.069	3.967
		(4.115)	(4.010)		(4.247)	(4.163)
Total missions		-0.021	-0.025		-0.021	-0.025
		(0.017)	(0.017)		(0.017)	(0.017)
Anglosphere trade		6.106**	7.061**		5.641**	6.465**
		(2.558)	(2.929)		(2.546)	(2.880)
log total trade		0.547**	0.628**		0.523**	0.598**
		(0.262)	(0.296)		(0.258)	(0.292)
Polity2		-0.065	-0.069		-0.066	-0.071*
		(0.041)	(0.042)		(0.042)	(0.041)
log GDP per capita		-0.238	-0.388		-0.187	-0.325
		(0.279)	(0.295)		(0.276)	(0.292)
UNGA vote diff. with USA		-0.699***	-0.515**		-0.673**	-0.462*
		(0.261)	(0.259)		(0.277)	(0.264)
UNGA national language		-1.647**	-0.927		-1.416*	-0.602
		(0.726)	(0.727)		(0.757)	(0.739)
National leader		-1.633***	-1.600***		-1.633***	-1.598***
		(0.394)	(0.379)		(0.393)	(0.379)
Peer English speeches			3.524***			3.671***
			(1.064)			(1.106)
Observations	3614	2521	2455	3614	2521	2455
Pseudo R^2	0.083	0.186	0.210	0.087	0.189	0.214
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.9: Base models with additional covariates (*H1*)

	English submission			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.533*	0.490		
	(0.303)	(0.318)		
Monolingual anglophone IGOs			1.443***	1.581***
			(0.538)	(0.544)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs			0.318	0.229
			(0.316)	(0.328)
Total IGOs	0.001	0.001	0.002	0.001
	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.104	0.132	0.125	0.160
	(0.206)	(0.202)	(0.200)	(0.195)
Total missions	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere allies	0.030	-0.057	0.039	-0.055
	(0.078)	(0.077)	(0.076)	(0.072)
Total allies	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	1.164	0.564	1.418	0.819
	(1.477)	(1.493)	(1.448)	(1.458)
log total trade	0.058	0.065*	0.049	0.054
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.034)	(0.033)
log core anglosphere aid	-0.000	0.002	-0.001	0.001
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Polity2	-0.001	-0.002	-0.001	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.043	-0.051	-0.032	-0.038
	(0.033)	(0.033)	(0.031)	(0.030)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	0.009	-0.015	0.017	-0.008
	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.021)
UNGA national language	-0.411***	-0.324***	-0.382***	-0.281***
	(0.110)	(0.104)	(0.102)	(0.090)
National leader	0.002	-0.002	0.006	0.002
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Peer English submissions		0.335**		0.367***
		(0.139)		(0.136)
Constant	0.297	0.133	0.224	0.031
	(0.227)	(0.228)	(0.227)	(0.231)
Observations	3209	3190	3209	3190
Adjusted R^2	0.135	0.146	0.143	0.157
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.10: Base models with additional covariates (*H2*)

	English speech			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.550**	0.526**		
	(0.213)	(0.215)		
Monolingual anglophone IGOs			1.066**	1.150**
			(0.537)	(0.526)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs			0.428	0.377
			(0.259)	(0.264)
Total IGOs	0.001	0.000	0.001	0.000
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	-0.254	-0.228	-0.242	-0.212
	(0.207)	(0.197)	(0.210)	(0.200)
Total missions	-0.001	-0.000	-0.001	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere allies	0.146	0.065	0.150	0.066
	(0.104)	(0.095)	(0.105)	(0.095)
Total allies	-0.000	0.000	-0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	1.173	0.571	1.317	0.721
	(1.068)	(1.060)	(1.064)	(1.055)
log total trade	0.072**	0.076**	0.067**	0.070**
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.027)	(0.027)
log core anglosphere aid	0.007	0.007	0.006	0.007
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Polity2	-0.003*	-0.004**	-0.003*	-0.004**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.062**	-0.067**	-0.056**	-0.059**
	(0.029)	(0.029)	(0.026)	(0.026)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	0.003	-0.017	0.007	-0.013
	(0.021)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.020)
UNGA national language	-0.223**	-0.170*	-0.206**	-0.147*
	(0.100)	(0.100)	(0.090)	(0.086)
National leader	-0.085***	-0.088***	-0.083***	-0.086***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Peer English speeches		0.308***		0.324***
		(0.099)		(0.097)
Constant	0.183	0.047	0.142	-0.010

	(0.197)	(0.215)	(0.189)	(0.204)
Observations	3209	3190	3209	3190
Adjusted R^2	0.072	0.082	0.073	0.085
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.11: Full-sample and anglosphere subset analysis (*H1*)

	All states		Anglosphere	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.581***		-0.061	
	(0.190)		(0.051)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.410***		-0.007
		(0.328)		(0.083)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.238		-0.101
		(0.189)		(0.074)
Total IGOs	-0.001	-0.002	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere missions	0.111	0.143	0.026	0.024
	(0.116)	(0.120)	(0.024)	(0.026)
Total missions	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Anglosphere trade	0.377	0.304	-1.053	-1.054
	(0.264)	(0.244)	(1.233)	(1.218)
log total trade	0.053***	0.047**	-0.005	-0.006
	(0.020)	(0.019)	(0.008)	(0.009)
Polity2	0.001	0.001	0.000	0.000
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.000)	(0.000)
log GDP per capita	-0.035*	-0.034*	-0.005	-0.004
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.008)	(0.008)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.064***	-0.051***	-0.004	-0.005
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.007)	(0.007)
UNGA national language	-0.324***	-0.291***	-0.090**	-0.087**
	(0.074)	(0.068)	(0.035)	(0.034)
National leader	0.006	0.009	0.008*	0.008
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Peer English submissions	0.283**	0.302***	-0.020	-0.019
	(0.113)	(0.107)	(0.052)	(0.052)
Constant	0.262*	0.256*	1.155***	1.164***
	(0.141)	(0.141)	(0.118)	(0.120)
Observations	6840	6840	1439	1439

Adjusted R^2	0.185	0.198	0.009	0.009
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.12: Full-sample and anglosphere subset analysis (*H2*)

	All states		Anglosphere	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.454***		-0.064	
	(0.139)		(0.061)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		0.956***		-0.139
		(0.296)		(0.143)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.246		-0.008
		(0.158)		(0.137)
Total IGOs	-0.000	-0.000	-0.002*	-0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere missions	-0.025	-0.006	-0.026	-0.023
	(0.102)	(0.105)	(0.056)	(0.052)
Total missions	-0.001	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	0.466**	0.420**	0.297	0.298
	(0.210)	(0.199)	(1.343)	(1.354)
log total trade	0.045***	0.042***	-0.001	0.001
	(0.017)	(0.016)	(0.010)	(0.012)
Polity2	-0.002	-0.001	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.038**	-0.037**	-0.006	-0.006
	(0.019)	(0.018)	(0.010)	(0.010)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.074***	-0.066***	0.003	0.003
	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.013)	(0.013)
UNGA national language	-0.138**	-0.119*	-0.165***	-0.169***
	(0.064)	(0.060)	(0.029)	(0.028)
National leader	-0.073***	-0.072***	-0.011	-0.011
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Peer English speeches	0.338***	0.352***	-0.039	-0.040
	(0.082)	(0.084)	(0.050)	(0.051)
Constant	0.225*	0.220*	1.242***	1.227***
	(0.126)	(0.124)	(0.124)	(0.140)
Observations	6840	6840	1439	1439
Adjusted R^2	0.095	0.099	0.015	0.015
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.13: Subset analysis: states with above-median time-averaged population

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.754**		0.644**	
	(0.303)		(0.266)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.866***		1.239**
		(0.496)		(0.485)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.396		0.450
		(0.308)		(0.298)
Total IGOs	-0.004*	-0.003*	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.232	0.366	-0.050	0.021
	(0.346)	(0.346)	(0.340)	(0.357)
Total missions	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001	-0.002
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	0.404	0.329	0.575*	0.534*
	(0.367)	(0.352)	(0.306)	(0.294)
log total trade	0.056*	0.053*	0.049*	0.047*
	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.027)	(0.026)
Polity2	-0.001	-0.001	-0.004	-0.004
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
log GDP per capita	-0.022	-0.022	-0.018	-0.018
	(0.032)	(0.031)	(0.031)	(0.031)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.059***	-0.042*	-0.085***	-0.076***
	(0.021)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.025)
UNGA national language	-0.337***	-0.292***	-0.168**	-0.145**
	(0.091)	(0.081)	(0.075)	(0.070)
National leader	-0.001	0.002	-0.112***	-0.110***
	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.029)	(0.028)
Peer English submissions	0.297*	0.336**		
	(0.166)	(0.154)		
Peer English speeches			0.402***	0.426***
			(0.109)	(0.114)
Constant	-0.019	-0.077	-0.021	-0.054
	(0.215)	(0.214)	(0.192)	(0.190)
Observations	3512	3512	3512	3512
Adjusted R^2	0.185	0.197	0.125	0.128
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.14: Subset analysis: states with below-median time-averaged population

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.375		0.425**	
	(0.296)		(0.182)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.542**		1.401***
		(0.595)		(0.431)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.063		0.160
		(0.303)		(0.211)
Total IGOs	0.003	0.002	0.005**	0.004**
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.258	0.357**	0.175	0.257*
	(0.166)	(0.164)	(0.141)	(0.138)
Total missions	-0.002	-0.001	-0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	0.375	0.655	-0.119	0.130
	(1.585)	(1.515)	(0.682)	(0.615)
log total trade	0.058*	0.054**	0.041*	0.038**
	(0.031)	(0.025)	(0.023)	(0.018)
Polity2	0.003	0.004	-0.001	0.000
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.070**	-0.067***	-0.061**	-0.059***
	(0.029)	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.018)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.071	-0.049	-0.050	-0.031
	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.030)
UNGA national language	-0.335***	-0.313***	-0.068	-0.047
	(0.118)	(0.098)	(0.111)	(0.097)
National leader	0.019	0.021	-0.058	-0.056
	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.037)	(0.037)
Peer English submissions	0.429***	0.404***		
	(0.128)	(0.123)		
Peer English speeches			0.396***	0.376***
			(0.126)	(0.122)
Constant	0.388**	0.323*	0.089	0.033
	(0.183)	(0.188)	(0.147)	(0.139)
Observations	1889	1889	1889	1889
Adjusted R^2	0.291	0.307	0.087	0.097
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.15: Subset analysis: states with above-median time-averaged GDP

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	1.074***		0.716**	
	(0.329)		(0.299)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.893***		0.941*
		(0.544)		(0.489)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.794**		0.640**
		(0.320)		(0.316)
Total IGOs	-0.004**	-0.003*	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.036	0.126	-0.504	-0.479
	(0.429)	(0.419)	(0.374)	(0.377)
Total missions	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	0.508	0.465	0.583**	0.571**
	(0.362)	(0.368)	(0.273)	(0.280)
log total trade	0.070**	0.069**	0.055**	0.055**
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Polity2	-0.001	-0.001	-0.006**	-0.006*
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
log GDP per capita	-0.027	-0.029	-0.021	-0.021
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.032)	(0.031)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.057**	-0.044*	-0.087***	-0.083***
	(0.023)	(0.024)	(0.023)	(0.025)
UNGA national language	-0.322***	-0.289***	-0.092	-0.083
	(0.087)	(0.081)	(0.064)	(0.067)
National leader	0.009	0.011	-0.123***	-0.122***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.027)	(0.027)
Peer English submissions	0.309*	0.334**		
	(0.159)	(0.148)		
Peer English speeches			0.394***	0.402***
			(0.119)	(0.124)
Constant	-0.182	-0.212	-0.110	-0.119
	(0.236)	(0.231)	(0.210)	(0.210)
Observations	3421	3421	3421	3421
Adjusted R^2	0.218	0.224	0.128	0.128
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.16: Subset analysis: states with below-median time-averaged GDP

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.201		0.339**	
	(0.305)		(0.167)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.940***		1.823***
		(0.529)		(0.477)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		-0.299		-0.088
		(0.322)		(0.221)
Total IGOs	0.001	0.001	0.000	-0.000
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.435*	0.578**	0.330	0.452*
	(0.222)	(0.219)	(0.223)	(0.227)
Total missions	0.002	0.002	0.001	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere trade	0.471	0.594	0.504	0.607
	(1.503)	(1.358)	(0.999)	(0.839)
log total trade	0.045	0.034	0.043	0.033
	(0.034)	(0.025)	(0.029)	(0.020)
Polity2	0.002	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.055	-0.041*	-0.060**	-0.048***
	(0.034)	(0.023)	(0.029)	(0.017)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.071	-0.033	-0.049	-0.017
	(0.044)	(0.033)	(0.039)	(0.031)
UNGA national language	-0.337***	-0.286***	-0.201	-0.156
	(0.125)	(0.095)	(0.134)	(0.102)
National leader	0.001	0.009	-0.045	-0.038
	(0.032)	(0.028)	(0.039)	(0.037)
Peer English submissions	0.479***	0.464***		
	(0.130)	(0.124)		
Peer English speeches			0.390***	0.379***
			(0.108)	(0.094)
Constant	0.301	0.146	0.221	0.087
	(0.190)	(0.193)	(0.169)	(0.147)
Observations	1980	1980	1980	1980
Adjusted R^2	0.229	0.271	0.110	0.141
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.17: Subset analysis: democratic states based on time-averaged Polity2 score

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.261		0.243	
	(0.656)		(0.601)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		0.965*		1.659**
		(0.539)		(0.793)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.032		-0.223
		(0.801)		(0.731)
Total IGOs	-0.002	-0.002	0.002	0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Anglosphere missions	0.952	1.027	0.394	0.552
	(0.698)	(0.685)	(0.771)	(0.748)
Total missions	-0.001	-0.001	0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	-5.902	-4.909	-12.143**	-10.381*
	(3.797)	(3.375)	(5.739)	(5.980)
log total trade	0.032*	0.038*	0.051*	0.062**
	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.025)	(0.027)
Polity2	0.035**	0.037***	0.018	0.020
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.014)	(0.013)
log GDP per capita	-0.043	-0.048	-0.008	-0.016
	(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.050)	(0.047)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.014	-0.008	0.059	0.070
	(0.047)	(0.045)	(0.065)	(0.061)
UNGA national language	0.105	0.065	0.171	0.090
	(0.074)	(0.062)	(0.116)	(0.105)
National leader	-0.033	-0.027	-0.141***	-0.129***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.044)	(0.044)
Peer English submissions	-0.003	0.056		
	(0.162)	(0.175)		
Peer English speeches			0.596***	0.670***
			(0.213)	(0.216)
Constant	0.063	0.007	-0.692	-0.777*
	(0.407)	(0.394)	(0.410)	(0.413)
Observations	1066	1066	1066	1066
Adjusted R^2	0.113	0.116	0.094	0.101
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.18: Subset analysis: anocratic states based on time-averaged Polity2 score

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.503		0.539**	
	(0.307)		(0.238)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.936***		1.215**
		(0.506)		(0.463)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.079		0.337
		(0.311)		(0.264)
Total IGOs	-0.003	-0.003	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.232	0.345*	-0.046	0.007
	(0.205)	(0.200)	(0.189)	(0.196)
Total missions	0.000	-0.000	-0.003**	-0.003**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	0.522	0.351	0.536**	0.456*
	(0.321)	(0.287)	(0.266)	(0.242)
log total trade	0.063**	0.052**	0.046*	0.041*
	(0.028)	(0.025)	(0.024)	(0.022)
Polity2	-0.001	-0.001	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.030	-0.021	-0.056**	-0.052**
	(0.028)	(0.025)	(0.026)	(0.024)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.081***	-0.054**	-0.094***	-0.081***
	(0.021)	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.023)
UNGA national language	-0.349***	-0.286***	-0.170*	-0.142*
	(0.111)	(0.101)	(0.090)	(0.083)
National leader	0.010	0.012	-0.090***	-0.089***
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.025)	(0.025)
Peer English submissions	0.186	0.245		
	(0.168)	(0.158)		
Peer English speeches			0.281**	0.310***
			(0.109)	(0.113)
Constant	0.125	0.038	0.280**	0.239*
	(0.187)	(0.188)	(0.136)	(0.134)
Observations	3663	3663	3663	3663
Adjusted R^2	0.170	0.195	0.131	0.135
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.19: Subset analysis: autocratic states based on time-averaged Polity2 score

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	1.160**		0.755	
	(0.422)		(0.588)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		0.570		-0.641
		(0.892)		(0.715)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		1.367**		1.272*
		(0.526)		(0.674)
Total IGOs	0.011**	0.011**	0.008*	0.009*
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Anglosphere missions	-0.017	0.097	-0.636	-0.344
	(1.013)	(1.063)	(1.017)	(0.991)
Total missions	-0.005**	-0.005**	-0.000	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere trade	5.064	5.093	7.152	7.286
	(6.671)	(6.649)	(6.003)	(5.737)
log total trade	0.028	0.028	-0.010	-0.009
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.049)	(0.047)
Polity2	0.010	0.011	-0.004	-0.003
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.013)	(0.013)
log GDP per capita	-0.057	-0.054	-0.026	-0.017
	(0.045)	(0.041)	(0.040)	(0.034)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.048	-0.049	-0.052	-0.055
	(0.041)	(0.041)	(0.043)	(0.043)
UNGA national language	-0.079	-0.116	0.149	0.066
	(0.143)	(0.155)	(0.116)	(0.102)
National leader	0.080	0.081	0.035	0.036
	(0.097)	(0.097)	(0.101)	(0.100)
Peer English submissions	0.777***	0.794***		
	(0.144)	(0.153)		
Peer English speeches			0.613***	0.681***
			(0.129)	(0.129)
Constant	0.057	0.057	0.322	0.281
	(0.405)	(0.401)	(0.608)	(0.589)
Observations	672	672	672	672
Adjusted R^2	0.564	0.565	0.282	0.296
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.20: Subset analysis: states with above-median time-averaged GDP per capita

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.433		0.379	
	(0.287)		(0.337)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		0.961*		0.834
		(0.490)		(0.535)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.260		0.220
		(0.335)		(0.394)
Total IGOs	-0.005*	-0.004*	-0.002	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.006	0.045	-0.178	-0.142
	(0.350)	(0.342)	(0.315)	(0.314)
Total missions	-0.001	-0.002	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	0.338	0.353	0.358	0.374*
	(0.298)	(0.295)	(0.221)	(0.220)
log total trade	0.052**	0.054**	0.044**	0.046***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Polity2	0.003	0.003	-0.004	-0.003
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.004)
log GDP per capita	-0.015	-0.018	-0.003	-0.006
	(0.036)	(0.035)	(0.039)	(0.038)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.047*	-0.040	-0.055*	-0.048*
	(0.024)	(0.026)	(0.028)	(0.029)
UNGA national language	-0.201**	-0.197**	0.007	0.013
	(0.090)	(0.083)	(0.080)	(0.076)
National leader	-0.005	-0.002	-0.113***	-0.111***
	(0.018)	(0.017)	(0.032)	(0.031)
Peer English submissions	0.574***	0.555***		
	(0.116)	(0.114)		
Peer English speeches			0.417***	0.406**
			(0.155)	(0.159)
Constant	-0.018	-0.021	-0.158	-0.163
	(0.292)	(0.289)	(0.322)	(0.320)
Observations	2374	2374	2374	2374
Adjusted R^2	0.199	0.201	0.074	0.075
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.21: Subset analysis: states with below-median time-averaged GDP per capita

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.808***		0.803***	
	(0.304)		(0.201)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		2.271***		1.537***
		(0.482)		(0.422)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.339		0.565**
		(0.304)		(0.228)
Total IGOs	-0.001	-0.000	0.001	0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.322	0.440**	0.030	0.089
	(0.222)	(0.213)	(0.214)	(0.219)
Total missions	0.002	0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	-0.194	-0.227	0.536	0.525
	(1.318)	(1.076)	(0.941)	(0.913)
log total trade	0.055*	0.043	0.046*	0.040
	(0.030)	(0.027)	(0.026)	(0.025)
Polity2	-0.000	-0.000	-0.001	-0.002
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.026	-0.024	-0.042*	-0.041**
	(0.027)	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.019)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.094***	-0.064***	-0.116***	-0.101***
	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.023)
UNGA national language	-0.429***	-0.349***	-0.228**	-0.190**
	(0.105)	(0.094)	(0.090)	(0.085)
National leader	0.012	0.014	-0.077**	-0.076**
	(0.022)	(0.020)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Peer English submissions	0.295*	0.359**		
	(0.164)	(0.152)		
Peer English speeches			0.361***	0.395***
			(0.109)	(0.114)
Constant	0.011	-0.079	0.091	0.046
	(0.191)	(0.194)	(0.134)	(0.130)
Observations	3027	3027	3027	3027
Adjusted R^2	0.249	0.276	0.163	0.169
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

A.2 Robustness: Simultaneity and Endogeneity

Table A.22: Full-model lagged coefficients of ANGLOPHONE IGOs from separate regressions

	SUBMISSION	SPEECH
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-1)	0.648**	0.539***
	(0.248)	(0.176)
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-2)	0.458**	0.393**
	(0.223)	(0.165)
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-3)	0.467**	0.491***
	(0.218)	(0.166)
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-4)	0.450**	0.469***
	(0.210)	(0.172)
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-5)	0.379*	0.430***
	(0.195)	(0.163)
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-6)	0.418**	0.410**
	(0.182)	(0.160)
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-7)	0.355**	0.294*
	(0.170)	(0.158)
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-8)	0.230	0.157
	(0.164)	(0.158)
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-9)	0.247*	0.184
	(0.148)	(0.153)
ANGLOPHONE IGOs (t-10)	0.254*	0.172
	(0.137)	(0.146)

All coefficients from separate regressions
Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.23: Full-model lagged coefficients of MONOLINGUAL ANGLOPHONE IGOs from separate regressions

	SUBMISSION	SPEECH

Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-1)	1.891***	1.277***
	(0.434)	(0.386)
Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-2)	1.697***	1.196***
	(0.406)	(0.378)
Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-3)	1.725***	1.244***
	(0.372)	(0.358)
Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-4)	1.622***	0.924**
	(0.353)	(0.360)
Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-5)	1.559***	0.881**
	(0.349)	(0.345)
Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-6)	1.683***	0.973***
	(0.331)	(0.333)
Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-7)	1.451***	0.720**
	(0.315)	(0.336)
Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-8)	1.179***	0.452
	(0.306)	(0.320)
Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-9)	1.083***	0.383
	(0.294)	(0.326)
Monolingual anglophone IGOs (t-10)	1.031***	0.375
	(0.280)	(0.305)

All coefficients from separate regressions
Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.24: Exclusion restriction illustration for two-stage least-squares regressions

	x = anglophone IGOs		x = mono anglo IGOs	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.528**	0.388*		
	(0.236)	(0.204)		
z = Anglophone IGOs (lag)	0.050	0.092		
	(0.135)	(0.155)		
Monolingual anglophone IGOs			1.465***	0.329
			(0.446)	(0.421)
z = Monoling. anglo. IGOs (lag)			0.568*	0.953**
			(0.316)	(0.364)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs			0.124	0.252
			(0.242)	(0.207)
Total IGOs	-0.002	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001

	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.002)
Anglosphere missions	0.265	0.002	0.362*	0.069
	(0.202)	(0.181)	(0.198)	(0.185)
Total missions	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Anglosphere trade	0.476	0.523**	0.405	0.484**
	(0.288)	(0.233)	(0.254)	(0.215)
log total trade	0.062***	0.047**	0.059***	0.045**
	(0.024)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.019)
Polity2	0.001	-0.002	0.001	-0.002
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.038	-0.034	-0.040*	-0.035
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.023)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.066***	-0.081***	-0.042**	-0.068***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.021)	(0.022)
UNGA national language	-0.347***	-0.132*	-0.296***	-0.102
	(0.079)	(0.070)	(0.067)	(0.063)
National leader	0.008	-0.088***	0.013	-0.085***
	(0.015)	(0.022)	(0.014)	(0.022)
Peer English submissions	0.324**		0.345***	
	(0.136)		(0.122)	
Peer English speeches		0.395***		0.409***
		(0.097)		(0.100)
Constant	0.073	0.056	0.011	0.014
	(0.166)	(0.148)	(0.167)	(0.148)
Observations	5368	5368	5368	5368
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.25: First-stage estimates of two-stage least-squares regressions

	x = anglophone IGOs		x = mono anglo IGOs	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
z = Anglophone IGOs (lag)	0.752***	0.755***		
	(0.041)	(0.041)		
z = Monoling. anglo. IGOs (lag)			0.767***	0.768***
			(0.030)	(0.029)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs			-0.016	-0.013
			(0.012)	(0.012)
Total IGOs	-0.001***	-0.001***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)

Anglosphere missions	-0.014	-0.014	0.006	0.006
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.010)	(0.010)
Total missions	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Anglosphere trade	-0.028*	-0.028*	-0.002	-0.002
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.011)
log total trade	-0.003**	-0.004**	-0.000	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Polity2	0.000**	0.000**	0.000	0.000*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
log GDP per capita	0.004**	0.004**	0.001	0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
UNGA national language	-0.001	-0.003	-0.003	-0.004*
	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.002)
National leader	-0.000	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Peer English submissions	0.014*		0.005	
	(0.007)		(0.005)	
Peer English speeches		0.008		-0.001
		(0.007)		(0.005)
Constant	0.111***	0.113***	0.030***	0.033***
	(0.018)	(0.019)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Observations	5368	5368	5368	5368
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

A.3 Robustness: Disaggregation and Heterogeneity

Table A.26: Interactions with Polity2 score

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.681***		0.587***	
	(0.243)		(0.175)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.868***		1.277***
		(0.432)		(0.374)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.281		0.353*

		(0.230)		(0.198)
Polity2 × anglophone IGOs	0.017		0.026*	
	(0.018)		(0.015)	
Polity2 × mono. anglo. IGOs		-0.004		0.026
		(0.025)		(0.034)
Polity2 × multi. anglo. IGOs		0.015		0.021
		(0.021)		(0.018)
Polity2	-0.007	-0.004	-0.014*	-0.012*
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.007)	(0.007)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.207	0.224	0.112	0.116
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.27: Interactions with current regime type

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.722***		0.568***	
	(0.234)		(0.183)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.817***		1.321***
		(0.426)		(0.448)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.285		0.284
		(0.237)		(0.198)
Democractic × anglophone IGOs	0.033		0.250	
	(0.228)		(0.211)	
Autocractic × anglophone IGOs	-0.140		-0.186	
	(0.196)		(0.184)	
Democractic × mono. anglo. IGOs		-0.176		0.188
		(0.256)		(0.284)
Autocractic × mono. anglo. IGOs		0.246		-0.255
		(0.286)		(0.370)
Democractic × multi. anglo. IGOs		0.115		0.248
		(0.256)		(0.248)
Autocractic × multi. anglo. IGOs		-0.140		-0.100
		(0.208)		(0.208)
Democractic (current)	0.000	0.013	-0.077	-0.057
	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.105)	(0.108)
Autocratic (current)	0.017	-0.015	0.018	-0.006
	(0.101)	(0.097)	(0.103)	(0.099)

All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.207	0.226	0.113	0.118
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.28: Interactions with time-averaged regime type

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.642**		0.550**	
	(0.307)		(0.218)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		2.002***		1.275***
		(0.539)		(0.460)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.216		0.325
		(0.287)		(0.238)
Democracy (avg) × anglophone IGOs	-0.209		0.402	
	(0.368)		(0.344)	
Autocracy (avg) × anglophone IGOs	0.180		-0.357	
	(0.374)		(0.426)	
Democracy (avg) × mono. anglo. IGOs		-0.683		1.345
		(0.795)		(0.982)
Autocracy (avg) × mono. anglo. IGOs		0.074		-1.323
		(0.937)		(0.881)
Democracy (avg) × multi. anglo. IGOs		-0.273		0.144
		(0.363)		(0.312)
Autocracy (avg) × multi. anglo. IGOs		0.312		-0.148
		(0.405)		(0.456)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.206	0.225	0.111	0.118
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.29: Interactions with log GDP per capita

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)

Anglophone IGOs	1.092*		0.845	
	(0.607)		(0.538)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.163		1.775*
		(0.897)		(1.036)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		1.641**		0.765
		(0.753)		(0.578)
log GDP per cap. × anglophone IGOs	-0.068		-0.047	
	(0.084)		(0.080)	
log GDP per cap. × mono. anglo. IGOs		0.113		-0.072
		(0.134)		(0.155)
log GDP per cap. × multi. anglo. IGOs		-0.211**		-0.073
		(0.105)		(0.085)
log GDP per capita	0.003	0.051	-0.009	0.007
	(0.055)	(0.056)	(0.051)	(0.048)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.207	0.229	0.109	0.115
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.30: Interactions with above-median time-averaged log GDP per capita

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.804***		0.624***	
	(0.290)		(0.187)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		2.383***		1.711***
		(0.531)		(0.462)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.366		0.348*
		(0.256)		(0.190)
Above-median wealth (avg) × anglophone IGOs	-0.435		-0.229	
	(0.301)		(0.285)	
Above-median wealth (avg) × mono. anglo. IGOs		-1.400**		-1.224*
		(0.667)		(0.691)
Above-median wealth (avg) × multi. anglo. IGOs		-0.289		-0.076
		(0.292)		(0.261)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.209	0.229	0.110	0.117
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.31: Interactions with UNGA vote difference with the United States

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.677*		0.881**	
	(0.402)		(0.363)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.403**		2.128***
		(0.594)		(0.752)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.515		0.458
		(0.468)		(0.386)
USA UNGA vote diff. × anglophone IGOs	-0.012		-0.150	
	(0.151)		(0.134)	
USA UNGA vote diff. × mono. anglo. IGOs		0.164		-0.324
		(0.204)		(0.265)
USA UNGA vote diff. × multi. anglo. IGOs		-0.099		-0.088
		(0.181)		(0.145)
UNGA vote diff. with USA	-0.059	-0.023	-0.019	-0.014
	(0.063)	(0.070)	(0.057)	(0.058)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.206	0.225	0.111	0.117
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.32: Interactions with national leader

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	0.667***		0.582***	
	(0.252)		(0.187)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		1.917***		1.389***
		(0.430)		(0.395)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.263		0.286
		(0.246)		(0.200)
National leader × anglophone IGOs	-0.194		-0.431*	
	(0.195)		(0.220)	
National leader × mono. anglo. IGOs		-0.225		-0.887**
		(0.200)		(0.386)
National leader × multi. anglo. IGOs		-0.198		-0.127
		(0.251)		(0.233)
National leader	0.107	0.115	0.133	0.049
	(0.103)	(0.114)	(0.109)	(0.104)

All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.206	0.224	0.111	0.118
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.33: Interactions with UNGA working language = national language

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone IGOs	1.079***		0.480*	
	(0.356)		(0.253)	
Monolingual anglophone IGOs		2.245***		1.352***
		(0.570)		(0.463)
Multilingual anglophone IGOs		0.584		0.117
		(0.375)		(0.297)
UNGA national lang. × anglophone IGOs	-0.756**		0.105	
	(0.311)		(0.268)	
UNGA national lang. × mono. anglo. IGOs		-0.896		-0.074
		(0.711)		(0.606)
UNGA national lang. × multi. anglo. IGOs		-0.504		0.306
		(0.345)		(0.308)
UNGA national language	0.071	0.024	-0.188	-0.220
	(0.163)	(0.160)	(0.139)	(0.137)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.216	0.230	0.109	0.115
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.38: Disaggregation by IGO type

	Submission		Speech	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Anglophone economic IGOs	0.480***		0.495***	
	(0.155)		(0.124)	
Anglophone political IGOs	0.066		0.069	
	(0.078)		(0.082)	
Anglophone social IGOs	0.040		-0.114	

	(0.144)		(0.113)	
Monoling. anglo. econ. IGOs		0.976***		0.784***
		(0.202)		(0.202)
Multiling. anglo. econ. IGOs		0.187		0.321**
		(0.154)		(0.125)
Monoling. anglo. pol. IGOs		0.284		0.304
		(0.222)		(0.246)
Multiling. anglo. pol. IGOs		0.021		0.041
		(0.082)		(0.085)
Monoling. anglo. soc. IGOs		0.539		-0.246
		(0.447)		(0.356)
Multiling. anglo. soc. IGOs		0.037		-0.073
		(0.136)		(0.110)
Total economic IGOs	-0.001	-0.000	-0.004	-0.003
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Total political IGOs	-0.003	-0.005	0.003	0.002
	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)	(0.007)
Total social IGOs	-0.003	-0.002	0.002	0.004
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.005)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5395	5395	5395	5395
Adjusted R^2	0.210	0.227	0.115	0.119
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.34: Effect of IGO memberships by percentage of Anglosphere partners (*H1*)

	English submission							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
joint IGOs w no Anglosphere members	-0.804***							
	(0.249)							
joint IGOs w any Anglosphere members		0.804***						
		(0.249)						
joint IGOs w >= 5pct Anglosphere members			0.617**					
			(0.251)					
joint IGOs w >= 10pct Anglosphere members				0.325				
				(0.197)				
joint IGOs w >= 20pct Anglosphere members					0.325			
					(0.197)			
joint IGOs w >= 25pct Anglosphere members						-0.016		
						(0.159)		
joint IGOs w >= 33pct Anglosphere members							0.099	
							(0.174)	
joint IGOs w >= 50pct Anglosphere members								0.485*
								(0.286)
All controls and fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.206	0.206	0.202	0.198	0.198	0.194	0.195	0.195

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.35: Effect of IGO memberships by percentage of Anglosphere partners (*H2*)

	English speech							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
joint IGOs w no Anglosphere members	-0.786***							
	(0.217)							
joint IGOs w any Anglosphere members		0.786***						
		(0.217)						
joint IGOs w >= 5pct Anglosphere members			0.743***					
			(0.231)					
joint IGOs w >= 10pct Anglosphere members				0.521***				
				(0.185)				
joint IGOs w >= 20pct Anglosphere members					0.521***			
					(0.185)			
joint IGOs w >= 25pct Anglosphere members						0.055		
						(0.142)		
joint IGOs w >= 33pct Anglosphere members							0.223	
							(0.211)	
joint IGOs w >= 50pct Anglosphere members								0.630*
								(0.335)
All controls and fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.112	0.112	0.112	0.110	0.110	0.103	0.103	0.104

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.36: Effect of IGO memberships with core Anglosphere states (*H1*)

	English submission							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
joint IGOs with no core Anglosphere state	-0.504***							
	(0.187)							
joint IGOs with any core Anglosphere state		0.504***						
		(0.187)						
joint IGOs with the United States			0.389**					
			(0.173)					
joint IGOs with the United Kingdom				0.145				
				(0.188)				
joint IGOs with Canada					0.188			
					(0.191)			
joint IGOs with Ireland						0.317*		
						(0.187)		
joint IGOs with Australia							0.333	
							(0.203)	
joint IGOs with New Zealand								0.110
								(0.224)
All controls and fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.202	0.202	0.200	0.195	0.196	0.198	0.198	0.195

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table A.37: Effect of IGO memberships with core Anglosphere states (*H2*)

	English speech							
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
joint IGOs with no core Anglosphere state	-0.690***							
	(0.167)							
joint IGOs with any core Anglosphere state		0.690***						
		(0.167)						
joint IGOs with the United States			0.499***					
			(0.169)					
joint IGOs with the United Kingdom				0.534***				
				(0.182)				
joint IGOs with Canada					0.470***			
					(0.168)			
joint IGOs with Ireland						0.429**		
						(0.172)		
joint IGOs with Australia							0.481***	
							(0.180)	
joint IGOs with New Zealand								0.430**
								(0.187)
All controls and fixed-effects	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Observations	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401	5401
Adjusted R^2	0.115	0.115	0.110	0.111	0.109	0.108	0.109	0.107

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

B

Appendix to Chapter 3
Language Regimes in Intergovernmental Organisations

B.1 Illustrative Interviews

The intuition that language rules matter for IO operations derives initially from my time spent working in an international economic organisation within the UN system. I interviewed four individuals with professional experience in IGOs to provide further anecdotal evidence that would illustrate this point.

Though I do not use these interviews as part of a formal method, my choice of interviewees nevertheless reflects several basic case-selection principles. First, I sought to minimise institutional variance, but to choose a *least likely* case for any effect of language rules on IO operations. All interviewees were thus chosen for their work experience in UN institutions. As arguably the most prestigious of all modern IGOs, the UN and its constitutive institutions implement very stringent selection criteria in hiring staff, among which include language proficiency and education requirements.

Second, whilst holding UN system work experience constant, I sought to maximise geographic variation in order to achieve a measure of generalisability. The four interviewees were drawn from my personal network. Their UN work experience spanned the continental regions of the Americas, Europe, Africa, and Asia; none were citizens or had substantive living experience in the countries where they worked before their employment with the UN.

Finally, I wished for my interviewees to feel comfortable sharing information without

fear of jeopardising their careers for potential criticism of their work environments. Though the relevant Research Ethics Committee considered this unlikely, I nevertheless focussed on relatively anonymous lower-level staff that would feel freer to speak their mind, in comparison to more visible bureaucrats or representatives with greater stakes in public appearance. Theoretically, too, this selection strategy dovetails with my emphasis on how language rules make their effects felt by shaping the everyday functioning of international institutions.

All interviewing was conducted under the auspices of Ethics Application number 727280, titled 'Opinion on Languages in International Organisations,' which was evaluated by the Departmental Research Ethics Committee for Politics and International Relations at the University of Oxford to be a low-risk research project. Approval was received on 27 February 2025.

Interviews took place between March and July 2025, inclusive, and were conducted both in-person and via telecommunication. None of the four interviewees spoke English as their mother tongue, though all possessed high-to-native levels of English proficiency. I undertook interviewing in a mix of their native languages and English. To protect confidentiality, I refer to all interviewees using third-person plural pronouns.

Several general conclusions emerge. First, most interviewers observed that, except in very rare cases, conflicts over translation issues rarely arose in their day-to-day work process. All reported high levels of linguistic proficiency among their colleagues both professionally and socially, resulting in very little overt language-related frictions. Interviewees emphasised, however, that this is a product of extremely stringent selection criteria for UN civil servants. For all interviewed, virtually all day-to-day work in their respective organisations took place in English. Local administrative staff handled situations requiring proficiency in the local language.

Second, social environments were somewhat shaped by language abilities, but this did not lead to cliquishness amongst staff. All interviewees reported affinities with colleagues who were either their co-nationals or spoke their native languages, and noticed that in social environments, native speakers of the same language tended to congregate in casual situations. However, they emphasised that these groups were rarely exclusive, and welcomed participation from non-speakers. In such cases, UN internal social norms dictated that the entire group switch to English to include the newcomers.

Third, language issues frequently arose in situations involving external participants. In one case, an interviewee evaluated the national composition of external stakeholders to have had some effect on language practices. This interviewee, working on a project related to drug-related crime, noted that the bulk of related funding derived from a national government with the strongest interest in curtailing drug-trafficking. As a result, the project team included many nationals of that state. Likewise, that state's native language was used in a number of situations despite being technically outside the ambit of institutional language rules. The interviewee

notes, however, that at no point were they thrust into a difficult situation because of their lack of ability in this language.

In other situations, linguistic barriers clearly impeded normal institutional operations. In one notable situation at a high level meeting, an interviewee recalled a head of government going off-script when delivering a speech in Spanish. The simultaneous interpreter, unable to accurately render a number of acronyms specific to that country's domestic context, kept silent, leading to visible confusion among the audience.

Another interviewee recalled a public consultation, with attendees arriving from across the globe. Participants were placed into language-based groups. The organiser of the event, however, had neglected their responsibility of finding a Portuguese interpreter. As a result, Portuguese-speaking attendees were lumped together with the Spanish-speaking group, severely impeding communication.

This interviewee also independently opined on the impact of exclusionary linguistic environments for representation at the global level. In their work on incorporating indigenous practices and knowledge into global governance, this interviewee noted that the consultative structures in their UN agency organised such consultation by high-level region in relevant regional languages.

As a result, anyone with the resources and wherewithal to provide input must necessarily possess fluency in a major global language, if not English, undermining access for indigenous peoples on the margins of those high-level regions. The interviewer expressed a degree of cynicism about the potentially performative nature of the exercise.

Several points bear mentioning. First, given the 'least-likely' case selection logic, it is notable that in more than one interview, specialised and highly-competent translation professionals in UN agencies were unable to seamlessly bridge linguistic divides when needed. This should prompt serious reconsideration of the presumption that key information is transmitted losslessly across language barriers, focussing our attention to how semantic translation costs affect world politics.

Second, scoping interviews suggested that in regional organisations where selection criteria are not as strict, language issues are more frequent and much more pronounced than in the UN. Though further investigation did not proceed due to the case-selection considerations previously outlined. Any attempt to conclude that language *does not* matter would require a systematic investigation of these contexts.

Finally, and relatedly, these findings are also a product of my own limitations. As I only possess fluency in UN working languages, my social and professional network is heavily biased towards a linguistically-privileged subset of IO bureaucrats, a population who are already socioeconomically privileged on average. Thus, though I do not uncover 'smoking gun' evidence for a systematic language effect, I can neither conclude a *null* effect of language rules on IO operations.

B.2 Robustness: *H1* and *H2*

Table B.1: Null effect of proportion of democratic IGO members on regime coverage

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democracies (%)	-0.122*	0.057	0.006	-0.173***	0.026	0.012
	(0.073)	(0.107)	(0.098)	(0.047)	(0.062)	(0.060)
UNGA vote diff w USA (avg)			-0.022			-0.025*
			(0.028)			(0.014)
Total coalitions		-0.018***	-0.018***		-0.019***	-0.018***
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO size		0.012***	0.012***		0.013***	0.012***
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		-0.224*	-0.245**		-0.288***	-0.328***
		(0.116)	(0.112)		(0.089)	(0.087)
Social IGO		-0.011	-0.012		-0.032	-0.032
		(0.040)	(0.040)		(0.029)	(0.029)
Political IGO		0.052	0.028		0.048	0.044
		(0.051)	(0.046)		(0.035)	(0.035)
Regional organisation		0.046	0.029		0.080**	0.077**
		(0.049)	(0.051)		(0.032)	(0.032)
African states (%)		0.851	1.642**		1.458***	1.549***
		(0.812)	(0.688)		(0.291)	(0.261)
American states (%)		0.793	1.585**		1.411***	1.489***
		(0.822)	(0.684)		(0.297)	(0.269)
Asian states (%)		0.629	1.469**		1.253***	1.354***
		(0.839)	(0.726)		(0.310)	(0.280)
European states (%)		0.505	1.306*		1.153***	1.220***
		(0.833)	(0.684)		(0.320)	(0.293)
Mideast states (%)		0.381	1.042		1.206***	1.264***
		(0.846)	(0.725)		(0.307)	(0.290)
Oceanic states (%)		0.898	1.586**		1.507***	1.549***
		(0.799)	(0.685)		(0.317)	(0.287)
Constant	0.783***	0.084	-0.623	0.805***	-0.554*	-0.577**
	(0.038)	(0.808)	(0.667)	(0.024)	(0.287)	(0.268)
Observations	165	165	164	367	367	365
Adjusted R^2	0.013	0.323	0.351	0.036	0.406	0.416

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.2: Null effect of count of democratic IGO members on regime coverage

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Democracies (count)	-0.006***	-0.002	-0.003	-0.010***	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.002)	(0.003)	(0.003)
UNGA vote diff w USA (avg)			-0.020			-0.024*
			(0.029)			(0.014)
Total coalitions		-0.017***	-0.016***		-0.018***	-0.017***
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.004)

IGO size		0.013***	0.013***		0.013***	0.013***
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		-0.211*	-0.232**		-0.265***	-0.305***
		(0.117)	(0.116)		(0.093)	(0.092)
Social IGO		-0.012	-0.015		-0.032	-0.032
		(0.040)	(0.040)		(0.029)	(0.029)
Political IGO		0.053	0.027		0.049	0.043
		(0.051)	(0.046)		(0.035)	(0.034)
Regional organisation		0.048	0.029		0.080**	0.077**
		(0.049)	(0.050)		(0.032)	(0.032)
African states (%)		0.994	1.739***		1.543***	1.629***
		(0.800)	(0.656)		(0.277)	(0.245)
American states (%)		0.978	1.709***		1.518***	1.589***
		(0.802)	(0.641)		(0.281)	(0.251)
Asian states (%)		0.782	1.573**		1.345***	1.440***
		(0.828)	(0.694)		(0.294)	(0.262)
European states (%)		0.707	1.440**		1.279***	1.333***
		(0.808)	(0.640)		(0.295)	(0.270)
Mideast states (%)		0.541	1.150*		1.299***	1.350***
		(0.821)	(0.674)		(0.292)	(0.274)
Oceanic states (%)		1.096	1.728***		1.629***	1.658***
		(0.790)	(0.654)		(0.289)	(0.261)
Constant	0.771***	-0.066	-0.741	0.788***	-0.649**	-0.672***
	(0.029)	(0.800)	(0.631)	(0.018)	(0.277)	(0.259)
Observations	165	165	164	367	367	365
Adjusted R^2	0.034	0.322	0.354	0.078	0.407	0.417

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.3: Joint effect of linguistic diversity and democratic membership on regime coverage (*H1* and *H2*)

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Linguistic diversity	-0.297***	-0.281***	-0.214**	-0.193***	-0.125**	-0.104**
	(0.066)	(0.091)	(0.105)	(0.047)	(0.057)	(0.048)
Polity2 (avg)	-0.006	-0.002	0.004	-0.008***	-0.002	0.005
	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.004)
Total coalitions		-0.009*	-0.011**		-0.016***	-0.015***
		(0.005)	(0.005)		(0.005)	(0.004)
IGO size		0.007*	0.007*		0.012***	0.010***
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		-0.497***	-0.259**		-0.596***	-0.305***
		(0.095)	(0.111)		(0.085)	(0.087)
Social IGO			-0.022			-0.032
			(0.040)			(0.029)
Political IGO			0.025			0.046
			(0.053)			(0.035)
Regional organisation			0.039			0.073**
			(0.048)			(0.032)

African states (%)			0.733			1.344***
			(0.728)			(0.296)
American states (%)			0.640			1.233***
			(0.736)			(0.313)
Asian states (%)			0.596			1.153***
			(0.744)			(0.314)
European states (%)			0.408			1.001***
			(0.737)			(0.328)
Mideast states (%)			0.214			1.049***
			(0.767)			(0.320)
Oceanic states (%)			0.673			1.337***
			(0.729)			(0.330)
Constant	1.005***	1.074***	0.422	0.913***	0.945***	-0.312
	(0.053)	(0.075)	(0.753)	(0.040)	(0.047)	(0.320)
Observations	165	165	165	363	363	363
Adjusted R^2	0.097	0.214	0.341	0.077	0.242	0.408

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Figure B.1: Coefficients from univariate regressions of regime coverage on founding decade dummies

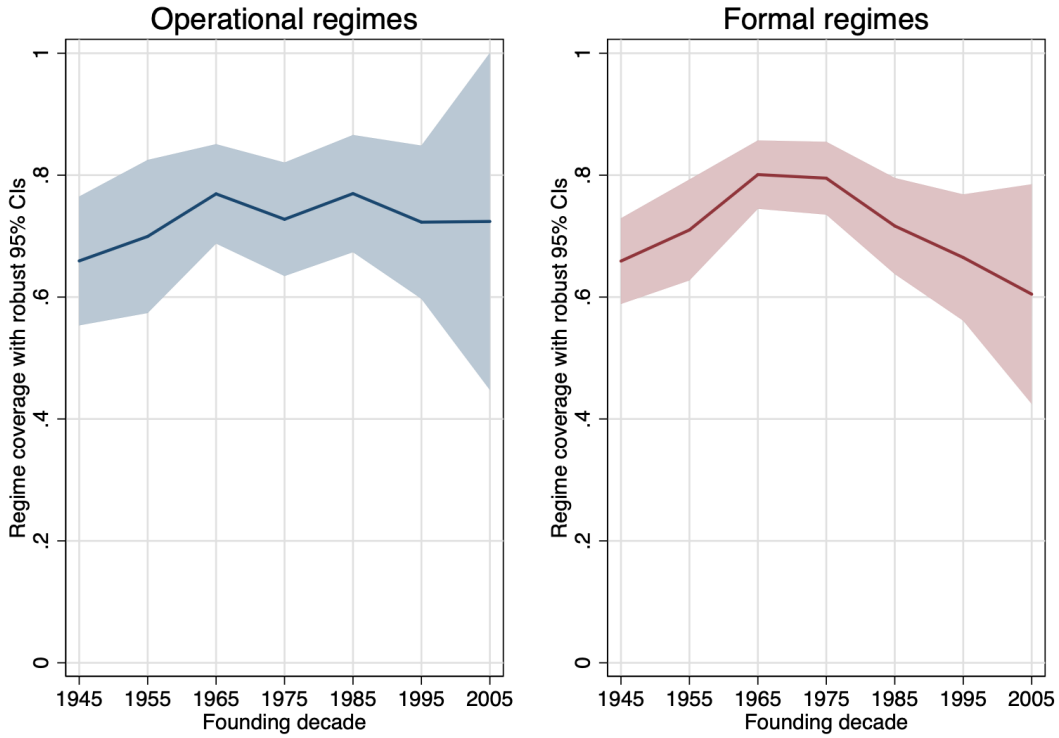


Table B.4: Effect of linguistic diversity on regime coverage with founding decade dummies

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Linguistic diversity	-0.312***	-0.223**	-0.229*	-0.203***	-0.092*	-0.114*
	(0.068)	(0.106)	(0.125)	(0.048)	(0.047)	(0.058)
Linguistic similarity			0.011			0.044
			(0.142)			(0.079)
Founded 1955-1964	0.040	-0.038	-0.039	0.051	-0.019	-0.021
	(0.084)	(0.089)	(0.089)	(0.054)	(0.046)	(0.046)
Founded 1965-1974	0.110*	-0.091	-0.091	0.142***	-0.007	-0.008
	(0.066)	(0.072)	(0.072)	(0.045)	(0.041)	(0.041)
Founded 1975-1984	0.068	-0.136*	-0.135*	0.136***	-0.021	-0.020
	(0.071)	(0.077)	(0.078)	(0.047)	(0.041)	(0.042)
Founded 1985-1994	0.110	-0.119	-0.119	0.058	-0.052	-0.052
	(0.073)	(0.078)	(0.078)	(0.054)	(0.051)	(0.051)
Founded 1995-2004	0.064	-0.118	-0.118	0.006	-0.080	-0.078
	(0.083)	(0.098)	(0.099)	(0.064)	(0.059)	(0.060)
Founded 2005-2014	0.065	-0.024	-0.025	-0.054	-0.032	-0.036
	(0.152)	(0.144)	(0.146)	(0.099)	(0.088)	(0.089)
Total coalitions		-0.009	-0.009		-0.014***	-0.013***
		(0.005)	(0.005)		(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO size		0.006	0.006		0.009***	0.009***
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		-0.357***	-0.358***		-0.340***	-0.341***
		(0.126)	(0.127)		(0.087)	(0.087)
Social IGO		-0.030	-0.030		-0.030	-0.030
		(0.040)	(0.041)		(0.030)	(0.030)
Political IGO		0.018	0.018		0.055	0.054
		(0.056)	(0.056)		(0.036)	(0.036)
Regional organisation		0.043	0.043		0.072**	0.074**
		(0.050)	(0.051)		(0.033)	(0.034)
African states (%)		1.113	1.120		1.522***	1.536***
		(0.748)	(0.767)		(0.253)	(0.258)
American states (%)		1.050	1.056		1.459***	1.473***
		(0.752)	(0.769)		(0.257)	(0.264)
Asian states (%)		1.029	1.035		1.356***	1.367***
		(0.766)	(0.782)		(0.266)	(0.271)
European states (%)		0.817	0.827		1.238***	1.261***
		(0.743)	(0.772)		(0.263)	(0.273)
Mideast states (%)		0.541	0.547		1.226***	1.236***
		(0.779)	(0.794)		(0.279)	(0.284)
Oceanic states (%)		0.972	0.977		1.552***	1.562***
		(0.773)	(0.788)		(0.263)	(0.268)
Constant	0.937***	0.129	0.122	0.840***	-0.500*	-0.514*
	(0.068)	(0.775)	(0.795)	(0.049)	(0.270)	(0.276)
Observations	165	165	165	367	367	367
Adjusted R^2	0.074	0.336	0.332	0.079	0.407	0.406

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.5: Linguistic diversity hypothesis on alternative regime coverage variables

	Operational alternative			General coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Linguistic diversity	-0.310***	-0.177**	-0.202**	-0.205***	-0.091**	-0.127***
	(0.055)	(0.079)	(0.093)	(0.037)	(0.040)	(0.047)
Linguistic similarity			0.054			0.072
			(0.115)			(0.064)
Total coalitions		-0.012**	-0.011**		-0.017***	-0.016***
		(0.005)	(0.005)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO size		0.007*	0.006*		0.010***	0.010***
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO CINC		-0.240**	-0.242**		-0.299***	-0.302***
		(0.095)	(0.095)		(0.075)	(0.075)
Social IGO		0.032	0.032		0.005	0.004
		(0.036)	(0.036)		(0.025)	(0.025)
Political IGO		0.077*	0.075		0.050*	0.050*
		(0.046)	(0.046)		(0.029)	(0.029)
Regional organisation		0.068*	0.070*		0.070***	0.072***
		(0.037)	(0.039)		(0.027)	(0.027)
African states (%)		0.839	0.870		1.395***	1.418***
		(0.512)	(0.532)		(0.272)	(0.278)
American states (%)		0.757	0.789		1.293***	1.316***
		(0.512)	(0.533)		(0.273)	(0.280)
Asian states (%)		0.585	0.610		1.176***	1.190***
		(0.539)	(0.554)		(0.285)	(0.291)
European states (%)		0.452	0.496		1.120***	1.157***
		(0.512)	(0.542)		(0.277)	(0.286)
Mideast states (%)		0.384	0.412		1.175***	1.190***
		(0.554)	(0.572)		(0.287)	(0.292)
Oceanic states (%)		0.983*	1.018*		1.384***	1.406***
		(0.523)	(0.546)		(0.277)	(0.284)
Constant	0.984***	0.257	0.223	0.952***	-0.360	-0.384
	(0.044)	(0.526)	(0.549)	(0.031)	(0.277)	(0.284)
Observations	240	240	240	437	437	437
Adjusted R^2	0.087	0.397	0.395	0.070	0.421	0.421

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.6: Effect of linguistic diversity on regime coverage of economic IGOs

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Linguistic diversity	-0.128	-0.124	0.007	-0.162***	-0.080	-0.030
	(0.086)	(0.113)	(0.094)	(0.060)	(0.072)	(0.048)
Total coalitions		-0.014*	-0.025***		-0.023***	-0.024***
		(0.009)	(0.007)		(0.008)	(0.007)
IGO size		0.011**	0.017***		0.017***	0.017***
		(0.005)	(0.005)		(0.005)	(0.004)
IGO CINC		-0.606***	-0.351**		-0.746***	-0.378***
		(0.111)	(0.168)		(0.113)	(0.132)

Regional organisation			0.123			0.144***
			(0.075)			(0.045)
African states (%)			0.482			1.669***
			(1.070)			(0.237)
American states (%)			0.494			1.643***
			(1.068)			(0.238)
Asian states (%)			0.147			1.503***
			(1.143)			(0.255)
European states (%)			0.319			1.494***
			(1.048)			(0.248)
Mideast states (%)			0.059			1.446***
			(1.071)			(0.274)
Oceanic states (%)			0.787			1.965***
			(1.062)			(0.312)
Constant	0.856***	0.963***	0.378	0.888***	0.936***	-0.807***
	(0.082)	(0.099)	(1.067)	(0.053)	(0.056)	(0.239)
Observations	77	77	77	192	192	192
Adjusted R^2	0.011	0.222	0.399	0.045	0.327	0.508

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.7: Effect of linguistic diversity on regime coverage of social IGOs

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Linguistic diversity	-0.500***	-0.546***	-0.126	-0.300***	-0.252**	-0.084
	(0.132)	(0.196)	(0.309)	(0.100)	(0.120)	(0.091)
Total coalitions		-0.002	-0.017		-0.009	-0.011*
		(0.010)	(0.011)		(0.007)	(0.006)
IGO size		0.000	0.009		0.006	0.004
		(0.008)	(0.008)		(0.006)	(0.005)
IGO CINC		-0.343**	0.007		-0.391***	0.007
		(0.161)	(0.217)		(0.140)	(0.175)
Regional organisation			0.043			0.079
			(0.107)			(0.071)
African states (%)			2.778**			2.156***
			(1.054)			(0.383)
American states (%)			2.592**			2.000***
			(1.078)			(0.385)
Asian states (%)			2.652**			1.968***
			(1.001)			(0.437)
European states (%)			2.378**			1.695***
			(1.069)			(0.411)
Mideast states (%)			1.722*			1.558***
			(1.006)			(0.439)
Oceanic states (%)			3.838**			2.434***
			(1.496)			(0.469)
Constant	1.150***	1.274***	-1.633	0.948***	0.981***	-1.110***
	(0.104)	(0.166)	(1.154)	(0.086)	(0.102)	(0.399)
Observations	56	56	56	107	107	107

Adjusted R^2	0.170	0.200	0.328	0.091	0.156	0.360

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.8: Effect of linguistic diversity on regime coverage of political IGOs

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Linguistic diversity	-0.439***	-0.339	-0.411	-0.169**	-0.024	-0.103
	(0.151)	(0.369)	(0.713)	(0.081)	(0.130)	(0.131)
Total coalitions		-0.007	0.002		-0.023**	-0.017*
		(0.018)	(0.033)		(0.010)	(0.009)
IGO size		0.006	-0.003		0.018**	0.011
		(0.015)	(0.029)		(0.008)	(0.008)
IGO CINC		-0.438**	-0.340		-0.625***	-0.518***
		(0.182)	(0.345)		(0.133)	(0.164)
Regional organisation			-0.063			-0.024
			(0.108)			(0.062)
African states (%)			1.163			0.340
			(1.480)			(0.784)
American states (%)			1.183			0.258
			(1.482)			(0.783)
Asian states (%)			1.178			0.240
			(1.483)			(0.784)
European states (%)			0.947			0.101
			(1.488)			(0.821)
Mideast states (%)			1.152			-0.135
			(1.797)			(0.888)
Oceanic states (%)			1.202			0.443
			(1.452)			(0.788)
Constant	1.113***	1.093***	0.155	0.907***	0.903***	0.785
	(0.098)	(0.265)	(1.455)	(0.067)	(0.116)	(0.798)
Observations	32	32	32	68	68	68
Adjusted R^2	0.196	0.199	0.110	0.027	0.214	0.249

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.9: Effect of linguistic diversity on regime coverage of regional organisations

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Linguistic diversity	-0.362***	-0.458***	-0.387***	-0.234***	-0.100	-0.073
	(0.067)	(0.119)	(0.145)	(0.053)	(0.068)	(0.052)
Total coalitions		0.007	0.003		-0.024***	-0.023***
		(0.008)	(0.008)		(0.006)	(0.005)
IGO size		-0.008	-0.008		0.015***	0.012***
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.005)	(0.004)
IGO CINC		-0.774***	-0.462**		-0.692***	-0.410***
		(0.166)	(0.221)		(0.109)	(0.125)
Social IGO			-0.033			-0.084

			(0.077)			(0.054)
Economic IGO			0.006			-0.019
			(0.069)			(0.047)
African states (%)			1.312**			1.584***
			(0.501)			(0.369)
American states (%)			1.248**			1.530***
			(0.508)			(0.370)
Asian states (%)			1.209**			1.425***
			(0.513)			(0.392)
European states (%)			1.065**			1.343***
			(0.506)			(0.377)
Mideast states (%)			1.018*			1.404***
			(0.520)			(0.378)
Oceanic states (%)			1.188**			1.644***
			(0.521)			(0.381)
Constant	1.097***	1.300***	0.082	0.997***	0.985***	-0.464
	(0.052)	(0.101)	(0.566)	(0.042)	(0.057)	(0.393)
Observations	111	111	111	248	248	248
Adjusted R^2	0.163	0.272	0.358	0.098	0.285	0.429

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.10: Effect of linguistic diversity on regime coverage of non-regional organisations

	Operational coverage			Formal coverage		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Linguistic diversity	-0.160	-0.147	-0.019	-0.087	-0.141	-0.169*
	(0.186)	(0.237)	(0.157)	(0.083)	(0.097)	(0.093)
Total coalitions		-0.011*	-0.015**		-0.002	-0.004
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.005)	(0.005)
IGO size		0.009**	0.010**		0.003	0.001
		(0.004)	(0.005)		(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO CINC		-0.366***	-0.206		-0.440***	-0.139
		(0.121)	(0.160)		(0.117)	(0.137)
Social IGO			-0.096			-0.110*
			(0.085)			(0.061)
Economic IGO			-0.117			-0.121**
			(0.100)			(0.059)
African states (%)			-0.148			1.572***
			(2.040)			(0.344)
American states (%)			-0.274			1.248***
			(2.005)			(0.341)
Asian states (%)			-0.258			1.336***
			(2.033)			(0.343)
European states (%)			-0.743			1.024***
			(2.010)			(0.385)
Mideast states (%)			-1.250			0.720*
			(2.044)			(0.379)
Oceanic states (%)			0.700			1.600***
			(1.907)			(0.371)

Constant	0.783***	0.861***	1.300	0.679***	0.818***	-0.283
	(0.147)	(0.208)	(1.997)	(0.080)	(0.107)	(0.360)
Observations	54	54	54	119	119	119
Adjusted R^2	-0.001	0.053	0.446	0.001	0.075	0.359

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

B.3 Robustness: *H3*

Table B.11: Logit estimation for coalition size

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	13.905***	13.473***	14.746***	10.038***	7.418***	7.919***
	(1.275)	(2.299)	(2.389)	(0.724)	(0.993)	(1.089)
System language prevalence			-9.422***			-5.201***
			(3.409)			(1.820)
Total system size			0.012**			0.011***
			(0.006)			(0.004)
Total coalitions		-0.011	-0.025		-0.027	-0.041
		(0.044)	(0.047)		(0.029)	(0.030)
IGO size		0.025	0.026		0.039*	0.042*
		(0.033)	(0.033)		(0.022)	(0.023)
IGO CINC		-1.574*	-0.552		-2.223***	-1.438**
		(0.903)	(0.806)		(0.645)	(0.637)
Social IGO		-0.409	-0.443		-0.249	-0.364
		(0.429)	(0.426)		(0.293)	(0.305)
Political IGO		0.779	0.841*		0.642**	0.599*
		(0.487)	(0.469)		(0.326)	(0.326)
Regional organisation		0.246	0.126		0.256	0.232
		(0.357)	(0.366)		(0.235)	(0.233)
Linguistic diversity		-1.606	-1.733*		-0.688	-0.662
		(1.037)	(1.029)		(0.557)	(0.549)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.106**	-0.154***		-0.019	-0.076**
		(0.053)	(0.053)		(0.036)	(0.038)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	2316	1062	1062	4294	2210	2210
Pseudo R^2	0.391	0.596	0.606	0.332	0.494	0.503

Coefficients not exponentiated; clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.12: Logit estimation for coalition power

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	8.987***	6.668***	6.699***	6.345***	5.084***	4.918***
	(0.837)	(1.101)	(1.115)	(0.422)	(0.502)	(0.512)

System language CINC			-1.074			5.184
			(7.532)			(4.101)
Total system size			0.004			0.008**
			(0.006)			(0.004)
Total coalitions		-0.066*	-0.074*		-0.065**	-0.080***
		(0.035)	(0.039)		(0.026)	(0.028)
IGO size		0.055**	0.058**		0.061***	0.067***
		(0.026)	(0.027)		(0.020)	(0.021)
IGO CINC		-1.588*	-1.214		-2.089***	-1.562**
		(0.874)	(0.850)		(0.631)	(0.643)
Social IGO		-0.344	-0.354		-0.202	-0.284
		(0.413)	(0.412)		(0.288)	(0.301)
Political IGO		0.658	0.683		0.660**	0.647**
		(0.433)	(0.432)		(0.315)	(0.312)
Regional organisation		0.166	0.152		0.293	0.293
		(0.386)	(0.384)		(0.236)	(0.235)
Linguistic diversity		0.018	0.005		0.030	0.079
		(0.970)	(0.969)		(0.417)	(0.410)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.046	-0.061		0.007	-0.031
		(0.054)	(0.055)		(0.037)	(0.038)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	2316	1062	1062	4294	2210	2210
Pseudo R^2	0.319	0.552	0.553	0.277	0.484	0.489

Coefficients not exponentiated; clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.13: Estimation results using Firth logit regression

	Operational inclusion		Formal inclusion	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Coalition size	13.863***		10.022***	
	(0.725)		(0.407)	
Coalition CINC		8.959***		6.333***
		(0.489)		(0.258)
Constant	-3.434***	-2.670***	-3.123***	-2.499***
	(0.123)	(0.089)	(0.081)	(0.061)
Observations	2316	2316	4294	4294

Coefficients not exponentiated;
clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.14: Probit estimation for coalition size

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	7.339***	6.871***	7.459***	5.232***	3.639***	3.773***
	(0.790)	(1.107)	(1.218)	(0.404)	(0.522)	(0.564)
System language prevalence			-4.981***			-2.608**

			(1.779)			(1.079)
Total system size			0.006**			0.005***
			(0.003)			(0.002)
Total coalitions		-0.003	-0.010		-0.017	-0.024
		(0.024)	(0.025)		(0.015)	(0.016)
IGO size		0.011	0.011		0.022*	0.024**
		(0.017)	(0.018)		(0.012)	(0.012)
IGO CINC		-0.979**	-0.426		-1.188***	-0.805**
		(0.478)	(0.437)		(0.340)	(0.340)
Social IGO		-0.218	-0.247		-0.125	-0.170
		(0.224)	(0.222)		(0.153)	(0.155)
Political IGO		0.374	0.403		0.337**	0.321*
		(0.259)	(0.251)		(0.172)	(0.171)
Regional organisation		0.134	0.072		0.174	0.161
		(0.196)	(0.198)		(0.129)	(0.127)
Linguistic diversity		-1.001*	-1.117**		-0.340	-0.318
		(0.563)	(0.560)		(0.305)	(0.304)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.057**	-0.082***		-0.011	-0.038*
		(0.029)	(0.028)		(0.019)	(0.020)
African states (%)		-0.933	-1.610		-0.347	-0.229
		(2.575)	(2.742)		(1.227)	(1.203)
American states (%)		0.728	0.212		0.745	1.039
		(2.601)	(2.756)		(1.319)	(1.294)
Asian states (%)		-2.023	-2.916		-0.189	-0.074
		(2.795)	(2.984)		(1.287)	(1.266)
European states (%)		0.727	0.298		1.057	1.546
		(2.607)	(2.743)		(1.343)	(1.324)
Mideast states (%)		-2.340	-2.979		-1.519	-1.311
		(2.656)	(2.781)		(1.338)	(1.316)
Oceanic states (%)		2.288	2.440		-1.666	-0.860
		(3.105)	(3.182)		(1.598)	(1.602)
Constant	-1.916***	0.611	0.569	-1.754***	-0.722	-1.642
	(0.099)	(2.729)	(2.792)	(0.070)	(1.338)	(1.345)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	2316	1062	1062	4294	2210	2210
Pseudo R^2	0.388	0.596	0.605	0.330	0.490	0.498

Coefficients not exponentiated; clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.15: Probit estimation for coalition power

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	4.901***	3.519***	3.509***	3.564***	2.653***	2.570***
	(0.419)	(0.517)	(0.537)	(0.201)	(0.279)	(0.282)
System language CINC			0.227			2.140
			(4.225)			(2.030)
Total coalitions		-0.038**	-0.042**		-0.037***	-0.045***
		(0.019)	(0.021)		(0.014)	(0.015)
IGO size		0.031**	0.032**		0.034***	0.037***
		(0.014)	(0.014)		(0.011)	(0.011)

IGO CINC		-0.931**	-0.738*		-1.124***	-0.853**
		(0.458)	(0.444)		(0.333)	(0.343)
Social IGO		-0.174	-0.177		-0.088	-0.121
		(0.212)	(0.211)		(0.151)	(0.154)
Political IGO		0.401*	0.416*		0.387**	0.381**
		(0.233)	(0.231)		(0.168)	(0.167)
Regional organisation		0.077	0.064		0.185	0.178
		(0.203)	(0.201)		(0.128)	(0.127)
Linguistic diversity		-0.013	-0.039		0.023	0.039
		(0.517)	(0.513)		(0.239)	(0.238)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.022	-0.030		0.003	-0.017
		(0.028)	(0.028)		(0.019)	(0.020)
African states (%)		-1.471	-1.862		0.283	0.257
		(2.858)	(2.927)		(1.237)	(1.208)
American states (%)		-0.175	-0.508		1.093	1.216
		(2.841)	(2.894)		(1.298)	(1.262)
Asian states (%)		-2.198	-2.639		0.513	0.493
		(2.981)	(3.068)		(1.292)	(1.268)
European states (%)		-0.167	-0.464		1.441	1.700
		(2.820)	(2.851)		(1.313)	(1.278)
Mideast states (%)		-2.015	-2.331		-0.410	-0.342
		(2.978)	(3.016)		(1.342)	(1.315)
Oceanic states (%)		0.663	0.675		-1.088	-0.616
		(3.036)	(3.022)		(1.509)	(1.493)
Total system size			0.002			0.004**
			(0.003)			(0.002)
Constant	-1.540***	0.446	0.474	-1.464***	-1.723	-2.618*
	(0.069)	(2.962)	(2.979)	(0.052)	(1.333)	(1.362)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	2316	1062	1062	4294	2210	2210
Pseudo R^2	0.320	0.553	0.554	0.281	0.482	0.486

Coefficients not exponentiated; clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.16: Effect of coalition size on regime inclusion with founding-year fixed effects

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	1.544***	0.713***	0.719***	1.246***	0.669***	0.678***
	(0.068)	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.038)	(0.044)	(0.044)
System language prevalence			-0.358			-0.506**
			(0.257)			(0.204)
Total system size			0.001			0.001
			(0.001)			(0.001)
Total coalitions		-0.002	-0.002		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO size		0.002	0.002		0.002	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.067	-0.067		-0.154***	-0.152***
		(0.066)	(0.065)		(0.050)	(0.050)

Social IGO		-0.026	-0.026		-0.014	-0.014
		(0.028)	(0.028)		(0.020)	(0.020)
Political IGO		0.026	0.025		0.047**	0.047*
		(0.035)	(0.035)		(0.024)	(0.024)
Regional organisation		0.017	0.017		0.013	0.012
		(0.033)	(0.033)		(0.017)	(0.017)
Linguistic diversity		-0.155**	-0.155**		-0.112***	-0.113***
		(0.077)	(0.077)		(0.035)	(0.035)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.014**	-0.014**		0.001	0.000
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-0.369	-0.361		-0.048	-0.033
		(0.540)	(0.541)		(0.196)	(0.197)
American states (%)		-0.222	-0.213		0.084	0.099
		(0.517)	(0.518)		(0.207)	(0.208)
Asian states (%)		-0.354	-0.345		-0.011	0.005
		(0.563)	(0.563)		(0.205)	(0.206)
European states (%)		-0.050	-0.041		0.208	0.223
		(0.512)	(0.513)		(0.214)	(0.216)
Mideast states (%)		-0.481	-0.474		-0.218	-0.204
		(0.560)	(0.561)		(0.219)	(0.220)
Oceanic states (%)		0.095	0.093		-0.231	-0.215
		(0.560)	(0.561)		(0.220)	(0.221)
Constant	0.063*	0.288	0.215	0.026	-0.069	-0.121
	(0.034)	(0.518)	(0.510)	(0.036)	(0.215)	(0.227)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Founding year fixed-effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4277	4277
Adjusted R^2	0.429	0.675	0.676	0.378	0.612	0.613

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.17: Effect of coalition power on regime inclusion with founding-year fixed effects

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	1.195***	0.508***	0.523***	0.999***	0.512***	0.508***
	(0.054)	(0.052)	(0.055)	(0.032)	(0.036)	(0.037)
System language CINC			-0.512			0.189
			(0.391)			(0.249)
Total system size			0.001			0.001
			(0.001)			(0.001)
Total coalitions		-0.004	-0.004		-0.003	-0.003
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO size		0.003	0.003		0.003*	0.003*
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.087	-0.083		-0.164***	-0.165***
		(0.069)	(0.069)		(0.051)	(0.051)
Social IGO		-0.024	-0.024		-0.010	-0.010
		(0.029)	(0.029)		(0.020)	(0.020)

Political IGO		0.025	0.025		0.048**	0.048**
		(0.036)	(0.036)		(0.024)	(0.024)
Regional organisation		0.015	0.014		0.015	0.016
		(0.034)	(0.034)		(0.017)	(0.017)
Linguistic diversity		-0.105	-0.105		-0.075**	-0.074**
		(0.078)	(0.079)		(0.035)	(0.035)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.012**	-0.012*		0.001	0.001
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-0.313	-0.311		-0.013	-0.009
		(0.568)	(0.566)		(0.200)	(0.199)
American states (%)		-0.139	-0.139		0.135	0.140
		(0.545)	(0.543)		(0.212)	(0.211)
Asian states (%)		-0.275	-0.274		0.046	0.050
		(0.588)	(0.586)		(0.208)	(0.208)
European states (%)		-0.004	-0.004		0.235	0.239
		(0.541)	(0.538)		(0.219)	(0.219)
Mideast states (%)		-0.391	-0.396		-0.148	-0.142
		(0.589)	(0.588)		(0.225)	(0.224)
Oceanic states (%)		0.139	0.139		-0.141	-0.138
		(0.586)	(0.583)		(0.226)	(0.225)
Constant	0.098***	0.235	0.155	0.060*	-0.097	-0.155
	(0.031)	(0.547)	(0.535)	(0.032)	(0.220)	(0.229)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Founding year fixed-effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4277	4277
Adjusted R^2	0.390	0.665	0.666	0.348	0.607	0.607

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.18: Estimation for coalition size with IGO fixed-effects

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	1.769***	0.712***	0.717***	1.520***	0.699***	0.712***
	(0.072)	(0.064)	(0.065)	(0.043)	(0.048)	(0.048)
System language prevalence			-0.207			-0.507**
			(0.318)			(0.246)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
IGO fixed-effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4294	4294
Adjusted R^2	0.508	0.730	0.730	0.523	0.701	0.702

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.19: Estimation for coalition power with IGO fixed-effects

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

Coalition CINC	1.216***	0.480***	0.503***	1.057***	0.495***	0.494***
	(0.046)	(0.049)	(0.050)	(0.030)	(0.034)	(0.036)
System language CINC			-0.686*			0.011
			(0.366)			(0.266)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
IGO fixed-effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4294	4294
Adjusted R^2	0.458	0.724	0.725	0.476	0.696	0.696

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.20: Conditional logit estimation for coalition size

	Operational inclusion		Formal inclusion	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Coalition size	29.561***	18.987***	20.094***	10.505***
	(2.703)	(3.125)	(2.038)	(1.846)
System language prevalence		20.246***		21.922***
		(2.145)		(1.709)
Observations	2262	2262	4138	4138
Pseudo R^2	0.581	0.714	0.518	0.694

Coefficients not exponentiated. Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.21: Conditional logit estimation for coalition power

	Operational inclusion		Formal inclusion	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Coalition CINC	11.581***	9.461***	8.864***	7.051***
	(1.754)	(1.638)	(0.880)	(0.832)
System language CINC		32.969***		19.553***
		(4.466)		(2.596)
Observations	2262	2262	4138	4138
Pseudo R^2	0.403	0.628	0.385	0.562

Coefficients not exponentiated. Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.22: Coalition size and alternative regime inclusion variables

	Operational alternative			General inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	1.368***	0.704***	0.713***	1.256***	0.691***	0.702***
	(0.047)	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.033)	(0.037)	(0.037)
System language prevalence			-0.548**			-0.501***
			(0.226)			(0.192)

Total system size			0.000			0.001**
			(0.000)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		0.000	-0.000		-0.000	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO size		0.001	0.001		0.002*	0.002*
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.105**	-0.080*		-0.157***	-0.120***
		(0.043)	(0.043)		(0.038)	(0.035)
Social IGO		0.021	0.019		0.002	-0.001
		(0.018)	(0.018)		(0.015)	(0.016)
Political IGO		0.049**	0.049**		0.029	0.030
		(0.023)	(0.023)		(0.018)	(0.019)
Regional organisation		0.030*	0.028		0.032**	0.029**
		(0.018)	(0.017)		(0.014)	(0.014)
Linguistic diversity		-0.110**	-0.110**		-0.103***	-0.108***
		(0.047)	(0.047)		(0.028)	(0.027)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.005*	-0.006**		-0.001	-0.004*
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
African states (%)		-0.164	-0.189		-0.117	-0.134
		(0.281)	(0.282)		(0.186)	(0.190)
American states (%)		0.017	-0.002		0.019	0.017
		(0.275)	(0.277)		(0.189)	(0.192)
Asian states (%)		-0.154	-0.182		-0.061	-0.075
		(0.289)	(0.291)		(0.189)	(0.193)
European states (%)		0.053	0.041		0.138	0.155
		(0.270)	(0.269)		(0.192)	(0.194)
Mideast states (%)		-0.148	-0.172		-0.139	-0.163
		(0.297)	(0.297)		(0.198)	(0.202)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.208	-0.208		-0.283	-0.264
		(0.287)	(0.288)		(0.193)	(0.195)
Constant	0.014*	0.040	0.020	0.024***	0.013	-0.057
	(0.008)	(0.290)	(0.291)	(0.007)	(0.192)	(0.198)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	2977	2977	2977	4951	4934	4934
Adjusted R^2	0.372	0.620	0.621	0.375	0.611	0.613

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.23: Coalition power and alternative regime inclusion variables

	Operational alternative			General inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	1.150***	0.558***	0.569***	1.027***	0.525***	0.528***
	(0.039)	(0.043)	(0.044)	(0.029)	(0.031)	(0.032)
System language CINC			-0.299			-0.019
			(0.295)			(0.235)
Total system size			0.000			0.000*
			(0.000)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		-0.001	-0.001		-0.002	-0.002*
		(0.001)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)

IGO size		0.001	0.001		0.002**	0.002**
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.115***	-0.101**		-0.168***	-0.137***
		(0.043)	(0.044)		(0.037)	(0.035)
Social IGO		0.025	0.024		0.007	0.004
		(0.018)	(0.018)		(0.016)	(0.016)
Political IGO		0.048**	0.048**		0.028	0.029
		(0.023)	(0.023)		(0.019)	(0.019)
Regional organisation		0.031*	0.030*		0.035**	0.033**
		(0.018)	(0.018)		(0.014)	(0.014)
Linguistic diversity		-0.084*	-0.088*		-0.068**	-0.072***
		(0.048)	(0.048)		(0.027)	(0.027)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.004	-0.004		-0.000	-0.002
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
African states (%)		-0.135	-0.155		-0.094	-0.120
		(0.286)	(0.288)		(0.186)	(0.188)
American states (%)		0.052	0.033		0.050	0.036
		(0.281)	(0.282)		(0.189)	(0.190)
Asian states (%)		-0.087	-0.107		-0.016	-0.040
		(0.295)	(0.297)		(0.189)	(0.191)
European states (%)		0.066	0.053		0.148	0.151
		(0.276)	(0.275)		(0.192)	(0.193)
Mideast states (%)		-0.103	-0.125		-0.069	-0.102
		(0.305)	(0.305)		(0.198)	(0.200)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.171	-0.173		-0.220	-0.214
		(0.298)	(0.301)		(0.193)	(0.194)
Constant	0.060***	0.043	0.045	0.073***	0.010	-0.038
	(0.008)	(0.295)	(0.295)	(0.008)	(0.192)	(0.195)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	2977	2977	2977	4951	4934	4934
Adjusted R^2	0.356	0.615	0.615	0.330	0.603	0.604

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.24: Effect of coalition GDP on regime inclusion

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition GDP	1.119***	0.545***	0.537***	0.955***	0.508***	0.497***
	(0.057)	(0.072)	(0.071)	(0.038)	(0.051)	(0.052)
System language GDP			-0.943			-0.018
			(0.581)			(0.403)
Total system GDP			0.000			-0.000
			(0.000)			(0.000)
Total system size			-0.001			0.002***
			(0.001)			(0.001)
Total coalitions		0.003	0.003		-0.001	0.002
		(0.009)	(0.009)		(0.005)	(0.005)
IGO size		-0.008	-0.008		-0.004	-0.006
		(0.008)	(0.009)		(0.004)	(0.005)

IGO GDP		0.000	-0.000		-0.000	-0.000***
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)
Social IGO		-0.042	-0.077		-0.017	-0.026
		(0.041)	(0.047)		(0.032)	(0.032)
Political IGO		0.070	0.044		0.027	0.016
		(0.054)	(0.051)		(0.037)	(0.035)
Regional organisation		0.044	0.033		0.061**	0.049**
		(0.035)	(0.036)		(0.026)	(0.024)
Linguistic diversity		-0.158	-0.183		-0.093*	-0.110**
		(0.126)	(0.122)		(0.050)	(0.047)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.005	-0.010		0.007**	0.001
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.003)	(0.004)
African states (%)		-0.229	-0.316		0.458	0.282
		(0.694)	(0.670)		(0.279)	(0.328)
American states (%)		0.021	0.036		0.652**	0.582*
		(0.694)	(0.655)		(0.293)	(0.347)
Asian states (%)		-0.297	-0.331		0.579**	0.427
		(0.699)	(0.670)		(0.284)	(0.338)
European states (%)		-0.033	-0.016		0.628**	0.603*
		(0.671)	(0.631)		(0.300)	(0.354)
Mideast states (%)		-0.262	-0.353		0.465	0.328
		(0.711)	(0.682)		(0.284)	(0.337)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.244	0.069		0.142	0.430
		(0.808)	(0.747)		(0.353)	(0.421)
Constant	0.090***	0.306	0.408	0.100***	-0.386	-0.508
	(0.021)	(0.769)	(0.737)	(0.016)	(0.298)	(0.353)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	940	940	940	1992	1992	1992
Adjusted R^2	0.343	0.569	0.574	0.305	0.544	0.558

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.25: Effect of coalition population on regime inclusion

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition population	1.215***	0.561***	0.555***	1.001***	0.561***	0.561***
	(0.054)	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.031)	(0.036)	(0.037)
System language population			-0.021			-0.253
			(0.422)			(0.403)
Total system population			0.000			-0.000
			(0.000)			(0.000)
Total system size			-0.001			0.001
			(0.001)			(0.001)
Total coalitions		-0.001	-0.003		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.002)
IGO size		0.001	0.002		0.001	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO Population		0.000	-0.000		-0.000	-0.000
		(0.000)	(0.000)		(0.000)	(0.000)

Social IGO		-0.001	-0.020		-0.001	-0.006
		(0.020)	(0.025)		(0.017)	(0.018)
Political IGO		0.046*	0.038		0.037*	0.032
		(0.024)	(0.023)		(0.021)	(0.021)
Regional organisation		0.039**	0.032		0.048***	0.039**
		(0.019)	(0.020)		(0.017)	(0.016)
Linguistic diversity		-0.050	-0.067		-0.069**	-0.082***
		(0.054)	(0.052)		(0.027)	(0.028)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.004	-0.010**		-0.000	-0.004*
		(0.003)	(0.005)		(0.002)	(0.002)
African states (%)		0.050	-0.042		0.106	0.032
		(0.393)	(0.392)		(0.163)	(0.169)
American states (%)		0.195	0.147		0.216	0.184
		(0.392)	(0.384)		(0.169)	(0.174)
Asian states (%)		-0.011	-0.063		0.150	0.101
		(0.412)	(0.405)		(0.169)	(0.176)
European states (%)		0.221	0.210		0.289	0.289
		(0.390)	(0.377)		(0.177)	(0.183)
Mideast states (%)		0.055	-0.044		0.022	-0.040
		(0.423)	(0.419)		(0.180)	(0.186)
Oceanic states (%)		0.164	0.237		-0.072	-0.026
		(0.404)	(0.381)		(0.183)	(0.191)
Constant	0.056***	-0.132	-0.107	0.060***	-0.182	-0.281
	(0.009)	(0.405)	(0.391)	(0.008)	(0.174)	(0.184)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4277	4277
Adjusted R^2	0.341	0.645	0.648	0.312	0.583	0.588

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.26: Effect of coalition size on regime inclusion for economic IGOs

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	1.481***	0.660***	0.681***	1.178***	0.755***	0.776***
	(0.108)	(0.103)	(0.102)	(0.051)	(0.061)	(0.060)
System language prevalence			-0.233			-0.526*
			(0.359)			(0.286)
Total system size			0.001*			0.002***
			(0.001)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		-0.001	-0.001		0.003	0.001
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO size		0.002	0.002		-0.000	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO CINC		-0.216**	-0.137*		-0.176***	-0.056
		(0.091)	(0.077)		(0.067)	(0.054)
Regional organisation		-0.007	0.006		0.047*	0.051*
		(0.034)	(0.036)		(0.028)	(0.026)
Linguistic diversity		-0.070	-0.058		-0.126***	-0.092**
		(0.061)	(0.064)		(0.038)	(0.038)

Polity2 (avg)		-0.010*	-0.014**		0.005	-0.004
		(0.005)	(0.006)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-0.867	-1.011		0.067	0.119
		(0.673)	(0.708)		(0.155)	(0.173)
American states (%)		-0.752	-0.857		0.151	0.269
		(0.665)	(0.697)		(0.176)	(0.190)
Asian states (%)		-0.971	-1.123		0.120	0.179
		(0.687)	(0.727)		(0.164)	(0.181)
European states (%)		-0.521	-0.599		0.322*	0.517**
		(0.638)	(0.667)		(0.185)	(0.199)
Mideast states (%)		-0.931	-1.039		-0.118	-0.032
		(0.703)	(0.727)		(0.174)	(0.190)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.539	-0.572		-0.085	0.264
		(0.627)	(0.648)		(0.250)	(0.262)
Constant	0.011	0.777	0.721	0.017	-0.222	-0.651***
	(0.013)	(0.673)	(0.680)	(0.011)	(0.174)	(0.206)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	1071	1071	1071	2144	2127	2127
Adjusted R^2	0.383	0.692	0.695	0.357	0.622	0.640

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.27: Effect of coalition size on regime inclusion for social IGOs

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	1.494***	0.873***	0.866***	1.259***	0.612***	0.617***
	(0.092)	(0.114)	(0.111)	(0.061)	(0.087)	(0.086)
System language prevalence			-0.622			-0.361
			(0.493)			(0.390)
Total system size			-0.001			0.000
			(0.001)			(0.001)
Total coalitions		-0.003	-0.003		0.000	0.000
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO size		0.003	0.005		0.000	0.000
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.045	-0.173		-0.031	-0.034
		(0.078)	(0.108)		(0.070)	(0.071)
Regional organisation		0.046	0.042		0.063*	0.062*
		(0.036)	(0.034)		(0.036)	(0.036)
Linguistic diversity		-0.070	0.023		-0.139*	-0.142*
		(0.168)	(0.188)		(0.080)	(0.084)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.002	0.004		-0.003	-0.004
		(0.005)	(0.007)		(0.004)	(0.004)
African states (%)		0.396	0.340		0.226	0.224
		(0.603)	(0.594)		(0.332)	(0.339)
American states (%)		0.675	0.635		0.421	0.422
		(0.607)	(0.603)		(0.335)	(0.341)
Asian states (%)		0.439	0.358		0.350	0.349
		(0.595)	(0.587)		(0.338)	(0.343)

European states (%)		0.577	0.459		0.421	0.418
		(0.633)	(0.626)		(0.347)	(0.348)
Mideast states (%)		0.448	0.344		0.500	0.494
		(0.576)	(0.553)		(0.349)	(0.353)
Oceanic states (%)		0.875	0.471		0.144	0.136
		(0.793)	(0.784)		(0.372)	(0.368)
Constant	0.001	-0.550	-0.437	0.012	-0.266	-0.261
	(0.013)	(0.612)	(0.603)	(0.013)	(0.336)	(0.335)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	784	784	784	1279	1279	1279
Adjusted R^2	0.418	0.582	0.585	0.366	0.558	0.558

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.28: Effect of coalition size on regime inclusion for political IGOs

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	1.468***	0.600***	0.595***	1.241***	0.431***	0.447***
	(0.129)	(0.138)	(0.148)	(0.082)	(0.108)	(0.106)
System language prevalence			-0.240			-0.231
			(0.667)			(0.418)
Total system size			0.002*			0.001
			(0.001)			(0.001)
Total coalitions		0.002	-0.008		-0.008	-0.009
		(0.012)	(0.017)		(0.006)	(0.007)
IGO size		0.003	0.009		0.007	0.008
		(0.011)	(0.014)		(0.005)	(0.005)
IGO CINC		-0.233	-0.112		-0.361***	-0.321**
		(0.204)	(0.149)		(0.132)	(0.132)
Regional organisation		0.126**	0.106**		0.009	0.009
		(0.061)	(0.049)		(0.028)	(0.029)
Linguistic diversity		-0.256	-0.126		0.010	0.013
		(0.305)	(0.379)		(0.095)	(0.094)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.028	-0.033*		-0.007	-0.009
		(0.018)	(0.019)		(0.006)	(0.007)
African states (%)		1.032	0.769		-0.454	-0.498
		(1.232)	(1.010)		(0.723)	(0.691)
American states (%)		1.308	1.050		-0.302	-0.329
		(1.298)	(1.065)		(0.735)	(0.710)
Asian states (%)		0.979	0.610		-0.467	-0.525
		(1.198)	(0.952)		(0.711)	(0.677)
European states (%)		1.572	1.368		-0.164	-0.182
		(1.515)	(1.267)		(0.844)	(0.818)
Mideast states (%)		1.311	1.089		-0.434	-0.476
		(1.408)	(1.160)		(0.758)	(0.731)
Oceanic states (%)		1.110	1.422		-0.616	-0.624
		(1.718)	(1.676)		(0.770)	(0.751)
Constant	0.033	-1.179	-1.295	0.037**	0.326	0.272
	(0.023)	(1.440)	(1.344)	(0.016)	(0.753)	(0.760)

Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	461	461	461	871	871	871
Adjusted R^2	0.358	0.657	0.668	0.329	0.556	0.556

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.29: Effect of coalition power on regime inclusion for economic IGOs

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	1.145***	0.419***	0.432***	0.960***	0.555***	0.563***
	(0.081)	(0.072)	(0.075)	(0.043)	(0.051)	(0.051)
System language CINC			-0.244			-0.000
			(0.433)			(0.314)
Total system size			0.001			0.002***
			(0.001)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		-0.004	-0.005*		-0.000	-0.003
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO size		0.004*	0.004**		0.002	0.003
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO CINC		-0.231**	-0.164**		-0.194***	-0.080
		(0.094)	(0.082)		(0.068)	(0.056)
Regional organisation		0.005	0.014		0.055**	0.059**
		(0.035)	(0.037)		(0.028)	(0.027)
Linguistic diversity		-0.020	-0.008		-0.089***	-0.054
		(0.058)	(0.061)		(0.034)	(0.036)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.010*	-0.013**		0.004	-0.003
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-0.823	-0.952		0.088	0.121
		(0.705)	(0.739)		(0.150)	(0.168)
American states (%)		-0.690	-0.787		0.178	0.279
		(0.698)	(0.727)		(0.171)	(0.185)
Asian states (%)		-0.896	-1.034		0.171	0.210
		(0.717)	(0.755)		(0.158)	(0.176)
European states (%)		-0.481	-0.558		0.337*	0.508**
		(0.672)	(0.697)		(0.182)	(0.197)
Mideast states (%)		-0.867	-0.966		-0.067	-0.004
		(0.736)	(0.758)		(0.171)	(0.187)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.601	-0.640		-0.053	0.266
		(0.667)	(0.682)		(0.238)	(0.254)
Constant	0.068***	0.753	0.717	0.064***	-0.202	-0.602***
	(0.014)	(0.706)	(0.709)	(0.011)	(0.170)	(0.204)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	1071	1071	1071	2144	2127	2127
Adjusted R^2	0.325	0.679	0.681	0.324	0.608	0.624

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.30: Effect of coalition power on regime inclusion for social IGOs

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	1.269***	0.669***	0.687***	1.092***	0.510***	0.510***
	(0.082)	(0.089)	(0.101)	(0.060)	(0.069)	(0.073)
System language CINC			-0.775			-0.093
			(0.848)			(0.521)
Total system size			-0.001*			-0.000
			(0.001)			(0.001)
Total coalitions		-0.004	-0.004		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.003)	(0.004)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO size		0.003	0.005		0.001	0.001
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.024	-0.197		-0.019	-0.038
		(0.082)	(0.118)		(0.070)	(0.074)
Regional organisation		0.051	0.048		0.062*	0.062*
		(0.037)	(0.035)		(0.037)	(0.036)
Linguistic diversity		-0.019	0.112		-0.095	-0.088
		(0.169)	(0.188)		(0.082)	(0.085)
Polity2 (avg)		0.000	0.009		-0.002	-0.000
		(0.005)	(0.007)		(0.004)	(0.004)
African states (%)		0.331	0.244		0.195	0.213
		(0.688)	(0.664)		(0.340)	(0.357)
American states (%)		0.623	0.541		0.392	0.408
		(0.689)	(0.673)		(0.345)	(0.360)
Asian states (%)		0.374	0.243		0.330	0.349
		(0.674)	(0.653)		(0.351)	(0.365)
European states (%)		0.468	0.288		0.361	0.367
		(0.708)	(0.689)		(0.355)	(0.365)
Mideast states (%)		0.361	0.212		0.495	0.506
		(0.655)	(0.611)		(0.364)	(0.378)
Oceanic states (%)		1.100	0.685		0.141	0.123
		(0.863)	(0.856)		(0.373)	(0.376)
Constant	0.043***	-0.471	-0.282	0.051***	-0.235	-0.226
	(0.014)	(0.691)	(0.676)	(0.015)	(0.346)	(0.350)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	784	784	784	1279	1279	1279
Adjusted R^2	0.387	0.572	0.578	0.345	0.557	0.556

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.31: Effect of coalition power on regime inclusion for political IGOs

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	1.333***	0.517***	0.558***	1.023***	0.357***	0.357***
	(0.099)	(0.147)	(0.167)	(0.073)	(0.082)	(0.084)
System language CINC			-1.024			0.146
			(0.942)			(0.531)
Total system size			0.002*			0.001

			(0.001)			(0.001)
Total coalitions		-0.001	-0.010		-0.009	-0.010
		(0.012)	(0.016)		(0.006)	(0.007)
IGO size		0.004	0.010		0.008	0.009
		(0.011)	(0.013)		(0.005)	(0.005)
IGO CINC		-0.275	-0.127		-0.381***	-0.349**
		(0.197)	(0.143)		(0.130)	(0.132)
Regional organisation		0.122**	0.103**		0.005	0.005
		(0.059)	(0.047)		(0.028)	(0.030)
Linguistic diversity		-0.233	-0.114		0.022	0.023
		(0.290)	(0.363)		(0.093)	(0.094)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.027	-0.033*		-0.006	-0.008
		(0.018)	(0.018)		(0.006)	(0.007)
African states (%)		1.003	0.769		-0.461	-0.517
		(1.206)	(0.976)		(0.716)	(0.681)
American states (%)		1.296	1.053		-0.309	-0.348
		(1.274)	(1.024)		(0.728)	(0.698)
Asian states (%)		1.010	0.656		-0.463	-0.530
		(1.180)	(0.924)		(0.704)	(0.666)
European states (%)		1.552	1.378		-0.187	-0.219
		(1.492)	(1.223)		(0.834)	(0.805)
Mideast states (%)		1.329	1.116		-0.442	-0.492
		(1.389)	(1.127)		(0.744)	(0.713)
Oceanic states (%)		1.117	1.553		-0.587	-0.607
		(1.707)	(1.642)		(0.767)	(0.746)
Constant	0.065**	-1.148	-1.293	0.079***	0.359	0.327
	(0.024)	(1.410)	(1.286)	(0.017)	(0.741)	(0.743)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	461	461	461	871	871	871
Adjusted R^2	0.374	0.656	0.670	0.302	0.557	0.557

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.32: Effect of coalition size on regime inclusion for regional organisations

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	1.438***	0.709***	0.729***	1.140***	0.724***	0.759***
	(0.076)	(0.081)	(0.081)	(0.043)	(0.058)	(0.056)
System language prevalence			-0.330			-0.642**
			(0.384)			(0.320)
Total system size			0.001			0.002***
			(0.001)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		0.007	0.005		0.003	0.001
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.003)
IGO size		-0.004	-0.003		-0.000	0.000
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		-0.307*	-0.235*		-0.424***	-0.327***
		(0.158)	(0.128)		(0.117)	(0.096)
Social IGO		-0.026	-0.034		-0.039	-0.052*
		(0.032)	(0.032)		(0.031)	(0.031)

Political IGO		0.052	0.053		0.021	0.022
		(0.035)	(0.032)		(0.031)	(0.029)
Linguistic diversity		-0.183**	-0.183**		-0.213***	-0.209***
		(0.082)	(0.083)		(0.044)	(0.041)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.002	-0.007*		0.001	-0.006**
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		0.300	0.244		0.197	0.045
		(0.306)	(0.319)		(0.227)	(0.228)
American states (%)		0.576*	0.531*		0.396*	0.286
		(0.306)	(0.320)		(0.229)	(0.230)
Asian states (%)		0.318	0.259		0.364	0.215
		(0.305)	(0.315)		(0.245)	(0.244)
European states (%)		0.513*	0.511		0.458**	0.416*
		(0.304)	(0.310)		(0.231)	(0.228)
Mideast states (%)		0.301	0.248		-0.056	-0.256
		(0.327)	(0.339)		(0.241)	(0.247)
Oceanic states (%)		0.219	0.264		0.038	0.014
		(0.311)	(0.315)		(0.238)	(0.237)
Constant	0.008	-0.497	-0.599*	0.033**	-0.317	-0.458*
	(0.017)	(0.329)	(0.334)	(0.015)	(0.237)	(0.240)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	1134	1134	1134	2178	2161	2161
Adjusted R^2	0.394	0.648	0.651	0.344	0.580	0.592

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.33: Effect of coalition size on regime inclusion for non-regional organisations

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition size	1.645***	0.660***	0.694***	1.391***	0.495***	0.505***
	(0.153)	(0.120)	(0.123)	(0.076)	(0.078)	(0.080)
System language prevalence			-0.713**			-0.281
			(0.348)			(0.251)
Total system size			0.001*			0.000
			(0.001)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		-0.004*	-0.005**		-0.000	-0.000
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO size		0.004**	0.004***		0.001	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.078	-0.022		0.009	0.019
		(0.058)	(0.051)		(0.039)	(0.037)
Social IGO		0.006	0.013		-0.002	-0.003
		(0.025)	(0.022)		(0.017)	(0.017)
Political IGO		0.020	0.035		0.052**	0.053**
		(0.029)	(0.028)		(0.021)	(0.021)
Linguistic diversity		0.004	-0.000		-0.029	-0.031
		(0.094)	(0.094)		(0.030)	(0.030)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.002	-0.007		-0.001	-0.003
		(0.005)	(0.007)		(0.003)	(0.003)

African states (%)		-1.359*	-1.623*		-0.295	-0.271
		(0.755)	(0.811)		(0.262)	(0.264)
American states (%)		-1.317*	-1.486*		-0.303	-0.267
		(0.750)	(0.770)		(0.265)	(0.265)
Asian states (%)		-1.498*	-1.812**		-0.346	-0.321
		(0.827)	(0.893)		(0.261)	(0.264)
European states (%)		-1.203	-1.379*		-0.227	-0.186
		(0.719)	(0.743)		(0.276)	(0.279)
Mideast states (%)		-1.328*	-1.501*		-0.241	-0.209
		(0.763)	(0.791)		(0.264)	(0.264)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.527	-0.673		-0.461	-0.406
		(0.631)	(0.642)		(0.320)	(0.321)
Constant	0.011	1.210*	1.287*	0.004	0.246	0.194
	(0.008)	(0.707)	(0.700)	(0.006)	(0.258)	(0.262)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	1182	1182	1182	2116	2116	2116
Adjusted R^2	0.354	0.711	0.715	0.335	0.671	0.672

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.34: Effect of coalition power on regime inclusion for regional organisations

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	1.166***	0.507***	0.524***	0.933***	0.552***	0.558***
	(0.064)	(0.066)	(0.067)	(0.039)	(0.045)	(0.046)
System language CINC			-0.544			0.196
			(0.702)			(0.424)
Total system size			0.001			0.001***
			(0.001)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		0.005	0.003		0.001	-0.001
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO size		-0.004	-0.003		0.000	0.001
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		-0.341**	-0.280**		-0.448***	-0.365***
		(0.162)	(0.139)		(0.120)	(0.102)
Social IGO		-0.026	-0.030		-0.037	-0.049
		(0.032)	(0.033)		(0.031)	(0.031)
Political IGO		0.052	0.055		0.024	0.026
		(0.035)	(0.034)		(0.031)	(0.029)
Linguistic diversity		-0.159*	-0.156*		-0.188***	-0.182***
		(0.086)	(0.088)		(0.044)	(0.044)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.001	-0.003		0.002	-0.003
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		0.297	0.257		0.234	0.094
		(0.330)	(0.348)		(0.235)	(0.239)
American states (%)		0.555*	0.519		0.416*	0.312
		(0.332)	(0.347)		(0.235)	(0.240)
Asian states (%)		0.317	0.268		0.391	0.251
		(0.335)	(0.347)		(0.254)	(0.257)

European states (%)		0.451	0.444		0.445*	0.401*
		(0.329)	(0.335)		(0.238)	(0.238)
Mideast states (%)		0.317	0.276		0.010	-0.167
		(0.348)	(0.359)		(0.249)	(0.258)
Oceanic states (%)		0.175	0.218		0.112	0.080
		(0.333)	(0.335)		(0.251)	(0.259)
Constant	0.074***	-0.387	-0.444	0.089***	-0.258	-0.373
	(0.018)	(0.357)	(0.358)	(0.015)	(0.244)	(0.249)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	1134	1134	1134	2178	2161	2161
Adjusted R^2	0.356	0.639	0.640	0.305	0.573	0.582

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.35: Effect of coalition power on regime inclusion for non-regional organisations

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Coalition CINC	1.314***	0.432***	0.444***	1.131***	0.370***	0.362***
	(0.097)	(0.095)	(0.107)	(0.054)	(0.063)	(0.067)
System language CINC			-0.207			0.208
			(0.473)			(0.294)
Total system size			0.001			0.000
			(0.001)			(0.000)
Total coalitions		-0.004**	-0.006**		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO size		0.004**	0.004***		0.001	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.087	-0.042		0.001	0.007
		(0.061)	(0.053)		(0.037)	(0.036)
Social IGO		0.008	0.014		0.002	0.001
		(0.024)	(0.020)		(0.017)	(0.017)
Political IGO		0.025	0.037		0.055***	0.055***
		(0.030)	(0.030)		(0.020)	(0.020)
Linguistic diversity		0.036	0.027		-0.008	-0.009
		(0.097)	(0.094)		(0.032)	(0.032)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.001	-0.005		-0.001	-0.002
		(0.005)	(0.007)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-1.369*	-1.659*		-0.287	-0.268
		(0.804)	(0.875)		(0.262)	(0.266)
American states (%)		-1.309	-1.498*		-0.298	-0.268
		(0.792)	(0.822)		(0.265)	(0.265)
Asian states (%)		-1.434	-1.760*		-0.301	-0.279
		(0.870)	(0.953)		(0.260)	(0.265)
European states (%)		-1.235	-1.441*		-0.228	-0.195
		(0.767)	(0.802)		(0.277)	(0.282)
Mideast states (%)		-1.344	-1.549*		-0.235	-0.208
		(0.814)	(0.852)		(0.266)	(0.268)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.599	-0.738		-0.415	-0.371

		(0.682)	(0.705)		(0.316)	(0.321)
Constant	0.047***	1.225	1.337*	0.041***	0.244	0.198
	(0.009)	(0.749)	(0.751)	(0.007)	(0.259)	(0.267)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Observations	1182	1182	1182	2116	2116	2116
Adjusted R^2	0.319	0.697	0.700	0.325	0.668	0.667

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

B.4 Robustness: *H4*

Table B.36: Logit estimation for functional convergence

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	1.112***	1.292***	0.169	1.104***	1.166***	0.823**
	(0.152)	(0.295)	(0.522)	(0.113)	(0.185)	(0.408)
No colonial history		-0.438**	-1.177**		-0.073	-0.578
		(0.194)	(0.538)		(0.209)	(0.456)
Coalition size		18.985***	13.169***		13.275***	7.143***
		(1.925)	(2.324)		(1.076)	(0.999)
Total coalitions		0.063*	-0.012		0.054**	-0.032
		(0.032)	(0.044)		(0.022)	(0.030)
IGO size		-0.043*	0.024		-0.033**	0.043*
		(0.023)	(0.032)		(0.016)	(0.022)
IGO CINC		0.445	-1.219		-0.417	-2.266***
		(0.592)	(0.891)		(0.459)	(0.667)
Social IGO		-0.378	-0.420		-0.279	-0.250
		(0.280)	(0.426)		(0.218)	(0.295)
Political IGO		0.225	0.797*		0.227	0.665**
		(0.316)	(0.475)		(0.214)	(0.324)
Regional organisation		0.095	0.274		0.157	0.282
		(0.283)	(0.359)		(0.178)	(0.237)
Linguistic diversity		-3.298***	-1.569		-2.956***	-0.590
		(0.794)	(1.008)		(0.635)	(0.572)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.087**	-0.091*		-0.051*	-0.011
		(0.036)	(0.053)		(0.026)	(0.038)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	2316	2316	1062	4294	4277	2210
Pseudo R^2	0.031	0.489	0.600	0.030	0.429	0.496

Coefficients not exponentiated; clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.37: Logit estimation for functional convergence, excluding English and French

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

Functional convergence	1.732***	2.350***	1.546*	1.882***	2.261***	2.731***
	(0.231)	(0.429)	(0.800)	(0.164)	(0.296)	(0.649)
No colonial history		-0.152	-1.113*		-0.007	-1.156**
		(0.231)	(0.625)		(0.302)	(0.534)
Coalition size		14.694***	12.322***		8.596***	6.253***
		(2.442)	(2.628)		(1.203)	(1.309)
Total coalitions		0.057	0.006		0.017	-0.045
		(0.035)	(0.046)		(0.027)	(0.038)
IGO size		-0.035	0.009		-0.002	0.055*
		(0.026)	(0.034)		(0.020)	(0.028)
IGO CINC		0.367	-1.489		-1.435**	-3.355***
		(0.823)	(0.999)		(0.692)	(0.830)
Social IGO		-0.226	-0.252		-0.290	-0.308
		(0.385)	(0.485)		(0.307)	(0.353)
Political IGO		0.307	0.705		0.338	0.635*
		(0.436)	(0.530)		(0.300)	(0.379)
Regional organisation		0.233	0.242		0.469*	0.705**
		(0.361)	(0.448)		(0.249)	(0.294)
Linguistic diversity		-2.941***	-1.958		-2.563***	-1.402
		(1.100)	(1.387)		(0.780)	(0.907)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.098**	-0.070		-0.039	-0.004
		(0.050)	(0.064)		(0.033)	(0.045)
Region controls		Y	Y		Y	Y
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	2079	2079	825	3798	3785	1718
Pseudo R^2	0.053	0.396	0.465	0.058	0.372	0.391

Coefficients not exponentiated; clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.38: Probit estimation for functional convergence

	Operational	Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Functional convergence	0.190	0.631***	0.565***	0.595***
	(0.291)	(0.065)	(0.094)	(0.220)
No colonial history	-0.695**		-0.055	-0.343
	(0.291)		(0.102)	(0.232)
Coalition size	6.679***		6.308***	3.563***
	(1.114)		(0.575)	(0.509)
Total coalitions	-0.005		0.020*	-0.020
	(0.024)		(0.011)	(0.016)
IGO size	0.012		-0.012	0.025**
	(0.017)		(0.008)	(0.012)
IGO CINC	-0.800*		-0.228	-1.262***
	(0.481)		(0.232)	(0.352)
Social IGO	-0.222		-0.132	-0.131
	(0.224)		(0.107)	(0.154)
Political IGO	0.390		0.124	0.360**
	(0.254)		(0.109)	(0.171)
Regional organisation	0.142		0.077	0.195

	(0.198)		(0.093)	(0.129)
Linguistic diversity	-0.954*		-1.170***	-0.294
	(0.552)		(0.309)	(0.311)
Polity2 (avg)	-0.048*		-0.023*	-0.007
	(0.028)		(0.014)	(0.020)
African states (%)	-1.450		0.726	-0.463
	(2.548)		(0.940)	(1.208)
American states (%)	0.221		1.620	0.656
	(2.567)		(1.004)	(1.300)
Asian states (%)	-2.437		0.950	-0.002
	(2.781)		(0.991)	(1.269)
European states (%)	0.561		1.904*	1.115
	(2.589)		(1.026)	(1.332)
Mideast states (%)	-2.677		0.332	-1.271
	(2.637)		(1.039)	(1.325)
Oceanic states (%)	1.553		-0.327	-1.747
	(3.039)		(1.218)	(1.600)
Constant	1.161	-1.383***	-2.526**	-1.041
	(2.703)	(0.051)	(1.053)	(1.332)
Language fixed-effects	Y			Y
Observations	1062	4294	4277	2210
Pseudo R^2	0.600	0.031	0.417	0.494

Coefficients not exponentiated; clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.39: Probit estimation for functional convergence, excluding English and French

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.855***	1.067***	0.840**	0.924***	1.061***	1.555***
	(0.111)	(0.207)	(0.389)	(0.077)	(0.133)	(0.319)
No colonial history		-0.069	-0.650*		0.006	-0.670**
		(0.111)	(0.340)		(0.138)	(0.273)
Coalition size		6.927***	6.326***		4.362***	3.083***
		(1.375)	(1.209)		(0.521)	(0.653)
Total coalitions		0.023	0.003		0.005	-0.032
		(0.018)	(0.025)		(0.013)	(0.020)
IGO size		-0.014	0.004		0.001	0.034**
		(0.013)	(0.018)		(0.009)	(0.015)
IGO CINC		0.126	-0.951*		-0.681**	-1.861***
		(0.392)	(0.526)		(0.327)	(0.435)
Social IGO		-0.072	-0.120		-0.130	-0.163
		(0.177)	(0.256)		(0.151)	(0.188)
Political IGO		0.194	0.361		0.188	0.360*
		(0.204)	(0.286)		(0.147)	(0.199)
Regional organisation		0.108	0.120		0.240*	0.451***
		(0.169)	(0.240)		(0.123)	(0.155)
Linguistic diversity		-1.303**	-1.185*		-1.095***	-0.653
		(0.546)	(0.720)		(0.361)	(0.431)

Polity2 (avg)		-0.041*	-0.035		-0.020	-0.002
		(0.025)	(0.034)		(0.017)	(0.024)
African states (%)		-0.685	-1.271		0.080	-0.900
		(2.676)	(3.341)		(1.174)	(1.525)
American states (%)		0.459	0.170		0.926	-0.223
		(2.679)	(3.363)		(1.260)	(1.641)
Asian states (%)		-1.401	-2.796		0.310	-0.956
		(2.726)	(3.604)		(1.245)	(1.584)
European states (%)		0.474	0.139		1.340	0.318
		(2.724)	(3.436)		(1.275)	(1.684)
Mideast states (%)		-3.000	-4.215		-1.041	-1.681
		(2.775)	(3.497)		(1.403)	(1.734)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.055	-0.487		-1.978	-3.043
		(3.072)	(3.806)		(1.836)	(2.539)
Constant	-2.005***	-1.775	1.408	-2.045***	-2.513*	-0.155
	(0.098)	(2.839)	(3.526)	(0.078)	(1.333)	(1.688)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	2079	2079	825	3798	3785	1718
Pseudo R^2	0.054	0.391	0.465	0.060	0.370	0.392

Coefficients not exponentiated; clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.40: Functional convergence with founding-year fixed effects

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.124***	0.070***	0.057*	0.137***	0.073***	0.070***
	(0.021)	(0.016)	(0.031)	(0.017)	(0.012)	(0.026)
No colonial history		-0.042***	-0.102**		-0.017	-0.009
		(0.012)	(0.046)		(0.013)	(0.037)
Coalition size		1.563***	0.692***		1.291***	0.661***
		(0.077)	(0.064)		(0.040)	(0.046)
Total coalitions		0.001	-0.002		0.003	-0.001
		(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO size		-0.001	0.002		-0.002	0.002
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		0.059	-0.066		-0.034	-0.157***
		(0.073)	(0.066)		(0.057)	(0.050)
Social IGO		-0.026	-0.024		-0.010	-0.014
		(0.029)	(0.028)		(0.022)	(0.020)
Political IGO		0.032	0.028		0.046*	0.048**
		(0.038)	(0.035)		(0.025)	(0.024)
Regional organisation		0.021	0.019		0.005	0.013
		(0.032)	(0.033)		(0.018)	(0.017)
Linguistic diversity		-0.271***	-0.155**		-0.197***	-0.106***
		(0.097)	(0.076)		(0.045)	(0.035)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.011*	-0.012**		0.003	0.000
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.004)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-0.355	-0.371		0.046	-0.044
		(0.547)	(0.536)		(0.212)	(0.195)

American states (%)		-0.256	-0.228		0.101	0.090
		(0.537)	(0.513)		(0.230)	(0.207)
Asian states (%)		-0.391	-0.341		0.030	0.002
		(0.579)	(0.558)		(0.228)	(0.204)
European states (%)		-0.084	-0.029		0.241	0.212
		(0.533)	(0.508)		(0.240)	(0.214)
Mideast states (%)		-0.567	-0.468		-0.187	-0.196
		(0.559)	(0.557)		(0.236)	(0.218)
Oceanic states (%)		0.141	0.103		-0.210	-0.216
		(0.556)	(0.548)		(0.246)	(0.220)
Constant	0.068**	0.413	0.303	0.026	0.011	-0.075
	(0.033)	(0.532)	(0.514)	(0.031)	(0.239)	(0.215)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Founding year fixed-effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4277	4277
Adjusted R^2	0.099	0.455	0.677	0.071	0.431	0.614

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.41: Functional convergence with founding-year fixed effects, excluding English and French

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.092***	0.071***	0.125***	0.109***	0.083***	0.122***
	(0.016)	(0.014)	(0.033)	(0.013)	(0.011)	(0.025)
No colonial history		-0.023**	-0.138**		-0.016	-0.093**
		(0.010)	(0.064)		(0.012)	(0.047)
Coalition size		1.289***	0.876***		0.980***	0.683***
		(0.083)	(0.095)		(0.051)	(0.061)
Total coalitions		0.001	-0.001		0.001	-0.001
		(0.002)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO size		-0.000	0.001		-0.000	0.002
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.002)
IGO CINC		0.025	-0.047		-0.101*	-0.163***
		(0.074)	(0.069)		(0.058)	(0.055)
Social IGO		-0.026	-0.018		-0.017	-0.015
		(0.032)	(0.031)		(0.024)	(0.023)
Political IGO		0.038	0.042		0.038	0.038
		(0.040)	(0.038)		(0.026)	(0.026)
Regional organisation		0.001	0.005		0.026	0.038**
		(0.033)	(0.035)		(0.019)	(0.019)
Linguistic diversity		-0.201**	-0.127		-0.190***	-0.117***
		(0.088)	(0.078)		(0.044)	(0.039)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.013**	-0.011*		-0.000	-0.000
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.004)	(0.004)
African states (%)		-0.599	-0.444		-0.078	-0.077
		(0.535)	(0.546)		(0.216)	(0.219)
American states (%)		-0.488	-0.330		0.026	0.039
		(0.514)	(0.521)		(0.234)	(0.234)

Asian states (%)		-0.651	-0.484		-0.077	-0.084
		(0.562)	(0.566)		(0.233)	(0.229)
European states (%)		-0.376	-0.196		0.151	0.161
		(0.506)	(0.511)		(0.246)	(0.245)
Mideast states (%)		-0.962*	-0.687		-0.279	-0.147
		(0.555)	(0.575)		(0.247)	(0.251)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.281	-0.167		-0.168	-0.119
		(0.552)	(0.557)		(0.255)	(0.257)
Constant	0.025	0.601	0.385	-0.023	0.095	-0.013
	(0.027)	(0.516)	(0.525)	(0.027)	(0.242)	(0.241)
Language fixed-effects		Y	Y		Y	Y
Founding year fixed-effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2079	2079	2079	3798	3785	3785
Adjusted R^2	0.128	0.378	0.493	0.085	0.357	0.428

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.42: Estimation for functional convergence with IGO fixed-effects

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.124***	0.057***	0.054*	0.131***	0.058***	0.078***
	(0.016)	(0.012)	(0.029)	(0.013)	(0.010)	(0.023)
No colonial history		-0.024*	-0.051		-0.019*	-0.017
		(0.013)	(0.044)		(0.010)	(0.032)
Coalition size		1.738***	0.695***		1.492***	0.686***
		(0.072)	(0.067)		(0.043)	(0.050)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
IGO fixed-effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2316	2316	2316	4294	4294	4294
Adjusted R^2	0.200	0.511	0.731	0.237	0.527	0.702

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.43: Estimation for functional convergence with IGO fixed-effects, excluding English and French

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.092***	0.067***	0.127***	0.094***	0.079***	0.143***
	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.029)	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.022)
No colonial history		-0.013	-0.099*		-0.016*	-0.118***
		(0.011)	(0.060)		(0.009)	(0.038)
Coalition size		1.432***	0.884***		1.048***	0.595***
		(0.088)	(0.097)		(0.070)	(0.078)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
IGO fixed-effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Observations	2079	2079	2079	3798	3798	3798

Adjusted R^2	0.305	0.475	0.593	0.434	0.533	0.608

Robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.44: Functional convergence with alternative dependent variables

	Operational alternative			General inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.140***	0.072***	0.048	0.150***	0.068***	0.063***
	(0.018)	(0.014)	(0.029)	(0.015)	(0.011)	(0.024)
No colonial history		-0.038***	-0.089**		-0.020	-0.049
		(0.011)	(0.039)		(0.013)	(0.033)
Coalition size		1.408***	0.684***		1.294***	0.676***
		(0.053)	(0.053)		(0.036)	(0.038)
Total coalitions		0.003**	0.000		0.001	-0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO size		-0.001	0.001		-0.000	0.002*
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		0.021	-0.093**		-0.052	-0.155***
		(0.043)	(0.041)		(0.038)	(0.037)
Social IGO		0.004	0.021		-0.008	0.002
		(0.018)	(0.018)		(0.015)	(0.016)
Political IGO		0.028	0.049**		0.022	0.030
		(0.022)	(0.023)		(0.019)	(0.018)
Regional organisation		0.035*	0.031*		0.025*	0.033**
		(0.019)	(0.018)		(0.015)	(0.014)
Linguistic diversity		-0.187***	-0.108**		-0.175***	-0.099***
		(0.058)	(0.047)		(0.037)	(0.028)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.004	-0.004		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.002)
African states (%)		-0.183	-0.190		0.064	-0.120
		(0.276)	(0.278)		(0.210)	(0.184)
American states (%)		-0.035	-0.005		0.164	0.020
		(0.276)	(0.272)		(0.217)	(0.187)
Asian states (%)		-0.224	-0.167		0.079	-0.053
		(0.285)	(0.287)		(0.221)	(0.188)
European states (%)		0.025	0.059		0.312	0.152
		(0.271)	(0.267)		(0.220)	(0.191)
Mideast states (%)		-0.220	-0.153		0.028	-0.121
		(0.297)	(0.293)		(0.222)	(0.196)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.272	-0.227		-0.125	-0.272
		(0.284)	(0.285)		(0.221)	(0.191)
Constant	0.084***	0.192	0.055	0.095***	-0.027	0.008
	(0.009)	(0.290)	(0.287)	(0.008)	(0.217)	(0.190)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	2977	2977	2977	4951	4934	4934
Adjusted R^2	0.026	0.414	0.622	0.029	0.432	0.612

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.45: Functional convergence with alternative dependent variables, excluding English and French

	Operational alternative			General inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.103***	0.077***	0.111***	0.123***	0.077***	0.111***
	(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.029)	(0.012)	(0.009)	(0.023)
No colonial history		-0.023**	-0.154***		-0.012	-0.123***
		(0.010)	(0.052)		(0.012)	(0.045)
Coalition size		1.212***	0.896***		1.090***	0.809***
		(0.066)	(0.080)		(0.044)	(0.055)
Total coalitions		0.002*	0.000		0.002	-0.000
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO size		-0.001	0.001		-0.000	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.019	-0.071*		-0.105***	-0.143***
		(0.043)	(0.041)		(0.040)	(0.038)
Social IGO		0.023	0.024		0.001	0.004
		(0.018)	(0.019)		(0.016)	(0.016)
Political IGO		0.043*	0.049**		0.028	0.026
		(0.023)	(0.023)		(0.019)	(0.019)
Regional organisation		0.026	0.033*		0.031**	0.043***
		(0.017)	(0.018)		(0.015)	(0.015)
Linguistic diversity		-0.177***	-0.118**		-0.182***	-0.118***
		(0.051)	(0.048)		(0.036)	(0.030)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.004	-0.003		-0.002	-0.001
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-0.265	-0.229		-0.096	-0.137
		(0.288)	(0.290)		(0.211)	(0.194)
American states (%)		-0.150	-0.106		-0.007	-0.061
		(0.284)	(0.286)		(0.216)	(0.199)
Asian states (%)		-0.301	-0.284		-0.071	-0.139
		(0.299)	(0.301)		(0.223)	(0.199)
European states (%)		-0.107	-0.058		0.131	0.085
		(0.279)	(0.283)		(0.220)	(0.205)
Mideast states (%)		-0.475	-0.304		-0.230	-0.149
		(0.310)	(0.316)		(0.226)	(0.208)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.301	-0.202		-0.230	-0.217
		(0.287)	(0.289)		(0.221)	(0.206)
Constant	0.022***	0.248	0.130	0.024***	0.103	0.060
	(0.005)	(0.296)	(0.298)	(0.004)	(0.217)	(0.200)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	2638	2638	2638	4360	4347	4347
Adjusted R^2	0.026	0.323	0.405	0.034	0.359	0.426

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.46: Effect of functional convergence on regime inclusion for economic IGOs

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

Functional convergence	0.149***	0.092***	0.088*	0.147***	0.063***	0.065**
	(0.029)	(0.025)	(0.045)	(0.020)	(0.015)	(0.033)
No colonial history		-0.063***	-0.112*		-0.025*	-0.032
		(0.018)	(0.065)		(0.013)	(0.045)
Coalition size		1.592***	0.631***		1.315***	0.743***
		(0.133)	(0.102)		(0.056)	(0.062)
Total coalitions		0.004	-0.001		0.006**	0.003
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO size		-0.002	0.002		-0.003	0.000
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO CINC		-0.135	-0.205**		-0.104	-0.171**
		(0.082)	(0.089)		(0.064)	(0.067)
Regional organisation		-0.017	-0.001		0.031	0.048*
		(0.034)	(0.035)		(0.027)	(0.027)
Linguistic diversity		-0.104	-0.058		-0.195***	-0.119***
		(0.072)	(0.063)		(0.055)	(0.039)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.011**	-0.010*		0.002	0.004
		(0.005)	(0.005)		(0.004)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-0.881*	-0.917		0.258	0.059
		(0.514)	(0.653)		(0.238)	(0.153)
American states (%)		-0.717	-0.787		0.328	0.145
		(0.510)	(0.646)		(0.265)	(0.174)
Asian states (%)		-1.069*	-0.999		0.312	0.127
		(0.543)	(0.668)		(0.258)	(0.162)
European states (%)		-0.440	-0.524		0.555**	0.324*
		(0.486)	(0.618)		(0.270)	(0.183)
Mideast states (%)		-0.958*	-0.943		0.029	-0.105
		(0.541)	(0.682)		(0.250)	(0.172)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.462	-0.578		0.194	-0.078
		(0.466)	(0.613)		(0.324)	(0.250)
Constant	0.079***	0.796	0.800	0.085***	-0.250	-0.222
	(0.013)	(0.508)	(0.653)	(0.010)	(0.256)	(0.173)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	1071	1071	1071	2144	2127	2127
Adjusted R^2	0.030	0.455	0.695	0.029	0.440	0.622

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.47: Effect of functional convergence on regime inclusion for social IGOs

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.138***	0.051*	-0.065	0.134***	0.050**	0.015
	(0.034)	(0.026)	(0.070)	(0.031)	(0.025)	(0.053)
No colonial history		-0.034	-0.097		0.002	-0.029
		(0.021)	(0.086)		(0.018)	(0.072)
Coalition size		1.472***	0.849***		1.216***	0.604***
		(0.110)	(0.115)		(0.078)	(0.091)
Total coalitions		0.000	-0.003		0.001	0.000
		(0.004)	(0.003)		(0.002)	(0.002)

IGO size		-0.001	0.003		-0.001	0.000
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		0.116	-0.023		0.102	-0.028
		(0.087)	(0.075)		(0.082)	(0.071)
Regional organisation		0.071*	0.052		0.065	0.063*
		(0.041)	(0.036)		(0.042)	(0.036)
Linguistic diversity		-0.280*	-0.082		-0.219***	-0.139*
		(0.159)	(0.166)		(0.079)	(0.080)
Polity2 (avg)		0.001	-0.001		0.000	-0.003
		(0.005)	(0.005)		(0.004)	(0.004)
African states (%)		0.303	0.347		0.428	0.225
		(0.464)	(0.573)		(0.343)	(0.333)
American states (%)		0.426	0.613		0.490	0.420
		(0.476)	(0.574)		(0.358)	(0.336)
Asian states (%)		0.330	0.425		0.511	0.355
		(0.470)	(0.577)		(0.430)	(0.339)
European states (%)		0.402	0.555		0.509	0.430
		(0.505)	(0.607)		(0.375)	(0.347)
Mideast states (%)		0.353	0.388		0.668*	0.507
		(0.438)	(0.543)		(0.385)	(0.352)
Oceanic states (%)		1.004	0.882		0.263	0.149
		(0.734)	(0.742)		(0.407)	(0.375)
Constant	0.069***	-0.181	-0.479	0.076***	-0.332	-0.267
	(0.017)	(0.484)	(0.573)	(0.016)	(0.366)	(0.337)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	784	784	784	1279	1279	1279
Adjusted R^2	0.027	0.449	0.584	0.024	0.396	0.557

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.48: Effect of functional convergence on regime inclusion for political IGOs

	Operational			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.094*	0.065**	0.157**	0.120***	0.099***	0.091
	(0.047)	(0.032)	(0.073)	(0.035)	(0.025)	(0.067)
No colonial history		-0.019	-0.103		-0.035	0.016
		(0.022)	(0.110)		(0.049)	(0.102)
Coalition size		1.590***	0.587***		1.336***	0.430***
		(0.148)	(0.141)		(0.101)	(0.110)
Total coalitions		0.017	0.000		0.004	-0.008
		(0.014)	(0.012)		(0.005)	(0.006)
IGO size		-0.011	0.003		-0.002	0.008
		(0.013)	(0.011)		(0.005)	(0.005)
IGO CINC		0.162	-0.211		0.010	-0.371***
		(0.222)	(0.203)		(0.111)	(0.129)
Regional organisation		0.128*	0.125**		0.023	0.007
		(0.066)	(0.059)		(0.025)	(0.029)
Linguistic diversity		-0.473	-0.224		-0.098	0.021
		(0.328)	(0.297)		(0.106)	(0.095)

Polity2 (avg)		-0.039*	-0.027		-0.015***	-0.008
		(0.020)	(0.019)		(0.005)	(0.006)
African states (%)		2.281*	1.099		0.565	-0.354
		(1.213)	(1.248)		(0.521)	(0.721)
American states (%)		2.504*	1.381		0.740	-0.198
		(1.264)	(1.324)		(0.532)	(0.733)
Asian states (%)		2.185*	1.059		0.412	-0.369
		(1.220)	(1.210)		(0.521)	(0.712)
European states (%)		2.821*	1.659		0.897	-0.068
		(1.477)	(1.530)		(0.615)	(0.855)
Mideast states (%)		2.308*	1.401		0.605	-0.327
		(1.339)	(1.434)		(0.553)	(0.764)
Oceanic states (%)		2.575	1.229		0.410	-0.509
		(1.638)	(1.743)		(0.555)	(0.774)
Constant	0.117***	-2.201	-1.282	0.104***	-0.609	0.216
	(0.028)	(1.429)	(1.465)	(0.017)	(0.545)	(0.755)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	461	461	461	871	871	871
Adjusted R^2	0.009	0.420	0.663	0.018	0.395	0.557

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.49: Functional convergence for economic IGOs, excluding English and French

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.108***	0.095***	0.146***	0.108***	0.067***	0.075***
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.044)	(0.014)	(0.012)	(0.028)
No colonial history		-0.053***	-0.183*		-0.021*	-0.142**
		(0.016)	(0.106)		(0.012)	(0.061)
Coalition size		1.238***	0.859***		1.016***	0.745***
		(0.164)	(0.167)		(0.065)	(0.074)
Total coalitions		0.004	0.001		0.005	0.002
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO size		-0.002	0.001		-0.001	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO CINC		-0.153	-0.167		-0.158**	-0.175**
		(0.099)	(0.103)		(0.067)	(0.069)
Regional organisation		-0.007	0.017		0.062**	0.087***
		(0.036)	(0.039)		(0.028)	(0.030)
Linguistic diversity		-0.128*	-0.079		-0.222***	-0.145***
		(0.072)	(0.073)		(0.045)	(0.041)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.011*	-0.008		0.000	0.005
		(0.006)	(0.006)		(0.004)	(0.004)
African states (%)		-0.908	-0.958		0.062	-0.008
		(0.717)	(0.755)		(0.224)	(0.189)
American states (%)		-0.771	-0.892		0.140	0.015
		(0.704)	(0.752)		(0.248)	(0.212)
Asian states (%)		-1.058	-1.121		0.147	-0.012
		(0.738)	(0.767)		(0.246)	(0.200)

European states (%)		-0.529	-0.623		0.349	0.210
		(0.665)	(0.717)		(0.261)	(0.225)
Mideast states (%)		-1.105	-1.017		-0.067	0.038
		(0.749)	(0.797)		(0.236)	(0.218)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.673	-0.715		-0.041	-0.188
		(0.671)	(0.720)		(0.299)	(0.286)
Constant	0.011**	0.838	0.851	0.021***	-0.063	-0.111
	(0.004)	(0.702)	(0.757)	(0.006)	(0.243)	(0.209)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	948	948	948	1873	1860	1860
Adjusted R^2	0.033	0.332	0.442	0.029	0.362	0.455

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.50: Functional convergence for social IGOs, excluding English and French

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.101***	0.060***	0.021	0.110***	0.071***	0.130***
	(0.024)	(0.021)	(0.084)	(0.023)	(0.020)	(0.047)
No colonial history		-0.003	-0.117		0.002	-0.116
		(0.019)	(0.123)		(0.017)	(0.102)
Coalition size		1.258***	0.991***		0.888***	0.599***
		(0.136)	(0.183)		(0.095)	(0.122)
Total coalitions		-0.001	-0.002		0.002	0.001
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO size		-0.000	0.001		-0.002	-0.000
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		0.081	0.005		-0.005	-0.050
		(0.079)	(0.076)		(0.073)	(0.072)
Regional organisation		0.035	0.027		0.053	0.065*
		(0.038)	(0.039)		(0.040)	(0.038)
Linguistic diversity		-0.183	-0.090		-0.199**	-0.138*
		(0.156)	(0.177)		(0.085)	(0.081)
Polity2 (avg)		0.001	0.001		-0.001	-0.001
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.004)
African states (%)		0.327	0.366		0.330	0.066
		(0.438)	(0.521)		(0.383)	(0.316)
American states (%)		0.430	0.566		0.443	0.238
		(0.445)	(0.520)		(0.398)	(0.324)
Asian states (%)		0.332	0.431		0.461	0.156
		(0.466)	(0.570)		(0.492)	(0.341)
European states (%)		0.337	0.440		0.409	0.211
		(0.480)	(0.563)		(0.413)	(0.338)
Mideast states (%)		0.062	0.155		0.285	0.141
		(0.408)	(0.497)		(0.436)	(0.340)
Oceanic states (%)		1.015	0.747		0.187	0.072
		(0.643)	(0.679)		(0.416)	(0.363)
Constant	0.020**	-0.257	-0.405	0.011**	-0.277	-0.081
	(0.009)	(0.433)	(0.502)	(0.005)	(0.396)	(0.319)

Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	707	707	707	1138	1138	1138
Adjusted R^2	0.026	0.340	0.363	0.031	0.294	0.321

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.51: Functional convergence for political IGOs, excluding English and French

	Operational		Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Functional convergence	0.901**	1.145	1.494***	2.193***	3.032**
	(0.432)	(0.736)	(0.343)	(0.585)	(1.219)
No colonial history		0.653		0.172	-0.127
		(0.966)		(0.971)	(1.235)
Coalition size		24.613***		9.764***	4.469*
		(4.549)		(2.855)	(2.354)
Total coalitions		-0.034		-0.029	-0.185
		(0.169)		(0.084)	(0.139)
IGO size		0.157		0.040	0.187
		(0.179)		(0.072)	(0.125)
IGO CINC		-3.030		-1.919	-6.247***
		(2.671)		(1.296)	(1.822)
Regional organisation		1.068		-0.322	0.035
		(1.034)		(0.444)	(0.652)
Linguistic diversity		-8.748**		-1.688	0.730
		(4.005)		(2.676)	(2.485)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.570**		-0.169*	-0.227*
		(0.270)		(0.098)	(0.130)
African states (%)		8.464		4.038	4.472
		(14.786)		(6.701)	(9.027)
American states (%)		11.721		5.833	8.159
		(15.103)		(6.914)	(9.351)
Asian states (%)		10.869		1.680	3.025
		(15.018)		(6.245)	(8.100)
European states (%)		19.415		7.594	9.520
		(18.974)		(7.984)	(10.475)
Mideast states (%)		9.761		2.076	2.725
		(14.119)		(7.727)	(11.495)
Oceanic states (%)		-23.239		2.788	0.943
		(37.304)		(8.881)	(16.140)
Constant	-2.735***	-14.601	-3.278***	-8.334	-6.371
	(0.349)	(16.127)	(0.283)	(6.881)	(8.967)
Language fixed-effects					Y
Observations	424	424	787	787	306
Adjusted R^2					

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.52: Effect of functional convergence on regime inclusion for regional organisations

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.219***	0.124***	0.028	0.237***	0.115***	0.059
	(0.034)	(0.027)	(0.055)	(0.026)	(0.019)	(0.040)
No colonial history		-0.034	-0.106		0.053	0.055
		(0.031)	(0.071)		(0.037)	(0.072)
Coalition size		1.419***	0.696***		1.172***	0.724***
		(0.091)	(0.083)		(0.048)	(0.058)
Total coalitions		0.006	0.006		0.004	0.003
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.004)
IGO size		-0.004	-0.004		-0.002	-0.000
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		0.015	-0.283*		-0.268***	-0.438***
		(0.147)	(0.152)		(0.102)	(0.121)
Social IGO		-0.023	-0.025		-0.036	-0.041
		(0.032)	(0.032)		(0.032)	(0.031)
Political IGO		0.027	0.054		-0.005	0.019
		(0.039)	(0.035)		(0.032)	(0.032)
Linguistic diversity		-0.215**	-0.178**		-0.286***	-0.206***
		(0.092)	(0.081)		(0.050)	(0.045)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.003	-0.002		0.002	0.001
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		0.394	0.253		0.393	0.182
		(0.368)	(0.308)		(0.262)	(0.230)
American states (%)		0.552	0.530*		0.473*	0.377
		(0.378)	(0.308)		(0.270)	(0.232)
Asian states (%)		0.311	0.309		0.492*	0.354
		(0.355)	(0.302)		(0.278)	(0.245)
European states (%)		0.569	0.536*		0.580**	0.404*
		(0.371)	(0.302)		(0.272)	(0.238)
Mideast states (%)		0.266	0.278		0.079	-0.061
		(0.391)	(0.320)		(0.288)	(0.243)
Oceanic states (%)		0.374	0.201		0.245	0.034
		(0.390)	(0.297)		(0.276)	(0.239)
Constant	0.088***	-0.321	-0.465	0.085***	-0.241	-0.299
	(0.015)	(0.412)	(0.328)	(0.010)	(0.278)	(0.239)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	1134	1134	1134	2178	2161	2161
Adjusted R^2	0.056	0.454	0.649	0.065	0.445	0.582

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.53: Effect of functional convergence on regime inclusion for non-regional organisations

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.064***	0.017	0.026	0.047***	0.018*	0.024

	(0.019)	(0.015)	(0.041)	(0.014)	(0.011)	(0.028)
No colonial history		-0.030***	0.036		-0.029***	0.018
		(0.010)	(0.063)		(0.009)	(0.043)
Coalition size		1.838***	0.662***		1.566***	0.497***
		(0.165)	(0.120)		(0.091)	(0.079)
Total coalitions		-0.001	-0.004*		0.002	0.000
		(0.003)	(0.002)		(0.002)	(0.001)
IGO size		0.001	0.004**		-0.001	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.001)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		0.017	-0.080		0.129**	0.008
		(0.075)	(0.058)		(0.052)	(0.039)
Social IGO		-0.021	0.007		-0.028	-0.002
		(0.029)	(0.025)		(0.020)	(0.017)
Political IGO		0.012	0.022		0.037*	0.053**
		(0.032)	(0.029)		(0.022)	(0.021)
Linguistic diversity		-0.137	0.009		-0.077**	-0.027
		(0.145)	(0.095)		(0.035)	(0.030)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.009	-0.003		-0.003	-0.002
		(0.007)	(0.005)		(0.004)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-0.855	-1.338*		-0.047	-0.279
		(0.717)	(0.762)		(0.247)	(0.263)
American states (%)		-0.837	-1.303*		-0.049	-0.289
		(0.741)	(0.756)		(0.261)	(0.267)
Asian states (%)		-1.024	-1.478*		-0.197	-0.329
		(0.743)	(0.833)		(0.247)	(0.262)
European states (%)		-0.595	-1.191		0.069	-0.218
		(0.717)	(0.724)		(0.275)	(0.277)
Mideast states (%)		-0.845	-1.309*		0.077	-0.226
		(0.751)	(0.771)		(0.258)	(0.265)
Oceanic states (%)		0.362	-0.507		-0.109	-0.442
		(0.595)	(0.638)		(0.348)	(0.320)
Constant	0.076***	0.815	1.188	0.086***	0.021	0.230
	(0.013)	(0.695)	(0.713)	(0.012)	(0.257)	(0.259)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	1182	1182	1182	2116	2116	2116
Adjusted R^2	0.007	0.394	0.711	0.003	0.362	0.671

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.54: Functional convergence for regional organisations, excluding English and French

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.150***	0.109***	0.077	0.181***	0.117***	0.100***
	(0.027)	(0.025)	(0.061)	(0.022)	(0.017)	(0.038)
No colonial history		-0.004	-0.112		0.050	-0.063
		(0.028)	(0.108)		(0.041)	(0.092)
Coalition size		1.180***	0.777***		0.889***	0.689***
		(0.114)	(0.134)		(0.059)	(0.076)

Total coalitions		0.010**	0.010**		0.007*	0.004
		(0.004)	(0.004)		(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO size		-0.007**	-0.008**		-0.004	-0.002
		(0.003)	(0.003)		(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO CINC		-0.114	-0.300		-0.450***	-0.516***
		(0.170)	(0.183)		(0.128)	(0.141)
Social IGO		-0.006	-0.024		-0.050	-0.055
		(0.033)	(0.035)		(0.035)	(0.035)
Political IGO		0.037	0.045		-0.009	0.002
		(0.043)	(0.041)		(0.035)	(0.036)
Linguistic diversity		-0.261***	-0.234**		-0.353***	-0.259***
		(0.086)	(0.089)		(0.048)	(0.047)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.002	0.001		0.002	0.001
		(0.003)	(0.004)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		0.325	0.325		0.256	0.135
		(0.219)	(0.297)		(0.253)	(0.263)
American states (%)		0.451**	0.595**		0.346	0.283
		(0.221)	(0.300)		(0.258)	(0.266)
Asian states (%)		0.286	0.317		0.390	0.214
		(0.201)	(0.291)		(0.274)	(0.278)
European states (%)		0.464**	0.488*		0.450*	0.292
		(0.209)	(0.294)		(0.259)	(0.273)
Mideast states (%)		0.045	0.310		0.032	0.060
		(0.225)	(0.298)		(0.286)	(0.280)
Oceanic states (%)		0.203	0.131		0.192	0.087
		(0.311)	(0.341)		(0.266)	(0.282)
Constant	0.029***	-0.221	-0.488	0.025***	-0.037	-0.138
	(0.008)	(0.266)	(0.318)	(0.006)	(0.267)	(0.269)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	981	981	981	1859	1846	1846
Adjusted R^2	0.046	0.356	0.443	0.062	0.383	0.428

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table B.55: Functional convergence for non-regional organisations, excluding English and French

	Operational inclusion			Formal inclusion		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Functional convergence	0.064***	0.039***	0.090**	0.052***	0.042***	0.068**
	(0.016)	(0.011)	(0.041)	(0.010)	(0.009)	(0.027)
No colonial history		-0.016*	0.019		-0.023***	0.019
		(0.009)	(0.085)		(0.008)	(0.053)
Coalition size		1.497***	0.886***		1.129***	0.542***
		(0.162)	(0.194)		(0.095)	(0.116)
Total coalitions		-0.000	-0.003		0.001	0.000
		(0.003)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO size		0.001	0.003*		-0.001	0.000
		(0.002)	(0.002)		(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO CINC		-0.016	-0.057		0.087**	0.018

		(0.068)	(0.057)		(0.041)	(0.035)
Social IGO		0.004	0.020		-0.010	0.003
		(0.026)	(0.024)		(0.016)	(0.016)
Political IGO		0.020	0.028		0.053***	0.056***
		(0.029)	(0.029)		(0.018)	(0.019)
Linguistic diversity		-0.140	-0.027		-0.089***	-0.052*
		(0.124)	(0.111)		(0.027)	(0.027)
Polity2 (avg)		-0.005	-0.000		-0.001	0.000
		(0.007)	(0.006)		(0.003)	(0.003)
African states (%)		-1.247	-1.466*		-0.357	-0.344
		(0.768)	(0.784)		(0.221)	(0.265)
American states (%)		-1.218	-1.484*		-0.394*	-0.420
		(0.775)	(0.776)		(0.224)	(0.265)
Asian states (%)		-1.362*	-1.673*		-0.470**	-0.433
		(0.807)	(0.870)		(0.220)	(0.266)
European states (%)		-1.122	-1.437*		-0.338	-0.363
		(0.745)	(0.742)		(0.239)	(0.279)
Mideast states (%)		-1.455*	-1.637**		-0.398*	-0.378
		(0.782)	(0.785)		(0.229)	(0.273)
Oceanic states (%)		-0.447	-0.879		-0.476*	-0.555*
		(0.604)	(0.641)		(0.280)	(0.317)
Constant	0.016**	1.220*	1.392*	0.015***	0.350	0.358
	(0.007)	(0.715)	(0.723)	(0.005)	(0.221)	(0.258)
Language fixed-effects			Y			Y
Observations	1098	1098	1098	1939	1939	1939
Adjusted R^2	0.013	0.274	0.528	0.010	0.215	0.450

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

C

Appendix to Chapter 4
National Languages and International Cooperation

C.1 Baseline Robustness

Table C.1: Nested linear probability models for *H1*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Language (%)	0.326***	0.139***	0.144***	0.160***
	(0.026)	(0.037)	(0.031)	(0.032)
Ethnicity (%)		-0.021	-0.051	-0.021
		(0.041)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Religion (%)		-0.018	-0.034**	-0.036**
		(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Colonial history (%)		0.097**	0.095***	0.077**
		(0.038)	(0.032)	(0.032)
Contiguous (%)		1.048***	0.930***	0.928***
		(0.064)	(0.060)	(0.059)
Distance (avg)		-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)			-0.009***	-0.009***
			(0.001)	(0.001)

Allies (%)			0.102***	0.108***
			(0.018)	(0.019)
log trade (avg)			0.023***	0.024***
			(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO Size				0.007***
				(0.000)
Regional organisation				0.030***
				(0.010)
Constant	0.171***	0.277***	0.274***	0.207***
	(0.033)	(0.040)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Observations	15361	15361	15361	15361
Adjusted R^2	0.140	0.230	0.255	0.342
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.2: Nested linear probability models for *H2*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Convergent language (%)	0.426***	0.191***	0.157***	0.157***
	(0.030)	(0.038)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Ethnicity (%)		-0.019	-0.043	-0.011
		(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Religion (%)		-0.023	-0.033**	-0.035**
		(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Colonial history (%)		0.098***	0.121***	0.116***
		(0.033)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Contiguous (%)		1.031***	0.922***	0.921***
		(0.064)	(0.061)	(0.060)
Distance (avg)		-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)			-0.010***	-0.010***
			(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)			0.085***	0.090***
			(0.018)	(0.019)
log trade (avg)			0.023***	0.024***

			(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO Size				0.007***
				(0.000)
Regional organisation				0.034***
				(0.010)
Constant	0.165***	0.274***	0.284***	0.215***
	(0.032)	(0.040)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Observations	15361	15361	15361	15361
Adjusted R^2	0.147	0.232	0.254	0.342
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.3: Nested linear probability models for *H3*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
De jure language (%)	0.394***	0.096**	0.124***	0.146***
	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Ethnicity (%)		-0.017	-0.051	-0.023
		(0.042)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Religion (%)		-0.011	-0.027*	-0.030*
		(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.017)
Colonial history (%)		0.184***	0.177***	0.166***
		(0.028)	(0.024)	(0.025)
Contiguous (%)		1.053***	0.935***	0.934***
		(0.065)	(0.061)	(0.060)
Distance (avg)		-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)			-0.010***	-0.010***
			(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)			0.104***	0.109***
			(0.018)	(0.019)
log trade (avg)			0.023***	0.024***
			(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO Size				0.007***
				(0.000)

Regional organisation				0.036***
				(0.010)
Constant	0.201***	0.275***	0.273***	0.205***
	(0.036)	(0.040)	(0.043)	(0.043)
Observations	15361	15361	15361	15361
Adjusted R^2	0.121	0.228	0.253	0.341
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.4: Nested linear probability models for common conjoint language (*H2+H3*)

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Conjoint language (%)	0.478***	0.113**	0.180***
	(0.048)	(0.048)	(0.043)
Ethnicity (%)		-0.017	0.016
		(0.042)	(0.037)
Religion (%)		-0.011	-0.042**
		(0.019)	(0.020)
Colonial history (%)		0.184***	0.171***
		(0.027)	(0.026)
Contiguous (%)		1.050***	0.898***
		(0.065)	(0.064)
Distance (avg)		-0.000***	-0.000***
		(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)			-0.011***
			(0.001)
Allies (%)			0.101***
			(0.021)
log trade (avg)			0.008**
			(0.003)
IGO Size			0.007***
			(0.000)
Regional organisation			0.042***
			(0.012)
Polity2			0.003***

			(0.001)
log GDP per capita			-0.023***
			(0.006)
log GDP			0.005
			(0.005)
Trade openness			0.350
			(0.280)
IGO memberships			0.002***
			(0.000)
State age			0.000**
			(0.000)
Constant	0.201***	0.275***	0.111
	(0.036)	(0.040)	(0.133)
Observations	15361	15361	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.123	0.228	0.371
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.5: Linear probability models with denomination replacing religion

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.134***		
	(0.035)		
Convergent language (%)		0.135***	
		(0.039)	
De jure language (%)			0.155***
			(0.037)
Ethnicity (%)	0.021	0.034	0.014
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Denomination (%)	-0.010	-0.008	-0.001
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Colonial history (%)	0.106***	0.132***	0.166***
	(0.037)	(0.033)	(0.026)
Contiguous (%)	0.897***	0.884***	0.900***
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.064)

Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.010***	-0.011***	-0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.101***	0.084***	0.101***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
log trade (avg)	0.006*	0.007**	0.006*
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.031***	0.036***	0.036***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Polity2	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.024***	-0.026***	-0.022***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
log GDP	0.006	0.006	0.006
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.004)
Trade openness	0.286	0.382	0.280
	(0.285)	(0.277)	(0.280)
IGO memberships	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000**	0.000*	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.071	0.102	0.066
	(0.130)	(0.131)	(0.129)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.370	0.370	0.370
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.6: Linear probability models with alternative predictor definitions

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.096**		

	(0.038)		
Convergent language (%)		0.146***	
		(0.042)	
De jure language (%)			0.134***
			(0.039)
Ethnicity (dominant) (%)	0.557***	0.504***	0.514***
	(0.167)	(0.169)	(0.170)
Religion (10% pop.) (%)	-0.022*	-0.029**	-0.020
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.013)
Colonial history (%)	0.140***	0.127***	0.177***
	(0.040)	(0.035)	(0.026)
Contiguous (12nm water) (%)	0.964***	0.951***	0.960***
	(0.056)	(0.056)	(0.055)
Region (%)	0.068***	0.068***	0.069***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Regime type (%)	0.004	0.007	0.005
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Trade dependence (avg)	28.114**	29.009**	27.981**
	(12.138)	(11.987)	(12.034)
UN vote difference (avg)	-0.077***	-0.077***	-0.078***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.008***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.060***	0.060***	0.061***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Polity2	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.016***	-0.019***	-0.015**
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
log GDP	0.009**	0.010***	0.009***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Trade openness	0.415	0.510*	0.408
	(0.270)	(0.271)	(0.273)
IGO memberships	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000**	0.000*	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)

Constant	-0.126	-0.107	-0.131
	(0.128)	(0.128)	(0.128)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.375	0.376	0.376
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.7: Linear probability models on unrestricted sample

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.119***		
	(0.018)		
Convergent language (%)		0.138***	
		(0.021)	
De jure language (%)			0.171***
			(0.025)
Ethnicity (%)	0.029	0.036	0.018
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Religion (%)	-0.018***	-0.018***	-0.016***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Colonial history (%)	0.031	0.058***	0.084***
	(0.019)	(0.016)	(0.015)
Contiguous (%)	1.086***	1.074***	1.086***
	(0.062)	(0.061)	(0.061)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.119***	0.105***	0.118***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)
log trade (avg)	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	-0.012**	-0.012**	-0.012**

	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Polity2	0.001*	0.001**	0.001**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
log GDP per capita	-0.010***	-0.012***	-0.009***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
log GDP	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Trade openness	-0.037	0.075	-0.055
	(0.125)	(0.117)	(0.124)
IGO memberships	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.138	0.157	0.145
	(0.096)	(0.097)	(0.097)
Observations	45215	45215	45215
Adjusted R^2	0.368	0.368	0.369
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.8: Linear probability models with counts replacing proportions

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (count)	0.008***		
	(0.002)		
Convergent language (count)		0.009***	
		(0.002)	
De jure language (count)			0.008***
			(0.002)
Ethnicity (count)	-0.003	-0.002	-0.003
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Religion (count)	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Colonial history (count)	0.007***	0.009***	0.012***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)

Contiguous (count)	0.100***	0.097***	0.099***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log trade (avg)	0.010***	0.011***	0.010***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Allies (count)	0.008***	0.007***	0.008***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
IGO Size	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Regional organisation	0.030***	0.031***	0.034***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Polity2	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.010	-0.014*	-0.009
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
log GDP	0.006	0.006	0.005
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.005)
Trade openness	0.366	0.567	0.338
	(0.416)	(0.393)	(0.394)
IGO memberships	0.001**	0.001*	0.001*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000*	0.000*	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.082	0.119	0.092
	(0.134)	(0.133)	(0.132)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.413	0.412	0.411
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.9: Linear probability models with IGO fixed-effects

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.137***		
	(0.038)		
Convergent language (%)		0.143***	
		(0.043)	
De jure language (%)			0.150***
			(0.037)
Ethnicity (%)	-0.047	-0.040	-0.049
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Religion (%)	-0.041*	-0.039*	-0.037
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.023)
Colonial history (%)	0.086**	0.114***	0.151***
	(0.040)	(0.035)	(0.028)
Contiguous (%)	0.980***	0.967***	0.982***
	(0.067)	(0.067)	(0.067)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.012***	-0.012***	-0.012***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Allies (%)	0.109***	0.103***	0.110***
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.030)
log trade (avg)	0.010**	0.011**	0.010**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
IGO Size	0.010***	0.011***	0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Regional organisation	0.268***	0.293***	0.285***
	(0.084)	(0.084)	(0.085)
Polity2	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.018***	-0.020***	-0.017**
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
log GDP	0.002	0.002	0.002
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Trade openness	0.301	0.382	0.292
	(0.284)	(0.278)	(0.278)

IGO memberships	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000**	0.000*	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-0.042	-0.018	-0.043
	(0.086)	(0.086)	(0.085)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.419	0.418	0.419
IGO FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.10: Linear probability models with full controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.120***		
	(0.036)		
Convergent language (%)		0.136***	
		(0.040)	
De jure language (%)			0.144***
			(0.037)
Ethnicity (%)	0.044	0.054	0.037
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.036)
Religion (%)	-0.031*	-0.032**	-0.029*
	(0.016)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Colonial history (%)	0.118***	0.132***	0.171***
	(0.038)	(0.035)	(0.027)
Contiguous (%)	0.826***	0.812***	0.829***
	(0.063)	(0.063)	(0.062)
Region (%)	0.043**	0.043**	0.046**
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.007***	-0.007***	-0.007***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Regime type (%)	-0.034*	-0.036**	-0.036**

	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Allies (%)	0.104***	0.084***	0.103***
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.021)
UN vote difference (avg)	-0.061***	-0.063***	-0.062***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Alliance portfolio (avg)	-0.076**	-0.061*	-0.067**
	(0.034)	(0.034)	(0.034)
Fatal MIDs (%)	-0.275	-0.238	-0.258
	(0.207)	(0.206)	(0.211)
log trade (avg)	0.004	0.005	0.004
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Trade dependence (avg)	27.497**	28.136**	27.340**
	(11.489)	(11.337)	(11.334)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.008***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.026*	0.028**	0.029**
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Social IGO	-0.028**	-0.029**	-0.028**
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Political IGO	0.027*	0.029*	0.028*
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Polity2	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.024***	-0.026***	-0.022***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
log GDP	0.010**	0.010**	0.010**
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Trade openness	0.238	0.325	0.224
	(0.293)	(0.299)	(0.295)
IGO memberships	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000*	0.000	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.039	0.063	0.034
	(0.138)	(0.137)	(0.137)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.383	0.383	0.383

Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.11: Linear probability models subsetted on Cold War era

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.093**		
	(0.037)		
Convergent language (%)		0.132***	
		(0.043)	
De jure language (%)			0.121***
			(0.041)
Ethnicity (%)	0.075*	0.080*	0.069
	(0.042)	(0.041)	(0.042)
Religion (%)	-0.041*	-0.041*	-0.038*
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Colonial history (%)	0.108***	0.104***	0.149***
	(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.029)
Contiguous (%)	0.872***	0.860***	0.878***
	(0.068)	(0.068)	(0.068)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.009***	-0.010***	-0.009***
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.120***	0.099***	0.120***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.026)
log trade (avg)	0.008*	0.009**	0.008*
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO Size	0.009***	0.009***	0.009***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.044***	0.046***	0.047***
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Polity2	0.004***	0.004***	0.004***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.021***	-0.024***	-0.020**

	(0.008)	(0.007)	(0.008)
log GDP	0.003	0.003	0.003
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Trade openness	0.796	0.951	0.818
	(0.954)	(0.957)	(0.921)
IGO memberships	0.001**	0.001**	0.001**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.000**	0.000**	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.131	0.166	0.127
	(0.138)	(0.138)	(0.138)
Observations	7969	7969	7969
Adjusted R^2	0.365	0.366	0.365
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.12: Linear probability models subsetted on post-Cold War era

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.249***		
	(0.056)		
Convergent language (%)		0.152**	
		(0.062)	
De jure language (%)			0.201***
			(0.062)
Ethnicity (%)	-0.202***	-0.174***	-0.197***
	(0.055)	(0.058)	(0.058)
Religion (%)	-0.121***	-0.115***	-0.111***
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Colonial history (%)	0.146**	0.252***	0.268***
	(0.059)	(0.053)	(0.045)
Contiguous (%)	1.014***	0.997***	0.997***
	(0.105)	(0.105)	(0.104)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)

Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.017***	-0.018***	-0.018***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Allies (%)	0.108***	0.101***	0.108***
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)
log trade (avg)	0.003	0.002	0.003
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO Size	0.006***	0.006***	0.006***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.015	0.028	0.030
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.019)
Polity2	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.017*	-0.018*	-0.017*
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
log GDP	0.016***	0.015**	0.014**
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
Trade openness	0.010	0.103	-0.003
	(0.256)	(0.259)	(0.258)
IGO memberships	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.015	0.037	0.021
	(0.092)	(0.093)	(0.090)
Observations	3272	3272	3272
Adjusted R^2	0.403	0.399	0.400
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.13: Linear probability models subsetted on regional organisations

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.128***		
	(0.044)		
Convergent language (%)		0.176***	

		(0.049)	
De jure language (%)			0.161***
			(0.037)
Ethnicity (%)	-0.017	-0.013	-0.028
	(0.039)	(0.039)	(0.040)
Religion (%)	-0.174***	-0.179***	-0.169**
	(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.067)
Colonial history (%)	0.124**	0.106**	0.169***
	(0.048)	(0.045)	(0.031)
Contiguous (%)	0.860***	0.858***	0.876***
	(0.070)	(0.071)	(0.070)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.005***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Allies (%)	0.062**	0.043	0.063**
	(0.031)	(0.032)	(0.031)
log trade (avg)	0.018***	0.020***	0.017***
	(0.005)	(0.006)	(0.006)
IGO Size	0.021***	0.021***	0.020***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Polity2	0.006***	0.006***	0.006***
	(0.001)	(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.034***	-0.039***	-0.032**
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
log GDP	-0.003	-0.005	-0.003
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.008)
Trade openness	0.501	0.643	0.518
	(0.477)	(0.492)	(0.467)
IGO memberships	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.000*	0.000	0.000*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.466***	0.543***	0.457***
	(0.174)	(0.176)	(0.172)
Observations	4419	4419	4419
Adjusted R^2	0.413	0.415	0.415

Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.14: Linear probability models subsetted on non-regional organisations

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.206***		
	(0.045)		
Convergent language (%)		0.143**	
		(0.057)	
De jure language (%)			0.093
			(0.066)
Ethnicity (%)	0.093*	0.117**	0.110**
	(0.053)	(0.054)	(0.054)
Religion (%)	-0.004	-0.002	0.001
	(0.016)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Colonial history (%)	0.025	0.127***	0.170***
	(0.049)	(0.043)	(0.039)
Contiguous (%)	0.873***	0.842***	0.854***
	(0.123)	(0.126)	(0.126)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.013***	-0.013***	-0.013***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.165***	0.157***	0.177***
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)
log trade (avg)	0.013***	0.013***	0.012***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2	0.001	0.002**	0.002**
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.013**	-0.016***	-0.013**
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
log GDP	0.006	0.006	0.005

	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Trade openness	0.292	0.377*	0.268
	(0.243)	(0.226)	(0.234)
IGO memberships	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-0.028	-0.004	-0.009
	(0.132)	(0.131)	(0.130)
Observations	6822	6822	6822
Adjusted R^2	0.398	0.396	0.395
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.15: Logistic regression models

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	1.311***		
	(0.170)		
Convergent language (%)		0.836***	
		(0.196)	
De jure language (%)			0.938***
			(0.191)
Ethnicity (%)	0.404**	0.587***	0.442**
	(0.182)	(0.181)	(0.187)
Religion (%)	-0.312***	-0.269**	-0.247**
	(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.110)
Colonial history (%)	0.927***	1.416***	1.654***
	(0.174)	(0.174)	(0.136)
Contiguous (%)	4.640***	4.568***	4.681***
	(0.337)	(0.331)	(0.331)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.088***	-0.092***	-0.092***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)

Allies (%)	0.545***	0.447***	0.559***
	(0.109)	(0.114)	(0.108)
log trade (avg)	0.088***	0.087***	0.079***
	(0.024)	(0.024)	(0.023)
IGO Size	0.055***	0.054***	0.054***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Regional organisation	0.227**	0.285***	0.298***
	(0.092)	(0.091)	(0.091)
Polity2	0.031***	0.032***	0.031***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
log GDP per capita	-0.248***	-0.261***	-0.230***
	(0.040)	(0.040)	(0.039)
log GDP	0.093***	0.078***	0.084***
	(0.027)	(0.027)	(0.026)
Trade openness	2.213	2.857	2.117
	(1.906)	(1.913)	(1.907)
IGO memberships	0.012***	0.013***	0.013***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
State age	0.001***	0.001***	0.001***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-2.107***	-1.774**	-2.118***
	(0.701)	(0.703)	(0.701)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Pseudo R^2	0.372	0.369	0.370
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Coefficients not exponentiated; robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.16: Probit regression models

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.709***		
	(0.096)		
Convergent language (%)		0.481***	
		(0.109)	
De jure language (%)			0.519***

			(0.106)
Ethnicity (%)	0.228**	0.323***	0.249**
	(0.104)	(0.103)	(0.106)
Religion (%)	-0.203***	-0.181***	-0.167***
	(0.062)	(0.061)	(0.061)
Colonial history (%)	0.556***	0.808***	0.950***
	(0.099)	(0.096)	(0.076)
Contiguous (%)	2.649***	2.615***	2.689***
	(0.186)	(0.182)	(0.182)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.050***	-0.052***	-0.051***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Allies (%)	0.323***	0.265***	0.327***
	(0.061)	(0.064)	(0.061)
log trade (avg)	0.047***	0.047***	0.042***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
IGO Size	0.030***	0.030***	0.030***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Regional organisation	0.118**	0.147***	0.155***
	(0.050)	(0.050)	(0.050)
Polity2	0.017***	0.018***	0.018***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
log GDP per capita	-0.141***	-0.148***	-0.131***
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.022)
log GDP	0.057***	0.049***	0.051***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Trade openness	1.160	1.517	1.077
	(1.108)	(1.107)	(1.106)
IGO memberships	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.000***	0.000***	0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-1.290***	-1.116***	-1.301***
	(0.395)	(0.395)	(0.395)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Pseudo R^2	0.372	0.370	0.370

Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Coefficients not exponentiated; robust standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

C.2 Extended Robustness

Table C.17: Nested fixed-effects linear probability models for *H1*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Language (%)	0.400***	0.124***	0.098***	0.117***
	(0.025)	(0.032)	(0.029)	(0.029)
Ethnicity (%)		0.066*	0.043	0.088***
		(0.036)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Religion (%)		-0.078***	-0.080***	-0.075***
		(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Colonial history (%)		0.113***	0.119***	0.084***
		(0.033)	(0.030)	(0.030)
Contiguous (%)		0.951***	0.897***	0.885***
		(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.058)
Distance (avg)		-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)			-0.009***	-0.009***
			(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)			0.100***	0.105***
			(0.018)	(0.018)
log trade (avg)			0.001	0.005
			(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO Size				0.007***
				(0.000)
Regional organisation				0.017
				(0.010)
Constant	0.122***	0.315***	0.299***	0.253***
	(0.030)	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.039)
Observations	15361	15361	15361	15361
Adjusted R^2	0.157	0.238	0.248	0.342
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.18: Nested fixed-effects linear probability models for *H2*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Convergent language (%)	0.496***	0.171***	0.133***	0.131***
	(0.030)	(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.033)
Ethnicity (%)		0.066*	0.045	0.094***
		(0.035)	(0.033)	(0.032)
Religion (%)		-0.083***	-0.082***	-0.077***
		(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Colonial history (%)		0.114***	0.122***	0.104***
		(0.028)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Contiguous (%)		0.946***	0.894***	0.881***
		(0.059)	(0.059)	(0.058)
Distance (avg)		-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)			-0.009***	-0.009***
			(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)			0.089***	0.095***
			(0.018)	(0.018)
log trade (avg)			0.001	0.005
			(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO Size				0.007***
				(0.000)
Regional organisation				0.020*
				(0.010)
Constant	0.137***	0.314***	0.306***	0.258***
	(0.027)	(0.033)	(0.038)	(0.039)
Observations	15361	15361	15361	15361
Adjusted R^2	0.161	0.239	0.248	0.342
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.19: Nested fixed-effects linear probability models for *H3*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
De jure language (%)	0.474***	0.103***	0.080**	0.116***
	(0.047)	(0.039)	(0.037)	(0.036)
Ethnicity (%)		0.073*	0.048	0.091***
		(0.037)	(0.034)	(0.033)
Religion (%)		-0.073***	-0.077***	-0.072***
		(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.015)
Colonial history (%)		0.184***	0.175***	0.146***
		(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.022)
Contiguous (%)		0.952***	0.896***	0.886***
		(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.058)
Distance (avg)		-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
		(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)			-0.009***	-0.009***
			(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)			0.102***	0.106***
			(0.018)	(0.018)
log trade (avg)			0.001	0.005
			(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO Size				0.007***
				(0.000)
Regional organisation				0.019*
				(0.010)
Constant	0.168***	0.319***	0.301***	0.256***
	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.038)	(0.039)
Observations	15361	15361	15361	15361
Adjusted R^2	0.133	0.237	0.247	0.342
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.20: Nested fixed-effects linear probability models for common conjoint language (*H2+H3*)

	(1)	(2)	(3)

Conjoint language (%)	0.563***	0.129***	0.197***
	(0.051)	(0.046)	(0.044)
Ethnicity (%)		0.071*	0.073**
		(0.037)	(0.035)
Religion (%)		-0.073***	-0.082***
		(0.014)	(0.020)
Colonial history (%)		0.183***	0.112***
		(0.023)	(0.024)
Contiguous (%)		0.949***	0.901***
		(0.060)	(0.064)
Distance (avg)		-0.000***	-0.000***
		(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)			-0.010***
			(0.001)
Allies (%)			0.108***
			(0.021)
log trade (avg)			0.006
			(0.004)
IGO Size			0.008***
			(0.000)
Regional organisation			0.016
			(0.013)
Polity2			0.000
			(0.001)
log GDP per capita			-0.001
			(0.021)
log GDP			-0.004
			(0.015)
Trade openness			0.078
			(0.389)
IGO memberships			-0.000
			(0.001)
State age			0.000
			(0.001)
Constant	0.172***	0.319***	0.269
	(0.031)	(0.034)	(0.208)
Observations	15361	15361	11241

Adjusted R^2	0.136	0.237	0.368
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.21: Fixed-effects linear probability models with denomination replacing religion

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.110***		
	(0.034)		
Convergent language (%)		0.119***	
		(0.038)	
De jure language (%)			0.157***
			(0.038)
Ethnicity (%)	0.071*	0.078**	0.062*
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Denomination (%)	-0.019	-0.020	-0.016
	(0.017)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Colonial history (%)	0.069**	0.089***	0.111***
	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.024)
Contiguous (%)	0.910***	0.905***	0.910***
	(0.066)	(0.065)	(0.065)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.010***	-0.011***	-0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.108***	0.096***	0.107***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
log trade (avg)	0.004	0.005	0.004
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.005	0.009	0.007
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Polity2	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)

log GDP per capita	-0.003	-0.003	-0.002
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
log GDP	0.001	0.000	-0.002
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Trade openness	0.099	0.127	0.062
	(0.404)	(0.404)	(0.403)
IGO memberships	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.126	0.147	0.173
	(0.196)	(0.199)	(0.200)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.365	0.365	0.366
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.22: Fixed-effects linear probability models with alternative predictor definitions

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.118***		
	(0.040)		
Convergent language (%)		0.187***	
		(0.043)	
De jure language (%)			0.160***
			(0.044)
Ethnicity (dominant) (%)	0.687***	0.587***	0.646***
	(0.190)	(0.189)	(0.195)
Religion (10% pop.) (%)	-0.042***	-0.051***	-0.043***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Colonial history (%)	0.111***	0.092***	0.157***
	(0.041)	(0.035)	(0.026)
Contiguous (12nm water) (%)	1.020***	1.008***	1.017***
	(0.057)	(0.057)	(0.056)

Region (%)	0.057***	0.056***	0.061***
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Regime type (%)	0.000	0.003	0.001
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
UN vote difference (avg)	-0.093***	-0.093***	-0.093***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Trade dependence (avg)	30.847**	31.333**	30.953**
	(14.439)	(14.256)	(14.270)
IGO Size	0.008***	0.008***	0.008***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.060***	0.059***	0.061***
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Polity2	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	0.013	0.012	0.015
	(0.019)	(0.020)	(0.019)
log GDP	0.007	0.006	0.004
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Trade openness	0.032	0.074	-0.006
	(0.521)	(0.528)	(0.513)
IGO memberships	0.000	0.000	0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-0.303	-0.273	-0.258
	(0.199)	(0.202)	(0.202)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.364	0.366	0.365
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.23: Fixed-effects linear probability models with unrestricted sample

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.104***		

	(0.016)		
Convergent language (%)		0.123***	
		(0.019)	
De jure language (%)			0.168***
			(0.022)
Ethnicity (%)	0.058**	0.061**	0.044*
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.026)
Religion (%)	-0.039***	-0.041***	-0.040***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Colonial history (%)	0.024	0.047***	0.066***
	(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.014)
Contiguous (%)	1.072***	1.068***	1.074***
	(0.061)	(0.060)	(0.060)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.005***	-0.005***	-0.005***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.128***	0.117***	0.125***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.011)
log trade (avg)	0.006***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	-0.012**	-0.012**	-0.013**
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Polity2	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
log GDP per capita	-0.021**	-0.021**	-0.018**
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
log GDP	0.012**	0.011**	0.010*
	(0.006)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Trade openness	0.049	0.106	-0.030
	(0.162)	(0.170)	(0.152)
IGO memberships	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)

Constant	0.046	0.062	0.074
	(0.113)	(0.113)	(0.112)
Observations	45215	45215	45215
Adjusted R^2	0.366	0.366	0.367
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.24: Fixed-effects linear probability models with counts replacing proportions

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (count)	0.008***		
	(0.002)		
Convergent language (count)		0.009***	
		(0.002)	
De jure language (count)			0.007***
			(0.002)
Ethnicity (count)	-0.000	0.001	-0.000
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
Religion (count)	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Colonial history (count)	0.005***	0.007***	0.010***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Contiguous (count)	0.113***	0.112***	0.112***
	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (count)	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log trade (avg)	0.009**	0.009***	0.009***
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO Size	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Regional organisation	-0.003	-0.001	-0.002

	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Polity2	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	0.015	0.015	0.017
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.019)
log GDP	-0.009	-0.009	-0.013
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Trade openness	0.256	0.364	0.215
	(0.461)	(0.443)	(0.465)
IGO memberships	-0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.230	0.226	0.285
	(0.210)	(0.212)	(0.206)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.421	0.420	0.419
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.25: Fixed-effects linear probability models with IGO fixed-effects

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.113***		
	(0.033)		
Convergent language (%)		0.126***	
		(0.038)	
De jure language (%)			0.159***
			(0.038)
Ethnicity (%)	0.083**	0.089**	0.075**
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)
Religion (%)	-0.083***	-0.086***	-0.081***
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Colonial history (%)	0.070**	0.088***	0.114***
	(0.034)	(0.031)	(0.024)

Contiguous (%)	0.905***	0.900***	0.906***
	(0.065)	(0.065)	(0.064)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.114***	0.102***	0.113***
	(0.022)	(0.021)	(0.021)
log trade (avg)	0.005	0.005	0.005
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.008***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.014	0.018	0.016
	(0.013)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Polity2	0.001	0.001	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.003	-0.004	-0.002
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
log GDP	-0.000	-0.001	-0.004
	(0.014)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Trade openness	0.072	0.101	0.034
	(0.389)	(0.389)	(0.388)
IGO memberships	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	0.212	0.236	0.261
	(0.203)	(0.207)	(0.207)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.367	0.367	0.367
IGO FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	No	No	No

Clustered standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.26: Fixed-effects linear probability models with full controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.131***		
	(0.034)		
Convergent language (%)		0.152***	
		(0.039)	
De jure language (%)			0.159***
			(0.038)
Ethnicity (%)	0.084**	0.091***	0.080**
	(0.035)	(0.035)	(0.035)
Religion (%)	-0.047***	-0.053***	-0.048***
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Colonial history (%)	0.081**	0.097***	0.137***
	(0.035)	(0.031)	(0.025)
Contiguous (%)	0.840***	0.832***	0.840***
	(0.063)	(0.062)	(0.062)
Region (%)	0.017	0.021	0.019
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.020)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.006***	-0.006***	-0.006***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Regime type (%)	-0.017	-0.018	-0.020
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Allies (%)	0.133***	0.114***	0.129***
	(0.023)	(0.022)	(0.023)
UN vote difference (avg)	-0.065***	-0.067***	-0.065***
	(0.008)	(0.008)	(0.008)
Alliance portfolio (avg)	-0.184***	-0.174***	-0.167***
	(0.046)	(0.046)	(0.045)
Fatal MIDs (%)	-0.409*	-0.361*	-0.392*
	(0.215)	(0.213)	(0.218)
log trade (avg)	0.002	0.002	0.002
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Trade dependence (avg)	27.404**	28.045**	27.521**
	(13.649)	(13.476)	(13.438)

IGO Size	0.008***	0.008***	0.008***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.018	0.021	0.019
	(0.014)	(0.014)	(0.014)
Social IGO	-0.030***	-0.030***	-0.030***
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Political IGO	0.012	0.014	0.013
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Polity2	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.004	-0.004	-0.002
	(0.023)	(0.023)	(0.023)
log GDP	0.001	0.000	-0.002
	(0.015)	(0.016)	(0.016)
Trade openness	-0.107	-0.076	-0.147
	(0.486)	(0.491)	(0.479)
IGO memberships	-0.001*	-0.001*	-0.001*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	0.222	0.243	0.265
	(0.231)	(0.234)	(0.233)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2	0.378	0.379	0.379
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.27: Fixed-effects linear probability models subsetted on Cold War era

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.075*		
	(0.040)		
Convergent language (%)		0.135***	
		(0.045)	
De jure language (%)			0.124***

			(0.044)
Ethnicity (%)	0.125***	0.119***	0.115***
	(0.044)	(0.042)	(0.043)
Religion (%)	-0.080***	-0.083***	-0.079***
	(0.021)	(0.021)	(0.021)
Colonial history (%)	0.072*	0.053	0.098***
	(0.040)	(0.035)	(0.026)
Contiguous (%)	0.879***	0.876***	0.884***
	(0.071)	(0.070)	(0.070)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.102***	0.081***	0.101***
	(0.026)	(0.026)	(0.025)
log trade (avg)	0.004	0.005	0.005
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
IGO Size	0.009***	0.009***	0.009***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.026*	0.028*	0.027*
	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.015)
Polity2	0.001	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.025	-0.029	-0.025
	(0.028)	(0.028)	(0.028)
log GDP	0.003	0.002	-0.000
	(0.016)	(0.017)	(0.017)
Trade openness	1.185	1.206	1.152
	(1.148)	(1.129)	(1.167)
IGO memberships	-0.002**	-0.002*	-0.001*
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	0.352	0.403	0.407
	(0.244)	(0.252)	(0.249)
Observations	7969	7969	7969
Adjusted R^2	0.363	0.364	0.363

Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.28: Fixed-effects linear probability models subsetted on post-Cold War era

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.206***		
	(0.051)		
Convergent language (%)		0.153**	
		(0.060)	
De jure language (%)			0.203***
			(0.061)
Ethnicity (%)	-0.119**	-0.095	-0.112*
	(0.058)	(0.061)	(0.060)
Religion (%)	-0.197***	-0.205***	-0.195***
	(0.042)	(0.043)	(0.042)
Colonial history (%)	0.104**	0.182***	0.196***
	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.045)
Contiguous (%)	0.987***	0.975***	0.962***
	(0.111)	(0.111)	(0.110)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.016***	-0.017***	-0.017***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Allies (%)	0.174***	0.174***	0.175***
	(0.032)	(0.033)	(0.033)
log trade (avg)	0.003	0.003	0.003
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
IGO Size	0.006***	0.006***	0.006***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	-0.029	-0.022	-0.022
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Polity2	0.003	0.003	0.003
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
log GDP per capita	-0.016	-0.016	-0.013

	(0.130)	(0.131)	(0.130)
log GDP	0.112	0.118	0.110
	(0.114)	(0.114)	(0.113)
Trade openness	-0.928	-0.874	-0.872
	(0.743)	(0.751)	(0.729)
IGO memberships	-0.000	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.001
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Constant	-1.420	-1.505*	-1.409
	(0.893)	(0.892)	(0.890)
Observations	3272	3272	3272
Adjusted R^2	0.403	0.401	0.402
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.29: Fixed-effects linear probability models subsetted on regional organisations

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.134***		
	(0.040)		
Convergent language (%)		0.234***	
		(0.048)	
De jure language (%)			0.196***
			(0.040)
Ethnicity (%)	0.066	0.054	0.052
	(0.043)	(0.041)	(0.043)
Religion (%)	-0.316***	-0.322***	-0.307***
	(0.052)	(0.051)	(0.052)
Colonial history (%)	0.046	0.004	0.084***
	(0.044)	(0.043)	(0.032)
Contiguous (%)	0.787***	0.793***	0.792***
	(0.075)	(0.074)	(0.074)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)

Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.005***	-0.006***	-0.006***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Allies (%)	0.049	0.023	0.044
	(0.030)	(0.030)	(0.029)
log trade (avg)	0.027***	0.029***	0.028***
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.006)
IGO Size	0.022***	0.022***	0.021***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Polity2	0.001	0.000	-0.000
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
log GDP per capita	-0.006	-0.006	-0.003
	(0.041)	(0.043)	(0.042)
log GDP	-0.048	-0.051	-0.055
	(0.039)	(0.042)	(0.041)
Trade openness	0.060	0.152	0.015
	(0.678)	(0.683)	(0.679)
IGO memberships	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	-0.001	-0.001	-0.001
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Constant	1.329***	1.414***	1.438***
	(0.451)	(0.472)	(0.464)
Observations	4419	4419	4419
Adjusted R^2	0.412	0.416	0.415
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.30: Fixed-effects linear probability models subsetted on non-regional organisations

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.223***		
	(0.058)		
Convergent language (%)		0.119**	
		(0.060)	

De jure language (%)			0.025
			(0.077)
Ethnicity (%)	0.150***	0.177***	0.181***
	(0.052)	(0.054)	(0.054)
Religion (%)	0.002	-0.003	-0.000
	(0.018)	(0.018)	(0.018)
Colonial history (%)	-0.039	0.089**	0.136***
	(0.059)	(0.044)	(0.041)
Contiguous (%)	0.860***	0.843***	0.842***
	(0.123)	(0.125)	(0.127)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.015***	-0.015***	-0.015***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Allies (%)	0.193***	0.195***	0.213***
	(0.037)	(0.039)	(0.037)
log trade (avg)	0.009**	0.008*	0.008*
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	0.027	0.029	0.031
	(0.020)	(0.020)	(0.019)
log GDP	-0.003	-0.004	-0.004
	(0.011)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Trade openness	-0.051	-0.040	-0.063
	(0.345)	(0.342)	(0.340)
IGO memberships	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
State age	0.000	0.000	0.000
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	-0.131	-0.125	-0.131
	(0.194)	(0.194)	(0.192)
Observations	6822	6822	6822
Adjusted R^2	0.394	0.392	0.391
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
Clustered standard errors in parentheses			
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01			

Table C.31: Random-effects linear probability models

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	0.138***		
	(0.035)		
Convergent language (%)		0.140***	
		(0.039)	
De jure language (%)			0.158***
			(0.037)
Ethnicity (%)	0.022	0.035	0.016
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.037)
Religion (%)	-0.048**	-0.046**	-0.043**
	(0.019)	(0.019)	(0.020)
Colonial history (%)	0.106***	0.133***	0.170***
	(0.037)	(0.033)	(0.026)
Contiguous (%)	0.899***	0.886***	0.904***
	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.064)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.010***	-0.010***	-0.010***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Allies (%)	0.105***	0.087***	0.106***
	(0.022)	(0.022)	(0.021)
log trade (avg)	0.007**	0.008**	0.007**
	(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.003)
IGO Size	0.007***	0.007***	0.007***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Regional organisation	0.036***	0.041***	0.042***
	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Polity2	0.003***	0.003***	0.003***
	(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)
log GDP per capita	-0.022***	-0.025***	-0.021***
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)

log GDP	0.005	0.005	0.005
	(0.005)	(0.005)	(0.005)
Trade openness	0.288	0.386	0.277
	(0.289)	(0.283)	(0.284)
IGO memberships	0.002***	0.002***	0.002***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
State age	0.000*	0.000*	0.000**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Constant	0.099	0.132	0.098
	(0.134)	(0.135)	(0.133)
Observations	11241	11241	11241
Adjusted R^2			
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State RE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Clustered standard errors in parentheses
* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.32: Conditional logistic regression models

	(1)	(2)	(3)
Language (%)	1.254***		
	(0.308)		
Convergent language (%)		0.703**	
		(0.335)	
De jure language (%)			1.184***
			(0.303)
Ethnicity (%)	0.954***	1.099***	0.951***
	(0.294)	(0.299)	(0.299)
Religion (%)	-0.491*	-0.467*	-0.437*
	(0.251)	(0.245)	(0.247)
Colonial history (%)	0.576*	1.137***	1.217***
	(0.305)	(0.283)	(0.225)
Contiguous (%)	4.763***	4.715***	4.759***
	(0.513)	(0.510)	(0.502)
Distance (avg)	-0.000***	-0.000***	-0.000***
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
Polity2 difference (avg)	-0.093***	-0.095***	-0.095***

	(0.012)	(0.012)	(0.012)
Allies (%)	0.605***	0.588***	0.606***
	(0.184)	(0.184)	(0.177)
log trade (avg)	0.081**	0.076**	0.081**
	(0.036)	(0.036)	(0.036)
IGO Size	0.061***	0.060***	0.061***
	(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
Regional organisation	-0.092	-0.053	-0.065
	(0.120)	(0.119)	(0.120)
Polity2	0.012	0.011	0.009
	(0.009)	(0.009)	(0.009)
log GDP per capita	-0.049	-0.040	-0.026
	(0.219)	(0.218)	(0.220)
log GDP	-0.077	-0.088	-0.115
	(0.160)	(0.164)	(0.170)
Trade openness	0.894	0.961	0.428
	(2.958)	(2.923)	(2.942)
IGO memberships	-0.005	-0.005	-0.004
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)
State age	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.004)
Observations	11183	11183	11183
Pseudo R^2	0.406	0.405	0.406
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes

Robust standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.33: Heterogeneous effects of common language by IGO scope

	Conditional logit			Random-effects OLS		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Language (%)	2.024***			0.158***		
	(0.394)			(0.039)		
Convergent language (%)		1.842***			0.165***	
		(0.508)			(0.053)	
De jure language (%)			0.761			0.093
			(0.640)			(0.066)
Regional organisation × language (%)	-0.985***			-0.031		
	(0.294)			(0.032)		
Regional organisation × convergent language (%)		-1.281***			-0.032	
		(0.414)			(0.048)	
Regional organisation × *de jure* language (%)			0.470			0.080
			(0.569)			(0.060)
Regional organisation	0.166	0.154	-0.110	0.043***	0.045***	0.036***
	(0.159)	(0.143)	(0.131)	(0.014)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Group, IGO, and state controls	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Founding-year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
State RE	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Conditional logistic regression: robust standard errors in parentheses

Random-effects OLS regression: clustered standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Table C.34: Heterogeneous effects of common language by IGO type

	Conditional logit			Random-effects OLS		
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Lang. (%)	0.911***			0.085**		
	(0.315)			(0.037)		
Conv. (%)		0.456			0.091**	
		(0.335)			(0.040)	
De jure (%)			0.928***			0.102***
			(0.310)			(0.038)
Soc.×lang.	0.712***			0.085***		
	(0.256)			(0.031)		
Pol.×lang.	1.304***			0.239***		
	(0.329)			(0.042)		
Soc.×conv.		0.704**			0.087**	
		(0.295)			(0.038)	
Pol.×conv.		1.220**			0.254***	
		(0.479)			(0.059)	
Soc.×*de jure*			0.480			0.103**
			(0.370)			(0.050)
Pol.×*de jure*			1.824***			0.335***
			(0.572)			(0.066)
Social IGO	-0.566***	-0.507***	-0.415***	-0.045***	-0.039***	-0.035***
	(0.110)	(0.104)	(0.094)	(0.012)	(0.011)	(0.011)
Political IGO	-0.038	0.124	0.161	-0.019	-0.001	0.005
	(0.141)	(0.129)	(0.134)	(0.015)	(0.015)	(0.016)
Constant				0.127	0.155	0.120
				(0.132)	(0.132)	(0.133)
All controls	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
State FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	No
State RE	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

Conditional logistic regression: robust standard errors in parentheses

Random-effects OLS regression: clustered standard errors in parentheses

* p<0.10, ** p<0.05, *** p<0.01

Datasets

I

UNGD Language Norms Dataset

This dataset contains information on all 10,382 statements made by the representatives of state and non-state entities at the annual United Nations General Debates (UNGD) between 1946 and 2021. It is designed to be compatible with the United Nations General Debates Corpus dataset (Jankin, Baturo, and Dasandi 2024), which contains the official English-language translations of all UNGD statements but does not record their original languages.

I follow the UNGD Corpus dataset and use ISO3 codes to uniquely identify each entity. The 200 entries in the present dataset are ordered alphabetically by unique ISO3 identifier. For the main analysis, I convert ISO3 codes to Correlates of War (COW) codes and remove statements made by entities not present in the COW dataset, such as the European Union and the Holy See, thereby changing the total number of observations.

This dataset records two primary outcomes for each UNGD statement. The rules of the UN General Assembly provide that UN staff will interpret any statement made in a working language of the General Assembly into the other working languages. The rules also allow delegates to make statements to be made in any other language, so long as the delegation furnishes translation or interpretation into one of the working languages, whereupon UN staff will interpret into the remaining working languages. The two outcomes are thus the spoken language of each UNGD *speech* and the UNGA working language of the corresponding *submission* by the delegation.

These two variables are sourced from the official verbatim records of the UN General Debates, called *procès-verbal* documents. These documents are kept in the working languages of the General Assembly. Only English- and French-language versions of the documents are available from 1945 to 1947, as English and French were the only working languages of the UN General Assembly at inception. Spanish was adopted

in 1948, Russian in 1968, and Chinese and Arabic in 1973. Complete transcripts for all UNGD statements from 1946-2021 are thus only available in English and French. Each *procès-verbal* document contains the transcripts of multiple UNGD statements. In total, I consulted the English- and French-language versions of 1,620 documents covering 10,382 statements.

With the exception of the years 1948 and 1949, during which the UNGD was recorded in summary fashion instead of verbatim, each transcript clearly indicates the name of the speaker delivering the statement as well as the language or languages employed. The table below details with examples how each case is indicated in the raw documents.

Table I.1: Data entry based on *procès-verbal* documents

Situation	**Indication**	**Examples**
Speech delivered in the same language as the text of the version of the *procès-verbal* document consulted	None	French-language record of a delegate speaking in French; English-language record of a delegate speaking in English
Speech delivered in a UNGA working language other than the text of the version of the *procès-verbal* document consulted	Language indicated in brackets in-text	'(spoke in French)'; '(interpretation from French)'; '(translated from Russian); '(parle en anglais)'; '(interprétation de l'espagnol)'; '(traduit de l'anglais)'
Speech delivered in another language	Language of the speech and language of the delegation-provided translation indicated in a footnote	'Mr. Losonczi spoke in Hungarian. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation'; 'L'orateur s'est exprimé en portugais. La version française de sa déclaration a été communiquée par la délégation'

In a small number of cases, conflicting information was recorded in the English- and French-language versions of the *procès-verbal* documents. Conflicts are identified using footnotes at the end of each data table. Where available, I reconciled conflicts by referencing the corresponding versions in Spanish, Russian, Chinese, and Arabic and by considering the prior linguistic practices of each speaker. For speeches in or after 2014, I also referred to official videos of each speech (United Nations General

Assembly 2024).

The column titled 'Spoken' in the data table catalogues the language spoken by the delegate. As it is not uncommon for delegates to employ multiple languages in a single statement, I record all languages that are used to express original content, including greetings and formalities. Occasionally, delegates code-switch to quote verbatim from another source. In this case, I record the language used only if the original quotation is from a religious text, due to the symbolic significance of these types of pronouncements. I ignore quotes from diplomatic or policy sources.

Code-switching is clearly indicated in each official *procès-verbal* transcript. For multilingual speeches, I list languages in the 'Spoken' column in order of the proportion of their use, as measured by the count of numbered paragraphs in the statement transcript. The primary spoken language, used to pronounce the greatest proportion of the speech, is always listed first.

The next column, 'Written,' records the language of the delegation-supplied translation or interpretation. This language is identical to preceding column if the spoken language is a UNGA working language, or otherwise if the delegation failed to provide translation into a working language (in violation of the rules). If a delegate speaks in multiple working languages during a statement, then only the primary spoken language is listed.

Occasionally, a delegation will provide translation into more than one UNGA working language. If the original statement is made in a working language, then that language is listed first. Otherwise, languages are listed alphabetically.

The languages of delegation submissions are only consistently recorded when identical to the language of the version of the official *procès-verbal* document. Thus, an English-language *procès-verbal* document only sometimes, but not always, catalogues a delegation submission in French. This because UN translators often employ 'relay interpreting' (Song and Cheung 2019) For example, a delegate may speak in Ukrainian and provide a Russian-language interpretation, which is then interpreted into English by the UN team, and only then into French by another set of staff. The French-language version of the transcription for this statement may erroneously record the delegation as providing an English-language interpretation.

Since the dataset is based primarily on the English- and French-language versions of the official verbatim records, 'English' and 'French' are the only verifiably complete values for the 'Written' data field. The main analysis therefore only considers whether English was a submission language for each UNGD statement.

The field titled 'Speaker' gives the name of the delegate. The presence of an asterisk (*) indicates that they were head of government or state at the time of the statement. I scraped these data from the Dag Hammarskjöld Library (2025), which has archived the relevant information for the years 1946 to 2021. I then used regular expressions to parse and reconcile misspellings and variations of the names of all speakers in the dataset.

The final field, titled 'UN Record,' gives the document symbol of the relevant

procès-verbal document. The basic format for General Assembly document symbols is 'A/`session/sequential number`.' From 1946 to 1975, the format was 'A/`sequential number`.' The text contains a stable hyperlink that directs to the corresponding record in the UN official documents system. Each record is available in the working languages of the UNGA. The information contained in this dataset is thus instantly verifiable.

References

Assembly, United Nations General (2024). *Past General Debates*. General Assembly Archive. URL: `https://gadebate.un.org/en/sessions-archive` (visited on 01/06/2025).

Dag Hammarskjöld Library, United Nations (12th May 2025). *General Debate*. In: *UN General Assembly Documentation*. New York: United Nations. URL: `https://research.un.org/en/docs/ga/generaldebate` (visited on 01/06/2025).

Jankin, Slava, Alexander Baturo and Niheer Dasandi (2024). 'Words to unite nations: The complete United Nations General Debate Corpus, 1946–present'. In: *Journal of Peace Research* 62.4, pp. 1339–1351.

Song, Shuxian and Andrew K. F. Cheung (2019). 'Disfluency in relay and non-relay simultaneous interpreting: An initial exploration'. In: *FORUM. Revue internationale d' interprétation et de traduction / International Journal of Interpretation and Translation* 17.1, pp. 1–19.

Contents

AFG: Afghanistan 379
AGO: Angola 382
ALB: Albania 385
AND: Andorra 388
ARE: United Arab Emirates 390
ARG: Argentina 393
ARM: Armenia 396
ATG: Antigua and Barbuda 398
AUS: Australia 400
AUT: Austria 403
AZE: Azerbaijan 406
BDI: Burundi 408
BEL: Belgium 410
BEN: Benin 413
BFA: Burkina Faso 415
BGD: Bangladesh 417
BGR: Bulgaria 419
BHR: Bahrain 422
BHS: Bahamas 425
BIH: Bosnia and Herzegovina . . . 427
BLR: Belarus 428
BLZ: Belize 432
BOL: Bolivia 434
BRA: Brazil 438
BRB: Barbados 442
BRN: Brunei 444
BTN: Bhutan 446
BWA: Botswana 448
CAF: Central African Republic . . 450
CAN: Canada 453
CHE: Switzerland 457
CHL: Chile 458
CHN: China / Taiwan 462
CIV: Cote d'Ivoire 465
CMR: Cameroon 467
COD: Democratic Republic of the Congo 470
COG: Congo 473
COL: Colombia 476
COM: Comoros 480
CPV: Cape Verde 482
CRI: Costa Rica 485
CSK: Czechoslovakia 488
CUB: Cuba 490
CYP: Cyprus 494
CZE: Czech Republic 496
DDR: East Germany 497
DEU: Germany / West Germany . 498
DJI: Djibouti 500
DMA: Dominica 502
DNK: Denmark 504
DOM: Dominican Republic 507
DZA: Algeria 511
ECU: Ecuador 514
EGY: Egypt 518
ERI: Eritrea 521
ESP: Spain 523
EST: Estonia 526
ETH: Ethiopia 528
EU: European Union 531
FIN: Finland 532
FJI: Fiji 535
FRA: France 538
FSM: Micronesia 541
GAB: Gabon 542
GBR: United Kingdom 544
GEO: Georgia 547
GHA: Ghana 549
GIN: Guinea 552
GMB: Gambia 555
GNB: Guinea-Bissau 557
GNQ: Equatorial Guinea 560
GRC: Greece 563
GRD: Grenada 567

GTM: Guatemala 569
GUY: Guyana 573
HND: Honduras 575
HRV: Croatia 578
HTI: Haiti 580
HUN: Hungary 584
IDN: Indonesia 587
IND: India 590
IRL: Ireland 593
IRN: Iran 596
IRQ: Iraq 599
ISL: Iceland 602
ISR: Israel 605
ITA: Italy 608
JAM: Jamaica 611
JOR: Jordan 614
JPN: Japan 617
KAZ: Kazakhstan 620
KEN: Kenya 622
KGZ: Kyrgyzstan 625
KHM: Cambodia 627
KIR: Kiribati 630
KNA: Saint Kitts and Nevis 631
KOR: South Korea 633
KWT: Kuwait 635
LAO: Laos 639
LBN: Lebanon 642
LBR: Liberia 645
LBY: Libya 648
LCA: Saint Lucia 651
LIE: Liechtenstein 653
LKA: Sri Lanka 655
LSO: Lesotho 658
LTU: Lithuania 661
LUX: Luxembourg 663
LVA: Latvia 665
MAR: Morocco 667
MCO: Monaco 670
MDA: Moldova 671
MDG: Madagascar 672
MDV: Maldives 675
MEX: Mexico 677
MHL: Marshall Islands 680
MKD: Macedonia 682
MLI: Mali 684
MLT: Malta 687
MMR: Myanmar 689
MNE: Montenegro 692
MNG: Mongolia 693
MOZ: Mozambique 696
MRT: Mauritania 699
MUS: Mauritius 702
MWI: Malawi 705
MYS: Malaysia 707
NAM: Namibia 710
NER: Niger 712
NGA: Nigeria 715
NIC: Nicaragua 718
NLD: Netherlands 721
NOR: Norway 724
NPL: Nepal 727
NRU: Nauru 730
NZL: New Zealand 731
OMN: Oman 734
PAK: Pakistan 737
PAN: Panama 741
PER: Peru 744
PHL: Philippines 748
PLW: Palau 751
PNG: Papua New Guinea 752
POL: Poland 754
PRK: North Korea 757
PRT: Portugal 759
PRY: Paraguay 762
PSE: Palestine 765
QAT: Qatar 766
ROU: Romania 769
RUS: Russia / Soviet Union 772
RWA: Rwanda 776
SAU: Saudi Arabia 779
SDN: Sudan 781
SEN: Senegal 784
SGP: Singapore 786
SLB: Solomon Islands 789
SLE: Sierra Leone 791
SLV: El Salvador 794
SMR: San Marino 798
SOM: Somalia 799
SRB: Serbia 802
SSD: South Sudan 803

STP: Sao Tome and Principe . . . 804
SUR: Suriname 806
SVK: Slovak Republic 808
SVN: Slovenia 809
SWE: Sweden 810
SWZ: Swaziland 813
SYC: Seychelles 815
SYR: Syria 817
TCD: Chad 820
TGO: Togo 823
THA: Thailand 826
TJK: Tajikistan 829
TKM: Turkmenistan 831
TLS: Timor 833
TON: Tonga 834
TTO: Trinidad and Tobago 835
TUN: Tunisia 837
TUR: Turkey 840
TUV: Tuvalu 843
TZA: Tanzania 844
UGA: Uganda 847
UKR: Ukraine 850
URY: Uruguay 853
USA: United States 856
UZB: Uzbekistan 859
VAT: Vatican 860
VCT: Saint Vincent and the Grenadines 861
VEN: Venezuela 863
VNM: Vietnam 867
VUT: Vanuatu 869
WSM: Samoa 871
YEM: Yemen / North Yemen . . . 873
YMD: South Yemen 876
YUG: Yugoslavia 877
ZAF: South Africa 879
ZMB: Zambia 881
ZWE: Zimbabwe 884

AFG: Afghanistan

Table I.2: AFG: Afghanistan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
7	1952	English	English	Mohammed Kabir Ludin	A/PV.380
12	1957	English	English	Najibullah	A/PV.688
13	1958	English	English	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	A/PV.755
14	1959	English	English	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	A/PV.809
15	1960	English	English	Sardar Mohammed Naim	A/PV.876
16	1961	English	English	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	A/PV.1018
17	1962	English	English	Sardar Mohammed Naim	A/PV.1127
18	1963	English	English	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	A/PV.1224
19	1964	English	English	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	A/PV.1323
20	1965	English	English	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	A/PV.1362
21	1966	English	English	Abdul Majid	A/PV.1426
23	1968	English	English	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	A/PV.1690
24	1969	English	English	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	A/PV.1770
26	1971	English	English	Mohammed Moussa Shafique	A/PV.1961
27	1972	English	English	Mohammed Moussa Shafique	A/PV.2060
28	1973	English	English	Abdul Rahman Pazhwak	A/PV.2138
29	1974	English	English	Waheed Abdullah	A/PV.2258
30	1975	English	English	Waheed Abdullah	A/PV.2359
31	1976	English	English	Waheed Abdullah	A/31/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.2: AFG: Afghanistan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
32	1977	English	English	Waheed Abdullah	A/32/PV.19
33	1978	English	English	Abdur Rashid Jalili	A/33/PV.18
34	1979	English	English	Shah Wali	A/34/PV.14
35	1980	English	English	Shah Mohammad Dost	A/35/PV.11
36	1981	English	English	Shah Mohammad Dost	A/36/PV.8
37	1982	English	English	Shah Mohammad Dost	A/37/PV.32
38	1983	English	English	Shah Mohammad Dost	A/38/PV.21
39	1984	English	English	Shah Mohammad Dost	A/39/PV.12
40	1985	English	English	Shah Mohammad Dost	A/40/PV.12
41	1986	English	English	Shah Mohammad Dost	A/41/PV.10
42	1987	Dari	English	Abdul Wakil	A/42/PV.14
43	1988	Persian	English	Abdul Wakil	A/43/PV.12
44	1989	Dari	English	Abdul Wakil	A/44/PV.10
45	1990	Dari	English	Abdul Wakil	A/45/PV.23
46	1991	Dari	English	Fazl Ul-Haq Khaliqyar*	A/46/PV.7
47	1992	English	English	Hamid Karzai	A/47/PV.19
48	1993	English	English	Hedayat Arsala	A/48/PV.24
49	1994	English	English	Najibullah Lafraie	A/49/PV.13
50	1995	English	English	Abdul Rahim Ghafoorzai	A/50/PV.19
51	1996	English	English	Abdul Rahim Ghafoorzai	A/51/PV.25
52	1997	English	English	Abdullah Abdullah	A/52/PV.20
53	1998	English	English	Abdullah Abdullah	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	English	English	Abdullah Abdullah	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	English	English	Abdullah Abdullah	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	English	English	Ravan Farhadi	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	English	English	Hamid Karzai*	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	English	English	Hamid Karzai*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	English	English	Hamid Karzai*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English	English	Abdullah Abdullah	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	English	English	Hamid Karzai*	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	English	English	Hamid Karzai*	A/62/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.2: AFG: Afghanistan (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
63	2008	English	English	Hamid Karzai*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	English	English	Rangin Dadfar Spanta	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	English	English	Zalmai Rassoul	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Zalmai Rassoul	A/66/PV.18
67	2012	English	English	Hamid Karzai*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	English	English	Zalmai Rassoul	A/68/PV.17
69	2014	Pashto	English	Zarar Ahmad Osmani	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	English	English	Abdullah Abdullah	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	Dari	English	Sarwar Danesh	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Mohammad Ashraf Ghani*	A/72/PV.6
73	2018	English	English	Abdullah Abdullah	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	Hamdullah Mohib	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	English	English	Mohammad Ashraf Ghani*	A/75/PV.7

AGO: Angola

Table I.3: AGO: Angola

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
32	1977	Portuguese	English	Paulo Teixeira Jorge	A/32/PV.31
33	1978	Portuguese	English	Paulo Teixeira Jorge	A/33/PV.25
34	1979	English	English	Elisio de Figueiredo	A/34/PV.32
35	1980	French	French	Paulo Teixeira Jorge	A/35/PV.7
36	1981	French	French	Paulo Teixeira Jorge	A/36/PV.8
37	1982	French	French	Paulo Teixeira Jorge	A/37/PV.16
38	1983	French	French	Paulo Teixeira Jorge	A/38/PV.27
39	1984	French	French	Paulo Teixeira Jorge	A/39/PV.22
40	1985	English	English	Ismael Abraao Gaspar Martins	A/40/PV.25
41	1986	Portuguese	English	Afonso van Dunem ”Mbinda”	A/41/PV.7
42	1987	French	French	Afonso van Dunem ”Mbinda”	A/42/PV.17
43	1988	Portuguese	English	Afonso van Dunem ”Mbinda”	A/43/PV.31
44	1989	Portuguese	English	Afonso van Dunem ”Mbinda”	A/44/PV.21
45	1990	Portuguese	English	Pedro de Castro van Dunem	A/45/PV.29
46	1991	Portuguese	English	Pedro de Castro van Dunem	A/46/PV.5
47	1992	Portuguese	English	Domingos Manuel Nginga	A/47/PV.5
48	1993	Portuguese	English	Venancio de Moura	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	Portuguese	English	Venancio de Moura	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	Portuguese	English	Venancio de Moura	A/50/PV.5
51	1996	Portuguese	English	Venancio de Moura	A/51/PV.4
52	1997	Portuguese English	English	Venancio de Moura	A/52/PV.10
53	1998	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo de Miranda	A/53/PV.26

Continued on next page

Table I.3: AGO: Angola (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
54	1999	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo de Miranda	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	Portuguese[1]	English	Joao Bernardo de Miranda	A/55/PV.19
56	2001	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo de Miranda	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo de Miranda	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo de Miranda	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo de Miranda	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	English	English	Ismael Abraao Gaspar Martins	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo de Miranda	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	Portuguese	English	Jose Eduardo Dos Santos*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo de Miranda	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	Portuguese	English	Assuncao Afonso Dos Anjos	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	Portuguese	English	Georges Rebelo Pinto Chikoti	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	Portuguese	English	Georges Rebelo Pinto Chikoti	A/66/PV.27
67	2012	Portuguese	English	Ismael Abraao Gaspar Martins	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	Portuguese	English	Manuel Domingos Vicente	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	Portuguese	English	Manuel Domingos Vicente	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	Portuguese	English	Manuel Domingos Vicente	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	Portuguese	English	Manuel Domingos Vicente	A/71/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.3: AGO: Angola (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
72	2017	English	English	Ismael Abraao Gaspar Martins	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	Portuguese	English	Joao Manuel Goncalves Lourenco*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	Portuguese	English	Joao Manuel Goncalves Lourenco*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	Portuguese	English	Joao Manuel Goncalves Lourenco*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	Portuguese	English	Joao Manuel Goncalves Lourenco*	A/76/PV.10

[1] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/55/PV.19. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'parle en portugais; texte en anglais fourni par la délégation'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

ALB: Albania

Table I.4: ALB: Albania

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	French	French	Behar Shtylla	A/PV.601
12	1957	French	French	Behar Shtylla	A/PV.691
13	1958	French	French	Behar Shtylla	A/PV.763
14	1959	French	French	Behar Shtylla	A/PV.816
15	1960	Russian	Russian	Mehmet Shehu*	A/PV.872
16	1961	French	French	Behar Shtylla	A/PV.1023
17	1962	French	French	Behar Shtylla	A/PV.1136
18	1963	French	French	Behar Shtylla	A/PV.1218
19	1964	French	French	Behar Shtylla	A/PV.1304
20	1965	French	French	Behar Shtylla	A/PV.1344
21	1966	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/PV.1422
22	1967	French	French	Halim Budo	A/PV.1573
23	1968	French	French	Halim Budo	A/PV.1691
24	1969	French	French	Halim Budo	A/PV.1767
25	1970	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/PV.1851
26	1971	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/PV.1952
27	1972	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/PV.2048
28	1973	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/PV.2132
29	1974	French	French	Reis Malile	A/PV.2246
30	1975	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/PV.2365
31	1976	French	French	Reis Malile	A/31/PV.15
32	1977	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/32/PV.22
33	1978	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/33/PV.20
34	1979	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/34/PV.19
35	1980	French	French	Nesti Nase	A/35/PV.16
36	1981	French	French	Reis Malile	A/36/PV.19
37	1982	French	French	Reis Malile	A/37/PV.15
38	1983	French	French	Reis Malile	A/38/PV.19
39	1984	French	French	Reis Malile	A/39/PV.14
40	1985	French	French	Reis Malile	A/40/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.4: ALB: Albania (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
41	1986	French	French	Reis Malile	A/41/PV.17
42	1987	French	French	Reis Malile	A/42/PV.14
43	1988	French	French	Reis Malile	A/43/PV.12
44	1989	French	French	Reis Malile	A/44/PV.14
45	1990	Albanian	French	Ramiz Alia*	A/45/PV.12
46	1991	English	English	Muhamet Kapllani	A/46/PV.9
47	1992	French	French	Aleksander Meksi*	A/47/PV.15
48	1993	English	English	Alfred Serreqi	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	English	English	Alfred Serreqi	A/49/PV.17
50	1995	English	English	Alfred Serreqi	A/50/PV.15
51	1996	French	French	Tritan Shehu	A/51/PV.15
52	1997	English	English	Fatos Nano*	A/52/PV.13
53	1998	English	English	Paskal Milo	A/53/PV.25
54	1999	French	French	Rexhep Meidani*	A/54/PV.10
55	2000	English	English	Paskal Milo	A/55/PV.19
56	2001	French	French	Rexhep Meidani*	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	English	English	Ilir Meta	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	Albanian	English	Alfred Moisiu*	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	English	English	Fatos Nano*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	French	French	Besnik Mustafaj	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	Albanian	English	Alfred Moisiu*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	English	English	Sali Berisha*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	Albanian	English	Bamir Topi*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	English French	English	Sali Berisha*	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	Albanian	English	Bamir Topi*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	English	English	Sali Berisha*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English	English	Bujar Nishani*	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	English	English	Edi Rama*	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	English	English	Bujar Nishani*	A/69/PV.10
70	2015	English	English	Edi Rama*	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	English	English	Bujar Nishani*	A/71/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.4: ALB: Albania (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
72	2017	English	English	Edi Rama*	A/72/PV.15
73	2018	English	English	Ilir Meta*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Edi Rama*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Ilir Meta*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	English	English	Edi Rama*	A/76/PV.12

AND: Andorra

Table I.5: AND: Andorra

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
49	1994	Catalan	English Spanish	Oscar Ribas Reig*	A/49/PV.16
50	1995	Catalan	French Spanish	Manuel Mas Ribo	A/50/PV.14
51	1996	Catalan	English	Marc Forne Molne*	A/51/PV.4
52	1997	Catalan	English French	Marc Forne Molne*	A/52/PV.7
53	1998	Catalan	English French Spanish	Albert Pintat-Santolaria	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	Catalan	English	Marc Forne Molne*	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	English	English	Juli Minoves-Triquell	A/55/PV.25
56	2001	English French Spanish	English	Juli Minoves-Triquell	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	Catalan	English	Juli Minoves-Triquell	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	Catalan	English Spanish	Marc Forne Molne*	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	Catalan	English	Marc Forne Molne*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	Catalan	English	Juli Minoves-Triquell	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	Catalan	English French	Albert Pintat-Santolaria*	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	Catalan	English French Spanish	Albert Pintat-Santolaria*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	Catalan	English French Spanish	Albert Pintat-Santolaria*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	Catalan	English French	Xavier Espot Miro	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	Catalan	French Spanish	Jaume Bartumeu Cassany*	A/65/PV.20

Continued on next page

Table I.5: AND: Andorra (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
66	2011	Catalan	English French	Gilbert Saboya	A/66/PV.27
67	2012	Catalan English French Spanish	English French	Gilbert Saboya	A/67/PV.17
68	2013	Catalan	English French	Antoni Marti Petit*	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	Catalan	Spanish	Antoni Marti Petit*	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	Catalan	Spanish	Antoni Marti Petit*	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	Catalan	English French	Antoni Marti Petit*	A/71/PV.19
72	2017	Catalan	Spanish	Antoni Marti Petit*	A/72/PV.17
73	2018	Catalan	English French	Antoni Marti Petit*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	Catalan	Spanish	Xavier Espot Zamora*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	Catalan	English French	Xavier Espot Zamora*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	Catalan[2]	French	Xavier Espot Zamora*	A/76/PV.14

[2] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.14. The English version indicates: '[Original: French]', while the French version indicates: '[Original: catalan; texte français fourni par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

ARE: United Arab Emirates

Table I.6: ARE: United Arab Emirates

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	Arabic	English	Ahmed Khalifa Al-Suweidi	A/PV.2043
28	1973	Arabic	English	Ahmed Khalifa Al-Suweidi	A/PV.2135
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Khalifa Al-Suweidi	A/PV.2261
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Saif Ghobash	A/PV.2367
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Saif Ghobash	A/31/PV.29
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Khalifa Al-Suweidi	A/32/PV.18
33	1978	Arabic[3]	Arabic	Ahmed Khalifa Al-Suweidi	A/33/PV.19
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/34/PV.20
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/35/PV.24
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/36/PV.22
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/37/PV.20
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/38/PV.18
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/39/PV.19
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/40/PV.19
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/41/PV.22
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/42/PV.21
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/43/PV.17
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/44/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.6: ARE: United Arab Emirates (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/45/PV.19
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/46/PV.17
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/47/PV.19
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/48/PV.14
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/49/PV.18
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/50/PV.18
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/51/PV.17
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/52/PV.11
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/53/PV.11
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulaziz Al-Shamsi	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Abdullah Al-Nuaimi	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/62/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.6: ARE: United Arab Emirates (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/67/PV.17
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/68/PV.20
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/70/PV.26
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic English	Abdullah bin Zayed Al Nahyan	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Khalifa Shaheen Al Marar	A/76/PV.16

[3] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/33/PV.19. The English version indicates: 'interpretation from Arabic', while the French version is missing. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

ARG: Argentina

Table I.7: ARG: Argentina

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Arce	A/PV.37
2	1947	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Arce	A/PV.85
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Jose Arce	A/PV.229
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Jeronimo Remorino	A/PV.288
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Hipolito Jesus Paz	A/PV.346
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Rodolfo Munoz	A/PV.380
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Rodolfo Munoz	A/PV.447
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Cooke	A/PV.488
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Jose Plate	A/PV.531
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Anibal Osvaldo Olivieri	A/PV.588
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Mariano Drago	A/PV.693
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Alberto Florit	A/PV.751
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Diogenes Taboada	A/PV.797
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Diogenes Taboada	A/PV.871
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Arturo Frondizi*	A/PV.1018
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Pablo Santos Munoz	A/PV.1149
18	1963	Spanish[4]	Spanish	Juan Carlos Cordini	A/PV.1212
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Zavala Ortiz	A/PV.1292
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Zavala Ortiz	A/PV.1337
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Nicanor Costa Mendez	A/PV.1420
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Nicanor Costa Mendez	A/PV.1569
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Nicanor Costa Mendez	A/PV.1697
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Martin	A/PV.1765
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Maria de Pablo Pardo	A/PV.1854
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Maria de Pablo Pardo	A/PV.1948

Continued on next page

Table I.7: ARG: Argentina (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Eduardo Mcloughlin	A/PV.2043
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Vignes	A/PV.2139
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Vignes	A/PV.2240
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Angel Federico Robledo	A/PV.2357
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Augusto Guzzetti	A/31/PV.18
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Montes	A/32/PV.15
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Montes	A/33/PV.11
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Pastor	A/34/PV.10
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Pastor	A/35/PV.9
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Camilion	A/36/PV.7
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Ramon Aguirre Lanari	A/37/PV.14
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Ramon Aguirre Lanari	A/38/PV.6
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Alfonsin*	A/39/PV.5
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Dante Caputo	A/40/PV.5
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Dante Caputo	A/41/PV.5
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Dante Caputo	A/42/PV.13
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Susana Ruiz Cerutti	A/43/PV.5
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Saul Menem*	A/44/PV.5
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Domingo F. Cavallo	A/45/PV.5
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Guido di Tella	A/46/PV.5
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Guido di Tella	A/47/PV.5
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Guido di Tella	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Saul Menem*	A/49/PV.6
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Guido di Tella	A/50/PV.8
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Guido di Tella	A/51/PV.4
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Guido di Tella	A/52/PV.10
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Guido di Tella	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Saul Menem*	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Candioti	A/55/PV.27

Continued on next page

Table I.7: ARG: Argentina (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando de la Rua*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Ruckauf	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Nestor Carlos Kirchner*	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Nestor Carlos Kirchner*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Antonio Bielsa	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Nestor Carlos Kirchner*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Nestor Carlos Kirchner*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner*	A/67/PV.7
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner*	A/68/PV.7
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner*	A/70/PV.14
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Mauricio Macri*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Marta Gabriela Michetti Illia	A/72/PV.9
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Mauricio Macri*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Mauricio Macri*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Fernandez*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Fernandez*	A/76/PV.4

[4] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/PV.1212. The English version indicates: 'translated from Spanish', while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

ARM: Armenia

Table I.8: ARM: Armenia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	French	French	Levon Ter-Petrossian*	A/47/PV.8
48	1993	English	English	Vahan Papazian	A/48/PV.24
49	1994	French	French	Levon Ter-Petrossian*	A/49/PV.9
50	1995	English	English	Vahan Papazian	A/50/PV.6
51	1996	English	English	Vahan Papazian	A/51/PV.17
52	1997	English	English	Alexander Arzoumanian	A/52/PV.18
53	1998	Russian	Russian	Robert Kocharian*	A/53/PV.15
54	1999	English	English	Vartan Oskanian	A/54/PV.17
55	2000	English	English	Vartan Oskanian	A/55/PV.21
56	2001	English	English	Vartan Oskanian	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	English	English	Vartan Oskanian	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	English	English	Vartan Oskanian	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	English	English	Vartan Oskanian	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	English	English	Vartan Oskanian	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	English	English	Vartan Oskanian	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	English	English	Vartan Oskanian	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	Armenian	English	Serzh Sargsyan*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	English	English	Edward Nalbandyan	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	English French	English	Edward Nalbandyan	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	Armenian	English	Serzh Sargsyan*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	English French	English	Edward Nalbandyan	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	English French	English	Edward Nalbandyan	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	Armenian	English	Serzh Sargsyan*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Armenian	English	Serzh Sargsyan*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	English French	English	Edward Nalbandyan	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	Armenian	English	Serzh Sargsyan*	A/72/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.8: ARM: Armenia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
73	2018	English French	English	Nikol Pashinyan*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	English	English	Nikol Pashinyan*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Nikol Pashinyan*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	Armenian[5]	English	Nikol Pashinyan*	A/76/PV.12

[5] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.12. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: arménien; texte anglais fourni par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

ATG: Antigua and Barbuda

Table I.9: ATG: Antigua and Barbuda

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
37	1982	English	English	Lester B. Bird	A/37/PV.33
38	1983	English	English	Lester B. Bird	A/38/PV.20
39	1984	English	English	Lloydstone F. Jacobs	A/39/PV.30
41	1986	English	English	Lester B. Bird	A/41/PV.19
43	1988	English	English	Lionel Hurst	A/43/PV.26
44	1989	English	English	Lionel Hurst	A/44/PV.28
45	1990	English	English	Lionel Hurst	A/45/PV.27
46	1991	English	English	Lionel Hurst	A/46/PV.26
47	1992	English	English	Lionel Hurst	A/47/PV.24
48	1993	English	English	Lionel Hurst	A/48/PV.23
49	1994	English	English	Lester B. Bird*	A/49/PV.20
50	1995	English	English	Lionel Hurst	A/50/PV.24
51	1996	English	English	Patrick Lewis	A/51/PV.25
52	1997	English	English	Patrick Lewis	A/52/PV.20
53	1998	English	English	Patrick Lewis	A/53/PV.18
54	1999	English	English	Patrick Lewis	A/54/PV.17
55	2000	English	English	Patrick Lewis	A/55/PV.28
56	2001	English	English	Patrick Lewis	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	English	English	Patrick Lewis	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	English	English	Patrick Lewis	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Winston Baldwin Spencer*	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	English	English	Trevor Walker	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	English	English	Justin Simon	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	English	English	Winston Baldwin Spencer*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	English	English	Winston Baldwin Spencer*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	English	English	Winston Baldwin Spencer*	A/64/PV.7

Continued on next page

Table I.9: ATG: Antigua and Barbuda (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
65	2010	English	English	Winston Baldwin Spencer*	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Winston Baldwin Spencer*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English	English	Winston Baldwin Spencer*	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	English	English	Winston Baldwin Spencer*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	English	English	Gaston Alphonso Browne*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	English	English	Gaston Alphonso Browne*	A/70/PV.23
71	2016	English	English	Gaston Alphonso Browne*	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Gaston Alphonso Browne*	A/72/PV.14
73	2018	English	English	Gaston Alphonso Browne*	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Gaston Alphonso Browne*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	Gaston Alphonso Browne*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English	English	Gaston Alphonso Browne*	A/76/PV.16

AUS: Australia

Table I.10: AUS: Australia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Norman John Oswald Makin	A/PV.43
2	1947	English	English	Herbert Vere Evatt	A/PV.83
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	John Albert Beasley	A/PV.146
5	1950	English	English	Percy Claude Spender	A/PV.280
6	1951	English	English	Richard G. Casey	A/PV.338
7	1952	English	English	Richard G. Casey	A/PV.384
8	1953	English	English	Richard G. Casey	A/PV.436
9	1954	English	English	Richard G. Casey	A/PV.479
10	1955	English	English	Richard G. Casey	A/PV.520
11	1956	English	English	Richard G. Casey	A/PV.588
12	1957	English	English	Richard G. Casey	A/PV.687
13	1958	English	English	Richard G. Casey	A/PV.759
14	1959	English	English	Richard G. Casey	A/PV.814
15	1960	English	English	Robert Menzies*	A/PV.888
16	1961	English	English	James Plimsoll	A/PV.1035
17	1962	English	English	Garfield Barwick	A/PV.1132
18	1963	English	English	Garfield Barwick	A/PV.1226
19	1964	English	English	Paul Hasluck	A/PV.1299
20	1965	English	English	James Plimsoll	A/PV.1341
21	1966	English	English	Paul Hasluck	A/PV.1418
22	1967	English	English	Paul Hasluck	A/PV.1590
23	1968	English	English	Paul Hasluck	A/PV.1687
24	1969	English	English	Gordon Freeth	A/PV.1759
25	1970	English	English	William Mcmahon	A/PV.1846
26	1971	English	English	Nigel Bowen	A/PV.1951
27	1972	English	English	Nigel Bowen	A/PV.2042
28	1973	English	English	Don Willesee	A/PV.2138
29	1974	English	English	Edward Gough Whitlam*	A/PV.2249
30	1975	English	English	Don Willesee	A/PV.2357

Continued on next page

Table I.10: AUS: Australia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	English	English	Andrew Peacock	A/31/PV.9
32	1977	English	English	Andrew Peacock	A/32/PV.11
33	1978	English	English	Andrew Peacock	A/33/PV.24
34	1979	English	English	Andrew Peacock	A/34/PV.16
35	1980	English	English	Andrew Peacock	A/35/PV.10
36	1981	English	English	Anthony Austin Street	A/36/PV.5
37	1982	English	English	Anthony Austin Street	A/37/PV.19
38	1983	English	English	William George Hayden	A/38/PV.17
39	1984	English	English	William George Hayden	A/39/PV.17
40	1985	English	English	William George Hayden	A/40/PV.17
41	1986	English	English	William George Hayden	A/41/PV.19
42	1987	English	English	Richard Woolcott	A/42/PV.31
43	1988	English	English	Gareth J. Evans	A/43/PV.17
44	1989	English	English	Gareth J. Evans	A/44/PV.21
45	1990	English	English	Gareth J. Evans	A/45/PV.17
46	1991	English	English	Gareth J. Evans	A/46/PV.5
47	1992	English	English	Gareth J. Evans	A/47/PV.15
48	1993	English	English	Gareth J. Evans	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	English	English	Gareth J. Evans	A/49/PV.15
50	1995	English	English	Gareth J. Evans	A/50/PV.15
51	1996	English	English	Alexander Downer	A/51/PV.15
52	1997	English	English	Alexander Downer	A/52/PV.23
53	1998	English	English	Penny Wensley	A/53/PV.9
54	1999	English	English	Alexander Downer	A/54/PV.16
55	2000	English	English	Alexander Downer	A/55/PV.20
56	2001	English	English	John Dauth	A/56/PV.57
57	2002	English	English	Alexander Downer	A/57/PV.4

Continued on next page

Table I.10: AUS: Australia (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
58	2003	English	English	Alexander Downer	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	English	English	John Dauth	A/59/PV.17
60	2005	English	English	Alexander Downer	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	English	English	Alexander Downer	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	English	English	Robert Hill	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Kevin Rudd*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Kevin Rudd*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	English	English	Kevin Rudd	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	English	English	Kevin Rudd	A/66/PV.18
67	2012	English	English	Julia Gillard*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	English	English	Julie Bishop	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	English	English	Tony Abbott	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	English	English	Julie Bishop	A/70/PV.18
71	2016	English	English	Malcolm Turnbull*	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	English	English	Julie Bishop	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	English	English	Marise Payne	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Scott Morrison*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	English	English	Scott Morrison*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English	English	Scott Morrison*	A/76/PV.13

AUT: Austria

Table I.11: AUT: Austria

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	German	English	Leopold Figl	A/PV.589
12	1957	German	English	Leopold Figl	A/PV.687
13	1958	German	English	Leopold Figl	A/PV.755
14	1959	English	English	Bruno Kreisky	A/PV.800
15	1960	English	English	Bruno Kreisky	A/PV.877
17	1962	English	English	Bruno Kreisky	A/PV.1131
18	1963	English	English	Bruno Kreisky	A/PV.1217
20	1965	English	English	Bruno Kreisky	A/PV.1358
21	1966	English	English	Lujo Toncic-Sorinj	A/PV.1430
22	1967	English	English	Lujo Toncic-Sorinj	A/PV.1578
23	1968	English	English	Kurt Waldheim	A/PV.1692
24	1969	English	English	Kurt Waldheim	A/PV.1765
25	1970	English	English	Rudolf Kirchschlager	A/PV.1855
26	1971	English	English	Rudolf Kirchschlager	A/PV.1946
27	1972	English	English	Rudolf Kirchschlager	A/PV.2054
28	1973	English	English	Rudolf Kirchschlager	A/PV.2142
29	1974	French	French	Erich Bielka-Karltreu	A/PV.2244
30	1975	French	French	Erich Bielka-Karltreu	A/PV.2371
31	1976	English	English	Willibald Pahr	A/31/PV.27
32	1977	English	English	Willibald Pahr	A/32/PV.20
33	1978	English	English	Willibald Pahr	A/33/PV.12
34	1979	English	English	Willibald Pahr	A/34/PV.9
35	1980	English	English	Willibald Pahr	A/35/PV.20
36	1981	English	English	Willibald Pahr	A/36/PV.21
37	1982	English	English	Willibald Pahr	A/37/PV.7
38	1983	English	English	Erwin Lanc	A/38/PV.14
39	1984	English	English	Leopold Gratz	A/39/PV.16
40	1985	English	English	Leopold Gratz	A/40/PV.11
41	1986	English	English	Peter Jankowitsch	A/41/PV.16
42	1987	English	English	Alois Mock	A/42/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.11: AUT: Austria (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
43	1988	English	English	Alois Mock	A/43/PV.13
44	1989	English	English	Alois Mock	A/44/PV.4
45	1990	French	French	Alois Mock	A/45/PV.13
46	1991	French	French	Alois Mock	A/46/PV.12
47	1992	French	French	Alois Mock	A/47/PV.4
48	1993	French	French	Alois Mock	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	French	French	Alois Mock	A/49/PV.11
50	1995	English	English	Benita Ferrero-Waldner	A/50/PV.12
51	1996	English	English	Wolfgang Schussel	A/51/PV.9
52	1997	English	English	Wolfgang Schussel	A/52/PV.12
53	1998	English	English	Wolfgang Schussel	A/53/PV.4
54	1999	English	English	Benita Ferrero-Waldner	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	English	English	Benita Ferrero-Waldner	A/55/PV.17
56	2001	English	English	Benita Ferrero-Waldner	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	English	English	Benita Ferrero-Waldner	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	English	English	Benita Ferrero-Waldner	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	English	English	Benita Ferrero-Waldner	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	Ursula Plassnik	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	English	English	Ursula Plassnik	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	English	English	Ursula Plassnik	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	English	English	Ursula Plassnik	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	English	English	Michael Spindelegger	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	Michael Spindelegger	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	English	English	Michael Spindelegger	A/66/PV.23
67	2012	English	English	Michael Spindelegger	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	English	English	Heinz Fischer*	A/68/PV.6
69	2014	English	English	Sebastian Kurz	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	English	English	Sebastian Kurz	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Sebastian Kurz	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	English	English	Sebastian Kurz	A/72/PV.6

Continued on next page

Table I.11: AUT: Austria (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
73	2018	English French Spanish Arabic	English	Karin Kneissl	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	English	English	Alexander Schallenberg	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	Alexander Schallenberg	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	English	English	Alexander Schallenberg	A/76/PV.11

AZE: Azerbaijan

Table I.12: AZE: Azerbaijan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	Russian	Russian	Tofik Gassymov	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	Russian	Russian	Yashar T. Aliyev	A/48/PV.27
49	1994	Russian	Russian	Heydar Oglu Alirza Aliyev*	A/49/PV.11
50	1995	Russian	Russian	Eldar Kouliev	A/50/PV.21
51	1996	Russian	Russian	Eldar Kouliev	A/51/PV.26
52	1997	Russian	Russian	Eldar Kouliev	A/52/PV.25
53	1998	Russian	Russian	Tofik Zulfugarov	A/53/PV.19
54	1999	English	English	Tofik Zulfugarov	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	Russian	Russian	Eldar Kouliev	A/55/PV.24
56	2001	English	English	Vilayat Guliyev	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	English	English	Vilayat Guliyev	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	English	English	Ilham Heydar Oglu Aliyev*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	English	English	Ilham Heydar Oglu Aliyev*	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Ilham Heydar Oglu Aliyev*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/67/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.12: AZE: Azerbaijan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
68	2013	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/69/PV.14
70	2015	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/70/PV.21
71	2016	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/71/PV.19
72	2017	English	English	Ilham Heydar Oglu Aliyev*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Elmar Maharram Oglu Mammadyarov	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	English	English	Ilham Heydar Oglu Aliyev*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	English	English	Ilham Heydar Oglu Aliyev*	A/76/PV.11

BDI: Burundi

Table I.13: BDI: Burundi

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
18	1963	French	French	Pie Masumbuko	A/PV.1221
19	1964	French	French	Joseph Mbazumutima	A/PV.1305
21	1966	French	French	Prime Niyongabo	A/PV.1423
22	1967	French	French	Joseph Ndabaniwe	A/PV.1571
23	1968	French	French	Lazare Ntawurishira	A/PV.1703
24	1969	French	French	Nsanze Terence	A/PV.1779
26	1971	French	French	Nsanze Terence	A/PV.1965
27	1972	French	French	Artemon Simbananiye	A/PV.2061
28	1973	French	French	Artemon Simbananiye	A/PV.2137
29	1974	French	French	Artemon Simbananiye	A/PV.2259
30	1975	French	French	Gilles Bimazubute	A/PV.2372
31	1976	French	French	Melchior Bwakira	A/31/PV.14
32	1977	French	French	Albert Muganga	A/32/PV.30
33	1978	French	French	Albert Muganga	A/33/PV.13
34	1979	French	French	Jean-Baptiste Bagaza*	A/34/PV.9
35	1980	French	French	Edouard Nzambimana	A/35/PV.18
36	1981	French	French	Edouard Nzambimana	A/36/PV.19
37	1982	French	French	Melchior Bwakira	A/37/PV.33
38	1983	French	French	Laurent Nzeyimana	A/38/PV.28
39	1984	French	French	Laurent Nzeyimana	A/39/PV.13
40	1985	French	French	Laurent Nzeyimana	A/40/PV.5
41	1986	French	French	Mathias Sinamenye	A/41/PV.30
42	1987	French	French	Cyprien Mbonimpa	A/42/PV.31
43	1988	French	French	Cyprien Mbonimpa	A/43/PV.25
44	1989	French	French	Cyprien Mbonimpa	A/44/PV.24
45	1990	French	French	Cyprien Mbonimpa	A/45/PV.22
46	1991	French	French	Cyprien Mbonimpa	A/46/PV.21
47	1992	French	French	Adrien Sibomana*	A/47/PV.18
48	1993	French	French	Melchior Ndadaye*	A/48/PV.14
49	1994	French	French	Jean-Marie Ngendahayo	A/49/PV.28

Continued on next page

Table I.13: BDI: Burundi (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
50	1995	French	French	Nsanze Terence	A/50/PV.25
51	1996	French	French	Luc Rukingama	A/51/PV.16
52	1997	French	French	Luc Rukingama	A/52/PV.22
53	1998	French	French	Pierre Buyoya*	A/53/PV.9
54	1999	French	French	Severin Ntahomvukiye	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	French	French	Marc Nteturuye	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	French	French	Therence Sinunguruza	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	French	French	Pierre Buyoya*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	French	French	Domitien Ndayizeye*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	French	French	Domitien Ndayizeye*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	French	French	Pierre Nkurunziza*	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	French	French	Pierre Nkurunziza*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	French	French	Martin Nduwimana	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	French	French	Gabriel Ntisezerana	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	French	French	Gabriel Ntisezerana	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	French	French	Gervais Rufyikiri	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	French	French	Pierre Nkurunziza*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	French	French	Therence Sinunguruza	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	French	French	Laurent Kavakure	A/68/PV.14
69	2014	French	French	Prosper Bazombanza	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	French	French	Joseph Butore	A/70/PV.23
71	2016	English French	English	Alain Aime Nyamitwe	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	French	French	Alain Aime Nyamitwe	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	French	French	Ezechiel Nibigira	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	French	French	Ezechiel Nibigira	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	French	French	Evariste Ndayishimiye*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	French	French	Evariste Ndayishimiye*	A/76/PV.11

BEL: Belgium

Table I.14: BEL: Belgium

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Fernand van Langenhove	A/PV.36
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Paul-Henri Spaak	A/PV.147
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Paul van Zeeland	A/PV.226
5	1950	French	French	Paul van Zeeland	A/PV.281
6	1951	French	French	Paul van Zeeland	A/PV.344
7	1952	French	French	Paul van Zeeland	A/PV.392
8	1953	French	French	Paul van Zeeland	A/PV.445
12	1957	French	French	Victor Larock	A/PV.685
13	1958	French	French	Pierre Wigny	A/PV.766
14	1959	French	French	Pierre Wigny	A/PV.809
15	1960	French	French	Pierre Wigny	A/PV.880
17	1962	French	French	Paul-Henri Spaak	A/PV.1138
18	1963	French	French	Paul-Henri Spaak	A/PV.1233
21	1966	French	French	Pierre Harmel	A/PV.1432
22	1967	French	French	Pierre Harmel	A/PV.1570
23	1968	French	French	Pierre Harmel	A/PV.1689
24	1969	French	French	Pierre Harmel	A/PV.1765
25	1970	French	French	Pierre Harmel	A/PV.1856
26	1971	French	French	Pierre Harmel	A/PV.1950
27	1972	French	French	Pierre Harmel	A/PV.2054
28	1973	French	French	Renaat van Elslande	A/PV.2144
29	1974	French	French	Renaat van Elslande	A/PV.2244
30	1975	French	French	Renaat van Elslande	A/PV.2361
31	1976	French	French	Renaat van Elslande	A/31/PV.10
32	1977	French	French	Henri Simonet	A/32/PV.7
33	1978	French	French	Henri Simonet	A/33/PV.17
34	1979	French	French	Henri Simonet	A/34/PV.22
35	1980	French	French	Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb	A/35/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.14: BEL: Belgium (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
36	1981	French	French	Charles-Ferdinand Nothomb	A/36/PV.14
37	1982	French	French	Leo Tindemans	A/37/PV.10
38	1983	French	French	Leo Tindemans	A/38/PV.7
39	1984	French	French	Leo Tindemans	A/39/PV.7
40	1985	French	French	Leo Tindemans	A/40/PV.11
41	1986	French	French	Leo Tindemans	A/41/PV.9
42	1987	French	French	Leo Tindemans	A/42/PV.9
43	1988	French	French	Leo Tindemans	A/43/PV.9
44	1989	French	French	Mark Eyskens	A/44/PV.9
45	1990	French	French	Mark Eyskens	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	French	French	Paul de Keersmaeker	A/46/PV.27
47	1992	French	French	Willy Claes	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	French	French	Willy Claes	A/48/PV.6
49	1994	French	French	Willy Claes	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	French	French	Erik Derycke	A/50/PV.7
51	1996	French	French	Erik Derycke	A/51/PV.6
52	1997	French	French	Erik Derycke	A/52/PV.12
53	1998	French	French	Erik Derycke	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	French	French	Louis Michel	A/54/PV.14
55	2000	French	French	Louis Michel	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	French	French	Louis Michel	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	French	French	Louis Michel	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	French	French	Louis Michel	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	French	French	Karel de Gucht	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	French	French	Karel de Gucht	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	French	French	Karel de Gucht	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	French	French	Karel de Gucht	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	French	French	Karel de Gucht	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	French	French	Yves Leterme	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English French	English	Steven Vanackere	A/65/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.14: BEL: Belgium (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
66	2011	English French	English	Steven Vanackere	A/66/PV.24
67	2012	French	French	Elio di Rupo*	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	French	French	Elio di Rupo*	A/68/PV.14
69	2014	French	French	Elio di Rupo*	A/69/PV.14
70	2015	French	French	Charles Michel*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	French	French	Charles Michel*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	French	French	Charles Michel*	A/72/PV.15
73	2018	French	French	Charles Michel*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	French	French	Charles Michel*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	French	French	Sophie Wilmes*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English French	English	Alexander de Croo*	A/76/PV.13

BEN: Benin

Table I.15: BEN: Benin

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
18	1963	French	French	Emile-Derlin Zinsou	A/PV.1212
19	1964	French	French	Gabriel Lozes	A/PV.1290
20	1965	French	French	Gabriel Lozes	A/PV.1340
21	1966	French	French	Emile-Derlin Zinsou	A/PV.1432
23	1968	French	French	Daouda Badarou	A/PV.1696
26	1971	French	French	Michel Ahouanmenou	A/PV.1953
27	1972	French	French	Michel Ahouanmenou	A/PV.2061
28	1973	French	French	Michel Alladaye	A/PV.2144
29	1974	French	French	Michel Alladaye	A/PV.2249
30	1975	French	French	Tiamiou Adjibade	A/PV.2361
31	1976	French	French	Michel Alladaye	A/31/PV.10
32	1977	French	French	Michel Alladaye	A/32/PV.30
33	1978	French	French	Michel Alladaye	A/33/PV.29
34	1979	French	French	Michel Alladaye	A/34/PV.28
35	1980	French	French	Simon Ifede Ogouma	A/35/PV.33
36	1981	French	French	Simon Ifede Ogouma	A/36/PV.28
37	1982	French	French	Tiamiou Adjibade	A/37/PV.34
38	1983	French	French	Tiamiou Adjibade	A/38/PV.32
39	1984	French	French	Frederic Affo	A/39/PV.23
40	1985	French	French	Frederic Affo	A/40/PV.25
42	1987	French	French	Guy Landry Hazoume	A/42/PV.29
43	1988	French	French	Gratien Tonakpon Capo-Chichi	A/43/PV.25
44	1989	French	French	Daniel Tawana	A/44/PV.30
45	1990	French	French	Theophile Nata	A/45/PV.20
46	1991	French	French	Theodore Holo	A/46/PV.25
47	1992	French	French	Theodore Holo	A/47/PV.15
48	1993	French	French	Robert Dossou	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	French	French	Robert Dossou	A/49/PV.13
50	1995	French	French	Edgar-Yves Monnou	A/50/PV.10
51	1996	French	French	Pierre Osho	A/51/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.15: BEN: Benin (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
52	1997	French	French	Pierre Osho	A/52/PV.20
53	1998	French	French	Kolawole Idji	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	French	French	Kolawole Idji	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	French	French	Joel Wassi Adechi	A/55/PV.28
56	2001	French	French	Kolawole Idji	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	French	French	Kolawole Idji	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	French	French	Rogatien Biaou	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	French	French	Rogatien Biaou	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	French	French	Rogatien Biaou	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	French	French	Boni Yayi*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	French	French	Moussa Okanla	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	French	French	Boni Yayi*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	French	French	Jean-Marie Ehouzou	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	French	French	Jean-Marie Ehouzou	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	French	French	Nassirou Bako-Arifari	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	French	French	Boni Yayi*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	French	French	Nassirou Bako-Arifari	A/68/PV.14
69	2014	French	French	Jean-Francis Regis Zinsou	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	French	French	Lionel Zinsou*	A/70/PV.21
71	2016	French	French	Patrice Athanase Guillaume Talon*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	French	French	Aurelien Agbenonci	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	French	French	Jean-Claude Felix do Rego	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	French	French	Jean-Claude Felix do Rego	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	French	French	Aurelien Agbenonci	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	French	French	Mariam Chabi Talata	A/76/PV.12

BFA: Burkina Faso

Table I.16: BFA: Burkina Faso

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
17	1962	French	French	Frederic Guirma	A/PV.1153
18	1963	French	French	Lompolo Kone	A/PV.1236
21	1966	French	French	Pierre Ilboudo	A/PV.1421
22	1967	French	French	Malick Zorome	A/PV.1568
24	1969	French	French	Malick Zorome	A/PV.1781
26	1971	French	French	Joseph Conombo	A/PV.1943
27	1972	French	French	Joseph Conombo	A/PV.2047
28	1973	French	French	Joseph Conombo	A/PV.2129
29	1974	French	French	Saye Zerbo	A/PV.2255
30	1975	French	French	Saye Zerbo	A/PV.2366
31	1976	French	French	Alfred Kabore	A/31/PV.22
32	1977	French	French	Moussa Kargougou	A/32/PV.29
33	1978	French	French	Moussa Kargougou	A/33/PV.26
34	1979	French	French	Moussa Kargougou	A/34/PV.26
35	1980	French	French	Moussa Kargougou	A/35/PV.11
36	1981	French	French	Felix Tientaraboum	A/36/PV.28
37	1982	French	French	Michel Kafando	A/37/PV.30
38	1983	French	French	Hama Arba Diallo	A/38/PV.30
39	1984	French	French	Thomas Sankara*	A/39/PV.20
40	1985	French	French	Basile Laetare Guissou	A/40/PV.4
41	1986	French	French	Leandre B. Bassole	A/41/PV.21
42	1987	French	French	Leandre B. Bassole	A/42/PV.23
43	1988	French	French	Domba Jean-Marc Palm	A/43/PV.7
44	1989	French	French	Prosper Vokouma	A/44/PV.31
45	1990	French	French	Prosper Vokouma	A/45/PV.20
46	1991	French	French	Issa Dominique Konate	A/46/PV.4
47	1992	French	French	Thomas Sanon	A/47/PV.21
48	1993	French	French	Thomas Sanon	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	French	French	Ablasse Ouedraogo	A/49/PV.17
50	1995	French	French	Ablasse Ouedraogo	A/50/PV.24

Continued on next page

Table I.16: BFA: Burkina Faso (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
51	1996	French	French	Ablasse Ouedraogo	A/51/PV.20
52	1997	French	French	Ablasse Ouedraogo	A/52/PV.16
53	1998	French	French	Blaise Compaore*	A/53/PV.7
54	1999	French	French	Youssouf Ouedraogo	A/54/PV.14
55	2000	French	French	Youssouf Ouedraogo	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	French	French	Youssouf Ouedraogo	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	French	French	Youssouf Ouedraogo	A/57/PV.17
58	2003	French	French	Blaise Compaore*	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	French	French	Blaise Compaore*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	French	French	Youssouf Ouedraogo	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	French	French	Youssouf Ouedraogo	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	French	French	Djibrill Yipene Bassole	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	French	French	Blaise Compaore*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	French	French	Blaise Compaore*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	French	French	Michel Kafando	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	French	French	Djibrill Yipene Bassole	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	French	French	Djibrill Yipene Bassole	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	French	French	Blaise Compaore*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	French	French	Djibrill Yipene Bassole	A/69/PV.18
70	2015	French	French	Michel Kafando*	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	French	French	Roch Marc Christian Kabore*	A/71/PV.15
72	2017	French	French	Roch Marc Christian Kabore*	A/72/PV.11
73	2018	French	French	Alpha Barry	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	French	French	Roch Marc Christian Kabore*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	French	French	Roch Marc Christian Kabore*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	French	French	Roch Marc Christian Kabore*	A/76/PV.10

BGD: Bangladesh

Table I.17: BGD: Bangladesh

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
29	1974	English	English	Kamal Hossain	A/PV.2262
30	1975	English	English	Abu Sayeed Chowdhury	A/PV.2371
31	1976	English	English	M.H. Khan	A/31/PV.22
32	1977	English	English	Muhammad Shamsul Huq	A/32/PV.21
33	1978	English	English	Muhammad Shamsul Huq	A/33/PV.7
34	1979	English	English	Muhammad Shamsul Huq	A/34/PV.29
35	1980	English	English	Muhammad Shamsul Huq	A/35/PV.15
36	1981	English	English	Muhammad Shamsul Huq	A/36/PV.13
37	1982	English	English	Khwaja Wasiuddin	A/37/PV.22
38	1983	English	English	Aminur Rahman Shams-Ud Doha	A/38/PV.18
39	1984	Bengali	English	Humayun Rasheed Choudhury	A/39/PV.15
40	1985	Bengali	English	Humayun Rasheed Choudhury	A/40/PV.30
41	1986	English	English	Ashfaqur Rahman Siddiky	A/41/PV.4
42	1987	Bengali	English	Humayun Rasheed Choudhury	A/42/PV.7
43	1988	English	English	Humayun Rasheed Choudhury	A/43/PV.25
44	1989	English	English	Anisul Islam Mahmud	A/44/PV.9
45	1990	English	English	Hussain Muhammad Ershad*	A/45/PV.10
46	1991	English	English	A.S.M. Mustafizur Rahman	A/46/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.17: BGD: Bangladesh (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	English	English	A.S.M. Mustafizur Rahman	A/47/PV.17
48	1993	Bengali	English	Khaleda Zia*	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	English	English	A.S.M. Mustafizur Rahman	A/49/PV.20
50	1995	English	English	Reaz Rahman	A/50/PV.6
51	1996	Bengali	English	Abdus Samad Azad	A/51/PV.26
52	1997	Bengali	English	Abdus Samad Azad	A/52/PV.19
53	1998	Bengali	English	Abdus Samad Azad	A/53/PV.9
54	1999	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	Bengali	English	Abdus Samad Azad	A/55/PV.23
56	2001	English	English	Reaz Rahman	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	English	English	M. Morshed Khan	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	English	English	M. Morshed Khan	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	English	English	M. Morshed Khan	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	Bengali	English	Begum Khaleda Zia*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English	English	M. Morshed Khan	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	English	English	Fakhruddin Ahmed	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Fakhruddin Ahmed	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	Bengali English	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/72/PV.14
73	2018	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	Bengali	English	Sheikh Hasina*	A/76/PV.12

BGR: Bulgaria

Table I.18: BGR: Bulgaria

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	Russian	Russian	Carlo Lukanov	A/PV.599
12	1957	French	French	Milko Tarabanov	A/PV.701
13	1958	Russian	Russian	Karlo Lukanov	A/PV.765
14	1959	Russian	Russian	Karlo Lukanov	A/PV.809
15	1960	Bulgarian	English	Todor Zhivkov*	A/PV.875
16	1961	Russian	Russian	Karlo Lukanov	A/PV.1027
17	1962	French	French	Milko Tarabanov	A/PV.1139
18	1963	French	French	Ivan Bashev	A/PV.1225
19	1964	French	French	Ivan Bashev	A/PV.1307
20	1965	French	French	Milko Tarabanov	A/PV.1363
21	1966	French	French	Ivan Bashev	A/PV.1423
22	1967	French	French	Ivan Bashev	A/PV.1575
23	1968	French	French	Ivan Bashev	A/PV.1694
24	1969	French	French	Ivan Bashev	A/PV.1772
26	1971	French	French	Ivan Bashev	A/PV.1963
27	1972	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/PV.2047
28	1973	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/PV.2130
29	1974	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/PV.2245
30	1975	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/PV.2363
31	1976	Russian[6]	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/31/PV.14
32	1977	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/32/PV.14
33	1978	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/33/PV.15
34	1979	Russian	Russian	Lyudmila Zhivkova	A/34/PV.13
35	1980	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/35/PV.12
36	1981	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/36/PV.15
37	1982	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/37/PV.15
38	1983	Bulgarian	English	Peter Tanchev	A/38/PV.14
39	1984	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/39/PV.14
40	1985	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/40/PV.14
41	1986	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/41/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.18: BGR: Bulgaria (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
42	1987	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/42/PV.20
43	1988	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/43/PV.18
44	1989	Russian	Russian	Petar Mladenov	A/44/PV.16
45	1990	Bulgarian	English	Zhelyu Zhelev*	A/45/PV.16
46	1991	English	English	Viktor Valkov	A/46/PV.20
47	1992	French	French	Slavi Zh. Pashovski	A/47/PV.28
48	1993	Bulgarian	English	Zhelyu Zhelev*	A/48/PV.16
49	1994	English	English	Stanislav Daskalov	A/49/PV.11
50	1995	English	English	Zhan Videnov*	A/50/PV.8
51	1996	English	English	Georgi Pirinksi	A/51/PV.18
52	1997	English	English	Nadezhda Mihailova	A/52/PV.18
53	1998	English	English	Nadezhda Mihailova	A/53/PV.13
54	1999	English	English	Peter Stoyanov*	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	English	English	Nadezhda Mihailova	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	French	French	Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha*	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	Bulgarian	English	Georgi Parvanov*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	French	French	Simeon Saxe-Coburg-Gotha*	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	English French	English	Solomon Passy	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	French	French	Ivailo Kalfin	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	French English	French	Ivailo Kalfin	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	French English	French	Ivailo Kalfin	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	English	English	Sergei Stanishev*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	English	English	Rumiana Jeleva	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English French	English	Nickolay Mladenov	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English	English	Nickolay Mladenov	A/66/PV.21
67	2012	English	English	Rosen Plevneliev*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	English	English	Rosen Plevneliev*	A/68/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.18: BGR: Bulgaria (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
69	2014	English	English	Rosen Plevneliev*	A/69/PV.10
70	2015	English	English	Rosen Plevneliev*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	English	English	Rosen Plevneliev*	A/71/PV.15
72	2017	English	English	Rumen Radev*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	Bulgarian	English French	Boyko Borissov*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Rumen Radev*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	Bulgarian	English	Boyko Borissov*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English[7]	English	Rumen Radev*	A/76/PV.4

[6] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/31/PV.14. The English version indicates: 'interpretation from Russian', while the French version indicates: 'interprétation de l'anglais'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

[7] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.4. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

BHR: Bahrain

Table I.19: BHR: Bahrain

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	English	English	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/PV.2047
28	1973	English	English	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/PV.2131
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/PV.2245
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/PV.2369
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/31/PV.20
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/32/PV.18
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/33/PV.18
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/34/PV.23
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/35/PV.22
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/36/PV.21
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/37/PV.17
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/38/PV.21
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/39/PV.16
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/40/PV.24
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/41/PV.15
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/42/PV.22
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/43/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.19: BHR: Bahrain (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/44/PV.13
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/45/PV.15
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/46/PV.18
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/47/PV.16
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/48/PV.18
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/49/PV.20
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/50/PV.14
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/51/PV.20
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/52/PV.18
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/54/PV.16
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Jassim Buallay	A/55/PV.21
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed bin Mubarak Al-Khalifa	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/61/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.19: BHR: Bahrain (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/69/17
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/72/PV.20
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Khalid bin Ahmed bin Mohammed Al-Khalifa	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic English	Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullatif bin Rashid Alzayani	A/76/PV.16

BHS: Bahamas

Table I.20: BHS: Bahamas

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	English	English	Lynden Oscar Pindling*	A/PV.2135
35	1980	English	English	Davidson L. Hepburn	A/35/PV.32
36	1981	English	English	Paul Lawrence Adderley	A/36/PV.27
37	1982	English	English	Paul Lawrence Adderley	A/37/PV.27
38	1983	English	English	Paul Lawrence Adderley	A/38/PV.19
39	1984	English	English	Paul Lawrence Adderley	A/39/PV.28
40	1985	English	English	Peter D. Maynard	A/40/PV.15
41	1986	English	English	Peter D. Maynard	A/41/PV.18
42	1987	English	English	Peter D. Maynard	A/42/PV.25
43	1988	English	English	Peter D. Maynard	A/43/PV.24
44	1989	English	English	Edward Charles Carter	A/44/PV.25
45	1990	English	English	Peter D. Maynard	A/45/PV.26
46	1991	English	English	Clement Trevelyan Maynard	A/46/PV.28
47	1992	English	English	Orville Alton Turnquest	A/47/PV.27
48	1993	English	English	Orville Alton Turnquest	A/48/PV.25
49	1994	English	English	Orville Alton Turnquest	A/49/PV.25
50	1995	English	English	Janet Bostwick	A/50/PV.25
51	1996	English	English	Janet Bostwick	A/51/PV.24
52	1997	English	English	Janet Bostwick	A/52/PV.27
53	1998	English	English	Janet Bostwick	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	English	English	Janet Bostwick	A/54/PV.20
55	2000	English	English	Janet Bostwick	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	English	English	Anthony Charles Rolle	A/56/PV.51

Continued on next page

Table I.20: BHS: Bahamas (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
57	2002	English	English	Frederick A. Mitchell	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	English	English	Frederick A. Mitchell	A/58/PV.20
59	2004	English	English	Frederick A. Mitchell	A/59/PV.17
60	2005	English	English	Frederick A. Mitchell	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	English[8]	English	Frederick A. Mitchell	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Theodore Brent Symonette	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Hubert Alexander Ingraham*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	English	English	Theodore Brent Symonette	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Theodore Brent Symonette	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English	English	Theodore Brent Symonette	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Frederick A. Mitchell	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	Perry Gladstone Christie*	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	English	English	Frederick A. Mitchell	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English	English	Frederick A. Mitchell	A/70/PV.24
71	2016	English	English	Frederick A. Mitchell	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English	English	Darren Allen Henfield	A/72/PV.20
73	2018	English	English	Hubert Alexander Minnis*	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Hubert Alexander Minnis*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Hubert Alexander Minnis*	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	English	English	Philip Edward Davis*	A/76/PV.14

[8] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/61/PV.21. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

BIH: Bosnia and Herzegovina

Table I.21: BIH: Bosnia and Herzegovina

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	English	English	Alija Izetbegovic*	A/47/PV.5
48	1993	English	English	Alija Izetbegovic*	A/48/PV.20
49	1994	English	English	Alija Izetbegovic*	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	English	English	Muhamed Sacirbey	A/50/PV.6
51	1996	English	English	Alija Izetbegovic*	A/51/PV.9
52	1997	English	English	Jadranko Prlic	A/52/PV.14
53	1998	English	English	Jadranko Prlic	A/53/PV.24
54	1999	English	English	Jadranko Prlic	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	English	English	Jadranko Prlic	A/55/PV.14
56	2001	English	English	Zlatko Lagumdzija*	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	English	English	Zlatko Lagumdzija	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	Bosnian	English	Dragan Covic*	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	Bosnian	English	Sulejman Tihic*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	Bosnian	English	Adnan Terzic	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	Bosnian	English	Adnan Terzic	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	Bosnian	English	Zeljko Komsic*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	English	English	Haris Silajdzic*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	Bosnian	English	Zeljko Komsic*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	English	English	Haris Silajdzic*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	Bosnian	English	Zeljko Komsic*	A/66/PV.12
67	2012	English	English	Bakir Izetbegovic*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	Bosnian	English	Zeljko Komsic*	A/68/PV.6
69	2014	Bosnian	English	Nebojsa Radmanovic*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	Bosnian	English	Dragan Covic*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Bakir Izetbegovic*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	Bosnian	English	Dragan Covic*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	English	English	Bakir Izetbegovic*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	Bosnian	English	Zeljko Komsic*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	Bosnian	English	Sefik Dzaferovic*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Bosnian	English	Zeljko Komsic*	A/76/PV.6

BLR: Belarus

Table I.22: BLR: Belarus

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.40
2	1947	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.85
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.147
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.227
5	1950	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.287
6	1951	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.346
7	1952	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.395
8	1953	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.446
9	1954	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.488
10	1955	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.527
11	1956	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.603
12	1957	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.693
13	1958	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.761
14	1959	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.810
15	1960	Russian	Russian	Kirill T. Mazurov	A/PV.888
16	1961	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.1028
17	1962	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.1144
18	1963	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.1221
19	1964	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.1303
20	1965	Russian	Russian	Kuzma Kiselev	A/PV.1356
21	1966	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.1440
22	1967	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.1581
23	1968	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.1704
24	1969	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.1783
25	1970	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.1854
26	1971	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.1960

Continued on next page

Table I.22: BLR: Belarus (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.2059
28	1973	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.2148
29	1974	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.2260
30	1975	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/PV.2369
31	1976	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/31/PV.24
32	1977	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/32/PV.26
33	1978	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/33/PV.24
34	1979	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/34/PV.24
35	1980	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/35/PV.29
36	1981	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/36/PV.31
37	1982	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/37/PV.23
38	1983	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/38/PV.23
39	1984	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/39/PV.24
40	1985	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/40/PV.26
41	1986	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/41/PV.26
42	1987	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/42/PV.30
43	1988	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/43/PV.30
44	1989	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Emelianovich Gurinovich	A/44/PV.26

Continued on next page

Table I.22: BLR: Belarus (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	Russian	Russian	Viacheslav F. Kebich*	A/45/PV.8
46	1991	Russian Belarusian	Russian	Petr Kravchanka	A/46/PV.11
47	1992	Russian	Russian	Petr Kravchanka	A/47/PV.8
48	1993	Russian	Russian	Petr Kravchanka	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	Russian	Russian	Mikhail Chygir*	A/49/PV.26
50	1995	English	English	Uladzimir Syanko	A/50/PV.5
51	1996	English	English	Uladzimir Syanko	A/51/PV.18
52	1997	English	English	Ivan Ivanovich Antonovich	A/52/PV.21
53	1998	English	English	Ivan Ivanovich Antonovich	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	English	English	Ural Latypov	A/54/PV.14
55	2000	English	English	Ural Latypov	A/55/PV.17
56	2001	Russian	Russian	Mikhail M. Khvostov	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	Russian	Russian	Mikhail M. Khvostov	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	Russian	Russian	Sergei N. Martynov	A/58/PV.20
59	2004	Russian	Russian	Sergei N. Martynov	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	Russian	Russian	Sergei N. Martynov	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	Russian	Russian	Sergei N. Martynov	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	Russian	Russian	Sergei N. Martynov	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Belarusian	Russian	Andrei Dapkiunas	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	Russian	Russian	Sergei N. Martynov	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	Russian	Russian	Sergei Aleinik	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	Russian	Russian	Sergei N. Martynov	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Makei	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Makei	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Makei	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	Russian	Russian	Alexander Lukashenko*	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	Russian	Russian	Valentin Rybakov	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Makei	A/72/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.22: BLR: Belarus (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
73	2018	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Makei	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Makei	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Makei	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Makei	A/76/PV.16

BLZ: Belize

Table I.23: BLZ: Belize

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
36	1981	English	English	George C. Price*	A/36/PV.13
37	1982	English	English	Carl L.B. Rogers	A/37/PV.34
38	1983	English	English	Carl L.B. Rogers	A/38/PV.28
39	1984	English	English	Carl L.B. Rogers	A/39/PV.27
40	1985	English	English	Dean Oliver Barrow	A/40/PV.27
41	1986	English	English	Dean Oliver Barrow	A/41/PV.16
42	1987	English	English	Dean Oliver Barrow	A/42/PV.21
43	1988	English	English	Kenneth Erroll Tillett	A/43/PV.17
44	1989	English	English	Said Wilbert Musa	A/44/PV.23
45	1990	English	English	Said Wilbert Musa	A/45/PV.28
46	1991	English	English	Carl L.B. Rogers	A/46/PV.26
47	1992	English	English	Said Wilbert Musa	A/47/PV.29
48	1993	English	English	Dean Oliver Barrow	A/48/PV.28
49	1994	English	English	Dean Oliver Barrow	A/49/PV.28
50	1995	English	English	Dean Oliver Barrow	A/50/PV.5
51	1996	English	English	Edward Laing	A/51/PV.13
52	1997	English	English	Dean Oliver Barrow	A/52/PV.20
53	1998	English	English	Said Wilbert Musa*	A/53/PV.17
54	1999	English	English	Said Wilbert Musa*	A/54/PV.18
55	2000	English Spanish	English	John Briceno	A/55/PV.20
56	2001	English Spanish	English	John Briceno	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	English	English	John Briceno	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	English	English	Godfrey Smith	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	English	English	Stuart W. Leslie	A/59/PV.17
60	2005	English	English	Godfrey Smith	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	English	English	Eamon Courtenay	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Lisa Shoman	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/64/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.23: BLZ: Belize (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
65	2010	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	English	English	Wilfred P. Elrington	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	English Spanish	English	John Briceno*	A/76/PV.13

BOL: Bolivia

Table I.24: BOL: Bolivia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Adolfo Costa du Rels	A/PV.41
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Adolfo Costa du Rels	A/PV.148
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Eduardo Anze Matienzo	A/PV.283
6	1951	French	French	Adolfo Costa du Rels	A/PV.339
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Hernan Siles Zuazo	A/PV.384
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	German Quiroga Galdo	A/PV.490
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Hernan Siles Zuazo	A/PV.523
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Nuflo Chavez Ortiz	A/PV.601
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Manuel Barrau Pelaez	A/PV.690
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Marcial Tamayo	A/PV.767
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andrade	A/PV.805
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Federico Alvarez Plata	A/PV.888
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Morales Guillen	A/PV.1029
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Fellman Velarde	A/PV.1137
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Gustavo Medeiros Querejazu	A/PV.1307
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Ortiz Sanz	A/PV.1355
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Adolfo Siles Salinas Vega	A/PV.1426
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Walter Guevara Arze	A/PV.1574
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Samuel Alcoreza Meneses	A/PV.1692
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Gustavo Medeiros Querejazu	A/PV.1766
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Edgar Camacho Omiste	A/PV.1849
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Gutierrez Gutierrez	A/PV.1957

Continued on next page

Table I.24: BOL: Bolivia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Gutierrez Gutierrez	A/PV.2055
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Gutierrez Gutierrez	A/PV.2144
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Guzman Soriano	A/PV.2259
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Banzer Suarez*	A/PV.2379
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Adriazola Valda	A/31/PV.30
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Adriazola Valda	A/32/PV.7
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Anaya Arze	A/33/PV.11
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Gustavo Fernandez-Saavedra	A/34/PV.25
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Javier Cerruto Calderon de la Barca	A/35/PV.31
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Romero Alvarez Garcia	A/36/PV.33
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Augustin Saavedra Weise	A/37/PV.16
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	J. Ortiz Mercado	A/38/PV.15
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Gustavo Fernandez-Saavedra	A/39/PV.18
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Garrett Aillon	A/40/PV.27
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Bedregal Gutierrez	A/41/PV.12
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Bedregal Gutierrez	A/42/PV.16
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Bedregal Gutierrez	A/43/PV.5
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime Paz Zamora*	A/44/PV.11
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Iturralde Ballivian	A/45/PV.7
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Iturralde Ballivian	A/46/PV.16
47	1992	Spanish[9]	Spanish	Jaime Paz Zamora*	A/47/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.24: BOL: Bolivia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada*	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Aranibar Quiroga	A/49/PV.9
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Aranibar Quiroga	A/50/PV.13
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Aranibar Quiroga	A/51/PV.14
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Banzer Suarez*	A/52/PV.16
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Javier Murillo de la Rocha	A/53/PV.21
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Javier Murillo de la Rocha	A/54/PV.20
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Messmer Trigo	A/55/PV.25
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Quiroga Ramirez*	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Mesa Gisbert	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Mesa Gisbert	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Mesa Gisbert*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	Spanish[10]	Spanish	Eduardo Rodriguez Veltze*	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/66/PV.13
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/68/PV.10
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/69/PV.7
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/72/PV.6

Continued on next page

Table I.24: BOL: Bolivia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Evo Morales Ayma*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Jeanine Anez Chavez*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Alberto Arce Catacora*	A/76/PV.11

[9] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/47/PV.9. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'interprétation de l'espagnol'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

[10] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/60/PV.12. The English version indicates: 'spoke in Spanish', while the French version indicates: 'parle en anglais'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

BRA: Brazil

Table I.25: BRA: Brazil

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Pedro Leao Velloso	A/PV.36
2	1947	English	English	Joao Carlos Muniz	A/PV.86
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Raul Fernandes	A/PV.146
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Cyro de Freitas Valle	A/PV.222
5	1950	English	English	Cyro de Freitas Valle	A/PV.279
6	1951	French	French	Mario de Pimentel Brandao	A/PV.335
7	1952	French	French	Joao Neves da Fontoura	A/PV.394
8	1953	English	English	Mario de Pimentel Brandao	A/PV.446
9	1954	French	French	Ernesto Leme	A/PV.486
10	1955	English Spanish	English	Cyro de Freitas Valle	A/PV.518
11	1956	English	English	Cyro de Freitas Valle	A/PV.581
12	1957	English	English	Oswaldo Aranha	A/PV.680
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Negrao de Lima	A/PV.749
14	1959	French	French	Augusto Frederico Schmidt	A/PV.797
15	1960	English	English	Horacio Lafer	A/PV.868
16	1961	French	French	Alfonso Arinos de Melo Franco	A/PV.1011
17	1962	French	French	Alfonso Arinos de Melo Franco	A/PV.1125
18	1963	English Spanish	English	Joao Augusto de Araujo Castro	A/PV.1208
19	1964	English	English	Vasco Tristao Leitao da Cunha	A/PV.1289

Continued on next page

Table I.25: BRA: Brazil (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
20	1965	English	English	Vasco Tristao Leitao da Cunha	A/PV.1334
21	1966	English	English	Juracy Magalhaes	A/PV.1412
22	1967	Portuguese	English	Jose de Magalhaes Pinto	A/PV.1562
23	1968	Portuguese	English	Jose de Magalhaes Pinto	A/PV.1677
24	1969	Portuguese	English	Jose de Magalhaes Pinto	A/PV.1755
25	1970	English	English	Mario Gibson Barboza	A/PV.1841
26	1971	English	English	Mario Gibson Barboza	A/PV.1940
27	1972	English	English	Mario Gibson Barboza	A/PV.2038
28	1973	English	English	Mario Gibson Barboza	A/PV.2124
29	1974	Spanish Portuguese	Spanish	Antonio Francisco Azeredo da Silveira	A/PV.2238
30	1975	Portuguese	English French Spanish	Antonio Francisco Azeredo da Silveira	A/PV.2355
31	1976	English	English	Antonio Francisco Azeredo da Silveira	A/31/PV.5
32	1977	Portuguese	English	Antonio Francisco Azeredo da Silveira	A/32/PV.6
33	1978	Portuguese	English	Antonio Francisco Azeredo da Silveira	A/33/PV.6
34	1979	Portuguese	English	Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro	A/34/PV.5
35	1980	Portuguese	English	Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro	A/35/PV.4
36	1981	Portuguese	English	Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro	A/36/PV.5
37	1982	Portuguese	English	Joao Baptista de Oliveira Figueiredo*	A/37/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.25: BRA: Brazil (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
38	1983	Portuguese	English	Antonio Jose Vallim Guerreiro	A/38/PV.5
39	1984	Portuguese	English	Ramiro Saraiva Guerreiro	A/39/PV.4
40	1985	Portuguese	English	Jose Sarney*	A/40/PV.4
41	1986	Portuguese	English	Roberto de Abreu Sodre	A/41/PV.4
42	1987	Portuguese	English	Roberto de Abreu Sodre	A/42/PV.4
43	1988	Portuguese	English	Roberto de Abreu Sodre	A/43/PV.4
44	1989	Portuguese	English	Jose Sarney*	A/44/PV.4
45	1990	Portuguese	English	Fernando Collor*	A/45/PV.4
46	1991	Portuguese	English	Fernando Collor*	A/46/PV.4
47	1992	English	English	Celso Lafer	A/47/PV.4
48	1993	Portuguese	English	Celso Amorim	A/48/PV.4
49	1994	Portuguese	English	Celso Amorim	A/49/PV.4
50	1995	English Portuguese	English	Luiz Felipe Palmeira Lampreia	A/50/PV.4
51	1996	English	English	Luiz Felipe Palmeira Lampreia	A/51/PV.4
52	1997	English	English	Luiz Felipe Palmeira Lampreia	A/52/PV.5
53	1998	English	English	Luiz Felipe Palmeira Lampreia	A/53/PV.7
54	1999	Portuguese	English	Luiz Felipe Palmeira Lampreia	A/54/PV.4
55	2000	English	English	Luiz Felipe Palmeira Lampreia	A/55/PV.10
56	2001	Portuguese English	English	Fernando Henrique Cardoso*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	English	English	Celso Lafer	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	Portuguese	English	Luis Inacio Lula da Silva*	A/58/PV.7

Continued on next page

Table I.25: BRA: Brazil (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
59	2004	Portuguese	English	Luis Inacio Lula da Silva*	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	Portuguese	English	Celso Amorim	A/60/PV.9
61	2006	Portuguese	English	Luis Inacio Lula da Silva*	A/61/PV.10
62	2007	Portuguese	English	Luis Inacio Lula da Silva*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	Portuguese	English	Luis Inacio Lula da Silva*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	Portuguese	English	Luis Inacio Lula da Silva*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	Portuguese	English	Celso Amorim	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	Portuguese	English	Dilma Rousseff*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	Portuguese	English	Dilma Rousseff*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	Portuguese	English	Dilma Rousseff*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	Portuguese	English	Dilma Rousseff*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Portuguese	English	Dilma Rousseff*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	Portuguese	English	Michel Temer*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	Portuguese	English	Michel Temer*	A/72/PV.3
73	2018	Portuguese	English	Michel Temer*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	Portuguese	English	Jair Messias Bolsonaro*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	Portuguese	English	Jair Messias Bolsonaro*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	Portuguese	English	Jair Messias Bolsonaro*	A/76/PV.3

BRB: Barbados

Table I.26: BRB: Barbados

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
22	1967	English	English	Errol Walton Barrow*	A/PV.1583
23	1968	English	English	James Cameron Tudor	A/PV.1702
24	1969	English	English	James Cameron Tudor	A/PV.1784
27	1972	English	English	George C.R. Moe	A/PV.2049
29	1974	English	English	George C.R. Moe	A/PV.2254
30	1975	English	English	George C.R. Moe	A/PV.2362
31	1976	English	English	John M. G. M. Adams*	A/31/PV.26
32	1977	English	English	Henry Deboulay Forde	A/32/PV.21
33	1978	English	English	Henry Deboulay Forde	A/33/PV.23
34	1979	English	English	Henry Deboulay Forde	A/34/PV.28
35	1980	English	English	Henry Deboulay Forde	A/35/PV.27
36	1981	English	English	Louis Tull	A/36/PV.11
37	1982	English	English	Louis Tull	A/37/PV.26
38	1983	English	English	Louis Tull	A/38/PV.16
39	1984	English	English	Louis Tull	A/39/PV.27
40	1985	English	English	Dame Ruth Nita Barrow	A/40/PV.21
41	1986	English	English	James Cameron Tudor	A/41/PV.22
42	1987	English	English	Lloyd Erskine Sandiford*	A/42/PV.23
43	1988	English	English	Dame Ruth Nita Barrow	A/43/PV.20
44	1989	English	English	Maurice King	A/44/PV.26
45	1990	English	English	Maurice King	A/45/PV.27
46	1991	English	English	Maurice King	A/46/PV.24
47	1992	English	English	Maurice King	A/47/PV.27
48	1993	English	English	Branford Taitt	A/48/PV.26
49	1994	English	English	Billie Miller	A/49/PV.24
50	1995	English	English	Billie Miller	A/50/PV.22
51	1996	English	English	Billie Miller	A/51/PV.20
52	1997	English	English	Billie Miller	A/52/PV.25

Continued on next page

Table I.26: BRB: Barbados (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
53	1998	English	English	Carlston Boucher	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	English	English	Billie Miller	A/54/PV.18
55	2000	English	English	Billie Miller	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	English	English	Billie Miller	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Billie Miller	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	English	English	Billie Miller	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	English	English	Billie Miller	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	English	English	Billie Miller	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	English	English	Billie Miller	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	English	English	Billie Miller	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	English	English	David Thompson*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Maxine Pamela Ometa Mcclean	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	English	English	Maxine Pamela Ometa Mcclean	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	English	English	Freundel Stuart*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English	English	Maxine Pamela Ometa Mcclean	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	English	English	Maxine Pamela Ometa Mcclean	A/68/PV.22
69	2014	English	English	Maxine Pamela Ometa Mcclean	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English	English	Freundel Stuart*	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	English	English	Maxine Pamela Ometa Mcclean	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	English	English	Maxine Pamela Ometa Mcclean	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	English	English	Mia Amor Mottley*	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Mia Amor Mottley*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Jerome Xavier Walcott	A/75/PV.15
76	2021	English	English	Mia Amor Mottley*	A/76/PV.12

BRN: Brunei

Table I.27: BRN: Brunei

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
40	1985	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/40/PV.23
41	1986	English	English	Pengiran Bahrin	A/41/PV.20
42	1987	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/42/PV.27
43	1988	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/43/PV.26
44	1989	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/44/PV.9
45	1990	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/45/PV.19
46	1991	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/46/PV.25
47	1992	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/47/PV.9
48	1993	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/48/PV.19
49	1994	English	English	Hassanal Bolkiah*	A/49/PV.21
50	1995	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/50/PV.4
51	1996	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/51/PV.10
52	1997	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/52/PV.17
53	1998	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/53/PV.17
54	1999	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/55/PV.19
56	2001	English	English	Ali Serbini	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	English	English	Hajah Masna	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	English	English	Hassanal Bolkiah*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	English	English	Haji Al-Muhtadee Billah	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	Mohamed Bolkiah	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Haji Al-Muhtadee Billah	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Haji Al-Muhtadee Billah	A/67/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.27: BRN: Brunei (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
68	2013	English	English	Haji Al-Muhtadee Billah	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	English	English	Hassanal Bolkiah*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	English	English	Hassanal Bolkiah*	A/70/PV.19
72	2017	English	English	Pehin Lim Jock Seng	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	English	English	Dato Erywan Pehin Yusof	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	English	English	Dato Erywan Pehin Yusof	A/74/PV.13
76	2021	English	English	Dato Erywan Pehin Yusof	A/76/PV.16

BTN: Bhutan

Table I.28: BTN: Bhutan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/PV.2053
28	1973	English	English	Sangye Penjor	A/PV.2146
29	1974	English	English	Sangye Penjor	A/PV.2265
30	1975	English	English	Dago Tsering	A/PV.2374
31	1976	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/31/PV.24
32	1977	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/32/PV.25
33	1978	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/33/PV.24
34	1979	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/34/PV.16
35	1980	English	English	Om Pradhan	A/35/PV.13
36	1981	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/36/PV.13
37	1982	English	English	Om Pradhan	A/37/PV.29
38	1983	English	English	Om Pradhan	A/38/PV.22
39	1984	English	English	Ugyen Tshering	A/39/PV.20
41	1986	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/41/PV.24
42	1987	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/42/PV.27
43	1988	English	English	Ugyen Tshering	A/43/PV.19
44	1989	English	English	Ugyen Tshering	A/44/PV.17
45	1990	English	English	Ugyen Tshering	A/45/PV.14
46	1991	English	English	Ugyen Tshering	A/46/PV.19
47	1992	English	English	Ugyen Tshering	A/47/PV.28
48	1993	English	English	Ugyen Tshering	A/48/PV.18
49	1994	English	English	Ugyen Tshering	A/49/PV.25
50	1995	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/50/PV.27
51	1996	English	English	Ugyen Tshering	A/51/PV.29
52	1997	English	English	Dawa Tsering	A/52/PV.26
53	1998	English	English	Lyonchoen Jigmi Yoezer Thinley	A/53/PV.21
54	1999	English	English	Lyonchoen Jigmi Yoezer Thinley	A/54/PV.16
56	2001	English	English	Lyonchoen Jigmi Yoezer Thinley	A/56/PV.53

Continued on next page

Table I.28: BTN: Bhutan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
57	2002	English	English	Lyonchoen Jigmi Yoezer Thinley	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	English	English	Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	English	English	Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	English	English	Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	English	English	Lyonpo Khandu Wangchuk*	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	English	English	Yeshey Dorji	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Lyonchoen Jigmi Yoezer Thinley*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	English	English	Daw Penjo	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	English	English	Daw Penjo	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	English	English	Lyonchoen Jigmi Yoezer Thinley*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	English	English	Lyonchoen Jigmi Yoezer Thinley*	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Lyonpo Damcho Dorji	A/68/PV.22
69	2014	English	English	Lyonpo Damcho Dorji	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English	English	Lyonpo Damcho Dorji	A/70/PV.26
71	2016	English	English	Lyonpo Damcho Dorji	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	English	English	Lyonchoen Tshering Tobgay*	A/72/PV.15
73	2018	English	English	Lyonpo Tshering Wangchuk*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	English	English	Lotay Tshering*	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	English	English	Lotay Tshering*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English	English	Lotay Tshering*	A/76/PV.14

BWA: Botswana

Table I.29: BWA: Botswana

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
22	1967	English	English	M.P.K. Nwako	A/PV.1579
23	1968	English	English	M.P.K. Nwako	A/PV.1694
24	1969	English	English	Seretse Khama*	A/PV.1764
29	1974	English	English	Thebe David Mogami	A/PV.2261
30	1975	English	English	Archibald M. Mogwe	A/PV.2372
31	1976	English	English	Archibald M. Mogwe	A/31/PV.27
32	1977	English	English	Archibald M. Mogwe	A/32/PV.30
33	1978	English	English	Archibald M. Mogwe	A/33/PV.31
34	1979	English	English	Archibald M. Mogwe	A/34/PV.21
35	1980	English	English	Archibald M. Mogwe	A/35/PV.17
36	1981	English	English	Legwaila Joseph Legwaila	A/36/PV.27
37	1982	English	English	Archibald M. Mogwe	A/37/PV.12
38	1983	English	English	Archibald M. Mogwe	A/38/PV.33
39	1984	English	English	Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe	A/39/PV.25
41	1986	English	English	Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe	A/41/PV.25
42	1987	English	English	Legwaila Joseph Legwaila	A/42/PV.25
43	1988	English	English	Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe	A/43/PV.28
44	1989	English	English	Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe	A/44/PV.7
45	1990	English	English	Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe	A/45/PV.25
46	1991	English	English	Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe	A/46/PV.25
47	1992	English	English	Quett Ketumile Joni Masire*	A/47/PV.27
48	1993	English	English	Gaositwe K.T. Chiepe	A/48/PV.24
49	1994	English	English	Pholile Legwaila	A/49/PV.27
50	1995	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/50/PV.11
51	1996	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/51/PV.22
52	1997	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/52/PV.26
54	1999	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/54/PV.20
55	2000	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/55/PV.23

Continued on next page

Table I.29: BWA: Botswana (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
56	2001	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	English	English	Festus G. Mogae*	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	English	English	Festus G. Mogae*	A/59/PV.7
61	2006	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	English	English	Festus G. Mogae*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	English	English	Phandu T.C. Skelemani	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	English	English	Charles Ntwaagae	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Mompati S. Merafhe	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Phandu T.C. Skelemani	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	English	English	Phandu T.C. Skelemani	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	English	English	Phandu T.C. Skelemani	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	English	English	Mokgweetsi Eric Keabetswe Masisi	A/70/PV.23
71	2016	English	English	Mokgweetsi Eric Keabetswe Masisi	A/71/PV.18
72	2017	English	English	Mokgweetsi Eric Keabetswe Masisi	A/72/PV.12
73	2018	English	English	Mokgweetsi Eric Keabetswe Masisi*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English	English	Unity Dow	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	English	English	Mokgweetsi Eric Keabetswe Masisi*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	English	English	Mokgweetsi Eric Keabetswe Masisi*	A/76/PV.10

CAF: Central African Republic

Table I.30: CAF: Central African Republic

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
16	1961	French	French	Michel Gallin-Douathe	A/PV.1037
17	1962	French	French	Maurice Dejean	A/PV.1151
18	1963	French	French	Antoine Guimali	A/PV.1235
19	1964	French	French	Michel Gallin-Douathe	A/PV.1316
20	1965	French	French	Antoine Guimali	A/PV.1358
21	1966	French	French	Antoine Guimali	A/PV.1441
23	1968	French	French	Michel Gallin-Douathe	A/PV.1707
24	1969	French	French	Nestor Kombot-Naguenom	A/PV.1784
26	1971	French	French	Joseph Potolot	A/PV.1958
27	1972	French	French	Joseph Potolot	A/PV.2051
28	1973	French	French	Michel Adama-Tamboux	A/PV.2150
29	1974	French	French	Joseph Potolot	A/PV.2256
30	1975	French	French	Antonio Franck	A/PV.2372
31	1976	French	French	Antonio Franck	A/31/PV.25
32	1977	French	French	Michel Gbezera-Bria	A/32/PV.20
33	1978	French	French	Jean-Paul Mokodopo	A/33/PV.31
34	1979	French	French	Sylvestre Bangui	A/34/PV.32
35	1980	French	French	Sylvestre Bangui	A/35/PV.31
36	1981	French	French	Jean-Louis Gervil Yambala	A/36/PV.29
37	1982	French	French	Jean-Louis Gervil Yambala	A/37/PV.29
38	1983	French	French	Michel Salle	A/38/PV.26
39	1984	French	French	Clement Michel Nga Gnii-Voueto	A/39/PV.31
40	1985	French	French	Michel Gbezera-Bria	A/40/PV.33
41	1986	French	French	Jean-Louis Psimhis	A/41/PV.25
42	1987	French	French	Jean-Louis Psimhis	A/42/PV.31
43	1988	French	French	Michel Gbezera-Bria	A/43/PV.23

Continued on next page

Table I.30: CAF: Central African Republic (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	French	French	Jean-Pierre Sohahong-Kombet	A/45/PV.25
46	1991	French	French	Laurent Gomina-Pampali	A/46/PV.25
48	1993	French	French	Jean-Marie Bassia	A/48/PV.23
49	1994	French	French	Ange-Felix Patasse*	A/49/PV.19
50	1995	French	French	Henry Koba	A/50/PV.25
51	1996	French	French	Henry Koba	A/51/PV.29
52	1997	French	French	Henry Koba	A/52/PV.27
53	1998	English	English	Antonio Fernandez	A/53/PV.24
55	2000	French	French	Marcel Metefara	A/55/PV.25
56	2001	French	French	Agba Otikpo Mezode	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	French	French	Agba Otikpo Mezode	A/57/PV.17
58	2003	French	French	Poukre-Kono, Fernand	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	French	French	Charles-Herve Wenezoui	A/59/PV.16
60	2005	French	French	Jean-Paul Ngoupande	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	French	French	Come Zoumara	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	French	French	Come Zoumara	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	French	French	Francois Bozize*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	French	French	Faustin Archange Touadera*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	French	French	Antoine Gambi	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	French	French	Antoine Gambi	A/66/PV.27
67	2012	French	French	Antoine Gambi	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	French	French	Nicolas Tiangaye*	A/68/PV.13
69	2014	French	French	Catherine Samba-Panza*	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	French	French	Samuel Rangba	A/70/PV.21
71	2016	French	French	Faustin Archange Touadera*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	French	French	Faustin Archange Touadera*	A/72/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.30: CAF: Central African Republic (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
73	2018	French	French	Faustin Archange Touadera*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	French	French	Faustin Archange Touadera*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	French	French	Faustin Archange Touadera*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	French	French	Faustin Archange Touadera*	A/76/PV.4

CAN: Canada

Table I.31: CAN: Canada

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English French	English	Louis Saint-Laurent	A/PV.41
2	1947	English	English	Louis Saint-Laurent	A/PV.83
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	William Lyon Mackenzie King	A/PV.146
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Lester B. Pearson	A/PV.228
5	1950	English	English	Lester B. Pearson	A/PV.287
6	1951	English	English	Lester B. Pearson	A/PV.339
7	1952	English	English	Paul Joseph Martin	A/PV.382
8	1953	English	English	Lester B. Pearson	A/PV.441
9	1954	English	English	Lester B. Pearson	A/PV.475
10	1955	English French	English	Paul Joseph Martin	A/PV.523
11	1956	English	English	Roch Pinard	A/PV.609
12	1957	English	English	John Diefenbaker	A/PV.683
13	1958	English	English	Sidney Smith	A/PV.759
14	1959	English	English	Howard Green	A/PV.807
15	1960	English	English	John Diefenbaker*	A/PV.871
16	1961	English	English	Howard Green	A/PV.1022
17	1962	English	English	Howard Green	A/PV.1130
18	1963	English	English	Lester B. Pearson*	A/PV.1208
19	1964	English	English	Paul Joseph Martin	A/PV.1294
20	1965	English	English	Paul Joseph Martin	A/PV.1335
21	1966	English French	English	Paul Joseph Martin	A/PV.1413
22	1967	English	English	Paul Joseph Martin	A/PV.1569
23	1968	English	English	Mitchell Sharp	A/PV.1687
24	1969	English	English	Mitchell Sharp	A/PV.1769
25	1970	English	English	Mitchell Sharp	A/PV.1848
26	1971	English	English	Mitchell Sharp	A/PV.1944
27	1972	English	English	Mitchell Sharp	A/PV.2044

Continued on next page

Table I.31: CAN: Canada (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	English	English	Mitchell Sharp	A/PV.2126
29	1974	English	English	Allan J. Maceachen	A/PV.2242
30	1975	English	English	Allan J. Maceachen	A/PV.2356
31	1976	English	English	Donald Jamieson	A/31/PV.9
32	1977	English	English	Donald Jamieson	A/32/PV.6
33	1978	English French	English	Donald Jamieson	A/33/PV.9
34	1979	English French	English	Flora Macdonald	A/34/PV.8
35	1980	English French	English	Mark Macguigan	A/35/PV.4
36	1981	English French	English	Mark Macguigan	A/36/PV.6
37	1982	English French	English	Allan J. Maceachen	A/37/PV.6
38	1983	English	English	Allan J. Maceachen	A/38/PV.8
39	1984	English French	English	Joe Clark	A/39/PV.7
40	1985	English French	English	Joe Clark	A/40/PV.9
41	1986	English French	English	Joe Clark	A/41/PV.9
42	1987	English French	English	Joe Clark	A/42/PV.7
43	1988	English French	English	Brian Mulroney*	A/43/PV.11
44	1989	English French	English	Joe Clark	A/44/PV.7
45	1990	English French	English	Joe Clark	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	English French	English	Barbara Mcdougall	A/46/PV.9
47	1992	English French	English	Barbara Mcdougall	A/47/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.31: CAN: Canada (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	English French	English	Kim Campbell*	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	French English	French	Andre Ouellet	A/49/PV.10
50	1995	English French	English	Andre Ouellet	A/50/PV.7
51	1996	English French	English	Lloyd Axworthy	A/51/PV.7
52	1997	English French	English	Lloyd Axworthy	A/52/PV.12
53	1998	English French	English	Lloyd Axworthy	A/53/PV.15
54	1999	English French	English	Lloyd Axworthy	A/54/PV.10
55	2000	English French	English	Lloyd Axworthy	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	English French	English	John Manley	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	French English	French	William Graham	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	French English	French	Jean Chretien*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	English French	English	Paul Edgar Philippe Martin*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	French English	French	Pierre Stewart Pettigrew	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	English French	English	Stephen Harper*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	French English	French	Maxime Bernier	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	English French	English	Leonard Edwards	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English French	English	Lawrence Cannon	A/64/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.31: CAN: Canada (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
65	2010	English French	English	Stephen Harper*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	English	English	John Baird	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	English French	English	John Baird	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	English French	English	John Baird	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	English French	English	Stephen Harper*	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	English French	English	Daniel Jean	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	English French	English	Justin Trudeau*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	English French	English	Justin Trudeau*	A/72/PV.12
73	2018	English French	English	Marc-Andre Blanchard	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	English French	English	Marc-Andre Blanchard	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	English French	English French	Justin Trudeau*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English French	English	Marc Garneau	A/76/PV.17

CHE: Switzerland

Table I.32: CHE: Switzerland

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
57	2002	French	French	Joseph Deiss	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	English	English	Pascal Couchepin*	A/58/PV.7
59	2004	French	French	Joseph Deiss*	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	French	French	Micheline Calmy-Rey	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	French	French	Moritz Leuenberger*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	French	French	Micheline Calmy-Rey*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	French	French	Peter Maurer	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	French	French	Hans-Rudolf Merz*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	French	French	Doris Leuthard*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	French	French	Micheline Calmy-Rey*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	French	French	Eveline Widmer-Schlumpf*	A/67/PV.7
68	2013	French	French	Ueli Maurer*	A/68/PV.7
69	2014	French	French	Didier Burkhalter*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	French	French	Simonetta Sommaruga*	A/70/PV.14
71	2016	French	French	Johann Schneider-Ammann*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	French English	French	Doris Leuthard*	A/72/PV.3
73	2018	French	French	Alain Berset*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	French	French	Ueli Maurer*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	French	French English	Simonetta Sommaruga*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	French	French	Guy Parmelin*	A/76/PV.3

CHL: Chile

Table I.33: CHL: Chile

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Spanish	Spanish	Felix Nieto del Rio	A/PV.38
2	1947	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Maza	A/PV.83
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Joaquin Fernandez	A/PV.148
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Hernan Santa Cruz	A/PV.227
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Hernan Santa Cruz	A/PV.281
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Maza	A/PV.340
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Hernan Santa Cruz	A/PV.379
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Maza	A/PV.436
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Maza	A/PV.475
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Rudecindo Ortega Masson	A/PV.522
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Aldunate	A/PV.600
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Serrano	A/PV.687
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Sepulveda Contreras	A/PV.758
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Ramon Gutierrez	A/PV.817
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Schweitzer	A/PV.899
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Martinez Sotomayor	A/PV.1019
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Martinez Sotomayor	A/PV.1135
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Bossay	A/PV.1219
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Bernstein	A/PV.1295
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Gabriel Valdes	A/PV.1338
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Gabriel Valdes	A/PV.1424
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Gabriel Valdes	A/PV.1567
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Gabriel Valdes	A/PV.1685
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Gabriel Valdes	A/PV.1771
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Clodomiro Almeyda	A/PV.1948
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Humberto Diaz-Casanueva	A/PV.2050

Continued on next page

Table I.33: CHL: Chile (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Ismael Huerta	A/PV.2146
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Patricio Carvajal	A/PV.2247
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Patricio Carvajal	A/PV.2376
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Patricio Carvajal	A/31/PV.18
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Patricio Carvajal	A/32/PV.21
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Hernan Cubillos Sallato	A/33/PV.31
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Hernan Cubillos Sallato	A/34/PV.16
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Rene Rojas Galdames	A/35/PV.17
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Rene Rojas Galdames	A/36/PV.23
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Rene Rojas Galdames	A/37/PV.6
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Schweitzer Walters	A/38/PV.16
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime del Valle Alliende	A/39/PV.11
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime del Valle Alliende	A/40/PV.16
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime del Valle Alliende	A/41/PV.15
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Garcia Rodriguez	A/42/PV.15
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Garcia Rodriguez	A/43/PV.9
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Hernan Felipe Errazuriz	A/44/PV.17
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Patricio Aylwin Azocar*	A/45/PV.12
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Silva Cimma	A/46/PV.22
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Silva Cimma	A/47/PV.7
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Silva Cimma	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Miguel Insulza	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Miguel Insulza	A/50/PV.12
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Miguel Insulza	A/51/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.33: CHL: Chile (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Miguel Insulza	A/52/PV.5
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Miguel Insulza	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Gabriel Valdes	A/54/PV.14
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Soledad Alvear Valenzuela	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Lagos Escobar*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Soledad Alvear Valenzuela	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Soledad Alvear Valenzuela	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Lagos Escobar*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Ignacio Walker	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Michelle Bachelet Jeria*	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Michelle Bachelet Jeria*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Michelle Bachelet Jeria*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Michelle Bachelet Jeria*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Sebastian Pinera Echenique*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Sebastian Pinera Echenique*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Moreno Charme	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Sebastian Pinera Echenique*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Michelle Bachelet Jeria*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Michelle Bachelet Jeria*	A/70/PV.14
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Michelle Bachelet Jeria*	A/71/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.33: CHL: Chile (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Michelle Bachelet Jeria*	A/72/PV.9
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Sebastian Pinera Echenique*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Sebastian Pinera Echenique*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish English	Sebastian Pinera Echenique*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Sebastian Pinera Echenique*	A/76/PV.3

CHN: China / Taiwan

Table I.34: CHN: China / Taiwan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	V.K. Wellington Koo	A/PV.39
2	1947	Chinese	Chinese	Wang Shih-Chieh	A/PV.83
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Wang Shih-Chieh	A/PV.141
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Tsiang F. Tingfu	A/PV.223
5	1950	English	English	Tsiang F. Tingfu	A/PV.282
6	1951	English	English	Tsiang F. Tingfu	A/PV.340
7	1952	English	English	Yeh George	A/PV.396
8	1953	English	English	Tsiang F. Tingfu	A/PV.440
9	1954	English	English	Yeh George	A/PV.480
10	1955	Chinese	English	Yeh George	A/PV.526
11	1956	English	English	Tsiang F. Tingfu	A/PV.598
12	1957	English	English	Hu Shih	A/PV.689
13	1958	English	English	Tsiang F. Tingfu	A/PV.764
14	1959	English	English	Tsiang F. Tingfu	A/PV.812
15	1960	Chinese	English	Tsiang F. Tingfu	A/PV.892
16	1961	Chinese	English French	Shen Chang-Huan	A/PV.1024
17	1962	Chinese	English French Spanish	Liu Chieh	A/PV.1142
18	1963	English	English	Liu Chieh	A/PV.1227
19	1964	English	English	Shen Chang-Huan	A/PV.1309
20	1965	Chinese	English	Liu Chieh	A/PV.1354
21	1966	Chinese	English	Liu Chieh	A/PV.1438
22	1967	Chinese	English	Wei Tao-Ming	A/PV.1580
23	1968	Chinese	English	Wei Tao-Ming	A/PV.1703
24	1969	Chinese	English	Wei Tao-Ming	A/PV.1779
26	1971	Chinese	Chinese	Shu-Kai Chow	A/PV.1959
27	1972	Chinese	Chinese	Chiao Kuan-Hua	A/PV.2051
28	1973	Chinese	French	Chiao Kuan-Hua	A/PV.2137
29	1974	Chinese	Chinese	Chiao Kuan-Hua	A/PV.2252

Continued on next page

Table I.34: CHN: China / Taiwan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
30	1975	Chinese	Chinese	Chiao Kuan-Hua	A/PV.2363
31	1976	Chinese	Chinese	Chiao Kuan-Hua	A/31/PV.17
32	1977	Chinese	Chinese	Huang Hua	A/32/PV.13
33	1978	Chinese	Chinese	Huang Hua	A/33/PV.13
34	1979	Chinese	Chinese	Han Nianlong	A/34/PV.11
35	1980	Chinese	Chinese	Huang Hua	A/35/PV.9
36	1981	Chinese	Chinese	Zhang Wenjin	A/36/PV.10
37	1982	Chinese	Chinese	Huang Hua	A/37/PV.15
38	1983	Chinese	Chinese	Wu Xueqian	A/38/PV.8
39	1984	Chinese	Chinese	Wu Xueqian	A/39/PV.8
40	1985	Chinese	Chinese	Wu Xueqian	A/40/PV.14
41	1986	Chinese	Chinese	Wu Xueqian	A/41/PV.8
42	1987	Chinese	Chinese	Wu Xueqian	A/42/PV.8
43	1988	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/43/PV.8
44	1989	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/44/PV.12
45	1990	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/45/PV.12
46	1991	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/46/PV.8
47	1992	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/47/PV.8
48	1993	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/48/PV.8
49	1994	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/49/PV.8
50	1995	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/50/PV.8
51	1996	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/51/PV.8
52	1997	Chinese	Chinese	Qian Qichen	A/52/PV.9
53	1998	Chinese	Chinese	Tang Jiaxuan	A/53/PV.11
54	1999	Chinese	Chinese	Tang Jiaxuan	A/54/PV.8
55	2000	Chinese	Chinese	Tang Jiaxuan	A/55/PV.12
56	2001	Chinese	Chinese	Tang Jiaxuan	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	Chinese	Chinese	Tang Jiaxuan	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	Chinese	Chinese	Li Zhaoxing	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	Chinese	Chinese	Li Zhaoxing	A/59/PV.11
60	2005	Chinese	Chinese	Li Zhaoxing	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	Chinese	Chinese	Li Zhaoxing	A/61/PV.16

Continued on next page

Table I.34: CHN: China / Taiwan (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
62	2007	Chinese	Chinese	Yang Jiechi	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Chinese	Chinese	Wen Jiabao*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	Chinese	Chinese	Hu Jintao*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Chinese	Chinese	Wen Jiabao*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	Chinese	Chinese	Yang Jiechi	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	Chinese	Chinese	Yang Jiechi	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	Chinese	Chinese	Wang Yi	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	Chinese	Chinese	Wang Yi	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	Chinese	Chinese	Xi Jinping*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	Chinese	Chinese	Li Keqiang	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	Chinese	Chinese	Wang Yi	A/72/PV.12
73	2018	Chinese	Chinese	Wang Yi	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	Chinese	Chinese	Wang Yi	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	Chinese	Chinese English French	Xi Jinping*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	Chinese	Chinese English	Xi Jinping*	A/76/PV.3

CIV: Cote d'Ivoire

Table I.35: CIV: Cote d'Ivoire

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
20	1965	French	French	Camille Alliali	A/PV.1357
21	1966	French	French	Arsene Assouan Usher	A/PV.1418
24	1969	French	French	Arsene Assouan Usher	A/PV.1769
26	1971	French	French	Arsene Assouan Usher	A/PV.1950
27	1972	French	French	Arsene Assouan Usher	A/PV.2053
29	1974	French	French	Arsene Assouan Usher	A/PV.2246
32	1977	French	French	Simeon Ake	A/32/PV.24
33	1978	French	French	Simeon Ake	A/33/PV.25
34	1979	French	French	Simeon Ake	A/34/PV.23
35	1980	French	French	Simeon Ake	A/35/PV.28
36	1981	French	French	Simeon Ake	A/36/PV.31
44	1989	French	French	Simeon Ake	A/44/PV.19
46	1991	French	French	Amara Essy	A/46/PV.20
47	1992	French	French	Amara Essy	A/47/PV.14
48	1993	French	French	Amara Essy	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	French	French	Henri Konan Bedie*	A/49/PV.4
51	1996	French	French	Amara Essy	A/51/PV.17
52	1997	French	French	Amara Essy	A/52/PV.22
53	1998	French	French	Amara Essy	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	French	French	Amara Essy	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	French	French	Charles Gomis	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	French	French	Abou Drahamane Sangare	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	French	French	Abou Drahamane Sangare	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	French	French	Mamadou Bamba	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	French	French	Mamadou Bamba	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	French	French	Mamadou Bamba	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	French	French	Youssouf Bakayoko	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	French	French	Laurent Gbagbo*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	French	French	Youssouf Bakayoko	A/63/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.35: CIV: Cote d'Ivoire (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
64	2009	French	French	Laurent Gbagbo*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	French	French	Jean-Marie Kacou Gervais	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	French	French	Alassane Dramane Ouattara*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	French	French	Daniel Kablan Duncan	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	French	French	Alassane Dramane Ouattara*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	French	French	Alassane Dramane Ouattara*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	French	French	Claude Stanislas Bouah-Kamon	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	French	French	Alassane Dramane Ouattara*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	French	French	Alassane Dramane Ouattara*	A/72/PV.8
73	2018	French	French	Daniel Kablan Duncan	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	French	French	Daniel Kablan Duncan	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	French	French	Alassane Dramane Ouattara*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	French	French	Kandia Kamissoko Camara	A/76/PV.16

CMR: Cameroon

Table I.36: CMR: Cameroon

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
15	1960	French	French	Charles Okala	A/PV.904
16	1961	English	English	Salomon Muna	A/PV.1038
17	1962	French	French	Jean-Faustin Betayene	A/PV.1140
19	1964	French	French	Benoit Balla	A/PV.1310
20	1965	French	French	Simon Nko'O Etoungou	A/PV.1354
21	1966	French	French	Benoit Bindzi	A/PV.1412
22	1967	French	French	Benoit Bindzi	A/PV.1588
23	1968	French	French	Simon Nko'O Etoungou	A/PV.1700
24	1969	French	French	Ahmadou Ahidjo*	A/PV.1780
25	1970	French	French	Ahmadou Ahidjo*	A/PV.1845
26	1971	French	French	Jean Keutcha	A/PV.1941
27	1972	French	French	Vincent Efon	A/PV.2039
29	1974	French	French	Vincent Efon	A/PV.2257
30	1975	French	French	Jean Keutcha	A/PV.2368
31	1976	French	French	Jean Keutcha	A/31/PV.10
32	1977	French	French	Jean Keutcha	A/32/PV.33
33	1978	French	French	Jean Keutcha	A/33/PV.18
34	1979	French	French	Jean Keutcha	A/34/PV.25
35	1980	French	French	Paul Dontsop	A/35/PV.25
36	1981	French	French	Paul Dontsop	A/36/PV.16
37	1982	French	French	Paul Dontsop	A/37/PV.18
38	1983	French	French	Felix Tonye Mbog	A/38/PV.33
39	1984	French English	French	William Eteki Mboumoua	A/39/PV.24
40	1985	French English	French	William Eteki Mboumoua	A/40/PV.31
41	1986	French English	French	William Eteki Mboumoua	A/41/PV.27
42	1987	French	French	Philippe Mataga	A/42/PV.31
43	1988	French	French	Paul Biya*	A/43/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.36: CMR: Cameroon (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	French	French	Jacques-Roger Booh Booh	A/44/PV.11
45	1990	French	French	Jacques-Roger Booh Booh	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	French	French	Jacques-Roger Booh Booh	A/46/PV.20
47	1992	French	French	Jacques-Roger Booh Booh	A/47/PV.19
48	1993	French	French	Ferdinand Leopold Oyono	A/48/PV.22
49	1994	French	French	Ferdinand Leopold Oyono	A/49/PV.19
50	1995	French	French	Ferdinand Leopold Oyono	A/50/PV.21
53	1998	French	French	Augustin Kontchou Kouomegni	A/53/PV.21
54	1999	French	French	Augustin Kontchou Kouomegni	A/54/PV.22
56	2001	French	French	Martin Belinga-Eboutou	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	French	French	Martin Belinga-Eboutou	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	French	French	Martin Belinga-Eboutou	A/58/PV.22
59	2004	French	French	Francois-Xavier Ngoubeyou	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	French	French	Martin Belinga-Eboutou	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	French	French	Martin Belinga-Eboutou	A/61/PV.23
62	2007	French	French	Paul Biya*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	French	French	Paul Biya*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	French	French	Paul Biya*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	French	French	Paul Biya*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	French	French	Henri Eyebe Ayissi	A/66/PV.24

Continued on next page

Table I.36: CMR: Cameroon (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
67	2012	French	French	Pierre Moukoko Mbonjo	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	French	French	Pierre Moukoko Mbonjo	A/68/PV.10
69	2014	French	French	Pierre Moukoko Mbonjo	A/69/PV.11
71	2016	French	French	Paul Biya*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	French	French	Paul Biya*	A/72/PV.15
73	2018	French	French	Lejeune Mbella Mbella	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	French English	French	Lejeune Mbella Mbella	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	French	French	Lejeune Mbella Mbella	A/75/PV.15
76	2021	French	French	Lejeune Mbella Mbella	A/76/PV.16

COD: Democratic Republic of the Congo

Table I.37: COD: Democratic Republic of the Congo

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
16	1961	French	French	Justin Bomboko	A/PV.1035
18	1963	French	French	Cyrille Adoula*	A/PV.1234
21	1966	French	French	Justin Bomboko	A/PV.1445
22	1967	French	French	Jean-Theodore Umba di Lutete	A/PV.1591
23	1968	French	French	Jean-Theodore Umba di Lutete	A/PV.1703
24	1969	French	French	Cyrille Adoula	A/PV.1770
26	1971	French	French	Mario Cardoso	A/PV.1942
27	1972	French	French	Nguza Karl I Bond	A/PV.2044
28	1973	French	French	Mobutu Sese Seko*	A/PV.2140
29	1974	French	French	Jean-Theodore Umba di Lutete	A/PV.2259
30	1975	French	French	Mandungu Bula Nyati	A/PV.2355
31	1976	French	French	Nguza Karl I Bond	A/31/PV.6
32	1977	French	French	Jean-Theodore Umba di Lutete	A/32/PV.23
33	1978	French	French	Jean-Theodore Umba di Lutete	A/33/PV.25
34	1979	French	French	Nguza Karl I Bond	A/34/PV.19
35	1980	French	French	Inonga Lokongo L'Ome	A/35/PV.13
36	1981	French	French	Justin Bomboko	A/36/PV.16
37	1982	French	French	Yoka Mangono	A/37/PV.28
38	1983	French	French	Gerard Kamanda Wa Kamanda	A/38/PV.23
39	1984	French	French	Jean-Theodore Umba di Lutete	A/39/PV.21
40	1985	French	French	Mokolo Wa Mpombo	A/40/PV.13
41	1986	French	French	Mandungu Bula Nyati	A/41/PV.17
42	1987	French	French	Ekila Liyonda	A/42/PV.7
43	1988	French	French	Nguza Karl I Bond	A/43/PV.11
44	1989	French	French	Mobutu Sese Seko*	A/44/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.37: COD: Democratic Republic of the Congo (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	French	French	Mushobekwa Kalimba Wa Katana	A/45/PV.15
47	1992	French	French	Pierre Lumbi Okongo	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	French	French	Mapinga Kasenda	A/48/PV.25
49	1994	French	French	Kengo Wa Dondo*	A/49/PV.18
50	1995	French	French	Gerard Kamanda Wa Kamanda	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	French	French	Jean-Marie Kititwa	A/51/PV.21
52	1997	French English	French	Bizima Karaha	A/52/PV.19
53	1998	French	French	Jean-Charles Okoto Lolakombe	A/53/PV.11
54	1999	French	French	Yerodia Abdoulaye Ndombasi	A/54/PV.17
55	2000	French English Spanish	French	Yerodia Abdoulaye Ndombasi	A/55/PV.19
56	2001	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	French	French	Raymond Ramazani Baya	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	French	French	Atoki Ileka	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	French	French	Alexis Thambwe Mwamba	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/65/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.37: COD: Democratic Republic of the Congo (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
66	2011	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/69/PV.10
70	2015	French	French	Raymond Tshibanda N'Tungamulongo	A/70/PV.24
71	2016	French	French	Raymond Tshibanda N'Tungamulongo	A/71/PV.19
72	2017	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/72/PV.19
73	2018	French	French	Joseph Kabila Kabange*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	French	French	Felix Antoine Tshilombo Tshisekedi*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	French	French	Felix Antoine Tshilombo Tshisekedi*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	French	French	Felix Antoine Tshilombo Tshisekedi*	A/76/PV.3

COG: Congo

Table I.38: COG: Congo

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
15	1960	French	French	Stephane Tchichelle	A/PV.891
16	1961	French	French	Stephane Tchichelle	A/PV.1037
17	1962	French	French	Emmanuel Dadet	A/PV.1152
18	1963	French	French	David Charles Ganao	A/PV.1224
19	1964	French	French	David Charles Ganao	A/PV.1307
20	1965	French	French	Jonas Mouanza	A/PV.1356
21	1966	French	French	David Charles Ganao	A/PV.1443
22	1967	French	French	David Charles Ganao	A/PV.1588
23	1968	French	French	Nicolas Mondjo	A/PV.1707
24	1969	French	French	Charles Assemekang	A/PV.1776
25	1970	French	French	Auxence Ickonga	A/PV.1855
26	1971	French	French	Auxence Ickonga	A/PV.1955
27	1972	French	French	Henri Lopes	A/PV.2045
28	1973	French	French	David Charles Ganao	A/PV.2150
29	1974	French	French	David Charles Ganao	A/PV.2265
30	1975	French	French	David Charles Ganao	A/PV.2380
31	1976	French	French	Theophile Obenga	A/31/PV.8
32	1977	French	French	Theophile Obenga	A/32/PV.9
33	1978	French	French	Theophile Obenga	A/33/PV.12
34	1979	French	French	Pierre Nze	A/34/PV.14
35	1980	French	French	Pierre Nze	A/35/PV.15
36	1981	French	French	Nicolas Mondjo	A/36/PV.20
37	1982	French	French	Pierre Nze	A/37/PV.31
38	1983	French	French	Pierre Nze	A/38/PV.25
39	1984	French	French	Antoine Ndinga Oba	A/39/PV.11
40	1985	French	French	Antoine Ndinga Oba	A/40/PV.19
41	1986	French	French	Denis Sassou N'Guesso*	A/41/PV.17
42	1987	French	French	Antoine Ndinga Oba	A/42/PV.7
43	1988	French	French	Martin Adouki	A/43/PV.25

Continued on next page

Table I.38: COG: Congo (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	French	French	Antoine Ndinga Oba	A/44/PV.21
45	1990	French	French	Antoine Ndinga Oba	A/45/PV.28
46	1991	French	French	Jean Blaise Kololo	A/46/PV.23
47	1992	French	French	Benjamin Bounkoulou	A/47/PV.9
48	1993	French	French	Benjamin Bounkoulou	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	French	French	Benjamin Bounkoulou	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	French	French	Destin-Arsene Tsaty-Boungou	A/50/PV.16
51	1996	French	French	Destin-Arsene Tsaty-Boungou	A/51/PV.16
52	1997	French	French	Destin-Arsene Tsaty-Boungou	A/52/PV.24
53	1998	French	French	Rodolphe Adada	A/53/PV.23
54	1999	French	French	Rodolphe Adada	A/54/PV.18
55	2000	French	French	Rodolphe Adada	A/55/PV.23
56	2001	French	French	Rodolphe Adada	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	French	French	Denis Sassou N'Guesso*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	French	French	Rodolphe Adada	A/58/PV.22
59	2004	French	French	Rodolphe Adada	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	French	French	Rodolphe Adada	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	French	French	Denis Sassou N'Guesso*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	French	French	Basile Ikouebe	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	French	French	Basile Ikouebe	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	French	French	Denis Sassou N'Guesso*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	French	French	Basile Ikouebe	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	French	French	Basile Ikouebe	A/66/PV.27
67	2012	French	French	Basile Ikouebe	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	French	French	Basile Ikouebe	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	French	French	Denis Sassou N'Guesso*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	French	French	Jean-Claude Gakosso	A/70/PV.25

Continued on next page

Table I.38: COG: Congo (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
71	2016	French	French	Jean-Claude Gakosso	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	French	French	Denis Sassou N'Guesso*	A/72/PV.9
73	2018	French	French	Jean-Claude Gakosso	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	French	French	Jean-Claude Gakosso	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	French	French	Denis Sassou N'Guesso*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	French	French	Jean-Claude Gakosso	A/76/PV.17

COL: Colombia

Table I.39: COL: Colombia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Lopez	A/PV.43
2	1947	English	English	Alfonso Lopez	A/PV.88
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Roberto Urdaneta Arbelaez	A/PV.146
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Urdaneta Arbelaez	A/PV.285
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Restrepo Jaramillo	A/PV.343
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Evaristo Sourdis	A/PV.397
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Urrutia	A/PV.446
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Urrutia	A/PV.479
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Sanz de Santamaria	A/PV.683
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala	A/PV.762
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala	A/PV.800
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala	A/PV.880
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Cesar Turbay Ayala	A/PV.1026
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Antonio Montalvo	A/PV.1137
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	German Zea	A/PV.1223
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Gomez Martinez	A/PV.1302
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Herran Medina	A/PV.1360
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	German Zea	A/PV.1416
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	German Zea	A/PV.1572
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Lopez Michelsen	A/PV.1692
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Lopez Michelsen	A/PV.1768

Continued on next page

Table I.39: COL: Colombia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Vazquez-Carrizosa	A/PV.1846
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Vazquez-Carrizosa	A/PV.1952
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Vazquez-Carrizosa	A/PV.2052
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Vazquez-Carrizosa	A/PV.2131
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Aurelio Caicedo	A/PV.2251
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Indalecio Lievano Aguirre	A/PV.2376
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Indalecio Lievano Aguirre	A/31/PV.5
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Indalecio Lievano Aguirre	A/32/PV.21
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Diego Uribe Vargas	A/33/PV.33
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Diego Uribe Vargas	A/34/PV.20
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Diego Uribe Vargas	A/35/PV.33
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Lemos-Simmonds	A/36/PV.32
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Rodrigo Lloreda-Caicedo	A/37/PV.33
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Belisario Betancur Cuartas*	A/38/PV.19
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Augusto Ramirez Ocampo	A/39/PV.7
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Augusto Ramirez Ocampo	A/40/PV.4
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Virgilio Barco Vargas*	A/41/PV.18
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Londono - Paredes	A/42/PV.14
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Londono - Paredes	A/43/PV.6
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Virgilio Barco Vargas*	A/44/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.39: COL: Colombia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Gaviria Trujillo*	A/45/PV.11
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Fernando Jaramillo	A/46/PV.11
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Gaviria Trujillo*	A/47/PV.5
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Gaviria Trujillo*	A/48/PV.4
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Ernesto Samper Pizano*	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Rodrigo Pardo Garcia-Pena	A/50/PV.13
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Ernesto Samper Pizano*	A/51/PV.5
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Ernesto Samper Pizano*	A/52/PV.12
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Andres Pastrana Arango*	A/53/PV.11
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Andres Pastrana Arango*	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Fernandez de Soto	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Andres Pastrana Arango*	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Uribe Velez*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Uribe Velez*	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Uribe Velez*	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Uribe Velez*	A/60/PV.9
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Uribe Velez*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Uribe Velez*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Uribe Velez*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Uribe Velez*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Manuel Santos Calderon*	A/65/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.39: COL: Colombia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Manuel Santos Calderon*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Manuel Santos Calderon*	A/67/PV.10
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Manuel Santos Calderon*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Manuel Santos Calderon*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Manuel Santos Calderon*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Manuel Santos Calderon*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Manuel Santos Calderon*	A/72/PV.4
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Ivan Duque Marquez*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Ivan Duque Marquez*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Ivan Duque Marquez*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Ivan Duque Marquez*	A/76/PV.3

COM: Comoros

Table I.40: COM: Comoros

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	French	French	Abdallah Cheik Mohamed Muzawar	A/31/PV.28
32	1977	French	French	Abdallah Cheik Mohamed Muzawar	A/32/PV.29
33	1978	French	French	Ali Mroudjae	A/33/PV.32
34	1979	French	French	Ali Mroudjae	A/34/PV.26
35	1980	French	French	Ali Mroudjae	A/35/PV.32
36	1981	French	French	Ali Mroudjae	A/36/PV.33
37	1982	French	French	Said Mahdi Soilihi Kafe	A/37/PV.20
38	1983	French	French	Said Mahdi Soilihi Kafe	A/38/PV.29
39	1984	French	French	Said Mahdi Soilihi Kafe	A/39/PV.29
40	1985	French	French	Said Mahdi Soilihi Kafe	A/40/PV.30
41	1986	French	French	Said Mahdi Soilihi Kafe	A/41/PV.29
42	1987	French	French	Said Mahdi Soilihi Kafe	A/42/PV.17
43	1988	French	French	Said Mahdi Soilihi Kafe	A/43/PV.9
44	1989	French	French	Said Mahdi Soilihi Kafe	A/44/PV.19
45	1990	French	French	Mtara Maecha	A/45/PV.11
46	1991	French	French	Said Hasan Said Hachim	A/46/PV.27
47	1992	French	French	Amini Ali Moumin	A/47/PV.29
48	1993	French	French	Mouslim Ben Moussa	A/48/PV.23
49	1994	French	French	Said Sagaf	A/49/PV.27
51	1996	French	French	Said Omar Said Ahmed	A/51/PV.26
52	1997	French	French	Mtara Maecha	A/52/PV.14
53	1998	French Arabic	French	Salim Himidi	A/53/PV.25
54	1999	French	French	Souef Mohamed El-Amine	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	French Arabic	French	Souef Mohamed El-Amine	A/55/PV.26

Continued on next page

Table I.40: COM: Comoros (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
56	2001	French	French	Souef Mohamed El-Amine	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	French Arabic	French	Souef Mohamed El-Amine	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	French	French	Azali Assoumani*	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	French	French	Souef Mohamed El-Amine	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	French	French	Aboudou Soefo	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	French Arabic	French	Ahmed Abdallah Sambi*	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	French Arabic	French	Ahmed Abdallah Sambi*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	French	French	Ahmed Abdallah Sambi*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	French Arabic	French	Ahmed Abdallah Mohamed Sambi*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	French Arabic	French	Ahmed Abdallah Sambi*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	French	French	Ikililou Dhoinine*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	French	French	Ikililou Dhoinine*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	French	French	Ikililou Dhoinine*	A/68/PV.10
69	2014	French	French	Ikililou Dhoinine*	A/69PV.13
70	2015	French	French	Ikililou Dhoinine*	A/7/PV.20
71	2016	French	French	Azali Assoumani*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	French	French	Azali Assoumani*	A/72/PV.13
73	2018	French	French	Azali Assoumani*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	French	French	Azali Assoumani*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	French	French	Azali Assoumani*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	French	French	Azali Assoumani*	A/76/PV.10

CPV: Cape Verde

Table I.41: CPV: Cape Verde

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	Portuguese	French	Corsino Antonio Fortes	A/31/PV.30
32	1977	Portuguese	French	Amaro Alexandre da Luz	A/32/PV.32
33	1978	Portuguese	French	Pedro Verona Rodrigues Pires*	A/33/PV.23
34	1979	Portuguese	French	Amaro Alexandre da Luz	A/34/PV.24
35	1980	Portuguese	French	Amaro Alexandre da Luz	A/35/PV.23
36	1981	Portuguese	French	Silvino Manuel da Luz	A/36/PV.24
37	1982	Portuguese	French	Silvino Manuel da Luz	A/37/PV.29
38	1983	Portuguese	French	Aristides Maria Pereira*	A/38/PV.7
39	1984	Portuguese	French	Amaro Alexandre da Luz	A/39/PV.13
41	1986	Portuguese	French	Amaro Alexandre da Luz	A/41/PV.15
42	1987	Portuguese	French	Amaro Alexandre da Luz	A/42/PV.14
43	1988	Portuguese	French	Amaro Alexandre da Luz	A/43/PV.5
44	1989	Portuguese	French	Pedro Verona Rodrigues Pires*	A/44/PV.14
45	1990	Portuguese	English	Silvino Manuel da Luz	A/45/PV.24
46	1991	Portuguese	English	Jorge Carlos de Almeida Fonseca	A/46/PV.23
47	1992	Portuguese	English	Jorge Carlos de Almeida Fonseca	A/47/PV.23
48	1993	Portuguese	English	Antonio Mascarenhas Monteiro*	A/48/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.41: CPV: Cape Verde (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
49	1994	Portuguese	French	Carlos Alberto Wahnon de Carvalho Veiga*	A/49/PV.17
51	1996	Portuguese	English	Amilcar Spencer Lopes	A/51/PV.24
52	1997	Portuguese	French	Carlos Alberto Wahnon de Carvalho Veiga*	A/52/PV.10
53	1998	English	English	Jose Luis Jesus	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	Portuguese	French	Carlos Alberto Wahnon de Carvalho Veiga*	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	Portuguese	English	Rui Alberto de Figueiredo Soares	A/55/PV.19
56	2001	Portuguese	English	Manuel Inocencio Sousa	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	Portuguese	English	Jose Maria Pereira Neves*	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	Portuguese	English	Maria de Fatima Lima da Veiga	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	Portuguese French	French	Pedro Verona Rodrigues Pires*	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	Portuguese	French	Victor Manuel Barbosa Borges	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	Portuguese	French	Maria de Fatima Lima da Veiga	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	Portuguese	English	Jose Maria Pereira Neves*	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Portuguese	English	Pedro Verona Rodrigues Pires*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	French Portuguese	French	Maria de Fatima Lima da Veiga	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	French	French	Antonio Pedro Monteiro Lima	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	Kabuverdianu	English	Jose Maria Pereira Neves*	A/66/PV.23

Continued on next page

Table I.41: CPV: Cape Verde (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
67	2012	Portuguese	English	Jorge Carlos de Almeida Fonseca*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	Portuguese	English	Jose Maria Pereira Neves*	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	Portuguese	English	Fernando Jorge Wahnon Ferreira	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	Portuguese	English	Jose Maria Pereira Neves*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	Portuguese	English	Luis Filipe Lopes Tavares	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	Portuguese	English	Jose Ulisses Correia E Silva*	A/72/PV.15
73	2018	Portuguese	English	Jorge Carlos de Almeida Fonseca*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	Portuguese	English	Jose Ulisses Correia E Silva*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	Portuguese	English	Jose Ulisses Correia E Silva*	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	Portuguese	English	Jorge Carlos de Almeida Fonseca*	A/76/PV.7

CRI: Costa Rica

Table I.42: CRI: Costa Rica

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Volio Mata	A/PV.346
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Volio Mata	A/PV.393
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Eladio Trejos Flores	A/PV.446
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Fournier	A/PV.476
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Benjamin Nunez	A/PV.518
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Canas	A/PV.600
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Canas	A/PV.692
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Vargas Fernandez	A/PV.765
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Ortiz Martin	A/PV.809
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Ortiz Martin	A/PV.905
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Ortiz Martin	A/PV.1034
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Oduber	A/PV.1144
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Oduber	A/PV.1214
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Oduber	A/PV.1292
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Gomez Calvo	A/PV.1342
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Lara Bustamante	A/PV.1421
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Lara Bustamante	A/PV.1572
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Lara Bustamante	A/PV.1778
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Facio	A/PV.1847
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Facio	A/PV.2049
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Facio	A/PV.2136
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Facio	A/PV.2246
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Facio	A/PV.2372
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Facio	A/31/PV.6
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Facio	A/32/PV.7
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Rodrigo Carazo Odio*	A/33/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.42: CRI: Costa Rica (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Calderon-Fournier	A/34/PV.19
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Bernd Niehaus-Quesada	A/35/PV.27
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Bernd Niehaus-Quesada	A/36/PV.22
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Volio Jimenez	A/37/PV.27
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Volio Jimenez	A/38/PV.33
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Jose Gutierrez	A/39/PV.28
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Jose Gutierrez	A/40/PV.9
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Arias Sanchez*	A/41/PV.9
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Arias Sanchez*	A/42/PV.8
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Rodrigo Madrigal Nieto	A/43/PV.15
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Arias Sanchez*	A/44/PV.16
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Bernd Niehaus-Quesada	A/45/PV.5
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Bernd Niehaus-Quesada	A/46/PV.11
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Bernd Niehaus-Quesada	A/47/PV.15
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Bernd Niehaus-Quesada	A/48/PV.23
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Maria Figueres Olsen*	A/49/PV.8
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Naranjo Villalobos	A/50/PV.21
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Naranjo Villalobos	A/51/PV.7
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Maria Figueres Olsen*	A/52/PV.8
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Rojas Lopez	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel Rodriguez Echeverria*	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Rojas Lopez	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Rojas Lopez	A/56/PV.50

Continued on next page

Table I.42: CRI: Costa Rica (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Tovar Faja	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Linnette Saborio	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Abel Pacheco de la Espriella*	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Marco Vinicio Vargas	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Arias Sanchez*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Stagno Ugarte	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Arias Sanchez*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Arias Sanchez*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Laura Chinchilla Miranda*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Laura Chinchilla Miranda*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Enrique Castillo Barrantes	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Laura Chinchilla Miranda*	A/68/PV.6
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Guillermo Solis Rivera*	A/69/PV.7
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Guillermo Solis Rivera*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Guillermo Solis Rivera*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	Spanish English	Spanish	Luis Guillermo Solis Rivera*	A/72/PV.5
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Epsy Campbell Barr	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Alvarado Quesada*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Alvarado Quesada*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Alvarado Quesada*	A/76/PV.4

CSK: Czechoslovakia

Table I.43: CSK: Czechoslovakia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Jan Masaryk	A/PV.39
2	1947	English	English	Jan Masaryk	A/PV.87
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Vladimir Clementis	A/PV.145
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Vladimir Clementis	A/PV.228
5	1950	Russian	Russian	Viliam Siroky	A/PV.285
6	1951	English	English	Gertruda Sekaninova-Cakrtova	A/PV.347
7	1952	English	English	Gertruda Sekaninova-Cakrtova	A/PV.385
8	1953	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.444
9	1954	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.489
10	1955	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.529
11	1956	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.602
12	1957	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.686
13	1958	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.756
14	1959	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.804
15	1960	Czech	English	Antonin Novotny*	A/PV.871
16	1961	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.1021
17	1962	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.1129
18	1963	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.1211
19	1964	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.1294
20	1965	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.1337
21	1966	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.1416
22	1967	Russian	Russian	Vaclav David	A/PV.1565
23	1968	French	French	Vaclav Pleskot	A/PV.1682
24	1969	Russian	Russian	Jan Marko	A/PV.1771
26	1971	Russian	Russian	Jan Marko	A/PV.1947
27	1972	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/PV.2046
28	1973	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/PV.2142
29	1974	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/PV.2250
30	1975	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/PV.2371

Continued on next page

Table I.43: CSK: Czechoslovakia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/31/PV.19
32	1977	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/32/PV.19
33	1978	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/33/PV.18
34	1979	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/34/PV.10
35	1980	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/35/PV.18
36	1981	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/36/PV.19
37	1982	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/37/PV.21
38	1983	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/38/PV.19
39	1984	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/39/PV.20
40	1985	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/40/PV.18
41	1986	Russian	Russian	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/41/PV.18
42	1987	Russian	Russian	Jaromir Johanes	A/42/PV.28
43	1988	English[11]	English	Bohuslav Chnoupek	A/43/PV.22
44	1989	Russian	Russian	Jaromir Johanes	A/44/PV.18
45	1990	English	English	Jiri Dienstbier	A/45/PV.7
46	1991	English	English	Jiri Dienstbier	A/46/PV.8
47	1992	English	English	Josef Moravcik	A/47/PV.12

[11] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/43/PV.22. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'interprétation du russe'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

CUB: Cuba

Table I.44: CUB: Cuba

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Guillermo Belt	A/PV.41
2	1947	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Belt	A/PV.89
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Manuel Hevia	A/PV.222
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Ernesto Dihigo	A/PV.282
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Aureliano Sanchez Arango	A/PV.337
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel Campa	A/PV.379
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio Nunez Portuondo	A/PV.441
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Guell	A/PV.483
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio Nunez Portuondo	A/PV.600
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio Nunez Portuondo	A/PV.697
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio Nunez Portuondo	A/PV.767
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Roa Garcia	A/PV.806
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Fidel Castro Ruiz*	A/PV.872
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Roa Garcia	A/PV.1032
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Osvaldo Dorticos*	A/PV.1145
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Lechuga Hevia	A/PV.1231
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Che Guevara*	A/PV.1299
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Roa Garcia	A/PV.1363
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Roa Garcia	A/PV.1446
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Roa Garcia	A/PV.1591
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada	A/PV.1705
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada	A/PV.1784
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada	A/PV.1858

Continued on next page

Table I.44: CUB: Cuba (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada	A/PV.1963
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada	A/PV.2063
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Roa Garcia	A/PV.2148
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Roa Garcia	A/PV.2258
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada	A/PV.2380
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada	A/31/PV.32
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/32/PV.19
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/33/PV.7
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Fidel Castro Ruiz*	A/34/PV.31
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Raul Viera Linares	A/35/PV.33
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/36/PV.12
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/37/PV.23
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/38/PV.20
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/39/PV.18
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/40/PV.9
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/41/PV.11
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/42/PV.7
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/43/PV.11
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/44/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.44: CUB: Cuba (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/45/PV.11
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Isidoro Malmierca Peoli	A/46/PV.16
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alarcon de Quesada	A/47/PV.15
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Robaina Gonzalez	A/48/PV.14
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Robaina Gonzalez	A/49/PV.15
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Robaina Gonzalez	A/50/PV.4
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Robaina Gonzalez	A/51/PV.14
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Robaina Gonzalez	A/52/PV.19
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Robaina Gonzalez	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Perez Roque	A/54/PV.12
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Perez Roque	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Perez Roque	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Perez Roque	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Perez Roque	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Perez Roque	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Perez Roque	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Esteban Lazo Hernandez	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Perez Roque	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Ramon Machado Ventura	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla	A/65/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.44: CUB: Cuba (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla	A/68/PV.14
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Castro Ruz*	A/70/PV.14
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla	A/71/PV.16
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Diaz-Canel Bermudez	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Bruno Eduardo Rodriguez Parrilla	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish English French	Miguel Diaz-Canel Bermudez*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	Spanish[12]	Spanish English French Arabic	Miguel Diaz-Canel Bermudez*	A/76/PV.10

[12] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.10. The English version indicates: '[Original: Arabic, English, French, and Spanish]', while the French version indicates: '[Original: espagnol]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

CYP: Cyprus

Table I.45: CYP: Cyprus

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
15	1960	English	English	Zenon Rossides	A/PV.906
16	1961	English	English	Zenon Rossides	A/PV.1039
17	1962	English	English	Zenon Rossides	A/PV.1155
18	1963	English	English	Zenon Rossides	A/PV.1235
19	1964	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou	A/PV.1322
20	1965	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou	A/PV.1361
21	1966	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou	A/PV.1435
22	1967	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou	A/PV.1585
23	1968	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou	A/PV.1696
24	1969	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou	A/PV.1780
25	1970	English	English	Zenon Rossides	A/PV.1849
26	1971	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou	A/PV.1965
27	1972	English	English	John Christophides	A/PV.2057
28	1973	English	English	John Christophides	A/PV.2142
29	1974	English	English	Makarios*	A/PV.2251
30	1975	English	English	Makarios*	A/PV.2378
31	1976	English	English	John Christophides	A/31/PV.30
32	1977	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou*	A/32/PV.22
33	1978	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou*	A/33/PV.22
34	1979	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou*	A/34/PV.15
35	1980	English	English	Nicos Rolandis	A/35/PV.20
36	1981	English	English	Nicos Rolandis	A/36/PV.12
37	1982	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou*	A/37/PV.21
38	1983	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou*	A/38/PV.15
39	1984	English	English	George Iacovou	A/39/PV.8
40	1985	English	English	George Iacovou	A/40/PV.11
41	1986	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou*	A/41/PV.10
42	1987	English	English	Spyros Kyprianou*	A/42/PV.32
43	1988	English	English	George Vassiliou*	A/43/PV.20
44	1989	English	English	George Vassiliou*	A/44/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.45: CYP: Cyprus (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	English	English	George Vassiliou*	A/45/PV.6
46	1991	English	English	George Vassiliou*	A/46/PV.12
47	1992	English	English	George Vassiliou*	A/47/PV.7
48	1993	English	English	Glafcos Clerides*	A/48/PV.16
49	1994	English	English	Glafcos Clerides*	A/49/PV.14
50	1995	English	English	Glafcos Clerides*	A/50/PV.26
51	1996	English	English	Glafcos Clerides*	A/51/PV.10
52	1997	English	English	Glafcos Clerides*	A/52/PV.25
53	1998	English	English	Glafcos Clerides*	A/53/PV.15
54	1999	English	English	Glafcos Clerides*	A/54/PV.10
55	2000	English	English	Ioannis Kasoulides	A/55/PV.26
56	2001	English	English	Glafcos Clerides*	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	English	English	Ioannis Kasoulides	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	English	English	Tassos Papadopoulos*	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	English	English	Tassos Papadopoulos*	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	English	English	Tassos Papadopoulos*	A/60/PV.11
61	2006	English	English	Tassos Papadopoulos*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	English	English	Tassos Papadopoulos*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	English	English	Dimitris Christofias*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	Greek	English	Dimitris Christofias*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	Greek	English	Dimitris Christofias*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	Greek	English	Dimitris Christofias*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	Greek	English	Dimitris Christofias*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	English	English	Nicos Anastasiades*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	Nicos Anastasiades*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	English	English	Nicos Anastasiades*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Nicos Anastasiades*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	English	English	Nicos Anastasiades*	A/72/PV.11
73	2018	English	English	Nicos Anastasiades*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English	English	Nicos Anastasiades*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	English	English	Nicos Anastasiades*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	English	English	Nicos Anastasiades*	A/76/PV.12

CZE: Czech Republic

Table I.46: CZE: Czech Republic

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	English	English	Josef Zieleniec	A/48/PV.18
49	1994	English	English	Josef Zieleniec	A/49/PV.15
50	1995	English	English	Josef Zieleniec	A/50/PV.12
51	1996	English	English	Josef Zieleniec	A/51/PV.14
52	1997	English	English	Josef Zieleniec	A/52/PV.6
53	1998	English	English	Jan Kavan	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	English	English	Jan Kavan	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	English	English	Jan Kavan	A/55/PV.18
56	2001	English	English	Jan Kavan	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	English	English	Jan Kohout	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	English	English	Cyril Svoboda	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	English	English	Cyril Svoboda	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	English	English	Cyril Svoboda	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	English	English	Alexander Vondra	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	English	English	Vaclav Klaus*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	English	English	Karel Schwarzenberg	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	English	English	Vaclav Klaus*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	English	English	Vaclav Klaus*	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	English	English	Vaclav Klaus*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	English	English	Vaclav Klaus*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	English	English	Jiri Rusnok*	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	English	English	Lubomir Zaoralek	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	English	English	Milos Zeman*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	English	English	Milos Zeman*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	English	English	Milos Zeman*	A/72/PV.3
73	2018	English	English	Jan Hamacek	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	English	English	Andrej Babis*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Andrej Babis*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	Jakub Kulhanek	A/76/PV.11

DDR: East Germany

Table I.47: DDR: East Germany

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	German	English French Spanish	Otto Winzer	A/PV.2134
29	1974	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/PV.2243
30	1975	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/PV.2360
31	1976	English	English	Oskar Fischer	A/31/PV.15
32	1977	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/32/PV.13
33	1978	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/33/PV.14
34	1979	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/34/PV.16
35	1980	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/35/PV.12
36	1981	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/36/PV.13
37	1982	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/37/PV.7
38	1983	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/38/PV.15
39	1984	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/39/PV.22
40	1985	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/40/PV.12
41	1986	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/41/PV.12
42	1987	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/42/PV.10
43	1988	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/43/PV.26
44	1989	German	English	Oskar Fischer	A/44/PV.12

DEU: Germany / West Germany

Table I.48: DEU: Germany / West Germany

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	German English	English	Willy Brandt*	A/PV.2128
29	1974	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/PV.2239
30	1975	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/PV.2359
31	1976	German	English French	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/31/PV.7
32	1977	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/32/PV.12
33	1978	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/33/PV.8
34	1979	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/34/PV.11
35	1980	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/35/PV.8
36	1981	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/36/PV.9
37	1982	German	English	Hans-Jurgen Wischnewski	A/37/PV.11
38	1983	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/38/PV.11
39	1984	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/39/PV.8
40	1985	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/40/PV.10
41	1986	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/41/PV.10
42	1987	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/42/PV.10
43	1988	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/43/PV.8
44	1989	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/44/PV.8
45	1990	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/45/PV.8
46	1991	German	English	Hans Dietrich Genscher	A/46/PV.8
47	1992	German	English	Klaus Kinkel	A/47/PV.8
48	1993	German	English	Klaus Kinkel	A/48/PV.8
49	1994	German	English	Klaus Kinkel	A/49/PV.6
50	1995	German	English	Klaus Kinkel	A/50/PV.8
51	1996	German	English	Klaus Kinkel	A/51/PV.8
52	1997	German	English	Klaus Kinkel	A/52/PV.9
53	1998	German	English	Klaus Kinkel	A/53/PV.9
54	1999	German	English	Joschka Fischer	A/54/PV.8
55	2000	German	English	Joschka Fischer	A/55/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.48: DEU: Germany / West Germany (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
56	2001	German	English	Joschka Fischer	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	German	English	Joschka Fischer	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	German	English	Gerhard Schroder*	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	German	English	Joschka Fischer	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	German	English	Klaus Scharioth	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	German	English	Frank-Walter Steinmeier	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	German	English	Angela Merkel*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	German	English	Frank-Walter Steinmeier	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Thomas Matussek	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	German English	English	Guido Westerwelle	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	German	English	Guido Westerwelle	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	German	English	Guido Westerwelle	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	German	English	Guido Westerwelle	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	German	English	Frank-Walter Steinmeier	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	German	English	Frank-Walter Steinmeier	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	German	English	Frank-Walter Steinmeier	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	German	English	Sigmar Gabriel	A/72/PV.12
73	2018	German	English	Heiko Maas	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	German	English	Heiko Maas	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Heiko Maas	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	German	English	Frank-Walter Steinmeier*	A/76/PV.12

DJI: Djibouti

Table I.49: DJI: Djibouti

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
34	1979	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/34/PV.29
35	1980	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/35/PV.21
36	1981	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/36/PV.18
37	1982	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/37/PV.16
38	1983	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/38/PV.6
39	1984	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/39/PV.17
40	1985	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/40/PV.19
41	1986	English	English	Saleh Hadji Farah Dirir	A/41/PV.20
42	1987	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/42/PV.26
43	1988	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/43/PV.13
44	1989	English	English	Roble Olhaye	A/44/PV.29
45	1990	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/45/PV.19
46	1991	French	French	Moumin Bahdon Farah	A/46/PV.23
47	1992	French	French	Hassan Gouled Aptidon*	A/47/PV.6
48	1993	French	French	Bolock Abdou Abdou	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	English	English	Roble Olhaye	A/49/PV.21
50	1995	French	French	Mohamed Moussa Chehem	A/50/PV.21
51	1996	English	English	Roble Olhaye	A/51/PV.26
52	1997	English	English	Roble Olhaye	A/52/PV.25
53	1998	French	French	Hassan Gouled Aptidon*	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	French	French	Ismael Omar Guelleh*	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	French	French	Ismael Omar Guelleh*	A/55/PV.10
56	2001	French	French	Ali Abdi Farah	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	French	French	Ali Abdi Farah	A/57/PV.17
59	2004	French	French	Ismael Omar Guelleh*	A/59/PV.5
64	2009	English	English	Roble Olhaye	A/64/PV.13
66	2011	French	French	Ismael Omar Guelleh*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	French	French	Mahmoud Ali Youssouf	A/67/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.49: DJI: Djibouti (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
70	2015	French English	French	Ismael Omar Guelleh*	A/70/PV.20
72	2017	French	French	Mahmoud Ali Youssouf	A/72/PV.19
73	2018	French	French	Mahmoud Ali Youssouf	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	French English	French	Ismael Omar Guelleh*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	French	French	Ismael Omar Guelleh*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	French	French	Ismael Omar Guelleh*	A/76/PV.9

DMA: Dominica

Table I.50: DMA: Dominica

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
34	1979	English	English	Oliver James Seraphin*	A/34/PV.32
36	1981	English	English	Mary Eugenia Charles*	A/36/PV.28
39	1984	English	English	Franklyn Andrew Merrifield Baron	A/39/PV.29
44	1989	English	English	Franklyn Andrew Merrifield Baron	A/44/PV.20
45	1990	English	English	Brian Alleyne	A/45/PV.28
46	1991	English	English	Brian Alleyne	A/46/PV.28
47	1992	English	English	Brian Alleyne	A/47/PV.25
48	1993	English	English	Brian Alleyne	A/48/PV.25
49	1994	English French	English	Mary Eugenia Charles*	A/49/PV.24
51	1996	English	English	Simon Paul Richards	A/51/PV.29
52	1997	English	English	Edison C. James*	A/52/PV.21
53	1998	English	English	Edison C. James*	A/53/PV.21
54	1999	English	English	Norris Charles	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	English	English	Roosevelt Douglas*	A/55/PV.23
56	2001	English	English	Pierre Charles	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	English	English	Osborne Riviere	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	English	English	Pierre Charles*	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	English	English	Roosevelt Skerrit*	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	English	English	Crispin S. Gregoire	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	English	English	Charles Angelo Savarin	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Charles Angelo Savarin	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Roosevelt Skerrit*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Nicholas Joseph Orville Liverpool*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	English	English	Nicholas Joseph Orville Liverpool*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	English	English	Vince Henderson	A/66/PV.30
67	2012	English	English	Vince Henderson	A/67/PV.21

Continued on next page

Table I.50: DMA: Dominica (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
68	2013	English	English	Vince Henderson	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	English	English	Charles Angelo Savarin*	A/69/PV.13
70	2015	English	English	Francine Baron	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	English	English	Francine Baron	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Roosevelt Skerrit*	A/72/PV.19
73	2018	English	English	Francine Baron	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	English	English	Charles Angelo Savarin*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	Kenneth Darroux	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	English	English	Kenneth Darroux	A/76/PV.17

DNK: Denmark

Table I.51: DNK: Denmark

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Gustav Rasmussen	A/PV.141
6	1951	English	English	Ole Bjorn Kraft	A/PV.343
10	1955	English	English	Ernst Christiansen	A/PV.526
13	1958	English	English	Jens Otto Krag	A/PV.759
14	1959	English	English	Jens Otto Krag	A/PV.809
15	1960	English	English	Jens Otto Krag	A/PV.875
16	1961	English	English	Jens Otto Krag	A/PV.1019
17	1962	English	English	Per Haekkerup	A/PV.1132
18	1963	English	English	Per Haekkerup	A/PV.1215
19	1964	English	English	Per Haekkerup	A/PV.1296
20	1965	English	English	Per Haekkerup	A/PV.1345
21	1966	English	English	Per Haekkerup	A/PV.1422
22	1967	English	English	Jens Otto Krag*	A/PV.1562
23	1968	English	English	Poul Hartling	A/PV.1685
24	1969	English	English	Poul Hartling	A/PV.1771
27	1972	English	English	Knud Borge Andersen	A/PV.2040
28	1973	English	English	Knud Borge Andersen	A/PV.2128
29	1974	English French	English	Ove Guldberg	A/PV.2242
30	1975	English	English	Knud Borge Andersen	A/PV.2360
31	1976	English	English	Knud Borge Andersen	A/31/PV.8
32	1977	English	English	Knud Borge Andersen	A/32/PV.9
33	1978	English	English	Henning Christoph-ersen	A/33/PV.9
35	1980	English	English	Kjeld Olesen	A/35/PV.7
36	1981	English	English	Kjeld Olesen	A/36/PV.8
37	1982	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/37/PV.8
38	1983	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/38/PV.8
39	1984	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/39/PV.7
40	1985	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/40/PV.7
41	1986	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/41/PV.7

Continued on next page

Table I.51: DNK: Denmark (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
42	1987	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/42/PV.6
43	1988	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/43/PV.7
44	1989	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/44/PV.5
45	1990	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/45/PV.7
46	1991	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/46/PV.9
47	1992	English	English	Uffe Ellemann-Jensen	A/47/PV.9
48	1993	English	English	Niels Helveg Petersen	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	English	English	Niels Helveg Petersen	A/49/PV.13
50	1995	English	English	Niels Helveg Petersen	A/50/PV.7
51	1996	English	English	Niels Helveg Petersen	A/51/PV.7
52	1997	English	English	Poul Nyrup Rasmussen*	A/52/PV.5
53	1998	English	English	Niels Helveg Petersen	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	English	English	Niels Helveg Petersen	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	English	English	Niels Helveg Petersen	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	English	English	Ellen Loj	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Anders Fogh Rasmussen*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	English	English	Per Stig Moller	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	English	English	Per Stig Moller	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	Per Stig Moller	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	English	English	Per Stig Moller	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	English	English	Carsten Staur	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Carsten Staur	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	English	English	Carsten Staur	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Carsten Staur	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	English	English	Carsten Staur	A/66/PV.30
67	2012	English	English	Carsten Staur	A/67/PV.21
68	2013	English	English	Ib Petersen	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	English	English	Helle Thorning-Schmidt*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	English	English	Lars Lokke Rasmussen*	A/70/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.51: DNK: Denmark (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
71	2016	English	English	Ib Petersen	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English	English	Ulla Tornaes	A/72/PV.14
73	2018	English	English	Ulla Tornaes	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Jeppe Kofod	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	Mette Frederiksen*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English	English	Mette Frederiksen*	A/76/PV.13

DOM: Dominican Republic

Table I.52: DOM: Dominican Republic

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
2	1947	Spanish	Spanish	Arturo Despradel	A/PV.89
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Joaquin Balaguer	A/PV.147
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Max Henriquez Urena	A/PV.229
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Virgilio Diaz-Ordonez	A/PV.282
6	1951	Spanish French	Spanish	Max Henriquez Urena	A/PV.345
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Joaquin Salazar	A/PV.396
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Tulio Franco Y Franco	A/PV.444
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Virgilio Diaz-Ordonez	A/PV.518
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique de Marchena	A/PV.581
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Porfirio Herrera Baez	A/PV.686
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Porfirio Herrera Baez	A/PV.751
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Porfirio Herrera Baez	A/PV.813
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Joaquin Balaguer*	A/PV.1021
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Antonio Bonilla Atiles	A/PV.1150
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Donald Reid Cabral	A/PV.1239
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Guaroa Velasquez	A/PV.1317
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Gilberto Herrera Baez	A/PV.1442
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Amiama Tio	A/PV.1566
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Amiama Tio	A/PV.1678
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Amiama Tio	A/PV.1760
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime Manuel Fernandez-Gonzalez	A/PV.1844
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime Manuel Fernandez-Gonzalez	A/PV.1949
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Gomez Berges	A/PV.2039
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Gomez Berges	A/PV.2247

Continued on next page

Table I.52: DOM: Dominican Republic (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Ramon Emilio Jimenez	A/PV.2366
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Ramon Emilio Jimenez	A/31/PV.8
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Ramon Emilio Jimenez	A/33/PV.7
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Ramon Emilio Jimenez	A/34/PV.24
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio Ludovino Fernandez	A/35/PV.24
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Manuel Enrique Tavares Espaillat	A/36/PV.30
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Augusto Vega Imbert	A/37/PV.33
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Augusto Vega Imbert	A/38/PV.21
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Augusto Vega Imbert	A/39/PV.17
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Augusto Vega Imbert	A/40/PV.24
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Donald Reid Cabral	A/41/PV.27
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Fabio Herrera Cabral	A/42/PV.18
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Joaquin Ricardo Garcia	A/43/PV.24
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Joaquin Ricardo Garcia	A/44/PV.14
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Joaquin Ricardo Garcia	A/45/PV.26
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Tavera Guzman	A/46/PV.30
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Tavera Guzman	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Tavera Guzman	A/48/PV.24
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Morales Troncoso	A/49/PV.27
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Manuel Trullols	A/50/PV.22

Continued on next page

Table I.52: DOM: Dominican Republic (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Leonel Fernandez Reyna*	A/51/PV.20
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Eduardo Latorre	A/52/PV.10
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Eduardo Latorre	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Leonel Fernandez Reyna*	A/54/PV.12
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Tolentino Dipp	A/55/PV.26
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Tolentino Dipp	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Tolentino Dipp	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Guerrero Prats	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Morales Troncoso	A/59/PV.17
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Morales Troncoso	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Leonel Fernandez Reyna*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Leonel Fernandez Reyna*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Leonel Fernandez Reyna*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Leonel Fernandez Reyna*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Leonel Fernandez Reyna*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Leonel Fernandez Reyna*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Danilo Medina Sanchez*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Manuel Trullols	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Danilo Medina Sanchez*	A/69/PV.7
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Danilo Medina Sanchez*	A/70/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.52: DOM: Dominican Republic (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Danilo Medina Sanchez*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Vargas Maldonado	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Danilo Medina Sanchez*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Vargas Maldonado	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish English	Luis Rodolfo Abinader Corona*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Rodolfo Abinader Corona*	A/76/PV.9

DZA: Algeria

Table I.53: DZA: Algeria

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
17	1962	French	French	Mohammed Khemisti	A/PV.1151
19	1964	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/PV.1322
20	1965	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/PV.1363
21	1966	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/PV.1447
22	1967	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouattoura	A/PV.1586
23	1968	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/PV.1707
24	1969	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/PV.1784
25	1970	French	French	M'Hammed Yazid	A/PV.1859
26	1971	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/PV.1965
27	1972	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/PV.2063
28	1973	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/PV.2150
29	1974	French	French	Abdellatif Rahal	A/PV.2265
30	1975	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/PV.2382
31	1976	French	French	Abdellatif Rahal	A/31/PV.32
32	1977	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/32/PV.33
33	1978	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika	A/33/PV.33
34	1979	French	French	Mohamed Seddik Benyahia	A/34/PV.25
35	1980	French	French	Mohamed Seddik Benyahia	A/35/PV.19
36	1981	French	French	Mohammed Bedjaoui	A/36/PV.27
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic French	Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi	A/37/PV.27
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi	A/38/PV.16
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi	A/39/PV.4
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic French	Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi	A/40/PV.16
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi	A/41/PV.7
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi	A/42/PV.28
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic French	Ahmed Taleb-Ibrahimi	A/43/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.53: DZA: Algeria (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Sid-Ahmed Ghozali	A/44/PV.5
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Sid-Ahmed Ghozali	A/45/PV.7
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Lakhdar Brahimi	A/46/PV.12
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Lakhdar Brahimi	A/47/PV.14
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed-Salah Dembri	A/48/PV.16
49	1994	Arabic[13]	Arabic	Mohamed-Salah Dembri	A/49/PV.4
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed-Salah Dembri	A/50/PV.7
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Attaf	A/51/PV.8
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Attaf	A/52/PV.20
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Attaf	A/53/PV.18
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelaziz Bouteflika*	A/54/PV.4
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelaziz Belkhadem	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelaziz Belkhadem	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	French	French	Abdelaziz Bouteflika*	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelaziz Bouteflika*	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelaziz Bouteflika*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	French	French	Mohammed Bedjaoui	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	French	French	Mohammed Bedjaoui	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	French	French	Mourad Medelci	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Mourad Medelci	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelaziz Bouteflika*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Mourad Medelci	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Mourad Medelci	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Mourad Medelci	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Ramtane Lamamra	A/68/PV.14
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Ramtane Lamamra	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Ramtane Lamamra	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Ramtane Lamamra	A/71/PV.15
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelkader Messahel	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelkader Messahel	A/73/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.53: DZA: Algeria (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Sabri Boukadoum	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelmadjid Tebboune*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Ramtane Lamamra	A/76/PV.16

[13] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/49/PV.4. The English version indicates: 'interpretation from Arabic', while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

ECU: Ecuador

Table I.54: ECU: Ecuador

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Illescas	A/PV.43
2	1947	Spanish	Spanish	L. Neftali Ponce	A/PV.90
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Homero Viteri-Lafronte	A/PV.147
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Homero Viteri-Lafronte	A/PV.225
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Quevedo	A/PV.286
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Quevedo	A/PV.344
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Vicente Trujillo	A/PV.383
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Vicente Trujillo	A/PV.442
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Vicente Trujillo	A/PV.485
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Vicente Trujillo	A/PV.519
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Vicente Trujillo	A/PV.581
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Vicente Trujillo	A/PV.691
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Tobar-Zaldumbide	A/PV.762
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Correa	A/PV.817
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Chiriboga Villagomez	A/PV.878
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Wilson Vela Hervas	A/PV.1016
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Leopoldo Benites	A/PV.1131
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Leopoldo Benites	A/PV.1227
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Escudero	A/PV.1298
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Wilson Cordova	A/PV.1340
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Salvador-Lara	A/PV.1416
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Prado Vallejo	A/PV.1568
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Leopoldo Benites	A/PV.1686
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Rogelio Valdivieso Eguiguren	A/PV.1772
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Leopoldo Benites	A/PV.1855
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Garcia Velasco	A/PV.1947

Continued on next page

Table I.54: ECU: Ecuador (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Jose Lucio Paredes	A/PV.2038
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Jose Lucio Paredes	A/PV.2124
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Leopoldo Benites	A/PV.2256
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Valencia Rodriguez	A/PV.2376
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Armando Pesantes Garcia	A/31/PV.12
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Ayala Lasso	A/32/PV.9
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Ayala Lasso	A/33/PV.13
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Pareja Diezanseco	A/34/PV.12
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel A. Albornoz	A/35/PV.9
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Barrera-Valverde	A/36/PV.31
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Valencia Rodriguez	A/37/PV.20
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Osvaldo Hurtado Larrea*	A/38/PV.12
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Edgar Teran Teran	A/39/PV.13
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Edgar Teran Teran	A/40/PV.11
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Edgar Teran Teran	A/41/PV.8
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Garcia Velasco	A/42/PV.21
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Diego Cordovez	A/43/PV.7
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Diego Cordovez	A/44/PV.7
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Diego Cordovez	A/45/PV.22
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Rodrigo Borja-Cevallos*	A/46/PV.15
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Sixto Duran Ballen*	A/47/PV.12
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Diego Paredes Pena	A/48/PV.17
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime Alberto Marchan Romero	A/49/PV.21
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Galo Leoro Franco	A/50/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.54: ECU: Ecuador (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Valencia Rodriguez	A/51/PV.18
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Fabian Alarcon Rivera*	A/52/PV.12
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Jamil Mahuad Witt*	A/53/PV.25
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Benjamin Ortiz	A/54/PV.18
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Paulina Garcia de Larrea	A/55/PV.26
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Heinz Moeller Freile	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Gustavo Noboa Bejarano*	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Lucio Gutierrez Borbua*	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Patricio Zuquilanda	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Palacio*	A/60/PV.11
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Palacio*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Correa*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Maria Fernanda Espinosa Garces	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Fander Falconi	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Lenin Moreno Garces	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Carrion Mena	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Marco Albuja	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Xavier Lasso Mendoza	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Leonardo Arizaga	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Correa*	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Guillaume Long	A/71/PV.19
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Lenin Moreno Garces*	A/72/PV.9
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Lenin Moreno Garces*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Lenin Moreno Garces*	A/74/PV.6

Continued on next page

Table I.54: ECU: Ecuador (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Lenin Moreno Garces*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Lasso Mendoza*	A/76/PV.4

EGY: Egypt

Table I.55: EGY: Egypt

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Mohamed Hussein Haekal	A/PV.39
2	1947	English	English	Mohamed Hussein Haekal	A/PV.87
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Ahmed Mohamed Khashaba	A/PV.140
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Mohamed Kamel Abdul Rahim	A/PV.226
5	1950	English	English	Mohamed Salah-El-Din	A/PV.288
6	1951	English	English	Mohamed Salah-El-Din	A/PV.347
7	1952	English	English	Ahmed Mohamed Farrag	A/PV.395
8	1953	French	French	Hilmy Bahgat Badawi	A/PV.446
9	1954	French	French	Mahmoud Azmi	A/PV.491
10	1955	English	English	Mahmoud Fawzi	A/PV.518
11	1956	English	English	Mahmoud Fawzi	A/PV.600
12	1957	English	English	Mahmoud Fawzi	A/PV.699
13	1958	English	English	Mahmoud Fawzi	A/PV.773
14	1959	English	English	Mahmoud Fawzi	A/PV.820
15	1960	Arabic	English	Gamal Abdul Nasser*	A/PV.873
16	1961	English	English	Mahmoud Fawzi	A/PV.1034
17	1962	English	English	Mahmoud Fawzi	A/PV.1139
18	1963	English	English	Mahmoud Fawzi	A/PV.1236
19	1964	English	English	Mahmoud Riad	A/PV.1298
20	1965	English	English	Mahmoud Riad	A/PV.1351
21	1966	Arabic	English	Mahmoud Riad	A/PV.1438
22	1967	Arabic	English	Mahmoud Riad	A/PV.1573
23	1968	Arabic	English	Mahmoud Riad	A/PV.1689
24	1969	Arabic	English	Mahmoud Riad	A/PV.1761
26	1971	Arabic	English	Mahmoud Riad	A/PV.1954

Continued on next page

Table I.55: EGY: Egypt (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	English	English	Mohamed Hassan El-Zayyat	A/PV.2062
28	1973	English	English	Mohamed Hassan El-Zayyat	A/PV.2150
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Ismail Fahmy	A/PV.2250
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid	A/31/PV.31
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Ismail Fahmy	A/32/PV.10
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid	A/33/PV.28
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Boutros Boutros-Ghali	A/34/PV.15
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Kamal Hassan Ali	A/35/PV.16
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid	A/36/PV.13
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Boutros Boutros-Ghali	A/37/PV.8
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Hosni Mubarak*	A/38/PV.10
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid	A/39/PV.12
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Hosni Mubarak*	A/40/PV.8
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid	A/41/PV.14
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid	A/42/PV.16
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid	A/43/PV.12
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Hosni Mubarak*	A/44/PV.12
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Boutros Boutros-Ghali	A/45/PV.21
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/46/PV.14
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/47/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.55: EGY: Egypt (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/49/PV.12
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/50/PV.17
51	1996	Arabic[14]	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/51/PV.7
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/52/PV.15
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/53/PV.15
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/54/PV.10
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Amre Moussa	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Aboul Gheit	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Maher El Sayed	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Maher El Sayed	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Aboul Gheit	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Aboul Gheit	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Aboul Gheit	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Aboul Gheit	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Aboul Gheit	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Aboul Gheit	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Aboul Gheit	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Kamel Ali Amr	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Morsy*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Nabil Fahmy	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Abdel Fattah Al Sisi*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Abdel Fattah Al Sisi*	A/70/PV.14
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Abdel Fattah Al Sisi*	A/71/PV.9
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Abdel Fattah Al Sisi*	A/72/PV.5
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Abdel Fattah Al Sisi*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Abdel Fattah Al Sisi*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic English	Abdel Fattah Al Sisi*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Abdel Fattah Al Sisi*	A/76/PV.4

[14] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/51/PV.7. The English version indicates: 'interpretation from Arabic', while the French version indicates: 'interprétation de l'anglais'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

ERI: Eritrea

Table I.56: ERI: Eritrea

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	English	English	Isaias Afwerki*	A/48/PV.10
49	1994	English	English	Petros Solomon	A/49/PV.22
50	1995	English	English	Petros Solomon	A/50/PV.28
51	1996	English	English	Amdemicael Kahsai	A/51/PV.25
52	1997	English	English	Haile Menkerios	A/52/PV.28
53	1998	English	English	Haile Weldensae	A/53/PV.25
54	1999	English	English	Haile Weldensae	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	English	English	Haile Weldensae	A/55/PV.28
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Said Abdella	A/56/PV.57
57	2002	English	English	Ahmed Tahir Baduri	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Said Abdella	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Said Abdella	A/59/PV.16
60	2005	English	English	Berhane Abrehe	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	English	English	Saleh Meky	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English	English	Isaias Afwerki*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/70/PV.28

Continued on next page

Table I.56: ERI: Eritrea (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
71	2016	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	English	English	Osman Saleh Mohammed	A/76/PV.16

ESP: Spain

Table I.57: ESP: Spain

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Martin Artajo	A/PV.588
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Felix de Lequerica	A/PV.699
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Felix de Lequerica	A/PV.770
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Felix de Lequerica	A/PV.822
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Felix de Lequerica	A/PV.886
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Felix de Lequerica	A/PV.1035
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Felix de Lequerica	A/PV.1143
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Maria Castiella	A/PV.1213
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Manuel Aznar	A/PV.1318
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Maria Castiella	A/PV.1697
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Gregorio Lopez-Bravo	A/PV.1949
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Gregorio Lopez-Bravo	A/PV.2053
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Laureano Lopez Rodo	A/PV.2133
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Don Pedro Cortina Mauri	A/PV.2253
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Don Pedro Cortina Mauri	A/PV.2367
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Don Marcelino Oreja Aguirre	A/31/PV.5
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Don Marcelino Oreja Aguirre	A/32/PV.6
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Don Marcelino Oreja Aguirre	A/33/PV.16
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Don Marcelino Oreja Aguirre	A/34/PV.5
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Pedro Perez-Llorca Rodrigo	A/35/PV.4
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Pedro Perez-Llorca Rodrigo	A/36/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.57: ESP: Spain (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Pedro Perez-Llorca Rodrigo	A/37/PV.9
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Moran	A/38/PV.12
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Moran	A/39/PV.9
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Gonzalez Marquez*	A/40/PV.10
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos I*	A/41/PV.4
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Fernandez Ordonez	A/42/PV.13
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Fernandez Ordonez	A/43/PV.11
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Fernandez Ordonez	A/44/PV.11
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Fernandez Ordonez	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos I*	A/46/PV.24
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Javier Solana	A/47/PV.13
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Javier Solana	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	Spanish[15]	Spanish	Javier Solana	A/49/PV.12
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Javier Solana	A/50/PV.6
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Abel Matutes	A/51/PV.13
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Abel Matutes	A/52/PV.13
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Abel Matutes	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Abel Matutes	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Josep Pique	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Josep Pique	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Ana Palacio Vallelersundi	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Maria Aznar*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel Moratinos Cuyaube	A/60/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.57: ESP: Spain (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel Moratinos Cuyaube	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel Moratinos Cuyaube	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Luis Rodriguez Zapatero*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel Moratinos Cuyaube	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Trinidad Jimenez Garcia-Herrera	A/66/PV.24
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Mariano Rajoy Brey*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Mariano Rajoy Brey*	A/68/PV.10
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Don Felipe Vi*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Manuel Garcia Margallo	A/70/PV.21
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Don Felipe Vi*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Maria Dastis Quecedo	A/72/PV.14
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Pedro Sanchez*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Pedro Sanchez*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish English	Pedro Sanchez*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Pedro Sanchez*	A/76/PV.9

[15] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/49/PV.12. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'interprétation de l'espagnol'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

EST: Estonia

Table I.58: EST: Estonia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	English	English	Ernst Jaakson	A/46/PV.30
47	1992	English	English	Jaan Manitski	A/47/PV.17
48	1993	English	English	Lennart Meri*	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	English	English	Juri Luik	A/49/PV.9
50	1995	English	English	Riivo Sinijarv	A/50/PV.5
51	1996	English	English	Trivimi Velliste	A/51/PV.15
52	1997	English	English	Trivimi Velliste	A/52/PV.20
53	1998	English	English	Indrek Tarand	A/53/PV.15
54	1999	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves	A/55/PV.12
56	2001	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves	A/56/PV.57
57	2002	English	English	Kristiina Ojuland	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	Estonian	English	Arnold Ruutel*	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	Estonian	English	Arnold Ruutel*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	English	English	Tiina Intelmann	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	English	English	Sven Jurgenson	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/67/PV.10
68	2013	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	English	English	Toomas Hendrik Ilves*	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	English	English	Kersti Kaljulaid*	A/72/PV.6
73	2018	English	English	Kersti Kaljulaid*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	Kersti Kaljulaid*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	English	English	Kersti Kaljulaid*	A/75/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.58: EST: Estonia (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
76	2021	English	English	Kersti Kaljulaid*	A/76/PV.6

ETH: Ethiopia

Table I.59: ETH: Ethiopia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Aklilou Abte Wold	A/PV.227
5	1950	French	French	Aklilou Abte Wold	A/PV.289
6	1951	English	English	Abbebe Retta	A/PV.346
7	1952	French	French	Aklilou Abte Wold	A/PV.395
8	1953	English	English	Yilma Deressa	A/PV.442
9	1954	English	English	Yilma Deressa	A/PV.485
10	1955	French	French	Aklilou Abte Wold	A/PV.531
11	1956	English	English	Yilma Deressa	A/PV.601
12	1957	English	English	Yilma Deressa	A/PV.693
13	1958	English	English	Yilma Deressa	A/PV.756
14	1959	English	English	Haddis Alemayehou	A/PV.817
15	1960	French	French	Aklilou Abte Wold	A/PV.879
16	1961	English	English	Ketema Yifru	A/PV.1020
17	1962	English	English	Ketema Yifru	A/PV.1139
18	1963	Amharic	English French	Haile Selassie*	A/PV.1229
19	1964	English	English	Ketema Yifru	A/PV.1293
20	1965	English	English	Ketema Yifru	A/PV.1348
21	1966	English	English	Ketema Yifru	A/PV.1423
22	1967	English	English	Ketema Yifru	A/PV.1579
23	1968	English	English	Ketema Yifru	A/PV.1683
24	1969	English	English	Ketema Yifru	A/PV.1776
26	1971	English	English	Yohannes Tseghe	A/PV.1963
27	1972	English	English	Minassie Haile	A/PV.2063
28	1973	English	English	Minassie Haile	A/PV.2127
29	1974	English	English	Zewde Gabre-Sellassie	A/PV.2257
30	1975	English	English	Kifle Wodajo	A/PV.2374
31	1976	English	English	Kifle Wodajo	A/31/PV.28
32	1977	English	English	Feleke Gedle-Giorgis	A/32/PV.27
33	1978	English	English	Feleke Gedle-Giorgis	A/33/PV.31

Continued on next page

Table I.59: ETH: Ethiopia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
34	1979	English	English	Feleke Gedle-Giorgis	A/34/PV.21
35	1980	English	English	Feleke Gedle-Giorgis	A/35/PV.21
36	1981	English	English	Feleke Gedle-Giorgis	A/36/PV.22
37	1982	English	English	Feleke Gedle-Giorgis	A/37/PV.22
38	1983	English	English	Goshu Wolde	A/38/PV.27
39	1984	English	English	Goshu Wolde	A/39/PV.21
40	1985	English	English	Goshu Wolde	A/40/PV.22
41	1986	English	English	Goshu Wolde	A/41/PV.30
42	1987	English	English	Berhanu Bayih	A/42/PV.22
43	1988	English	English	Berhanu Bayih	A/43/PV.15
44	1989	English	English	Berhanu Bayih	A/44/PV.26
45	1990	English	English	Tesfaye Dinka	A/45/PV.17
46	1991	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/46/PV.26
47	1992	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/47/PV.25
48	1993	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/48/PV.15
49	1994	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/49/PV.21
50	1995	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/51/PV.5
52	1997	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/52/PV.23
53	1998	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/53/PV.24
54	1999	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/55/PV.20
56	2001	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	English	English	Negash Kebret Botora	A/61/PV.23
62	2007	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	Seyoum Mesfin	A/65/PV.23

Continued on next page

Table I.59: ETH: Ethiopia (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
66	2011	English	English	Hailemariam Desalegn	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Hailemariam Desalegn	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	English	English	Hailemariam Desalegn	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	English	English	Hailemariam Desalegn	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	English	English	Hailemariam Desalegn*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	English	English	Hailemariam Desalegn*	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	English	English	Hailemariam Desalegn*	A/72/PV.17
73	2018	English	English	Workineh Gebeyehu Negewo	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	Amharic	English	Sahle-Work Zewde*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	English	English	Abiy Ahmed*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English Amharic	English	Demeke Mekonnen	A/76/PV.15

EU: European Union

Table I.60: EU: European Union

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
66	2011	English French	English	Herman van Rompuy*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	English French	English	Herman van Rompuy*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	English French	English	Herman van Rompuy*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	French English	French	Herman van Rompuy*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	English	English	Donald Tusk*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Donald Tusk*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Donald Tusk*	A/72/PV.8
73	2018	English	English	Donald Tusk*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English	English	Donald Tusk*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	French English	French English	Charles Michel*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	French English	French	Charles Michel*	A/76/PV.12

FIN: Finland

Table I.61: FIN: Finland

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
14	1959	English	English	Ralph Enckell	A/PV.819
16	1961	English	English	Urho Kaleva Kekkonen*	A/PV.1040
18	1963	English	English	Veli Merikoski	A/PV.1225
20	1965	English	English	Ahti Karjalainen	A/PV.1339
21	1966	English	English	Ahti Karjalainen	A/PV.1423
22	1967	English	English	Ahti Karjalainen	A/PV.1577
23	1968	English	English	Ahti Karjalainen	A/PV.1684
24	1969	English	English	Ahti Karjalainen	A/PV.1756
26	1971	English	English	Vaino Leskinen	A/PV.1941
27	1972	English	English	Ahti Karjalainen	A/PV.2045
28	1973	English	English	Ahti Karjalainen	A/PV.2149
29	1974	English	English	Ahti Karjalainen	A/PV.2239
30	1975	English	English	Olavi Mattila	A/PV.2358
31	1976	English	English	Kalevi Sorsa	A/31/PV.8
32	1977	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/32/PV.10
33	1978	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/33/PV.12
34	1979	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/34/PV.9
35	1980	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/35/PV.5
36	1981	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/36/PV.8
37	1982	English	English	Par Stenback	A/37/PV.8
38	1983	English	English	Mauno Koivisto*	A/38/PV.11
39	1984	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/39/PV.6
40	1985	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/40/PV.6
41	1986	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/41/PV.6
42	1987	English[16]	English	Kalevi Sorsa	A/42/PV.5
43	1988	English	English	Kalevi Sorsa	A/43/PV.4
44	1989	English	English	Pertti Kullervo Paasio	A/44/PV.7
45	1990	English	English	Pertti Kullervo Paasio	A/45/PV.14
46	1991	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/46/PV.7
47	1992	English	English	Paavo Vayrynen	A/47/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.61: FIN: Finland (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	English	English	Heikki Haavisto	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	English	English	Heikki Haavisto	A/49/PV.4
50	1995	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen	A/50/PV.6
51	1996	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen	A/51/PV.12
52	1997	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen	A/52/PV.8
53	1998	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen	A/54/PV.6
55	2000	English	English	Marjatta Rasi	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	English	English	Erkki Tuomioja	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	English	English	Erkki Tuomioja	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	English	English	Marjatta Rasi	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English	English	Kirsti Lintonen	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen*	A/61/PV.10
62	2007	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	English	English	Tarja Kaarina Halonen*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	English	English	Sauli Niinisto*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	English	English	Erkki Tuomioja	A/68/PV.17
69	2014	English	English	Sauli Niinisto	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	English	English	Sauli Niinisto*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Sauli Niinisto*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Sauli Niinisto*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	English	English	Sauli Niinisto*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	English	English	Sauli Niinisto*	A/74/PV.4

Continued on next page

Table I.61: FIN: Finland (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
75	2020	English	English	Sauli Niinisto*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	Sauli Niinisto*	A/76/PV.4

[16] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/42/PV.5. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version is missing. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

FJI: Fiji

Table I.62: FJI: Fiji

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
26	1971	English	English	Semesa K. Sikivou	A/PV.1951
27	1972	English	English	Edward Cakobau	A/PV.2060
28	1973	English	English	Semesa K. Sikivou	A/PV.2131
30	1975	English	English	Penaia Ganilau	A/PV.2380
31	1976	English	English	Kamisese Mara*	A/31/PV.25
32	1977	English	English	Berenado Vunibobo	A/32/PV.31
33	1978	English	English	Berenado Vunibobo	A/33/PV.27
34	1979	English	English	Berenado Vunibobo	A/34/PV.28
35	1980	English	English	Filipe Nagera Bole	A/35/PV.32
36	1981	English	English	Filipe Nagera Bole	A/36/PV.18
37	1982	English	English	Mosese Qionibaravi	A/37/PV.23
38	1983	English	English	Mosese Qionibaravi	A/38/PV.25
39	1984	English	English	Ratu Jone Filipe Radrodro	A/39/PV.29
41	1986	English	English	Mosese Qionibaravi	A/41/PV.24
42	1987	English	English	Winston Thompson	A/42/PV.33
43	1988	English	English	Viliame S.J. Gonelevu	A/43/PV.28
44	1989	English	English	Josevata Kamikamica	A/44/PV.13
45	1990	English	English	Berenado Vunibobo	A/45/PV.28
46	1991	English	English	Josevata Kamikamica	A/46/PV.29
47	1992	English	English	Sitiveni Ligamamada Rabuka*	A/47/PV.30
48	1993	English	English	Ratu Seniloli	A/48/PV.24
49	1994	English	English	Ratu Seniloli	A/49/PV.19
50	1995	English	English	Filipe Nagera Bole	A/50/PV.26
51	1996	English	English	Poseci Bune	A/51/PV.23
52	1997	English	English	Sitiveni Ligamamada Rabuka*	A/52/PV.5
53	1998	English	English	Taufa Vakatale	A/53/PV.19
54	1999	English	English	Mahendra Pal Choudhry*	A/54/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.62: FJI: Fiji (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	English	English	Laisenia Qarase*	A/55/PV.18
56	2001	English	English	Amraiya Naidu	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	English	English	Laisenia Qarase*	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	English	English	Keliopate Tavola	A/58/PV.22
59	2004	English	English	Laisenia Qarase*	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	English	English	Isikia Rabici Savua	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	English	English	Keliopate Tavola	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/66/PV.21
67	2012	English	English	Ratu Inoke Kubuabola	A/67/PV.17
68	2013	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/75/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.62: FJI: Fiji (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
76	2021	English	English	Josaia Voreqe Bainimarama*	A/76/PV.14

FRA: France

Table I.63: FRA: France

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Alexandre Parodi	A/PV.40
2	1947	French	French	Georges Bidault	A/PV.87
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Robert Schuman	A/PV.146
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Robert Schuman	A/PV.225
5	1950	French	French	Robert Schuman	A/PV.286
6	1951	French	French	Robert Schuman	A/PV.348
7	1952	French	French	Robert Schuman	A/PV.392
8	1953	French	French	Maurice Schumann	A/PV.445
9	1954	French	French	Guerin du Bosq de Beaumont	A/PV.487
10	1955	French	French	Antoine Pinay	A/PV.528
11	1956	French	French	Christian Pineau	A/PV.589
12	1957	French	French	Guillaume Georges-Picot	A/PV.700
13	1958	French	French	Maurice Couve de Murville	A/PV.758
14	1959	French	French	Maurice Couve de Murville	A/PV.814
20	1965	French	French	Maurice Couve de Murville	A/PV.1341
21	1966	French	French	Maurice Couve de Murville	A/PV.1420
22	1967	French	French	Maurice Couve de Murville	A/PV.1571
23	1968	French	French	Michel Debre	A/PV.1683
24	1969	French	French	Maurice Schumann	A/PV.1763
25	1970	French	French	Maurice Schumann	A/PV.1842
26	1971	French	French	Maurice Schumann	A/PV.1942
27	1972	French	French	Maurice Schumann	A/PV.2041
28	1973	French	French	Michel Jobert	A/PV.2147
29	1974	French	French	Jean Sauvagnargues	A/PV.2238
30	1975	French	French	Jean Sauvagnargues	A/PV.2364

Continued on next page

Table I.63: FRA: France (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	French	French	Louis de Guiringaud	A/31/PV.9
32	1977	French	French	Louis de Guiringaud	A/32/PV.10
33	1978	French	French	Louis de Guiringaud	A/33/PV.11
34	1979	French	French	Jean Francois-Poncet	A/34/PV.9
35	1980	French	French	Jean Francois-Poncet	A/35/PV.8
36	1981	French	French	Claude Cheysson	A/36/PV.9
37	1982	French	French	Pierre Mauroy*	A/37/PV.12
38	1983	French	French	Francois Mitterand*	A/38/PV.9
39	1984	French	French	Claude Cheysson	A/39/PV.8
40	1985	French	French	Roland Dumas	A/40/PV.10
41	1986	French	French	Jacques Chirac*	A/41/PV.8
42	1987	French	French	Jean-Bernard Raimond	A/42/PV.8
43	1988	French	French	Francois Mitterand*	A/43/PV.10
44	1989	French	French	Roland Dumas	A/44/PV.6
45	1990	French	French	Francois Mitterand*	A/45/PV.4
46	1991	French	French	Roland Dumas	A/46/PV.6
47	1992	French	French	Roland Dumas	A/47/PV.8
48	1993	French	French	Alain Juppe	A/48/PV.8
49	1994	French	French	Alain Juppe	A/49/PV.8
50	1995	French	French	Herve de Charette	A/50/PV.8
51	1996	French	French	Herve de Charette	A/51/PV.8
52	1997	French	French	Hubert Vedrine	A/52/PV.9
53	1998	French	French	Hubert Vedrine	A/53/PV.11
54	1999	French	French	Lionel Jospin*	A/54/PV.4
55	2000	French	French	Hubert Vedrine	A/55/PV.10
56	2001	French	French	Hubert Vedrine	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	French	French	Dominique de Villepin	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	French	French	Jacques Chirac*	A/58/PV.7
59	2004	French	French	Michel Barnier	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	French	French	Philippe Douste-Blazy	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	French	French	Jacques Chirac*	A/61/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.63: FRA: France (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
62	2007	French	French	Nicolas Sarkozy*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	French	French	Nicolas Sarkozy*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	French	French	Nicolas Sarkozy*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	French	French	Bernard Kouchner	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	French	French	Nicolas Sarkozy*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	French	French	Francois Hollande*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	French	French	Francois Hollande*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	French	French	Francois Hollande*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	French	French	Francois Hollande*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	French	French	Francois Hollande*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	French	French	Emmanuel Macron*	A/72/PV.4
73	2018	French	French	Emmanuel Macron*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	French	French	Emmanuel Macron*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	French	French	Emmanuel Macron*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	French	French English	Jean-Yves Le Drian	A/76/PV.16

FSM: Micronesia

Table I.64: FSM: Micronesia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	English	English	Bailey Olter*	A/46/PV.5
47	1992	English	English	Resio Moses	A/47/PV.29
48	1993	English	English	Resio Moses	A/48/PV.28
49	1994	English	English	Resio Moses	A/49/PV.11
50	1995	English	English	Asterio Takesy	A/50/PV.17
51	1996	English	English	Asterio Takesy	A/51/PV.9
53	1998	English	English	Jacob Nena*	A/53/PV.13
54	1999	English	English	Leo A. Falcam*	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	English	English	Masao Nakayama	A/55/PV.26
56	2001	English	English	Leo A. Falcam*	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	English	English	Leo A. Falcam*	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	English	English	Joseph Urusemal*	A/58/PV.7
59	2004	English	English	Sebastian Anefal	A/59/PV.16
60	2005	English	English	Lorin Robert	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	English	English	Redley Killion	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	English	English	Emanuel Mori*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Emanuel Mori*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Emanuel Mori*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Alik L. Alik	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	English	English	Emanuel Mori*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	English	English	Emanuel Mori*	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	English	English	Emanuel Mori*	A/68/PV.9
69	2014	English	English	Emanuel Mori*	A/69/PV.13
70	2015	English	English	Peter Christian*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Peter Christian*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	English	English	Yosiwo George	A/72/PV.19
73	2018	English	English	Peter Christian*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	English	English	David W. Panuelo*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	David W. Panuelo*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	David W. Panuelo*	A/76/PV.11

GAB: Gabon

Table I.65: GAB: Gabon

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
16	1961	French	French	Jean-Hilaire Aubame	A/PV.1029
18	1963	French	French	Joseph N'Goua	A/PV.1230
19	1964	French	French	Pierre Avaro	A/PV.1301
20	1965	French	French	Jean Engone	A/PV.1355
21	1966	French	French	Jean Engone	A/PV.1438
22	1967	French	French	Benjamin Ngoubou	A/PV.1586
23	1968	French	French	Jean Remy Ayoune	A/PV.1677
24	1969	French	French	Jean Remy Ayoune	A/PV.1772
26	1971	French	French	Georges Rawiri	A/PV.1945
27	1972	French	French	Georges Rawiri	A/PV.2044
28	1973	French	French	Georges Rawiri	A/PV.2132
29	1974	French	French	Paul Okumba d'Okwatsegue	A/PV.2247
30	1975	French	French	Jean Baptiste Essonghe	A/PV.2380
31	1976	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/31/PV.26
33	1978	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/33/PV.17
34	1979	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/34/PV.14
35	1980	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/35/PV.30
36	1981	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/36/PV.27
37	1982	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/37/PV.18
38	1983	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/38/PV.31
39	1984	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/39/PV.29
42	1987	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/42/PV.27
43	1988	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/43/PV.27
44	1989	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/44/PV.15
45	1990	French	French	Martin Bongo	A/45/PV.10
46	1991	French	French	Pascaline Bongo	A/46/PV.13
47	1992	French	French	Pascaline Bongo	A/47/PV.7
48	1993	French	French	Pascaline Bongo	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	French	French	Jean Ping	A/49/PV.15
50	1995	French	French	Casimir Oye Mba	A/50/PV.23

Continued on next page

Table I.65: GAB: Gabon (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
51	1996	French	French	Casimir Oye Mba	A/51/PV.26
52	1997	French	French	Casimir Oye Mba	A/52/PV.21
53	1998	French	French	Casimir Oye Mba	A/53/PV.23
54	1999	French	French	Jean Ping	A/54/PV.17
55	2000	French	French	Jean Ping	A/55/PV.19
56	2001	French	French	Jean Ping	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	French	French	Jean Ping	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	French	French	Jean Ping	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	French	French	Omar Bongo Ondimba*	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	French	French	Jean-Francois Ndongou	A/60/PV.6
61	2006	French	French	Jean Ping	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	French	French	Jean Ping	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	French	French	Didjob Divungi di Ndinge	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	French	French	Paul Toungui	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	French	French	Ali Bongo Ondimba*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	French	French	Ali Bongo Ondimba*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	French	French	Ali Bongo Ondimba*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	French	French	Ali Bongo Ondimba*	A/68/PV.6
69	2014	French	French	Ali Bongo Ondimba*	A/69/PV.10
70	2015	French	French	Ali Bongo Ondimba*	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	French	French	Emmanuel Issoze-Ngondet	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	French	French	Ali Bongo Ondimba*	A/72/PV.11
73	2018	French	French	Michel Xavier Biang	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	French	French	Alain Claude Bilie By Nze	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	French	French	Ali Bongo Ondimba*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	French	French	Ali Bongo Ondimba*	A/76/PV.10

GBR: United Kingdom

Table I.66: GBR: United Kingdom

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Philip Noel-Baker	A/PV.37
2	1947	English	English	Hector Mcneil	A/PV.88
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Ernest Bevin	A/PV.144
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Ernest Bevin	A/PV.229
5	1950	English	English	Ernest Bevin	A/PV.283
6	1951	English	English	Anthony Eden	A/PV.339
7	1952	English	English	Anthony Eden	A/PV.393
8	1953	English	English	Selwyn Loyd	A/PV.443
9	1954	English	English	Selwyn Loyd	A/PV.487
10	1955	English	English	Harold Macmillan	A/PV.529
11	1956	English	English	Pierson Dixon	A/PV.611
12	1957	English	English	Selwyn Loyd	A/PV.685
13	1958	English	English	Selwyn Loyd	A/PV.758
14	1959	English	English	Selwyn Loyd	A/PV.798
15	1960	English	English	Harold Macmillan*	A/PV.877
16	1961	English	English	Alec Douglas-Home	A/PV.1017
17	1962	English	English	Alec Douglas-Home	A/PV.1134
18	1963	English	English	Alec Douglas-Home	A/PV.1222
19	1964	English	English	Hugh Mackintosh Foot	A/PV.1316
20	1965	English	English	Michael Stewart	A/PV.1351
21	1966	English	English	George Brown	A/PV.1436
22	1967	English	English	George Brown	A/PV.1567
23	1968	English	English	Michael Stewart	A/PV.1693
24	1969	English	English	Michael Stewart	A/PV.1759
25	1970	English	English	Alec Douglas-Home	A/PV.1848
26	1971	English	English	Alec Douglas-Home	A/PV.1944
27	1972	English	English	Alec Douglas-Home	A/PV.2042
28	1973	English	English	Alec Douglas-Home	A/PV.2128
29	1974	English	English	James Callaghan	A/PV.2240

Continued on next page

Table I.66: GBR: United Kingdom (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
30	1975	English	English	James Callaghan	A/PV.2358
31	1976	English	English	Anthony Crosland	A/31/PV.17
32	1977	English	English	David Anthony Llewellyn Owen	A/32/PV.9
33	1978	English	English	David Anthony Llewellyn Owen	A/33/PV.10
34	1979	English	English	Peter Alexander Rupert Carington	A/34/PV.8
35	1980	English	English	Peter Alexander Rupert Carington	A/35/PV.7
36	1981	English	English	Peter Alexander Rupert Carington	A/36/PV.8
37	1982	English	English	Francis Pym	A/37/PV.9
38	1983	English	English	Geoffrey Howe	A/38/PV.10
39	1984	English	English	Geoffrey Howe	A/39/PV.9
40	1985	English	English	Geoffrey Howe	A/40/PV.9
41	1986	English	English	Geoffrey Howe	A/41/PV.6
42	1987	English	English	Geoffrey Howe	A/42/PV.8
43	1988	English	English	Geoffrey Howe	A/43/PV.8
44	1989	English	English	John Major	A/44/PV.8
45	1990	English	English	Douglas Hurd	A/45/PV.8
46	1991	English[17]	English	Douglas Hurd	A/46/PV.8
47	1992	English	English	Douglas Hurd	A/47/PV.6
48	1993	English	English	Douglas Hurd	A/48/PV.6
49	1994	English	English	Douglas Hurd	A/49/PV.8
50	1995	English	English	Malcolm Rifkind	A/50/PV.6
51	1996	English	English	Malcolm Rifkind	A/51/PV.6
52	1997	English	English	Robin Cook	A/52/PV.7
53	1998	English	English	Tony Blair*	A/53/PV.7
54	1999	English	English	Robin Cook	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	English	English	Robin Cook	A/55/PV.14
56	2001	English	English	Jack Straw	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	English	English	Jack Straw	A/57/PV.6

Continued on next page

Table I.66: GBR: United Kingdom (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
58	2003	English	English	Jack Straw	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	English	English	Jack Straw	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	Jack Straw	A/60/PV.9
61	2006	English	English	Margaret Beckett	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	English	English	David Miliband	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Gordon Brown*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	English	English	Gordon Brown*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	English	English	Nick Clegg	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	English	English	David Cameron*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	English	English	David Cameron*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	English	English	Nick Clegg	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	English	English	David Cameron	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	English	English	Philip Hammond	A/70/PV.18
71	2016	English	English	Theresa May*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	English	English	Theresa May*	A/72/PV.8
73	2018	English	English	Theresa May*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	Boris Johnson*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	English	English	Boris Johnson*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Boris Johnson*	A/76/PV.9

[17] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/46/PV.8. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

GEO: Georgia

Table I.67: GEO: Georgia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	Russian	Russian	Eduard A. Shevardnadze*	A/47/PV.12
49	1994	English	English	Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Chikvaidze	A/49/PV.16
50	1995	English	English	Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Chikvaidze	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	Russian	Russian	Irakli Menagarishvili	A/51/PV.4
52	1997	Russian	Russian	Irakli Menagarishvili	A/52/PV.6
53	1998	English	English	Irakli Menagarishvili	A/53/PV.26
54	1999	Georgian	English	Eduard A. Shevardnadze*	A/54/PV.4
55	2000	English	English	Irakli Menagarishvili	A/55/PV.26
56	2001	English	English	Peter Chkheidze	A/56/PV.57
57	2002	English	English	Irakli Menagarishvili	A/57/PV.17
58	2003	English	English	Irakli Menagarishvili	A/58/PV.22
59	2004	English	English	Mikheil Saakashvili*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English French	English	Salome Zourabichvili	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	English	English	Mikheil Saakashvili*	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	English	English	Mikheil Saakashvili*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	English	English	Mikheil Saakashvili*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	English	English	Mikheil Saakashvili*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Mikheil Saakashvili*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	English	English	Mikheil Saakashvili*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	English	English	Mikheil Saakashvili*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	English	English	Mikheil Saakashvili*	A/68/PV.9
69	2014	English	English	Irakli Garibashvili	A/69/PV.14
70	2015	English	English	Irakli Garibashvili*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Giorgi Kvirikashvili*	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	English	English	Giorgi Kvirikashvili*	A/72/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.67: GEO: Georgia (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
73	2018	Georgian	English	Mamuka Bakhtadze*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English	English	Salome Zourabichvili*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	Georgian	English	Giorgi Gakharia*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	Irakli Garibashvili*	A/76/PV.13

GHA: Ghana

Table I.68: GHA: Ghana

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
12	1957	English	English	Ako Adjei	A/PV.680
13	1958	English	English	Ako Adjei	A/PV.757
14	1959	English	English	Ako Adjei	A/PV.807
15	1960	English	English	Kwame Nkrumah*	A/PV.869
16	1961	English	English	Ako Adjei	A/PV.1015
17	1962	English	English	A.K. Puplampu	A/PV.1143
18	1963	English	English	Kojo Botsio	A/PV.1219
19	1964	English	English	Kojo Botsio	A/PV.1299
20	1965	English	English	Alex Quaison-Sackey	A/PV.1346
21	1966	English	English	Emmanuel Kwasi Kotoka	A/PV.1435
22	1967	English	English	John Willie K. Harlley	A/PV.1565
23	1968	English	English	Patrick Dankwa Anin	A/PV.1685
24	1969	English	English	Kofi Abrefa Busia*	A/PV.1786
25	1970	English	English	Victor Owusu	A/PV.1853
26	1971	English	English	William Ofori-Atta	A/PV.1958
27	1972	English	English	Edward N. Moore	A/PV.2040
28	1973	English	English	Kwame Baah	A/PV.2148
29	1974	English	English	Kwame Baah	A/PV.2258
30	1975	English	English	Kwame Baah	A/PV.2362
31	1976	English	English	Roger Felli	A/31/PV.20
32	1977	English	English	Roger Felli	A/32/PV.29
33	1978	English	English	Neville Alexander Odartey-Wellington	A/33/PV.26
34	1979	English	English	Isaac Chinebuah	A/34/PV.30
35	1980	English	English	J.W.S. de Graft-Johnson	A/35/PV.31
36	1981	English	English	Yakubu Saaka	A/36/PV.24
37	1982	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/37/PV.20
38	1983	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/38/PV.28
39	1984	English	English	Daniel Francis Annan	A/39/PV.25

Continued on next page

Table I.68: GHA: Ghana (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
40	1985	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/40/PV.21
41	1986	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/41/PV.18
42	1987	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/42/PV.10
43	1988	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/43/PV.4
44	1989	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/44/PV.18
45	1990	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/45/PV.6
46	1991	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/46/PV.10
47	1992	English	English	Mohamed Ibn Chambas	A/47/PV.15
48	1993	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/48/PV.10
49	1994	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/49/PV.19
50	1995	English	English	Obed Y. Asamoah	A/50/PV.26
51	1996	English	English	Mohamed Ibn Chambas	A/51/PV.23
52	1997	English	English	Kwamena Ahwoi	A/52/PV.10
53	1998	English	English	Jerry John Rawlings*	A/53/PV.9
54	1999	English	English	James Victor Gbeho	A/54/PV.6
55	2000	English	English	James Victor Gbeho	A/55/PV.20
56	2001	English	English	Alhaji Aliu Mahama	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	English	English	John Agyekum Kufuor*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	English	English	John Agyekum Kufuor*	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	English	English	Alhaji Aliu Mahama	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	John Agyekum Kufuor*	A/60/PV.9
61	2006	English	English	John Agyekum Kufuor*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	English	English	John Agyekum Kufuor*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	English	English	John Agyekum Kufuor*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	English	English	John Evans Atta Mills*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	English	English	Muhammad Mumuni	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English	English	John Evans Atta Mills*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	English	English	John Dramani Mahama*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	English	English	John Dramani Mahama*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	John Dramani Mahama*	A/69/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.68: GHA: Ghana (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
70	2015	English	English	John Dramani Mahama*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	English	English	John Dramani Mahama*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo*	A/72/PV.11
73	2018	English	English	Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	Nana Addo Dankwa Akufo-Addo*	A/76/PV.6

GIN: Guinea

Table I.69: GIN: Guinea

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
14	1959	French	French	Diallo Telli	A/PV.818
15	1960	French	French	Ahmed Sekou Toure*	A/PV.896
16	1961	French	French	Beavogui Louis Lansana Beavogui	A/PV.1020
17	1962	French	French	Beavogui Louis Lansana Beavogui	A/PV.1131
18	1963	French	French	Louis Lansana Beavogui	A/PV.1220
20	1965	French	French	Alpha Abdoulaye Diallo	A/PV.1356
21	1966	French	French	Marof Achkar	A/PV.1435
23	1968	French	French	Alpha Abdoulaye Diallo	A/PV.1688
24	1969	French	French	Kassory Bangoura	A/PV.1776
25	1970	French	French	Damantang Camara	A/PV.1859
26	1971	French	French	Damantang Camara	A/PV.1943
27	1972	French	French	Fily Cissoko	A/PV.2049
28	1973	French	French	Jeanne Martin-Cisse	A/PV.2148
29	1974	French	French	Fily Cissoko	A/PV.2253
30	1975	English	English	Myriam Makeba	A/PV.2372
31	1976	French	French	Fily Cissoko	A/31/PV.16
32	1977	French	French	Moussa Sanguiana Camara	A/32/PV.23
34	1979	French	French	Abdoulaye Toure	A/34/PV.29
35	1980	French	French	Abdoulaye Toure	A/35/PV.20
36	1981	French	French	Abdoulaye Toure	A/36/PV.24
37	1982	French	French	Abdoulaye Toure	A/37/PV.32
38	1983	French	French	Abdoulaye Toure	A/38/PV.28
39	1984	French	French	Abdoulaye Toure	A/39/PV.21
40	1985	French	French	Facine Toure	A/40/PV.23
41	1986	French	French	Mohamed Traore	A/41/PV.22
42	1987	French	French	Mohamed Traore	A/42/PV.15
43	1988	French	French	Mohamed Traore	A/43/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.69: GIN: Guinea (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	French	French	Mohamed Traore	A/44/PV.15
45	1990	French	French	Mohamed Traore	A/45/PV.17
46	1991	French	French	Zainoul Abidine Sanoussi	A/46/PV.21
47	1992	French	French	Ibrahima Sylla	A/47/PV.23
48	1993	French	French	Ibrahima Sylla	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	French	French	Kozo Zoumanigui	A/49/PV.17
50	1995	French	French	Kozo Zoumanigui	A/50/PV.10
51	1996	French	French	Lamime Kamara	A/51/PV.21
52	1997	French	French	Lamime Kamara	A/52/PV.24
53	1998	French	French	Lamime Kamara	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	French	French	Lansana Conte*	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	French	French	Mahawa Bangoura Camara	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	French	French	Mahawa Bangoura Camara	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	French	French	Francois Lonseny Fall	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	French	French	Francois Lonseny Fall	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	French	French	Mamady Lamine Conde	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	French	French	Fatoumata Kaba-Sidibe	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	French	French	Mamady Lamine Conde	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	French	French	Lansana Kouyate*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	French	French	Ahmed Tidiane Souare*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	French	French	Alexandre Cece Loua	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	French	French	Bakary Fofana	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	French	French	Alpha Conde*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	French	French	Edouard Niankoye Lama	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	French	French	Francois Lonseny Fall	A/68/PV.22
69	2014	French	French	Alpha Conde*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	French	French	Francois Lonseny Fall	A/70/PV.28

Continued on next page

Table I.69: GIN: Guinea (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
71	2016	French	French	Alpha Conde*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	French	French	Alpha Conde*	A/72/PV.3
73	2018	French	French	Mamadi Toure*	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	French	French	Alpha Conde*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	French	French	Alpha Conde*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	French	French	Aly Diane	A/76/PV.17

GMB: Gambia

Table I.70: GMB: Gambia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
22	1967	English	English	Alieu Badara N'Jie	A/PV.1566
25	1970	English	English	Dawda Kairaba Jawara*	A/PV.1848
27	1972	English	English	Mohamadu Lamin Saho	A/PV.2046
29	1974	English	English	Alieu Badara N'Jie	A/PV.2255
32	1977	English	English	Alhaji Lamin Kiti Jabang	A/32/PV.16
33	1978	English	English	Dawda Kairaba Jawara*	A/33/PV.4
35	1980	English	English	Alhaji Lamin Kiti Jabang	A/35/PV.29
37	1982	English	English	Alhaji Lamin Kiti Jabang	A/37/PV.30
39	1984	English	English	Alhaji Lamin Kiti Jabang	A/39/PV.30
41	1986	English	English	Alhaji Lamin Kiti Jabang	A/41/PV.31
42	1987	English	English	Omar B. Sey	A/42/PV.33
43	1988	English	English	Omar B. Sey	A/43/PV.29
44	1989	English	English	Omar B. Sey	A/44/PV.29
45	1990	English	English	Omar B. Sey	A/45/PV.25
46	1991	English	English	Omar B. Sey	A/46/PV.15
47	1992	English	English	Omar B. Sey	A/47/PV.17
48	1993	English	English	Alhaji Sey	A/48/PV.19
49	1994	English	English	Bolong Sonko	A/49/PV.27
50	1995	English	English	Baboucarr-Blaise Jagne	A/50/PV.22
51	1996	English	English	Ebrima Ceesay	A/51/PV.25
52	1997	English	English	Omar Yusupha Njie	A/52/PV.25
53	1998	English	English	Momodou Lamin Sedat Jobe	A/53/PV.18
54	1999	English	English	Al Hadji Yahya Jammeh*	A/54/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.70: GMB: Gambia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	English	English	Momodou Lamin Sedat Jobe	A/55/PV.25
56	2001	English	English	Baboucarr-Blaise Jagne	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	English	English	Baboucarr-Blaise Jagne	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	English	English	Baboucarr-Blaise Jagne	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	English	English	Al Hadji Yahya Jammeh*	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	Al Hadji Yahya Jammeh*	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	English	English	Lamin Kaba Bajo	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	English	English	Aja Isatou Njie-Saidy	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Omar A. Touray	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	English	English	Al Hadji Yahya Jammeh*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Mamadou Tangara	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Aja Isatou Njie-Saidy	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Aja Isatou Njie-Saidy	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	English	English	Al Hadji Yahya Jammeh*	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	English	English	Al Hadji Yahya Jammeh*	A/69/PV.10
70	2015	English	English	Aja Isatou Njie-Saidy	A/70/PV.18
71	2016	English	English	Isatou Njie-Saidy	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	English	English	Adama Barrow*	A/72/PV.6
73	2018	English	English	Adama Barrow*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	English	English	Isatou Touray	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	Adama Barrow*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	English[18]	English	Isatou Touray	A/76/PV.12

[18] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.12. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

GNB: Guinea-Bissau

Table I.71: GNB: Guinea-Bissau

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	French	French	Victor Saude Maria	A/31/PV.24
32	1977	Portuguese	French	Victor Saude Maria	A/32/PV.29
33	1978	Portuguese	French	Victor Saude Maria	A/33/PV.21
34	1979	Portuguese	French	Victor Saude Maria	A/34/PV.29
35	1980	French	French	Gil Vicente Vaz Fernandes	A/35/PV.33
36	1981	Portuguese	French	Victor Saude Maria	A/36/PV.31
37	1982	Portuguese	French	Samba Lamine Mane	A/37/PV.25
38	1983	Portuguese	French	Fidelis Cabral d'Almada	A/38/PV.26
39	1984	Portuguese	French	Inacio Semedo Junior	A/39/PV.27
41	1986	Portuguese	French	Inacio Semedo Junior	A/41/PV.25
42	1987	French	French	Alfredo Lopes Cabral	A/42/PV.24
43	1988	Portuguese	French	Joao Bernardo Vieira*	A/43/PV.22
44	1989	Portuguese	French	Inacio Semedo Junior	A/44/PV.28
45	1990	Portuguese	French	Joao Bernardo Vieira*	A/45/PV.17
46	1991	French	French	Boubacar Toure	A/46/PV.24
47	1992	French	French	Boubacar Toure	A/47/PV.24
48	1993	Portuguese	French	Bernardino Cardoso	A/48/PV.27
49	1994	Portuguese	French	Marcelino Lima	A/49/PV.28
50	1995	Portuguese	French	Manuel Saturnino da Costa*	A/50/PV.26
51	1996	Portuguese	French	Fernando Delfim da Silva	A/51/PV.19
52	1997	Portuguese	French	Fernando Delfim da Silva	A/52/PV.26

Continued on next page

Table I.71: GNB: Guinea-Bissau (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
53	1998	Portuguese	French	Fernando Delfim da Silva	A/53/PV.26
54	1999	Portuguese	French	Malam Bacai Sanha*	A/54/PV.17
55	2000	Portuguese	English	Mamadu Iaia Djalo	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	Portuguese	English	Antonieta Rosa Gomes	A/56/PV.57
57	2002	Portuguese	French	Filomena Masaarenhas Tipote	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	French	French	Alfredo Lopes Cabral	A/58/PV.22
59	2004	Portuguese	French	Henrique Pereira Rosa*	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	Portuguese	French	Carlos Gomes Junior*	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	Portuguese	French	Antonio Issac Monteiro	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo Vieira*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	Portuguese	English	Joao Bernardo Vieira*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	Portuguese	English	Carlos Gomes Junior*	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	Portuguese	English	Malam Bacai Sanha*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	Portuguese	English	Carlos Gomes Junior*	A/66/PV.22
68	2013	Portuguese	English	Manuel Serifo Nhamadjo*	A/68/PV.13
69	2014	Portuguese	English	Domingos Simoes Pereira	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	Portuguese	English	Joao Soares da Gama	A/70/PV.27
71	2016	Portuguese	English	Jose Mario Vaz*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	Portuguese	English	Umaro Sissoco Embalo*	A/72/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.71: GNB: Guinea-Bissau (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
73	2018	Portuguese	English	Jose Mario Vaz*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	Portuguese	English	Suzi Carla Barbosa	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	French	French	Umaro Sissoco Embalo	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	Portuguese	English	Umaro Sissoco Embalo	A/76/PV.9

GNQ: Equatorial Guinea

Table I.72: GNQ: Equatorial Guinea

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Gustavo Envela-Makongo	A/PV.1772
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Bonifacio Nguema Esono	A/PV.2244
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Nguema Esono Nchama	A/PV.2356
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Ondo Obiang Alogo	A/33/PV.17
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Florencio Maye Ela Mangue	A/34/PV.12
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Florencio Maye Ela Mangue	A/35/PV.19
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Florencio Maye Ela Mangue	A/36/PV.15
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Cristino Seriche Bioko	A/37/PV.16
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Marcelino Nguema Onguene	A/38/PV.30
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Marcelino Nguema Onguene	A/39/PV.31
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Florencio Maye Ela Mangue	A/41/PV.27
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Marcelino Nguema Onguene	A/42/PV.31
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Damaso-Obiang Ndong	A/43/PV.29
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Santiago Eneme Ovono	A/44/PV.31
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Damaso-Obiang Ndong	A/45/PV.21
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Damaso-Obiang Ndong	A/46/PV.30
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Benjamin Mba Ecua Miko	A/47/PV.29
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Damaso-Obiang Ndong	A/48/PV.29
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Oyono Ndong Mifumu	A/49/PV.25
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Oyono Ndong Mifumu	A/50/PV.27

Continued on next page

Table I.72: GNQ: Equatorial Guinea (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Oyono Ndong Mifumu	A/51/PV.28
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Oyono Ndong Mifumu	A/52/PV.27
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Oyono Ndong Mifumu	A/53/PV.25
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Narciso Ntugu Abeso Oyana	A/55/PV.28
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Ela Ebang	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Abia Biteo Borico*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Pastor Micha Ondo Bile	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/68/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.72: GNQ: Equatorial Guinea (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Nguema Obiang Mangue	A/70/PV.20
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Agapito Mba Mokuy	A/71/PV.16
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/72/PV.13
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Simeon Oyono Esono Angue	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo*	A/76/PV.11

GRC: Greece

Table I.73: GRC: Greece

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Thanassis Aghnides	A/PV.43
2	1947	French	French	Vassili Dendramis	A/PV.86
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Constantine Tsaldaris	A/PV.147
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Constantine Tsaldaris	A/PV.228
5	1950	English	English	Panayotis Kanellopoulos	A/PV.280
6	1951	French	French	Jean Politis	A/PV.340
7	1952	English	English	Athanase Politis	A/PV.393
8	1953	English	English	Alexis Kyrou	A/PV.439
9	1954	French	French	Stephanos Stephanopoulos	A/PV.484
10	1955	French	French	Stephanos Stephanopoulos	A/PV.523
11	1956	English	English	Constantine Karamanlis	A/PV.588
12	1957	French	French	Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza	A/PV.689
13	1958	English	English	Christian Xanthopoulos Palamas	A/PV.769
14	1959	English	English	Christian Xanthopoulos Palamas	A/PV.821
15	1960	French	French	Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza	A/PV.885
16	1961	French	French	Panayotis Pipinelis	A/PV.1026
17	1962	French	French	Evangelos Averoff-Tossizza	A/PV.1134
18	1963	French	French	Leonidas Papagos	A/PV.1225
19	1964	French	French	Stavros Costopoulos	A/PV.1295
20	1965	French	French	Elias Tsirimokos	A/PV.1358
21	1966	French	French	John Toumbas	A/PV.1426
22	1967	French	French	Paul Economou Gouras	A/PV.1572
23	1968	French	French	Panayotis Pipinelis	A/PV.1684

Continued on next page

Table I.73: GRC: Greece (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
24	1969	French	French	George Tsistopoulos	A/PV.1756
26	1971	French	French	Christian Xanthopoulos Palamas	A/PV.1959
27	1972	French	French	Constantine Panayotacos	A/PV.2045
28	1973	French	French	Phedon Annino Cavalierato	A/PV.2126
29	1974	English	English	George Mavros	A/PV.2239
30	1975	French	French	Dimitri Bitsios	A/PV.2362
31	1976	French	French	Dimitri Bitsios	A/31/PV.12
32	1977	French	French	Dimitri Bitsios	A/32/PV.14
33	1978	French	French	George Rallis	A/33/PV.11
34	1979	French	French	George Rallis	A/34/PV.8
35	1980	French	French	Constantin Mitsotakis	A/35/PV.14
36	1981	French	French	Constantin Mitsotakis	A/36/PV.16
37	1982	English	English	Yannis Haralambopoulos	A/37/PV.11
38	1983	English	English	Yannis Haralambopoulos	A/38/PV.7
39	1984	English	English	Yannis Haralambopoulos	A/39/PV.9
40	1985	Greek	English	Karolos Papoulias	A/40/PV.7
41	1986	Greek	English	Karolos Papoulias	A/41/PV.7
42	1987	Greek	English	Karolos Papoulias	A/42/PV.17
43	1988	Greek	English	Karolos Papoulias	A/43/PV.7
44	1989	English	English	George Papoulias	A/44/PV.11
45	1990	English	English	Antonis Samaras	A/45/PV.11
46	1991	English	English	Antonis Samaras	A/46/PV.13
47	1992	English	English	Michael Papaconstantinou	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	English	English	Michael Papaconstantinou	A/48/PV.12
49	1994	Greek	English	Karolos Papoulias	A/49/PV.8
50	1995	Greek	English	Karolos Papoulias	A/50/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.73: GRC: Greece (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
51	1996	English	English	Theodoros Pangalos	A/51/PV.13
52	1997	English	English	Theodoros Pangalos	A/52/PV.14
53	1998	English	English	Theodoros Pangalos	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	English	English	George A. Papandreou	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	English	English	George A. Papandreou	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	English	English	George A. Papandreou	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	English	English	George A. Papandreou	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	English	English	George A. Papandreou	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	English French	English	Petros Molyviatis	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	English	English	Petros Molyviatis	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	English French	English	Dora Bakoyannis	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	English French	English	Yannis G Valinakis	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English French	English	Dora Bakoyannis	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	English	English	Anastassis Mitsialis	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Dimitris Droutsas	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English French	English	Stavros Lambrinidis	A/66/PV.21
67	2012	English French	English	Dimitris L. Avramopoulos	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	English French	English	Evangelos Venizelos	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	English French	English	Evangelos Venizelos	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	English	English	Alexis Tsipras*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Alexis Tsipras*	A/71/PV.16
72	2017	Greek	English	Nikos Kotzias	A/72/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.73: GRC: Greece (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
73	2018	Greek	English	Alexis Tsipras*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Kyriakos Mitsotakis*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Kyriakos Mitsotakis*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	Kyriakos Mitsotakis*	A/76/PV.13

GRD: Grenada

Table I.74: GRD: Grenada

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
29	1974	English	English	Marie-Jo Mcintyre	A/PV.2251
30	1975	English	English	Eric M. Gairy*	A/PV.2378
31	1976	English	English	Eric M. Gairy*	A/31/PV.22
32	1977	English	English	Eric M. Gairy*	A/32/PV.25
33	1978	English	English	Eric M. Gairy*	A/33/PV.32
34	1979	English	English	Maurice Rupert Bishop*	A/34/PV.27
35	1980	English	English	Selwyn Strachan	A/35/PV.32
36	1981	English	English	Unison Whiteman	A/36/PV.33
37	1982	English	English	Unison Whiteman	A/37/PV.34
38	1983	English	English	Unison Whiteman	A/38/PV.32
41	1986	English	English	Ben Jones	A/41/PV.32
42	1987	English	English	Lamuel A. Stanislaus	A/42/PV.33
43	1988	English	English	Ben Jones	A/43/PV.27
44	1989	English	English	Ben Jones	A/44/PV.27
45	1990	English	English	Denis Noel	A/45/PV.24
46	1991	English	English	Eugene M. Pursoo	A/46/PV.30
47	1992	English	English	Eugene M. Pursoo	A/47/PV.24
48	1993	English	English	Francis Alexis	A/48/PV.27
49	1994	English	English	Eugene M. Pursoo	A/49/PV.28
50	1995	English	English	Keith Claudius Mitchell*	A/50/PV.27
51	1996	English	English	Raphael Fletcher	A/51/PV.27
52	1997	English	English	Raphael Fletcher	A/52/PV.26
53	1998	English	English	Robert Millette	A/53/PV.24
54	1999	English	English	Mark Isaac	A/54/PV.20
55	2000	English	English	Elvin Nimrod	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	English	English	Elvin Nimrod	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Elvin Nimrod	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	English	English	Elvin Nimrod	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	English	English	Lamuel A. Stanislaus	A/59/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.74: GRD: Grenada (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
60	2005	English	English	Elvin Nimrod	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	English	English	Elvin Nimrod	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Elvin Nimrod	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Tillman Thomas*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Peter C. David	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Tillman Thomas*	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Tillman Thomas*	A/66/PV.21
67	2012	English	English	Dessima M. Williams	A/67/PV.21
68	2013	English	English	Nickolas Steele	A/68/PV.22
69	2014	English	English	Nickolas Steele	A/69/PV.18
70	2015	English	English	Clarice Modeste-Curwen	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	English	English	Elvin Nimrod	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	English	English	Elvin Nimrod	A/72/PV.22
73	2018	English	English	Peter C. David	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	English	English	Peter C. David	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	English	English	Peter C. David	A/75/PV.15
76	2021	English	English	Oliver Joseph	A/76/PV.16

GTM: Guatemala

Table I.75: GTM: Guatemala

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Ismael Gonzalez Arevalo	A/PV.280
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Toriello Garrido	A/PV.442
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Adrian Recinos	A/PV.486
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Castillo Armas*	A/PV.539
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio Arenales Catalan	A/PV.610
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio Arenales Catalan	A/PV.702
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Jesus Victor Unda Murillo	A/PV.761
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Jesus Victor Unda Murillo	A/PV.805
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Jesus Victor Unda Murillo	A/PV.874
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Jesus Victor Unda Murillo	A/PV.1019
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Jesus Victor Unda Murillo	A/PV.1129
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Herrarte	A/PV.1214
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Herrarte	A/PV.1301
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Herrarte	A/PV.1340
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio Arenales Catalan	A/PV.1413
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio Arenales Catalan	A/PV.1566
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Herrera-Ibarguen	A/PV.1855
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Herrera-Ibarguen	A/PV.1947
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Castillo-Valdes	A/PV.2049
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Castillo-Valdes	A/PV.2146

Continued on next page

Table I.75: GTM: Guatemala (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Adolfo Molina-Orantes	A/PV.2245
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Adolfo Molina-Orantes	A/PV.2372
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Helen Losi de Laugerud	A/31/PV.21
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Adolfo Molina-Orantes	A/32/PV.15
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Castillo-Valdes	A/33/PV.19
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Castillo-Valdes	A/34/PV.19
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Castillo-Valdes	A/35/PV.25
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Castillo-Valdes	A/36/PV.26
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Eduardo Castillo-Arriola	A/37/PV.26
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Andrade Diaz-Duran	A/38/PV.24
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Andrade Diaz-Duran	A/39/PV.17
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Andrade Diaz-Duran	A/40/PV.21
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Marco Vinicio Cerezo-Arevalo*	A/41/PV.15
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Marco Vinicio Cerezo-Arevalo*	A/42/PV.6
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Cabrera Hidalgo	A/43/PV.13
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Marco Vinicio Cerezo-Arevalo*	A/44/PV.7
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Ariel Rivera Irias	A/45/PV.5
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Serrano Elias*	A/46/PV.13
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Menendez Park	A/47/PV.17
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Arturo Fajardo Maldonado	A/48/PV.17
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Gladys Ruiz Sanchez de Vielman	A/49/PV.13
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Maldonado-Aguirre	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Arzu Irigoyen*	A/51/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.75: GTM: Guatemala (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Arzu Irigoyen*	A/52/PV.8
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Eduardo Stein Barillas	A/53/PV.24
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Arzu Irigoyen*	A/54/PV.6
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Francisco Reyes Lopez	A/55/PV.10
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Portillo Cabrera*	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Portillo Cabrera*	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Portillo Cabrera*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Berger Perdomo*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Alberto Briz Gutierrez	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Berger Perdomo*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Oscar Berger Perdomo*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Colom Caballeros*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Colom Caballeros*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Gert Rosenthal	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Colom Caballeros*	A/66/PV.13
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Otto Fernando Perez Molina*	A/67/PV.10
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Otto Fernando Perez Molina*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Raul Morales	A/69/PV.14
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Raul Morales	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Jimmy Morales*	A/71/PV.15
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Jimmy Morales*	A/72/PV.6
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Jimmy Morales*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Jimmy Morales*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Pedro Brolo Vila	A/75/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.75: GTM: Guatemala (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Giammattei Falla*	A/76/PV.6

GUY: Guyana

Table I.76: GUY: Guyana

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
21	1966	English	English	John Carter	A/PV.1447
22	1967	English	English	Shridath Ramphal	A/PV.1581
23	1968	English	English	Shridath Ramphal	A/PV.1680
24	1969	English	English	Shridath Ramphal	A/PV.1780
26	1971	English	English	Shridath Ramphal	A/PV.1943
27	1972	English	English	Shridath Ramphal	A/PV.2038
28	1973	English	English	Shridath Ramphal	A/PV.2127
29	1974	English	English	Shridath Ramphal	A/PV.2249
30	1975	English	English	Frederick R. Wills	A/PV.2370
31	1976	English	English	Frederick R. Wills	A/31/PV.6
33	1978	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/33/PV.23
34	1979	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/34/PV.22
35	1980	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/35/PV.9
36	1981	English	English	Ptolemy A. Reid*	A/36/PV.12
37	1982	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/37/PV.26
38	1983	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/38/PV.20
39	1984	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/39/PV.19
40	1985	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/40/PV.17
41	1986	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/41/PV.25
42	1987	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/42/PV.21
44	1989	English	English	Rashleigh E. Jackson	A/44/PV.25
45	1990	English	English	Samuel R. Insanally	A/45/PV.24
46	1991	English	English	Cedric Grant	A/46/PV.24
48	1993	English	English	Cheddi Jagan*	A/48/PV.12
49	1994	English	English	Samuel Hinds*	A/49/PV.20
50	1995	English	English	Clement Rohee	A/50/PV.28
51	1996	English	English	Clement Rohee	A/51/PV.19
52	1997	English	English	Clement Rohee	A/52/PV.12
53	1998	English	English	Janet Jagan*	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	English	English	Bharrat Jagdeo*	A/54/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.76: GUY: Guyana (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	English	English	Clement Rohee	A/55/PV.23
56	2001	English	English	Samuel R. Insanally	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	English	English	Samuel R. Insanally	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	English	English	Bharrat Jagdeo*	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	English	English	Samuel R. Insanally	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	English	English	Samuel R. Insanally	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	English	English	Samuel R. Insanally	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Samuel R. Insanally	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	English	English	Bharrat Jagdeo*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	English	English	Bharrat Jagdeo*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Bharrat Jagdeo*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Bharrat Jagdeo*	A/66/PV.12
67	2012	English	English	Donald Rabindranauth Ramotar*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	English	English	Donald Rabindranauth Ramotar*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	Donald Rabindranauth Ramotar*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	English	English	David Arthur Granger*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	David Arthur Granger*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	English	English	David Arthur Granger*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	English	English	Carl Greenidge	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Karen Cummings	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	English	English	Mohamed Irfaan Ali*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	English	English	Mohamed Irfaan Ali*	A/76/PV.10

HND: Honduras

Table I.77: HND: Honduras

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Tiburcio Carias Castillo	A/PV.280
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Tiburcio Carias Castillo	A/PV.337
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Marco Antonio Batres	A/PV.700
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Adrian Perdomo	A/PV.817
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Milla Bermudez	A/PV.883
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Milla Bermudez	A/PV.1025
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Milla Bermudez	A/PV.1142
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Policarpo Callejas	A/PV.1304
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Tiburcio Carias Castillo	A/PV.1352
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Humberto Lopez Villamil	A/PV.1447
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Tiburcio Carias Castillo	A/PV.1692
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Tiburcio Carias Castillo	A/PV.1784
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Tiburcio Carias Castillo	A/PV.1853
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Andres Alvarado Puerto	A/PV.2057
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Roberto Martinez Ordonez	A/PV.2148
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Batres	A/PV.2242
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Virgilio Galvez	A/PV.2374
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Palma Galvez	A/31/PV.24
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Palma Galvez	A/32/PV.28
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Palma Galvez	A/33/PV.19
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Eliseo Perez Cadalso	A/34/PV.14
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Elvir Sierra	A/35/PV.5
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Elvir Sierra	A/36/PV.10
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Edgardo Paz Barnica	A/37/PV.24
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Edgardo Paz Barnica	A/38/PV.26
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Edgardo Paz Barnica	A/39/PV.26

Continued on next page

Table I.77: HND: Honduras (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Edgardo Paz Barnica	A/40/PV.20
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Lopez Contreras	A/41/PV.28
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Lopez Contreras	A/42/PV.24
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Lopez Contreras	A/43/PV.17
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Lopez Contreras	A/44/PV.14
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Leonardo Callejas Romero*	A/45/PV.12
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Carias Zapata	A/46/PV.11
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Carias Zapata	A/47/PV.26
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Carias Zapata	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Roberto Reina Idiaquez*	A/49/PV.6
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Delmer Urbizo Panting	A/50/PV.7
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Delmer Urbizo Panting	A/51/PV.15
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Roberto Reina Idiaquez*	A/52/PV.8
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Roberto Flores Facusse*	A/53/PV.13
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Roberto Flores Facusse*	A/54/PV.8
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Flores Bermudez	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Flores Bermudez	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Perez-Cadalso Arias	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Maduro Joest*	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Maduro Joest*	A/59/PV.8
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Manuel Zelaya Rosales*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Manuel Zelaya Rosales*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	Spanish[19]	Spanish	Jose Manuel Zelaya Rosales*	A/63/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.77: HND: Honduras (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Patricia Isabel Rodas Baca	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Miguel Canahuati	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Porfirio Lobo Sosa*	A/66/PV.12
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Porfirio Lobo Sosa*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Maria Antonieta Guillen de Bogran	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Orlando Hernandez Alvarado*	A/69/PV.7
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Mary Flores	A/70/PV.27
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Orlando Hernandez Alvarado*	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Orlando Hernandez Alvarado*	A/72/PV.6
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Orlando Hernandez Alvarado*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Orlando Hernandez Alvarado*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Orlando Hernandez Alvarado*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Orlando Hernandez Alvarado*	A/76/PV.7

[19] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/63/PV.8. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'parle en espagnol'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

HRV: Croatia

Table I.78: HRV: Croatia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	English Croatian	English	Franjo Tudjman*	A/47/PV.7
48	1993	Croatian	English	Franjo Tudjman*	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	Croatian	English	Franjo Tudjman*	A/49/PV.9
50	1995	English	English	Mate Granic	A/50/PV.13
51	1996	English	English	Mate Granic	A/51/PV.6
52	1997	English	English	Mate Granic	A/52/PV.11
53	1998	English	English	Mate Granic	A/53/PV.18
54	1999	English	English	Mate Granic	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	English	English	Tonino Picula	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	Croatian	English	Stjepan Mesic*	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	English	English	Tonino Picula	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	Croatian	English	Stjepan Mesic*	A/58/PV.7
59	2004	English	English	Ivo Sanader*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	English	English	Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	English	English	Ivo Sanader*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	Croatian	English	Stjepan Mesic*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	English French	English	Ivo Sanader*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	Croatian	English	Stjepan Mesic*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Jadranka Kosor*	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Ivo Josipovic*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	English	English	Zoran Milanovic*	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	English	English	Ivo Josipovic*	A/68/PV.13
69	2014	English	English	Ivo Josipovic*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	English	English	Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	English	English	Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	English	English	Andrej Plenkovic*	A/72/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.78: HRV: Croatia (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
73	2018	English Spanish	English	Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	Kolinda Grabar-Kitarovic*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	English	English	Andrej Plenkovic*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	Zoran Milanovic*	A/76/PV.4

HTI: Haiti

Table I.79: HTI: Haiti

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Joseph Charles	A/PV.36
6	1951	French	French	Dantes Bellegarde	A/PV.338
10	1955	French	French	Jean Price-Mars	A/PV.524
11	1956	French	French	Jacques N. Leger	A/PV.599
14	1959	French	French	Carlet R. Auguste	A/PV.819
15	1960	French	French	Carlet R. Auguste	A/PV.899
16	1961	French	French	Carlet R. Auguste	A/PV.1033
17	1962	French	French	Rene Chalmers	A/PV.1134
18	1963	French	French	Carlet R. Auguste	A/PV.1237
19	1964	French	French	Rene Chalmers	A/PV.1304
20	1965	French	French	Rene Chalmers	A/PV.1346
21	1966	French	French	Rene Chalmers	A/PV.1440
23	1968	French	French	Rene Chalmers	A/PV.1679
24	1969	French	French	Rene Chalmers	A/PV.1760
25	1970	French	French	Rene Chalmers	A/PV.1851
26	1971	French	French	Adrien Raymond	A/PV.1953
27	1972	French	French	Adrien Raymond	A/PV.2041
28	1973	French	French	Adrien Raymond	A/PV.2139
29	1974	French	French	Edner Brutus	A/PV.2254
32	1977	French	French	Serge Elie Charles	A/32/PV.21
33	1978	French	French	Serge Elie Charles	A/33/PV.29
34	1979	French	French	Gerard Dorcely	A/34/PV.16
35	1980	French	French	Jean Dominique Coradin	A/35/PV.31

Continued on next page

Table I.79: HTI: Haiti (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
36	1981	French	French	Edouard Francisque	A/36/PV.30
37	1982	French	French	Jean-Robert Estime	A/37/PV.27
38	1983	French	French	Jean-Robert Estime	A/38/PV.26
39	1984	French	French	Jean-Robert Estime	A/39/PV.23
40	1985	French	French	Jean-Robert Estime	A/40/PV.19
41	1986	French	French	J.B. Hilaire	A/41/PV.23
42	1987	French	French	Henri Namphy*	A/42/PV.12
43	1988	French	French	Gervais Charles	A/43/PV.25
44	1989	French	French	Yvon Perrier	A/44/PV.29
45	1990	French	French	Paul Christian Latortue	A/45/PV.19
46	1991	French English Spanish Arabic German Haitian Creole Hebrew Italian Lingala Swahili	French	Jean-Bertrand Aristide*	A/46/PV.9
47	1992	French Haitian Creole	French	Jean-Bertrand Aristide*	A/47/PV.17
48	1993	French	French	Claudette Werleigh	A/48/PV.25
49	1994	French English Haitian Creole	French	Jean-Bertrand Aristide*	A/49/PV.17
50	1995	French	French	Claudette Werleigh	A/50/PV.25
51	1996	French	French	Fritz Longchamp	A/51/PV.27

Continued on next page

Table I.79: HTI: Haiti (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
52	1997	French	French	Fritz Longchamp	A/52/PV.20
53	1998	French	French	Fritz Longchamp	A/53/PV.26
54	1999	French	French	Fritz Longchamp	A/54/PV.20
55	2000	French	French	Fritz Longchamp	A/55/PV.25
56	2001	French	French	Joseph Philippe Antonio	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	French	French	Joseph Philippe Antonio	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	French Haitian Creole	French	Jean-Bertrand Aristide*	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	French	French	Boniface Alexandre*	A/59/PV. 6
60	2005	French	French	Boniface Alexandre*	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	French	French	Leo Merores	A/61/PV.23
62	2007	French	French	Rene Garcia Preval*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	French	French	Rene Garcia Preval*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	French	French	Rene Garcia Preval*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	French	French	Rene Garcia Preval*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	French	French	Michel Joseph Martelly*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	French	French	Michel Joseph Martelly*	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	French	French	Laurent Salvador Lamothe*	A/68/PV.14
69	2014	French	French	Michel Joseph Martelly*	A/69/PV.13
70	2015	French	French	Michel Joseph Martelly*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	French	French	Jocelerme Privert*	A/71/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.79: HTI: Haiti (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
72	2017	French	French	Jovenel Moise*	A/72/PV.11
73	2018	French	French	Jovenel Moise*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	French	French	Bocchit Edmond	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	French	French	Jovenel Moise*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	French	French	Ariel Henry*	A/76/PV.14

HUN: Hungary

Table I.80: HUN: Hungary

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	English	English	Imre Horvath	A/PV.610
12	1957	English	English	Endre Sik	A/PV.688
13	1958	English	English	Endre Sik	A/PV.763
14	1959	English	English	Endre Sik	A/PV.820
15	1960	Hungarian	English	Janos Kadar	A/PV.883
16	1961	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.1034
17	1962	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.1138
18	1963	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.1226
19	1964	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.1309
20	1965	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.1350
21	1966	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.1446
22	1967	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.1578
23	1968	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.1692
24	1969	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/PV.1782
26	1971	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.1964
27	1972	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.2062
28	1973	English	English	Janos Peter	A/PV.2144
29	1974	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/PV.2260
30	1975	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/PV.2373
31	1976	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/31/PV.16
32	1977	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/32/PV.24
33	1978	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/33/PV.10
34	1979	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/34/PV.20
35	1980	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/35/PV.31
36	1981	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/36/PV.24
37	1982	Russian	Russian	Frigyes Puja	A/37/PV.8
38	1983	Hungarian	English	Pal Losonczi*	A/38/PV.12
39	1984	English	English	Peter Varkonyi	A/39/PV.18
40	1985	English	English	Peter Varkonyi	A/40/PV.16
41	1986	English	English	Peter Varkonyi	A/41/PV.16

Continued on next page

Table I.80: HUN: Hungary (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
42	1987	English	English	Peter Varkonyi	A/42/PV.16
43	1988	English	English	Peter Varkonyi	A/43/PV.16
44	1989	Russian	Russian	Gyula Horn	A/44/PV.10
45	1990	English	English	Geza Jeszenszky	A/45/PV.18
46	1991	English	English	Jozsef Antall*	A/46/PV.16
47	1992	English	English	Geza Jeszenszky	A/47/PV.20
48	1993	English	English	Geza Jeszenszky	A/48/PV.10
49	1994	English	English	Laszlo Kovacs	A/49/PV.14
50	1995	English	English	Laszlo Kovacs	A/50/PV.11
51	1996	English	English	Laszlo Kovacs	A/51/PV.21
52	1997	English	English	Laszlo Kovacs	A/52/PV.19
53	1998	French	French	Janos Martonyi	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	French	French	Janos Martonyi	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	French	French	Janos Martonyi	A/55/PV.18
56	2001	French	French	Janos Martonyi	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	English	English	Laszlo Kovacs	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	English	English	Laszlo Kovacs	A/58/PV.20
59	2004	English	English	Gabor Brodi	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	English	English	Ferenc Somogyi	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	English	English	Kinga Goncz	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	English	English	Kinga Goncz	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	English	English	Kinga Goncz	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	English	English	Peter Balazs	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	English	English	Pal Schmitt*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	English	English	Pal Schmitt*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	Hungarian	English	Janos Ader*	A/67/PV.7
68	2013	English	English	Janos Martonyi	A/68/PV.22
69	2014	Hungarian	English	Janos Ader*	A/69/PV.10
70	2015	English	English	Peter Szijjarto	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	English	English	Peter Szijjarto	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	English	English	Peter Szijjarto	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	English	English	Peter Szijjarto	A/73/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.80: HUN: Hungary (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
74	2019	English	English	Peter Szijjarto	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	Hungarian	English	Janos Ader*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	Peter Szijjarto	A/76/PV.11

IDN: Indonesia

Table I.81: IDN: Indonesia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
6	1951	French	French	Ahmed Subardjo	A/PV.346
7	1952	English	English	Mukarto Notowidigdo	A/PV.394
8	1953	English	English	Sunario	A/PV.437
9	1954	English	English	Sunario	A/PV.484
10	1955	English	English	Ide Anak Agung Gede Agung	A/PV.527
11	1956	English	English	Roeslan Abdulgani	A/PV.600
12	1957	English	English	Subandrio	A/PV.700
13	1958	English	English	Ali Sastroamidjojo	A/PV.762
14	1959	English	English	Ali Sastroamidjojo	A/PV.815
15	1960	English Indonesian	English	Soekarno*	A/PV.880
16	1961	English	English	Subandrio	A/PV.1030
17	1962	English	English	Sukardjo Wirjopranoto	A/PV.1147
18	1963	English	English	Lambertus N. Palar	A/PV.1219
19	1964	English	English	Subandrio	A/PV.1300
21	1966	English	English	Adam Malik	A/PV.1424
22	1967	English	English	Adam Malik	A/PV.1572
23	1968	English	English	Adam Malik	A/PV.1680
24	1969	English	English	Adam Malik	A/PV.1774
25	1970	English	English	Adam Malik	A/PV.1857
26	1971	English	English	I.N. Djajadiningrat	A/PV.1962
27	1972	English	English	Chaidir Anwar Sani	A/PV.2049
28	1973	English	English	Adam Malik	A/PV.2135
29	1974	English	English	Adam Malik	A/PV.2241
30	1975	English	English	Adam Malik	A/PV.2365
31	1976	English	English	Adam Malik	A/31/PV.19
32	1977	English	English	Adam Malik	A/32/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.81: IDN: Indonesia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
33	1978	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaatma	A/33/PV.13
34	1979	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaatma	A/34/PV.10
35	1980	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaatma	A/35/PV.9
36	1981	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaatma	A/36/PV.14
37	1982	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaatma	A/37/PV.12
38	1983	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaat-madja	A/38/PV.14
39	1984	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaat-madja	A/39/PV.11
40	1985	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaat-madja	A/40/PV.11
41	1986	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaat-madja	A/41/PV.13
42	1987	English	English	Mochtar Kusumaat-madja	A/42/PV.13
43	1988	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/43/PV.20
44	1989	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/44/PV.11
45	1990	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/45/PV.5
46	1991	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/46/PV.13
47	1992	Indonesian	English	Soeharto*	A/47/PV.10
48	1993	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/49/PV.16
50	1995	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/50/PV.14
51	1996	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/51/PV.14
52	1997	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/52/PV.18
53	1998	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	English	English	Ali Alatas	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	English	English	Alwi Shihab	A/55/PV.22
56	2001	English	English	Hassan Wirajuda	A/56/PV.54

Continued on next page

Table I.81: IDN: Indonesia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
57	2002	English	English	Hassan Wirajuda	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	English	English	Megawati Soekarnoputri*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	English	English	Hassan Wirajuda	A/59/PV.11
60	2005	English	English	Hassan Wirajuda	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	English	English	Hassan Wirajuda	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	English	English	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	English	English	Hassan Wirajuda	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	English	English	Hassan Wirajuda	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Marty M. Natalegawa	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	English	English	Marty M. Natalegawa	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	English	English	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	English	English	Marty M. Natalegawa	A/68/PV.17
69	2014	English	English	Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	English	English	Muhammad Jusuf Kalla	A/70/PV.26
71	2016	English	English	Muhammad Jusuf Kalla	A/71/PV.18
72	2017	English	English	Muhammad Jusuf Kalla	A/72/PV.13
73	2018	English	English	Muhammad Jusuf Kalla	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	Indonesian	English	Muhammad Jusuf Kalla	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Joko Widodo*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	English	English	Joko Widodo*	A/76/PV.7

IND: India

Table I.82: IND: India

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	A/PV.37
2	1947	English	English	Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	A/PV.85
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	A/PV.143
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Benegal Narsing Rau	A/PV.222
5	1950	English	English	Benegal Narsing Rau	A/PV.286
6	1951	English	English	Benegal Narsing Rau	A/PV.344
7	1952	English	English	Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit	A/PV.393
8	1953	English	English	V.K. Krishna Menon	A/PV.448
9	1954	English	English	V.K. Krishna Menon	A/PV.492
10	1955	English	English	V.K. Krishna Menon	A/PV.533
11	1956	English	English	V.K. Krishna Menon	A/PV.611
12	1957	English	English	V.K. Krishna Menon	A/PV.703
13	1958	English	English	V.K. Krishna Menon	A/PV.774
14	1959	English	English	V.K. Krishna Menon	A/PV.823
15.5	1960	English	English	Jawaharlal Nehru*	A/PV.882
15	1960	English	English	V.K. Krishna Menon	A/PV.906
16	1961	English	English	V.K. Krishna Menon	A/PV.1025
18	1963	English	English	Birendra Narayan Chakravarty	A/PV.1239
19	1964	English	English	Sardar Swaran Singh	A/PV.1301
20	1965	English	English	Sardar Swaran Singh	A/PV.1358
21	1966	English	English	Sardar Swaran Singh	A/PV.1432
22	1967	English	English	Sardar Swaran Singh	A/PV.1582
23	1968	English	English	Indira Gandhi*	A/PV.1693
24	1969	English	English	Dinesh Singh	A/PV.1775
25	1970	English	English	Sardar Swaran Singh	A/PV.1858
26	1971	English	English	Sardar Swaran Singh	A/PV.1940

Continued on next page

Table I.82: IND: India (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	English	English	Sardar Swaran Singh	A/PV.2051
28	1973	English	English	Sardar Swaran Singh	A/PV.2136
29	1974	English	English	Sardar Swaran Singh	A/PV.2245
30	1975	English	English	Yashwantrao Chavan	A/PV.2364
31	1976	English	English	Yashwantrao Chavan	A/31/PV.15
32	1977	Hindi	English	Atal Bihari Vajpayee	A/32/PV.18
33	1978	Hindi	English	Atal Bihari Vajpayee	A/33/PV.29
34	1979	Hindi	English	Shayam Nandan Mishra	A/34/PV.18
35	1980	English Hindi	English	P.V. Narasimha Rao	A/35/PV.23
36	1981	English	English	P.V. Narasimha Rao	A/36/PV.15
37	1982	English	English	P.V. Narasimha Rao	A/37/PV.14
38	1983	English	English	Indira Gandhi*	A/38/PV.9
39	1984	English	English	Ram Niwas Mirdha	A/39/PV.10
40	1985	English	English	Khurshed Alam Khan	A/40/PV.10
41	1986	English	English	P. Shiv Shanker	A/41/PV.12
42	1987	English	English	Natwar Singh	A/42/PV.16
43	1988	Hindi	English	Pemmaraju Sreenivasa Rao	A/43/PV.17
44	1989	Hindi	English	Pemmaraju Sreenivasa Rao	A/44/PV.20
45	1990	English	English	Inder Kumar Gujral	A/45/PV.13
46	1991	English	English	Madhavsinh Solanki	A/46/PV.11
47	1992	English	English	Eduardo Faleiro	A/47/PV.13
48	1993	English	English	Dinesh Singh	A/48/PV.12
49	1994	English	English	Pranab Mukherjee	A/49/PV.14
50	1995	English	English	Pranab Mukherjee	A/50/PV.12
51	1996	English	English	Inder Kumar Gujral	A/51/PV.22
52	1997	English	English	Inder Kumar Gujral*	A/52/PV.9
53	1998	Hindi	English	Atal Bihari Vajpayee*	A/53/PV.13
54	1999	English	English	Jaswant Singh	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	English	English	Jaswant Singh	A/55/PV.23

Continued on next page

Table I.82: IND: India (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
56	2001	Hindi	English	Atal Bihari Vajpayee*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	Hindi	English	Atal Bihari Vajpayee*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	Hindi	English	Atal Bihari Vajpayee*	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	English	English	Manmohan Singh*	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	English	English	Natwar Singh	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	English	English	Pranab Mukherjee	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	English	English	Pranab Mukherjee	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	English	English	Manmohan Singh*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	S.M. Krishna	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	S.M. Krishna	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	English	English	Manmohan Singh*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English	English	S.M. Krishna	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	English	English	Manmohan Singh*	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	Hindi	English	Narendra Modi*	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	Hindi	English	Sushma Swaraj	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	Hindi	English	Sushma Swaraj	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	Hindi	English	Sushma Swaraj	A/72/PV.19
73	2018	Hindi	English	Sushma Swaraj	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	Hindi	English	Narendra Modi*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	Hindi	English	Narendra Modi*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	Hindi	English	Narendra Modi*	A/76/PV.14

IRL: Ireland

Table I.83: IRL: Ireland

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	English	English	Liam Cosgrave	A/PV.603
12	1957	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.682
13	1958	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.751
14	1959	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.805
15	1960	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.890
17	1962	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.1142
18	1963	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.1226
19	1964	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.1295
20	1965	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.1343
21	1966	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.1434
22	1967	English	English	Frank Aiken	A/PV.1571
24	1969	English	English	Patrick Hillery	A/PV.1768
26	1971	English	English	Patrick Hillery	A/PV.1956
27	1972	English	English	Patrick Hillery	A/PV.2060
28	1973	English	English	Garret Fitzgerald	A/PV.2125
29	1974	English	English	Garret Fitzgerald	A/PV.2243
30	1975	English	English	Garret Fitzgerald	A/PV.2364
31	1976	English	English	Garret Fitzgerald	A/31/PV.10
32	1977	English	English	Michael O'Kennedy	A/32/PV.20
33	1978	English	English	Michael O'Kennedy	A/33/PV.13
34	1979	English	English	Michael O'Kennedy	A/34/PV.8
35	1980	English	English	Brian Lenihan	A/35/PV.17
36	1981	English	English	James Dooge	A/36/PV.20
37	1982	English	English	Gerard Collins	A/37/PV.12
38	1983	English	English	Peter Barry	A/38/PV.15
39	1984	English	English	Peter Barry	A/39/PV.6
40	1985	English	English	Peter Barry	A/40/PV.13
41	1986	English	English	Peter Barry	A/41/PV.9
42	1987	English	English	Brian Lenihan	A/42/PV.13
43	1988	English	English	Brian Lenihan	A/43/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.83: IRL: Ireland (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	English	English	Gerard Collins	A/44/PV.13
45	1990	English	English	Gerard Collins	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	English	English	Gerard Collins	A/46/PV.13
47	1992	English	English	David Andrews	A/47/PV.13
48	1993	English	English	Dick Spring	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	English	English	Dick Spring	A/49/PV.9
50	1995	English	English	Dick Spring	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	English	English	Dick Spring	A/51/PV.6
52	1997	English	English	Ray Burke	A/52/PV.12
53	1998	English	English	David Andrews	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	English	English	David Andrews	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	English	English	Brian Cowen	A/55/PV.14
56	2001	English	English	Brian Cowen	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	English	English	Brian Cowen	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	English	English	Bertie Ahern*	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	English	English	Brian Cowen	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	Bertie Ahern*	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	English	English	Dermot Ahern	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	English	English	Dermot Ahern	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Micheal Martin	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Peter Power	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	English	English	Micheal Martin	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Eamon Gilmore	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Eamon Gilmore	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	English	English	Eamon Gilmore	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	English	English	Charles Flanagan	A/69/PV.18
70	2015	English	English	Charles Flanagan	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Charles Flanagan	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Simon Coveney	A/72/PV.20
73	2018	English	English	Simon Coveney	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Michael Higgins*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Micheal Martin*	A/75/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.83: IRL: Ireland (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
76	2021	English	English	Micheal Martin*	A/76/PV.13

IRN: Iran

Table I.84: IRN: Iran

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Nasrollah Entezam	A/PV.44
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Moussa Noury Esfandiary	A/PV.143
6	1951	French	French	Nasrollah Entezam	A/PV.344
7	1952	French	French	Nasrollah Entezam	A/PV.397
10	1955	French	French	Nasrollah Entezam	A/PV.524
11	1956	French	French	Nasrollah Entezam	A/PV.602
12	1957	French	French	Ali Gholi Ardalan	A/PV.687
13	1958	English	English	Ali Asghar Hekmat	A/PV.751
14	1959	English	English	Abbas Aram	A/PV.798
15	1960	French	French	Mehdi Vakil	A/PV.870
16	1961	English	English	Hossein Ghods Nakhai	A/PV.1011
17	1962	English	English	Abbas Aram	A/PV.1129
18	1963	English	English	Abbas Aram	A/PV.1211
19	1964	English	English	Abbas Aram	A/PV.1292
20	1965	English	English	Mehdi Vakil	A/PV.1362
21	1966	English	English	Abbas Aram	A/PV.1443
22	1967	English	English	Ardeshir Zahedi	A/PV.1575
23	1968	English	English	Ardeshir Zahedi	A/PV.1695
24	1969	English	English	Ardeshir Zahedi	A/PV.1776
25	1970	English	English	Ardeshir Zahedi	A/PV.1857
26	1971	English	English	Abbas Ali Khalatbary	A/PV.1940
27	1972	English	English	Abbas Ali Khalatbary	A/PV.2046
28	1973	English	English	Abbas Ali Khalatbary	A/PV.2127
29	1974	French	French	Abbas Ali Khalatbary	A/PV.2264
30	1975	English	English	Abbas Ali Khalatbary	A/PV.2361
31	1976	English	English	Abbas Ali Khalatbary	A/31/PV.14
32	1977	English	English	Abbas Ali Khalatbary	A/32/PV.9
33	1978	English	English	Amir Khosrow Afshar	A/33/PV.20

Continued on next page

Table I.84: IRN: Iran (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
34	1979	Persian Arabic	English	Ebrahim Yazdi	A/34/PV.21
35	1980	English	English	Ali Shams Ardakani	A/35/PV.33
36	1981	Persian	English	Hossein Musavi	A/36/PV.26
37	1982	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/37/PV.27
38	1983	Persian Arabic	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/38/PV.13
39	1984	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/39/PV.15
40	1985	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/40/PV.20
41	1986	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/41/PV.19
42	1987	Persian	English	Seyed Ali Khamenei*	A/42/PV.6
43	1988	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/43/PV.14
44	1989	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/44/PV.13
45	1990	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/45/PV.5
46	1991	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/46/PV.5
47	1992	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/47/PV.5
48	1993	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/48/PV.14
49	1994	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/50/PV.5
51	1996	Persian	English	Ali Akbar Velayati	A/51/PV.4
52	1997	Persian	English	Kamal Kharrazi	A/52/PV.6
53	1998	Persian	English	Seyed Mohammad Khatami*	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	Persian	English	Kamal Kharrazi	A/54/PV.12
55	2000	Persian	English	Kamal Kharrazi	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	Persian	English	Seyed Mohammad Khatami*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	Persian	English	Kamal Kharrazi	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	Persian	English	Kamal Kharrazi	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	Persian	English	Kamal Kharrazi	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	Persian	English	Mahmoud Ahmadine-jad*	A/60/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.84: IRN: Iran (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
61	2006	Persian	English	Mahmoud Ahmadinejad*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	Persian	English	Mahmoud Ahmadinejad*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	Persian	English	Mahmoud Ahmadinejad*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	Persian	English	Mahmoud Ahmadinejad*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Persian	English	Mahmoud Ahmadinejad*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	Persian	English	Mahmoud Ahmadinejad*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	Persian	English	Mahmoud Ahmadinejad*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	Persian	English	Hassan Rouhani*	A/68/PV.6
69	2014	Persian	English	Hassan Rouhani*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	Persian	English	Hassan Rouhani*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	Persian	English	Hassan Rouhani*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	Persian	English	Hassan Rouhani*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	Persian	English	Hassan Rouhani*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	Persian	English	Hassan Rouhani*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	Persian	English	Hassan Rouhani*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	Persian[20]	English	Seyyed Ebrahim Raisi*	A/76/PV.3

[20] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.3. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: farsi, interprétation en anglais assurée par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

IRQ: Iraq

Table I.85: IRQ: Iraq

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
2	1947	English	English	Noury Al-Said	A/PV.84
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Fadhil Al-Jamali	A/PV.223
5	1950	English	English	Fadhil Al-Jamali	A/PV.280
6	1951	English	English	Fadhil Al-Jamali	A/PV.340
7	1952	English	English	Fadhil Al-Jamali	A/PV.379
8	1953	English	English	Mousa Al-Shabander	A/PV.448
9	1954	English	English	Fadhil Al-Jamali	A/PV.479
10	1955	English	English	Fadhil Al-Jamali	A/PV.522
11	1956	English	English	Fadhil Al-Jamali	A/PV.581
12	1957	English	English	Mousa Al-Shabander	A/PV.700
13	1958	English	English	Hashim Jawad	A/PV.760
14	1959	English	English	Hashim Jawad	A/PV.812
15	1960	English	English	Hashim Jawad	A/PV.890
16	1961	English	English	Hashim Jawad	A/PV.1028
17	1962	English	English	Hashim Jawad	A/PV.1152
18	1963	English	English	Talib Hussein Shabib	A/PV.1239
19	1964	English	English	Naji Talib	A/PV.1302
20	1965	English	English	Abdul Rahman Al-Bazzaz	A/PV.1354
21	1966	Arabic	English	Adnan Pachachi	A/PV.1440
22	1967	English	English	Adnan Pachachi	A/PV.1586
23	1968	Arabic	English	Abdul Karim Al-Shaikhly	A/PV.1691
24	1969	Arabic	English	Abdul Karim Al-Shaikhly	A/PV.1777
25	1970	Arabic	English	Abdul Karim Al-Shaikhly	A/PV.1854
26	1971	English	English	Talib Hussein Shabib	A/PV.1956
27	1972	Arabic	English	Murtadha Said Abdul-Baqi	A/PV.2055

Continued on next page

Table I.85: IRQ: Iraq (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	Arabic	English	Murtadha Said Abdul-Baqi	A/PV.2134
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Shadhel Jassim Taqa	A/PV.2262
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Saadoon Hammadi	A/PV.2359
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Saadoon Hammadi	A/31/PV.18
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Saadoon Hammadi	A/32/PV.18
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Saadoon Hammadi	A/33/PV.6
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Saadoon Hammadi	A/34/PV.23
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Saadoon Hammadi	A/35/PV.22
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Saadoon Hammadi	A/36/PV.14
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Saadoon Hammadi	A/37/PV.19
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Tariq Aziz	A/38/PV.12
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Tariq Aziz	A/39/PV.12
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Tariq Aziz	A/40/PV.13
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Tariq Aziz	A/41/PV.11
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Tariq Aziz	A/42/PV.13
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Tariq Aziz	A/43/PV.17
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Tariq Aziz	A/44/PV.20
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Talat Kadrat	A/45/PV.23
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmad Hussein	A/46/PV.13
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf	A/47/PV.19
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf	A/48/PV.21
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Tariq Aziz	A/49/PV.22
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf	A/50/PV.21
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf	A/51/PV.19
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf	A/52/PV.22
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf	A/53/PV.21

Continued on next page

Table I.85: IRQ: Iraq (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf	A/54/PV.12
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Said Al-Sahaf	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Naji Sabri	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	English	English	Naji Sabri	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	Arabic English	Arabic	Ahmad Chalabi	A/58/PV.22
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Ayad Allawi*	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Ibrahim Abdulkarim Al-Jafari*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Jalal Talabani*	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Nuri Kamel Al-Maliki*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Jalal Talabani*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Jalal Talabani*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Jalal Talabani*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Jalal Talabani*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Khudheir Mussa Jafar Al-Khuzaie	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Khudheir Mussa Jafar Al-Khuzaie	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Fuad Masum*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Haider Al Abadi*	A/70/PV.21
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Haider Al Abadi*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Ibrahim Abdulkarim Al-Jafari	A/72/PV.20
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Ibrahim Abdulkarim Al-Jafari	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	Arabic Kurdish	Arabic	Barham Salih*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic	Barham Salih*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Arabic Kurdish	Arabic	Barham Salih*	A/76/PV.10

ISL: Iceland

Table I.86: ISL: Iceland

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
8	1953	English	English	Thor Thors	A/PV.444
13	1958	English	English	Gudmundur Gudmundsson	A/PV.759
14	1959	English	English	Thor Thors	A/PV.820
21	1966	English	English	Emil Jonsson	A/PV.1430
22	1967	English	English	Emil Jonsson	A/PV.1579
23	1968	English	English	Hannes Kjartansson	A/PV.1686
24	1969	English	English	Emil Jonsson	A/PV.1762
25	1970	English	English	Emil Jonsson	A/PV.1853
26	1971	English	English	Einar Agustson	A/PV.1945
27	1972	English	English	Einar Agustson	A/PV.2047
28	1973	English	English	Einar Agustson	A/PV.2134
29	1974	English	English	Einar Agustson	A/PV.2249
30	1975	English	English	Einar Agustson	A/PV.2365
31	1976	English	English	Einar Agustson	A/31/PV.10
32	1977	English	English	Einar Agustson	A/32/PV.15
33	1978	English	English	Benedikt Grondal	A/33/PV.9
34	1979	English	English	Benedikt Grondal	A/34/PV.8
35	1980	English	English	Olafur Johannesson	A/35/PV.5
36	1981	English	English	Olafur Johannesson	A/36/PV.8
37	1982	English	English	Olafur Johannesson	A/37/PV.8
38	1983	English	English	Geir Hallgrimsson	A/38/PV.6
39	1984	English	English	Geir Hallgrimsson	A/39/PV.4
40	1985	English	English	Geir Hallgrimsson	A/40/PV.7
41	1986	English	English	Arni M. Mathiesen	A/41/PV.5
42	1987	English	English	Steingrimur Hermannsson	A/42/PV.5
43	1988	English	English	Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson	A/43/PV.26
44	1989	English	English	Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson	A/44/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.86: ISL: Iceland (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	English	English	Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson	A/45/PV.4
46	1991	English	English	Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson	A/46/PV.4
47	1992	English	English	Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson	A/47/PV.13
48	1993	English	English	Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	English	English	Gunnar Palsson	A/49/PV.24
50	1995	English	English	Halldor Asgrimsson	A/50/PV.5
51	1996	English	English	Halldor Asgrimsson	A/51/PV.12
52	1997	English	English	Halldor Asgrimsson	A/52/PV.13
53	1998	English	English	Halldor Asgrimsson	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	English	English	Halldor Asgrimsson	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	English	English	Halldor Asgrimsson	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	English	English	Halldor Asgrimsson	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	English	English	Halldor Asgrimsson	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	English	English	Halldor Asgrimsson	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	English	English	Geir H. Haarde	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	English	English	David Oddsson	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	English	English	Valgerdur Sverrisdottir	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	English	English	Ingibjorg Solrun Gisladottir	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	English	English	Geir H. Haarde*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Ossur Skarphedinsson	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	Ossur Skarphedinsson	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Ossur Skarphedinsson	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	English	English	Ossur Skarphedinsson	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	Gunnar Bragi Sveinsson	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	English	English	Gunnar Bragi Sveinsson	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	English	English	Gunnar Bragi Sveinsson	A/70/PV.25

Continued on next page

Table I.86: ISL: Iceland (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
71	2016	English	English	Lilja Dogg Alfredsdottir	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Gudlaugur Thor Thordarson	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	English	English	Gudlaugur Thor Thordarson	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Gudlaugur Thor Thordarson	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	Gudlaugur Thor Thordarson	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	English	English	Gudlaugur Thor Thordarson	A/76/PV.16

ISR: Israel

Table I.87: ISR: Israel

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Aubrey S. Eban	A/PV.229
5	1950	English	English	Moshe Sharett	A/PV.286
6	1951	English French	English	Moshe Sharett	A/PV.346
7	1952	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.397
8	1953	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.449
9	1954	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.491
10	1955	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.532
11	1956	English	English	Golda Meir	A/PV.609
12	1957	English	English	Golda Meir	A/PV.701
13	1958	English	English	Golda Meir	A/PV.773
14	1959	English	English	Golda Meir	A/PV.806
15	1960	English	English	Golda Meir	A/PV.897
16	1961	English	English	Golda Meir	A/PV.1030
17	1962	English	English	Golda Meir	A/PV.1148
18	1963	English	English	Golda Meir	A/PV.1224
19	1964	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.1296
20	1965	English	English	Golda Meir	A/PV.1352
21	1966	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.1428
22	1967	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.1566
23	1968	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.1686
24	1969	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.1757
25	1970	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.1851
26	1971	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.1946
27	1972	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.2045
28	1973	English	English	Abba Solomon Eban	A/PV.2139
29	1974	Hebrew	English	Yigal Allon	A/PV.2255
30	1975	English	English	Yigal Allon	A/PV.2368
31	1976	English	English	Yigal Allon	A/31/PV.22
32	1977	English	English	Moshe Dayan	A/32/PV.27
33	1978	English	English	Moshe Dayan	A/33/PV.26

Continued on next page

Table I.87: ISR: Israel (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
34	1979	English	English	Moshe Dayan	A/34/PV.12
35	1980	English	English	Yitzhak Shamir	A/35/PV.15
36	1981	English	English	Yitzhak Shamir	A/36/PV.22
37	1982	English	English	Yitzhak Shamir	A/37/PV.11
38	1983	English	English	Yehuda Zvi Blum	A/38/PV.15
39	1984	English	English	Yitzhak Shamir	A/39/PV.18
40	1985	English	English	Yitzhak Shamir	A/40/PV.18
41	1986	English	English	Yitzhak Shamir	A/41/PV.16
42	1987	English	English	Shimon Peres	A/42/PV.17
43	1988	English	English	Shimon Peres	A/43/PV.9
44	1989	English	English	Moshe Arens	A/44/PV.9
45	1990	French	French	David Levy	A/45/PV.14
46	1991	French	French	David Levy	A/46/PV.18
47	1992	English	English	Shimon Peres	A/47/PV.20
48	1993	English	English	Shimon Peres	A/48/PV.6
49	1994	English	English	Shimon Peres	A/49/PV.10
50	1995	English Hebrew	English	Shimon Peres	A/50/PV.14
51	1996	French	French	David Levy	A/51/PV.20
52	1997	Hebrew	English	David Levy	A/52/PV.15
53	1998	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/53/PV.13
54	1999	Hebrew	English	David Levy	A/54/PV.16
55	2000	English	English	Shlomo Ben-Ami	A/55/PV.20
56	2001	English	English	Shimon Peres	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	English	English	Shimon Peres	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	English	English	Silvan Shalom	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	English	English	Silvan Shalom	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	English	English	Silvan Shalom	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	English	English	Tzipi Livni	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	English	English	Tzipi Livni	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	English	English	Shimon Peres*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	English Hebrew	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/64/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.87: ISR: Israel (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
65	2010	English	English	Avigdor Liberman	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/72/PV.4
73	2018	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English	English	Israel Katz	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	Benjamin Netanyahu*	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	English	English	Naftali Bennett*	A/76/PV.16

ITA: Italy

Table I.88: ITA: Italy

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	French	French	Gaetano Martino	A/PV.588
12	1957	French	French	Giuseppe Pella	A/PV.681
13	1958	Italian	English	Attilio Piccioni	A/PV.758
14	1959	French	French	Giuseppe Pella	A/PV.804
15	1960	Italian	English	Antonio Segni	A/PV.876
16	1961	English	English	Gaetano Martino	A/PV.1018
17	1962	Italian	English French	Attilio Piccioni	A/PV.1136
18	1963	Italian	English French	Attilio Piccioni	A/PV.1218
19	1964	Italian	English	Giuseppe Lupis	A/PV.1321
20	1965	French	French	Giacinto Bosco	A/PV.1338
21	1966	Italian	French	Attilio Piccioni	A/PV.1441
22	1967	Italian	English French	Attilio Piccioni	A/PV.1579
23	1968	English	English	Giuseppe Medici	A/PV.1687
24	1969	Italian	English	Aldo Moro	A/PV.1783
25	1970	Italian	English French	Giuseppe Lupis	A/PV.1857
26	1971	French	French	Aldo Moro	A/PV.1954
27	1972	English	English	Giuseppe Medici	A/PV.2044
28	1973	Italian	English French	Giuseppe Lupis	A/PV.2147
29	1974	French	French	Eugenio Plaja	A/PV.2249
29.5	1974	Italian	English	Giovanni Leone*	A/PV.2247
30	1975	Italian	English French	Mariano Rumor	A/PV.2357
31	1976	Italian	English French	Arnaldo Forlani	A/31/PV.13
32	1977	Italian	English French	Arnaldo Forlani	A/32/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.88: ITA: Italy (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
33	1978	Italian	English French	Arnaldo Forlani	A/33/PV.11
34	1979	French	French	Franco Maria Malfatti	A/34/PV.10
35	1980	French	French	Emilio Colombo	A/35/PV.7
36	1981	Italian	English	Emilio Colombo	A/36/PV.9
37	1982	Italian	English	Emilio Colombo	A/37/PV.9
38	1983	French	French	Giulio Andreotti	A/38/PV.11
39	1984	French	French	Giulio Andreotti	A/39/PV.16
40	1985	French	French	Giulio Andreotti	A/40/PV.8
41	1986	French	French	Giulio Andreotti	A/41/PV.7
42	1987	French	French	Giulio Andreotti	A/42/PV.11
43	1988	French	French	Giulio Andreotti	A/43/PV.10
44	1989	English	English	Gianni de Michelis	A/44/PV.8
45	1990	English	English	Gianni de Michelis	A/45/PV.6
46	1991	English	English	Gianni de Michelis	A/46/PV.12
47	1992	Italian	English	Emilio Colombo	A/47/PV.10
48	1993	English	English	Beniamino Andreatta	A/48/PV.10
49	1994	English	English	Antonio Martino	A/49/PV.11
50	1995	English	English	Susanna Agnelli	A/50/PV.12
51	1996	English	English	Lamberto Dini	A/51/PV.10
52	1997	English	English	Lamberto Dini	A/52/PV.11
53	1998	English	English	Lamberto Dini	A/53/PV.11
54	1999	English	English	Lamberto Dini	A/54/PV.8
55	2000	English	English	Lamberto Dini	A/55/PV.12
56	2001	English	English	Renato Ruggiero	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	English	English	Silvio Berlusconi*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	Italian	English	Silvio Berlusconi*	A/58/PV.7
59	2004	English	English	Franco Frattini	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	French	French	Gianfranco Fini	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	Italian	English	Romano Prodi*	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	Italian	English	Romano Prodi*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	English	English	Franco Frattini	A/63/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.88: ITA: Italy (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
64	2009	Italian	English	Silvio Berlusconi*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	English	English	Franco Frattini	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	English	English	Franco Frattini	A/66/PV.24
67	2012	English	English	Mario Monti*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	English	English	Enrico Letta*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	Italian	English	Matteo Renzi*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	Italian	English	Matteo Renzi*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	Italian	English	Matteo Renzi*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	Italian	English	Paolo Gentiloni Silveri*	A/72/PV.8
73	2018	Italian	English	Giuseppe Conte*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	Italian	English	Giuseppe Conte*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	Italian	English	Giuseppe Conte*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	Italian[21]	English	Mario Draghi*	A/76/PV.11

[21] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.11. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: italien; texte anglais fourni par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

JAM: Jamaica

Table I.89: JAM: Jamaica

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
17	1962	English	English	Hugh Shearer	A/PV.1145
18	1963	English	English	Hugh Shearer	A/PV.1228
19	1964	English	English	Hugh Shearer	A/PV.1293
20	1965	English	English	Hugh Shearer	A/PV.1344
21	1966	English	English	Hugh Shearer	A/PV.1444
22	1967	English	English	Hugh Shearer	A/PV.1584
23	1968	English	English	Edwin L. Allen	A/PV.1679
24	1969	English	English	Neville Gallimore	A/PV.1767
26	1971	English	English	Neville Gallimore	A/PV.1957
27	1972	English	English	Michael N. Manley	A/PV.2049
28	1973	English	English	Dudley Thompson	A/PV.2150
29	1974	English	English	Dudley Thompson	A/PV.2253
30	1975	English	English	Dudley Thompson	A/PV.2358
31	1976	English	English	Dudley Thompson	A/31/PV.16
32	1977	English	English	Percival James Patterson	A/32/PV.15
33	1978	English	English	Percival James Patterson	A/33/PV.15
34	1979	English	English	Percival James Patterson	A/34/PV.23
35	1980	English	English	Percival James Patterson	A/35/PV.21
36	1981	English	English	Neville Gallimore	A/36/PV.14
37	1982	English	English	Hugh Shearer	A/37/PV.22
38	1983	English	English	Neville Gallimore	A/38/PV.29
39	1984	English	English	Oswald Harding	A/39/PV.28
40	1985	English	English	Oswald Harding	A/40/PV.27
41	1986	English	English	Oswald Harding	A/41/PV.17
42	1987	English	English	Jeanette Grant-Woodham	A/42/PV.12
43	1988	English	English	Jeanette Grant-Woodham	A/43/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.89: JAM: Jamaica (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	English	English	David Coore	A/44/PV.18
45	1990	English	English	David Coore	A/45/PV.23
46	1991	English	English	David Coore	A/46/PV.21
47	1992	English	English	Percival James Patterson*	A/47/PV.19
48	1993	English	English	Paul Robertson	A/48/PV.21
49	1994	English	English	Paul Robertson	A/49/PV.22
50	1995	English	English	Seymour Mullings	A/50/PV.16
51	1996	English	English	Seymour Mullings	A/51/PV.17
52	1997	English	English	Percival James Patterson*	A/52/PV.11
53	1998	English	English	Seymour Mullings	A/53/PV.21
54	1999	English	English	Seymour Mullings	A/54/PV.17
55	2000	English	English	Paul Robertson	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	English	English	Percival James Patterson*	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	English	English	Stafford Oliver Neil	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	English	English	Percival James Patterson*	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	English	English	Keith Desmond Knight	A/59/PV.11
60	2005	English	English	Percival James Patterson*	A/60/PV.9
61	2006	English	English	Anthony Hylton	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Kenneth Baugh	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Orette Bruce Golding*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	English	English	Kenneth Baugh	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	Orette Bruce Golding*	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Kenneth Baugh	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Portia Simpson Miller*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	English	English	Portia Simpson Miller	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	English	English	Arnold J. Nicholson	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	English	English	Arnold J. Nicholson	A/70/PV.26
71	2016	English	English	Andrew Holness*	A/71/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.89: JAM: Jamaica (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
72	2017	English	English	Kamina Johnson Smith	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	English	English	Andrew Holness*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English	English	Andrew Holness*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Andrew Holness*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Andrew Holness*	A/76/PV.13

JOR: Jordan

Table I.90: JOR: Jordan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	English	English	Abdul Monem Rifa'I	A/PV.590
12	1957	English	English	Yusuf Haikal	A/PV.701
13	1958	English	English	Abdul Monem Rifa'I	A/PV.764
14	1959	English	English	Abdul Monem Rifa'I	A/PV.805
15	1960	English	English	Hussein Ibn Talal*	A/PV.882
17	1962	English	English	Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh	A/PV.1138
18	1963	English	English	Abdul Monem Rifa'I	A/PV.1220
20	1965	English	English	Hazem Zaki Nuseibeh	A/PV.1361
21	1966	Arabic	English	Akram Zuayter	A/PV.1444
22	1967	English	English	Muhammed El-Aamiry	A/PV.1575
23	1968	English	English	Abdul Monem Rifa'I	A/PV.1682
24	1969	English	English	Abdul Monem Rifa'I	A/PV.1759
26	1971	English	English	Abdullah Salah	A/PV.1951
27	1972	English	English	Salah Abu Zeid	A/PV.2052
28	1973	English	English	Zuhayr Almufti	A/PV.2144
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Zuhayr Almufti	A/PV.2253
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Sadiq Share	A/PV.2374
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Hassan Ibrahim	A/31/PV.20
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Hassan Ibrahim	A/32/PV.23
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Hassan Ibrahim	A/33/PV.16
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Hussein Ibn Talal*	A/34/PV.7
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Marwan S. Kasim	A/35/PV.25
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Hassan bin Talal	A/36/PV.15
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Marwan S. Kasim	A/37/PV.17
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Marwan S. Kasim	A/38/PV.19
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Taher Masri	A/39/PV.14
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Hussein Ibn Talal*	A/40/PV.12
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Taher Masri	A/41/PV.19
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Hassan bin Talal*	A/42/PV.11
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Taher Masri	A/43/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.90: JOR: Jordan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Marwan S. Kasim	A/44/PV.15
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Marwan S. Kasim	A/45/PV.8
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah Nsour	A/46/PV.19
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Kamel Abu Jaber	A/47/PV.21
48	1993	English	English	Hassan bin Talal*	A/48/PV.17
49	1994	English	English	Hassan bin Talal*	A/49/PV.16
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul-Karim Kabariti	A/50/PV.26
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Khaled Madadha	A/51/PV.24
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Fayez Tarawneh	A/52/PV.24
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Al-Khatib	A/53/PV.23
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Al-Khatib	A/54/PV.4
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Al-Khatib	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Al-Khatib	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Marwan Muasher	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Marwan Muasher	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Marwan Muasher	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk A. Kasrawi	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	English	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Al-Khatib	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Salah Bashir	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Judeh	A/64/PV,9
65	2010	English	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	English	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	English	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/67/PV.7
68	2013	English	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	English[22]	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	English	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/70/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.90: JOR: Jordan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
71	2016	English	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	English	English	Al Hussein bin Abdullah II	A/72/PV.13
73	2018	English	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	English	English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	Arabic[23]	Arabic English	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	English	English Arabic	Abdullah II bin Al Hussein*	A/76/PV.6

[22] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/69/PV.6. The English version indicates: 'spoke in Arabic', while the French version indicates: 'parle en anglais'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

[23] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/75/PV.4. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: arabe; texte anglais fourni par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

JPN: Japan

Table I.91: JPN: Japan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
12	1957	Japanese	English	Aiichiro Fujiyama	A/PV.680
13	1958	Japanese	English	Aiichiro Fujiyama	A/PV.749
14	1959	Japanese	English	Aiichiro Fujiyama	A/PV.797
15	1960	English	English	Zentaro Kosaka	A/PV.868
16	1961	English	English	Zentaro Kosaka	A/PV.1011
17	1962	Japanese	English	Masayoshi Ohira	A/PV.1126
18	1963	Japanese	English	Masayoshi Ohira	A/PV.1209
19	1964	Japanese	English	Etsusaburo Shiina	A/PV.1290
20	1965	Japanese	English	Etsusaburo Shiina	A/PV.1339
21	1966	Japanese	English	Etsusaburo Shiina	A/PV.1414
22	1967	Japanese	English	Takeo Miki	A/PV.1563
23	1968	Japanese	English	Takeo Miki	A/PV.1682
24	1969	English	English	Kiichi Aichi	A/PV.1756
25	1970	English	English	Kiichi Aichi	A/PV.1842
26	1971	English	English	Kiichi Aichi	A/PV.1941
27	1972	English	English	Toru Nakagawa	A/PV.2042
28	1973	Japanese	English	Masayoshi Ohira	A/PV.2127
29	1974	Japanese	English	Toshio Kimura	A/PV.2241
30	1975	English	English	Kiichi Miyazawa	A/PV.2358
31	1976	Japanese	English	Zentaro Kosaka	A/31/PV.6
32	1977	English	English	Iichiro Hatoyama	A/32/PV.8
33	1978	Japanese	English	Sunao Sonoda	A/33/PV.6
34	1979	Japanese	English	Sunao Sonoda	A/34/PV.8
35	1980	Japanese	English	Masayoshi Ito	A/35/PV.7
36	1981	Japanese	English	Sunao Sonoda	A/36/PV.8
37	1982	Japanese	English	Yoshio Sakurauchi	A/37/PV.14
38	1983	Japanese	English	Shintaro Abe	A/38/PV.10
39	1984	Japanese	English	Shintaro Abe	A/39/PV.9
40	1985	Japanese	English	Shintaro Abe	A/40/PV.7
41	1986	Japanese	English	Tadashi Kuranari	A/41/PV.7

Continued on next page

Table I.91: JPN: Japan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
42	1987	Japanese English	English French	Yasuhiro Nakasone*	A/42/PV.4
43	1988	English	English	Hideo Kagami	A/43/PV.9
44	1989	Japanese	English	Taro Nakayama	A/44/PV.7
45	1990	Japanese	English	Taro Nakayama	A/45/PV.7
46	1991	Japanese	English	Taro Nakayama	A/46/PV.7
47	1992	Japanese	English	Michio Watanabe	A/47/PV.7
48	1993	English	English	Morihiro Hosokawa*	A/48/PV.4
49	1994	Japanese	English	Yohei Kono	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	Japanese	English	Yohei Kono	A/50/PV.7
51	1996	Japanese	English	Ryutaro Hashimoto*	A/51/PV.7
52	1997	Japanese	English	Keizo Obuchi	A/52/PV.8
53	1998	Japanese	English	Keizo Obuchi*	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	Japanese	English	Masahiko Koumura	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	Japanese	English	Yohei Kono	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	English	English	Kiichi Miyazawa	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	English	English	Junichiro Koizumi*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	English	English	Yoriko Kawaguchi	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	English	English	Junichiro Koizumi*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English	English	Nobutaka Machimura	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English	English	Kenzo Oshima	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	Japanese	English	Masahiko Koumura	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Japanese English	English	Taro Aso*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Yukio Hatoyama*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	Japanese	English	Naoto Kan*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	Japanese	English	Yoshihiko Noda*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	Japanese	English	Yoshihiko Noda*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	Japanese	English	Shinzo Abe	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	Shinzo Abe*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	Japanese	English	Shinzo Abe*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	Japanese	English	Shinzo Abe*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	Japanese	English	Shinzo Abe*	A/72/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.91: JPN: Japan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
73	2018	Japanese	English	Shinzo Abe*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	Japanese	English	Shinzo Abe*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	Japanese	English	Suga Yoshihide*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	Japanese[24]	English	Suga Yoshihide*	A/76/PV.13

[24] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.13. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: japonais; texte anglais fourni par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

KAZ: Kazakhstan

Table I.92: KAZ: Kazakhstan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	Russian	Russian	Nursultan Nazarbayev*	A/47/PV.24
48	1993	Russian	Russian	Touleutai Suleimenov	A/48/PV.16
49	1994	Russian	Russian	Kanat Saudabayev	A/49/PV.20
50	1995	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/50/PV.10
51	1996	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/51/PV.22
52	1997	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/52/PV.17
53	1998	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/53/PV.18
54	1999	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/54/PV.12
55	2000	English	English	Erlan Idrissov	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	English	English	Madina Jarbussynova	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/60/PV.11
61	2006	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	Russian	Russian	Nursultan Nazarbayev*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	English	English	Marat Tazhin	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	Russian	Russian	Kanat Saudabayev	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	Russian	Russian	Kanat Saudabayev	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	Russian	Russian	Nursultan Nazarbayev*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	English	English	Kairat Umarov	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	Erlan Idrissov	A/68/PV.17
69	2014	English	English	Erlan Idrissov	A/69/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.92: KAZ: Kazakhstan (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
70	2015	Kazakh	English	Nursultan Nazarbayev*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	English	English	Erlan Idrissov	A/71/PV.16
72	2017	English	English	Kairat Abdrakhmanov	A/72/PV.14
73	2018	English	English	Kairat Abdrakhmanov	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English Kazakh	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	Kassym-Jomart Tokayev*	A/76/PV.9

KEN: Kenya

Table I.93: KEN: Kenya

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
19	1964	English	English	Joseph Murumbi	A/PV.1293
20	1965	English	English	Joseph Murumbi	A/PV.1352
21	1966	English	English	Joseph Murumbi	A/PV.1422
22	1967	English	English	James Nyamweya	A/PV.1570
23	1968	English	English	Chiedo More Gem Argwings-Kodhek	A/PV.1696
24	1969	English	English	Mbiyu Koinange	A/PV.1772
25	1970	English	English	Njoroge Mungai	A/PV.1845
26	1971	English	English	Njoroge Mungai	A/PV.1949
27	1972	English	English	Njoroge Mungai	A/PV.2039
28	1973	English	English	Njoroge Mungai	A/PV.2147
29	1974	English	English	Charles Gatere Maina	A/PV.2257
30	1975	English	English	Munyua Waiyaki	A/PV.2362
31	1976	English	English	Munyua Waiyaki	A/31/PV.14
32	1977	English	English	Munyua Waiyaki	A/32/PV.19
33	1978	English	English	Munyua Waiyaki	A/33/PV.29
34	1979	English	English	Charles Gatere Maina	A/34/PV.30
35	1980	English	English	Robert John Ouko	A/35/PV.27
36	1981	English	English	Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi*	A/36/PV.11
37	1982	English	English	Robert John Ouko	A/37/PV.20
38	1983	English	English	Elijah Mwangale	A/38/PV.30
39	1984	English	English	Elijah Mwangale	A/39/PV.23
40	1985	English	English	Elijah Mwangale	A/40/PV.33
41	1986	English	English	Elijah Mwangale	A/41/PV.11
42	1987	English	English	Zachary Onyonka	A/42/PV.25
43	1988	English	English	Joseph Muliro	A/43/PV.29
44	1989	English	English	Robert John Ouko	A/44/PV.10
45	1990	English	English	Wilson Ndolo Ayah	A/45/PV.7
46	1991	English	English	Wilson Ndolo Ayah	A/46/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.93: KEN: Kenya (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	English	English	Wilson Ndolo Ayah	A/47/PV.26
48	1993	English	English	Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka	A/48/PV.17
49	1994	English	English	Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka	A/49/PV.15
50	1995	English	English	Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka	A/50/PV.16
51	1996	English	English	Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka	A/51/PV.18
52	1997	English	English	Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka	A/52/PV.28
53	1998	English	English	Bonaya Adhi Godana	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	English	English	Bonaya Adhi Godana	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	English	English	Bonaya Adhi Godana	A/55/PV.17
56	2001	English	English	Daniel Toroitich Arap Moi*	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	English	English	Marsden Madoka	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	English	English	Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Chirau Ali Mwakwere	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	English	English	Mwai Kibaki*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English[25]	English	Raphael Tuju	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Raphael Tuju	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	English	English	Mwai Kibaki*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	English	English	Raila Amollo Odinga*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Mwai Kibaki*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	English	English	Mwai Kibaki*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	English	English	Mwai Kibaki*	A/67/PV.9
69	2014	English	English	Uhuru Kenyatta*	A/69/PV.7
70	2015	English	English	Uhuru Kenyatta*	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	English	English	William Ruto	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Amina Chawahir Mohamed	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	English	English	Uhuru Kenyatta*	A/73/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.93: KEN: Kenya (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
74	2019	English	English	Uhuru Kenyatta*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Uhuru Kenyatta*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	Uhuru Kenyatta*	A/76/PV.7

[25] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/61/PV.21. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

KGZ: Kyrgyzstan

Table I.94: KGZ: Kyrgyzstan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	Russian	Russian	Askar Aitmatov	A/47/PV.26
48	1993	Russian	Russian	Ednan Karabayev	A/48/PV.20
49	1994	Russian	Russian	Roza Otunbayeva	A/49/PV.11
50	1995	Russian	Russian	Roza Otunbayeva	A/50/PV.19
51	1996	Russian	Russian	Roza Otunbayeva	A/51/PV.28
52	1997	Russian	Russian	Muratbek Imanaliev	A/52/PV.27
53	1998	Russian	Russian	Muratbek Imanaliev	A/53/PV.18
54	1999	Russian	Russian	Alikbek Djekshenkulov	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	English	English	Elmira Ibraimova	A/55/PV.24
56	2001	Russian	Russian	Osmonakun Ibraimov*	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	Russian	Russian	Askar Akayev*	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	Russian	Russian	Askar Akayev*	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	Russian	Russian	Askar Akayev*	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	Russian	Russian	Kurmanbek Bakiev*	A/60/PV.9
61	2006	Russian	Russian	Alikbek Djekshenkulov	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	Russian	Russian	Ednan Karabayev	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	Russian	Russian	Nur Uulu Dosbol	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	Russian	Russian	Igor Chudinov*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	Russian	Russian	Ruslan Kazakbaev	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	Russian Kyrgyz	Russian	Roza Otunbayeva*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	Russian Kyrgyz	Russian	Asylbek Jeenbekov	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	Russian	Russian	Erlan Abdyldayev	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	Russian	Russian	Erlan Abdyldayev	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	Russian	Russian	Erlan Abdyldayev	A/70/PV.24
71	2016	Russian	Russian	Erlan Abdyldayev	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	Russian Kyrgyz	Russian	Almazbek Atambaev*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	Russian Kyrgyz	Russian	Sooronbai Jeenbekov*	A/73/PV.7

Continued on next page

Table I.94: KGZ: Kyrgyzstan (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
74	2019	Russian	Russian	Chingiz Aidarbekov	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	Russian	Russian	Sooronbai Jeenbekov*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Russian	Russian	Sadyr Zhaparov*	A/76/PV.3

KHM: Cambodia

Table I.95: KHM: Cambodia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	French	French	Nong Kimny	A/PV.590
12	1957	French	French	Penn Nouth	A/PV.689
13	1958	French	French	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/PV.756
14	1959	French	French	Son Sann	A/PV.798
15	1960	French	French	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/PV.877
16	1961	French	French	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/PV.1011
17	1962	French	French	Huot Sambath	A/PV.1134
18	1963	French	French	Huot Sambath	A/PV.1215
19	1964	French	French	Huot Sambath	A/PV.1299
20	1965	French	French	Huot Sambath	A/PV.1345
21	1966	French	French	Huot Sambath	A/PV.1444
22	1967	French	French	Huot Sambath	A/PV.1587
23	1968	French	French	Huot Sambath	A/PV.1701
24	1969	French	French	Huot Sambath	A/PV.1780
25	1970	French	French	Koun Wick	A/PV.1855
26	1971	French	French	Koun Wick	A/PV.1956
27	1972	French	French	Long Boret	A/PV.2047
28	1973	French	French	Long Boret	A/PV.2133
29	1974	French	French	Long Boret*	A/PV.2263
30	1975	French	French	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/PV.2376
31	1976	Khmer	French	Ieng Sary	A/31/PV.18
32	1977	Khmer	French	Ieng Sary	A/32/PV.28
33	1978	Khmer	English	Ieng Sary	A/33/PV.33
34	1979	French	French	Ieng Sary	A/34/PV.26
35	1980	French	French	Ieng Sary	A/35/PV.17
36	1981	French	French	Ieng Sary	A/36/PV.18
37	1982	English	English	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/37/PV.11
38	1983	French	French	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/38/PV.17
39	1984	French	French	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/39/PV.7
40	1985	French	French	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/40/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.95: KHM: Cambodia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
41	1986	French	French	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/41/PV.16
42	1987	French	French	Son Sann*	A/42/PV.15
43	1988	French	French	Son Sann*	A/43/PV.19
44	1989	French	French	Son Sann*	A/44/PV.10
46	1991	French	French	Norodom Sihanouk*	A/46/PV.10
48	1993	English French	English	Krom Luong Norodom Ranariddh*	A/48/PV.15
49	1994	French English	French	Sirivudh	A/49/PV.12
50	1995	English	English	Ung Huot	A/50/PV.14
51	1996	English French	English	Ung Huot	A/51/PV.26
54	1999	Khmer	English	Hun Sen*	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	English French	English	Hor Namhong	A/55/PV.24
56	2001	English French	English	Hor Namhong	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	English French	English	Hor Namhong	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	English	English	Hor Namhong	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	English	English	Hor Namhong	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	English	English	Borith Ouch	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	English	English	Hor Namhong	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	English	English	Hor Namhong	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	English	English	Borith Ouch	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Hor Namhong	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	Hor Namhong	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English French	English	Hor Namhong	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Hor Namhong	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	Kosal Sea	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	English	English	Hor Namhong	A/69/PV.18
70	2015	English	English	Hor Namhong	A/70/PV.24

Continued on next page

Table I.95: KHM: Cambodia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
71	2016	French	French	Prak Sokhonn	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	English French	English	Prak Sokhonn	A/72/PV.17
73	2018	Khmer	English	Hun Sen*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English French	English	Prak Sokhonn	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	Khmer	English	Hun Sen*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	Khmer[26]	English	Hun Sen*	A/76/PV.14

[26] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.14. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: khmer; texte anglais fourni par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

KIR: Kiribati

Table I.96: KIR: Kiribati

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
58	2003	English	English	Natan Teewe	A/58/PV.20
59	2004	English	English	Anote Tong*	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	English	English	Anote Tong*	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	English	English	Teima Onorio	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	English	English	Natanaera Kirata	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Anote Tong*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	English	English	Anote Tong*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	English	English	Anote Tong*	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	English	English	Anote Tong*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	English	English	Anote Tong*	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	English	English	Anote Tong*	A/68/PV.9
69	2014	English	English	Anote Tong*	A/69/PV.13
70	2015	English	English	Makurita Baaro	A/70/PV.27
71	2016	English	English	Taneti Maamau*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	English	English	Taneti Maamau*	A/72/PV.15
73	2018	English	English	Taneti Maamau*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	English	English	Taneti Maamau*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Taneti Maamau*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English	English	Taneti Maamau*	A/76/PV.11

KNA: Saint Kitts and Nevis

Table I.97: KNA: Saint Kitts and Nevis

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
40	1985	English	English	William Herbert	A/40/PV.15
42	1987	English	English	Kennedy A. Simmonds*	A/42/PV.27
43	1988	English	English	Kennedy A. Simmonds*	A/43/PV.14
44	1989	English	English	William Herbert	A/44/PV.15
45	1990	English	English	Kennedy A. Simmonds*	A/45/PV.5
46	1991	English	English	Kennedy A. Simmonds*	A/46/PV.25
47	1992	English	English	Kennedy A. Simmonds*	A/47/PV.20
48	1993	English	English	Kennedy A. Simmonds*	A/48/PV.15
49	1994	English	English	Kennedy A. Simmonds*	A/49/PV.24
50	1995	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas*	A/50/PV.23
51	1996	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas*	A/51/PV.22
52	1997	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas*	A/52/PV.15
53	1998	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas*	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas*	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	English	English	Sam Condor	A/55/PV.12
56	2001	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas*	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris	A/61/PV.22

Continued on next page

Table I.97: KNA: Saint Kitts and Nevis (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
62	2007	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	English	English	Sam Condor	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Sam Condor	A/66/PV.24
67	2012	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Denzil L. Douglas*	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	English	English	Patrice Nisbett	A/69/PV.19
70	2015	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris*	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris*	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Mark Anthony Brantley	A/72/PV.22
73	2018	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris*	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris*	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	English	English	Timothy Sylvester Harris*	A/76/PV.13

KOR: South Korea

Table I.98: KOR: South Korea

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	Korean	English French	Roh Tae Woo*	A/46/PV.6
47	1992	Korean	English	Roh Tae Woo*	A/47/PV.6
48	1993	English	English	Han Sung-Joo	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	English	English	Han Sung-Joo	A/49/PV.14
50	1995	English	English	Ro-Myung Gong	A/50/PV.10
51	1996	English	English	Ro-Myung Gong	A/51/PV.12
52	1997	English	English	Chong-Ha Yoo	A/52/PV.15
53	1998	English	English	Hong Soon-Young	A/53/PV.15
54	1999	English	English	Hong Soon-Young	A/54/PV.18
55	2000	English	English	Lee Joung-Binn	A/55/PV.22
56	2001	Korean	English	Lee Han-Dong	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	English	English	Choi Sung-Hong	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	English	English	Yoon Young-Kwan	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	English	English	Ban Ki-Moon	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	English	English	Ban Ki-Moon	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	English	English	Ban Ki-Moon	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	English	English	Song Min-Soon	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	English	English	Han Seung-Soo*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	Korean	English	Lee Myung-Bak*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	English	English	Shin Kak-Soo	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	Korean	English	Lee Myung-Bak*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	English	English	Kim Sung-Hwan	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	English	English	Yun Byung-Se	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	Korean	English	Park Geun-Hye*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Korean	English	Park Geun-Hye*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	English	English	Yun Byung-Se	A/71/PV.16
72	2017	Korean	English	Moon Jae-In*	A/72/PV.11
73	2018	Korean	English	Moon Jae-In*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	Korean	English	Moon Jae-In*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	Korean[27]	English	Moon Jae-In*	A/75/PV.4

Continued on next page

Table I.98: KOR: South Korea (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
76	2021	Korean	English	Moon Jae-In*	A/76/PV.3

[27] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/75/PV.4. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: coréen; texte anglais fourni par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

KWT: Kuwait

Table I.99: KWT: Kuwait

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
18	1963	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.1222
19	1964	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.1305
20	1965	English	English	Rashid Abdul-Aziz Al-Rashid	A/PV.1360
21	1966	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.1421
22	1967	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.1583
23	1968	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.1702
24	1969	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.1781
25	1970	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.1849
26	1971	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.1959
27	1972	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.2057
28	1973	Arabic	English	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.2144
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.2249
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/PV.2368
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/31/PV.12
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/32/PV.17
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/33/PV.17
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/34/PV.16

Continued on next page

Table I.99: KWT: Kuwait (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/36/PV.18
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/37/PV.12
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Khalid Al-Hamad Al-Sabah	A/38/PV.12
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Khalid Al-Hamad Al-Sabah	A/39/PV.11
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Khalid Al-Hamad Al-Sabah	A/40/PV.11
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Khalid Al-Hamad Al-Sabah	A/41/PV.11
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Khalid Al-Hamad Al-Sabah	A/42/PV.11
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Amir Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah*	A/43/PV.8
44	1989	Arabic[28]	Arabic	Sabah Khalid Al-Hamad Al-Sabah	A/44/PV.31
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Amir Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah*	A/45/PV.10
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Amir Jaber Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah*	A/46/PV.10
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Salem Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Al-Rawdhan	A/49/PV.15
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/50/PV.13
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/51/PV.11
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammad A. Abulhasan	A/52/PV.16
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Suleiman Al-Shaheen	A/54/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.99: KWT: Kuwait (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/55/PV.12
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Al-Ahmad Al-Jaber Al-Sabah*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammad Al-Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammad Al-Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammad Al-Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammad Al-Sabah Al-Salem Al-Sabah	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Al-Mohammad Al-Ahmad Al Jaber Al-Sabah*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Al-Mohammad Al-Ahmad Al Jaber Al-Sabah*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	Arabic French	Arabic	Nasser Al-Mohammad Al-Ahmad Al Jaber Al-Sabah*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Al-Mohammad Al-Ahmad Al Jaber Al-Sabah*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah*	A/70/PV.16

Continued on next page

Table I.99: KWT: Kuwait (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah*	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Jaber Al-Mubarak Al-Hamad Al Sabah*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic English	Sabah Khalid Al-Hamad Al-Sabah*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Sabah Khalid Al-Hamad Al-Sabah*	A/76/PV.13

[28] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/44/PV.31. The English version indicates: 'interpretation from Arabic', while the French version is missing. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

LAO: Laos

Table I.100: LAO: Laos

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	French	French	Katay Sasorith	A/PV.602
12	1957	French	French	Phoni Sananikone	A/PV.698
13	1958	French	French	Khamphan Panya	A/PV.763
14	1959	French	French	Khamphan Panya	A/PV.815
15	1960	French	French	Khamking Souvanlasy	A/PV.904
16	1961	French	French	Sisouk Na Champassak	A/PV.1037
17	1962	French	French	Quinim Pholsena	A/PV.1137
18	1963	French	French	Souvanna Phouma*	A/PV.1210
19	1964	French	French	Phoumi Nosavan	A/PV.1294
20	1965	French	French	Souvanna Phouma	A/PV.1362
21	1966	French	French	Souvanna Phouma	A/PV.1447
22	1967	French	French	Souvanna Phouma*	A/PV.1590
23	1968	French	French	Sisouk Na Champassak	A/PV.1698
24	1969	French	French	Phagna Khamphan Panya	A/PV.1760
26	1971	French	French	Souvanna Phouma*	A/PV.1943
27	1972	French	French	Sisouk Na Champassak	A/PV.2063
28	1973	French	French	Sisouk Na Champassak	A/PV.2142
29	1974	French	French	Phoumi Vongvichit	A/PV.2242
30	1975	Lao	French	Soubanh Sipraseuth	A/PV.2368
31	1976	Lao	French	Soubanh Sipraseuth	A/31/PV.17
32	1977	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/32/PV.16
33	1978	Lao	French	Khamphay Boupha	A/33/PV.17
34	1979	French	French	Khamphay Boupha	A/34/PV.18
35	1980	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/35/PV.19
36	1981	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/36/PV.16
37	1982	French	French	Khamphay Boupha	A/37/PV.15
38	1983	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/38/PV.20
39	1984	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/39/PV.17
40	1985	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/40/PV.20
41	1986	French	French	Soubanh Srithirath	A/41/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.100: LAO: Laos (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
42	1987	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/42/PV.21
43	1988	French	French	Soubanh Srithirath	A/43/PV.24
44	1989	French	French	Soubanh Srithirath	A/44/PV.17
45	1990	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/45/PV.18
46	1991	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/46/PV.23
47	1992	Lao	French	Phoun Sipaseuth	A/47/PV.24
48	1993	Lao	French	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/48/PV.25
49	1994	Lao	French	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/49/PV.17
50	1995	Lao	French	Khamphoui Keobou-alapha	A/50/PV.29
51	1996	Lao	French	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/51/PV.16
52	1997	Lao	French	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/52/PV.20
53	1998	Lao	French	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	Lao	French	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	Lao	English	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/55/PV.19
56	2001	Lao	English	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	English	English	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	English	English	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	Lao	English	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	Lao	English	Somsavat Lengsavad	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	English	English	Thongloun Sisoulith	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	English	English	Thongloun Sisoulith	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	English	English	Thongloun Sisoulith	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	Lao	English	Thongloun Sisoulith	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	Lao	English	Choummaly Sayasone*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	Lao	English	Thongloun Sisoulith	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Thongloun Sisoulith	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	Lao	English	Thongloun Sisoulith	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	Lao	English	Thongloun Sisoulith	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	Lao	English	Choummaly Sayasone*	A/70/PV.20
71	2016	Lao	English	Thongloun Sisoulith*	A/71/PV.18
72	2017	English	English	Saleumxay Kommasith	A/72/PV.20

Continued on next page

Table I.100: LAO: Laos (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
73	2018	English	English	Saleumxay Kommasith	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	English	English	Saleumxay Kommasith	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	Lao	English	Thongloun Sisoulith*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Phankham Viphavanh*	A/76/PV.14

LBN: Lebanon

Table I.101: LBN: Lebanon

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Camille Chamoun	A/PV.44
2	1947	French	French	Camille Chamoun	A/PV.87
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Charles Habib Malik	A/PV.145
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Charles Habib Malik	A/PV.228
5	1950	French	French	Philippe Takla	A/PV.288
6	1951	French	French	Charles Helou	A/PV.345
7	1952	French	French	Fouad Ammoun	A/PV.397
8	1953	English	English	Charles Habib Malik	A/PV.447
10	1955	English	English	Victor Khouri	A/PV.531
12	1957	English	English	Charles Habib Malik	A/PV.703
14	1959	French	French	Rashid Karame*	A/PV.811
15	1960	English	English	Saeb Salaam	A/PV.885
16	1961	French	French	Fouad Ammoun	A/PV.1020
17	1962	French	French	Fouad Ammoun	A/PV.1141
20	1965	English	English	Georges Hakim	A/PV.1343
22	1967	English	English	Georges Hakim	A/PV.1582
23	1968	French	French	Fouad Boutros	A/PV.1698
24	1969	French	French	Youssef Salem	A/PV.1761
25	1970	French	French	Nassim Majdalani	A/PV.1844
26	1971	French	French	Khalyl Abouhamad	A/PV.1944
27	1972	French	French	Khalyl Abouhamad	A/PV.2041
28	1973	French	French	Fouad Naffah	A/PV.2127
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Fouad Naffah	A/PV.2246
31	1976	English	English	Edouard Ghorra	A/31/PV.32
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Fouad Boutros	A/32/PV.16
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Ghassan Tueni	A/33/PV.33
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Fouad Boutros	A/34/PV.21
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Fouad Boutros	A/35/PV.20
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Ghassan Tueni	A/36/PV.26
38	1983	English	English	Elie Salem	A/38/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.101: LBN: Lebanon (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Karame*	A/39/PV.22
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Fouad Turk	A/41/PV.20
42	1987	English	English	Amin Gemayel*	A/42/PV.10
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	M. Rachid Fakhoury	A/43/PV.20
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Salim El-Hoss*	A/45/PV.17
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Elias Hraoui*	A/46/PV.6
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Souheil Chammas	A/47/PV.22
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Rafic Hariri*	A/48/PV.10
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Fares Bouez	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Fares Bouez	A/50/PV.18
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Fares Bouez	A/51/PV.16
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Fares Bouez	A/52/PV.16
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Rafic Hariri*	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Salim El-Hoss*	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Salim El-Hoss	A/55/PV.14
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Hammoud	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Hammoud	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Jean Obeid	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Issam Fares	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	English	English	Andree Emile Lahoud*	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	English	English	Andree Emile Lahoud*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	English	English	Andree Emile Lahoud*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Michel Sleiman*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Michel Sleiman*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Michel Sleiman*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Michel Sleiman*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Najib Mikati	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Michel Sleiman*	A/68/PV.6
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Tammam Salam	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Tammam Salam*	A/70/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.101: LBN: Lebanon (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Tammam Salam*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Michel Aoun*	A/72/PV.11
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Michel Aoun*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Michel Aoun*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic English French	Michel Aoun*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Arabic[29]	Arabic English French	Michel Aoun*	A/76/PV.12

[29] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.12. The English version indicates: '[Original: Arabic, English and French]', while the French version indicates: '[Original: arabe]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

LBR: Liberia

Table I.102: LBR: Liberia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Abayomi Cassell	A/PV.38
2	1947	English	English	Gabriel Dennis	A/PV.87
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Henry Ford Cooper	A/PV.144
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Charles D.B. King	A/PV.229
5	1950	English	English	Charles D.B. King	A/PV.287
6	1951	English	English	Henry Ford Cooper	A/PV.347
7	1952	English	English	Gabriel Dennis	A/PV.382
8	1953	English	English	Henry Ford Cooper	A/PV.438
9	1954	English	English	J. Dudley Lawrence	A/PV.490
10	1955	English	English	J. Dudley Lawrence	A/PV.527
11	1956	English	English	Henry Ford Cooper	A/PV.590
12	1957	English	English	Henry Ford Cooper	A/PV.685
13	1958	English	English	Momolu Dukuly	A/PV.760
14	1959	English	English	Henry Ford Cooper	A/PV.815
15	1960	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.878
16	1961	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1017
17	1962	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1132
18	1963	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1217
19	1964	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1300
20	1965	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1353
21	1966	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1435
22	1967	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1587
23	1968	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1698
24	1969	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1764
25	1970	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1856
26	1971	English	English	J. Rudolph Grimes	A/PV.1956
27	1972	English	English	Rocheforte L. Weeks	A/PV.2051
28	1973	English	English	Charles Cecil Dennis	A/PV.2137
29	1974	English	English	Charles Cecil Dennis	A/PV.2251
30	1975	English	English	Charles Cecil Dennis	A/PV.2358

Continued on next page

Table I.102: LBR: Liberia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	English	English	William R. Tolbert*	A/31/PV.9
32	1977	English	English	Charles Cecil Dennis	A/32/PV.29
33	1978	English	English	Charles Cecil Dennis	A/33/PV.13
34	1979	English	English	William R. Tolbert*	A/34/PV.10
35	1980	English	English	Gabriel Baccus Matthews	A/35/PV.13
36	1981	English	English	Gabriel Baccus Matthews	A/36/PV.16
37	1982	English	English	H. Boima Fahnbulleh	A/37/PV.14
38	1983	English	English	Samuel Kanyon Doe*	A/38/PV.6
39	1984	English	English	Ernest Eastman	A/39/PV.19
40	1985	English	English	Sylvester Jarrett	A/40/PV.26
41	1986	English	English	J.Bernard Blamo	A/41/PV.21
42	1987	English	English	J. Rudolph Johnson	A/42/PV.21
43	1988	English	English	J. Rudolph Johnson	A/43/PV.22
44	1989	English	English	J. Rudolph Johnson	A/44/PV.28
45	1990	English	English	William Bull	A/45/PV.27
46	1991	English	English	Amos Sawyer*	A/46/PV.20
47	1992	English	English	Gabriel Baccus Matthews	A/47/PV.23
48	1993	English	English	Gabriel Baccus Matthews	A/48/PV.29
49	1994	English	English	David Kpomakpor*	A/49/PV.22
50	1995	English	English	Momolu Sackor Sirleaf	A/50/PV.25
51	1996	English	English	Ruth Sando Perry*	A/51/PV.28
52	1997	English	English	Monie Captan	A/52/PV.21
53	1998	English	English	Monie Captan	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	English	English	Monie Captan	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	English	English	Monie Captan	A/55/PV.25
56	2001	English	English	Monie Captan	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	English	English	Monie Captan	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	English	English	Lewis G. Brown	A/58/PV.22

Continued on next page

Table I.102: LBR: Liberia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
59	2004	English	English	Charles Gyude Bryant*	A/59/PV.6
61	2006	English	English	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	English	English	Joseph Nyumah Boakai	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	English	English	Joseph Nyumah Boakai	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Joseph Nyumah Boakai	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	English	English	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf*	A/68/PV.6
69	2014	English	English	Augustine Kpehe Ngafuan	A/69/PV.18
70	2015	English	English	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	English	English	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf*	A/71/PV.15
72	2017	English	English	Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf*	A/72/PV.4
73	2018	English	English	George Manneh Weah*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	George Manneh Weah*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	English	English	George Manneh Weah*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	George Manneh Weah*	A/76/PV.10

LBY: Libya

Table I.103: LBY: Libya

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	French	French	Mohieddine Fekini	A/PV.602
12	1957	English	English	Sulaiman Gerbi	A/PV.698
13	1958	French	French	Mohieddine Fekini	A/PV.766
14	1959	French	French	Mohieddine Fekini	A/PV.816
15	1960	French	French	Mohieddine Fekini	A/PV.878
16	1961	French	French	Mohieddine Fekini	A/PV.1024
17	1962	French	French	Mohieddine Fekini	A/PV.1140
18	1963	French	French	Mohieddine Fekini	A/PV.1211
19	1964	English	English	Hussein Mazigh	A/PV.1296
20	1965	French	French	Wahbi El Bouri	A/PV.1355
21	1966	Arabic	English	Ahmed Bishti	A/PV.1437
22	1967	Arabic	English	Ahmed Bishti	A/PV.1585
23	1968	Arabic	English	Shamsuddin Orabi	A/PV.1678
24	1969	Arabic	English	Wahbi El Bouri	A/PV.1782
25	1970	English	English	Mansur Rashid Kikhia	A/PV.1856
26	1971	English	English	Mahmood Maghribi	A/PV.1960
27	1972	Arabic English	English	Mansur Rashid Kikhia	A/PV.2059
28	1973	Arabic	English	Kamel Hassan Maghur	A/PV.2149
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Kamel Hassan Maghur	A/PV.2263
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Mansur Rashid Kikhia	A/PV.2375
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Mansur Rashid Kikhia	A/31/PV.32
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Abdussalam Treki	A/32/PV.31
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Abdussalam Treki	A/33/PV.28
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Abdussalam Treki	A/34/PV.26
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Sunni Muntasser	A/35/PV.25
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulati Al-Obeidi	A/36/PV.29
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulati Al-Obeidi	A/37/PV.19
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulati Al-Obeidi	A/38/PV.22
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Abdussalam Treki	A/39/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.103: LBY: Libya (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Abdussalam Treki	A/40/PV.20
41	1986	Arabic French	Arabic	Kamel Hassan Maghur	A/41/PV.28
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Abdussalam Treki	A/42/PV.12
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Jadallah Azzuz Talhi	A/43/PV.16
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Jadallah Azzuz Talhi	A/44/PV.15
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Jadallah Azzuz Talhi	A/45/PV.19
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Ibrahim Mohamed El-Bishari	A/46/PV.19
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Ibrahim Mohamed El-Bishari	A/47/PV.25
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Omar Muntasser	A/48/PV.20
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Omar Muntasser	A/49/PV.23
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Omar Muntasser	A/50/PV.17
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Omar Muntasser	A/51/PV.17
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Abuzed Dorda	A/52/PV.17
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Abuzed Dorda	A/53/PV.19
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Abuzed Dorda	A/54/PV.19
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Abdurahman Shalghem	A/55/PV.14
56	2001	Arabic[30]	Arabic	Abdurahman Shalghem	A/56/PV.49
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Abdurahman Shalghem	A/59/PV.16
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Abdurahman Shalghem	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Abdurahman Shalghem	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Abdurahman Shalghem	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Giadalla A. Ettalhi	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Muammar Al-Qadhafi*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Musa M. Abdussalam Kousa	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Jibreel*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic English	Mohamed Yousef El-Magariaf*	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Zeidan*	A/68/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.103: LBY: Libya (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Agila Saleh Essa Gwaider*	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Agila Saleh Essa Gwaider*	A/70/PV.20
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Faiez Mustafa Serraj*	A/71/PV.15
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Faiez Mustafa Serraj*	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Siala	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Faiez Mustafa Serraj*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic	Faiez Mustafa Serraj*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Younis Menfi*	A/76/PV.11

[30] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/56/PV.49. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'parle en arabe'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

LCA: Saint Lucia

Table I.104: LCA: Saint Lucia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
35	1980	English	English	George Odlum	A/35/PV.19
36	1981	English	English	Peter Josie	A/36/PV.32
37	1982	English	English	John G. M. Compton*	A/37/PV.31
39	1984	English	English	John G. M. Compton*	A/39/PV.28
42	1987	English	English	Emmanuel Neville Cenac	A/42/PV.29
43	1988	English	English	Emmanuel Neville Cenac	A/43/PV.28
44	1989	English	English	Emmanuel Neville Cenac	A/44/PV.27
45	1990	English	English	Emmanuel Neville Cenac	A/45/PV.27
46	1991	English	English	Emmanuel Neville Cenac	A/46/PV.27
48	1993	English	English	William George Mallet	A/48/PV.25
49	1994	English	English	William George Mallet	A/49/PV.28
50	1995	English	English	William George Mallet	A/50/PV.27
51	1996	English	English	Vaughan A. Lewis*	A/51/PV.22
52	1997	English	English	Kenny Davis Anthony*	A/52/PV.23
53	1998	English	English	George Odlum	A/53/PV.21
54	1999	English	English	George Odlum	A/54/PV.19
55	2000	English	English	George Odlum	A/55/PV.17
56	2001	English	English	Earl Huntley	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Julian R. Hunte	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	English	English	Kenny Davis Anthony*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	English	English	Julian R. Hunte	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	English	English	Julian R. Hunte	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	English	English	Petrus Compton	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	English	English	Stephenson King*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	English	English	Stephenson King*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Rufus Bousquet	A/64/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.104: LCA: Saint Lucia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
65	2010	English	English	Stephenson King*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Donatus Keith St. Aimee	A/66/PV.30
67	2012	English	English	Kenny Davis Anthony	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Alva Romanus Baptiste	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	English	English	Alva Romanus Baptiste	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English	English	Alva Romanus Baptiste	A/70/PV.26
71	2016	English	English	Allen Michael Chastanet*	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English[31]	English	Allen Michael Chastanet*	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	English	English	Allen Michael Chastanet*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Allen Michael Chastanet*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	Allen Michael Chastanet*	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	English	English	Philip Joseph Pierre*	A/76/PV.14

[31] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/72/PV.16. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

LIE: Liechtenstein

Table I.105: LIE: Liechtenstein

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	English	English	Hans Brunhart*	A/45/PV.20
46	1991	English	English	Hans-Adam II*	A/46/PV.10
47	1992	English	English	Hans Brunhart*	A/47/PV.9
48	1993	English	English	Hans-Adam II*	A/48/PV.16
49	1994	English	English	Andrea Willi	A/49/PV.13
50	1995	English	English	Andrea Willi	A/50/PV.22
51	1996	English	English	Andrea Willi	A/51/PV.11
52	1997	English	English	Andrea Willi	A/52/PV.17
53	1998	English	English	Andrea Willi	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	English	English	Andrea Willi	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	English	English	Andrea Willi	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	English	English	Ernst Walch	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	English	English	Ernst Walch	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	English	English	Ernst Walch	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	English	English	Ernst Walch	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	English	English	Rita Kieber-Beck	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	English	English	Rita Kieber-Beck	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	English	English	Rita Kieber-Beck	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	English	English	Rita Kieber-Beck	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/66/PV.27
67	2012	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	English	English	Aurelia Frick	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	English	English	Alois Von Und Zu Liechtenstein*	A/74/PV.4

Continued on next page

Table I.105: LIE: Liechtenstein (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
75	2020	English	English	Katrin Eggenberger	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	English	English	Dominique Hasler	A/76/PV.15

LKA: Sri Lanka

Table I.106: LKA: Sri Lanka

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	English	English	Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike*	A/PV.590
12	1957	English	English	Senerat Gunewardene	A/PV.698
13	1958	English	English	Claude Corea	A/PV.764
14	1959	English	English	Claude Corea	A/PV.821
15	1960	English	English	Claude Corea	A/PV.901
16	1961	English	English	Felix Dias Bandaranaike	A/PV.1017
17	1962	English	English	Gunapala Piyasena Malalasekera	A/PV.1135
19	1964	English	English	Senerat Gunewardene	A/PV.1308
20	1965	English	English	G.G. Ponnambalam	A/PV.1345
21	1966	English	English	G.G. Ponnambalam	A/PV.1446
22	1967	English	English	Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe	A/PV.1588
23	1968	English	English	Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe	A/PV.1698
24	1969	English	English	Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe	A/PV.1783
25	1970	English	English	Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe	A/PV.1859
26	1971	English	English	Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike*	A/PV.1962
27	1972	English	English	Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe	A/PV.2061
28	1973	English	English	Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe	A/PV.2145
29	1974	English	English	Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe	A/PV.2263
30	1975	English	English	Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe	A/PV.2380

Continued on next page

Table I.106: LKA: Sri Lanka (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	English	English	Sirimavo Ratwatte Dias Bandaranaike*	A/31/PV.11
32	1977	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/32/PV.12
33	1978	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/33/PV.22
34	1979	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/34/PV.6
35	1980	English Sinhala	English	Ranasinghe Premadasa*	A/35/PV.14
36	1981	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/36/PV.10
37	1982	English	English	Ignatius Benedict Fonseka	A/37/PV.31
38	1983	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/38/PV.6
39	1984	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/39/PV.5
40	1985	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/40/PV.5
41	1986	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/41/PV.12
42	1987	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/42/PV.9
43	1988	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/43/PV.16
44	1989	English Sinhala	English	Ranjan Wijeratne	A/44/PV.15
45	1990	English	English	Harold Herat	A/45/PV.17
46	1991	English	English	Stanley Kalpage	A/46/PV.5
47	1992	English	English	Stanley Kalpage	A/47/PV.27
48	1993	English	English	A.C. Shahul Hameed	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	English	English	Lakshman Kadirgamar	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	English	English	Lakshman Kadirgamar	A/50/PV.14
51	1996	English	English	Lakshman Kadirgamar	A/51/PV.11
52	1997	English	English	Lakshman Kadirgamar	A/52/PV.23
53	1998	English	English	Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga*	A/53/PV.7
54	1999	English	English	Lakshman Kadirgamar	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	English	English	Lakshman Kadirgamar	A/55/PV.21
56	2001	English	English	Lakshman Kadirgamar	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	English	English	Ranil Wickremesinghe*	A/57/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.106: LKA: Sri Lanka (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
58	2003	English	English	Ranil Wickremesinghe*	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	English	English	Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga*	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	English	English	Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English	English	Mahinda Rajapaksa*	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	Sinhala	English	Mahinda Rajapaksa*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	Sinhala Tamil	English	Mahinda Rajapaksa*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	Sinhala	English	Ratnasiri Wickramanayake*	A/64/PV.10
65	2010	English	English	Mahinda Rajapaksa*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	English	English	Mahinda Rajapaksa*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	English	English	Gamini Lakshman Peiris	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	English	English	Mahinda Rajapaksa*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	English	English	Mahinda Rajapaksa*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	Sinhala	English	Maithripala Sirisena*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	Sinhala	English	Maithripala Sirisena*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	Sinhala	English	Maithripala Sirisena*	A/72/PV.6
73	2018	Sinhala	English	Maithripala Sirisena*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	English	English	Ravinatha Aryasinha	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	English	English	Gotabaya Rajapaksa*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	English	English	Gotabaya Rajapaksa*	A/76/PV.6

LSO: Lesotho

Table I.107: LSO: Lesotho

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
22	1967	English	English	Leabua Jonathan*	A/PV.1565
23	1968	English	English	A.S. Mohale	A/PV.1684
24	1969	English	English	Mothusi Thamsanga Mashologu	A/PV.1774
28	1973	English	English	Peete Peete	A/PV.2137
29	1974	English	English	Joseph Riffat Larry Kotsokoane	A/PV.2263
30	1975	English	English	Joseph Riffat Larry Kotsokoane	A/PV.2366
31	1976	English	English	Charles Dupe Molapo	A/31/PV.29
32	1977	English	English	Charles Dupe Molapo	A/32/PV.32
33	1978	English	English	Charles Dupe Molapo	A/33/PV.28
34	1979	English	English	Charles Dupe Molapo	A/34/PV.26
35	1980	English	English	Charles Dupe Molapo	A/35/PV.11
37	1982	English	English	Charles Dupe Molapo	A/37/PV.22
38	1983	English	English	Mooki V. Molapo	A/38/PV.24
39	1984	English	English	Vincent Monsi Makhele	A/39/PV.27
41	1986	English	English	Justin Metsing Lekhanya*	A/41/PV.22
42	1987	English	English	Moshoeshoe II*	A/42/PV.33
43	1988	English	English	Jerry M. Letsie	A/43/PV.23
44	1989	English	English	Moshoeshoe II*	A/44/PV.26
45	1990	English	English	Justin Metsing Lekhanya*	A/45/PV.26
46	1991	English	English	Elias Phisoana Ramaema*	A/46/PV.28
47	1992	English	English	Elias Phisoana Ramaema*	A/47/PV.22
48	1993	English	English	Molapo Qhobela	A/48/PV.22
49	1994	English	English	Ntsu Mokhehle*	A/49/PV.27
50	1995	English	English	Kelebone Maope	A/50/PV.26
51	1996	English	English	Percy Mangoaela	A/51/PV.27

Continued on next page

Table I.107: LSO: Lesotho (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
52	1997	English	English	Kelebone Maope	A/52/PV.17
53	1998	English	English	Thomas Motsoahae Thabane	A/53/PV.23
54	1999	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	English	English	Thomas Motsoahae Thabane	A/55/PV.24
56	2001	English	English	Thomas Motsoahae Thabane	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	English	English	Lesao Lehohla	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	English	English	Mohlabi Tsekoa	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English	English	Thomas Motsoahae Thabane*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	English	English	Thomas Motsoahae Thabane*	A/68/PV.13
69	2014	English	English	Mohlabi Tsekoa	A/69/PV.19
70	2015	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Pakalitha Bethuel Mosisili*	A/71/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.107: LSO: Lesotho (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
72	2017	English	English	Thomas Motsoahae Thabane*	A/72/PV.17
73	2018	English	English	Thomas Motsoahae Thabane*	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Thomas Motsoahae Thabane*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Moeketsi Majoro*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Moeketsi Majoro*	A/76/PV.11

LTU: Lithuania

Table I.108: LTU: Lithuania

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	English	English	Anicetas Simutis	A/46/PV.28
47	1992	Lithuanian	English	Vytautas Landsbergis*	A/47/PV.15
48	1993	Lithuanian	English	Algirdas Brazauskas*	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	Lithuanian	English	Algirdas Brazauskas*	A/49/PV.12
50	1995	English	English	Povilas Gylys	A/50/PV.7
51	1996	English	English	Povilas Gylys	A/51/PV.24
52	1997	English	English	Algirdas Saudargas	A/52/PV.10
53	1998	English	English	Valdas Adamkus*	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	English	English	Algirdas Saudargas	A/54/PV.17
55	2000	English	English	Oskaras Jusys	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	English	English	Gerdiminas Serksnys	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	English	English	Valdas Adamkus*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	English	English	Antanas Valionis	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Valdas Adamkus*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	English	English	Oskaras Jusys	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	English	English	Valdas Adamkus*	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	English	English	Valdas Adamkus*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	English	English	Valdas Adamkus*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/72/PV.4
73	2018	English	English	Dalia Grybauskaite*	A/73/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.108: LTU: Lithuania (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
74	2019	English	English	Gitanas Nauseda*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Gitanas Nauseda*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	English	English	Gitanas Nauseda*	A/76/PV.3

LUX: Luxembourg

Table I.109: LUX: Luxembourg

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Joseph Bech	A/PV.45
15	1960	French	French	Eugene Schaus	A/PV.880
22	1967	French	French	Pierre Gregoire	A/PV.1568
23	1968	French	French	Pierre Gregoire	A/PV.1688
24	1969	French	French	Gaston Thorn	A/PV.1769
26	1971	French	French	Gaston Thorn	A/PV.1955
27	1972	French	French	Gaston Thorn	A/PV.2055
28	1973	French	French	Gaston Thorn	A/PV.2139
29	1974	French	French	Gaston Thorn*	A/PV.2253
32	1977	French	French	Gaston Thorn*	A/32/PV.16
33	1978	French	French	Gaston Thorn*	A/33/PV.9
34	1979	French	French	Gaston Thorn	A/34/PV.24
35	1980	French	French	Gaston Thorn	A/35/PV.6
36	1981	French	French	Colette Flesch	A/36/PV.10
37	1982	French	French	Colette Flesch	A/37/PV.9
38	1983	French	French	Colette Flesch	A/38/PV.10
39	1984	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/39/PV.11
40	1985	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/40/PV.6
41	1986	French English	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/41/PV.21
42	1987	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/42/PV.13
43	1988	French	French	Robert Goebbels	A/43/PV.11
44	1989	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/44/PV.13
45	1990	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/46/PV.9
47	1992	French	French	Jacques F. Poos*	A/47/PV.13
48	1993	English[32]	English	Jacques F. Poos	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/49/PV.11
50	1995	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/50/PV.11
51	1996	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/51/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.109: LUX: Luxembourg (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
52	1997	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/52/PV.7
53	1998	French	French	Jacques F. Poos	A/53/PV.15
54	1999	French	French	Lydie Polfer	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	French	French	Hubert Wurth	A/55/PV.19
56	2001	French	French	Lydie Polfer	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	French	French	Lydie Polfer	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	French	French	Jean-Marc Hoscheit	A/58/PV.20
59	2004	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	French	French	Jean Asselborn*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/66/PV.24
67	2012	French	French	Henri of Nassau*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	French	French	Xavier Bettel*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	French	French	Xavier Bettel*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	French	French	Jean Asselborn	A/72/PV.14
73	2018	French	French	Xavier Bettel*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	French English	French	Xavier Bettel*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	French	French	Xavier Bettel*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	French	French	Xavier Bettel*	A/76/PV.13

[32] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/48/PV.9. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

LVA: Latvia

Table I.110: LVA: Latvia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	English	English	Ojars Kalnins	A/46/PV.29
47	1992	Latvian	English	Anatolijs Gorbunovs*	A/47/PV.12
48	1993	Latvian	English	Guntis Ulmanis*	A/48/PV.8
49	1994	Latvian	English	Guntis Ulmanis*	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	English	English	Valdis Birkavs	A/50/PV.21
51	1996	English	English	Andris Skele*	A/51/PV.6
52	1997	English	English	Valdis Birkavs	A/52/PV.7
53	1998	Latvian	English	Guntis Ulmanis*	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	English French	English	Vaira Vike-Freiberga*	A/54/PV.8
55	2000	English	English	Indulis Berzins	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	English	English	Gints Jegermanis	A/56/PV.57
57	2002	English	English	Vaira Vike-Freiberga*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	English	English	Vaira Vike-Freiberga*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	English	English	Vaira Vike-Freiberga*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	English	English	Artis Pabriks	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	English French	English	Vaira Vike-Freiberga*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	English	English	Valdis Zatlers*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	English	English	Valdis Zatlers*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	English	English	Valdis Zatlers*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Valdis Zatlers*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Andris Berzins*	A/66/PV.12
67	2012	English	English	Andris Berzins*	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	English	English	Andris Berzins*	A/68/PV.6
69	2014	English	English	Andris Berzins*	A/69/PV.10
70	2015	English	English	Raimonds Vejonis*	A/70/PV.20
71	2016	English	English	Raimonds Vejonis*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	English	English	Raimonds Vejonis*	A/72/PV.9
73	2018	English	English	Edgars Rinkevics	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	English	English	Egils Levits*	A/74/PV.4

Continued on next page

Table I.110: LVA: Latvia (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
75	2020	English	English	Egils Levits*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	English	English	Egils Levits*	A/76/PV.4

MAR: Morocco

Table I.111: MAR: Morocco

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	French	French	Ahmed Balafrej	A/PV.590
12	1957	French	French	Ahmed Balafrej	A/PV.694
13	1958	French	French	Abdellatif Filali	A/PV.772
14	1959	French	French	Ahmed Taibi Benhima	A/PV.823
15	1960	French	French	Moulay Hassan	A/PV.886
16	1961	French	French	Abdelkader Benjelloun	A/PV.1032
17	1962	French	French	Ahmed Balafrej	A/PV.1140
18	1963	French	French	Ahmed Balafrej	A/PV.1224
19	1964	French	French	Ahmed Taibi Benhima	A/PV.1318
20	1965	French	French	Ahmed Taibi Benhima	A/PV.1351
21	1966	Arabic	French	Mohamed Cherkaoui	A/PV.1441
22	1967	French	French	Ahmed Laraki	A/PV.1585
23	1968	French	French	Ahmed Laraki	A/PV.1683
24	1969	French	French	Ahmed Laraki*	A/PV.1779
25	1970	French	French	Abdelhadi Boutaleb	A/PV.1858
26	1971	French	French	Abdellatif Filali	A/PV.1945
27	1972	French	French	Ahmed Taibi Benhima	A/PV.2056
28	1973	French	French	Ahmed Taibi Benhima	A/PV.2138
29	1974	French	French	Ahmed Laraki	A/PV.2249
30	1975	French	French	Ahmed Laraki	A/PV.2377
31	1976	French	French	Ahmed Laraki	A/31/PV.21
32	1977	French	French	Abdel Hakim Iraqui	A/32/PV.22
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	M'Hamed Boucetta	A/33/PV.20
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	M'Hamed Boucetta	A/34/PV.20
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	M'Hamed Boucetta	A/35/PV.23
36	1981	Arabic[33]	Arabic	M'Hamed Boucetta	A/36/PV.21
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	M'Hamed Boucetta	A/37/PV.17
38	1983	Arabic French	Arabic	Hassan II*	A/38/PV.8
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelouahed Belkziz	A/39/PV.21
40	1985	French	French	Abdellatif Filali	A/40/PV.21

Continued on next page

Table I.111: MAR: Morocco (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
41	1986	French	French	Abdellatif Filali	A/41/PV.11
42	1987	French	French	Abdellatif Filali	A/42/PV.21
43	1988	French	French	Abdellatif Filali	A/43/PV.21
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali	A/44/PV.22
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali	A/45/PV.21
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali	A/46/PV.20
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali	A/47/PV.4
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali	A/48/PV.4
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali*	A/49/PV.10
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali*	A/50/PV.13
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali*	A/51/PV.5
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali*	A/52/PV.12
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Abdellatif Filali	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Benaissa	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Benaissa	A/55/PV.12
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Benamar	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Benaissa	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Vi*	A/58/PV.7
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Vi*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Benaissa	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Benaissa	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Benaissa	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Abbas El Fassi*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Taib Fassi Fihri	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Abbas El Fassi*	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Taib Fassi Fihri	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Moulay Rachid*	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Saad-Eddine El Othmani	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelilah Benkirane*	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Moulay Rachid	A/70/PV.21
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Salaheddine Mezouar	A/71/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.111: MAR: Morocco (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Bourita	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Saad-Eddine El Othmani*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Saad-Eddine El Othmani*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic	Saad-Eddine El Othmani*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Bourita	A/76/PV.17

[33] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/36/PV.21. The English version indicates: 'interpretation from Arabic', while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

MCO: Monaco

Table I.112: MCO: Monaco

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	French	French	Albert*	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	French	French	Albert*	A/49/PV.13
50	1995	French	French	Jacques Louis Boisson	A/50/PV.18
51	1996	French	French	Albert*	A/51/PV.16
52	1997	French	French	Albert*	A/52/PV.14
53	1998	French	French	Albert*	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	French	French	Albert*	A/54/PV.10
55	2000	French	French	Patrick Leclercq	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	French	French	Albert*	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	French	French	Albert*	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	French	French	Patrick Leclercq*	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	French	French	Albert*	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	French	French	Jean-Paul Proust	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	French	French	Gilles Noghes	A/61/PV.23
62	2007	French	French	Albert II*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	French	French	Franck Biancheri	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	French	French	Albert II*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	French	French	Isabelle F. Picco	A/65/PV.24
66	2011	French	French	Jose Badia	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	French	French	Jose Badia	A/67/PV.17
68	2013	French English	French	Albert II*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	French	French	Jose Badia	A/69/PV.18
70	2015	French	French	Gilles Tonelli	A/70/PV.21
71	2016	French	French	Serge Telle*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	French	French	Albert II*	A/72/PV.5
73	2018	French	French	Gilles Tonelli	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	French	French	Albert II*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	French	French	Albert II*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	French	French	Albert II*	A/76/PV.11

MDA: Moldova

Table I.113: MDA: Moldova

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	French	French	Nicolae Anton Tau	A/47/PV.21
48	1993	English	English	Nicolae Anton Tau	A/48/PV.22
49	1994	Moldovan	English	Mircea Ion Snegur*	A/49/PV.10
50	1995	French	French	Mihai Popov	A/50/PV.24
51	1996	French	French	Mihai Popov	A/51/PV.7
52	1997	French	French	Nicolae Tabacaru	A/52/PV.15
53	1998	Moldovan	French	Petru Lucinschi*	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	English	English	Nicolae Tabacaru	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	English	English	Nicolae Tabacaru	A/55/PV.22
56	2001	Russian	Russian	Nicolae Dudau	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	English	English	Ion Botnaru	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	Romanian	English	Vladimir Voronin*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	English	English	Andrei Stratan	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	English	English	Vsevolod Grigore	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	English	English	Andrei Stratan	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	English	English	Andrei Stratan	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	English	English	Andrei Stratan	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	English	English	Alexandru Cujba	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Alexandru Cujba	A/65/PV.24
66	2011	English	English	Alexandru Cujba	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	Moldovan	English	Nicolae Timofti*	A/67/PV.10
68	2013	English French	English	Iurie Leanca	A/68/PV.13
69	2014	English	English	Natalia Gherman	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	English	English	Valeriu Strelet*	A/70/PV.21
71	2016	Romanian	English	Pavel Filip*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	Romanian	English	Pavel Filip*	A/72/PV.15
73	2018	Moldovan	English	Pavel Filip*	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	Moldovan	English	Igor Dodon*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	Moldovan	English	Igor Dodon*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	Maia Sandu*	A/76/PV.6

MDG: Madagascar

Table I.114: MDG: Madagascar

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
16	1961	French	French	Louis Rakotomalala	A/PV.1032
17	1962	French	French	Louis Rakotomalala	A/PV.1150
18	1963	French	French	Albert Sylla	A/PV.1236
19	1964	French	French	Louis Rakotomalala	A/PV.1309
20	1965	French	French	Albert Sylla	A/PV.1361
21	1966	French	French	Louis Rakotomalala	A/PV.1445
22	1967	French	French	Louis Rakotomalala	A/PV.1589
23	1968	French	French	Jacques Rabemananjara	A/PV.1703
24	1969	French	French	Jacques Rabemananjara	A/PV.1774
25	1970	French	French	Jacques Rabetafika	A/PV.1851
26	1971	French	French	Jacques Rabemananjara	A/PV.1964
27	1972	French	French	Didier Ratsiraka	A/PV.2055
28	1973	French	French	Didier Ratsiraka	A/PV.2139
30	1975	French	French	Remi Tiandraza	A/PV.2366
31	1976	French	French	Bruno Rakotomavo	A/31/PV.27
32	1977	French	French	Christian Remi Richard	A/32/PV.17
33	1978	French	French	Christian Remi Richard	A/33/PV.19
34	1979	French	French	Blaise Rabetafika	A/34/PV.14
35	1980	French	French	Blaise Rabetafika	A/35/PV.11
36	1981	French	French	Christian Remi Richard	A/36/PV.18
37	1982	French	French	Blaise Rabetafika	A/37/PV.24
38	1983	French	French	Blaise Rabetafika	A/38/PV.23
39	1984	French	French	Jean Bemananjara	A/39/PV.24
40	1985	French	French	Blaise Rabetafika	A/40/PV.12
42	1987	French	French	Jean Bemananjara	A/42/PV.27
43	1988	French	French	Jean Bemananjara	A/43/PV.18
44	1989	French	French	Jean Bemananjara	A/44/PV.30
45	1990	French	French	Jean Bemananjara	A/45/PV.22

Continued on next page

Table I.114: MDG: Madagascar (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	French	French	Cesaire Rabenoro	A/46/PV.22
47	1992	French	French	Cesaire Rabenoro	A/47/PV.21
49	1994	French	French	Jacques Sylla	A/49/PV.21
50	1995	French	French	Jacques Sylla	A/50/PV.28
51	1996	French	French	Evariste Marson	A/51/PV.29
52	1997	French English	French	Hirizo Razafimaheleo	A/52/PV.24
53	1998	French	French	Lila Hanitra Ratsi-fandrihamanana	A/53/PV.25
54	1999	French	French	Lila Hanitra Ratsi-fandrihamanana	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	French	French	Lila Hanitra Ratsi-fandrihamanana	A/55/PV.21
56	2001	French	French	Lila Hanitra Ratsi-fandrihamanana	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	French	French	Marc Ravalomanana*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	French	French	Marc Ravalomanana*	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	French	French	Marc Ravalomanana*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	French	French	Marc Ravalomanana*	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	French	French	Marc Ravalomanana*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	English	English	Marc Ravalomanana*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	French	French	Marc Ravalomanana*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	French	French	Andry Nirina Rajoelina	A/64/PV.8
66	2011	French	French	Andry Nirina Ra-joelina*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	French	French	Andry Nirina Ra-joelina*	A/67/PV.10
68	2013	French	French	Andry Nirina Ra-joelina*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	French	French	Hery Martial Ra-jaonarimampianina Rakotoarimanana*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	French	French	Hery Martial Ra-jaonarimampianina Rakotoarimanana*	A/70/PV.22

Continued on next page

Table I.114: MDG: Madagascar (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
71	2016	French	French	Hery Martial Rajaonarimampianina Rakotoarimanana*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	French	French	Hery Martial Rajaonarimampianina Rakotoarimanana*	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	French	French	Rivo Rakotovao*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	French	French	Christian Ntsay*	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	French	French	Christian Ntsay*	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	French	French	Andry Nirina Rajoelina*	A/76/PV.6

MDV: Maldives

Table I.115: MDV: Maldives

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
21	1966	English	English	Ahamed Hilmy Didi	A/PV.1445
23	1968	English	English	Abdul Sattar	A/PV.1701
24	1969	English	English	Abdul Sattar	A/PV.1780
31	1976	English	English	Maumoon Abdul Gayoom	A/31/PV.26
32	1977	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/32/PV.28
33	1978	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/33/PV.31
34	1979	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/34/PV.30
35	1980	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/35/PV.23
36	1981	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/36/PV.26
37	1982	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/37/PV.26
38	1983	English	English	Ahmed Zaki	A/38/PV.32
39	1984	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/39/PV.25
41	1986	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/41/PV.27
42	1987	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/42/PV.27
43	1988	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/43/PV.21
44	1989	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/44/PV.5
45	1990	English	English	Maumoon Abdul Gayoom*	A/45/PV.10
46	1991	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/46/PV.24
47	1992	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/47/PV.19
48	1993	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/48/PV.15
49	1994	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/49/PV.24
50	1995	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/50/PV.25
51	1996	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/51/PV.27
52	1997	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/52/PV.24
53	1998	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/53/PV.24
54	1999	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	English	English	Hussain Shihab	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/57/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.115: MDV: Maldives (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
58	2003	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	English	English	Fathulla Jameel	A/59/PV.17
60	2005	English	English	Ahmed Shaheed	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	Dhivehi	English	Maumoon Abdul Gayoom*	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	English	English	Abdulla Shahid	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	English	English	Ahmed Khaleel	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Mohamed Nasheed*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Mohamed Waheed	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Mohamed Waheed	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Mohamed Waheed*	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	English	English	Mariyam Shakeela	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	English	English	Mohamed Waheed	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English	English	Dunya Maumoon	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	English	English	Mohamed Asim	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	English	English	Mohamed Asim	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	English	English	Ali Naseer Mohamed	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	English	English	Ibrahim Mohamed Solih*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	English	English	Abdulla Shahid	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	Dhivehi	English	Ibrahim Mohamed Solih*	A/76/PV.3

MEX: Mexico

Table I.116: MEX: Mexico

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Castillo Najera	A/PV.35
2	1947	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime Torres Bodet	A/PV.82
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Luis Padilla Nervo	A/PV.147
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Luis Padilla Nervo	A/PV.229
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Padilla Nervo	A/PV.447
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Padilla Nervo	A/PV.699
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Padilla Nervo	A/PV.771
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Adolfo Lopez Mateos*	A/PV.828
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Padilla Nervo	A/PV.1153
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Padilla Nervo	A/PV.1239
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Garcia Robles	A/PV.1310
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Carrillo Flores	A/PV.1346
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Carrillo Flores	A/PV.1418
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Garcia Robles	A/PV.1587
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Carrillo Flores	A/PV.1681
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Carrillo Flores	A/PV.1763
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Carrillo Flores	A/PV.1850
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Echeverria Alvarez*	A/PV.1952
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio O. Rabasa	A/PV.2050
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Emilio O. Rabasa	A/PV.2139
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Garcia Robles	A/PV.2261
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Echeverria Alvarez*	A/PV.2377
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Alfonso Garcia Robles	A/31/PV.16
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Santiago Roel	A/32/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.116: MEX: Mexico (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Santiago Roel	A/33/PV.9
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Lopez Portillo*	A/34/PV.11
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Castaneda	A/35/PV.13
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Castaneda	A/36/PV.7
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Lopez Portillo*	A/37/PV.13
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Bernardo Sepulveda Amor	A/38/PV.13
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Bernardo Sepulveda Amor	A/39/PV.5
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Bernardo Sepulveda Amor	A/40/PV.8
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel de la Madrid Hurtado*	A/41/PV.8
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Bernardo Sepulveda Amor	A/42/PV.7
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Bernardo Sepulveda Amor	A/43/PV.11
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Solana Morales	A/44/PV.11
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Salinas de Gortari*	A/45/PV.14
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Solana Morales	A/46/PV.5
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Solana Morales	A/47/PV.9
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Solana Morales	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Salinas de Gortari*	A/49/PV.4
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Angel Gurria Trevino	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Angel Gurria Trevino	A/51/PV.13
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Angel Gurria Trevino	A/52/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.116: MEX: Mexico (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Rosario Green	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Rosario Green	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Rosario Green	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Vicente Fox*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Castaneda Gutman	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Vicente Fox*	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Ernesto Derbez	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Berruga	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Vicente Fox*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Claude Heller	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Calderon Hinojosa*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Patricia Espinosa Cantellano	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Claude Heller	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Calderon Hinojosa*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Felipe Calderon Hinojosa*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Meade Kuribrena	A/68/PV.14
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Pena Nieto*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Pena Nieto	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Pena Nieto*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Videgaray Caso	A/72/PV.12
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Pena Nieto*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Marcelo Ebrard Casaubon	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Marcelo Ebrard Casaubon	A/76/PV.11

MHL: Marshall Islands

Table I.117: MHL: Marshall Islands

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	English	English	Amata Kabua*	A/46/PV.7
47	1992	English	English	Tom Kijiner	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	English	English	Tom Kijiner	A/48/PV.18
49	1994	English	English	Phillip H. Muller	A/49/PV.27
50	1995	English	English	Phillip H. Muller	A/50/PV.29
51	1996	English	English	Phillip H. Muller	A/51/PV.4
52	1997	English	English	Phillip H. Muller	A/52/PV.21
54	1999	English	English	Hiroshi Yamamura	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	English	English	Jackeo Relang	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	English	English	Raynard Gideon	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	English	English	Alfred Capelle	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	English	English	Alfred Capelle	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	English	English	Kessai H. Note*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	English	English	Alfred Capelle	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	English	English	Ruben Zachras	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	English	English	Kessai H. Note*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	English	English	Litokwa Tomeing*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	English	English	Litokwa Tomeing*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Jurelang Zedkaia*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	English	English	John M. Silk	A/66/PV.27
67	2012	English	English	Christopher Jorebon Loeak*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	English	English	Christopher Jorebon Loeak*	A/68/PV.13
69	2014	English	English	Christopher Jorebon Loeak*	A/69/PV.13
70	2015	English	English	Christopher Jorebon Loeak*	A/70/PV.20
71	2016	English	English	Hilda Heine*	A/71/PV.15
72	2017	English	English	John M. Silk	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	English	English	Hilda Heine*	A/73/PV.7

Continued on next page

Table I.117: MHL: Marshall Islands (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
74	2019	English	English	John M. Silk	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	English	English	David Kabua*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	English	English	David Kabua*	A/76/PV.6

MKD: Macedonia

Table I.118: MKD: Macedonia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	English	English	Kiro Gligorov*	A/48/PV.10
49	1994	English	English	Stevo Crvenkovski	A/49/PV.9
50	1995	English	English	Stevo Crvenkovski	A/50/PV.19
51	1996	Macedonian	English	Kiro Gligorov*	A/51/PV.8
52	1997	Macedonian	English	Kiro Gligorov*	A/52/PV.9
53	1998	English	English	Blagoj Handziski	A/53/PV.23
54	1999	English	English	Aleksandar Dmitrov	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	English	English	Aleksandar Dmitrov	A/55/PV.20
56	2001	English	English	Ilinka Mitreva	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	English	English	Slobodan Casule	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	English	English	Boris Trajkovski*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	English	English	Branko Crvenkovski*	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	English	English	Ilinka Mitreva	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	English	English	Branko Crvenkovski*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	English	English	Branko Crvenkovski*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	Macedonian	English	Branko Crvenkovski*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	Macedonian	English	Gjorge Ivanov*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	Macedonian	English	Gjorge Ivanov*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	Macedonian	English	Nikola Gruevski*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	Macedonian	English	Gjorge Ivanov*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	Macedonian	English	Nikola Gruevski*	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	Macedonian	English	Gjorge Ivanov	A/69/PV.13
70	2015	Macedonian	English	Nikola Gruevski*	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	Macedonian	English	Gjorge Ivanov*	A/71/PV.15
72	2017	English Macedonian	English	Zoran Zaev*	A/72/PV.17
73	2018	Macedonian	English	Gjorge Ivanov*	A/73/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.118: MKD: Macedonia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
74	2019	English Macedonian	English	Zoran Zaev*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	Macedonian[34]	English	Stevo Pendarovski*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Macedonian	English	Stevo Pendarovski*	A/76/PV.10

[34] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/75/PV.6. The English version indicates: '[Original: Macedonian; English translation provided by the delegation]', while the French version indicates: '[Original: anglais]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

MLI: Mali

Table I.119: MLI: Mali

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
15	1960	French	French	Ousman Ba	A/PV.901
16	1961	French	French	Barema Bocoum	A/PV.1025
17	1962	French	French	Barema Bocoum	A/PV.1139
18	1963	French	French	Sori Coulibaly	A/PV.1231
19	1964	French	French	Sori Coulibaly	A/PV.1319
20	1965	French	French	Ousman Ba	A/PV.1343
21	1966	French	French	Ousman Ba	A/PV.1443
22	1967	French	French	Amadou Thiam	A/PV.1585
23	1968	French	French	Ousman Ba	A/PV.1700
24	1969	French	French	Sori Coulibaly	A/PV.1775
26	1971	French	French	Charles Samba Cissoko	A/PV.1941
27	1972	French	French	Charles Samba Cissoko	A/PV.2045
28	1973	French	French	Charles Samba Cissoko	A/PV.2145
29	1974	French	French	Charles Samba Cissoko	A/PV.2259
30	1975	French	French	Charles Samba Cissoko	A/PV.2356
31	1976	French	French	Charles Samba Cissoko	A/31/PV.24
32	1977	French	French	Charles Samba Cissoko	A/32/PV.33
33	1978	French	French	Alioune Blondin Beye	A/33/PV.15
34	1979	French	French	Alioune Blondin Beye	A/34/PV.27
35	1980	French	French	Alioune Blondin Beye	A/35/PV.29
36	1981	French	French	Moussa Traore*	A/36/PV.23
37	1982	French	French	Alioune Blondin Beye	A/37/PV.30
38	1983	French	French	Alioune Blondin Beye	A/38/PV.33
39	1984	French	French	Alioune Blondin Beye	A/39/PV.29
40	1985	French	French	Alioune Blondin Beye	A/40/PV.29
41	1986	French	French	Modibo Keita	A/41/PV.28
42	1987	French	French	Modibo Keita	A/42/PV.22
43	1988	French	French	Moussa Traore*	A/43/PV.16
44	1989	French	French	N'Golo Traore	A/44/PV.24
45	1990	French	French	N'Golo Traore	A/45/PV.28

Continued on next page

Table I.119: MLI: Mali (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	French	French	Tiebile Drame	A/46/PV.24
47	1992	French	French	Mohamed Aloussine Toure	A/47/PV.20
48	1993	French	French	Mohamed Aloussine Toure	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	French	French	Kadiatou Sow Sy	A/49/PV.20
50	1995	French	French	Dioncounda Traore	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	French	French	Dioncounda Traore	A/51/PV.18
52	1997	French	French	Modibo Sidibe	A/52/PV.21
53	1998	French	French	Modibo Sidibe	A/53/PV.25
54	1999	French	French	Modibo Sidibe	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	French	French	Modibo Sidibe	A/55/PV.22
56	2001	French	French	Modibo Sidibe	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	French	French	Lassana Traore	A/57/PV.17
58	2003	French	French	Lassana Traore	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	French	French	Moctar Ouane	A/59/PV.13
61	2006	French	French	Moctar Ouane	A/61/PV.15
63	2008	French	French	Moctar Ouane	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	French	French	Oumar Daou	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	French	French	Moctar Ouane	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	French	French	Cisse Mariam Kaidama Sidibe*	A/66/PV.21
67	2012	French	French	Cheick Modibo Diarra*	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	French	French	Ibrahim Boubacar Keita*	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	French	French	Ibrahim Boubacar Keita*	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	French	French	Ibrahim Boubacar Keita*	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	French	French	Ibrahim Boubacar Keita*	A/71/PV.18
72	2017	French	French	Ibrahim Boubacar Keita*	A/72/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.119: MLI: Mali (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
73	2018	French	French	Ibrahim Boubacar Keita*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	French	French	Ibrahim Boubacar Keita*	A/74/PV.6
76	2021	French	French	Choguel Kokalla Maiga*	A/76/PV.15

MLT: Malta

Table I.120: MLT: Malta

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
19	1964	English	English	Giorgio Borg Olivier	A/PV.1297
20	1965	English	English	Giorgio Borg Olivier	A/PV.1359
22	1967	English	English	Giorgio Borg Olivier*	A/PV.1582
24	1969	English	English	Giorgio Borg Olivier*	A/PV.1780
26	1971	English	English	Joseph Attard Kingswell	A/PV.1965
27	1972	English	English	Joseph Attard Kingswell	A/PV.2061
29	1974	English	English	Alfred Bellizzi	A/PV.2263
31	1976	English	English	Victor Gauci	A/31/PV.30
33	1978	English	English	Victor Gauci	A/33/PV.32
34	1979	English	English	Victor Gauci	A/34/PV.30
35	1980	English	English	Victor Gauci	A/35/PV.28
36	1981	English	English	Victor Gauci	A/36/PV.28
37	1982	English	English	Alex Sceberras Trigona	A/37/PV.32
38	1983	English	English	Alex Sceberras Trigona	A/38/PV.23
39	1984	English	English	Alex Sceberras Trigona	A/39/PV.13
40	1985	English	English	Alex Sceberras Trigona	A/40/PV.31
41	1986	English	English	Alex Sceberras Trigona	A/41/PV.30
42	1987	English	English	Edward Fenech-Adami*	A/42/PV.32
43	1988	English	English	Alexander Borg Olivier	A/43/PV.30
44	1989	English	English	Edward Fenech-Adami*	A/44/PV.10
45	1990	English	English	Alexander Borg Olivier	A/45/PV.16
46	1991	English	English	Guido de Marco	A/46/PV.10
47	1992	English	English	Edward Fenech-Adami*	A/47/PV.14
48	1993	English	English	Guido de Marco	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	English	English	Guido de Marco	A/49/PV.13
50	1995	English	English	Guido de Marco	A/50/PV.10
51	1996	English	English	Joseph Cassar	A/51/PV.12
52	1997	English	English	Alfred Sant*	A/52/PV.13
53	1998	English	English	Guido de Marco	A/53/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.120: MLT: Malta (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
54	1999	English	English	Joseph Borg	A/54/PV.14
55	2000	English	English	Joseph Borg	A/55/PV.10
56	2001	English	English	Joseph Borg	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	English	English	Joseph Borg	A/57/PV.9
58	2003	English	English	Edward Fenech-Adami*	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	English	English	Lawrence Gonzi*	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	Michael Frendo	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	English	English	Michael Frendo	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	English	English	Lawrence Gonzi*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	English	English	Lawrence Gonzi*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Lawrence Gonzi*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Tonio Borg	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English	English	Lawrence Gonzi*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English	English	Tonio Borg	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Joseph Muscat	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English Arabic	English	Joseph Muscat	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	English	English	Joseph Muscat*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	English	English	Joseph Muscat*	A/71/PV.16
72	2017	English	English	Joseph Muscat*	A/72/PV.15
73	2018	English	English	Joseph Muscat*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English	English	Joseph Muscat*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	Robert Abela*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English	English	Robert Abela*	A/76/PV.13

MMR: Myanmar

Table I.121: MMR: Myanmar

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	U Ohn	A/PV.141
6	1951	English	English	U Myint Thein	A/PV.347
7	1952	English	English	James Barrington	A/PV.394
8	1953	English	English	U Myint Thein	A/PV.446
9	1954	English	English	James Barrington	A/PV.485
10	1955	English	English	James Barrington	A/PV.526
11	1956	English	English	U Pe Kin	A/PV.601
12	1957	English	English	U Thant	A/PV.691
13	1958	English	English	U Thant	A/PV.757
14	1959	English	English	U Chan Tun Aung	A/PV.812
15	1960	English	English	U Thant	A/PV.897
17	1962	English	English	U Thi Han	A/PV.1131
18	1963	English	English	U Thi Han	A/PV.1216
20	1965	English	English	U Thi Han	A/PV.1348
21	1966	English	English	U Thi Han	A/PV.1424
22	1967	English	English	U Soe Tin	A/PV.1575
23	1968	English	English	U Thi Han	A/PV.1678
24	1969	English	English	U Maung Lwin	A/PV.1766
25	1970	English	English	Brigadier Sein Win	A/PV.1853
26	1971	English	English	Thaung Kyi	A/PV.1958
27	1972	English	English	U Lwin	A/PV.2058
28	1973	English	English	U Lwin	A/PV.2147
29	1974	English	English	U Lwin	A/PV.2260
30	1975	English	English	U Hla Phone	A/PV.2379
31	1976	English	English	U Hla Phone	A/31/PV.23
32	1977	English	English	U Hla Phone	A/32/PV.25
33	1978	English	English	Myint Maung	A/33/PV.29
34	1979	English	English	Myint Maung	A/34/PV.14
35	1980	English	English	U Lay Maung	A/35/PV.14
37	1982	English	English	U Chit Hlaing	A/37/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.121: MMR: Myanmar (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
38	1983	English	English	U Chit Hlaing	A/38/PV.14
39	1984	English	English	U Chit Hlaing	A/39/PV.19
40	1985	English	English	U Chit Hlaing	A/40/PV.13
41	1986	English	English	Ye Goung	A/41/PV.19
42	1987	English	English	Ye Goung	A/42/PV.11
43	1988	English	English	Maung Maung Gyi	A/43/PV.23
44	1989	English	English	Ohn Gyaw	A/44/PV.23
45	1990	English	English	Ohn Gyaw	A/45/PV.26
46	1991	English	English	Ohn Gyaw	A/46/PV.22
47	1992	English	English	Ohn Gyaw	A/47/PV.24
48	1993	English	English	Ohn Gyaw	A/48/PV.26
49	1994	English	English	Ohn Gyaw	A/49/PV.26
50	1995	English	English	U Ohn Gyaw	A/50/PV.17
51	1996	English	English	Ohn Gyaw	A/51/PV.13
52	1997	English	English	Ohn Gyaw	A/52/PV.14
53	1998	English	English	Ohn Gyaw	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	English	English	Win Aung	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	English	English	Win Aung	A/55/PV.25
56	2001	English	English	Win Aung	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	English	English	Win Aung	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	English	English	Win Aung	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	English	English	Tin Winn	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	English	English	Nyan Win	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	English	English	Nyan Win	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Nyan Win	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	English	English	Nyan Win	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	Burmese	English	Thein Sein*	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	Burmese	English	Nyan Win	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English	English	Wunna Maung Lwin	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	Burmese	English	Thein Sein*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	English	English	Wunna Maung Lwin	A/68/PV.22
69	2014	English	English	Wunna Maung Lwin	A/69/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.121: MMR: Myanmar (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
70	2015	English	English	Wunna Maung Lwin	A/70/PV/26
71	2016	English	English	Aung San Suu Kyi	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Henry van Thio	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	English	English	Kyaw Tint Swe	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Kyaw Tint Swe	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	English	English	Kyaw Tint Swe	A/75/PV.14

MNE: Montenegro

Table I.122: MNE: Montenegro

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
61	2006	Montenegrin	English	Milo Dukanovic*	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	Montenegrin	English	Zeljko Sturanovic*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	English	English	Filip Vujanovic*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	Montenegrin	English	Milo Dukanovic*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Filip Vujanovic*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Igor Luksic*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English	English	Nebojsa Kaludjer-ovic	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	Montenegrin	English	Milo Dukanovic*	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	English	English	Filip Vujanovic*	A/69/PV.7
70	2015	Montenegrin	English	Filip Vujanovic*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	Montenegrin	English	Milo Dukanovic*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	Montenegrin	English	Filip Vujanovic*	A/72/PV.9
73	2018	Montenegrin	English	Dusko Markovic*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	Montenegrin	English	Milo Dukanovic*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	Srdjan Darmanovic	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	Montenegrin	English	Milo Dukanovic*	A/76/PV.10

MNG: Mongolia

Table I.123: MNG: Mongolia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
17	1962	Russian	Russian	P. Shagdarsuren	A/PV.1137
18	1963	English	English	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/PV.1223
19	1964	Russian[35]	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/PV.1306
20	1965	English	English	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/PV.1349
21	1966	English	English	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/PV.1430
22	1967	English	English	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/PV.1580
23	1968	Russian	Russian	Luvsandorjiin Toiv	A/PV.1695
24	1969	Russian	Russian	Luvsandorjiin Toiv	A/PV.1777
26	1971	Russian	Russian	Loongyn Rinchin	A/PV.1958
27	1972	Russian	Russian	Loongyn Rinchin	A/PV.2043
28	1973	Russian	Russian	Loongyn Rinchin	A/PV.2129
29	1974	Russian	Russian	Loongyn Rinchin	A/PV.2245
30	1975	Russian	Russian	Loongyn Rinchin	A/PV.2364
31	1976	Russian	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/31/PV.16
32	1977	Russian	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/32/PV.15
33	1978	Russian	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/33/PV.14
34	1979	Russian English	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/34/PV.28
35	1980	Russian	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/35/PV.13
36	1981	Russian	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/36/PV.17
37	1982	Russian	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/37/PV.22

Continued on next page

Table I.123: MNG: Mongolia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
38	1983	Russian	Russian	Tserenpiliin Gombosuren	A/38/PV.22
39	1984	English	English	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/39/PV.26
40	1985	Russian English	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/40/PV.24
41	1986	Russian	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/41/PV.20
42	1987	Russian	Russian	Mangalyn Dugersuren	A/42/PV.19
43	1988	Russian	Russian	Tserenpiliin Gombosuren	A/43/PV.19
44	1989	Russian	Russian	Tserenpiliin Gombosuren	A/44/PV.17
45	1990	Russian	Russian	Tserenpiliin Gombosuren	A/45/PV.23
46	1991	Russian	Russian	Tserenpiliin Gombosuren	A/46/PV.21
47	1992	Mongolian	English	Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat*	A/47/PV.13
48	1993	English	English	Tserenpiliin Gombosuren	A/48/PV.20
49	1994	English	English	Tserenpiliin Gombosuren	A/49/PV.25
50	1995	English	English	Tserenpiliin Gombosuren	A/50/PV.26
51	1996	English	English	Mendsaikhany Enkhsaikhan*	A/51/PV.16
52	1997	Mongolian	English	Shukheriin Altangerel	A/52/PV.25
53	1998	English	English	Rinchinnyamyn Amarjargal	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	English	English	Rinchinnyamyn Amarjargal*	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	English	English	Luvsangiin Erdenechuluun	A/55/PV.26

Continued on next page

Table I.123: MNG: Mongolia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
56	2001	English	English	Nambar Enkhbayar*	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	English	English	Luvsangiin Erdenechuluun	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	Mongolian	English	Natsagiin Bagabandi*	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	French	French	Radnaabazaryn Altangerel	A/59/PV.11
60	2005	English	English	Tsend Munkh-Orgil	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	Mongolian	English	Miyegombo Enkh-bold*	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	English	English	Nyamaa Enkhbold	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	English	English	Bayar Sanj*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	English	English	Elbegdorj Tsakhia*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Batbold Sukhbaatar*	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	Mongolian	English	Elbegdorj Tsakhia*	A/66/PV.12
67	2012	English	English	Elbegdorj Tsakhia*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	English	English	Elbegdorj Tsakhia*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	Elbegdorj Tsakhia*	A/69/PV.7
70	2015	English	English	Elbegdorj Tsakhia*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Elbegdorj Tsakhia*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	English	English	Tsend Munkh-Orgil	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	Mongolian	English	Khurelsukh Ukhnaa*	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Tsogtbaatar Damdin	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	Mongolian	English	Battulga Khaltmaa*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	Mongolian	English	Khurelsukh Ukhnaa*	A/76/PV.7

[35] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/PV.1306. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'traduit du russe'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

MOZ: Mozambique

Table I.124: MOZ: Mozambique

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
30	1975	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano	A/PV.2375
31	1976	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano	A/31/PV.18
32	1977	Portuguese	English	Samora Machel*	A/32/PV.17
33	1978	Portuguese	French	Rui Baltazar Dos Santos Alves	A/33/PV.15
34	1979	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano	A/34/PV.25
35	1980	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano	A/35/PV.25
36	1981	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano	A/36/PV.22
37	1982	Portuguese	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano	A/37/PV.26
38	1983	English	English	Manuel Dos Santos	A/38/PV.30
39	1984	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano	A/39/PV.15
40	1985	Portuguese	English	Samora Machel*	A/40/PV.9
41	1986	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano	A/41/PV.11
42	1987	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano*	A/42/PV.20
43	1988	English	English	Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi	A/43/PV.10
44	1989	Portuguese[36]	English	Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi	A/44/PV.17
45	1990	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano*	A/45/PV.13
46	1991	English	English	Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi	A/46/PV.21
47	1992	English	English	Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi	A/47/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.124: MOZ: Mozambique (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano*	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	English	English	Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi	A/49/PV.15
50	1995	English	English	Leonardo Santos Simao	A/50/PV.18
51	1996	English	English	Leonardo Santos Simao*	A/51/PV.22
52	1997	English	English	Leonardo Santos Simao	A/52/PV.22
53	1998	English	English	Leonardo Santos Simao	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano*	A/54/PV.19
56	2001	English	English	Leonardo Santos Simao	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Leonardo Santos Simao	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano*	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	English	English	Joaquim Alberto Chissano*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English	English	Alcinda Antonio de Abreu	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	Portuguese	English	Armando Emilio Guebuza*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	Portuguese	English	Armando Emilio Guebuza*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	Portuguese	English	Armando Emilio Guebuza*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	English	English	Oldemiro Julio Marques Baloi	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	English	English	Oldemiro Julio Marques Baloi	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	Portuguese	English	Armando Emilio Guebuza*	A/66/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.124: MOZ: Mozambique (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
67	2012	Portuguese	English	Oldemiro Julio Marques Baloi	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	Portuguese	English	Armando Emilio Guebuza*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	English	English	Oldemiro Julio Marques Baloi	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	Portuguese	English	Filipe Jacinto Nyusi*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	Portuguese	English	Filipe Jacinto Nyusi*	A/71/PV.12
72	2017	English	English	Antonio Gumende	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	Portuguese	English	Filipe Jacinto Nyusi*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	Portuguese	English	Jose Condungua Antonio Pacheco	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	Portuguese	English	Filipe Jacinto Nyusi*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Portuguese	English	Veronica Nataniel Macamo Dlhovo	A/76/PV.17

[36] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/44/PV.17. The English version indicates: 'spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation', while the French version indicates: 'interprétation de l'anglais'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

MRT: Mauritania

Table I.125: MRT: Mauritania

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
17	1962	French	French	Ould Cheikh Sidya Souleymane	A/PV.1143
22	1967	French	French	Birane Mamadou Wane	A/PV.1582
23	1968	French	French	Hamdi Ould Mouknass	A/PV.1690
24	1969	French	French	Hamdi Ould Mouknass	A/PV.1782
26	1971	French	French	Turkia Ould Mouknass	A/PV.1941
27	1972	French	French	Hamdi Ould Mouknass	A/PV.2063
28	1973	French	French	Hamdi Ould Mouknass	A/PV.2126
29	1974	French	French	Hamdi Ould Mouknass	A/PV.2251
30	1975	French	French	Hamdi Ould Mouknass	A/PV.2370
31	1976	French	French	Hamdi Ould Mouknass	A/31/PV.20
32	1977	French	French	Hamdi Ould Mouknass	A/32/PV.19
33	1978	French	French	Moulaye Ould Mohamed Laghdaf	A/33/PV.20
34	1979	French	French	Sid'Ahmed Ould Taya	A/34/PV.28
35	1980	French	French	Mohamed El Mokhtar Ould Zamel	A/35/PV.33
36	1981	French	French	Ahmed Ould Minnih	A/36/PV.33
37	1982	French	French	Ahmed Ould Minnih	A/37/PV.34
38	1983	French	French	Ahmed Ould Minnih	A/38/PV.29
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Ould Minnih	A/39/PV.25
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Ould Minnih	A/40/PV.33
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Ould Minnih	A/41/PV.30
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Lemine Ould N'Diayane	A/42/PV.25
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Lemine Ould N'Diayane	A/43/PV.15
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Cheikh Sid' Ahmed Ould Baba	A/44/PV.21
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Hasni Ould Didi	A/45/PV.19
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Hasni Ould Didi	A/46/PV.21
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Ould Moine	A/47/PV.20

Continued on next page

Table I.125: MRT: Mauritania (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Ould Moine	A/48/PV.21
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Salem Ould Lekhal	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Salem Ould Lekhal	A/50/PV.25
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Lemrabott Sidi Mahmoud Ahmed	A/51/PV.17
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Ould Minnih	A/52/PV.28
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	El Avia Ould Mohamed Khouna	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Ould Sid'Ahmed	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Ould Sid'Ahmed	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Dah Ould Abdi	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Dah Ould Abdi	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Ould Tolba	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Ould Bellal	A/59/PV.16
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Ould Sid'Ahmed	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Sidi Mohamed Ould Boubacar*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Sidi Mohamed Ould Cheikh Abdellahi*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Abderrahim Ould Hadrami	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Naha Mint Mouknass	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Moulaye Ould Mohamed Laghdaf*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Hamadi Ould Baba Ould Hamadi	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Hamadi Ould Baba Ould Hamadi	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Ould Teguedi	A/68/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.125: MRT: Mauritania (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Ould Abdel Aziz*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Hamadi Ould Meimou	A/70/PV.18
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Isselkou Ould Ahmed Izid Bih	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Isselkou Ould Ahmed Izid Bih	A/72/PV.6
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Ould Cheikh El Ghazouani*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic	Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	Arabic English French	Arabic	Ismail Ould Cheikh Ahmed	A/76/PV.16

MUS: Mauritius

Table I.126: MUS: Mauritius

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
23	1968	French	French	Pierre Girald Guy Balancy	A/PV.1707
24	1969	English	English	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam*	A/PV.1765
26	1971	English	English	Radha Kirshna Ramphul	A/PV.1965
27	1972	English	English	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam	A/PV.2040
28	1973	English French	English	Harold E. Walter	A/PV.2146
29	1974	English	English	Abdul Razak Mohamed	A/PV.2247
30	1975	English	English	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam*	A/PV.2366
31	1976	English	English	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam*	A/31/PV.31
32	1977	English	English	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam*	A/32/PV.8
33	1978	English	English	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam*	A/33/PV.7
34	1979	English	English	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam*	A/34/PV.23
35	1980	English	English	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam*	A/35/PV.30
36	1981	English	English	Seewoosagur Ramgoolam*	A/36/PV.33
37	1982	English	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/37/PV.34
38	1983	English	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/38/PV.8
39	1984	English	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/39/PV.30
40	1985	English	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/40/PV.33
41	1986	English	English	Satcam Boolell	A/41/PV.28
42	1987	English	English	Satcam Boolell	A/42/PV.32
43	1988	English	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/43/PV.28
44	1989	English	English	Satcam Boolell	A/44/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.126: MUS: Mauritius (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	English	English	Jean Claude Raoul de L'Estrac	A/45/PV.26
46	1991	English	English	Paul Raymond Berenger	A/46/PV.29
47	1992	English	English	Paul Raymond Berenger	A/47/PV.21
48	1993	English French	English	Ahmud Swalay Kasenally	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	English French	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/49/PV.18
50	1995	English French	English	Ramduthsing Jaddoo	A/50/PV.27
51	1996	English	English	Navinchandra Ramgoolam*	A/51/PV.29
52	1997	English French	English	Rajkeswur Purryag	A/52/PV.17
53	1998	English French	English	Navinchandra Ramgoolam*	A/53/PV.11
54	1999	English French	English	Rajkeswur Purryag	A/54/PV.18
55	2000	English French	English	Anil Kumarsingh Gayan	A/55/PV.28
56	2001	English	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	English French	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	English French	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	English French	English	Jaya Krishna Cuttaree	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	English French	English	Navinchandra Ramgoolam*	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	English French	English	Navinchandra Ramgoolam*	A/61/PV.16

Continued on next page

Table I.126: MUS: Mauritius (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
62	2007	English French	English	Navinchandra Ramgoolam*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	English French	English	Somduth Soborun	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English French	English	Navinchandra Ramgoolam*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	English French	English	Arvin Boolell	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English French	English	Navinchandra Ramgoolam*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English French	English	Arvin Boolell	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	English French	English	Navinchandra Ramgoolam*	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	English	English	Milan Jaya Nyamrajsingh Meetarbhan	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English French	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	English French	English	Anerood Jugnauth*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	English	English	Pravind Kumar Jugnauth*	A/72/PV.14
73	2018	English	English	Pravind Kumar Jugnauth*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Paramasivum Pillay Vyapoory*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Pravind Kumar Jugnauth*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Pravind Kumar Jugnauth*	A/76/PV.12

MWI: Malawi

Table I.127: MWI: Malawi

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
19	1964	English	English	J. David Rubadiri	A/PV.1297
20	1965	English	English	Alec Mjuma Nyasulu	A/PV.1338
21	1966	English	English	Alec Mjuma Nyasulu	A/PV.1436
22	1967	English	English	Alec Mjuma Nyasulu	A/PV.1591
23	1968	English	English	Alec Mjuma Nyasulu	A/PV.1697
27	1972	English	English	Robert Bernard Mbaya	A/PV.2063
30	1975	English	English	R.B. Chidzanja Nkhoma	A/PV.2372
32	1977	English	English	R.B. Chidzanja Nkhoma	A/32/PV.26
34	1979	English	English	Steve Dick Tennyson Matenje	A/34/PV.26
35	1980	English	English	Thomson Jacob Xander Muwamba	A/35/PV.29
40	1985	English	English	Stephen Chimwemwe Hara	A/40/PV.29
41	1986	English	English	Timon Sam Mangwazu	A/41/PV.31
42	1987	English	English	Timon Sam Mangwazu	A/42/PV.29
43	1988	English	English	Edward C.I. Bwanali	A/43/PV.27
44	1989	English	English	Edward C.I. Bwanali	A/44/PV.29
45	1990	English	English	Dalton Katopola	A/45/PV.17
46	1991	English	English	Dalton Katopola	A/46/PV.21
47	1992	English	English	Lovemore Green Munlo	A/47/PV.29
48	1993	English	English	Nyemba Mbekeani	A/48/PV.27
49	1994	English	English	Bakili Muluzi*	A/49/PV.18
50	1995	English	English	J. David Rubadiri	A/50/PV.21
51	1996	English	English	George Nga Mtafu	A/51/PV.28
52	1997	English	English	Mapopa Chipeta	A/52/PV.19
53	1998	English	English	Mapopa Chipeta	A/53/PV.24
54	1999	English	English	Brown Mpinganjira	A/54/PV.20
55	2000	English	English	Lilian Patel	A/55/PV.21

Continued on next page

Table I.127: MWI: Malawi (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
56	2001	English	English	Lilian Patel	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	English	English	Lilian Patel	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	English	English	Henry Chimunthu Banda	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	English	English	Bingu Wa Mutharika*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	English	English	Bingu Wa Mutharika*	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	English	English	Bingu Wa Mutharika*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	English	English	Bingu Wa Mutharika*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	English	English	Bingu Wa Mutharika*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	English	English	Bingu Wa Mutharika*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Bingu Wa Mutharika*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	English	English	Arthur Peter Mutharika	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	English	English	Joyce Hilda Mtila Banda*	A/67/PV.10
68	2013	English	English	Joyce Hilda Mtila Banda*	A/68/PV.7
69	2014	English	English	Arthur Peter Mutharika*	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	English	English	Arthur Peter Mutharika*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Arthur Peter Mutharika*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	English	English	Arthur Peter Mutharika*	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	English	English	Arthur Peter Mutharika*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	English	English	Arthur Peter Mutharika*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	Lazarus Mccarthy Chakwera*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	English[37]	English	Lazarus Mccarthy Chakwera*	A/76/PV.7

[37] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.7. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

MYS: Malaysia

Table I.128: MYS: Malaysia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
12	1957	English	English	Ismail Abdul Rahman	A/PV.688
13	1958	English	English	Ismail Abdul Rahman	A/PV.761
14	1959	English	English	Ismail Abdul Rahman	A/PV.821
15	1960	English	English	Nik Ahmed Kamil	A/PV.897
16	1961	English	English	Nik Ahmed Kamil	A/PV.1032
17	1962	English	English	Ismail Abdul Rahman	A/PV.1140
18	1963	English	English	Yoke Lin Ong	A/PV.1228
19	1964	English	English	Radhakrishna Ramani	A/PV.1306
20	1965	English	English	Ismail Abdul Rahman	A/PV.1349
21	1966	English	English	Abdul Razak Hussein	A/PV.1416
22	1967	English	English	V. Manickavasagam	A/PV.1581
23	1968	English	English	Mohamed Ismail Mohd Yosuf	A/PV.1701
24	1969	English	English	Tunku Abdul Rahman*	A/PV.1781
25	1970	English	English	H.M.A. Zakaria	A/PV.1855
26	1971	English	English	Abdul Razak Hussein*	A/PV.1948
27	1972	English	English	Zaiton Ibrahim Ahmad	A/PV.2039
28	1973	English	English	H.M.A. Zakaria	A/PV.2145
29	1974	English	English	Sardon Haji Jubir	A/PV.2249
30	1975	English	English	Tangku Ahmad Rithauddeen	A/PV.2367
31	1976	English	English	Tangku Ahmad Rithauddeen	A/31/PV.20
32	1977	English	English	Hussein Onn*	A/32/PV.15
33	1978	English	English	Tangku Ahmad Rithauddeen	A/33/PV.21
34	1979	English	English	Tangku Ahmad Rithauddeen	A/34/PV.19
35	1980	English	English	Tangku Ahmad Rithauddeen	A/35/PV.19
36	1981	English	English	Muhammad Ghazali Shafie	A/36/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.128: MYS: Malaysia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
37	1982	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/37/PV.10
38	1983	English	English	Hitam Musa	A/38/PV.31
39	1984	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/39/PV.28
40	1985	English	English	Hitam Musa	A/40/PV.22
41	1986	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/41/PV.14
42	1987	English	English	Abu Hassan Omar	A/42/PV.11
43	1988	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/43/PV.17
44	1989	English	English	Abdul Ghafar Baba	A/44/PV.20
45	1990	English	English	Abu Hassan Omar	A/45/PV.10
46	1991	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/46/PV.7
47	1992	English	English	Abdullah Ahmad Badawi	A/47/PV.9
48	1993	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	English	English	Anwar Ibrahim	A/49/PV.18
50	1995	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/50/PV.12
51	1996	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/51/PV.12
52	1997	English	English	Abdullah Ahmad Badawi	A/52/PV.13
53	1998	English	English	Abdullah Ahmad Badawi	A/53/PV.17
54	1999	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/54/PV.16
55	2000	English	English	Syed Hamid Albar	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	English	English	Agam Hasmy	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	English	English	Abdullah Ahmad Badawi	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	English	English	Abdullah Ahmad Badawi*	A/59/PV.11
60	2005	English	English	Syed Hamid Albar	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	English	English	Abdullah Ahmad Badawi*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	English	English	Abdullah Ahmad Badawi*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	English	English	Rais Yatim	A/63/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.128: MYS: Malaysia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
64	2009	English	English	Anifah Aman	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	English	English	Mohd Najib Abdul Razak*	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Anifah Aman	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	English	English	Anifah Aman	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	Mohd Najib Abdul Razak*	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	English	English	Mohd Najib Abdul Razak*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	English	English	Mohd Najib Abdul Razak*	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Ahmad Zahid Hamidi	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Anifah Aman	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Mahathir Mohamad*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	Muhyiddin Mohd Yassin*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Ismail Sabri Yaakob*	A/76/PV.14

NAM: Namibia

Table I.129: NAM: Namibia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	English	English	Sam Nujoma*	A/45/PV.11
46	1991	English	English	Theo-Ben Gurirab	A/46/PV.19
47	1992	English	English	Theo-Ben Gurirab	A/47/PV.26
48	1993	English	English	Theo-Ben Gurirab	A/48/PV.19
49	1994	English	English	Theo-Ben Gurirab	A/49/PV.21
50	1995	English	English	Theo-Ben Gurirab	A/50/PV.23
51	1996	English	English	Theo-Ben Gurirab	A/51/PV.14
52	1997	English	English	Martin Andjaba	A/52/PV.16
53	1998	English	English	Theo-Ben Gurirab	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	English	English	Sam Nujoma*	A/54/PV.4
55	2000	English	English	Theo-Ben Gurirab	A/55/PV.24
56	2001	English	English	Tuliameni Kalomoh	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	English	English	Hidipo Hamutenya	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	English	English	Hidipo Hamutenya	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	English	English	Sam Nujoma*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	English	English	Hifikepunye Pohamba*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English	English	Hifikepunye Pohamba*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	English	English	Marco Hausiku	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	English	English	Hifikepunye Pohamba*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	English	English	Marco Hausiku	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	English	English	Hifikepunye Pohamba*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Hifikepunye Pohamba*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	English	English	Hifikepunye Pohamba*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	English	English	Hifikepunye Pohamba*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	Hifikepunye Pohamba*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	English	English	Hage Gottfried Geingob*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Hage Gottfried Geingob*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Hage Gottfried Geingob*	A/72/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.129: NAM: Namibia (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
73	2018	English	English	Hage Gottfried Geingob*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	Hage Gottfried Geingob*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Hage Gottfried Geingob*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	Hage Gottfried Geingob*	A/76/PV.10

NER: Niger

Table I.130: NER: Niger

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
16	1961	French	French	Issoufou Saidou Djermakoye	A/PV.1032
17	1962	French	French	Noma Kaka	A/PV.1148
18	1963	French	French	Adamou Mayaki	A/PV.1214
19	1964	French	French	Adamou Mayaki	A/PV.1305
20	1965	French	French	Adamou Mayaki	A/PV.1355
21	1966	French	French	Abdou Sidikou	A/PV.1434
22	1967	French	French	Diori Hamani*	A/PV.1576
26	1971	French	French	Maidah Mamoudou	A/PV.1964
27	1972	French	French	Sabo, Boukary	A/PV.2057
28	1973	French	French	Sabo, Boukary	A/PV.2144
29	1974	French	French	Moumouni Adamou Djermakoye	A/PV.2253
30	1975	French	French	Moumouni Adamou Djermakoye	A/PV.2374
31	1976	French	French	Moumouni Adamou Djermakoye	A/31/PV.26
32	1977	French	French	Moumouni Adamou Djermakoye	A/32/PV.27
33	1978	French	French	Moumouni Adamou Djermakoye	A/33/PV.23
34	1979	French	French	Daouda Diallo	A/34/PV.23
35	1980	French	French	Daouda Diallo	A/35/PV.19
36	1981	French	French	Seyni Kountche*	A/36/PV.25
37	1982	French	French	Daouda Diallo	A/37/PV.32
38	1983	French	French	Daouda Diallo	A/38/PV.30
39	1984	French	French	Ide Oumarou	A/39/PV.19
40	1985	French	French	Mahamane Sani Bako	A/40/PV.28
41	1986	French	French	Mahamane Sani Bako	A/41/PV.23
42	1987	French	French	Mahamane Sani Bako	A/42/PV.23
43	1988	French	French	Allele Elhadj Habibou	A/43/PV.21

Continued on next page

Table I.130: NER: Niger (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	French	French	Mahamane Sani Bako	A/44/PV.27
45	1990	French	French	Mahamane Sani Bako	A/45/PV.15
47	1992	French	French	Daouda Diallo	A/47/PV.19
48	1993	French	French	Mahamane Ousmane*	A/48/PV.6
49	1994	French	French	Adamou Seydou	A/49/PV.27
50	1995	French	French	Mohamed Bazoum	A/50/PV.29
51	1996	French	French	Andre Salifou	A/51/PV.12
52	1997	French	French	Ibrahim Assane Mayaki	A/52/PV.18
53	1998	French	French	Ibrahim Mainassara Bare*	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	French	French	Ibrahim Assane Mayaki*	A/54/PV.19
55	2000	French	French	Ousmane Moutari	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	French	French	Aichatou Mindaoudou	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	French	French	Aichatou Mindaoudou	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	French	French	Aichatou Mindaoudou	A/58/PV.22
59	2004	French	French	Aichatou Mindaoudou	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	French	French	Aichatou Mindaoudou	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	French	French	Aichatou Mindaoudou	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	French	French	Aichatou Mindaoudou	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	French	French	Aichatou Mindaoudou	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	French	French	Aichatou Mindaoudou	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	French	French	Salou Djibo*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	French	French	Mahamadou Issoufou*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	French	French	Mohamed Bazoum	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	French	French	Mohamed Bazoum	A/68/PV.17
69	2014	French	French	Mahamadou Issoufou*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	French	French	Aichatou Boulama Kane	A/70/PV.26
71	2016	French	French	Mahamadou Issoufou*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	French	French	Ibrahim Yacoubou	A/72/PV.22
73	2018	French	French	Kalla Ankourao	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	French	French	Mahamadou Issoufou*	A/74/PV.4

Continued on next page

Table I.130: NER: Niger (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
75	2020	French	French	Mahamadou Issoufou*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	French	French	Hassoumi Massoudou	A/76/PV.16

NGA: Nigeria

Table I.131: NGA: Nigeria

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
16	1961	English	English	Jaja Wachuku	A/PV.1031
17	1962	English	English	Jaja Wachuku	A/PV.1153
18	1963	English	English	Jaja Wachuku	A/PV.1221
19	1964	English	English	Jaja Wachuku	A/PV.1302
20	1965	English	English	Nuhu Bamali	A/PV.1348
21	1966	English	English	Simeon Ola Adebo	A/PV.1423
22	1967	English	English	Okoi Arikpo	A/PV.1586
23	1968	English	English	Okoi Arikpo	A/PV.1692
24	1969	English	English	Okoi Arikpo	A/PV.1773
26	1971	English	English	Okoi Arikpo	A/PV.1948
27	1972	English	English	Okoi Arikpo	A/PV.2048
28	1973	English	English	Yakubu Gowon*	A/PV.2141
29	1974	English	English	Okoi Arikpo	A/PV.2255
30	1975	English	English	Joseph Nanven Garba	A/PV.2378
31	1976	English	English	Joseph Nanven Garba	A/31/PV.16
32	1977	English	English	Olusegun Obasanjo*	A/32/PV.32
33	1978	English	English	Henry Edmund Olufemi Adefope	A/33/PV.23
34	1979	English	English	B. Akporode Clark	A/34/PV.30
35	1980	English	English	Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari*	A/35/PV.24
36	1981	English	English	Ishaya Audu	A/36/PV.14
37	1982	English	English	Patrick Bolokor	A/37/PV.32
38	1983	English	English	A.M. Bello	A/38/PV.20
39	1984	English	English	Ibrahim Agboola Gambari	A/39/PV.25
40	1985	English	English	A. Bolaji Akinyemi	A/40/PV.29
41	1986	English	English	A. Bolaji Akinyemi	A/41/PV.13
42	1987	English	English	A. Bolaji Akinyemi	A/42/PV.14
43	1988	English	English	Ike Nwachukwu	A/43/PV.10
44	1989	English	English	Ike Nwachukwu	A/44/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.131: NGA: Nigeria (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	English	English	Augustus Aikhomu	A/45/PV.13
46	1991	English	English	Ibrahim Babangida*	A/46/PV.22
47	1992	English	English	Ike Nwachukwu	A/47/PV.19
48	1993	English	English	Ernest Shonekan*	A/48/PV.21
49	1994	English	English	Baba Gana Kingibe	A/49/PV.9
50	1995	English	English	Tom Ikimi	A/50/PV.18
51	1996	English	English	Tom Ikimi	A/51/PV.21
52	1997	English	English	Tom Ikimi	A/52/PV.7
53	1998	English	English	Abdulsalami Abubakar*	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	English	English	Olusegun Obasanjo*	A/54/PV.10
55	2000	English	English	Alhaji Sule Lamido	A/55/PV.22
56	2001	English	English	Alhaji Sule Lamido	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	English	English	Olusegun Obasanjo*	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	English	English	Olusegun Obasanjo*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	English	English	Olusegun Obasanjo*	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	English	English	Olusegun Obasanjo*	A/60/PV.9
61	2006	English	English	Joy Uche Ogwu	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	English	English	Umaru Musa Yar'Adua*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	English	English	Ojo Maduekwe	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Ojo Maduekwe	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	English	English	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	English	English	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	English	English	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	English	English	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	English	English	Goodluck Ebele Jonathan*	A/69/PV.7
70	2015	English	English	Muhammadu Buhari*	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	English	English	Muhammadu Buhari*	A/71/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.131: NGA: Nigeria (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
72	2017	English	English	Muhammadu Buhari*	A/72/PV.3
73	2018	English	English	Muhammadu Buhari*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	English	English	Muhammadu Buhari*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	English	English	Muhammadu Buhari*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	English	English	Muhammadu Buhari*	A/76/PV.12

NIC: Nicaragua

Table I.132: NIC: Nicaragua

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa	A/PV.346
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Sevilla Sacasa	A/PV.1705
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Lorenzo Guerrero	A/PV.1957
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Lorenzo Guerrero	A/PV.2053
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Montiel Arguello	A/PV.2125
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Montiel Arguello	A/PV.2243
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Montiel Arguello	A/PV.2355
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Montiel Arguello	A/31/PV.14
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Montiel Arguello	A/32/PV.7
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Quintana	A/33/PV.11
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Ortega Saavedra*	A/34/PV.13
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann	A/35/PV.28
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Ortega Saavedra*	A/36/PV.29
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann	A/37/PV.34
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Ortega Saavedra*	A/38/PV.7
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Ortega Saavedra*	A/39/PV.16
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann	A/41/PV.32
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Ortega Saavedra*	A/42/PV.30

Continued on next page

Table I.132: NIC: Nicaragua (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann	A/43/PV.31
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Serrano Caldera	A/44/PV.23
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Violeta Barrios de Chamorro*	A/45/PV.10
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Dreyfus Morales	A/46/PV.9
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Violeta Barrios de Chamorro*	A/47/PV.4
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Violeta Barrios de Chamorro*	A/48/PV.8
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Violeta Barrios de Chamorro*	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Ernesto Leal	A/50/PV.5
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Ernesto Leal	A/51/PV.5
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Arnoldo Aleman Lacayo*	A/52/PV.6
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Arnoldo Aleman Lacayo*	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Arnoldo Aleman Lacayo*	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Adan Guerra	A/55/PV.28
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Arnoldo Aleman Lacayo*	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Norman Jose Caldera Cardenal	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Bolanos Geyer*	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique Bolanos Geyer*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Norman Jose Caldera Cardenal	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Norman Jose Caldera Cardenal	A/61/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.132: NIC: Nicaragua (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Daniel Ortega Saavedra*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Samuel Santos Lopez	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Samuel Santos Lopez	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Samuel Santos Lopez	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Samuel Santos Lopez	A/66/PV.27
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Samuel Santos Lopez	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Samuel Santos Lopez	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Samuel Santos Lopez	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Moises Omar Halleslevens Acevedo	A/70/PV.23
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Moises Omar Halleslevens Acevedo	A/71/PV.18
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Maria Rubiales de Chamorro	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Denis Ronaldo Moncada Colindres	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Denis Ronaldo Moncada Colindres	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Denis Ronaldo Moncada Colindres	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Denis Ronaldo Moncada Colindres	A/76/PV.17

NLD: Netherlands

Table I.133: NLD: Netherlands

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Eelco Nicolaas van Kleffens	A/PV.41
2	1947	English	English	J.H. van Roijen	A/PV.87
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	J.H. van Roijen	A/PV.145
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Dirk Uipko Stikker	A/PV.225
5	1950	English	English	Dirk Uipko Stikker	A/PV.281
6	1951	French	French	Dirk Uipko Stikker	A/PV.335
7	1952	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.392
8	1953	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.443
9	1954	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.480
10	1955	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.528
11	1956	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.599
12	1957	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.689
13	1958	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.760
14	1959	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.809
15	1960	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.886
16	1961	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.1016
17	1962	English	English	Carl Willem Alwin Schurmann	A/PV.1147
18	1963	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.1213
19	1964	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.1318
20	1965	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.1348
21	1966	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.1424
22	1967	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.1576
23	1968	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.1681
24	1969	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.1773
25	1970	English	English	Joseph M.A.H. Luns	A/PV.1856
26	1971	English	English	W.K.Norbert Schmelzer	A/PV.1948
27	1972	English	English	W.K.Norbert Schmelzer	A/PV.2050

Continued on next page

Table I.133: NLD: Netherlands (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	English	English	Max van der Stoel	A/PV.2128
29	1974	English	English	Max van der Stoel	A/PV.2252
30	1975	English	English	Max van der Stoel	A/PV.2362
31	1976	English	English	Max van der Stoel	A/31/PV.7
32	1977	English	English	Max van der Stoel	A/32/PV.11
33	1978	English	English	Christoph A. van der Klaauw	A/33/PV.11
34	1979	English	English	Christoph A. van der Klaauw	A/34/PV.10
35	1980	English	English	Christoph A. van der Klaauw	A/35/PV.26
36	1981	English	English	Max van der Stoel	A/36/PV.12
37	1982	English	English	Andries van Agt*	A/37/PV.10
38	1983	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/38/PV.10
39	1984	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/39/PV.9
40	1985	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/40/PV.9
41	1986	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/41/PV.9
42	1987	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/42/PV.10
43	1988	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/43/PV.13
44	1989	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/44/PV.11
45	1990	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/46/PV.6
47	1992	English	English	Hans van den Broek	A/47/PV.6
48	1993	English	English	Hendrik Kooijmans	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	English	English	Hans van Mierlo	A/49/PV.6
50	1995	English	English	Hans van Mierlo	A/50/PV.7
51	1996	English	English	Hans van Mierlo	A/51/PV.11
52	1997	English	English	Hans van Mierlo	A/52/PV.8
53	1998	English French	English	Jozias van Aartsen	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	English	English	Jozias van Aartsen	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	English	English	Jozias van Aartsen	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	English	English	Jozias van Aartsen	A/56/PV.50

Continued on next page

Table I.133: NLD: Netherlands (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
57	2002	English	English	Jaap de Hoop Scheffer	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	English	English	Jaap de Hoop Scheffer	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	English	English	Bernard Rudolf Bot	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	English	English	Bernard Rudolf Bot	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	English	English	Bernard Rudolf Bot	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	English	English	Jan Peter Balkenende*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	English	English	Jan Peter Balkenende*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Jan Peter Balkenende*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	English	English	Jan Peter Balkenende*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	English	English	Uriel Rosenthal	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	English	English	Uriel Rosenthal	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Franciscus Cornelis Gerardus Maria Timmermans	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	English	English	Mark Rutte*	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	English	English	Willem-Alexander*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	English	English	Albert Gerard Koender	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	English	English	Mark Rutte*	A/72/PV.8
73	2018	English	English	Mark Rutte*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	English	English	Willem-Alexander*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	English	English	Mark Rutte*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	Mark Rutte*	A/76/PV.12

NOR: Norway

Table I.134: NOR: Norway

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.38
5	1950	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.287
9	1954	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.476
11	1956	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.598
13	1958	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.765
14	1959	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.807
15	1960	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.890
17	1962	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.1126
18	1963	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.1233
19	1964	English	English	Halvard Lange	A/PV.1317
21	1966	English	English	John Lyng	A/PV.1430
22	1967	English	English	John Lyng	A/PV.1578
23	1968	English	English	John Lyng	A/PV.1688
24	1969	English	English	Edvard Isak Hambro	A/PV.1774
25	1970	English	English	Svenn Stray	A/PV.1842
26	1971	English	English	Andreas Cappelen	A/PV.1945
28	1973	English	English	Dagfinn Vaarvik	A/PV.2125
29	1974	English	English	Knut Frydenlund	A/PV.2241
30	1975	English	English	Knut Frydenlund	A/PV.2364
31	1976	English	English	Knut Frydenlund	A/31/PV.6
32	1977	English	English	Knut Frydenlund	A/32/PV.7
33	1978	English	English	Knut Frydenlund	A/33/PV.6
34	1979	English	English	Knut Frydenlund	A/34/PV.5
35	1980	English	English	Knut Frydenlund	A/35/PV.5
37	1982	English	English	Svenn Stray	A/37/PV.6
38	1983	English	English	Svenn Stray	A/38/PV.6
39	1984	English	English	Kare Willoch*	A/39/PV.5
40	1985	English	English	Svenn Stray	A/40/PV.5
41	1986	English	English	Gro Harlem Brundtland*	A/41/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.134: NOR: Norway (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
42	1987	English	English	Thorvald Stoltenberg	A/42/PV.7
43	1988	English	English	Gro Harlem Brundtland*	A/43/PV.5
44	1989	English	English	Gro Harlem Brundtland*	A/44/PV.5
45	1990	English	English	Jan P. Syse*	A/45/PV.11
46	1991	English	English	Gro Harlem Brundtland*	A/46/PV.5
47	1992	English	English	Gro Harlem Brundtland*	A/47/PV.5
48	1993	English	English	Gro Harlem Brundtland*	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	English	English	Bjorn Tore Godal	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	English	English	Bjorn Tore Godal	A/50/PV.5
51	1996	English	English	Gro Harlem Brundtland*	A/51/PV.5
52	1997	English	English	Bjorn Tore Godal	A/52/PV.6
53	1998	English	English	Knut Vollebaek	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	English	English	Kjell Magne Bondevik*	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	English	English	Thorbjorn Jagland	A/55/PV.14
56	2001	English	English	Jan Petersen	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	English	English	Kjell Magne Bondevik*	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	English	English	Jan Petersen	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	English	English	Jan Petersen	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	English	English	Jan Petersen	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	English	English	Jens Stoltenberg*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	English	English	Jens Stoltenberg*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	English	English	Jens Stoltenberg*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Jonas Gahr Store	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Tine Morch Smith	A/65/PV.24
66	2011	English	English	Espen Barth Eide	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	English	English	Espen Barth Eide	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	English	English	Espen Barth Eide	A/68/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.134: NOR: Norway (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
69	2014	English	English	Erna Solberg*	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	English	English	Erna Solberg*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	English	English	Erna Solberg*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	English	English	Tore Hattrem	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	English	English	Erna Solberg*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	English	English	Erna Solberg*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Erna Solberg*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Erna Solberg*	A/76/PV.9

NPL: Nepal

Table I.135: NPL: Nepal

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	English	English	Chuda Prasad Sharma	A/PV.602
12	1957	English	English	Rishikesh Shaha	A/PV.698
13	1958	English	English	Rishikesh Shaha	A/PV.771
14	1959	English	English	Surya Prasad Upadhyaya	A/PV.820
15	1960	English	English	Bishweswar Prasad Koirala	A/PV.878
16	1961	English	English	Rishikesh Shaha	A/PV.1031
17	1962	English	English	Rishikesh Shaha	A/PV.1143
18	1963	English	English	Tulsi Giri	A/PV.1218
19	1964	English	English	Kirti Nidhi Bista	A/PV.1300
20	1965	English	English	Kirti Nidhi Bista	A/PV.1349
21	1966	English	English	Kirti Nidhi Bista	A/PV.1426
22	1967	English	English	Kirti Nidhi Bista	A/PV.1583
23	1968	English	English	Kirti Nidhi Bista	A/PV.1696
24	1969	English	English	Genhendra Bahadur Raijbhandary	A/PV.1777
26	1971	English	English	Padma Bahadur Khatri	A/PV.1955
27	1972	English	English	Gyanendra Bahadur Karki	A/PV.2043
28	1973	English	English	Gyanendra Bahadur Karki	A/PV.2136
29	1974	English	English	Gyanendra Bahadur Karki	A/PV.2252
30	1975	English	English	Krishna Raj Aryal	A/PV.2377
31	1976	English	English	Krishna Raj Aryal	A/31/PV.5
32	1977	English	English	Krishna Raj Aryal	A/32/PV.13
33	1978	English	English	Krishna Raj Aryal	A/33/PV.15
34	1979	English	English	K.B. Shahi	A/34/PV.26
35	1980	English	English	K.B. Shahi	A/35/PV.13
36	1981	English	English	Uddhav Deo Bhatt	A/36/PV.30

Continued on next page

Table I.135: NPL: Nepal (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
37	1982	English	English	Uddhav Deo Bhatt	A/37/PV.31
38	1983	English	English	Padma Bahadur Khatri	A/38/PV.24
39	1984	English	English	Padma Bahadur Khatri	A/39/PV.7
40	1985	English	English	Randhir Subba	A/40/PV.23
41	1986	English	English	Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay	A/41/PV.13
42	1987	English	English	Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay	A/42/PV.15
43	1988	English	English	Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay	A/43/PV.17
44	1989	English	English	Shailendra Kumar Upadhyay	A/44/PV.21
45	1990	English	English	Jai Pratap Rana	A/45/PV.24
46	1991	English	English	Ram Hari Joshi	A/46/PV.9
47	1992	English	English	Jayaraj Acharya	A/47/PV.14
48	1993	English	English	Girija Prasad Koirala*	A/48/PV.28
49	1994	English	English	Jayaraj Acharya	A/49/PV.24
50	1995	English	English	Prakash Chandra Lohani	A/50/PV.29
51	1996	English	English	Prakash Chandra Lohani	A/51/PV.28
52	1997	English	English	Kamal Thapa	A/52/PV.16
53	1998	English	English	Shailaja Acharya	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	English	English	Krishna Bhattarai*	A/54/PV.19
55	2000	English	English	Chakra Prasad Bastola	A/55/PV.10
56	2001	English	English	Ram Sharan Mahat	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	English	English	Arjun J.B. Singh	A/57/PV.17
58	2003	English	English	Bhekh Bahadur Thapa	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	English	English	Prakash Sharan Mahat	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	English	English	Ramesh Pandey	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	English	English	K.P. Sharma Oli	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	English	English	Sahana Pradhan	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	English	English	Pushpa Kamal Dahal*	A/63/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.135: NPL: Nepal (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
64	2009	English	English	Madhav Kumar Nepal*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	English	English	Bhim Bahadur Rawal	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Baburam Bhattarai*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English	English	Narayan Kaji Shrestha	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Khil Raj Regmi*	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	English	English	Sushil Koirala	A/69/PV.14
70	2015	English	English	Prakash Man Singh	A/70/PV.24
71	2016	English	English	Prakash Sharan Mahat	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Sher Bahadur Deuba*	A/72/PV.19
73	2018	English	English	K.P. Sharma Oli*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	English	English	Pradeep Kumar Gyawali	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	K.P. Sharma Oli*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	Narayan Khadka	A/76/PV.17

NRU: Nauru

Table I.136: NRU: Nauru

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	English	English	Vinci Neil Clodumar	A/55/PV.25
56	2001	English	English	Rene Harris*	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	English	English	Rene Harris*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	English	English	Vinci Neil Clodumar	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Vinci Neil Clodumar	A/59/PV.16
60	2005	English	English	Ludwig Scotty*	A/60/PV.11
61	2006	English	English	Ludwig Scotty*	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	English	English	Ludwig Scotty*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Marcus Stephen*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	English	English	Marcus Stephen*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	English	English	Marcus Stephen*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Marcus Stephen*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	English	English	Sprent Arumogo Dabwido*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	English	English	Baron Divavesi Waqa*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	Baron Divavesi Waqa*	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	English	English	Baron Divavesi Waqa*	A/70/PV.20
71	2016	English	English	Baron Divavesi Waqa*	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	English	English	Baron Divavesi Waqa*	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	English	English	Baron Divavesi Waqa*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	English	English	Lionel Rouwen Aingimea*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	English	English	Lionel Rouwen Aingimea*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	English	English	Lionel Rouwen Aingimea*	A/76/PV.10

NZL: New Zealand

Table I.137: NZL: New Zealand

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Carl Berendsen	A/PV.39
2	1947	English	English	Carl Berendsen	A/PV.87
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	James Thorn	A/PV.144
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Carl Berendsen	A/PV.224
5	1950	English	English	Carl Berendsen	A/PV.280
6	1951	English	English	Frederick Widdowson Doidge	A/PV.337
7	1952	English	English	T. Clifton Webb	A/PV.380
8	1953	English	English	T. Clifton Webb	A/PV.436
9	1954	English	English	Leslie Knox Munro	A/PV.482
10	1955	English	English	Thomas Lachlan Macdonald	A/PV.519
11	1956	English	English	Thomas Lachlan Macdonald	A/PV.588
12	1957	English	English	Thomas Lachlan Macdonald	A/PV.683
13	1958	English	English	Walter Nash	A/PV.770
14	1959	English	English	Foss Shanahan	A/PV.819
15	1960	English	English	Walter Nash*	A/PV.886
16	1961	English	English	Alister Donald Mcintosh	A/PV.1025
17	1962	English	English	Keith Holyoake	A/PV.1133
18	1963	English	English	Alister Donald Mcintosh	A/PV.1225
19	1964	English	English	Josiah Ralph Hanan	A/PV.1305
20	1965	English	English	Harry Robson Lake	A/PV.1349
21	1966	English	English	Frank H. Corner	A/PV.1447
22	1967	English	English	Charles Craw	A/PV.1588
23	1968	English	English	Keith Holyoake	A/PV.1694
24	1969	English	English	Keith Holyoake*	A/PV.1757
25	1970	English	English	John V. Scott	A/PV.1853
26	1971	English	English	Robert D. Muldoon	A/PV.1955

Continued on next page

Table I.137: NZL: New Zealand (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	English	English	Keith Holyoake	A/PV.2045
28	1973	English	English	Norman Kirk*	A/PV.2129
29	1974	English	English	Joseph Albert Walding	A/PV.2239
30	1975	English	English	Joseph Albert Walding	A/PV.2356
31	1976	English	English	Keith Holyoake	A/31/PV.21
32	1977	English	English	Brian E. Talboys	A/32/PV.26
33	1978	English	English	Robert D. Muldoon*	A/33/PV.7
34	1979	English	English	Frank H. Corner	A/34/PV.10
35	1980	English	English	Robert D. Muldoon*	A/35/PV.26
36	1981	English	English	Brian E. Talboys	A/36/PV.18
37	1982	English	English	Warren Cooper	A/37/PV.19
38	1983	English	English	Robert D. Muldoon*	A/38/PV.18
39	1984	English	English	David R. Lange*	A/39/PV.7
40	1985	English	English	Geoffrey Palmer	A/40/PV.7
41	1986	English	English	Frank O'Flynn	A/41/PV.13
42	1987	English Maori	English	Cedric Russell Marshall	A/42/PV.28
43	1988	English	English	David R. Lange*	A/43/PV.9
44	1989	English	English	Geoffrey Palmer*	A/44/PV.15
45	1990	English	English	Frances Wilde	A/45/PV.14
46	1991	English	English	James Brendan Bolger*	A/46/PV.4
47	1992	English	English	James Brendan Bolger*	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	English	English	Don Mckinnon	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	English	English	John Mckinnon	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	English	English	Don Mckinnon	A/50/PV.11
51	1996	English	English	Robin Gray	A/51/PV.13
52	1997	English	English	Michael Powles	A/52/PV.15
53	1998	English	English	Don Mckinnon	A/53/PV.15
54	1999	English	English	Don Mckinnon	A/54/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.137: NZL: New Zealand (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	English	English	Phil Goff	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	English	English	Phil Goff	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	English	English	Phil Goff	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	English	English	Phil Goff	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	English	English	Phil Goff	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English	English	Rosemary Banks	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	English	English	Winston Peters	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	English	English	Rosemary Banks	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	English	English	Rosemary Banks	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English Maori[38]	English	John Key*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Murray Mccully	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Jim Mclay	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	English	English	Murray Mccully	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	John Key*	A/68/PV.14
69	2014	English	English	Murray Mccully	A/69/PV.18
70	2015	English	English	John Key*	A/70/PV.23
71	2016	English	English	John Key*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	English	English	Craig John Hawke	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	English Maori	English	Jacinda Ardern*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English Maori	English	Jacinda Ardern*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	English Maori	English	Craig John Hawke	A/75/PV.15
76	2021	English Maori	English	Jacinda Ardern*	A/76/PV.13

[38] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/64/PV.8. The English version indicates: 'spoke in Maori; English text provided by the delegation', while the French version indicates: 'parle en anglais'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

OMN: Oman

Table I.138: OMN: Oman

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
27	1972	Arabic	English	Fahad bin Mahmoud Al-Said	A/PV.2055
28	1973	Arabic	English	Faisal bin Ali Al-Said	A/PV.2133
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Abdel Nabi Macki	A/PV.2260
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Qais Al-Zawawi	A/PV.2374
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Qais Al-Zawawi	A/31/PV.28
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/32/PV.23
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Qais Al-Zawawi	A/33/PV.23
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/34/PV.19
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/35/PV.21
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/36/PV.24
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/37/PV.16
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/38/PV.22
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/39/PV.23
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/40/PV.8
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/41/PV.9
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/42/PV.20
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic English	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/43/PV.11
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/44/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.138: OMN: Oman (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/45/PV.11
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Sayyid Haytham bin Tariq bin Taimour Al Said	A/46/PV.15
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/47/PV.13
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/48/PV.23
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/49/PV.11
50	1995	Arabic[39]	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/50/PV.16
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/51/PV.16
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/52/PV.23
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/53/PV.17
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/55/PV.18
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Fuad Al-Hinai	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/59/PV.11
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Sayyid Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Albusaidi	A/62/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.138: OMN: Oman (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Sayyid Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Albusaidi	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Sayyid Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Albusaidi	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Yousef bin Al-Alawi bin Abdullah	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic	Sayyid Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Albusaidi	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic English	Sayyid Badr bin Hamad bin Hamood Albusaidi	A/76/PV.16

[39] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/50/PV.16. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'interprétation de l'arabe'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

PAK: Pakistan

Table I.139: PAK: Pakistan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	A/PV.145
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	A/PV.227
5	1950	English	English	Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	A/PV.283
6	1951	English	English	Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	A/PV.343
7	1952	English	English	Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	A/PV.395
8	1953	English	English	Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	A/PV.437
9	1954	English	English	Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	A/PV.482
10	1955	English	English	Mohammed Ali	A/PV.531
11	1956	English	English	Firoz Khan Noon	A/PV.601
12	1957	English	English	Firoz Khan Noon	A/PV.694
13	1958	English	English	Aly Khan	A/PV.769
14	1959	English	English	Manzur Qadir	A/PV.808
15	1960	English	English	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	A/PV.878
16	1961	English	English	Muhammad Zafrulla Khan	A/PV.1023
17	1962	English	English	Mohammed Ali	A/PV.1141
18	1963	English	English	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	A/PV.1220
19	1964	English	English	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	A/PV.1319
20	1965	English	English	Zulfikar Ali Bhutto	A/PV.1339
21	1966	English	English	Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada	A/PV.1423
22	1967	English	English	Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada	A/PV.1584
23	1968	English	English	Arshad Husain	A/PV.1681

Continued on next page

Table I.139: PAK: Pakistan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
24	1969	English	English	Nawabzada Muhammad Sher Ali Khan	A/PV.1775
25	1970	English	English	Sardar Abdul Rashid	A/PV.1853
26	1971	English	English	Mahmud Ali	A/PV.1953
27	1972	English	English	Tridiv Roy	A/PV.2059
28	1973	English	English	Aziz Ahmed	A/PV.2147
29	1974	English	English	Aziz Ahmed	A/PV.2247
30	1975	English	English	Aziz Ahmed	A/PV.2373
31	1976	English	English	Aziz Ahmed	A/31/PV.8
32	1977	English	English	Agha Shahi	A/32/PV.9
33	1978	English	English	Agha Shahi	A/33/PV.21
34	1979	English	English	Agha Shahi	A/34/PV.15
35	1980	English	English	Mohammad Zia-Ul-Haq*	A/35/PV.18
36	1981	English	English	Agha Shahi	A/36/PV.23
37	1982	English	English	Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan	A/37/PV.16
38	1983	English	English	Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan	A/38/PV.17
39	1984	English	English	Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan	A/39/PV.16
40	1985	English	English	Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan	A/40/PV.18
41	1986	English	English	Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan	A/41/PV.15
42	1987	English	English	Mohammad Khan Junejo*	A/42/PV.11
43	1988	English	English	Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan	A/43/PV.7
44	1989	English	English	Nusrat Bhutto	A/44/PV.18
45	1990	English	English	Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan	A/45/PV.12
46	1991	English	English	Muhammad Siddique Khan Kanju	A/46/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.139: PAK: Pakistan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	English	English	Muhammad Siddique Khan Kanju	A/47/PV.7
48	1993	English	English	Abdul Sattar	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	English	English	Sardar Aseff Ahmad Ali	A/49/PV.16
50	1995	English	English	Sardar Aseff Ahmad Ali	A/50/PV.8
51	1996	English	English	Benazir Bhutto*	A/51/PV.20
52	1997	English Arabic	English	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*	A/52/PV.6
53	1998	English	English	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	English	English	Sartaj Aziz	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	English	English	Abdul Sattar	A/55/PV.20
56	2001	English	English	Pervez Musharraf*	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	English	English	Pervez Musharraf*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	English	English	Pervez Musharraf*	A/58/PV.9
59	2004	English	English	Pervez Musharraf*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	English	English	Khurshid M. Kasuri	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	English	English	Pervez Musharraf*	A/61/PV.10
62	2007	English	English	Riaz Mohammad Khan	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	English	English	Asif Ali Zardari*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Asif Ali Zardari*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	English	English	Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Hussain Qureshi	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	English	English	Hina Rabbani Khar	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	English	English	Asif Ali Zardari*	A/67/PV.7
68	2013	English	English	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	English	English	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*	A/69/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.139: PAK: Pakistan (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
70	2015	English	English	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	English	English	Muhammad Nawaz Sharif*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Shahid Khaqan Abbasi*	A/72/PV.14
73	2018	Urdu	English	Makhdoom Shah Mahmood Hussain Qureshi	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	English	English	Imran Khan*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Imran Khan*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	Imran Khan*	A/76/PV.13

PAN: Panama

Table I.140: PAN: Panama

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Brin	A/PV.288
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Jeptha Duncan	A/PV.344
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Ramon Guizado	A/PV.383
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Ramon Guizado	A/PV.483
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Boyd	A/PV.523
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Aquilino Boyd	A/PV.598
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Aquilino Boyd	A/PV.697
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Moreno	A/PV.749
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Moreno	A/PV.804
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge E. Illueca	A/PV.876
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Galileo Solis	A/PV.1130
18	1963	Spanish[40]	Spanish	Galileo Solis	A/PV.1216
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Eleta	A/PV.1423
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Nander Pitty Velasquez	A/PV.1768
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Antonio Tack	A/PV.1955
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Antonio Tack	A/PV.2137
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Ozores Typaldos	A/PV.2373
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Aquilino Boyd	A/31/PV.23
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge E. Illueca	A/32/PV.22
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Ozores Typaldos	A/33/PV.9
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Ozores Typaldos	A/34/PV.20
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Ozores Typaldos	A/35/PV.9
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Aristides Royo Sanchez*	A/36/PV.20
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge E. Illueca*	A/37/PV.18
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Oyden Ortega Duran	A/39/PV.10
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Nicolas Ardito Barletta*	A/40/PV.10
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Eric Arturo Delvalle*	A/41/PV.6
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Abadia Arias	A/42/PV.19
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Manuel Solis Palma*	A/43/PV.6

Continued on next page

Table I.140: PAN: Panama (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Rodriguez*	A/44/PV.17
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Endara Galimany*	A/45/PV.15
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Endara Galimany*	A/46/PV.30
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Endara Galimany*	A/47/PV.16
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Arosemena	A/48/PV.17
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Gabriel Lewis Galindo	A/49/PV.10
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Omar Jaen Suarez	A/50/PV.18
51	1996	Spanish[41]	Spanish	Jorge E. Illueca	A/51/PV.23
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alberto Arias	A/52/PV.14
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Aquilino Boyd	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Mireya Moscoso*	A/54/PV.12
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Miguel Aleman Healy	A/55/PV.22
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Miguel Aleman Healy	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Mireya Moscoso*	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Harmodio Arias	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Martin Torrijos*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Martin Torrijos*	A/60/PV.9
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Martin Torrijos*	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Martin Torrijos*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Martin Torrijos*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alberto Martinelli Berrocal*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alberto Martinelli Berrocal*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Alvarez de Soto	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alberto Martinelli Berrocal*	A/67/PV.7

Continued on next page

Table I.140: PAN: Panama (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Alberto Martinelli Berrocal*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Varela Rodriguez*	A/69/PV.10
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Varela Rodriguez*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Varela Rodriguez*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Varela Rodriguez*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Varela Rodriguez*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Laurentino Cortizo Cohen*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Laurentino Cortizo Cohen*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Laurentino Cortizo Cohen*	A/76/PV.10

[40] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/PV.1216. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'traduit de l'espagnol'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

[41] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/51/PV.23. The English version indicates: 'interpretation from Spanish', while the French version indicates: 'interprétation de l'anglais'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

PER: Peru

Table I.141: PER: Peru

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Ulloa	A/PV.36
2	1947	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Ulloa	A/PV.84
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Enrique Garcia Sayan	A/PV.147
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.225
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.279
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.339
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.384
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.439
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.476
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.520
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.597
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Manuel Cisneros Sanchez	A/PV.683
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Porras Barrenechea	A/PV.767
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Porras Barrenechea	A/PV.810
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Manuel Prado*	A/PV.1014
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Edgardo Llosa	A/PV.1130
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Schwalb Lopez Aldana	A/PV.1213
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.1293
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Victor Andres Belaunde	A/PV.1341

Continued on next page

Table I.141: PER: Peru (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Vazquez Salas	A/PV.1420
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Ulloa	A/PV.1583
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Edgardo Mercado Jarrin	A/PV.1757
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Edgardo Mercado Jarrin	A/PV.1842
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Edgardo Mercado Jarrin	A/PV.1947
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel de la Flor Valle	A/PV.2054
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel de la Flor Valle	A/PV.2124
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel de la Flor Valle	A/PV.2238
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel de la Flor Valle	A/PV.2356
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Jose de la Puente	A/31/PV.11
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Jose de la Puente	A/32/PV.13
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Jose de la Puente	A/33/PV.12
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Garcia Bedoya	A/34/PV.6
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Javier Arias Stella	A/35/PV.5
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Javier Arias Stella	A/36/PV.6
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Javier Arias Stella	A/37/PV.6
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Schwalb Lopez Aldana*	A/38/PV.17
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Belaunde Terry*	A/39/PV.12
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Alan Garcia Perez*	A/40/PV.5
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Allan Wagner Tizon	A/41/PV.5
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Allan Wagner Tizon	A/42/PV.5
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Gonzales Posada	A/43/PV.4
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Larco Cox	A/44/PV.4
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Marchand Stens	A/45/PV.7

Continued on next page

Table I.141: PER: Peru (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Torres Y Torres Lara*	A/46/PV.16
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo V. Luna	A/47/PV.16
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Fujimori*	A/48/PV.12
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Efrain Goldenberg Schreiber*	A/49/PV.11
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Tudela van Breughel Douglas	A/50/PV.7
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Tudela van Breughel Douglas	A/51/PV.5
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Eduardo Ferrero Costa	A/52/PV.11
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Eduardo Ferrero Costa	A/53/PV.9
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Fujimori*	A/54/PV.6
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando de Trazegnies Granda	A/55/PV.12
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Toledo Manrique*	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Toledo Manrique*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Toledo Manrique*	A/58/PV.7
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Toledo Manrique*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Toledo Manrique*	A/60/PV.11
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Antonio Garcia Belaunde	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Gutierrez	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Antonio Garcia Belaunde	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Antonio Garcia Belaunde	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Alan Garcia Perez*	A/65/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.141: PER: Peru (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Ollanta Humala Tasso*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Roncagliolo Orbegoso	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Ollanta Humala Tasso*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Ollanta Humala Tasso*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Gustavo Meza-Cuadra	A/70/PV.27
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Pedro Pablo Kuczynski Godard*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Gustavo Meza-Cuadra	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Martin Vizcarra Cornejo*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Martin Vizcarra Cornejo*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Martin Vizcarra Cornejo*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Pedro Castillo Terrones*	A/76/PV.4

PHL: Philippines

Table I.142: PHL: Philippines

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.41
2	1947	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.83
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.139
5	1950	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.283
6	1951	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.348
8	1953	English	English	Joaquin Miguel Elizalde	A/PV.448
9	1954	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.479
11	1956	English	English	Felixberto Serrano	A/PV.590
12	1957	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.691
13	1958	English	English	Felixberto Serrano	A/PV.755
14	1959	English	English	Francisco Delgado	A/PV.816
15	1960	English	English	Francisco Delgado	A/PV.888
16	1961	English	English	Joaquin Miguel Elizalde	A/PV.1038
17	1962	English	English	Emmanuel Pelaez	A/PV.1134
18	1963	English	English	Salvador Lopez	A/PV.1233
19	1964	English	English	Mauro Mendez	A/PV.1297
20	1965	English	English	Salvador Lopez	A/PV.1345
22	1967	English	English	Narciso Ramos	A/PV.1566
23	1968	English	English	Narciso Ramos	A/PV.1696
24	1969	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.1760
25	1970	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.1855
26	1971	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.1959
27	1972	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.2058
28	1973	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.2136
29	1974	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/PV.2243
30	1975	English	English	Imelda Romualdez Marcos	A/PV.2359
31	1976	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/31/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.142: PHL: Philippines (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
32	1977	English	English	Imelda Romualdez Marcos	A/32/PV.15
33	1978	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/33/PV.8
34	1979	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/34/PV.7
35	1980	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/35/PV.6
36	1981	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/36/PV.10
37	1982	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/37/PV.6
38	1983	English	English	Carlos P. Romulo	A/38/PV.5
39	1984	English	English	Salvador C. Tolentino	A/39/PV.11
40	1985	English	English	Pacifico A. Castro	A/40/PV.30
41	1986	English	English	Corazon Cojuangco Aquino*	A/41/PV.5
42	1987	English	English	Manuel T. Yan	A/42/PV.18
43	1988	English	English	Raul S. Manglapus	A/43/PV.14
44	1989	English Spanish	English	Raul S. Manglapus	A/44/PV.9
45	1990	English	English	Raul S. Manglapus	A/45/PV.18
46	1991	English	English	Raul S. Manglapus	A/46/PV.15
47	1992	English	English	Roberto Romulo	A/47/PV.26
48	1993	English	English	Roberto Romulo	A/48/PV.20
49	1994	English	English	Roberto Romulo	A/49/PV.18
50	1995	English	English	Domingo L. Siazon	A/50/PV.15
51	1996	English	English	Domingo L. Siazon	A/51/PV.18
52	1997	English	English	Domingo L. Siazon	A/52/PV.16
53	1998	English	English	Domingo L. Siazon	A/53/PV.17
54	1999	English	English	Domingo L. Siazon	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	English	English	Domingo L. Siazon	A/55/PV.23
56	2001	English	English	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo*	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	English	English	Blas Ople	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	English	English	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo*	A/58/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.142: PHL: Philippines (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
59	2004	English	English	Alberto Gatmaitan Romulo	A/59/PV.11
60	2005	English	English	Alberto Gatmaitan Romulo	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	English	English	Alberto Gatmaitan Romulo	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	English	English	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	English	English	Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	English Spanish	English	Alberto Gatmaitan Romulo	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Benigno Simeon Cojuangco Aquino*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Libran N. Cabactulan	A/66/PV.30
67	2012	English	English	Albert F. del Rosario	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	English	English	Albert F. del Rosario	A/68/PV.22
69	2014	English	English	Albert F. del Rosario	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	English	English	Albert F. del Rosario	A/70/PV.26
71	2016	English	English	Perfecto Yasay	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	English	English	Alan Peter Cayetano	A/72/PV.20
73	2018	English	English	Alan Peter Cayetano	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	English	English	Teodoro Locsin Junior	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	English	English	Rodrigo Roa Duterte*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	English	English	Rodrigo Roa Duterte*	A/76/PV.4

PLW: Palau

Table I.143: PLW: Palau

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
51	1996	English	English	David Orrukem	A/51/PV.26
54	1999	English	English	Tommy Esang Remengesau Junior*	A/54/PV.14
55	2000	English	English	Hersey Kyota	A/55/PV.24
56	2001	English	English	Tommy Esang Remengesau Junior*	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	English	English	Sandra Pierantozzi	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	English	English	Sandra Pierantozzi	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	English	English	Sandra Pierantozzi	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	Stuart Beck	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	English	English	Elias Camsek Chin	A/61/PV.16
62	2007	English	English	Elias Camsek Chin	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Elias Camsek Chin	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	English	English	Johnson Toribiong*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	English	English	Johnson Toribiong*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	English	English	Johnson Toribiong*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	English	English	Stuart Beck	A/67/PV.21
68	2013	English	English	Tommy Esang Remengesau Junior*	A/68/PV.10
69	2014	English	English	Tommy Esang Remengesau Junior*	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	English	English	Caleb Otto	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	English	English	Caleb Otto	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English	English	Tommy Esang Remengesau Junior*	A/72/PV.13
73	2018	English	English	Tommy Esang Remengesau Junior*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	English	English	Tommy Esang Remengesau Junior*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	English	English	Tommy Esang Remengesau Junior*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	Surangel S. Whipps*	A/76/PV.4

PNG: Papua New Guinea

Table I.144: PNG: Papua New Guinea

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	English	English	Maori Kiki	A/31/PV.8
32	1977	English	English	Michael Somare*	A/32/PV.28
33	1978	English	English	Niwia Ebia Olewale	A/33/PV.11
34	1979	English	English	Niwia Ebia Olewale	A/34/PV.8
35	1980	English	English	W. Noel Levi	A/35/PV.30
36	1981	English	English	W. Noel Levi	A/36/PV.8
37	1982	English	English	Rabbie Namaliu	A/37/PV.23
38	1983	English	English	Michael Somare*	A/38/PV.31
39	1984	English	English	Rabbie Namaliu	A/39/PV.15
40	1985	English	English	John Giheno	A/40/PV.28
41	1986	English	English	Legu Vagi	A/41/PV.32
42	1987	English	English	Aruru Matiabe	A/42/PV.29
43	1988	English	English	Michael Somare*	A/43/PV.27
44	1989	English	English	Michael Somare	A/44/PV.30
45	1990	English	English	Rabbie Namaliu*	A/45/PV.5
46	1991	English	English	Utula Utuoc Samana	A/46/PV.11
47	1992	English	English	John Kaputin	A/47/PV.30
48	1993	English	English	John Kaputin	A/48/PV.24
49	1994	English	English	Chris Haiveta	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	English	English	Julius Chan*	A/50/PV.15
51	1996	English	English	Julius Chan*	A/51/PV.5
52	1997	English	English	Kilroy Genia	A/52/PV.28
53	1998	English	English	William Skate*	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	English	English	Michael Somare	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	English	English	John Kaputin	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	English	English	Peter Donigi	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Rabbie Namaliu	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	English	English	Rabbie Namaliu	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Rabbie Namaliu	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	English	English	Rabbie Namaliu	A/60/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.144: PNG: Papua New Guinea (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
61	2006	English	English	Michael Somare*	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	English	English	Michael Somare*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Puka Temu*	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	English	English	Samuel T. Abal	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Michael Somare*	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Peter Paire O'Neill*	A/66/PV.23
67	2012	English	English	Rimbink Pato	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	Leo Dion*	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	English	English	Rimbink Pato	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English	English	Rimbink Pato	A/70/PV.24
71	2016	English	English	Puka Temu	A/71/PV.16
72	2017	English	English	Peter Paire O'Neill*	A/72/PV.19
73	2018	English	English	Rimbink Pato	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	English	English	Soroi Eoe	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	James Marape*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English	English	James Marape*	A/76/PV.13

POL: Poland

Table I.145: POL: Poland

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Wincenty Rzymowski	A/PV.40
2	1947	French	French	Zygmunt Modzelewski	A/PV.82
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Zygmunt Modzelewski	A/PV.139
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Stafan Wierblowski	A/PV.227
5	1950	French	French	Stafan Wierblowski	A/PV.287
6	1951	French	French	Stafan Wierblowski	A/PV.340
7	1952	French	French	Stanislaw Skrzeszewski	A/PV.382
8	1953	French	French	Marian Naszkowski	A/PV.441
9	1954	French	French	Stanislaw Skrzeszewski	A/PV.488
10	1955	French	French	Marian Naszkowski	A/PV.524
11	1956	French	French	Marian Naszkowski	A/PV.598
12	1957	French	French	Adam Rapacki	A/PV.697
13	1958	French	French	Adam Rapacki	A/PV.766
14	1959	French	French	Adam Rapacki	A/PV.818
15	1960	Polish	English	Wladyslaw Gomulka*	A/PV.874
16	1961	French	French	Adam Rapacki	A/PV.1029
17	1962	French	French	Adam Rapacki	A/PV.1136
18	1963	English	English	Jozef Winiewicz	A/PV.1228
19	1964	French	French	Adam Rapacki	A/PV.1301
20	1965	English	English	Jozef Winiewicz	A/PV.1358
21	1966	English	English	Jozef Winiewicz	A/PV.1434
22	1967	English	English	Jozef Winiewicz	A/PV.1577
23	1968	English	English	Jozef Winiewicz	A/PV.1698
24	1969	Russian	Russian	Stefan Jedrychowski	A/PV.1767
26	1971	Russian	Russian	Stefan Jedrychowski	A/PV.1953
27	1972	English	English	Stefan Olszowski	A/PV.2042
28	1973	English	English	Stefan Olszowski	A/PV.2130
29	1974	Polish French	English French	Edward Gierek*	A/PV.2264

Continued on next page

Table I.145: POL: Poland (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
30	1975	English	English	Stefan Olszowski	A/PV.2361
31	1976	Polish	English	Stefan Olszowski	A/31/PV.5
32	1977	French	French	Emil Wojtaszek	A/32/PV.12
33	1978	French	French	Emil Wojtaszek	A/33/PV.12
34	1979	French	French	Emil Wojtaszek	A/34/PV.11
35	1980	Polish	English	Josef Czyrek	A/35/PV.10
36	1981	Polish	English	Josef Czyrek	A/36/PV.11
37	1982	Polish	English	Stefan Olszowski	A/37/PV.5
38	1983	Polish French	English	Henryk Jablonski*	A/38/PV.13
39	1984	Polish	English	Stefan Olszowski	A/39/PV.12
40	1985	Polish	English	Wojciech Jaruzelski*	A/40/PV.12
41	1986	Polish	English	Marian Orzechowski	A/41/PV.10
42	1987	Polish[42]	English	Marian Orzechowski	A/42/PV.22
43	1988	English	English	Tadeusz Olechowski	A/43/PV.9
44	1989	English	English	Krzysztof Skubiszewski	A/44/PV.4
45	1990	English	English	Krzysztof Skubiszewski	A/45/PV.4
46	1991	English	English	Krzysztof Skubiszewski	A/46/PV.14
47	1992	English	English	Krzysztof Skubiszewski	A/47/PV.7
48	1993	English	English	Krzysztof Skubiszewski	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	English	English	Andrzej Olechowski	A/49/PV.6
50	1995	Polish	English	Wladyslaw Bartoszewski	A/50/PV.16
51	1996	English	English	Aleksander Kwasniewski*	A/51/PV.7
52	1997	English	English	Dariusz Rosati	A/52/PV.13
53	1998	English	English	Bronislaw Geremek	A/53/PV.13
54	1999	English French	English	Bronislaw Geremek	A/54/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.145: POL: Poland (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	Polish	English	Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz	A/55/PV.17
56	2001	English	English	Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	English	English	Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	English	English	Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	English	English	Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	English	English	Adam Daniel Rotfeld	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	Polish	English	Lech Kaczynski*	A/61/PV.10
62	2007	Polish	English	Lech Kaczynski*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	Polish	English	Lech Kaczynski*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	Polish	English	Lech Kaczynski*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	English	English	Witold Sobkow	A/65/PV.24
66	2011	Polish	English	Bronislaw Komorowski*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	Polish	English	Bronislaw Komorowski*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	Polish	English	Bronislaw Komorowski*	A/68/PV.9
69	2014	Polish	English	Bronislaw Komorowski*	A/69/PV.10
70	2015	Polish	English	Andrzej Duda*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	Polish	English	Andrzej Duda*	A/71/PV.9
72	2017	Polish	English	Andrzej Duda*	A/72/PV.5
73	2018	Polish	English	Andrzej Duda*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	Polish	English	Andrzej Duda*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	Polish	English	Andrzej Duda*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	Polish	English	Andrzej Duda*	A/76/PV.4

[42] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/42/PV.22. The English version indicates: 'spoke in Polish; English text furnished by the delegation', while the French version indicates: 'interprétation du russe'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

PRK: North Korea

Table I.146: PRK: North Korea

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	Korean	English	Yon Hyong Muk*	A/46/PV.18
47	1992	Korean	English	Kim Yong Nam	A/47/PV.16
48	1993	Korean	English	Song Won Ho	A/48/PV.17
49	1994	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/49/PV.19
50	1995	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/50/PV.29
51	1996	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/51/PV.10
52	1997	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/52/PV.22
53	1998	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/53/PV.18
54	1999	Korean	English	Paek Nam Sun	A/54/PV.14
55	2000	Korean	English	Li Hyong Chol	A/55/PV.17
56	2001	Korean	English	Li Hyong Chol	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/59/PV.11
60	2005	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	Korean	English	Choe Su Hon	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	Korean	English	Pak Kil Yon	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	Korean	English	Pak Kil Yon	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	Korean	English	Pak Kil Yon	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	Korean	English	Pak Kil Yon	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	Korean	English	Pak Kil Yon	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	Korean	English	Pak Ui Chun	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	Korean	English	Ri Su Yong	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	Korean	English	Ri Su Yong	A/70/PV.24
71	2016	Korean	English	Ri Yong Ho	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	Korean	English	Ri Yong Ho	A/72/PV.20
73	2018	Korean	English	Ri Yong Ho	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	Korean	English	Kim Song	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	Korean	English	Kim Song	A/75/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.146: PRK: North Korea (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
76	2021	Korean	English	Kim Song	A/76/PV.17

PRT: Portugal

Table I.147: PRT: Portugal

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	French	French	Paulo Arsenio Virissimo Cunha	A/PV.581
13	1958	English	English	Vasco Vieira Garin	A/PV.761
14	1959	English	English	Vasco Vieira Garin	A/PV.821
15	1960	English	English	Vasco Vieira Garin	A/PV.892
17	1962	English	English	Alberto Franco Nogueira	A/PV.1155
20	1965	English	English	Alberto Franco Nogueira	A/PV.1356
27	1972	French	French	Rui Manuel Medeiros d'Espiney Patricio	A/PV.2048
28	1973	English	English	Rui Manuel Medeiros d'Espiney Patricio	A/PV.2138
29	1974	French	French	Mario Soares	A/PV.2239
30	1975	Portuguese	English	Ernesto Melo Antunes	A/PV.2382
31	1976	Portuguese[43]	English	Jose de Medeiros Ferreira	A/31/PV.22
32	1977	Portuguese	English	Jose de Medeiros Ferreira	A/32/PV.11
33	1978	Portuguese	English	Carlos Jorge Mendes Correa Gago	A/33/PV.13
34	1979	Portuguese	French	Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo*	A/34/PV.16
35	1980	Portuguese	English	Diogo Freitas do Amaral	A/35/PV.31
36	1981	Portuguese	English	Andre Goncalves Pereira	A/36/PV.6
37	1982	Portuguese	English	Francisco Pinto Balsemao*	A/37/PV.14
38	1983	Portuguese	English	Jaime Jose da Gama	A/38/PV.6

Continued on next page

Table I.147: PRT: Portugal (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
39	1984	Portuguese	English	Jaime Jose da Gama	A/39/PV.5
40	1985	Portuguese	English	Jaime Jose da Gama	A/40/PV.5
41	1986	Portuguese	English	Pedro Pires de Miranda	A/41/PV.8
42	1987	Portuguese	English	Joao de Deus Pinheiro	A/42/PV.9
43	1988	Portuguese	English	Joao de Deus Pinheiro	A/43/PV.15
44	1989	Portuguese	English	Joao de Deus Pinheiro	A/44/PV.8
45	1990	Portuguese	English	Anibal Antonio Cavaco Silva*	A/45/PV.8
46	1991	Portuguese	English	Joao de Deus Pinheiro	A/46/PV.7
47	1992	Portuguese[44]	English	Joao de Deus Pinheiro	A/47/PV.7
48	1993	Portuguese	English	Jose Manuel Durao Barroso	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	Portuguese	English	Jose Manuel Durao Barroso	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	Portuguese	English	Jose Manuel Durao Barroso	A/50/PV.6
51	1996	Portuguese	English	Jaime Jose da Gama	A/51/PV.12
52	1997	Portuguese	English	Jaime Jose da Gama	A/52/PV.8
53	1998	Portuguese	English	Jaime Jose da Gama	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	Portuguese English	English	Jorge Fernando de Sampaio*	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	Portuguese	English	Jaime Jose da Gama	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	Portuguese	English	Jaime Jose da Gama	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	English Portuguese	English	Antonio Martins da Cruz	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	Portuguese	English	Jose Manuel Durao Barroso*	A/58/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.147: PRT: Portugal (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
59	2004	Portuguese	English	Pedro Miguel de Santana Lopes*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	Portuguese	English	Diogo Freitas do Amaral	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	Portuguese	English	Jose Socrates*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	Portuguese	English	Jose Socrates*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	Portuguese	English	Anibal Antonio Cavaco Silva*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	Portuguese	English	Joao Gomes Cravinho	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	Portuguese	English	Jose Socrates*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	Portuguese	English	Pedro Passos Coelho*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	Portuguese	English	Jose Filipe Moraes Cabral	A/67/PV.21
68	2013	Portuguese	English	Rui Machete	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	Portuguese	English	Rui Machete	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	Portuguese	English	Anibal Antonio Cavaco Silva*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	Portuguese English	English	Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	Portuguese	English	Antonio Luis Santos da Costa*	A/72/PV.8
73	2018	Portuguese English	English	Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	Portuguese English	English	Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	Portuguese	French	Antonio Luis Santos da Costa*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	Portuguese	English	Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa*	A/76/PV.3

[43] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/31/PV.22. The English version indicates: 'Mr. de Medeiros Ferreira spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.', while the French version indicates: 'L'orateur s'est exprimé en portugais. La version anglaise de sa déclaration a été communiquée par la délégation.'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

[44] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/47/PV.7. The English version indicates: 'spoke in Portuguese; English text furnished by the delegation', while the French version

PRY: Paraguay

Table I.148: PRY: Paraguay

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Bernardo Ocampos	A/PV.343
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Bernardo Ocampos	A/PV.383
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Guillermo Enciso Velloso	A/PV.524
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Paciffico Montero de Vargas	A/PV.603
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Sapena Pastor	A/PV.681
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Paciffico Montero de Vargas	A/PV.822
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Sapena Pastor	A/PV.874
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Pedro Godinot de Vilaire	A/PV.1023
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Sapena Pastor	A/PV.1144
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Sapena Pastor	A/PV.1212
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Sapena Pastor	A/PV.1297
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Sapena Pastor	A/PV.1344
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Solano Lopez	A/PV.1441
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Sapena Pastor	A/PV.1570
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Solano Lopez	A/PV.1705
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Solano Lopez	A/PV.1782
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Solano Lopez	A/PV.1855
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Solano Lopez	A/PV.1955
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Solano Lopez	A/PV.2062
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Barreiro Maffiodo	A/PV.2125
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Sapena Pastor	A/PV.2257
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Barreiro Maffiodo	A/PV.2382
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Nogues	A/31/PV.14
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Nogues	A/32/PV.11
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Nogues	A/34/PV.16

Continued on next page

Table I.148: PRY: Paraguay (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Nogues	A/35/PV.21
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Nogues	A/36/PV.14
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Alberto Nogues	A/37/PV.25
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Ezequiel Gonzalez Alsina	A/38/PV.24
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Augusto Saldivar	A/39/PV.15
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Augusto Saldivar	A/40/PV.17
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Augusto Saldivar	A/41/PV.23
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Augusto Saldivar	A/42/PV.9
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Rodney Elpidio Acevedo	A/43/PV.29
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Andrez Rodriguez*	A/44/PV.6
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Alexis Frutos Vaesken	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	B. Hugo Saguier Caballero	A/46/PV.16
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Alexis Frutos Vaesken	A/47/PV.17
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Wasmosy*	A/48/PV.8
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Maria Ramirez Boettner	A/49/PV.17
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Maria Ramirez Boettner	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Ruben Dario Melgarejo Lanzoni	A/51/PV.10
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Wasmosy*	A/52/PV.8
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Raul Cubas Grau*	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Angel Gonzalez Macchi*	A/54/PV.8
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Esteban Aguirre Martinez	A/55/PV.17
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Angel Gonzalez Macchi*	A/56/PV.46

Continued on next page

Table I.148: PRY: Paraguay (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Angel Gonzalez Macchi*	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Nicanor Duarte Frutos*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Nicanor Duarte Frutos*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Nicanor Duarte Frutos*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Nicanor Duarte Frutos*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Nicanor Duarte Frutos*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Lugo Mendez*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Lugo Mendez*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Hector Lacognata	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Lugo Mendez*	A/66/PV.12
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Federico Franco Gomez*	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Horacio Manuel Cartes Jara*	A/68/PV.6
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Antonio Dos Santos	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Horacio Manuel Cartes Jara*	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Eladio Ramon Loizaga Lezcano	A/71/PV.16
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Horacio Manuel Cartes Jara*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Abdo Benitez*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Antonio Rivas Palacios	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Abdo Benitez*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Mario Abdo Benitez*	A/76/PV.12

PSE: Palestine

Table I.149: PSE: Palestine

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Yasser Arafat*	A/53/PV.18
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Yasser Arafat*	A/54/PV.10
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Al-Kidwa	A/55/PV.22
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Yasser Arafat*	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Kaddoumi	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Kaddoumi	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	English	English	Farouk Kaddoumi	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Al-Kidwa	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/72/PV.8
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic English	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	Arabic[45]	Arabic	Mahmoud Abbas*	A/76/PV.12

[45] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.12. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: arabe]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

QAT: Qatar

Table I.150: QAT: Qatar

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
26	1971	French	French	Hassan Kamel	A/PV.1964
27	1972	Arabic	English	Suhaim bin Hamad Al-Thani	A/PV.2043
28	1973	Arabic	English	Suhaim bin Hamad Al-Thani	A/PV.2141
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Suhaim bin Hamad Al-Thani	A/PV.2241
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Suhaim bin Hamad Al-Thani	A/PV.2376
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Jasim Yousif Jamal	A/31/PV.20
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Jasim Yousif Jamal	A/32/PV.25
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Jasim Yousif Jamal	A/33/PV.25
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/34/PV.18
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/35/PV.25
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/36/PV.26
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/37/PV.22
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/38/PV.24
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/39/PV.11
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/40/PV.30
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/41/PV.17
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/42/PV.19
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed bin Saif Al Thani	A/43/PV.23

Continued on next page

Table I.150: QAT: Qatar (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah bin Khalifa Al-Attiyah	A/44/PV.23
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Mufta Al-Khater	A/45/PV.22
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Rashid Mufta Al-Khater	A/46/PV.17
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani	A/47/PV.18
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Meshal Hamad Mohamed J. Al-Thani	A/48/PV.15
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani	A/49/PV.9
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani	A/50/PV.17
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani	A/51/PV.19
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani	A/52/PV.21
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani	A/54/PV.18
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser	A/55/PV.22
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Nassir Abdulaziz Al-Nasser	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Jassim bin Jabr Al-Thani	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani*	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Abdulla Al-Rumaihi	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani	A/61/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.150: QAT: Qatar (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Hamad bin Khalifa Al-Thani*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani*	A/72/PV.4
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic English French	Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Tamim bin Hamad Al-Thani*	A/76/PV.3

ROU: Romania

Table I.151: ROU: Romania

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	French	French	Grigore Preoteasa	A/PV.602
12	1957	French	French	Ion Gheorghe Maurer	A/PV.689
13	1958	French	French	Avram Bunaciu	A/PV.759
14	1959	English	English	Silviu Brucan	A/PV.806
15	1960	Romanian	English	Georghe Gheorghiu-Dej*	A/PV.873
16	1961	French	French	Corneliu Manescu	A/PV.1024
17	1962	French	French	Mircea Malitza	A/PV.1141
18	1963	French	French	Corneliu Manescu	A/PV.1215
19	1964	French	French	Corneliu Manescu	A/PV.1308
20	1965	French	French	Corneliu Manescu	A/PV.1353
21	1966	French	French	Corneliu Manescu	A/PV.1442
22	1967	French	French	Mircea Malitza	A/PV.1584
23	1968	French	French	Mircea Malitza	A/PV.1705
24	1969	French	French	Corneliu Manescu	A/PV.1775
26	1971	French	French	Corneliu Manescu	A/PV.1954
27	1972	French	French	Corneliu Manescu	A/PV.2058
28	1973	French	French	George Macovescu	A/PV.2146
29	1974	French	French	George Macovescu	A/PV.2254
30	1975	French	French	George Macovescu	A/PV.2363
31	1976	French	French	George Macovescu	A/31/PV.13
32	1977	French	French	George Macovescu	A/32/PV.10
33	1978	French	French	Stefan Andrei	A/33/PV.13
34	1979	French	French	Stefan Andrei	A/34/PV.12
35	1980	French	French	Stefan Andrei	A/35/PV.10
36	1981	French	French	Stefan Andrei	A/36/PV.12
37	1982	French	French	Stefan Andrei	A/37/PV.9
38	1983	French	French	Stefan Andrei	A/38/PV.11
39	1984	French	French	Stefan Andrei	A/39/PV.13
40	1985	French	French	Stefan Andrei	A/40/PV.13
41	1986	English	English	Ioan Totu	A/41/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.151: ROU: Romania (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
42	1987	English	English	Ioan Totu	A/42/PV.12
43	1988	English	English French	Ioan Totu	A/43/PV.13
44	1989	English[46]	English	Ioan Totu	A/44/PV.11
45	1990	English	English	Ion Iliescu*	A/45/PV.18
46	1991	English	English	Adrian Nastase	A/46/PV.9
47	1992	English	English	Adrian Nastase	A/47/PV.9
48	1993	French	French	Teodor Melescanu	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	French	French	Ion Iliescu*	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	French	French	Teodor Melescanu	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	French	French	Teodor Melescanu	A/51/PV.16
52	1997	French	French	Adrian Severin	A/52/PV.11
53	1998	French	French	Andrei Plesu	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	English	English	Andrei Plesu	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	English French Spanish	English	Petre Roman	A/55/PV.15
56	2001	English	English	Ion Iliescu*	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	English French	English	Mircea Geoana	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	English French	English	Mircea Geoana	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	English French	English	Ion Iliescu*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	English French	English	Teodor Baconschi	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	English French	English	Mihai Razvan Ungureanu	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	French English	French	Adrian Mihai Cioroianu	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	English French	English	Lazar Comanescu	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	English French	English	Cristian Diaconescu	A/64/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.151: ROU: Romania (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
65	2010	English French	English	Emil Boc*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English French	English	Doru-Romulus Costea	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	English French	English	Titus Corlatean	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	English French	English	Titus Corlatean	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	English French	English	Victor-Viorel Ponta*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	English	English	Klaus Werner Iohannis*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English French	English	Dacian Julien Ciolos*	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	English	English	Klaus Werner Iohannis*	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	English	English	Klaus Werner Iohannis*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	Klaus Werner Iohannis*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	English French	English French	Bogdan Lucian Aurescu	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	English	English	Klaus Werner Iohannis*	A/76/PV.4

[46] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/44/PV.11. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

RUS: Russia / Soviet Union

Table I.152: RUS: Russia / Soviet Union

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Russian	Russian	Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Molotov	A/PV.42
2	1947	Russian	Russian	Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky	A/PV.84
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky	A/PV.143
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky	A/PV.226
5	1950	Russian	Russian	Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky	A/PV.279
6	1951	Russian	Russian	Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky	A/PV.336
7	1952	Russian	Russian	Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky	A/PV.383
8	1953	Russian	Russian	Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky	A/PV.438
9	1954	Russian	Russian	Andrei Yanuaryevich Vyshinsky	A/PV.484
10	1955	Russian	Russian	Vyacheslav Mikhaylovich Molotov	A/PV.520
11	1956	Russian	Russian	Dmitri Shepilov	A/PV.589
12	1957	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.681
13	1958	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.750
14	1959	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Kuznetsov	A/PV.823
15	1960	Russian	Russian	Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev*	A/PV.869
16	1961	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1016
17	1962	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1127

Continued on next page

Table I.152: RUS: Russia / Soviet Union (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
18	1963	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1208
19	1964	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1292
20	1965	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1335
21	1966	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1413
22	1967	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1563
23	1968	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1679
24	1969	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1756
26	1971	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.1942
27	1972	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.2040
28	1973	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.2126
29	1974	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.2240
30	1975	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/PV.2357
31	1976	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/31/PV.7
32	1977	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/32/PV.8
33	1978	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/33/PV.8
34	1979	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/34/PV.7
35	1980	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/35/PV.6
36	1981	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/36/PV.7

Continued on next page

Table I.152: RUS: Russia / Soviet Union (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
37	1982	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/37/PV.13
38	1983	Russian	Russian	Oleg Alexandrovich Troyanovsky	A/38/PV.18
39	1984	Russian	Russian	Andrei Andreevich Gromyko	A/39/PV.10
40	1985	Russian	Russian	Eduard A. Shevardnadze	A/40/PV.6
41	1986	Russian	Russian	Eduard A. Shevardnadze	A/41/PV.6
42	1987	Russian	Russian	Eduard A. Shevardnadze	A/42/PV.9
43	1988	Russian	Russian	Eduard A. Shevardnadze	A/43/PV.6
44	1989	Russian	Russian	Eduard A. Shevardnadze	A/44/PV.6
45	1990	Russian	Russian	Eduard A. Shevardnadze	A/45/PV.6
46	1991	Russian	Russian	Boris D. Pankin	A/46/PV.6
47	1992	Russian	Russian	Andrei Vladimirovich Kozyrev	A/47/PV.6
48	1993	Russian	Russian	Andrei Vladimirovich Kozyrev	A/48/PV.6
49	1994	Russian	Russian	Boris N. Yeltsin*	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	Russian	Russian	Andrei Vladimirovich Kozyrev	A/50/PV.6
51	1996	Russian	Russian	Evgenii Primakov Maksimovich	A/51/PV.6
52	1997	Russian	Russian	Evgenii Primakov Maksimovich	A/52/PV.7
53	1998	Russian	Russian	Igor Sergeevich Ivanov	A/53/PV.9
54	1999	Russian	Russian	Igor Sergeevich Ivanov	A/54/PV.6
55	2000	Russian	Russian	Igor Sergeevich Ivanov	A/55/PV.20
56	2001	Russian	Russian	Igor Sergeevich Ivanov	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	Russian	Russian	Igor Sergeevich Ivanov	A/57/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.152: RUS: Russia / Soviet Union (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
58	2003	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Putin*	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	Russian	Russian	Dmitry Anatolyevich Medvedev*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Russian	Russian	Vitaly I. Churkin	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Putin*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/72/PV.12
73	2018	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	Russian[47]	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	Russian	Russian English	Vladimir Putin*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	Russian	Russian	Sergei Viktorovich Lavrov	A/76/PV.14

[47] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/74/PV.9. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: 'parle en russe'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

RWA: Rwanda

Table I.153: RWA: Rwanda

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
18	1963	French	French	Lazare Mpakaniye	A/PV.1235
20	1965	French	French	Canisius Mudenge	A/PV.1360
21	1966	French	French	Thaddee Bagaragaza	A/PV.1428
22	1967	French	French	Celestin Kabanda	A/PV.1590
23	1968	French	French	Fidele Nzanana	A/PV.1688
24	1969	French	French	Fidele Nkundabagenzi	A/PV.1769
25	1970	French	French	Fidele Nkundabagenzi	A/PV.1850
26	1971	French	French	Fidele Nkundabagenzi	A/PV.1956
27	1972	French	French	Augustin Munyaneza	A/PV.2054
28	1973	French	French	Aloys Nsekalije	A/PV.2135
29	1974	French	French	Aloys Nsekalije	A/PV.2252
30	1975	French	French	Callixte Habamenshi	A/PV.2375
31	1976	French	French	Aloys Nsekalije	A/31/PV.19
32	1977	French	French	Aloys Nsekalije	A/32/PV.26
33	1978	French	French	Aloys Nsekalije	A/33/PV.16
34	1979	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/34/PV.23
35	1980	French	French	Juvenal Habyarimana*	A/35/PV.12
36	1981	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/36/PV.21
37	1982	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/37/PV.30
38	1983	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/38/PV.30
39	1984	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/39/PV.26
40	1985	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/40/PV.29
41	1986	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/41/PV.29
42	1987	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/42/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.153: RWA: Rwanda (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
43	1988	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/43/PV.9
44	1989	French	French	Casimir Bizimungu	A/44/PV.27
45	1990	French	French	Juvenal Habyarimana*	A/45/PV.13
46	1991	French	French	Francois Ngarukiyintwali	A/46/PV.25
47	1992	French	French	Dismas Nsengiyaremye*	A/47/PV.22
48	1993	French	French	Juvenal Habyarimana*	A/48/PV.19
49	1994	French English	French	Pasteur Bizimungu*	A/49/PV.21
50	1995	French	French	Anastase Gasana	A/50/PV.29
51	1996	English	English	Gideon Kayinamura	A/51/PV.15
52	1997	French	French	Anastase Gasana	A/52/PV.23
53	1998	French	French	Anastase Gasana	A/53/PV.26
54	1999	French	French	Augustin Iyamuremye	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	French	French	Joseph Mutaboba	A/55/PV.28
56	2001	French	French	Anastase Gasana	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	French	French	Andre Bumaya	A/57/PV.17
58	2003	French	French	Bernard Makuza*	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	French	French	Bernard Makuza*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English	English	Charles Murigande	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	English	English	Rosemary Museminali	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/66/PV.12
67	2012	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/67/PV.7
68	2013	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/68/PV.9
69	2014	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/69/PV.7
70	2015	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/71/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.153: RWA: Rwanda (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
72	2017	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/72/PV.7
73	2018	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	English	English	Paul Kagame*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	English[48]	English	Paul Kagame*	A/76/PV.4

[48] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.4. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

SAU: Saudi Arabia

Table I.154: SAU: Saudi Arabia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Arabic	Arabic	Faisal Al Saud	A/PV.40
2	1947	Arabic	English	Faisal Al Saud	A/PV.89
12	1957	English	English	Ahmad Shuqayri	A/PV.697
13	1958	English	English	Ahmad Shuqayri	A/PV.766
14	1959	English	English	Ahmad Shuqayri	A/PV.808
15	1960	English	English	Ahmad Shuqayri	A/PV.879
16	1961	English	English	Ahmad Shuqayri	A/PV.1022
17	1962	Arabic	English	Saud Al-Faisal	A/PV.1150
18	1963	French	French	Rashad Pharaon	A/PV.1235
19	1964	English	English	Omar Sakkaf	A/PV.1306
20	1965	English	English	Omar Sakkaf	A/PV.1363
21	1966	Arabic	English	Omar Sakkaf	A/PV.1443
22	1967	Arabic	English	Ibrahim Al-Sowayel	A/PV.1589
23	1968	English	English	Jamil M. Baroody	A/PV.1704
24	1969	Arabic	English	Omar Sakkaf	A/PV.1778
26	1971	Arabic	English	Omar Sakkaf	A/PV.1961
27	1972	Arabic	English	Omar Sakkaf	A/PV.2057
28	1973	Arabic	English	Omar Sakkaf	A/PV.2133
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Omar Sakkaf	A/PV.2253
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/PV.2365
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/31/PV.12
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/32/PV.21
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/34/PV.21
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/35/PV.23
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/36/PV.25
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Faisal Alhegelan	A/37/PV.16
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/38/PV.16
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/39/PV.13
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/40/PV.16
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/41/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.154: SAU: Saudi Arabia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/42/PV.15
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/43/PV.13
44	1989	Arabic[49]	Arabic	Samir Shihabi	A/44/PV.28
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/45/PV.16
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/46/PV.15
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/47/PV.17
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Gaafar Allagany	A/48/PV.28
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/49/PV.17
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Rahman Mansouri	A/51/PV.17
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Nizar Obaid Madani	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Nizar Obaid Madani	A/54/PV.19
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Nizar Obaid Madani	A/55/PV.15
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Fawzi Shobokshi	A/57/PV.17
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Saud Al-Faisal	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Nizar Obaid Madani	A/59/PV.11
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Fawzi Shobokshi	A/61/PV.17
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulaziz bin Abdullah	A/67/PV.16
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Adel Ahmed Al-Jubeir	A/70/PV.24
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed bin Naif bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Adel Ahmed Al-Jubeir	A/72/PV.20
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Adel Ahmed Al-Jubeir	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Ibrahim bin Abdulaziz Al-Assaf	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic English	Salman bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic English	Salman bin Abdulaziz Al-Saud*	A/76/PV.6

[49] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/44/PV.28. The English version indicates: 'interpretation from Arabic', while the French version is missing. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

SDN: Sudan

Table I.155: SDN: Sudan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	English	English	Mohamed Ahmed Mahgoub	A/PV.599
12	1957	English	English	Yacoub Osman	A/PV.690
13	1958	English	English	Mohamed Ahmed Mahgoub	A/PV.771
14	1959	English	English	Ahmed Kheir	A/PV.817
15	1960	English	English	Ahmed Kheir	A/PV.887
16	1961	Arabic	English	Ibrahim Abboud*	A/PV.1036
17	1962	English	English	Ahmed Kheir	A/PV.1136
18	1963	English	English	Ahmed Kheir	A/PV.1227
19	1964	English	English	Mohamed Ahmed Mahgoub	A/PV.1298
20	1965	English	English	Mohamed Ibrahim Khalil	A/PV.1359
21	1966	Arabic	English	Ibrahim El Mufti	A/PV.1440
22	1967	English	English	Mohamed Fakhreddine	A/PV.1585
23	1968	Arabic	English	Ali Abdel Rahman El Amin	A/PV.1684
24	1969	English	English	Babiker Awadalla*	A/PV.1761
25	1970	English	English	Mansour Khalid	A/PV.1859
26	1971	English	English	Mansour Khalid	A/PV.1957
27	1972	English	English	Mansour Khalid	A/PV.2056
28	1973	English	English	Mansour Khalid	A/PV.2142
29	1974	English	English	Mansour Khalid	A/PV.2255
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Jamal Mohamed Ahmed	A/PV.2368
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Mahgoub Makkawi	A/31/PV.29
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	El-Rashid El-Tahir Bakr	A/32/PV.27
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri*	A/33/PV.10
34	1979	English	English	Abel Alier	A/34/PV.25

Continued on next page

Table I.155: SDN: Sudan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Abdel-Rahman Abdalla	A/35/PV.29
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Muhammad Mirghani Mubarak	A/36/PV.22
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Muhammad Mirghani Mubarak	A/37/PV.21
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Muhammad Mirghani Mubarak	A/38/PV.28
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Hashim Osman Ahmed	A/39/PV.21
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Ibrahim Taha Ayoub	A/40/PV.14
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Alsadig Al-Mahdi*	A/41/PV.26
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Amin Magzoub Abdoun	A/42/PV.24
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Hussein Abu Saleh	A/43/PV.21
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Sayed Ali Ahmed Sahloul	A/44/PV.13
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Omar Hassan Al-Bashir*	A/45/PV.16
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Sayed Ali Ahmed Sahloul	A/46/PV.28
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Sayed Ali Ahmed Sahloul	A/47/PV.18
48	1993	English	English	Hussein Abu Saleh	A/48/PV.21
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Hussein Abu Saleh	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Osman Taha	A/50/PV.27
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Osman Taha	A/51/PV.24
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Osman Taha	A/52/PV.15
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Mustafa Osman Ismail	A/53/PV.19
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Mustafa Osman Ismail	A/54/PV.19
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Mustafa Osman Ismail	A/55/PV.23
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Mustafa Osman Ismail	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Mustafa Osman Ismail	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Mustafa Osman Ismail	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Mustafa Osman Ismail	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Mustafa Osman Ismail	A/60/PV.20

Continued on next page

Table I.155: SDN: Sudan (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Omar Hassan Al-Bashir*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Lam Akol Ajawin	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Osman Taha	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Ghazi Salahuddin Atabani	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Osman Taha	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Ahmed Karti	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Ahmed Karti	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Ahmed Karti	A/68/PV.17
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Ahmed Karti	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	Arabic[50]	Arabic	Ibrahim Ahmed Abd Al-Aziz Ghandour	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Ibrahim Ahmed Abd Al-Aziz Ghandour	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Ibrahim Ahmed Abd Al-Aziz Ghandour	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Eldirdiri Mohamed Ahmed	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Abdalla Adam Hamdok*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic	Abdalla Adam Hamdok*	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Abdalla Adam Hamdok*	A/76/PV.14

[50] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/70/PV.25. The English version indicates: 'spoke in Arabic', while the French version indicates: 'parle en anglais'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

SEN: Senegal

Table I.156: SEN: Senegal

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
15	1960	French	French	Dia Mamadou	A/PV.940
16	1961	French	French	Doudou Thiam	A/PV.1012
17	1962	French	French	Doudou Thiam	A/PV.1130
18	1963	French	French	Doudou Thiam	A/PV.1216
19	1964	French	French	Doudou Thiam	A/PV.1294
20	1965	French	French	Doudou Thiam	A/PV.1334
21	1966	French	French	Doudou Thiam	A/PV.1414
22	1967	French	French	Doudou Thiam	A/PV.1569
23	1968	French	French	Amadou Karim Gaye	A/PV.1697
24	1969	French	French	Amadou Karim Gaye	A/PV.1784
26	1971	French	French	Amadou Karim Gaye	A/PV.1950
27	1972	French	French	Coumba N'Doffene Diouf	A/PV.2052
28	1973	French	French	Assane Seck	A/PV.2132
29	1974	French	French	Assane Seck	A/PV.2254
30	1975	French	French	Assane Seck	A/PV.2375
31	1976	French	French	Assane Seck	A/31/PV.25
32	1977	French	French	Assane Seck	A/32/PV.33
33	1978	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/33/PV.19
34	1979	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/34/PV.18
35	1980	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/35/PV.20
36	1981	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/36/PV.20
37	1982	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/37/PV.10
38	1983	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/38/PV.22
39	1984	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/39/PV.19
41	1986	French	French	Medoune Fall	A/41/PV.12
42	1987	French	French	Medoune Fall	A/42/PV.16
43	1988	French	French	Medoune Fall	A/43/PV.14
44	1989	French	French	Medoune Fall	A/44/PV.19
45	1990	French	French	Seydina Oumar Sy	A/45/PV.21

Continued on next page

Table I.156: SEN: Senegal (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
46	1991	French	French	Djibo Laity Ka	A/46/PV.7
47	1992	French	French	Abdou Diouf*	A/47/PV.18
48	1993	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/48/PV.19
49	1994	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/49/PV.7
50	1995	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/50/PV.15
51	1996	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/51/PV.20
52	1997	French	French	Moustapha Niasse	A/52/PV.22
53	1998	French	French	Jacques Baudin	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	French	French	Jacques Baudin	A/54/PV.12
55	2000	French	French	Cheikh Tidiane Gadio	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	French	French	Cheikh Tidiane Gadio	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	French	French	Cheikh Tidiane Gadio	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	French	French	Abdoulaye Wade*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	French	French	Abdoulaye Wade*	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	French	French	Cheikh Tidiane Gadio	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	French	French	Abdoulaye Wade*	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	French	French	Abdoulaye Wade*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	French	French	Abdoulaye Wade*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	French	French	Abdoulaye Wade*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	French	French	Abdoulaye Wade*	A/65/PV.14
66	2011	French	French	Abdoulaye Wade*	A/66/PV.13
67	2012	French	French	Macky Sall*	A/67/PV.7
68	2013	French	French	Macky Sall*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	French	French	Mankeur Ndiaye	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	French	French	Macky Sall*	A/70/PV.15
71	2016	French	French	Macky Sall*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	French	French	Macky Sall*	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	French	French	Sidiki Kaba	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	French	French	Macky Sall*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	French	French	Amadou Ba	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	French	French	Macky Sall*	A/76/PV.12

SGP: Singapore

Table I.157: SGP: Singapore

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
20	1965	English	English	Bin Pawanchee Abu Bakar	A/PV.1362
21	1966	English	English	Punch Coomaraswamy	A/PV.1420
22	1967	English	English	Nyuk Lin Yong	A/PV.1591
23	1968	English	English	Rahim Ishak	A/PV.1705
24	1969	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/PV.1782
25	1970	English	English	Tommy T.B. Koh	A/PV.1844
26	1971	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/PV.1960
27	1972	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/PV.2060
28	1973	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/PV.2125
29	1974	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/PV.2261
30	1975	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/PV.2360
31	1976	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/31/PV.10
32	1977	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/32/PV.27
33	1978	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/33/PV.15
34	1979	English	English	Sinnathamby Rajaratnam	A/34/PV.6
35	1980	English	English	Suppiah Dhanabalan	A/35/PV.7
36	1981	English	English	Suppiah Dhanabalan	A/36/PV.6
37	1982	English	English	Suppiah Dhanabalan	A/37/PV.14
38	1983	English	English	Suppiah Dhanabalan	A/38/PV.8
39	1984	English	English	Suppiah Dhanabalan	A/39/PV.9
40	1985	English	English	Suppiah Dhanabalan	A/40/PV.4

Continued on next page

Table I.157: SGP: Singapore (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
41	1986	English	English	Suppiah Dhanabalan	A/41/PV.5
42	1987	English	English	Suppiah Dhanabalan	A/42/PV.4
43	1988	English	English	Kan Seng Wong	A/43/PV.5
44	1989	English	English	Kwok Pun Wong	A/44/PV.19
45	1990	English	English	Kan Seng Wong	A/45/PV.19
46	1991	English	English	Kan Seng Wong	A/46/PV.15
47	1992	English	English	Kan Seng Wong	A/47/PV.15
48	1993	English	English	Kan Seng Wong	A/48/PV.18
49	1994	English	English	Shanmugam Jayakumar	A/49/PV.13
50	1995	English	English	Shanmugam Jayakumar	A/50/PV.16
51	1996	English	English	Shanmugam Jayakumar	A/51/PV.11
52	1997	English	English	Shanmugam Jayakumar	A/52/PV.15
53	1998	English	English	Shanmugam Jayakumar	A/53/PV.17
54	1999	English	English	Shanmugam Jayakumar	A/54/PV.12
55	2000	English	English	Shanmugam Jayakumar	A/55/PV.24
56	2001	English	English	Kishore Mahbubani	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	English	English	Shanmugam Jayakumar	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	English	English	Shanmugam Jayakumar	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	English	English	George Yong-Boon Yeo	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	English	English	George Yong-Boon Yeo	A/60/PV.20
61	2006	English	English	George Yong-Boon Yeo	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	English	English	George Yong-Boon Yeo	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	English	English	George Yong-Boon Yeo	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	English	English	George Yong-Boon Yeo	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	English	English	George Yong-Boon Yeo	A/65/PV.21

Continued on next page

Table I.157: SGP: Singapore (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
66	2011	English	English	K. Shanmugam	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	English	English	K. Shanmugam	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	K. Shanmugam	A/68/PV.20
69	2014	English	English	K. Shanmugam	A/69/PV.18
71	2016	English	English	Vivian Balakrishnan	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English	English	Vivian Balakrishnan	A/72/PV.20
73	2018	English	English	Vivian Balakrishnan	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	English	English	Lee Hsien Loong*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Vivian Balakrishnan	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	English	English	Vivian Balakrishnan	A/76/PV.15

SLB: Solomon Islands

Table I.158: SLB: Solomon Islands

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
38	1983	English	English	Solomon Mamaloni*	A/38/PV.32
39	1984	English	English	George Milton Talasasa	A/39/PV.29
40	1985	English	English	Peter Kenilorea*	A/40/PV.32
41	1986	English	English	Paul J. Tovua	A/41/PV.29
42	1987	English	English	Paul J. Tovua	A/42/PV.30
43	1988	English	English	Peter Kenilorea	A/43/PV.31
44	1989	English	English	Baddeley Devesi	A/44/PV.31
45	1990	English	English	Francis Bugotu	A/45/PV.25
46	1991	English	English	Peter Kenilorea	A/46/PV.28
47	1992	English	English	Baddeley Devesi	A/47/PV.27
48	1993	English	English	Francis J. Saemala	A/48/PV.28
49	1994	English	English	Francis J. Saemala	A/49/PV.23
50	1995	English	English	Danny Philip	A/50/PV.28
51	1996	English	English	Danny Philip*	A/51/PV.21
52	1997	English	English	Patteson Oti	A/52/PV.24
53	1998	English	English	Edmond Andersen	A/53/PV.24
54	1999	English	English	Bartholomew Ulufa'Alu*	A/54/PV.19
55	2000	English	English	Danny Philip	A/55/PV.17
56	2001	English	English	Manasseh Sogavare*	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	English	English	Allan Kemakeza*	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	English	English	Laurie Chan	A/58/PV.20
59	2004	English	English	Laurie Chan	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	English	English	Laurie Chan	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	English	English	Manasseh Sogavare*	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	English	English	Patteson Oti	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	English	English	Derrick Sikua*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Fredrick Fono	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Peter Shanel Agovaka	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Danny Philip*	A/66/PV.23
67	2012	English	English	Gordon Darcy Lilo*	A/67/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.158: SLB: Solomon Islands (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
68	2013	English	English	Manasseh Maelanga	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	English	English	Collin D. Beck	A/69/PV.20
70	2015	English	English	Manasseh Sogavare*	A/70/PV.23
71	2016	English	English	Manasseh Sogavare*	A/71/PV.18
72	2017	English	English	Manasseh Sogavare*	A/72/PV.17
73	2018	English	English	Ricky Nelson Houenipwela*	A/73/PV.13
74	2019	English	English	Jeremiah Manele	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Manasseh Sogavare*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Manasseh Sogavare*	A/76/PV.15

SLE: Sierra Leone

Table I.159: SLE: Sierra Leone

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
16	1961	English	English	Gershon B.O. Collier	A/PV.1039
17	1962	English	English	J. Karefa-Smart	A/PV.1144
18	1963	English	English	J. Karefa-Smart	A/PV.1230
19	1964	English	English	C.B. Rogers-Wright	A/PV.1303
20	1965	English	English	C.B. Rogers-Wright	A/PV.1351
21	1966	English	English	Maigore Kallon	A/PV.1428
22	1967	English	English	Leslie W. Leigh	A/PV.1574
23	1968	English	English	L.A.M. Brewah	A/PV.1686
24	1969	English	English	Cyril P. Foray	A/PV.1777
25	1970	English	English	Cyril P. Foray	A/PV.1847
26	1971	English	English	Solomon A.J. Pratt	A/PV.1949
27	1972	English	English	Solomon A.J. Pratt	A/PV.2060
28	1973	English	English	Desmond Luke	A/PV.2133
29	1974	English	English	Desmond Luke	A/PV.2250
30	1975	English	English	Francis Minah	A/PV.2362
31	1976	English	English	Francis Minah	A/31/PV.12
32	1977	English	English	Abdulai Conteh	A/32/PV.17
33	1978	English	English	Abdulai Conteh	A/33/PV.21
34	1979	English	English	Abdulai Conteh	A/34/PV.24
35	1980	English	English	Siaka Stevens*	A/35/PV.8
36	1981	English	English	Abdulai Conteh	A/36/PV.10
37	1982	English	English	Abdulai Conteh	A/37/PV.10
38	1983	English	English	Siaka Stevens*	A/38/PV.13
39	1984	English	English	Sheka Kanu	A/39/PV.18
40	1985	English	English	Abdul Karim Koroma	A/40/PV.13
41	1986	English	English	Abdul Karim Koroma	A/41/PV.14
42	1987	English	English	Abdul Karim Koroma	A/42/PV.19
43	1988	English	English	Joseph Saidu Momoh*	A/43/PV.12
45	1990	English	English	Abdul Karim Koroma	A/45/PV.28
46	1991	English	English	Ahmed Dumbuya	A/46/PV.30

Continued on next page

Table I.159: SLE: Sierra Leone (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	English	English	Valentine E. M. Strasser*	A/47/PV.9
48	1993	English	English	Karefa Kargbo	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	English	English	Abass Bundu	A/49/PV.19
50	1995	English	English	Alusine Fofanah	A/50/PV.19
51	1996	English	English	Ahmad Tejan Kabbah*	A/51/PV.29
52	1997	English	English	Ahmad Tejan Kabbah*	A/52/PV.19
53	1998	English	English	Sama Banya	A/53/PV.23
54	1999	English	English	Sama Banya	A/54/PV.19
55	2000	English	English	Sama Banya	A/55/PV.23
56	2001	English	English	Sahr Matturi	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	English	English	Ahmad Tejan Kabbah*	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	English	English	Solomon Ekuma Dominic Berewa	A/58/PV.12
59	2004	English	English	Momodu Koroma	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	English	English	Momodu Koroma	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	English	English	Solomon Ekuma Dominic Berewa	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	English	English	Joe Robert Pemagbi	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	English	English	Ernest Bai Koroma*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	English	English	Ernest Bai Koroma*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	English	English	Ernest Bai Koroma*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	English	English	Ernest Bai Koroma*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	English	English	Joseph Dauda	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	English	English	Samura Matthew Wilson Kamara	A/68/PV.14
69	2014	English	English	Samura Matthew Wilson Kamara	A/69/PV.18
70	2015	English	English	Ernest Bai Koroma*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Ernest Bai Koroma*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	English	English	Samura Matthew Wilson Kamara	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	English	English	Julius Maada Bio*	A/73/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.159: SLE: Sierra Leone (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
74	2019	English	English	Julius Maada Bio*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	English	English	Mohamed Juldeh Jalloh	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	English	English	Julius Maada Bio*	A/76/PV.6

SLV: El Salvador

Table I.160: SLV: El Salvador

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
2	1947	English	English	Hector David Castro	A/PV.84
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Hector David Castro	A/PV.144
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Hector David Castro	A/PV.225
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Hector David Castro	A/PV.283
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Azucar Chavez	A/PV.344
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Rafael Urquia	A/PV.444
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Rafael Urquia	A/PV.600
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Rafael Urquia	A/PV.690
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Ortiz Mancia	A/PV.764
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Rafael Urquia	A/PV.812
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Rafael Urquia	A/PV.905
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Hector Escobar Serrano	A/PV.1133
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Hector Escobar Serrano	A/PV.1222
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Roberto Eugenio Quiros	A/PV.1344
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Hector Escobar Serrano	A/PV.1442
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Martinez Moreno	A/PV.1574
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Jose Guerrero	A/PV.1682
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Jose Guerrero	A/PV.1778
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Jose Guerrero	A/PV.1847
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Walter Beneke Medina	A/PV.1963
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Mauricio Borgonovo Pohl	A/PV.2061
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Mauricio Borgonovo Pohl	A/PV.2129

Continued on next page

Table I.160: SLV: El Salvador (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Mauricio Borgonovo Pohl	A/PV.2239
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Mauricio Borgonovo Pohl	A/PV.2356
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Mauricio Alfredo Borgonovo Pohl	A/31/PV.18
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro-Ernesto Martinez	A/32/PV.21
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Antonio Rodriguez Porth	A/33/PV.31
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Antonio Rodriguez Porth	A/34/PV.25
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Fidel Chavez-Mena	A/35/PV.26
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Napoleon Duarte*	A/36/PV.17
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Fidel Chavez-Mena	A/37/PV.28
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Fidel Chavez-Mena	A/38/PV.21
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Napoleon Duarte*	A/39/PV.24
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Rodolfo Antonio Castillo Claramount	A/40/PV.19
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Acevedo Peralta	A/41/PV.26
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Acevedo Peralta	A/42/PV.17
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Ricardo Acevedo Peralta	A/43/PV.30
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Felix Cristiani-Burkard*	A/44/PV.14
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Felix Cristiani-Burkard*	A/45/PV.15
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Felix Cristiani-Burkard*	A/46/PV.4
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Felix Cristiani-Burkard*	A/47/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.160: SLV: El Salvador (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Alfredo Felix Cristiani-Burkard*	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Armando Calderon Sol*	A/49/PV.5
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Armando Calderon Sol*	A/50/PV.5
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Ramon Gonzalez Giner	A/51/PV.13
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Armando Calderon Sol*	A/52/PV.8
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Armando Calderon Sol*	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Guillermo Flores Perez*	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Maria Eugenia Brizuela de Avila	A/55/PV.19
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Maria Eugenia Brizuela de Avila	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Maria Eugenia Brizuela de Avila	A/57/PV.17
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Guillermo Flores Perez*	A/58/PV.8
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Elias Antonio Saca Gonzalez*	A/59/PV.6
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Elias Antonio Saca Gonzalez*	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Elias Antonio Saca Gonzalez*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Elias Antonio Saca Gonzalez*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Elias Antonio Saca Gonzalez*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Mauricio Funes Cartagena*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Mauricio Funes Cartagena*	A/65/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.160: SLV: El Salvador (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Mauricio Funes Cartagena*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Mauricio Funes Cartagena*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Mauricio Funes Cartagena*	A/68/PV.10
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Salvador Sanchez Ceren*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Roger Martinez Bonilla	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Salvador Sanchez Ceren*	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Salvador Sanchez Ceren*	A/72/PV.13
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Salvador Sanchez Ceren*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Nayib Armando Bukele*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Nayib Armando Bukele*	A/75/PV.15
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Nayib Armando Bukele*	A/76/PV.11

SMR: San Marino

Table I.161: SMR: San Marino

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/47/PV.10
48	1993	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/48/PV.26
49	1994	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/49/PV.22
50	1995	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/50/PV.4
51	1996	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/51/PV.24
52	1997	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/52/PV.25
53	1998	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/53/PV.17
54	1999	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/54/PV.8
55	2000	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/55/PV.18
56	2001	Italian	English	Gabriele Gatti	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	Italian	English	Augusto Casali	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	Italian	English	Fiorenzo Stolfi	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	Italian	English	Fabio Berardi	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	Italian	English	Fabio Berardi	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	Italian	English	Fiorenzo Stolfi	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	Italian	English	Fiorenzo Stolfi*	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Italian	English	Fiorenzo Stolfi*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Antonella Mularoni	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	English	English	Antonella Mularoni*	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Antonella Mularoni	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	English	English	Antonella Mularoni	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	Italian	English	Pasquale Valentini	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	Italian	English	Pasquale Valentini	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	English	English	Daniele Bodini	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	Italian	English	Pasquale Valentini	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	Italian	English	Nicola Renzi	A/72/PV.18
73	2018	Italian	English	Nicola Renzi	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	Italian	English	Nicola Renzi	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	English	English	Luca Beccari	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	English	English	Luca Beccari	A/76/PV.16

SOM: Somalia

Table I.162: SOM: Somalia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
16	1961	English	English	Abdullahi Issa	A/PV.1027
17	1962	English	English	Abdullahi Issa	A/PV.1151
18	1963	English	English	Abdullahi Issa	A/PV.1237
19	1964	English	English	Ahmed Yusuf Dualeh	A/PV.1290
20	1965	English	English	Ahmed Yusuf Dualeh	A/PV.1354
21	1966	English	English	Abdirazak Haji Hussein	A/PV.1447
22	1967	English	English	Abdulrahim A. Farah	A/PV.1569
23	1968	English	English	Hagi Farah Ali Omar	A/PV.1704
24	1969	English	English	Mohamed Haji Ibrahim Egal*	A/PV.1782
25	1970	English	English	Omar Arteh Ghalib	A/PV.1850
26	1971	English	English	Omar Arteh Ghalib	A/PV.1943
27	1972	English	English	Abdulrahim A. Farah	A/PV.2063
28	1973	Somali	English	Mohamed Adan	A/PV.2144
29	1974	English	English	Mohamed Siad Barre*	A/PV.2262
30	1975	English	English	Omar Arteh Ghalib	A/PV.2376
31	1976	English	English	Hussein Abdulkadir Kassim	A/31/PV.22
32	1977	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/32/PV.33
33	1978	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/33/PV.23
34	1979	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/34/PV.19
35	1980	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/35/PV.15
36	1981	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/36/PV.18
37	1982	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/37/PV.18
38	1983	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/38/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.162: SOM: Somalia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
39	1984	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/39/PV.13
40	1985	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/40/PV.23
41	1986	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/41/PV.15
42	1987	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/42/PV.11
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Ali Hamud	A/43/PV.15
44	1989	English	English	Abdurahman Jama Barre	A/44/PV.9
45	1990	English	English	Abdi Artan Adan	A/45/PV.20
55	2000	English	English	Salim Abdikassim Salad Hassan*	A/55/PV.16
56	2001	English	English	Ahmed Abdi Hashi	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	English	English	Yusuf Hassan Ibraahim	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	English	English	Ahmed Abdi Hashi	A/58/PV.22
60	2005	English	English	Abdullahi Yusuf Ahmed*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English	English	Ismael Mohamoud Hurreh	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	Hussein Elabe Fahiye	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Ali Ahmed Jama Jengeli	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Sharif Sheikh Ahmed*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Sharif Sheikh Ahmed*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	English	English	Abdiweli Mohamed Ali*	A/66/PV.23
67	2012	English	English	Abdiweli Mohamed Ali*	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	English	English	Hassan Sheikh Mohamud*	A/68/PV.13
69	2014	English	English	Hassan Sheikh Mohamud*	A/69/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.162: SOM: Somalia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
70	2015	English	English	Omar Abdirashid Ali Sharmarke*	A/70/PV.24
71	2016	English	English	Abdusalam Hadliyeh Omer	A/71/PV.21
72	2017	English	English	Hassan Ali Khayre*	A/72/PV.17
73	2018	English	English	Ahmed Awad Isse	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	English	English	Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed Farmajo*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	English	English	Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed Farmajo*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	English[51]	English	Mohamed Abdullahi Mohamed Farmajo*	A/76/PV.4

[51] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.4. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

SRB: Serbia

Table I.163: SRB: Serbia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
61	2006	Serbian	English	Boris Tadic*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	Serbian English French	English	Boris Tadic*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	English	English	Boris Tadic*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	English French	English	Boris Tadic*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Boris Tadic*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	English	English	Boris Tadic*	A/66/PV.20
67	2012	Serbian	English	Tomislav Nikolic*	A/66/PV.6
68	2013	Serbian	English	Tomislav Nikolic*	A/68/PV.9
69	2014	Serbian	English	Tomislav Nikolic*	A/69/PV.13
70	2015	Serbian	English	Tomislav Nikolic*	A/70/PV.20
71	2016	English	English	Aleksandar Vucic*	A/71/PV.15
72	2017	English	English	Aleksandar Vucic*	A/72/PV.11
73	2018	English	English	Ana Brnabic*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	English	English	Aleksandar Vucic*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	English	English	Aleksandar Vucic*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	English	English	Ana Brnabic*	A/76/PV.13

SSD: South Sudan

Table I.164: SSD: South Sudan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
66	2011	English	English	Salva Kiir*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	English	English	Riek Machar Teny-Dhurgon	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	English	English	James Wani Igga	A/68/PV.13
69	2014	English	English	Salva Kiir*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	English	English	James Wani Igga	A/70/PV.23
71	2016	English	English	Taban Deng Gai	A/71/PV.18
72	2017	English	English	Taban Deng Gai	A/72/PV.19
73	2018	English	English	Taban Deng Gai	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Taban Deng Gai*	A/74/PV.8
76	2021	English	English	Rebecca Nyandeng de Mabior	A/76/PV.12

STP: Sao Tome and Principe

Table I.165: STP: Sao Tome and Principe

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	French	French	Leonel Mario d'Alva	A/31/PV.30
32	1977	Portuguese	French	Leonel Mario d'Alva	A/32/PV.31
33	1978	French	French	Maria de Amorim	A/33/PV.32
34	1979	French	French	Maria de Amorim	A/34/PV.27
35	1980	French	French	Maria de Amorim	A/35/PV.17
36	1981	French	French	Maria de Amorim	A/36/PV.24
37	1982	French	French	Joaquim Rafael Branco	A/37/PV.18
38	1983	French	French	Maria de Amorim	A/38/PV.20
39	1984	French	French	Maria de Amorim	A/39/PV.20
40	1985	Portuguese	English	Guilherme Posser da Costa	A/40/PV.33
41	1986	Portuguese	English	Manuel Pinto da Costa*	A/41/PV.20
43	1988	Portuguese	English	Carlos da Graca	A/43/PV.31
44	1989	Portuguese	English	Carlos da Graca	A/44/PV.25
46	1991	French	French	Miguel Dos Anjos da Cunha Lisboa Trovoada*	A/46/PV.14
47	1992	Portuguese	English	Albertino Braganca	A/47/PV.23
53	1998	English	English	Domingos Augusto Ferreira	A/53/PV.26
56	2001	Portuguese	French	Patrice Emery Trovoada	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	English	English	Fradique Bandeira Melo de Menezes*	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	Portuguese	English	Mateus Meira Rita	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	French Portuguese	French	Fradique Bandeira Melo de Menezes*	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	Portuguese	English	Fradique Bandeira Melo de Menezes*	A/60/PV.11

Continued on next page

Table I.165: STP: Sao Tome and Principe (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
61	2006	English	English	Fradique Bandeira Melo de Menezes*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	English	English	Fradique Bandeira Melo de Menezes*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	Portuguese	English	Fradique Bandeira Melo de Menezes*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	Portuguese	English	Fradique Bandeira Melo de Menezes*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	Portuguese	English	Manuel Salvador Dos Ramos	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	Portuguese	English	Manuel Salvador Dos Ramos	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	Portuguese	English	Patrice Emery Trovoada*	A/67/PV.16
68	2013	Portuguese	English	Carlos Filomeno Das Neves Agostinho	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	Portuguese	English	Gabriel Arcanjo Ferreira da Costa*	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	Portuguese	English	Salvador Dos Ramos	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	French	French	Patrice Emery Trovoada*	A/71/PV.19
72	2017	Portuguese	English	Evaristo do Espirito Santo Carvalho*	A/72/PV.13
73	2018	Portuguese	English	Urbino Jose Goncalves Botelho	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	Portuguese	English	Evaristo do Espirito Santo Carvalho*	A/74/PV.8
75	2020	Portuguese	English	Evaristo do Espirito Santo Carvalho*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	Portuguese	English	Edite Ramos da Costa Ten Jua	A/76/PV.16

SUR: Suriname

Table I.166: SUR: Suriname

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	English	English	Henck A. E. Arron*	A/31/PV.27
32	1977	English	English	Henricus Augustinus Franciscus Heidweiller	A/32/PV.31
33	1978	English	English	Henck A. E. Arron*	A/33/PV.22
34	1979	English	English	Henck A. E. Arron*	A/34/PV.22
35	1980	English	English	Andre Richard Haakmat	A/35/PV.23
36	1981	English	English	Harvey Naarendorp	A/36/PV.20
37	1982	English	English	Harvey Naarendorp	A/37/PV.25
38	1983	English	English	Desire Delano Bouterse*	A/38/PV.28
39	1984	English	English	Wim Udenhout*	A/39/PV.23
40	1985	English	English	Tjon Kie Sim	A/40/PV.26
41	1986	English	English	Desire Delano Bouterse*	A/41/PV.23
42	1987	English	English	Desire Delano Bouterse*	A/42/PV.23
43	1988	English	English	Ramsewak Shankar*	A/43/PV.18
44	1989	English	English	Edwin Johan Sedoc	A/44/PV.24
45	1990	English	English	Ramsewak Shankar*	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	English	English	Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan*	A/46/PV.11
47	1992	English	English	Jules Rattankoemar Ajodhia	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	English	English	Subhas Mungra	A/48/PV.20
49	1994	English	English	Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan*	A/49/PV.10
50	1995	English	English	Jules Rattankoemar Ajodhia	A/50/PV.24
51	1996	English	English	Jules Albert Wijdenbosch*	A/51/PV.23
52	1997	English	English	Errol Glenn Snijders	A/52/PV.26

Continued on next page

Table I.166: SUR: Suriname (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
53	1998	English	English	Jules Albert Wijdenbosch*	A/53/PV.11
54	1999	English	English	Jules Albert Wijdenbosch*	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	English	English	Maria Levens	A/55/PV.18
56	2001	English	English	Maria Levens	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	English	English	Irma E. Loemban Tobing-Klein	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	English	English	Maria Levens	A/58/PV.22
59	2004	English	English	Maria Levens	A/59/PV.17
60	2005	English	English	Ewald Limon	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	English	English	Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan*	A/61/PV.11
62	2007	English	English	Lygia Kraag-Keteldijk	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	English	English	Runaldo Ronald Venetiaan*	A/63/PV.8
64	2009	English	English	Ramdien Sardjoe	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Desire Delano Bouterse*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	English	English	Desire Delano Bouterse*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	English	English	Winston G. Lackin	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	English	English	Winston G. Lackin	A/68/PV.22
69	2014	English	English	Winston G. Lackin	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	English	English	Niermala Badrising	A/70/PV.28
71	2016	English	English	Niermala Badrising	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English	English	Yldiz Pollack-Beighle	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	English	English	Yldiz Pollack-Beighle	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	English	English	Ashwin Adhin	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	English	English	Chandrikapersad Santokhi*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	English	English	Chandrikapersad Santokhi*	A/76/PV.6

SVK: Slovak Republic

Table I.167: SVK: Slovak Republic

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	English	English	Josef Moravcik	A/48/PV.15
49	1994	English	English	Eduard Kukan	A/49/PV.9
50	1995	English	English	Juraj Schenk	A/50/PV.11
51	1996	English	English	Pavol Hamzik	A/51/PV.21
52	1997	English	English	Zdenka Kramplova	A/52/PV.11
53	1998	English	English	Zdenka Kramplova	A/53/PV.14
54	1999	English	English	Mikulas Dzurinda*	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	English	English	Eduard Kukan	A/55/PV.24
56	2001	English	English	Eduard Kukan	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	English	English	Eduard Kukan	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	English	English	Klara Novotna	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	Slovak	English	Ivan Gasparovic*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English	English	Ivan Gasparovic*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English	English	Robert Fico*	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	Slovak	English	Ivan Gasparovic*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	English	English	Jan Kubis	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Miroslav Lajcak	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	Slovak	English	Ivan Gasparovic*	A/65/PV.12
66	2011	English	English	Iveta Radicova*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	Slovak	English	Ivan Gasparovic*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	Slovak	English	Ivan Gasparovic*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	English	English	Andrej Kiska*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	English French	English	Miroslav Lajcak	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	English	English	Andrej Kiska*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	English	English	Andrej Kiska*	A/72/PV.3
73	2018	English	English	Andrej Kiska*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	Zuzana Caputova*	A/74/PV.4
75	2020	English	English	Zuzana Caputova*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	English	English	Zuzana Caputova*	A/76/PV.3

SVN: Slovenia

Table I.168: SVN: Slovenia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	Slovene	English	Milan Kucan*	A/47/PV.11
48	1993	English	English	Janez Drnovsek*	A/48/PV.9
49	1994	English	English	Janez Drnovsek*	A/49/PV.21
50	1995	English	English	Janez Drnovsek*	A/50/PV.14
51	1996	English	English	Janez Drnovsek*	A/51/PV.9
52	1997	Slovene	English	Milan Kucan*	A/52/PV.10
53	1998	English	English	Janez Drnovsek*	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	English	English	Janez Drnovsek*	A/54/PV.13
55	2000	English	English	Alojz Peterle	A/55/PV.18
56	2001	Slovene	English	Milan Kucan*	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	Slovene	English	Milan Kucan*	A/57/PV.4
58	2003	Slovene	English	Janez Drnovsek*	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	Slovene	English	Janez Drnovsek*	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	Slovene	English	Dimitrij Rupel	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	English	English	Dimitrij Rupel	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	Slovene	English	Janez Jansa*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Danilo Turk*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	English	English	Danilo Turk*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Borut Pahor*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	English	English	Danilo Turk*	A/66/PV.13
67	2012	English	English	Janez Jansa*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	English	English	Borut Pahor*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	Borut Pahor*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	English	English	Miro Cerar*	A/70/PV.20
71	2016	English	English	Borut Pahor*	A/71/PV.9
72	2017	English	English	Miro Cerar*	A/72/PV.12
73	2018	English	English	Borut Pahor*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	English	English	Marjan Sarec*	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	English	English	Borut Pahor*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	English	English	Borut Pahor*	A/76/PV.12

SWE: Sweden

Table I.169: SWE: Sweden

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
2	1947	English	English	Osten Unden	A/PV.86
5	1950	English	English	Osten Unden	A/PV.285
7	1952	English	English	Osten Unden	A/PV.379
8	1953	English	English	Osten Unden	A/PV.443
10	1955	English	English	Osten Unden	A/PV.531
11	1956	English	English	Osten Unden	A/PV.602
14	1959	English	English	Osten Unden	A/PV.814
15	1960	English	English	Osten Unden	A/PV.901
18	1963	English	English	Torsten Nilsson	A/PV.1222
19	1964	English	English	Torsten Nilsson	A/PV.1319
20	1965	English	English	Torsten Nilsson	A/PV.1350
21	1966	English	English	Torsten Nilsson	A/PV.1434
22	1967	English	English	Torsten Nilsson	A/PV.1563
23	1968	English	English	Torsten Nilsson	A/PV.1677
24	1969	English	English	Torsten Nilsson	A/PV.1757
26	1971	English	English	Krister Wickman	A/PV.1942
27	1972	English	English	Krister Wickman	A/PV.2062
28	1973	English	English	Krister Wickman	A/PV.2149
29	1974	English	English	Sven Andersson	A/PV.2243
30	1975	English	English	Sven Andersson	A/PV.2358
31	1976	English	English	Karin Soder	A/31/PV.29
32	1977	English	English	Karin Soder	A/32/PV.13
33	1978	English	English	Karin Soder	A/33/PV.9
35	1980	English	English	Ola Ullsten	A/35/PV.7
36	1981	English	English	Ola Ullsten	A/36/PV.12
37	1982	English	English	Lennart Bodstrom	A/37/PV.33
38	1983	English	English	Lennart Bodstrom	A/38/PV.6
39	1984	English	English	Lennart Bodstrom	A/39/PV.7
40	1985	English	English	Lennart Bodstrom	A/40/PV.7
41	1986	English	English	Sten Andersson	A/41/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.169: SWE: Sweden (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
42	1987	English	English	Sten Andersson	A/42/PV.19
43	1988	English	English	Sten Andersson	A/43/PV.7
44	1989	English	English	Sten Andersson	A/44/PV.7
45	1990	English	English	Ingvar Carlsson*	A/45/PV.13
46	1991	English	English	Margaretha Af Ugglas	A/46/PV.29
47	1992	English	English	Margaretha Af Ugglas	A/47/PV.7
48	1993	English	English	Margaretha Af Ugglas	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	English	English	Lena Hjelm-Wallen	A/49/PV.27
50	1995	English	English	Lena Hjelm-Wallen	A/50/PV.10
51	1996	English	English	Goran Persson*	A/51/PV.8
52	1997	English	English	Lena Hjelm-Wallen	A/52/PV.10
53	1998	English	English	Lena Hjelm-Wallen	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	English	English	Anna Lindh	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	English	English	Anna Lindh	A/55/PV.14
56	2001	English	English	Anna Lindh	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	English	English	Anna Lindh	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	English	English	Jan Karlsson	A/58/PV.11
59	2004	English	English	Goran Persson*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English	English	Laila Freivalds	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English	English	Anders Liden	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	English	English	Anders Liden	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	Anders Liden	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Fredrik Reinfeldt*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	English	English	Marten Grunditz	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	English	English	Fredrik Reinfeldt*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	English	English	Carl Bildt	A/67/PV.17
68	2013	English	English	Fredrik Reinfeldt*	A/68/PV.7
69	2014	English	English	Marten Grunditz	A/69/PV.19
70	2015	English	English	Stefan Lofven*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	English	English	Margot Wallstrom	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	English	English	Margot Wallstrom	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	English	English	Olof Skoog	A/73/PV.16

Continued on next page

Table I.169: SWE: Sweden (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
74	2019	English	English	Ann Christin Linde	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	English	English	Stefan Lofven*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Stefan Lofven*	A/76/PV.12

SWZ: Swaziland

Table I.170: SWZ: Swaziland

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
24	1969	English	English	Zonke A. Khumalo	A/PV.1784
27	1972	English	English	Mhlangano Stephen Matsebula	A/PV.2056
29	1974	English	English	Abednego Kuseni Hlophe	A/PV.2265
31	1976	English	English	Maphevu Dlamini*	A/31/PV.20
32	1977	English	English	Abednego Kuseni Hlophe	A/32/PV.32
35	1980	English	English	Mabandla N. F. Dlamini*	A/35/PV.28
39	1984	English	English	M.M.P. Mnisi	A/39/PV.30
40	1985	English	English	M.M.P. Mnisi	A/40/PV.32
41	1986	English	English	A. Mtetwa	A/41/PV.24
42	1987	English	English	Sipho Shongwe	A/42/PV.32
43	1988	English	English	Sotsha Dlamini*	A/43/PV.21
44	1989	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/44/PV.30
45	1990	English	English	Obed Mfanyana Dlamini*	A/45/PV.22
46	1991	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/46/PV.7
47	1992	English	English	Obed Mfanyana Dlamini*	A/47/PV.13
48	1993	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/48/PV.13
49	1994	English	English	Mbilini Dlamini*	A/49/PV.23
50	1995	English	English	Arthur Khoza	A/50/PV.28
51	1996	English	English	Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini*	A/51/PV.29
52	1997	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/52/PV.13
53	1998	English	English	Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini*	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	English	English	Arthur Khoza	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	English	English	Clifford Mamba	A/55/PV.21
56	2001	English	English	Clifford Mamba	A/56/PV.56

Continued on next page

Table I.170: SWZ: Swaziland (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
57	2002	English	English	Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini*	A/57/PV.18
58	2003	English	English	Clifford Mamba	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Albert Shabangu	A/59/PV.7
60	2005	English	English	Phesheya Dlamini	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	English	English	Phesheya Dlamini	A/61/PV.23
62	2007	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/65/PV.16
66	2011	English	English	Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini*	A/66/PV.21
67	2012	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/67/PV.10
68	2013	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/68/PV.9
69	2014	English	English	Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini*	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Barnabas Sibusiso Dlamini*	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/72/PV.10
73	2018	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	English	English	Mswati IIi*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	English	English	Ambrose Mandvulo Dlamini*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English	English	Cleopas Sipho Dlamini*	A/76/PV.14

SYC: Seychelles

Table I.171: SYC: Seychelles

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
32	1977	English	English	Guy Sinon	A/32/PV.23
33	1978	English	English	Guy Sinon	A/33/PV.33
34	1979	French	French	Jacques Hodoul	A/34/PV.25
35	1980	French	French	Jacques Hodoul	A/35/PV.30
36	1981	French	French	Jacques Hodoul	A/36/PV.6
38	1983	French	French	Maxime Ferrari	A/38/PV.33
44	1989	French	French	Danielle de St. Jorre	A/44/PV.22
45	1990	French	French	Danielle de St. Jorre	A/45/PV.4
46	1991	French	French	Danielle de St. Jorre	A/46/PV.13
47	1992	French	French	Danielle de St. Jorre	A/47/PV.5
48	1993	French	French	Danielle de St. Jorre	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	French	French	Danielle de St. Jorre	A/49/PV.9
51	1996	French	French	Danielle de St. Jorre	A/51/PV.23
52	1997	French	French	Jeremie Bonnelame	A/52/PV.27
53	1998	English	English	James Alix Michel	A/53/PV.18
56	2001	English	English	Claude Sylvestre Anthony Morel	A/56/PV.56
58	2003	English	English	Claude Sylvestre Anthony Morel	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	French	French	Jeremie Bonnelame	A/59/PV.17
61	2006	French	French	Jeremie Bonnelame	A/61/PV.23
62	2007	English French	English	Patrick Pillary	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	English	English	James Alix Michel*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	English	English	Ronald Jean Jumeau	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Jean-Paul Adam	A/65/PV.19
67	2012	English French	English	Danny Faure	A/67/PV.13
68	2013	English	English	Danny Faure	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	English French	English	Jean-Paul Adam	A/69/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.171: SYC: Seychelles (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
70	2015	English	English	James Alix Michel*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	English	English	Marie-Louise Potter	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English French	English	Danny Faure*	A/72/PV.12
73	2018	English	English	Danny Faure*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	English	English	Danny Faure*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	English	English	Danny Faure*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	English	English	Wavel Ramkalawan*	A/76/PV.11

SYR: Syria

Table I.172: SYR: Syria

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Faris El-Khouri	A/PV.41
2	1947	English	English	Faris El-Khouri	A/PV.88
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Faris El-Khouri	A/PV.139
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Faris El-Khouri	A/PV.222
6	1951	English	English	Faris El-Khouri	A/PV.347
7	1952	French	French	Zafer Rifai	A/PV.396
8	1953	English	English	Farid Zeineddine	A/PV.445
9	1954	English	English	Ahmed Shukairy	A/PV.489
10	1955	English	English	Ahmed Shukairy	A/PV.532
11	1956	English	English	Farid Zeineddine	A/PV.610
12	1957	French	French	Salah Eddine Bitar	A/PV.702
17	1962	French	French	Bechir El Azmeh	A/PV.1152
18	1963	French	French	Salah El Dine Tarazi	A/PV.1233
19	1964	English	English	Hassan Muraywid	A/PV.1306
20	1965	English	English	George Joseph Tomeh	A/PV.1359
21	1966	Arabic	English	George Joseph Tomeh	A/PV.1446
22	1967	Arabic	English	Assad Khandji	A/PV.1590
23	1968	English	English	George Joseph Tomeh	A/PV.1702
24	1969	English	English	George Joseph Tomeh	A/PV.1776
25	1970	French	French	Abdallah El-Khani	A/PV.1856
26	1971	Arabic	English	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/PV.1952
27	1972	Arabic	English	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/PV.2058
28	1973	Arabic	English	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/PV.2142
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/PV.2250
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/PV.2367

Continued on next page

Table I.172: SYR: Syria (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	Arabic English	Arabic	Mowaffak Allaf	A/31/PV.19
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/32/PV.12
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Nasser Kaddour	A/33/PV.27
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/34/PV.12
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/35/PV.16
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/36/PV.17
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/37/PV.8
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Halim Khaddam	A/38/PV.9
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/39/PV.14
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/40/PV.16
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/41/PV.18
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/42/PV.18
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/43/PV.18
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/44/PV.16
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/45/PV.16
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/46/PV.16
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/47/PV.14
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/48/PV.14
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/49/PV.14
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/50/PV.16
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/51/PV.18
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/52/PV.19
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/53/PV.19
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/54/PV.18
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/55/PV.14
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/57/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.172: SYR: Syria (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/58/PV.15
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Farouk Al-Shara'	A/59/PV.11
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Fayssal Mekdad	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/70/PV.25
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/72/PV.19
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Walid Al-Moualem	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic English	Walid Al-Moualem	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Fayssal Mekdad	A/76/PV.16

TCD: Chad

Table I.173: TCD: Chad

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
18	1963	French	French	Maurice Ngangtar	A/PV.1215
19	1964	French	French	Jacques Baroum	A/PV.1321
20	1965	French	French	Jacques Baroum	A/PV.1352
21	1966	French	French	Jacques Baroum	A/PV.1428
22	1967	French	French	Jacques Baroum	A/PV.1584
23	1968	French	French	Francois Tombalbaye*	A/PV.1684
24	1969	French	French	Jacques Baroum	A/PV.1781
26	1971	French	French	Baba Hassane	A/PV.1955
27	1972	French	French	Baba Hassane	A/PV.2053
29	1974	French	French	Djeraibe Doralta	A/PV.2263
30	1975	French	French	Wadal Abdelkader Kamougue	A/PV.2359
31	1976	French	French	Wadal Abdelkader Kamougue	A/31/PV.23
32	1977	French	French	Wadal Abdelkader Kamougue	A/32/PV.25
33	1978	French	French	Kotiga Guerina	A/33/PV.33
34	1979	French	French	Tidjani Thiam	A/34/PV.19
35	1980	French	French	Ramadane Barma	A/35/PV.33
36	1981	French	French	Acyl Ahmat Aghbach	A/36/PV.30
37	1982	French	French	Idriss Miskine	A/37/PV.30
38	1983	French	French	Idriss Miskine	A/38/PV.28
39	1984	French	French	Gouara Lassou	A/39/PV.27
40	1985	French	French	Gouara Lassou	A/40/PV.29
41	1986	French	French	Gouara Lassou	A/41/PV.25
42	1987	French	French	Gouara Lassou	A/42/PV.25
43	1988	French	French	Mahamat Ali Adoum	A/43/PV.31
44	1989	French	French	Mahamat Ali Adoum	A/44/PV.24
45	1990	French	French	Acheikh Ibn Oumar	A/45/PV.20
46	1991	French	French	Soungui Ahmed	A/46/PV.27
47	1992	French	French	Mahamat Ali Adoum	A/47/PV.25

Continued on next page

Table I.173: TCD: Chad (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	French	French	Fidel Moungar*	A/48/PV.22
49	1994	French	French	Ahmat Abderaman Haggar	A/49/PV.25
50	1995	French	French	Ahmat Abderaman Haggar	A/50/PV.23
51	1996	French	French	Saleh Kebzabo	A/51/PV.27
52	1997	French	French	Mahamat Saleh Annadif	A/52/PV.22
53	1998	French	French	Mahamat Saleh Annadif	A/53/PV.23
54	1999	French	French	Mahamat Saleh Annadif	A/54/PV.16
55	2000	French	French	Mahamat Saleh Annadif	A/55/PV.21
56	2001	French	French	Mahamat Saleh Annadif	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	French	French	Mahamat Saleh Annadif	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	French	French	Nagoum Yamassoum	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	French	French	Nagoum Yamassoum	A/59/PV.16
60	2005	French	French	Mohamad Allam-Mi	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	French	French	Mohamad Allam-Mi	A/61/PV.17
62	2007	French	French	Mohamad Allam-Mi	A/62/PV.15
63	2008	French	French	Moussa Faki Mahamat	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	French	French	Moussa Faki Mahamat	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	French	French	Moussa Faki Mahamat	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	French	French	Idriss Deby Itno*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	French	French	Moussa Faki Mahamat	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	French	French	Idriss Deby Itno*	A/68/PV.9
69	2014	French	French	Idriss Deby Itno*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	French	French	Moussa Faki Mahamat	A/70/PV.22
71	2016	French	French	Idriss Deby Itno*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	French	French	Hissein Brahim Taha	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	French	French	Mahamat Zene Cherif	A/73/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.173: TCD: Chad (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
74	2019	French	French	Idriss Deby Itno*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	French	French	Amine Abba Sidick	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	French	French	Mahamat Idriss Deby Itno*	A/76/PV.10

TGO: Togo

Table I.174: TGO: Togo

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
16	1961	French	French	Paulin Freitas	A/PV.1026
17	1962	French	French	Paulin Freitas	A/PV.1144
18	1963	French	French	Georges Apedo-Amah	A/PV.1220
19	1964	French	French	Georges Apedo-Amah	A/PV.1297
20	1965	French	French	Georges Apedo-Amah	A/PV.1357
22	1967	French	French	Joachim Hunlede	A/PV.1589
23	1968	French	French	Joachim Hunlede	A/PV.1706
25	1970	French	French	Joachim Hunlede	A/PV.1849
26	1971	French	French	Joachim Hunlede	A/PV.1960
27	1972	French	French	Joachim Hunlede	A/PV.2048
29	1974	French	French	Ayi Houenou Hunlede	A/PV.2257
30	1975	French	French	Ayi Houenou Hunlede	A/PV.2378
31	1976	French	French	Edem Kodjo	A/31/PV.12
32	1977	French	French	Edem Kodjo	A/32/PV.9
33	1978	French	French	Anani-Kuma Akakpo-Ahiangyo	A/33/PV.9
34	1979	French	French	Anani-Kuma Akakpo-Ahiangyo	A/34/PV.6
35	1980	French	French	Anani-Kuma Akakpo-Ahiangyo	A/35/PV.9
36	1981	French	French	Anani-Kuma Akakpo-Ahiangyo	A/36/PV.33
37	1982	French	French	Anani-Kuma Akakpo-Ahiangyo	A/37/PV.6
38	1983	French	French	Anani-Kuma Akakpo-Ahiangyo	A/38/PV.8
39	1984	French	French	Atsu-Koffi Amega	A/39/PV.5
40	1985	French	French	Atsu-Koffi Amega	A/40/PV.32
41	1986	French	French	Atsu-Koffi Amega	A/41/PV.5
42	1987	French	French	Yaovi Adodo	A/42/PV.5
43	1988	French	French	Yaovi Adodo	A/43/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.174: TGO: Togo (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	French	French	Yaovi Adodo	A/44/PV.7
45	1990	French	French	Yaovi Adodo	A/45/PV.13
46	1991	French	French	Aboudou Toure Cheaka	A/46/PV.23
47	1992	French	French	Ouattara Natchaba	A/47/PV.17
48	1993	French	French	Ouattara Natchaba	A/48/PV.15
49	1994	French	French	Boumbera Alassoun-ouma	A/49/PV.22
50	1995	French	French	Yandja Yentchabre	A/50/PV.4
51	1996	French	French	Koffi Panou	A/51/PV.19
52	1997	French	French	Koffi Panou	A/52/PV.7
53	1998	French	French	Joseph Koffigoh	A/53/PV.19
54	1999	French	French	Joseph Koffigoh	A/54/PV.20
55	2000	French	French	Gnassingbe Eyadema*	A/55/PV.11
56	2001	French	French	Koffi Panou	A/56/PV.53
57	2002	French	French	Koffi Panou	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	French	French	Kokou Tozoun	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	French	French	Kokou Tozoun	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	French	French	Zarifou Ayeva	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	French	French	Zarifou Ayeva	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	French	French	Zarifou Ayeva	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	French	French	Koffi Esaw	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	French	French	Kodjo Menan	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	French	French	Gilbert Fossoun Houngbo*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	French	French	Gilbert Fossoun Houngbo*	A/66/PV.23
67	2012	French	French	Elliott Ohin	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	French	French	Kodjo Menan	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	French	French	Robert Dussey	A/69/PV.19
70	2015	French	French	Faure Essozimna Gnassingbe*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	French	French	Kokou Kpayedo	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	French	French	Selom Komi Klassou*	A/72/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.174: TGO: Togo (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
73	2018	French	French	Robert Dussey	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	French	French	Kokou Kpayedo	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	French	French	Kokou Kpayedo	A/75/PV.15
76	2021	French	French	Faure Essozimna Gnassingbe*	A/76/PV.9

THA: Thailand

Table I.175: THA: Thailand

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
2	1947	English	English	Arthakitti Banomyong	A/PV.87
9	1954	English	English	Wan Waithayakon	A/PV.481
10	1955	English	English	Wan Waithayakon	A/PV.524
11	1956	English	English	Rak Panyarachun	A/PV.600
13	1958	English	English	Wan Waithayakon	A/PV.765
14	1959	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.806
15	1960	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.874
16	1961	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1027
17	1962	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1135
18	1963	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1218
19	1964	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1296
20	1965	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1353
21	1966	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1418
22	1967	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1580
23	1968	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1689
24	1969	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1773
25	1970	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1846
26	1971	English	English	Thanat Khoman	A/PV.1946
27	1972	English	English	Pote Sarasin	A/PV.2050
28	1973	English	English	Chatichai Choonhavan	A/PV.2134
29	1974	English	English	Charunphan Isarangkun Na Ayuthaya	A/PV.2251
30	1975	English	English	Anand Panyarachun	A/PV.2369
32	1977	English	English	Upadit Pachariyangkun	A/32/PV.23
33	1978	English	English	Upadit Pachariyangkun	A/33/PV.27
34	1979	English	English	Upadit Pachariyangkun	A/34/PV.28
35	1980	English	English	Siddhi Savetsila	A/35/PV.17
36	1981	English	English	Prem Tinsulanonda*	A/36/PV.26
37	1982	English	English	Siddhi Savetsila	A/37/PV.10
38	1983	English	English	Siddhi Savetsila	A/38/PV.16
39	1984	English	English	Siddhi Savetsila	A/39/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.175: THA: Thailand (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
40	1985	English	English	Prem Tinsulanonda*	A/40/PV.15
41	1986	English	English	Siddhi Savetsila	A/41/PV.17
42	1987	English	English	Prem Tinsulanonda*	A/42/PV.28
43	1988	English	English	Siddhi Savetsila	A/43/PV.21
44	1989	English	English	Siddhi Savetsila	A/44/PV.13
45	1990	English	English	Subin Pinkayan	A/45/PV.17
46	1991	English	English	Arsa Sarasin	A/46/PV.19
48	1993	English	English	Chuan Leekpai*	A/48/PV.18
49	1994	English	English	Prasong Soonsiri	A/49/PV.23
50	1995	English	English	Kasem Kasemsri	A/50/PV.11
51	1996	English	English	Amnuay Viravan	A/51/PV.30
52	1997	English	English	Prachuab Chaiyasan	A/52/PV.16
53	1998	English	English	Surin Pitsuwan	A/53/PV.16
54	1999	English	English	Surin Pitsuwan	A/54/PV.14
55	2000	English	English	Surin Pitsuwan	A/55/PV.23
56	2001	English	English	Pracha Guna-Kasem	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Surakiart Sathirathai	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	English	English	Surakiart Sathirathai	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	English	English	Surakiart Sathirathai	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	English	English	Kantathi Suphamongkhon	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	English	English	Laxanachantorn Laohaphan	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	English	English	Surayud Chulanont*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Don Pramudwinai	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Abhisit Vejjajiva*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	English	English	Kasit Piromya	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	English	English	Surapong Tovichakchaikul	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	English	English	Yingluck Shinawatra*	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	English	English	Surapong Tovichakchaikul	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	English	English	Tanasak Patimapragorn	A/69/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.175: THA: Thailand (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
70	2015	Thai	English	Prayut Chan-O-Cha*	A/70/PV.18
71	2016	Thai	English	Prayut Chan-O-Cha*	A/71/PV.13
72	2017	English	English	Don Pramudwinai	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	English	English	Virasakdi Futrakul	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	English	English	Don Pramudwinai	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	Thai	English	Prayut Chan-O-Cha*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	Thai[52]	English	Prayut Chan-O-Cha*	A/76/PV.14

[52] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.14. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: thai; texte anglais fourni par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

TJK: Tajikistan

Table I.176: TJK: Tajikistan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	Persian	English	Khudoberdy Kholiknazarov	A/47/PV.16
48	1993	Russian	Russian	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/48/PV.10
49	1994	Russian	Russian	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/49/PV.13
50	1995	Russian	Russian	Rashid Alimov	A/50/PV.27
51	1996	Russian	Russian	Talbak Nazarov	A/51/PV.24
52	1997	Russian	Russian	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/52/PV.17
53	1998	Russian	Russian	Talbak Nazarov	A/53/PV.21
54	1999	Russian	Russian	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/54/PV.20
55	2000	Russian	Russian	Rashid Alimov	A/55/PV.26
56	2001	Russian	Russian	Rashid Alimov	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	Russian	Russian	Talbak Nazarov	A/57/PV.15
58	2003	Russian	Russian	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	Russian	Russian	Talbak Nazarov	A/59/PV.17
60	2005	Russian	Russian	Talbak Nazarov	A/60/PV.15
61	2006	Russian	Russian	Talbak Nazarov	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	Russian	Russian	Sirodjidin M. Aslov	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	Tajik	English	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/63/PV.9
64	2009	Tajik	English	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Tajik	English	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	Russian	Russian	Hamrokhon Zarifi	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	Tajik	English	Hamrokhon Zarifi	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	Russian	Russian	Oqil Oqilov*	A/68/PV.10
69	2014	Russian	Russian	Qohir Rasulzoda*	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	Tajik	English	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Sirodjidin M. Aslov	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	Tajik	English	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/72/PV.4
73	2018	English	English	Mahmadamin Mahmadaminov	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	Russian	Russian	Qohir Rasulzoda*	A/74/PV.9

Continued on next page

Table I.176: TJK: Tajikistan (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
75	2020	Tajik	English	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	Tajik[53]	English	Emomali Rakhmonov*	A/76/PV.11

[53] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/76/PV.11. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version indicates: '[Original: tadjik; texte anglais fourni par la délégation]'. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

TKM: Turkmenistan

Table I.177: TKM: Turkmenistan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	Russian	Russian	Boris Shikhmuradov	A/48/PV.17
50	1995	Russian	Russian	Boris Shikhmuradov	A/50/PV.13
51	1996	English	English	Boris Shikhmuradov	A/51/PV.11
52	1997	Russian	Russian	Boris Shikhmuradov	A/52/PV.18
53	1998	English	English	Boris Shikhmuradov	A/53/PV.19
54	1999	English	English	Boris Shikhmuradov	A/54/PV.9
55	2000	Russian	Russian	Aksoltan T. Ataeva	A/55/PV.23
56	2001	Russian	Russian	Rashid Meredov	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	Russian	Russian	Aksoltan T. Ataeva	A/57/PV.15
59	2004	Russian	Russian	Rashid Meredov	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	Russian	Russian	Aksoltan T. Ataeva	A/60/PV.21
61	2006	Russian	Russian	Aksoltan T. Ataeva	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	Russian	Russian	Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	Russian	Russian	Rashid Meredov	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	Russian	Russian	Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov*	A/64/PV.3
66	2011	Russian	Russian	Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov*	A/66/PV.19
67	2012	Russian	Russian	Rashid Meredov	A/67/PV.14
68	2013	Russian	Russian	Rashid Meredov	A/68/PV.21
69	2014	Russian	Russian	Rashid Meredov	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	Russian	Russian	Aksoltan T. Ataeva	A/70/PV.27
71	2016	Russian	Russian	Rashid Meredov	A/71/PV.16
72	2017	Russian	Russian	Aksoltan T. Ataeva	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	Russian	Russian	Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov*	A/73/PV.15
74	2019	Russian	Russian	Rashid Meredov	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	Russian	Russian English	Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov*	A/75/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.177: TKM: Turkmenistan (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
76	2021	Russian	Russian English	Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov*	A/76/PV.4

TLS: Timor

Table I.178: TLS: Timor

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
58	2003	Portuguese	English	Mari bin Almude Alkatiri*	A/58/PV.16
59	2004	English	English	Jose Ramos-Horta	A/59/PV.16
60	2005	English	English	Jose Ramos-Horta	A/60/PV.16
61	2006	Portuguese English	English	Jose Luis Guterres	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	English Portuguese	English	Jose Ramos-Horta*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	English Portuguese	English	Jose Ramos-Horta*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Zacarias Albano da Costa	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	English	English	Jose Ramos-Horta*	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	Portuguese	English	Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao*	A/66/PV.21
67	2012	Portuguese	English	Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao*	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	Portuguese	English	Taur Matan Ruak*	A/68/PV.8
69	2014	Portuguese	English	Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	Portuguese	English	Rui Maria de Araujo*	A/70/PV.23
71	2016	Portuguese	English	Rui Maria de Araujo*	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	Portuguese	English	Maria Helena Pires	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	Portuguese	English	Maria Helena Pires	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	Portuguese	English	Dionisio da Costa Babo Soares	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	Portuguese	English	Francisco Guterres Lu-Olo*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	Portuguese English	English	Karlito Nunes	A/76/PV.17

TON: Tonga

Table I.179: TON: Tonga

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
56	2001	English	English	Sonatane T. Taumoepeau-Tupou	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	English	English	'Ulukalala Lavaka Ata*	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	English	English	'Ulukalala Lavaka Ata*	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	English	English	Sonatane T. Taumoepeau-Tupou	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	English	English	Siosiua 'Utoikamanu	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	English	English	Mahe'Uli'Uli Sandhurst Tupouniua	A/61/PV.23
62	2007	English	English	Sonatane T. Taumoepeau-Tupou	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	English	English	Feleti Vaka'Uta Sevele*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Feleti Vaka'Uta Sevele*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	English	English	Sonatane T. Taumoepeau-Tupou	A/65/PV.24
66	2011	English	English	Tu'Ivakano of Nukunuku*	A/66/PV.23
67	2012	English	English	Tu'Ivakano of Nukunuku	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Tupou Vi*	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	English	English	Tupou Vi*	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	English	English	Samiuela 'Akilisi Pohiva*	A/70/PV.18
71	2016	English	English	Samiuela 'Akilisi Pohiva*	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Tupou Vi*	A/72/PV.17
73	2018	English	English	Tupou Vi*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	English	English	Tupou Vi*	A/74/PV.7
75	2020	English	English	Pohiva Tu'I'Onetoa*	A/75/PV.11
76	2021	English	English	Pohiva Tu'I'Onetoa*	A/76/PV.14

TTO: Trinidad and Tobago

Table I.180: TTO: Trinidad and Tobago

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
19	1964	English	English	Patrick Vincent Joseph Solomon	A/PV.1303
21	1966	English	English	Patrick Vincent Joseph Solomon	A/PV.1441
22	1967	English	English	Arthur N.R. Robinson	A/PV.1570
24	1969	English	English	Arthur N.R. Robinson	A/PV.1764
25	1970	English	English	F.C. Prevatt	A/PV.1857
26	1971	English	English	Kamalludin Mohammed	A/PV.1947
32	1977	English	English	John Stanley Donaldson	A/32/PV.24
33	1978	English	English	John Stanley Donaldson	A/33/PV.29
34	1979	English	English	John Stanley Donaldson	A/34/PV.21
35	1980	English	English	John Stanley Donaldson	A/35/PV.27
37	1982	English	English	Basil A. Ince	A/37/PV.7
38	1983	English	English	Basil A. Ince	A/38/PV.18
39	1984	English	English	Basil A. Ince	A/39/PV.21
40	1985	English	English	Errol Mahabir	A/40/PV.17
41	1986	English	English	Errol Mahabir	A/41/PV.14
42	1987	English	English	Arthur N.R. Robinson*	A/42/PV.24
43	1988	English	English	Sahadeo Basdeo	A/43/PV.30
44	1989	English	English	Sahadeo Basdeo	A/44/PV.25
45	1990	English	English	Arthur N.R. Robinson*	A/45/PV.20
46	1991	English	English	Marjorie Thorpe	A/46/PV.18
48	1993	English	English	Annette Des Iles	A/48/PV.26
49	1994	English	English	Ralph Maraj	A/49/PV.26
50	1995	English	English	Annette Des Iles	A/50/PV.23
51	1996	English	English	Basdeo Panday*	A/51/PV.9
52	1997	English	English	Ralph Maraj	A/52/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.180: TTO: Trinidad and Tobago (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
53	1998	English	English	George Mckenzie	A/53/PV.25
54	1999	English	English	Ralph Maraj	A/54/PV.22
55	2000	English	English	Ralph Maraj	A/55/PV.12
56	2001	English	English	Mervyn Assam	A/56/PV.55
57	2002	English	English	Philip Sealy	A/57/PV.8
58	2003	English	English	Knowlson Gift	A/58/PV.21
59	2004	English	English	Patrick Manning*	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	English	English	Knowlson Gift	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	English	English	Philip Sealy	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	English	English	Philip Sealy	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	English	English	Paula Gopee-Scoon	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	English	English	Patrick Manning*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	English	English	Kamla Persad-Bissessar*	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Surujrattan Rambachan	A/66/PV.27
67	2012	English	English	Winston Dookeran	A/67/PV.19
68	2013	English	English	Kamla Persad-Bissessar*	A/68/PV.10
69	2014	English	English	Kamla Persad-Bissessar*	A/69/PV.14
70	2015	English	English	Dennis D. Moses	A/70/PV.26
71	2016	English	English	Dennis D. Moses	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English	English	Dennis D. Moses	A/72/PV.21
73	2018	English	English	Dennis D. Moses	A/73/PV.14
74	2019	English	English	Keith Rowley*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	Keith Rowley*	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	English	English	Amery Browne	A/76/PV.17

TUN: Tunisia

Table I.181: TUN: Tunisia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
11	1956	French	French	Habib Bourguiba	A/PV.590
12	1957	French	French	Bahi Ladgham	A/PV.702
13	1958	French	French	Sadok Mokaddem	A/PV.760
14	1959	French	French	Sadok Mokaddem	A/PV.818
15	1960	French	French	Mongi Slim	A/PV.897
16	1961	French	French	Sadok Mokaddem	A/PV.1028
17	1962	French	French	Mongi Slim	A/PV.1141
18	1963	French	French	Mongi Slim	A/PV.1213
19	1964	French	French	Habib Bourguiba*	A/PV.1305
20	1965	French	French	Habib Bourguiba*	A/PV.1337
21	1966	French	French	Abdelmalek Bourguiba	A/PV.1434
22	1967	French	French	Habib Bourguiba*	A/PV.1570
23	1968	French	French	Habib Bourguiba*	A/PV.1685
24	1969	French	French	Habib Bourguiba*	A/PV.1767
25	1970	French	French	Rachid Driss	A/PV.1859
26	1971	French	French	Mohamed Masmoudi	A/PV.1953
27	1972	French	French	Mohamed Masmoudi	A/PV.2056
28	1973	French	French	Mohamed Masmoudi	A/PV.2148
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Chatty	A/PV.2256
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Chatty	A/PV.2369
31	1976	French	French	Habib Chatty	A/31/PV.22
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Chatty	A/32/PV.19
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Fitouri	A/33/PV.27
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Fitouri	A/34/PV.12
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Mzali*	A/35/PV.22
36	1981	French	French	Beji Caid Essebsi	A/36/PV.25
37	1982	French	French	Beji Caid Essebsi	A/37/PV.7
38	1983	French	French	Beji Caid Essebsi	A/38/PV.10
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Beji Caid Essebsi	A/39/PV.15
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Beji Caid Essebsi	A/40/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.181: TUN: Tunisia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
41	1986	French Arabic	French	Hedi Mabrouk	A/41/PV.6
42	1987	French	French	Hedi Mabrouk	A/42/PV.9
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelhamid Escheikh	A/43/PV.7
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelhamid Escheikh	A/44/PV.16
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Boulares	A/45/PV.6
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/46/PV.17
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/47/PV.22
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/48/PV.5
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/49/PV.15
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/50/PV.4
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/51/PV.15
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Abderrahim Zouari	A/52/PV.18
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Said Ben Mustapha	A/53/PV.17
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Said Ben Mustapha	A/54/PV.17
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/55/PV.21
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/56/PV.49
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Ben Yahia	A/59/PV.13
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelwaheb Abdallah	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelwaheb Abdallah	A/61/PV.20
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelwaheb Abdallah	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic French	Abdelwaheb Abdallah	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelwaheb Abdallah	A/64/PV.11
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Kamel Morjane	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Mouldi Kefi	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Moncef Marzouki*	A/67/PV.12
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Moncef Marzouki*	A/68/PV.12

Continued on next page

Table I.181: TUN: Tunisia (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Moncef Marzouki*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Habib Essid*	A/70/PV.18
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Beji Caid Essebsi*	A/71/PV.9
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Khemais Jhinaoui	A/72/PV.16
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Khemais Jhinaoui	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Khemais Jhinaoui	A/74/PV.9
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic	Othman Jerandi	A/75/PV.14
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Othman Jerandi	A/76/PV.17

TUR: Turkey

Table I.182: TUR: Turkey

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Huseyin Ragip Baydur	A/PV.38
2	1947	English	English	Selim Sarper	A/PV.89
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Necmeddin Sadak	A/PV.141
5	1950	English	English	Selim Sarper	A/PV.283
6	1951	French	French	Fuad Koprulu	A/PV.345
12	1957	English	English	Seyfullah Esin	A/PV.692
13	1958	English	English	Fatin Rustu Zorlu	A/PV.756
14	1959	English	English	Fatin Rustu Zorlu	A/PV.809
15	1960	English	English	Selim Sarper	A/PV.870
16	1961	English	English	Selim Sarper	A/PV.1021
17	1962	English	English	Feridun Cemal Erkin	A/PV.1135
18	1963	French	French	Feridun Cemal Erkin	A/PV.1226
19	1964	French	French	Feridun Cemal Erkin	A/PV.1321
20	1965	French	French	Hasan Esat Isik	A/PV.1343
21	1966	French	French	Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil	A/PV.1422
22	1967	French	French	Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil	A/PV.1577
23	1968	French	French	Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil	A/PV.1690
24	1969	French	French	Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil	A/PV.1772
25	1970	French	French	Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil	A/PV.1849
26	1971	English	English	Osman Olcay	A/PV.1954
27	1972	English	English	Umit Haluk Bayulken	A/PV.2053
28	1973	English	English	Umit Haluk Bayulken	A/PV.2132
29	1974	French	French	Turan Gunes	A/PV.2241
30	1975	French	French	Ihsan Sabri Caglayangil	A/PV.2364

Continued on next page

Table I.182: TUR: Turkey (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
31	1976	French	French	Ihsan Sabri Caglay-angil	A/31/PV.8
32	1977	French	French	Ihsan Sabri Caglay-angil	A/32/PV.17
33	1978	English	English	Gunduz Okcun	A/33/PV.19
34	1979	English	English	Gunduz Okcun	A/34/PV.21
35	1980	English	English	Ilter Turkmen	A/35/PV.19
36	1981	English	English	Ilter Turkmen	A/36/PV.16
37	1982	English	English	Ilter Turkmen	A/37/PV.15
38	1983	English	English	Ilter Turkmen	A/38/PV.17
39	1984	English	English	Vahit Halefoglu	A/39/PV.20
40	1985	English	English	Vahit Halefoglu	A/40/PV.22
41	1986	English	English	Vahit Halefoglu	A/41/PV.21
42	1987	English	English	Vahit Halefoglu	A/42/PV.12
43	1988	English	English	Mesut Yilmaz	A/43/PV.12
44	1989	English	English	Mesut Yilmaz	A/44/PV.17
45	1990	English	English	Ali Bozer	A/45/PV.9
46	1991	English	English	I. Safa Giray	A/46/PV.10
47	1992	English	English	Hikmet Cetin	A/47/PV.13
48	1993	English	English	Hikmet Cetin	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	English	English	Mumtaz Soysal	A/49/PV.12
50	1995	English	English	Grdal Inonu	A/50/PV.9
51	1996	English	English	Tansu Ciller	A/51/PV.15
52	1997	English	English	Ismail Cem	A/52/PV.14
53	1998	English	English	Mesut Yilmaz*	A/53/PV.13
54	1999	English	English	Ismail Cem	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	English	English	Ismail Cem	A/55/PV.18
56	2001	English	English	Ismail Cem	A/56/PV.48
57	2002	English	English	Sukru Sina Gurel	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	English	English	Abdullah Gul	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	English	English	Abdullah Gul	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	English	English	Abdullah Gul	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	English	English	Abdullah Gul	A/61/PV.17

Continued on next page

Table I.182: TUR: Turkey (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
62	2007	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/62/PV.11
63	2008	English	English	Abdullah Gul*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/64/PV.5
65	2010	English	English	Abdullah Gul*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	English	English	Ahmet Davutoglu	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Abdullah Gul*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	English	English	Ahmet Davutoglu*	A/70/PV.19
71	2016	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/72/PV.4
73	2018	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	Turkish	English	Recep Tayyip Erdogan*	A/76/PV.3

TUV: Tuvalu

Table I.183: TUV: Tuvalu

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
56	2001	English	English	Enele Sosene Sopoaga	A/56/PV.56
57	2002	English	English	Tomasi Puapua*	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	English	English	Saufatu Sopoanga*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	English	English	Maatia Toafa	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	English	English	Maatia Toafa*	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	English	English	Enele Sosene Sopoaga	A/61/PV.23
62	2007	English	English	Tavau Teii	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	English	English	Apisai Ielemia*	A/63/PV.12
64	2009	English	English	Apisai Ielemia*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	English	English	Afelee F. Pita	A/65/PV.22
66	2011	English	English	Willy Telavi*	A/66/PV.22
67	2012	English	English	Apisai Ielemia	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	English	English	Vete Palakua Sakaio	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	English	English	Enele Sosene Sopoaga	A/69/PV.15
70	2015	English	English	Taukelina Finikaso	A/70/PV.26
71	2016	English	English	Enele Sosene Sopoaga*	A/71/PV.19
72	2017	English	English	Enele Sosene Sopoaga*	A/72/PV.13
73	2018	English	English	Enele Sosene Sopoaga*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	English	English	Minute Alapati Taupo	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	English	English	Kausea Natano*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	Kausea Natano*	A/76/PV.15

TZA: Tanzania

Table I.184: TZA: Tanzania

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
18	1963	English	English	Oscar S. Kambona	A/PV.1231
19	1964	English	English	Oscar S. Kambona	A/PV.1298
20	1965	English	English	Asanterabi Zephaniah Nsilo Swai	A/PV.1360
21	1966	English	English	Chediel Y. Mgonja	A/PV.1437
22	1967	English	English	Hasnu Makame	A/PV.1583
23	1968	English	English	Paul Bomani	A/PV.1695
24	1969	English	English	Stephen Mhando	A/PV.1763
26	1971	English	English	Israel Elinewinga	A/PV.1951
27	1972	English	English	Salim Ahmed Salim	A/PV.2043
28	1973	English	English	John W.S. Malecela	A/PV.2133
29	1974	English	English	John W.S. Malecela	A/PV.2250
30	1975	English	English	Isaac Sepetu	A/PV.2364
31	1976	English	English	Ibrahim M. Kaduma	A/31/PV.13
32	1977	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa	A/32/PV.21
33	1978	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa	A/33/PV.17
34	1979	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa	A/34/PV.6
35	1980	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa	A/35/PV.14
36	1981	English	English	Salim Ahmed Salim	A/36/PV.14
37	1982	English	English	Salim Ahmed Salim	A/37/PV.28
38	1983	English	English	Julius K. Nyerere*	A/38/PV.14
39	1984	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa	A/39/PV.26
40	1985	English	English	Julius K. Nyerere*	A/40/PV.13
41	1986	English	English	Wilbert Chagula	A/41/PV.29
42	1987	English	English	Ali Hassan Mwinyi*	A/42/PV.30
43	1988	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa	A/43/PV.20

Continued on next page

Table I.184: TZA: Tanzania (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
44	1989	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa	A/44/PV.20
45	1990	English	English	Anthony B. Nyakyi	A/45/PV.21
46	1991	English	English	Ahmed Hassan Diria	A/46/PV.14
47	1992	English	English	Ahmed Hassan Diria	A/47/PV.23
48	1993	English	English	Joseph Rwegasira	A/48/PV.21
49	1994	English	English	Ali Hassan Mwinyi*	A/49/PV.16
50	1995	English	English	Daudi Ngelautwa Mwakawago	A/50/PV.24
51	1996	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa*	A/51/PV.22
52	1997	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete	A/52/PV.5
53	1998	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete	A/53/PV.18
54	1999	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa*	A/54/PV.5
55	2000	English	English	Hassan Kibelloh	A/55/PV.28
56	2001	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete	A/57/PV.13
58	2003	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete	A/58/PV.20
59	2004	English	English	Benjamin William Mkapa*	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	English	English	Abdulkadeer Shareef	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete*	A/62/PV.8
63	2008	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Mizengo Pinda*	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete*	A/66/PV.15
67	2012	English	English	Bernard Kamillius Membe	A/67/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.184: TZA: Tanzania (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
68	2013	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete*	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete	A/69/PV.11
70	2015	English	English	Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	English	English	Augustine Philip Mahiga	A/71/PV.22
72	2017	English	English	Augustine Philip Mahiga	A/72/PV.22
73	2018	English	English	Augustine Philip Mahiga	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	English	English	Palamagamba Kabudi	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	Kennedy Godfrey Gastorn	A/75/PV.15
76	2021	English	English	Samia Suluhu Hassan*	A/76/PV.10

UGA: Uganda

Table I.185: UGA: Uganda

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
18	1963	English	English	Apollo K. Kironde	A/PV.1216
19	1964	English	English	Samuel Ngude Odaka	A/PV.1293
20	1965	English	English	Samuel Ngude Odaka	A/PV.1353
21	1966	English	English	Samuel Ngude Odaka	A/PV.1421
22	1967	English	English	Samuel Ngude Odaka	A/PV.1575
23	1968	English	English	Samuel Ngude Odaka	A/PV.1706
24	1969	English	English	Samuel Ngude Odaka	A/PV.1771
26	1971	English	English	Wanume Kibedi	A/PV.1943
27	1972	English	English	Grace S. Ibingira	A/PV.2057
29	1974	English	English	Elizabeth Bagaaya	A/PV.2245
30	1975	Luganda	English	Idi Amin Dada*	A/PV.2370
31	1976	English	English	Juma Oris Abdalla	A/31/PV.24
32	1977	English	English	Khalid Younis Kinene	A/32/PV.29
33	1978	English	English	Matia Lubega	A/33/PV.27
34	1979	English	English	Godfrey Lukongwa Binaisa*	A/34/PV.14
35	1980	English	English	Olara A. Otunnu	A/35/PV.30
36	1981	English	English	Albert Picho Owiny	A/36/PV.14
37	1982	English	English	Albert Picho Owiny	A/37/PV.25
38	1983	English	English	Albert Picho Owiny	A/38/PV.27
39	1984	English	English	Albert Picho Owiny	A/39/PV.21
40	1985	English	English	Sam K. Kutesa	A/40/PV.28
43	1988	English	English	Paul Ssemogerere	A/43/PV.28
44	1989	English	English	Paul Ssemogerere	A/44/PV.24
45	1990	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/45/PV.15
46	1991	English	English	Paul Ssemogerere	A/46/PV.29
47	1992	English	English	Paul Ssemogerere	A/47/PV.28
48	1993	English	English	Paul Ssemogerere	A/48/PV.21
49	1994	English	English	Paul Ssemogerere	A/49/PV.26

Continued on next page

Table I.185: UGA: Uganda (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
50	1995	English	English	Ruhakana Rugunda	A/50/PV.17
51	1996	English	English	Eriya Tukahirwa Kategaya	A/51/PV.25
52	1997	English	English	Eriya Tukahirwa Kategaya	A/52/PV.14
53	1998	English	English	Eriya Tukahirwa Kategaya	A/53/PV.23
54	1999	English	English	Alfred Mubanda	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	English	English	Ralph Ochan	A/55/PV.17
56	2001	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/56/PV.46
57	2002	English	English	James Francis Wapakhabulo	A/57/PV.16
58	2003	English	English	James Francis Wapakhabulo	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Tom Butime	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	English	English	Sam K. Kutesa	A/60/PV.18
61	2006	English	English	Sam K. Kutesa	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	English	English	Sam K. Kutesa	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/63/PV.6
64	2009	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Edward Kiwanuka Ssekandi	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	English	English	Edward Kiwanuka Ssekandi	A/67/PV.8
68	2013	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/68/PV.7
69	2014	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/70/PV.14

Continued on next page

Table I.185: UGA: Uganda (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
71	2016	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/71/PV.9
72	2017	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/72/PV.5
73	2018	English	English	Ruhakana Rugunda*	A/73/PV.11
74	2019	English	English	Ruhakana Rugunda*	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	English	English	Adonia Ayebare	A/75/PV.15
76	2021	English	English	Yoweri Kaguta Museveni*	A/76/PV.11

UKR: Ukraine

Table I.186: UKR: Ukraine

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Dmitro Manuilsky	A/PV.45
2	1947	Russian	Russian	Dmitro Manuilsky	A/PV.89
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Dmitro Manuilsky	A/PV.148
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Dmitro Manuilsky	A/PV.229
5	1950	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Maksimovich Baranovsky	A/PV.288
6	1951	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Maksimovich Baranovsky	A/PV.345
7	1952	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Maksimovich Baranovsky	A/PV.396
8	1953	Russian	Russian	Anatolii Maksimovich Baranovsky	A/PV.442
9	1954	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.490
10	1955	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.526
11	1956	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.610
12	1957	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.700
13	1958	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.769
14	1959	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.815
15	1960	Ukrainian	English	Nikolai V. Podgorny*	A/PV.885
16	1961	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.1030
17	1962	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.1133
18	1963	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.1231
19	1964	Russian	Russian	L.F. Palamarchuk	A/PV.1317
20	1965	Ukrainian	English	P.T. Tronko	A/PV.1352
21	1966	Russian	Russian	Dimitrii Belokolos	A/PV.1436
22	1967	Russian	Russian	Dimitrii Belokolos	A/PV.1576
23	1968	Russian	Russian	Dimitrii Belokolos	A/PV.1693
24	1969	Russian	Russian	Dimitrii Belokolos	A/PV.1778
25	1970	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/PV.1858
26	1971	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/PV.1958
27	1972	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/PV.2057

Continued on next page

Table I.186: UKR: Ukraine (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/PV.2144
29	1974	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/PV.2255
30	1975	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/PV.2373
31	1976	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/31/PV.15
32	1977	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/32/PV.24
33	1978	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/33/PV.16
34	1979	Russian	Russian	Georgi G. Shevel	A/34/PV.22
35	1980	Russian	Russian	Stanislav I. Gurenko	A/35/PV.22
36	1981	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Nikiphorovich Martynenko	A/36/PV.24
37	1982	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Nikiphorovich Martynenko	A/37/PV.20
38	1983	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Nikiphorovich Martynenko	A/38/PV.27
39	1984	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Nikiphorovich Martynenko	A/39/PV.23
40	1985	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Alekseyevich Kravets	A/40/PV.22
41	1986	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Alekseyevich Kravets	A/41/PV.23
42	1987	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Alekseyevich Kravets	A/42/PV.23
43	1988	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Alekseyevich Kravets	A/43/PV.22
44	1989	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Alekseyevich Kravets	A/44/PV.22
45	1990	Ukrainian	Russian	Vitali Masol*	A/45/PV.22
46	1991	Ukrainian	English	Leonid Kravchuk*	A/46/PV.14
47	1992	Ukrainian	English	Anatoli M. Zlenko	A/47/PV.16
48	1993	Ukrainian	English	Anatoli M. Zlenko	A/48/PV.11
49	1994	Ukrainian	English	Hennadiy Udovenko	A/49/PV.8

Continued on next page

Table I.186: UKR: Ukraine (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
50	1995	English	English	Hennadiy Udovenko	A/50/PV.10
51	1996	English	English	Hennadiy Udovenko	A/51/PV.10
52	1997	Ukrainian	English	Leonid D. Kuchma*	A/52/PV.6
53	1998	English	English	Boris I. Tarasyuk	A/53/PV.12
54	1999	English	English	Boris I. Tarasyuk	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	English	English	Boris I. Tarasyuk	A/55/PV.21
56	2001	English	English	Anatoli M. Zlenko	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	English	English	Anatoli M. Zlenko	A/57/PV.7
58	2003	Ukrainian	English	Leonid D. Kuchma*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	English	English	Kostyantyn Gryshchenko	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	English	English	Boris I. Tarasyuk	A/60/PV.11
61	2006	English	English	Boris I. Tarasyuk	A/61/PV.18
62	2007	English	English	Volodymyr D. Khandogiy	A/62/PV.16
63	2008	Ukrainian	English	Viktor Yushchenko*	A/63/PV.7
64	2009	Ukrainian	English	Viktor Yushchenko*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	Ukrainian	English	Viktor Yanukovych*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	Ukrainian	English	Viktor Yanukovych*	A/66/PV.12
67	2012	Ukrainian	English	Viktor Yanukovych*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	Ukrainian	English	Viktor Yanukovych*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	English	English	Arseniy Yatsenyuk*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	English	English	Petro Poroshenko*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	English	English	Petro Poroshenko*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Petro Poroshenko*	A/72/PV.8
73	2018	English	English	Petro Poroshenko*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	Ukrainian	English	Volodymyr Zelenskyy*	A/74/PV.5
75	2020	Ukrainian	English	Volodymyr Zelenskyy*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	Ukrainian Russian	English	Volodymyr Zelenskyy*	A/76/PV.7

URY: Uruguay

Table I.187: URY: Uruguay

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Blanco	A/PV.45
2	1947	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Blanco	A/PV.82
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Enrique C. Armand Ugon	A/PV.141
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique C. Armand Ugon	A/PV.288
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Batlle Berres	A/PV.343
7	1952	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Charlone	A/PV.384
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Francisco Gamarra	A/PV.481
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Vicente Basagoiti	A/PV.527
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Jose Carbajal Victorica	A/PV.609
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Charlone	A/PV.685
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Homero Martinez Montero	A/PV.805
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Eduardo Victor Haedo	A/PV.875
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Benito Nardone	A/PV.1012
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Maria Velazquez	A/PV.1131
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Zorrilla de San Martin	A/PV.1217
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Maria Velazquez	A/PV.1302
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Vidal Zaglio	A/PV.1335
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Vidal Zaglio	A/PV.1421
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Hector Luisi	A/PV.1567
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Joaquin Secco Garcia	A/PV.1686
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Venancio Flores	A/PV.1759
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Peirano Facio	A/PV.1841
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Mora Otero	A/PV.1941
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Mora Otero	A/PV.2041

Continued on next page

Table I.187: URY: Uruguay (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Blanco	A/PV.2131
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Blanco	A/PV.2240
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Blanco	A/PV.2360
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Juan Carlos Blanco	A/31/PV.14
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Alejandro Rovira	A/32/PV.13
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Adolfo Folle Martinez	A/33/PV.15
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Adolfo Folle Martinez	A/34/PV.8
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Adolfo Folle Martinez	A/35/PV.13
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Estanislao Valdes Otero	A/36/PV.10
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos A. Maeso	A/37/PV.12
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos A. Maeso	A/38/PV.25
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos A. Maeso	A/39/PV.22
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Maria Sanguinetti*	A/40/PV.6
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Enrique V. Iglesias	A/41/PV.21
42	1987	Spanish[55]	Spanish	Enrique V. Iglesias	A/42/PV.5
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Barrios Tassano	A/43/PV.15
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Barrios Tassano	A/44/PV.16
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Hector Gros Espiell	A/45/PV.21
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Hector Gros Espiell	A/46/PV.15
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Hector Gros Espiell	A/47/PV.21
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Sergio Abreu Bonilla	A/48/PV.15
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Alberto Lacalle*	A/49/PV.6
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Perez-Otermin	A/50/PV.12
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Ramos	A/51/PV.19
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Alvaro Ramos	A/52/PV.18
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Julio Maria Sanguinetti*	A/53/PV.7
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Didier Opertti	A/54/PV.11
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Didier Opertti	A/55/PV.21
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Batlle Ibanez*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Didier Opertti	A/57/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.187: URY: Uruguay (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Didier Opertti	A/58/PV.17
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Batlle Ibanez*	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Tabare Vazquez*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Belela Herrera	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Reinaldo Gargano	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Gonzalo Fernandez	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Tabare Vazquez*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Almagro Lemes	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Danilo Astori	A/66/PV.25
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Almagro Lemes	A/67/PV.18
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Mujica*	A/68/PV.7
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Almagro Lemes	A/69/PV.5
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Tabare Vazquez*	A/70/PV.16
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Tabare Vazquez*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Rodolfo Nin Novoa	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Tabare Vazquez*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Rodolfo Nin Novoa	A/74/PV.13
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Lacalle Pou*	A/75/PV.5
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Lacalle Pou*	A/76/PV.6

[55] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/42/PV.5. The English version indicates: 'interpretation from Spanish', while the French version is missing. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

USA: United States

Table I.188: USA: United States

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	English	English	Warren Austin	A/PV.44
2	1947	English	English	George Catlett Marshall	A/PV.82
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	George Catlett Marshall	A/PV.139
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Dean Gooderham Acheson	A/PV.222
5	1950	English	English	Dean Gooderham Acheson	A/PV.279
6	1951	English	English	Dean Gooderham Acheson	A/PV.335
7	1952	English	English	Dean Gooderham Acheson	A/PV.380
8	1953	English	English	John Foster Dulles	A/PV.434
9	1954	English	English	John Foster Dulles	A/PV.475
10	1955	English	English	John Foster Dulles	A/PV.518
11	1956	English	English	Herbert Hoover	A/PV.581
12	1957	English	English	John Foster Dulles	A/PV.680
13	1958	English	English	John Foster Dulles	A/PV.749
14	1959	English	English	Christian Archibald Herter	A/PV.797
15	1960	English	English	Dwight David Eisenhower*	A/PV.868
16	1961	English	English	John F. Kennedy*	A/PV.1013
17	1962	English	English	Adlai Ewing Stevenson	A/PV.1125
18	1963	English	English	John F. Kennedy*	A/PV.1209
19	1964	English	English	Adlai Ewing Stevenson	A/PV.1323
20	1965	English	English	Arthur J. Goldberg	A/PV.1334
21	1966	English	English	Arthur J. Goldberg	A/PV.1412
22	1967	English	English	Arthur J. Goldberg	A/PV.1562
23	1968	English	English	Dean Rusk	A/PV.1677

Continued on next page

Table I.188: USA: United States (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
24	1969	English	English	Richard M. Nixon*	A/PV.1755
25	1970	English	English	Charles Woodruff Yost	A/PV.1854
26	1971	English	English	William Rogers	A/PV.1950
27	1972	English	English	William Rogers	A/PV.2038
28	1973	English	English	Henry A. Kissinger	A/PV.2124
29	1974	English	English	Henry A. Kissinger	A/PV.2238
30	1975	English	English	Henry A. Kissinger	A/PV.2355
31	1976	English	English	Henry A. Kissinger	A/31/PV.11
32	1977	English	English	Jimmy Carter*	A/32/PV.18
33	1978	English	English	Cyrus Roberts Vance	A/33/PV.14
34	1979	English	English	Cyrus Roberts Vance	A/34/PV.5
35	1980	English	English	Edmund Muskie	A/35/PV.4
36	1981	English	English	Alexander Haig	A/36/PV.5
37	1982	English	English	George Pratt Schultz	A/37/PV.11
38	1983	English	English	Ronald Reagan*	A/38/PV.5
39	1984	English	English	Ronald Reagan*	A/39/PV.4
40	1985	English	English	George Pratt Schultz	A/40/PV.4
41	1986	English	English	Ronald Reagan*	A/41/PV.4
42	1987	English[56]	English	Ronald Reagan*	A/42/PV.4
43	1988	English	English	Ronald Reagan*	A/43/PV.4
44	1989	English	English	George H.W. Bush*	A/44/PV.4
45	1990	English	English	George H.W. Bush*	A/45/PV.14
46	1991	English	English	George H.W. Bush*	A/46/PV.4
47	1992	English	English	George H.W. Bush*	A/47/PV.4
48	1993	English	English	William J. Clinton*	A/48/PV.4
49	1994	English	English	William J. Clinton*	A/49/PV.4
50	1995	English	English	Warren Christopher	A/50/PV.4
51	1996	English	English	William J. Clinton*	A/51/PV.6
52	1997	English	English	William J. Clinton*	A/52/PV.5
53	1998	English	English	William J. Clinton*	A/53/PV.7
54	1999	English	English	William J. Clinton*	A/54/PV.6

Continued on next page

Table I.188: USA: United States (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	English	English	Madeleine Korbel Albright	A/55/PV.10
56	2001	English	English	George W. Bush*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	English	English	George W. Bush*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	English	English	George W. Bush*	A/58/PV.7
59	2004	English	English	George W. Bush*	A/59/PV.3
60	2005	English	English	Condoleezza Rice	A/60/PV.9
61	2006	English	English	George W. Bush*	A/61/PV.10
62	2007	English	English	George W. Bush*	A/62/PV.4
63	2008	English	English	George W. Bush*	A/63/PV.5
64	2009	English	English	Barack Obama*	A/64/PV.3
65	2010	English	English	Barack Obama*	A/65/PV.11
66	2011	English	English	Barack Obama*	A/66/PV.11
67	2012	English	English	Barack Obama*	A/67/PV.6
68	2013	English	English	Barack Obama*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	English	English	Barack Obama*	A/69/PV.6
70	2015	English	English	Barack Obama*	A/70/PV.13
71	2016	English	English	Barack Obama*	A/71/PV.8
72	2017	English	English	Donald Trump*	A/72/PV.3
73	2018	English	English	Donald Trump*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	English	English	Donald Trump*	A/74/PV.3
75	2020	English	English	Donald Trump*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	English	English	Joseph R. Biden*	A/76/PV.3

[56] For this speech, a conflict exists between the official English and French versions of UN verbatim record A/42/PV.4. The English version implies that the representative spoke in English, while the French version implies that the representative spoke in French. I reconcile the conflict with reference to official UN records in other languages and by considering prior language use.

UZB: Uzbekistan

Table I.189: UZB: Uzbekistan

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
47	1992	Russian	Russian	Ubaidulla Abdurazzakov	A/47/PV.25
48	1993	Russian	Russian	Islam A. Karimov*	A/48/PV.6
49	1994	Russian	Russian	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/49/PV.17
51	1996	Russian	Russian	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/51/PV.21
52	1997	Russian	Russian	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/52/PV.27
53	1998	Russian	Russian	Alisher Vohidov	A/53/PV.26
54	1999	Russian	Russian	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/54/PV.7
56	2001	Russian	Russian	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	Russian	Russian	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/57/PV.17
58	2003	English	English	Sodiq Safoev	A/58/PV.18
59	2004	English	English	Sodiq Safoev	A/59/PV.11
60	2005	Russian	Russian	Alisher Vohidov	A/60/PV.23
61	2006	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Imamovich Norov	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Imamovich Norov	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	Russian	Russian	Vladimir Imamovich Norov	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	English	English	Vladimir Imamovich Norov	A/64/PV.12
66	2011	Russian	Russian	Elyor Ganiev	A/66/PV.26
67	2012	English	English	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/67/PV.17
68	2013	English	English	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/68/PV.15
69	2014	English	English	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/69/PV.14
71	2016	English	English	Abdulaziz Kamilov	A/71/PV.19
72	2017	Russian	Russian	Shavkat Mirziyoyev*	A/72/PV.5
73	2018	English	English	Bakhtiyor Ibragimov	A/73/PV.16
75	2020	Uzbek	English French	Shavkat Mirziyoyev*	A/75/PV.6
76	2021	Russian	Russian	Shavkat Mirziyoyev*	A/76/PV.3

VAT: Vatican

Table I.190: VAT: Vatican

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
59	2004	English	English	Giovanni Lajolo	A/59/PV.15
60	2005	English	English	Celestino Migliore	A/60/PV.22
61	2006	English	English	Giovanni Lajolo	A/61/PV.22
62	2007	English	English	Dominique Mamberti	A/62/PV.12
63	2008	English	English	Celestino Migliore	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Celestino Migliore	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	French	French	Dominique Mamberti	A/65/PV.23
66	2011	French	French	Dominique Mamberti	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	French	French	Dominique Mamberti	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	French	French	Dominique Mamberti	A/68/PV.23
69	2014	English	English	Pietro Parolin	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	English	English	Paul Richard Gallagher	A/70/PV.27
71	2016	English	English	Pietro Parolin	A/71/PV.14
72	2017	English	English	Paul Richard Gallagher	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	English	English	Paul Richard Gallagher	A/73/PV.16
74	2019	English	English	Pietro Parolin	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish English	Francis*	A/75/PV.10
76	2021	English	English	Pietro Parolin	A/76/PV.15

VCT: Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Table I.191: VCT: Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
35	1980	English	English	Hudson Kemuel Tannis	A/35/PV.5
36	1981	English	English	Hudson Kemuel Tannis	A/36/PV.28
37	1982	English	English	Hudson Kemuel Tannis	A/37/PV.32
38	1983	English	English	Hudson Kemuel Tannis	A/38/PV.26
41	1986	English	English	Jonathan C. Peters	A/41/PV.31
42	1987	English	English	Jonathan C. Peters	A/42/PV.33
43	1988	English	English	Jonathan C. Peters	A/43/PV.29
44	1989	English	English	Stuart Nanton	A/44/PV.29
45	1990	English	English	James Fitz-Allen Mitchell*	A/45/PV.24
46	1991	English	English	Jonathan C. Peters	A/46/PV.26
47	1992	English	English	Herbert Young	A/47/PV.29
48	1993	English	English	Herbert Young	A/48/PV.27
49	1994	English	English	Alpian Allen	A/49/PV.25
50	1995	English	English	Alpian Allen	A/50/PV.27
51	1996	English	English	Alpian Allen	A/51/PV.25
52	1997	English	English	Alpian Allen	A/52/PV.28
53	1998	English	English	Allan Cruickshank	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	English	English	Allan Cruickshank	A/54/PV.17
55	2000	English	English	Allan Cruickshank	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	English	English	Louis Straker	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	English	English	Louis Straker	A/57/PV.19
58	2003	English	English	Louis Straker	A/58/PV.20
59	2004	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/59/PV.9
60	2005	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/60/PV.13
61	2006	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/61/PV.14
62	2007	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/62/PV.10
63	2008	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	English	English	Camillo Gonsalves	A/64/PV.13
65	2010	English	English	Camillo Gonsalves	A/65/PV.24
66	2011	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/66/PV.22

Continued on next page

Table I.191: VCT: Saint Vincent and the Grenadines (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
67	2012	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	English	English	Camillo Gonsalves	A/69/PV.18
70	2015	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/70/PV.18
71	2016	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/71/PV.19
72	2017	English	English	Louis Straker	A/72/PV.17
73	2018	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Ralph E. Gonsalves*	A/76/PV.14

VEN: Venezuela

Table I.192: VEN: Venezuela

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Eduardo Stolk	A/PV.37
2	1947	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Eduardo Stolk	A/PV.84
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Andres Eloy Blanco	A/PV.140
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Carlos Eduardo Stolk	A/PV.226
5	1950	Spanish	Spanish	Cesar Gonzalez	A/PV.286
6	1951	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Emilio Gomez Ruiz	A/PV.345
8	1953	Spanish	Spanish	Santiago Perez Perez	A/PV.444
9	1954	Spanish	Spanish	Santiago Perez Perez	A/PV.487
10	1955	Spanish	Spanish	Santiago Perez Perez	A/PV.528
11	1956	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Loreto Arismendi	A/PV.598
12	1957	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Loreto Arismendi	A/PV.693
13	1958	Spanish	Spanish	Rene de Sola	A/PV.762
14	1959	Spanish	Spanish	Ignacio Luis Arcaya	A/PV.807
15	1960	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Sosa Rodriguez	A/PV.883
16	1961	Spanish	Spanish	Marcos Falcon Briceno	A/PV.1013
17	1962	Spanish	Spanish	Marcos Falcon Briceno	A/PV.1138
18	1963	Spanish	Spanish	Marcos Falcon Briceno	A/PV.1223
19	1964	Spanish	Spanish	Ignacio Iribarren Borges	A/PV.1295
20	1965	Spanish	Spanish	Ignacio Iribarren Borges	A/PV.1350
21	1966	Spanish	Spanish	Ignacio Iribarren Borges	A/PV.1424
22	1967	Spanish	Spanish	Ignacio Iribarren Borges	A/PV.1573
23	1968	Spanish	Spanish	Ignacio Iribarren Borges	A/PV.1681
24	1969	Spanish	Spanish	Aristides Clavani	A/PV.1779

Continued on next page

Table I.192: VEN: Venezuela (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
25	1970	Spanish	Spanish	Aristides Clavani	A/PV.1841
26	1971	Spanish	Spanish	Aristides Clavani	A/PV.1944
27	1972	Spanish	Spanish	Aristides Clavani	A/PV.2046
28	1973	Spanish	Spanish	Aristides Clavani	A/PV.2142
29	1974	Spanish	Spanish	Efrain Schacht Aristeguieta	A/PV.2261
30	1975	Spanish	Spanish	Ramon Escovar Salom	A/PV.2379
31	1976	Spanish	Spanish	Ramon Escovar Salom	A/31/PV.6
32	1977	Spanish	Spanish	Simon Alberto Consalvi	A/32/PV.6
33	1978	Spanish	Spanish	Simon Alberto Consalvi	A/33/PV.14
34	1979	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco	A/34/PV.12
35	1980	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco	A/35/PV.4
36	1981	Spanish	Spanish	Luis Herrera Campins*	A/36/PV.5
37	1982	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco	A/37/PV.5
38	1983	Spanish	Spanish	Jose Alberto Zambrano Velasco	A/38/PV.5
39	1984	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime Lusinchi*	A/39/PV.6
40	1985	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime Lusinchi*	A/40/PV.14
41	1986	Spanish	Spanish	Simon Alberto Consalvi	A/41/PV.14
42	1987	Spanish	Spanish	Jaime Lusinchi*	A/42/PV.5
43	1988	Spanish	Spanish	Presdent Jaime Lusinchi*	A/43/PV.5
44	1989	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Andres Perez*	A/44/PV.5
45	1990	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Andres Perez*	A/45/PV.15
46	1991	Spanish	Spanish	Carlos Andres Perez*	A/46/PV.8
47	1992	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Ochoa Antich	A/47/PV.18

Continued on next page

Table I.192: VEN: Venezuela (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
48	1993	Spanish	Spanish	Fernando Ochoa Antich	A/48/PV.12
49	1994	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Caldera*	A/49/PV.12
50	1995	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel Burelli Rivas	A/50/PV.13
51	1996	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel Burelli Rivas	A/51/PV.19
52	1997	Spanish	Spanish	Miguel Angel Burelli Rivas	A/52/PV.10
53	1998	Spanish	Spanish	Rafael Caldera*	A/53/PV.13
54	1999	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Chavez Frias*	A/54/PV.7
55	2000	Spanish	Spanish	Ignacio Arcaya	A/55/PV.28
56	2001	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Chavez Frias*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Chavez Frias*	A/57/PV.5
58	2003	Spanish	Spanish	Roy Chaderton Matos	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	Spanish	Spanish	Jesus Arnaldo Perez	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	Spanish	Spanish	Ali Rodriguez Araque	A/60/PV.14
61	2006	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Chavez Frias*	A/61/PV.12
62	2007	Spanish	Spanish	Nicolas Maduro Moros	A/62/PV.14
63	2008	Spanish	Spanish	Roy Chaderton Matos	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	Spanish	Spanish	Hugo Chavez Frias*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Valero Briceno	A/65/PV.24
66	2011	Spanish	Spanish	Nicolas Maduro Moros	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Valero Briceno	A/67/PV.21
68	2013	Spanish	Spanish	Elias Jaua Milano	A/68/PV.17
69	2014	Spanish	Spanish	Nicolas Maduro Moros*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	Spanish	Spanish	Nicolas Maduro Moros*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	Spanish	Spanish	Delcy Eloina Rodriguez Gomez	A/71/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.192: VEN: Venezuela (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
72	2017	Spanish	Spanish	Jorge Arreaza Montserrat	A/72/PV.23
73	2018	Spanish	Spanish	Nicolas Maduro Moros*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	Spanish	Spanish	Delcy Eloina Rodriguez Gomez*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	Spanish	Spanish English French	Nicolas Maduro Moros*	A/75/PV.7
76	2021	Spanish	Spanish	Nicolas Maduro Moros*	A/76/PV.7

VNM: Vietnam

Table I.193: VNM: Vietnam

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
33	1978	Vietnamese	English French	Duy Trinh Nguyen	A/33/PV.21
34	1979	French	French	Phan Hien	A/34/PV.13
35	1980	French	French	Co Thach Nguyen	A/35/PV.11
36	1981	French	French	Ha van Lau	A/36/PV.17
37	1982	French	French	Bich Son Hoang	A/37/PV.20
38	1983	French	French	Co Thach Nguyen	A/38/PV.24
39	1984	French	French	Co Thach Nguyen	A/39/PV.27
40	1985	French	French	Vo Dong Giang	A/40/PV.23
41	1986	French	French	Vo Dong Giang	A/41/PV.25
42	1987	English	English	Dy Nien Nguyen	A/42/PV.17
43	1988	French	French	Quang Co Tran	A/43/PV.17
44	1989	English	English	Dy Nien Nguyen	A/44/PV.21
45	1990	French	French	Co Thach Nguyen	A/45/PV.21
46	1991	French	French	Quang Co Tran	A/46/PV.17
47	1992	French	French	Manh Cam Nguyen	A/47/PV.23
48	1993	Vietnamese	English	Van Khai Phan	A/48/PV.19
49	1994	French	French	Manh Cam Nguyen	A/49/PV.23
50	1995	French	French	Manh Cam Nguyen	A/50/PV.15
51	1996	French	French	Manh Cam Nguyen	A/51/PV.18
52	1997	English	English	Khoan Vu	A/52/PV.19
53	1998	French	French	Manh Cam Nguyen	A/53/PV.15
54	1999	French	French	Manh Cam Nguyen	A/54/PV.15
55	2000	English	English	Dy Nien Nguyen	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	English	English	Thanh Chau Nguyen	A/56/PV.51
57	2002	English	English	Dy Nien Nguyen	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	English	English	Dy Nien Nguyen	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	English	English	Phung Le Cong	A/59/PV.12
60	2005	English	English	Dy Nien Nguyen	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	English	English	Phung Le Cong	A/61/PV.19

Continued on next page

Table I.193: VNM: Vietnam (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
62	2007	Vietnamese	English French	Nguyen Tan Dung*	A/62/PV.9
63	2008	English	English	Pham Gia Khiem	A/63/PV.13
64	2009	Vietnamese	English	Nguyen Minh Triet*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Nguyen Minh Triet*	A/65/397
66	2011	English	English	Pham Binh Minh	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	English	English	Vinh Quang Pham	A/67/PV.20
68	2013	Vietnamese	English French	Nguyen Tan Dung*	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	English	English	Pham Binh Minh	A/69/PV.16
70	2015	English	English	Nguyen Phuong Nga	A/70/PV.27
71	2016	English	English	Pham Binh Minh	A/71/PV.20
72	2017	English	English	Pham Binh Minh	A/72/PV.15
73	2018	Vietnamese	English	Nguyen Xuan Phuc*	A/73/PV.10
74	2019	English	English	Pham Binh Minh	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	Vietnamese	English	Nguyen Phu Trong*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	Vietnamese	English	Nguyen Xuan Phuc*	A/76/PV.7

VUT: Vanuatu

Table I.194: VUT: Vanuatu

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
38	1983	English	English	Walter Hayde Lini*	A/38/PV.14
39	1984	English	English	Sela Molisa	A/39/PV.31
40	1985	English	English	Walter Hayde Lini*	A/40/PV.28
41	1986	English	English	Robert F. van Lierop	A/41/PV.24
42	1987	English	English	Robert F. van Lierop	A/42/PV.26
43	1988	English	English	Donald Kalpokas	A/43/PV.22
44	1989	English	English	Robert F. van Lierop	A/44/PV.25
45	1990	English	English	Walter Hayde Lini*	A/45/PV.18
46	1991	English	English	Robert F. van Lierop	A/46/PV.23
47	1992	French	French	Maxime Carlot Korman*	A/47/PV.30
51	1996	French	French	Jean Ravou-Akii	A/51/PV.30
52	1997	French English	French	Rialuth Serge Vohor*	A/52/PV.27
53	1998	English	English	Donald Kalpokas*	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	English	English	Clement Leo	A/54/PV.21
55	2000	English	English	Alfred Carlot	A/55/PV.25
56	2001	English	English	Alfred Carlot	A/56/PV.52
57	2002	English	English	Rialuth Serge Vohor	A/57/PV.14
58	2003	French	French	Rialuth Serge Vohor	A/58/PV.19
59	2004	English	English	Barak Sope Mautamate	A/59/PV.14
60	2005	English	English	Sato Kilman	A/60/PV.19
61	2006	English	English	Sato Kilman	A/61/PV.21
62	2007	English	English	George Andre Wells	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	English	English	Kalkot Matas Kelekele*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	English	English	Edward Nipake Natapei*	A/64/PV.8
65	2010	English	English	Edward Nipake Natapei*	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Sato Kilman*	A/66/PV.23
67	2012	English	English	Sato Kilman	A/67/PV.15

Continued on next page

Table I.194: VUT: Vanuatu (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
68	2013	French	French	Moana Jacques Kalosil Carcasses*	A/68/PV.18
69	2014	English	English	Joe Natuman	A/69/PV.17
70	2015	English	English	Sato Kilman*	A/70/PV.20
71	2016	French	French	Charlot Salwai Tabimasmas*	A/71/PV.19
72	2017	French	French	Charlot Salwai Tabimasmas*	A/72/PV.14
73	2018	French	French	Charlot Salwai Tabimasmas*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	French	French	Charlot Salwai Tabimasmas*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	Bob Loughman*	A/75/PV.13
76	2021	English	English	Bob Loughman*	A/76/PV.14

WSM: Samoa

Table I.195: WSM: Samoa

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
32	1977	English	English	Tupuola Efi*	A/32/PV.11
33	1978	English	English	Vaovasamanaia Phillips	A/33/PV.26
34	1979	English	English	Asi Eikeni	A/34/PV.28
36	1981	English	English	Maiava Iulai Toma	A/36/PV.25
38	1983	English	English	Tofilau Eti Alesana*	A/38/PV.22
40	1985	English	English	Robin Mauala	A/40/PV.32
41	1986	English	English	Robin Mauala	A/41/PV.32
42	1987	Samoan	English	Va'Ai Kolone*	A/42/PV.32
43	1988	English	English	Tofilau Eti Alesana*	A/43/PV.31
45	1990	English	English	Tofilau Eti Alesana*	A/45/PV.18
46	1991	English	English	Tofilau Eti Alesana*	A/46/PV.30
48	1993	English	English	Tofilau Eti Alesana*	A/48/PV.27
50	1995	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi	A/50/PV.13
51	1996	English	English	Tofilau Eti Alesana*	A/51/PV.28
53	1998	English	English	Tuiloma Neroni Slade	A/53/PV.20
54	1999	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/54/PV.16
56	2001	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/56/PV.47
57	2002	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/57/PV.12
58	2003	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/60/PV.12
61	2006	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/61/PV.15
62	2007	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/62/PV.10

Continued on next page

Table I.195: WSM: Samoa (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
63	2008	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/63/PV.11
64	2009	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/64/PV.9
65	2010	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/65/PV.19
66	2011	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/66/PV.23
67	2012	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/67/PV.15
68	2013	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/68/PV.16
69	2014	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/69/PV.12
70	2015	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/70/PV.21
71	2016	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/72/PV.12
73	2018	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/73/PV.12
74	2019	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/74/PV.10
75	2020	English	English	Tuilaepa Sailele Malielegaoi*	A/75/PV.12
76	2021	English	English	Fiame Naomi Mataafa*	A/76/PV.15

YEM: Yemen / North Yemen

Table I.196: YEM: Yemen / North Yemen

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
6	1951	Arabic	English	Sayed Hassan Ibrahim	A/PV.348
10	1955	English	English	Tawfik Chamandi	A/PV.523
11	1956	English	English	Tawfik Chamandi	A/PV.598
12	1957	English	English	Tawfik Chamandi	A/PV.692
13	1958	English	English	Mohamed Kamil Abdul Rahim	A/PV.773
14	1959	English	English	Mohamed Kamil Abdul Rahim	A/PV.822
15	1960	English	English	Ahmad Ali Zabarah	A/PV.892
16	1961	English	English	Ahmad Ali Zabarah	A/PV.1035
18	1963	English	English	Mohsin Ahmed Alaini	A/PV.1217
21	1966	Arabic	English	Mohamed Sallam	A/PV.1445
22	1967	English	English	Abdulaziz A. Al-Futaih	A/PV.1587
23	1968	Arabic	English	Yahya Geghman	A/PV.1706
24	1969	English	English	Ahmed Barakat	A/PV.1768
26	1971	English	English	Abdullah Al-Asnaj	A/PV.1963
27	1972	Arabic	English	Yahya Geghman	A/PV.2059
28	1973	Arabic	English	Mohamed Norman	A/PV.2143
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Adnan Tarcici	A/PV.2261
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulla Abdulmajid Al-Asnag	A/PV.2382
31	1976	English	English	Abdulla Abdulmajid Al-Asnag	A/31/PV.25
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulla Abdulmajid Al-Asnag	A/32/PV.25
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulla Abdulmajid Al-Asnag	A/33/PV.21
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Hassan Makki	A/34/PV.30
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Hassan Makki	A/35/PV.26
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Lutf Al-Thawr	A/36/PV.26
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Lutf Al-Thawr	A/37/PV.24

Continued on next page

Table I.196: YEM: Yemen / North Yemen (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Ali Lutf Al-Thawr	A/38/PV.25
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Mohamed Alasbahi	A/39/PV.23
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Mohamed Al-Eryany	A/40/PV.25
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Mohamed Salem Basendwah	A/41/PV.26
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Mohamed Al-Eryany	A/42/PV.30
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Mohamed Al-Eryany	A/43/PV.23
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Mohamed Al-Eryany	A/44/PV.22
45	1990	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Aziz Al-Dali	A/45/PV.23
46	1991	Arabic	Arabic	Abdelelah Mohamed Al-Eryany	A/46/PV.22
47	1992	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Aziz Al-Dali	A/47/PV.10
48	1993	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Basendwah	A/48/PV.21
49	1994	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Basendwah	A/49/PV.19
50	1995	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulkarim Al-Eryany	A/50/PV.28
51	1996	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulkarim Al-Eryany	A/51/PV.14
52	1997	Arabic	Arabic	Abdulkarim Al-Eryany	A/52/PV.24
53	1998	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul-Qader Ba-Jammal	A/53/PV.8
54	1999	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul-Qader Ba-Jammal	A/54/PV.19
55	2000	Arabic	Arabic	Abdalla Saleh Al-Ashtal	A/55/PV.26
56	2001	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah Mohamed Alsaidi	A/56/PV.54
57	2002	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/58/PV.13
59	2004	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/59/PV.10
60	2005	Arabic	Arabic	Abdullah Mohamed Alsaidi	A/60/PV.21

Continued on next page

Table I.196: YEM: Yemen / North Yemen (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
61	2006	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/62/PV.13
63	2008	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/63/PV.15
64	2009	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/64/PV.12
65	2010	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/65/PV.21
66	2011	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/66/PV.28
67	2012	Arabic	Arabic	Abdrabuh Mansour Hadi Mansour*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	Arabic	Arabic	Abubakr A. Al-Qirbi	A/68/PV.19
69	2014	Arabic	Arabic	Jamal Abdullah Al-Sallal	A/69/PV.19
70	2015	Arabic	Arabic	Abdrabuh Mansour Hadi Mansour*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	Arabic	Arabic	Abdrabuh Mansour Hadi Mansour*	A/71/PV.17
72	2017	Arabic	Arabic	Abdrabuh Mansour Hadi Mansour*	A/72/PV.11
73	2018	Arabic	Arabic	Abdrabuh Mansour Hadi Mansour*	A/73/PV.8
74	2019	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Abdullah Al-Hadhrami	A/74/PV.12
75	2020	Arabic	Arabic	Abdrabuh Mansour Hadi Mansour*	A/75/PV.8
76	2021	Arabic	Arabic	Ahmed Awad bin Mubarak	A/76/PV.16

YMD: South Yemen

Table I.197: YMD: South Yemen

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
23	1968	Arabic	English	Abdallah Uqba	A/PV.1701
24	1969	Arabic	English	Ali Salim Albeidh	A/PV.1773
26	1971	Arabic	English	Mohamed Saleh Aulaqi	A/PV.1961
27	1972	Arabic	English	Mohamed Saleh Aulaqi	A/PV.2059
28	1973	Arabic	English	Mohammed Saleh Motee'A	A/PV.2149
29	1974	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Saleh Motee'A	A/PV.2251
30	1975	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Saleh Motee'A	A/PV.2371
31	1976	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Saleh Motee'A	A/31/PV.17
32	1977	Arabic	Arabic	Salem Robaye Ali*	A/32/PV.16
33	1978	Arabic	Arabic	Mohammed Saleh Motee'A	A/33/PV.25
34	1979	Arabic	Arabic	Salem Saleh Mohammed	A/34/PV.23
35	1980	Arabic	Arabic	Salem Saleh Mohammed	A/35/PV.16
36	1981	Arabic	Arabic	Salem Saleh Mohammed	A/36/PV.19
37	1982	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Aziz Al-Dali	A/37/PV.31
38	1983	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Aziz Al-Dali	A/38/PV.26
39	1984	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Aziz Al-Dali	A/39/PV.11
40	1985	Arabic	Arabic	M.A. Imayah	A/40/PV.14
41	1986	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Aziz Al-Dali	A/41/PV.21
42	1987	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Aziz Al-Dali	A/42/PV.23
43	1988	Arabic	Arabic	Yassin Saeed Noman*	A/43/PV.14
44	1989	Arabic	Arabic	Abdul Aziz Al-Dali	A/44/PV.21

YUG: Yugoslavia

Table I.198: YUG: Yugoslavia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
1	1946	French	French	Stanoje Simic	A/PV.44
2	1947	French	French	Stanoje Simic	A/PV.89
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Edvard Kardelj	A/PV.148
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	Edvard Kardelj	A/PV.228
5	1950	Russian	Russian	Edvard Kardelj	A/PV.282
6	1951	Russian	Russian	Edvard Kardelj	A/PV.345
7	1952	French	French	Veljko Vlahovic	A/PV.394
8	1953	French	French	Koca Popovic	A/PV.443
9	1954	French	French	Koca Popovic	A/PV.489
10	1955	French	French	Koca Popovic	A/PV.522
11	1956	French	French	Koca Popovic	A/PV.599
12	1957	French	French	Koca Popovic	A/PV.688
13	1958	French	French	Koca Popovic	A/PV.767
14	1959	French	French	Koca Popovic	A/PV.805
15	1960	Serbo-Croatian	English	Josep Broz Tito*	A/PV.868
16	1961	English	English French	Koca Popovic	A/PV.1015
17	1962	English	English	Vladimir Popovic	A/PV.1129
18	1963	English	English	Vladimir Popovic	A/PV.1211
19	1964	English	English	Danilo Lekic	A/PV.1316
20	1965	French	French	Marko Nikezic	A/PV.1341
21	1966	French	French	Marko Nikezic	A/PV.1432
22	1967	French	French	Marko Nikezic	A/PV.1580
23	1968	French	French	Marko Nikezic	A/PV.1693
24	1969	French	French	Mirko Tepavac	A/PV.1763
25	1970	French	French	Mirko Tepavac	A/PV.1850
26	1971	French	French	Mirko Tepavac	A/PV.1951
27	1972	French	French	Mirko Tepavac	A/PV.2052

Continued on next page

Table I.198: YUG: Yugoslavia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
28	1973	Serbo-Croatian	English French	Milos Minic	A/PV.2130
29	1974	Serbo-Croatian	English French	Milos Minic	A/PV.2244
30	1975	Serbo-Croatian	English	Milos Minic	A/PV.2360
31	1976	Serbo-Croatian	English French	Milos Minic	A/31/PV.7
32	1977	Serbo-Croatian	English	Milos Minic	A/32/PV.14
33	1978	English	English	Josip Vrhovec	A/33/PV.7
34	1979	English	English	Josip Vrhovec	A/34/PV.13
35	1980	English	English	Josip Vrhovec	A/35/PV.8
36	1981	English	English	Josip Vrhovec	A/36/PV.9
37	1982	English	English	Lazar Mojsov	A/37/PV.14
38	1983	Serbo-Croatian	English	Mika Spilijak*	A/38/PV.9
39	1984	English	English	Raif Dizdarevic	A/39/PV.9
40	1985	English	English	Raif Dizdarevic	A/40/PV.8
41	1986	English	English	Raif Dizdarevic	A/41/PV.11
42	1987	English	English	Raif Dizdarevic	A/42/PV.15
43	1988	English	English	Budimir Loncar	A/43/PV.11
44	1989	English	English	Janez Drnovsek*	A/44/PV.5
45	1990	Serbo-Croatian	English	Borislav Jovic*	A/45/PV.13
46	1991	English	English	Budimir Loncar	A/46/PV.12
56	2001	English	English	Goran Svilanovic	A/56/PV.50
57	2002	English French	English	Vojislav Kostunica*	A/57/PV.3
58	2003	English	English	Svetozar Marovic*	A/58/PV.10
59	2004	Serbian	English	Vuk Draskovic	A/59/PV.8
60	2005	Serbian	English	Vuk Draskovic	A/60/PV.20

ZAF: South Africa

Table I.199: ZAF: South Africa

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
2	1947	English	English	H.G. Lawrence	A/PV.86
3	1948	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	E.H. Louw	A/PV.141
4	1949	*Unknown*	*Unknown*	G.P. Jooste	A/PV.226
5	1950	English	English	G.P. Jooste	A/PV.282
6	1951	English	English	Donges, T.E.	A/PV.344
7	1952	English	English	G.P. Jooste	A/PV.397
8	1953	English	English	G.P. Jooste	A/PV.442
9	1954	English	English	G.P. Jooste	A/PV.483
10	1955	English	English	W.C. du Plessis	A/PV.528
11	1956	English	English	E.H. Louw	A/PV.597
13	1958	English	English	E.H. Louw	A/PV.757
14	1959	English	English	E.H. Louw	A/PV.811
15	1960	English	English	E.H. Louw	A/PV.905
16	1961	English	English	E.H. Louw	A/PV.1033
17	1962	English	English	E.H. Louw	A/PV.1128
18	1963	English	English	G.P. Jooste	A/PV.1236
19	1964	English	English	Hilgard Muller	A/PV.1308
20	1965	English	English	Hilgard Muller	A/PV.1342
22	1967	English	English	Hilgard Muller	A/PV.1565
23	1968	English	English	Hilgard Muller	A/PV.1680
25	1970	English	English	Hilgard Muller	A/PV.1857
26	1971	English	English	Hilgard Muller	A/PV.1946
27	1972	English	English	Hilgard Muller	A/PV.2046
28	1973	English	English	Hilgard Muller	A/PV.2141
49	1994	English	English	Nelson Mandela*	A/49/PV.14
50	1995	English	English	Alfred Nzo	A/50/PV.22
51	1996	English	English	Alfred Nzo	A/51/PV.9
52	1997	English	English	Alfred Nzo	A/52/PV.6
53	1998	English	English	Nelson Mandela*	A/53/PV.7
54	1999	English	English	Thabo Mbeki*	A/54/PV.4

Continued on next page

Table I.199: ZAF: South Africa (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	English	English	Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma	A/55/PV.13
56	2001	English	English	Thabo Mbeki*	A/56/PV.44
57	2002	English	English	Thabo Mbeki*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	English	English	Thabo Mbeki*	A/58/PV.7
59	2004	English	English	Thabo Mbeki*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	English	English	Thabo Mbeki*	A/60/PV.10
61	2006	English	English	Thabo Mbeki*	A/61/PV.10
62	2007	English	English	Thabo Mbeki*	A/62/PV.5
63	2008	English	English	Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma	A/63/PV.16
64	2009	English	English	Jacob Zuma*	A/64/PV.4
65	2010	English	English	Maite Emily Nkoana-Mashabane	A/65/PV.17
66	2011	English	English	Jacob Zuma*	A/66/PV.12
67	2012	English	English	Jacob Zuma*	A/67/PV.7
68	2013	English	English	Jacob Zuma*	A/68/PV.5
69	2014	English	English	Jacob Zuma*	A/69/PV.8
70	2015	English	English	Jacob Zuma*	A/70/PV.14
71	2016	English	English	Jacob Zuma*	A/71/PV.9
72	2017	English	English	Jacob Zuma*	A/72/PV.9
73	2018	English	English	Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa*	A/73/PV.6
74	2019	English	English	Naledi Pandor	A/74/PV.11
75	2020	English	English	Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa*	A/75/PV.4
76	2021	English	English	Matamela Cyril Ramaphosa*	A/76/PV.10

ZMB: Zambia

Table I.200: ZMB: Zambia

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
19	1964	English	English	Kenneth David Kaunda*	A/PV.1291
20	1965	English	English	Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe	A/PV.1339
21	1966	English	English	Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe	A/PV.1443
22	1967	English	English	Reuben C. Kamanga	A/PV.1579
23	1968	English	English	Reuben C. Kamanga	A/PV.1690
24	1969	English	English	Elijah H. K. Mudenda	A/PV.1762
25	1970	English	English	John Mwanakatwe	A/PV.1848
26	1971	English	English	Elijah H. K. Mudenda	A/PV.1945
27	1972	English	English	Elijah H. K. Mudenda	A/PV.2051
28	1973	English	English	Elijah H. K. Mudenda	A/PV.2130
29	1974	English	English	Vernon Johnson Mwaanga	A/PV.2241
30	1975	English	English	Rupiah Bwezani Banda	A/PV.2356
31	1976	English	English	Siteke G. Mwale	A/31/PV.21
32	1977	English	English	Siteke G. Mwale	A/32/PV.27
33	1978	English	English	Siteke G. Mwale	A/33/PV.24
34	1979	English	English	Wilson Mofya Chakulya	A/34/PV.16
35	1980	English	English	Wilson Mofya Chakulya	A/35/PV.11
36	1981	English	English	Lameck H. K. Goma	A/36/PV.16
37	1982	English	English	Lameck H. K. Goma	A/37/PV.17
38	1983	English	English	Lameck H. K. Goma	A/38/PV.12
39	1984	English	English	Lameck H. K. Goma	A/39/PV.11
41	1986	English	English	Luke Mwananshiku	A/41/PV.9
42	1987	English	English	Kenneth David Kaunda*	A/42/PV.26
43	1988	English	English	Luke Mwananshiku	A/43/PV.30
44	1989	English	English	Marvis Muyunda	A/44/PV.28

Continued on next page

Table I.200: ZMB: Zambia (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
45	1990	English	English	Luke Mwananshiku	A/45/PV.27
46	1991	English	English	Wilfred Wonani	A/46/PV.29
49	1994	English	English	Remmy Mushota	A/49/PV.26
50	1995	English	English	Christon Tembo	A/50/PV.13
51	1996	English	English	Peter Lesa Kasanda	A/51/PV.23
52	1997	English	English	Amusaa Mwanam-wambwa	A/52/PV.21
53	1998	English	English	Keli Walubita	A/53/PV.22
54	1999	English	English	Frederick Chiluba*	A/54/PV.9
56	2001	English	English	Frederick Chiluba*	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	English	English	Levy Patrick Mwanawasa*	A/57/PV.6
58	2003	English	English	Kalombo T. Mwansa	A/58/PV.22
59	2004	English	English	Levy Patrick Mwanawasa*	A/59/PV.4
60	2005	English	English	Levy Patrick Mwanawasa*	A/60/PV.11
61	2006	English	English	Kalombo T. Mwansa	A/61/PV.19
62	2007	English	English	Levy Patrick Mwanawasa*	A/62/PV.6
63	2008	English	English	Kabinga Jacus Pande	A/63/PV.14
64	2009	English	English	Rupiah Bwezani Banda*	A/64/PV.6
65	2010	English	English	Kalombo T. Mwansa	A/65/PV.20
66	2011	English	English	Lucy Mungoma	A/66/PV.29
67	2012	English	English	Michael Chilufya Sata*	A/67/PV.9
68	2013	English	English	Michael Chilufya Sata*	A/68/PV.7
69	2014	English	English	Harry Kalaba	A/69/PV.14
70	2015	English	English	Edgar Chagwa Lungu*	A/70/PV.17
71	2016	English	English	Edgar Chagwa Lungu*	A/71/PV.10
72	2017	English	English	Edgar Chagwa Lungu*	A/72/PV.4
73	2018	English	English	Edgar Chagwa Lungu*	A/73/PV.7
74	2019	English	English	Edgar Chagwa Lungu*	A/74/PV.5

Continued on next page

Table I.200: ZMB: Zambia (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
75	2020	English	English	Edgar Chagwa Lungu*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	English	English	Hakainde Hichilema*	A/76/PV.4

ZWE: Zimbabwe

Table I.201: ZWE: Zimbabwe

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
35	1980	English	English	Simon Vengayi Muzenda	A/35/PV.15
36	1981	English	English	Witness Mangwende	A/36/PV.32
37	1982	English	English	Witness Mangwende	A/37/PV.26
38	1983	English	English	Witness Mangwende	A/38/PV.29
39	1984	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/39/PV.17
40	1985	English	English	Witness Mangwende	A/40/PV.24
41	1986	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/41/PV.21
42	1987	English	English	Witness Mangwende	A/42/PV.20
43	1988	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/43/PV.6
44	1989	English	English	Nathan M. Shamuyarira	A/44/PV.22
45	1990	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/45/PV.17
46	1991	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/46/PV.17
47	1992	English	English	Nathan M. Shamuyarira	A/47/PV.5
48	1993	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/48/PV.7
49	1994	English	English	Nathan M. Shamuyarira	A/49/PV.27
51	1996	English	English	Isack Stanislaus Goreravzo Mudenge	A/51/PV.10
52	1997	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/52/PV.9
53	1998	English	English	Isack Stanislaus Goreravzo Mudenge	A/53/PV.10
54	1999	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/54/PV.6

Continued on next page

Table I.201: ZWE: Zimbabwe (Continued)

Session	Year	Spoken	Written	Speaker	UN Record
55	2000	English	English	Isack Stanislaus Goreravzo Mudenge	A/55/PV.27
56	2001	English	English	Isack Stanislaus Goreravzo Mudenge	A/56/PV.45
57	2002	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/57/PV.2
58	2003	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/58/PV.14
59	2004	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/59/PV.5
60	2005	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/60/PV.11
61	2006	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/61/PV.13
62	2007	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/62/PV.7
63	2008	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/63/PV.10
64	2009	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/64/PV.7
65	2010	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/65/PV.15
66	2011	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/66/PV.16
67	2012	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/67/PV.11
68	2013	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/68/PV.12
69	2014	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/69/PV.9
70	2015	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/70/PV.14
71	2016	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/71/PV.11
72	2017	English	English	Robert Gabriel Mugabe*	A/72/PV.13

Continued on next page

Table I.201: ZWE: Zimbabwe (Continued)

Session	**Year**	**Spoken**	**Written**	**Speaker**	**UN Record**
73	2018	English	English	Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa*	A/73/PV.9
74	2019	English	English	Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa*	A/74/PV.6
75	2020	English	English	Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa*	A/75/PV.9
76	2021	English	English	Emmerson Dambudzo Mnangagwa*	A/76/PV.10

II

IGO Language Regimes Dataset

This dataset contains information on the initial language regimes of all 437 intergovernmental organisations (IGOs) created in or after 1945, as catalogued by the Correlates of War (COW) dataset. Entries for IGOs are ordered alphabetically by their case-sensitive abbreviations, which uniquely identify them in the COW dataset. Every entry contains a table of institutional languages and three data fields. The fields record the status of each language in the IGO's formal language regime and operational language regime, as well as the source of the relevant information.

The first field, titled 'Formal Code,' records information about the formal languages (i.e., 'treaty languages') of the IGO. These are the languages in which the founding documents of the IO are considered to be authentic texts. This field can take on five values that reflect the presence or absence of a language in an IGO's formal language regime, given the text of its founding documents. Alongside descriptions of each code value, the rules of supersession for when multiple conditions are true at once are formalised in the table below.

Table II.1: Possible values for formal language regime code

Value	Description	Supersession
`A`	The text of the original founding document or statement is explicitly stated to be authentic in the language; if unstated, the text of such a document is clearly written in the language.	Code `A` supersedes all other codes.

Continued on next page

Table II.1: Possible values for formal language regime code (Continued)

Value	Description	Supersession
B	The language is clearly *not* the language of an authentic text of the original founding document or statement.	Code B supersedes codes D and F, but not codes A or C.
C	The text of the original founding document or statement of a related organisation is explicitly stated to be authentic in the language; if unstated, the text of such a document for a directly-related organisation is clearly written in the language.	Code C supersedes codes C, D, and F, but not code A.
D	The language is clearly *not* the language of an authentic text of the original founding document or statement of a related organisation.	Code D supersedes code F, but not codes A, B, or C.
F	No original founding documents or statements are available, either for the organisation itself or for a directly-related organisation.	Code F is superseded by all other codes.

The second field, titled 'Operational Code,' records information about the operational languages of the IGO. It describes the institutional function of an explicitly-named language within the organisation. Operational languages are the languages used for the organisation's internal deliberation, documentation, and administration. Nine possible code values are possible for this field, which has no rules for supersession since all codes are mutually exclusive.

Table II.2: Possible values for operational language regime code

Value	Description
O	The language is denoted an '*official*' language, and there is no distinction made between '*official*' and '*working*' languages.
W	The language is denoted a '*working*' language, and there is no distinction made between '*official*' and '*working*' languages.
V	The language is denoted an '*official working*' language or an '*official and working*' language, and there is no distinction made between '*official*' and '*working*' languages.

Continued on next page

Table II.2: Possible values for operational language regime code (Continued)

Value	Description
`X`	The language is denoted both an '*official*' and '*working*' language, and the text distinguishes '*official*' languages from '*working*' languages.
`Y`	The language is denoted a '*working*' language but not an '*official*' language, and the text distinguishes '*official*' languages from '*working*' languages.
`Z`	The language is denoted an '*official*' language but not a '*working*' language, and the text distinguishes '*official*' languages from '*working*' languages.
`L`	The language is given some other clearly-enumerated institutional capacity (e.g., *'···shall be the languages of the organisation'*).
`J`	The language is otherwise imputed to be an operational language based on the sources available.
`K`	The language is deemed *not* to be an operational language based on the sources available.

The third and final field, titled 'Source,' is a metadata field that records the type of source documentation used to produce the judgement found in the previous field. Among other reasons, this field is included for reproducibility and to filter data for their reliability. It may take on four values, which are described below alongside the rules of supersession for when multiples conditions are true.

Table II.3: Possible values for documentation source code

Value	Description	Supersession
`1`	The operational regime status of this language is found in the original founding document and/or the rules of procedure of the organisation.	Code `1` supersedes all other codes.
`2`	The operational regime status of this language is found in the original founding document and/or the rules of procedure of a directly-related organisation.	Code `2` supersedes codes `0` and `3`, but not code `1`.
`3`	The operational regime status of this language is found in some other document issued by the organisation.	Code `3` supersedes code `0`, but not codes `1` or `2`.

Continued on next page

Table II.3: Possible values for documentation source code (Continued)

Value	Description	Supersession
`0`	The operational regime status of this language is found in or imputed from a source outside the organisation or a directly-related organisation.	Code `0` is superseded by all other codes.

The ethos of the coding procedure was to *identify the original, explicit rules governing the two categories of language use in an organisation.* I exercised my own judgment in cases where the codebook could not adjudicate, thoroughly referencing and documenting all sources.

Contents

AAAID: Arab Authority for Agricultural Investment and Development . . . 902
AACB: Association of African Central Banks . . . 903
AALCO: Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee . . . 904
AARO: Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organization . . . 906
AATA: Association of African Tax Administrators . . . 907
AATPO: Association of African Trade Promotion Organizations . . . 908
ABEDA: Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa . . . 909
ABEPSEAC: Association between the European Economic Community and the Partner States of the East African Community . . . 910
ACC: Arab Cooperation Council . . . 911
ACCT: Agence de La Francophonie . . . 912
ACDT: American Committee on Dependent Territories . . . 914
ACI: African Cultural Institute . . . 915
ACML: Arab Centre for Medical Literature . . . 916
ACP: African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States . . . 917
ACPEU: ACP-EU Joint Assembly . . . 918
ACS: Association of Caribbean States . . . 920
ACSO: African Civil Service Observatory . . . 921
ACSSRB: Adminstrative Center for Social Security for Rhine Boatmen . . . 922
ACU: Asian Clearing Union . . . 924
ACWL: Advisory Centre on WTO Law . . . 925
AFESD: Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development . . . 927
AFEXIMB: African Export Import Bank . . . 929
AFGEC: African Fund for Guarantee and Economic Cooperation . . . 930
AFPU: African Postal Union . . . 931
AFRAND: African Foundation for Research and Development . . . 932
AFRISTAT: Observatoire économique et statistique d'Afrique subsaharienne 933
AFSPC: Association of Financial Supervisors of Pacific Countries . . . 934
AFTE: Arab Federation for Technical Education . . . 935
AGC: African Groundnut Council . . . 936
AGPUNDO: Arab Gulf Programme for United Nations Development Organizations . . . 937
AIC: Arab Investment Company . . . 938
AIDC: Asian Industrial Development Council . . . 939
AIDO: Arab Industrial Development and Mining Organization . . . 940
AIOEC: Association of Iron Ore Exporting Countries . . . 941
AIPO: African Intellectual Property Organization . . . 942

AITIC: Agency for International Trade Information and Cooperation 943
ALO: Arab Labour Organization 944
ALSF: African Legal Support Facility 945
AMCO: African Malagasy Coffee Organization 946
AMCOW: African Ministers' Council on Water 947
AMF: Arab Monetary Fund 948
AMIPO: Afro-Malagasy Industrial Property Office 949
AMPTU: Afro-Malagasy Postal and Telecommunications Union 950
AMSC: African and Malagasy Sugar Council 951
AMU: Arab Maghreb Union 952
ANZUS: ANZUS Council 953
AOAD: Arab Organization for Agricultural Development 954
AOCRS: African Organization of Cartography and Remote Sensing 955
AOMR: Arab Organization for Mineral Resources 956
AOPU: Asian-Oceanic Postal Union/Asian-Pacific Postal Union 957
AP: Andean Parliament 958
APCC: Asian and Pacific Coconut Community 959
APEC: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation 960
APFIC: Asia Pacific Fishery Commission 961
APIBD: Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development 963
APO: Asian Productivity Organization 965
APPA: African Petroleum Producers Association 966
APT: Asia-Pacific Telecommunity 967
ARC: Asian Reinsurance Corporation 968
ARCAL: Regional Cooperation Agreement for the Promotion of Nuclear Science and Technology in Latin America and the Caribbean 969
ARIPO: African Regional Industrial Property Organization 970
ARPU: Arab Postal Union 971
ASATP: African School of Architecture and Town Planning 972
ASBLAC: Association of Supervisors of Banks of Latin America and the Caribbean 973
ASCBC: African Standing Conference on Bibliographic Control 974
ASCRubber: Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries 975
ASEAN: Association of South East Asian Nations 976
ASECNA: Agency for the Safety of Aerial Navigation in Africa and Madagascar 977
ASEF: Asia-Europe Foundation 979
ASPAC: Asian and Pacific Council 980
ATO: African Timber Organization 981
ATPC: Association of Tin Producing Countries 982
AU: African Union 983
AVRDC: Asian Vegetable Research and Development Center 984
AfDB: African Development Bank 985
AfrOPDA: African Oil Palm Development Association 987
AfricaRice: Africa Rice Center 988
Africare: African Reinsurance Corporation 989

AmCC: Amazonian Cooperation Council 990
Andean: Andean Community 992
AralSea: International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea 993
ArticC: Arctic Council 994
AsDB: Asian Development Bank 995
BALTBAT: Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion 996
BC: Baltic Council 997
BCSC: British Commonwealth Scientific Committee 998
BENELUX: Benelux Economic Union 999
BIISEF: Banque internationale d'information sur les Etats francophones . . 1000
BIONET: BioNET INTERNATIONAL - Global Network for Biosystematics 1001
BNDP: Board of Nordic Development Projects 1002
BOBP: Bay of Bengal Programme Inter-Governmental Organization 1003
BONN: Agreement for cooperation in dealing with pollution of the North Sea 1005
BORGIP: Benelux Organization for Intellectual Property 1007
BS: Bank of the South 1009
BSEC: Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation 1010
CAAD: Concerted Action for African Development 1012
CAARC: Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council 1013
CAB: Convenio Andrés Bello de integración educativa, cientifica y cultural de América Latina y España 1014
CABI: CAB International 1015
CACB: Central American Coffee Board 1016
CACI: Conferencia de Autoridades Cinematograficas de Iberoamérica 1017
CAEC: Central American Energy Commission 1019
CAECC: Central Asian Economic Community 1020
CAIPA: Central American Institute for Public Administration 1022
CAMES: African and Malagasy Council for Higher Education 1023
CAMRSD: Conference of African Ministers Responsible for Sustainable Development and the Environment 1024
CAMSF: Central American Monetary Stabilization Fund 1026
CARICOM: Caribbean Community 1027
CARIFTA: Caribbean Free Trade Association 1029
CARII: Central American Research Institute for Industry 1030
CATC: Commonwealth Air Transport Council 1031
CBFP: Congo Basin Forest Partnership 1032
CBSS: Council of the Baltic Sea States 1033
CCOM: Central Compensation Office of the Maghreb 1034
CCPA: Cocoa Producers Alliance 1036
CComm: Caribbean Commission 1037
CDB: Caribbean Development Bank 1038
CEAO: West African Economic Community 1039
CEEPN: Central and Eastern European Privatization Network 1040
CEFTA: Central European Free Trade Association 1041
CEI: Central European Initiative 1042

CELC: Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee 1043
CEMAC: Communauté économique et monétaire d'Afrique centrale 1044
CENTO: Central Treaty Organization 1045
CEPGL: Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries 1046
CERN: European Organization for Nuclear Research 1047
CFATF: Caribbean Financial Action Task Force 1048
CFC: Common Fund for Commodities 1049
CHSTEA: Conference of Heads of State of Equatorial Africa 1050
CICA: Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia 1051
CILSS: Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel . 1052
CIMA: Conférence interafricaine des marchés d'assurances 1054
CIS: Commonwealth of Independent States 1055
CMAEC: Council of Ministers for Asian Economic Cooperation 1056
CMAOC: Conference of Ministers of Agriculture of West and Central Africa 1057
CMEA: Council for Mutual Economic Aid 1058
CMHASG: Council of Ministers of Health of the Arab States of the Gulf . . 1060
COE: Council of Europe 1061
COLOMBO: Council for Technical Cooperation in South and Southeast Asia 1062
COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa 1063
CONFEJES: Conférence des ministres de la jeunesse et des sports de la Francophonie 1064
COPTAC: Conference of Posts and Telecommunications Administrations of Central Africa 1065
COSAVE: Comité Regional de Sanidad Vegetal del Cono Sur 1066
CPSC: Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries 1067
CPU: Caribbean Postal Union 1068
CSLF: Carbon Sequestration Leadership Forum 1069
CSTO: Collective Security Treaty Organization 1070
CTCAf: Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara 1071
CXC: Caribbean Examinations Council 1072
CfRN: Coalition for Rainforest Nations 1073
ComSec: Commonwealth Secretariat (ComSec) 1074
Corg: Caribbean Organization 1075
D8: Developing 8 Organization for Economic Cooperation 1076
DBGLS: Development Bank of the Great Lakes States 1077
DLCOEA: Desert Locust Control Organization for East Africa 1078
Danube: Danube Commission 1079
EAC: East African Community 1080
EACM: East African Common Market 1081
EACSO: East African Common Services Organization 1082
EADB: East African Development Bank 1083
EAEC: Eurasian Economic Community 1084
EAPC: Euro Atlantic Partnership Council 1085
EAPO: Eurasian Patent Organization 1086
EBRD: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development 1087

ECB: European Central Bank . . . 1089
ECCA: Eastern Caribbean Currency Area . . . 1091
ECCAS: Economic Community of Central African States . . . 1092
ECCB: Eastern Caribbean Central Bank . . . 1093
ECCM: East Caribbean Common Market . . . 1094
ECCPIF: European Company for the Chemical Processing of Irradiated Fuels 1095
ECO: Economic Cooperation Organization . . . 1097
ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States . . . 1098
ECPTA: European Conference of Postal and Telecommunications Adminstrations . . . 1099
ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community . . . 1101
EEC: European Economic Community . . . 1103
EFCC: European Food Code Council . . . 1105
EFILWC: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working 1106
EFTA: European Free Trade Association . . . 1108
EIB: European Investment Bank . . . 1109
EIP: European Institute for Peace . . . 1111
EIPA: European Institute of Public Administration . . . 1112
ELDO: European Space Vehicle Launcher Development Organization . . . 1113
EMBC: European Molecular Biology Conference . . . 1114
EMBL: European Molecular Biology Laboratory . . . 1116
EMI: European Monetary Institute . . . 1118
EMPPO: European and Mediterranean Plant Protection Organization . . . 1120
EPA: European Productivity Agency . . . 1121
EPFSC: European Postal Financial Services Commission . . . 1122
EPO: European Patent Office . . . 1123
EPU: European Payments Union . . . 1125
ERIA: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia . . . 1126
ESA: European Space Agency . . . 1127
ESO: European Southern Observatory . . . 1130
ESRO: European Space Research Organization . . . 1131
ETF: European Training Foundation . . . 1133
EU: European Union . . . 1135
EUFMD: European Commission for the Control of Foot and Mouth Disease 1137
EURAMET: European Association of National Metrology Institutes . . . 1138
EURATOM: European Atomic Energy Commission . . . 1139
EUROCONTROL: European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation . 1141
EUROFIMA: European Company for the Financing of Railway Rolling Stock 1143
EUROMET: European Collaboration on Measurement Standards . . . 1144
Entente: Council of the Entente . . . 1145
FAO: FAO . . . 1147
FDIPLAC: Fund for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America . . . 1149
FEC: Far East Commission . . . 1150
G15: Group of Fifteen . . . 1151

G24: Intergovernmental Group of Twenty-Four on International Monetary Affairs . . . 1152
G3: Group of Three . . . 1154
GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade . . . 1155
GBACT: Group on the Balkan Agreement on Cooperation on Tourism . . . 1156
GCC: Gulf Cooperation Council . . . 1157
GCRSNC: Guidance Committee for Road Safety in the Nordic Countries . . . 1158
GEF: Global Environment Facility . . . 1159
GEO: Group on Earth Observations . . . 1160
GHSI: Global Health Security Initiative . . . 1161
GLACSEC: Group of Latin American and Caribbean Sugar Exporting Countries . . . 1162
GOIC: Gulf Organization for Industrial Consulting . . . 1163
HCPIL: Hague Conference on Private International Law . . . 1164
IABE: Ibero-American Office of Education . . . 1166
IACS: Inter-African Committee on Statistics . . . 1168
IADB: Inter-American Development Bank . . . 1170
IAEA: International Atomic Energy Agency . . . 1172
IAFC: Inter-American Federation of Cotton . . . 1174
IAIC: Inter-American Investment Corporation . . . 1175
IAIGC: Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Corporation . . . 1177
IAMLO: International African Migratory Locust Organization . . . 1178
IAPhy: Inter-African Phytosanitary Convention . . . 1179
IARA: Inter-Allied Reparation Agency . . . 1180
IARuhr: International Authority for the Ruhr . . . 1181
IASAJ: International Association of Supreme Administrative Jurisdictions . . . 1182
IATTC: Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission . . . 1183
IBA: International Bauxite Association . . . 1184
IBEC: International Bank for Economic Cooperation . . . 1185
IBI: Intergovernmental Bureau for Informatics . . . 1186
IBPMP: International Bureau for the Protection of the Moselle against Pollution . . . 1187
IBRD: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development . . . 1188
ICC: International Criminal Court . . . 1190
ICCEC: Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries . . . 1192
ICCILMB: Interim Committee for Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin . . . 1193
ICCO: International Cocoa Organization . . . 1195
ICCROM: International Center for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property . . . 1196
ICCS: International Commission on Civil Status . . . 1198
ICFAM: Intergovernmental Institution for the use of Micro-Algae Against Malnutrition . . . 1200
ICHRB: International Commission for the Hydrology of the Rhine Basin . . . 1201
ICNWAF: International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries . . . 1202

ICPRP: International Bureau for the Protection of the Rhine against Pollution 1204
ICRI: International Coral Reef Initiative 1205
ICRPBC: Intergovernmental Committee of the River Plate Basin Countries 1206
ICSEAF: International Commission for the Southeast Atlantic Fisheries . . . 1207
ICSG: International Copper Study Group 1208
ICfO: International Coffee Organization 1209
ICivDO: International Civil Defence Organization 1211
IEA: International Energy Agency 1213
IFAD: International Fund for Agricultural Development 1215
IFC: International Finance Corporation 1217
IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development 1218
IGC: International Grains Council 1219
IGCC: Intergovernmental Copyright Committee 1221
IIFEO: International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor International Fusion Energy Organization 1223
IIWEE: International Institute for Water and Environment Engineering . . . 1224
IJO: International Jute Organization 1225
ILZSG: International Lead and Zinc Study Group 1226
IMC: International Moselle Company 1228
IMF: International Monetary Fund 1229
IMO: International Maritime Organization 1230
IMSO: International Mobile Satellite Organization 1232
INCAP: Institute of Nutrition for Central America and Panama (INCAP) . 1234
INFOFISH: Intergovernmental Organization for Marketing Information and Technical Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Asia and Pacific Region 1235
INFSMK: Centre for Marketing Information and Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Arab Region 1237
INPFC: International North Pacific Fisheries Commission 1238
INRO: International Natural Rubber Organization 1239
INSG: International Nickel Study Group 1240
INTELSAT: International Telecommunications Satellite Organization 1242
IOATHRE: Inter-State Organization for Advanced Technicians of Hydraulics and Rural Equipment 1243
IOCom: Indian Ocean Commission 1244
IOLM: International Organization for Legal Metrology 1245
IOMig: International Organization for Migration 1246
IOOC: International Olive Oil Council 1248
IOPCF: International Oil Pollution Compensation Funds 1249
IORARC: Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation 1251
IOcC: Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission 1252
IPC: International Pepper Community 1254
IPI: International Patent Institute 1255
IRENA: International Renewable Energy Agency 1256
IRLCS: International Red Locust Control Service 1258

IRO: International Refugee Organization 1259
ISA: International Seabed Authority 1260
ISB: Inter-State Bank 1262
ISDB: Islamic Development Bank 1263
ISHREST: Inter-State School of Hydraulic and Rural Engineering for Senior Technicians 1264
ISRBC: International Sava River Basin Commission 1265
ITC: International Tin Council 1266
ITPA: International Tea Promotion Association 1267
ITRO: International Tripartite Rubber Organization, Thailand 1268
ITTO: International Tropical Timber Organization 1269
ITVRC: Intergovernmental TV and Radio Corporation 1270
IUIC: Intergovernmental University of Cooperation 1271
IUPNVP: Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants 1272
IWSG: International Wool Study Group 1274
IWhale: International Whaling Commission 1275
Iocean: Interoceanmetal 1277
JALAAO: Joint Anti-Locust and Anti-Aviarian Organization 1278
JINR: Joint Institute for Nuclear Research 1280
JNOLCRH: Joint Nordic Organization for Lappish Culture and Reindeer Husbandry 1282
LACAC: Latin American Civil Aviation Commission 1283
LACP: Latin American Center for Physics 1284
LAEO: Latin American Energy Organization 1285
LAFDO: Latin American Fisheries Development Organization 1286
LAFTA: Latin American Free Trade Association 1287
LAIA: Latin American Integration Association 1288
LAIEC: Latin American Institute of Educational Communication 1289
LATIN: Latin Union 1291
LCBC: Lake Chad Basin Commission 1293
LGIDA: Liptako-Gourma Integrated Development Authority 1294
LOAS: League of Arab States 1295
MAOCN: Maritime Analysis and Operations Centre - Narcotics 1297
MARRI: Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative 1299
MCPTTC: Multi-Country Posts and Telecommunications Training Centre, Blantyre 1301
MCWCASM: Ministerial Conference of West and Central African States on Maritime Transport 1302
MFO: Multinational Force and Observers 1303
MIGA: Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency 1304
MRU: Mano River Union 1305
MWN: Mediterranean Water Network 1307
Mercosur: Southern Common Market 1308
Montreal: Multilateral Fund for the Implementation of the Montreal Protocol 1309
NACAP: Network of Aquaculture Centres in Asia-Pacific 1311

NAFO: Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization 1312
NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement 1314
NAM: Non-Aligned Movement 1316
NAPPO: North American Plant Protection Organization 1317
NASCO: North Atlantic Salmon Conservation Organization 1319
NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization 1320
NCM: Nordic Council of Ministers 1321
NCRR: Nordic Council for Reindeer Research 1323
NCTR: Nordic Council for Tax Research 1324
NDF: Nordic Development Fund 1325
NEAFC: Northeast Atlantic Fisheries Commission 1327
NERC: Nordic Economic Research Council 1329
NIB: Nordic Investment Bank 1330
NPAFC: North Pacific Anadromous Fish Commission 1331
NPFSC: North Pacific Fur Seal Commission 1332
NPI: Nordic Patent Institute 1334
NRC: Niger River Commission/Niger Basin Authority 1336
NTSC: Nordic Telecommunications Satellite Council 1337
NVC: Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues 1338
NWHF: Nordic World Heritage Foundation 1339
NordC: Nordic Council 1340
OAPEC: Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries 1341
OAU: Organization for African Unity 1342
OCAM: Afro-Malagasy Union 1343
OCAS: Organization of Central American States 1344
OCCEDCA: Organization of Coordination for the Control of Endemic Diseases in Central Africa 1345
OCR: Organization for the Collaboration of Railways 1346
OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 1348
OECS: Organization of Eastern Caribbean States 1350
OEEC: Organization for European Economic Cooperation 1351
OIC: Organization of the Islamic Conference 1352
OIV: International Organization of Vine and Wine 1353
OMDKR: Organization for the Management and Development of the Kagera River 1355
OMVG: Gambia River Basin Development Organization 1356
OPANAL: Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean 1357
OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries 1359
OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe 1360
OSLO: Oslo Commission 1362
OSPAR: OSPAR Commission 1363
PAP: Pan-African Parliament 1365
PAPU: Pan African Postal Union 1367
PC: Paris Commission 1368

PCSP: Permanent Commission for the Conservation of the Maritime Resources of the South Pacific . . . 1369
PED: Pôle européen de développement . . . 1371
PICES: North Pacific Marine Science Organization . . . 1373
PIF: South Pacific Forum . . . 1374
PIPD: Partners in Population and Development - A South-South Initiative . 1375
PMAESA: Port Management Association of Eastern and Southern Africa . . 1376
PSNARCO: Permanent Secretariat of the South American Agreement on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances . . . 1377
PTASEA: Preferential Trade Agreement for Southern and Eastern Africa . . 1378
RASCOM: Regional African Satellite Communications Organization 1379
RCAELA: Regional Council for Adult Education and Literacy in Africa . . . 1380
RCC: Regional Cooperation Council . . . 1381
RCFC: Regional Commonwealth in the Field of Communications . . . 1382
RECSA: Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons . . . 1383
RIMMO: Réserve internationale maritime en méditerranée occidentale . . . 1384
RIOPPAH: International Regional Organization against Plant and Animal Diseases . . . 1385
RIOgroup: Rio Group . . . 1386
SAAFA: Special Arab Aid Fund for Africa . . . 1387
SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation . . . 1388
SACEP: South Asia Cooperative Environment Programme . . . 1389
SACU: Southern African Customs Union . . . 1390
SADC: Southern African Development Community . . . 1391
SADCC: Southern African Development Coordination Conference . . . 1392
SAMI: Societe arabe des mines de l'Inchiri . . . 1393
SARTC: Southern Africa Regional Tourism Council . . . 1394
SCAf: Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara . . . 1395
SCHENGEN: Group of Schengen . . . 1396
SCO: Shanghai Cooperation Organisation . . . 1397
SEAMEO: Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization . . . 1398
SEATO: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization . . . 1399
SEGIB: Ibero-American General Secretariat . . . 1400
SELA: Latin American Economic System . . . 1401
SICA: Central American Integration System . . . 1402
SIECA: General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration . . . 1403
SITTDEC: South Investment, Trade and Technological Data Exchange Centre 1404
SPC: South Pacific Commission/Secretariat of the Pacific Commission . . . 1405
SRDO: Senegal River Development Organization . . . 1406
SWAPU: South and West Asia Postal Union . . . 1407
SWPD: South-West Pacific Dialogue . . . 1408
TCRMG: Tripartite Commission for the Restitution of Monetary Gold . . . 1410
Turksoy: Joint Administration of the Turkic Culture and Arts . . . 1411
UASC: United Arab Shipping Company . . . 1413
UBEC: Union of Banana Exporting Countries . . . 1414

UDEAC: Central African Customs and Economic Union 1415
UEMOA: Union économique et monétaire Ouest africaine 1416
UKDWD: United Kingdom–Dominion Wool Disposals 1417
UM: Union for the Mediterranean 1418
UMAC: Union monétaire de l'Afrique centrale 1419
UMOA: West African Monetary Union 1420
UN: United Nations 1421
UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization 1423
UNIDO: United Nations Industrial Development Organization 1425
USP: University of the South Pacific 1427
VALDIVIA: Group of Temperate Southern Hemisphere Countries on the Environment 1428
VASAB: Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea 1429
WAEC: West African Examinations Council 1430
WAHC: West African Health Community 1432
WAHO: West African Health Organization 1433
WCDC: Working Community of the Danube Countries 1434
WCO: European Customs Union Study Group 1436
WEU: Western European Union 1437
WHO: World Health Organization 1439
WIPO: World Intellectual Property Organization 1441
WMO: World Meteorological Organization 1443
WNF: West-Nordic Foundation 1445
WPact: Warsaw Treaty Organization 1447
WTO: World Trade Organization 1449
WTOURO: World Tourism Organization 1451
Wassen: Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies 1452

AAAID: Arab Authority for Agricultural Investment and Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 370.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

No authoritative original documents are available that contain language rules. I code on the basis of the UIA Yearbook, which lists Arabic and English as languages of the organisation. The website of the organisation at the time of this writing is only available in Arabic and English, corroborating this judgement.

References

[1] *Get to Know Us*. Arab Authority for Agricultural Investment and Development. 2024. URL: https://www.aaaid.org/en/about-us/ (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Arab Authority for Agricultural Investment and Development (AAAID)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041906 (visited on 15/01/2022).

AACB: Association of African Central Banks

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 690.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original articles of association, as well as the statutes (including later amendments), are authentic in English and French.

No authoritative original documents are available that contain language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the languages of the organisation, forming the basis for my coding.

References

[1] *Articles of the Association of African Central Banks*. Publisher: United Nations Economic and Social Council. UNECA Knowledge Repository, E/CN.14/AMA/26/Rev.1. 1972. URL: https://repository.uneca.org/bitstream/handle/10855/16206/Bib-65165%20rev.pdf?sequence=3&isAllowed=y (visited on 12/12/2021).

[2] *Statutes of the Association of African Central Banks*. Publisher: Association of African Central Banks. 2003. URL: https://aacb.org/en/content/aacb-statutes (visited on 12/12/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Association of African Central Banks (AACB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100044982 (visited on 12/12/2024).

AALCO: Asian-African Legal Consultative Committee

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 630.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1956.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	Y: *Working*, non-*official*	3
English	F: Unavailable	X: *Official and working*	3

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable. Neither the Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference, nor the revised Statutes, make any reference to the authentic languages of the founding text.

Sub-rules 13 (15), 14 (3) and 16 (4) of the Text of the Statutory Rules, dated 1989 and adopted after the 28th Annual Session, concern language use. The original statutes, brought into force in 1987, were not found, but the 1989 version does not make amendments to linguistic rules.

> Rule 13 (15) English is the official and working language of the Committee. Arabic shall be the working language of the Committee. All the expenditure to be incurred in connection with the use of languages other than English as working languages under this sub-rule or under sub-rule (3) of Rule 14 or sub-rule (4) of Rule 16 shall be borne by the Participating and Associate Participating States whose official languages are identical with such working languages, in such portions as may be agreed upon among the aforementioned States.
>
> ...
>
> Rule 14 (3) The discussions in the sub-committees or working groups shall normally be conducted in English. The plenary may, however, authorize the use of any other additional working language.
>
> ...
>
> Rule 16 (4) The working language for inter-sessional meetings and consultations shall be English, however, documents shall be prepared and distributed in the working languages of the Committee. The Secretary-General may, also arrange for the use of any other working language as may be deemed appropriate for each particular meeting taking into account the availability of funds.

The UIA Yearbook also lists Arabic and English as languages of the organisation. Despite this, the rules of procedure make it clear that although Arabic and English

both have institutional status, English has a higher status within the organisation than Arabic.

References

[1] *Final Communiqué of the Asian-African Conference*. Publisher: Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization. Archived in AALCO Basic Documents. 1955. URL: https://www.aalco.int/Basicdocuments/FINAL%20COMMUNIQU%C3%89%20OF%20THE%20ASIAN-AFRICAN%20CONFERENCE.pdf (visited on 12/12/2024).

[2] *Statutes of the Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization*. Publisher: Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization. Archived in AALCO Basic Documents. 2004. URL: https://www.aalco.int/Basicdocuments/STATUTES%20OF%20THE%20ASIAN-AFRICAN%20LEGAL%20CONSULTATIVE%20ORGANIZATION.pdf (visited on 12/12/2024).

[3] *Text of the Statutory Rules (Text of the Statutory Rules as Brought into Force with Effect from 1 May, 1989 after Adoption by the Twenty-Eighth Annual Session of AALCO)*. Publisher: Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization. Archived in AALCO Basic Documents. 1989. URL: https://www.aalco.int/Basicdocuments/TEXT%20OF%20THE%20STATUTORY%20RULES%20%20AS%20BROUGHT%20INTO%20FORCE%20WITH%20EFFECT%20FROM%201%20MAY%201989.pdf (visited on 28/11/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Asian-African Legal Consultative Organization (AALCO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100065292 (visited on 12/12/2024).

AARO: Afro-Asian Rural Reconstruction Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 230.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1962.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

No authoritative original documents specifying language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, French, and English as institutional languages. I impute on this basis.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *African-Asian Rural Development Organization (AARDO).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062828 (visited on 12/12/2024).

AATA: Association of African Tax Administrators

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 700.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1987.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Acte Constitutif de l'Association des Administrateurs Africains des Impôts' is the founding instrument of this organisation. It is done in 'a single copy, in the English language and in the French language.' However, Article 20 indicates that the English, French, and Arabic texts of the Act are equally authentic.

No authoritative original documents specifying language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, French, and English as institutional languages, which also corresponds to the authentic texts of the founding Act. I impute on this basis.

References

[1] *Decret N° 84-464 du 7 Décembre 1984 portant ratification de I'Acte Constitutif de l'Association des Administrateurs Africains des Impôts (AAAI) signé le 17 Décembre 1983 à Cotonou.* People's Republic of Benin. 1983. URL: https://sgg.gouv.bj/doc/decret-1984-464/.

[2] Union of International Associations. *Association of African Tax Administrators (AATA).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2021. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100040111 (visited on 19/01/2022).

AATPO: Association of African Trade Promotion Organizations

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 710.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Constitution of the organisation is done in 'two original copies in the English and French languages both of which are equally authentic.'

The Constitution contains no provisions on language use. Original rules of procedure and/or statutes are not available. I impute according to the UIA Yearbook, which lists Arabic, French, and English as institutional languages.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Association of African Trade Promotion Organizations*. Publisher: African Union. African Union Common Repository. 1974. URL: https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36409-treaty-0006_-_constitution_of_the_association_of_african_trade_promotion_organizations_e.pdf (visited on 30/01/2022).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Association of African Trade Promotion Organizations (AATPO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100047918 (visited on 12/12/2024).

ABEDA: Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 380.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
English	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
French	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article (54) of the Agreement establishing the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa indicates that the text was 'drawn up in one-original copy in Arabic language.'

The original statutes contain a provision outlining the languages of the Bank.

> Article (51): Working Language
>
> The basic working language of the Bank shall be Arabic, and the use of French and English alongside Arabic, as circumstances may require, shall be permitted.

The UIA Yearbook also lists Arabic, English, and French as institutional languages. According to Article (51), Arabic is clearly accorded a higher operational status than English and French, neither of which are authentic languages of the founding Agreement. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Royal Decree 17/74 Ratifying the Agreement Establishing the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa and the Basic Statute Attached to It*. Sultanate of Oman. 1974. URL: https://data.qanoon.om/treaties/1974-0017AEN.pdf (visited on 24/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100043385 (visited on 12/12/2024).

ABEPSEAC: Association between the European Economic Community and the Partner States of the East African Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 680.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
German	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Italian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Article 38 of the Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and the United Republic of Tanzania, The Republic of Uganda and the Republic of Kenya specifies that the document is done in two copies 'in the German, French, Italian, Dutch and English languages, each of these texts being equally authentic.'

The original protocol contains no provisions on language. The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation. All authentic languages of the treaty are imputed to be operational languages in some capacity.

References

[1] *Council Decision of 29 September 1970 on the conclusion of the Agreement establishing an Association between the European Economic Community and the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Uganda and the Republic of Kenya.* Legislative Body: CONSIL. 1970. URL: http://data.europa.eu/eli/dec/1970/545/oj/eng (visited on 31/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Association between the European Economic Community and the Partner States of the East African Community.* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100009316 (visited on 12/12/2024).

ACC: Arab Cooperation Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 400.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1989.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on the establishment of the Arab Cooperation Council, signed at Baghdad on 16 February 1989, is authentic in Arabic only.

The Agreement does not specify language-related protocol. The UIA Yearbook does not list any languages for this short-lived organisation. The only other document in the UN system, besides the founding Agreement, that makes reference to this organisation are symposium proceedings dated 16 November 1989 (Document symbol: E/ESCWA/DPD/89/8). This document is in Arabic only. I code Arabic as the sole operational language for the Arab Cooperation Council.

References

[1] 'Agreement on the establishment of the Arab Cooperation Council. Signed at Baghdad on 16 February 1989'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1530.26558 (1989). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 418–424. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800c4d4f&clang=_en (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] *E/ESCWA/DPD/89/8. Majlis at-taᶜāūn al-ᶜarbī al-imkānāt wat-taḥadīyāt, waqā'iᶜ an-nadwat at-tī ᶜaqadatha al-lajnat al-iqtiṣādīyat wal-ijtmāᶜiat ligharbī asīā bil-ishtrāk maᶜ ittḥād al-iqtṣādiyīn al-ᶜarb baghdād fī 5 hazirān/yūniū 1989 [The Arab Cooperation Council: Potential and Challenges, Proceedings of the Symposium held by the Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia in conjunction with the Union of Arab Economists, Baghdad, June 5, 1989]*. Publisher: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia. United Nations Digital Library, E/ESCWA/DPD/89/8. 1989. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1292038?ln=en&v=pdf (visited on 12/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Arab Cooperation Council*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100024544 (visited on 19/01/2022).

ACCT: Agence de La Francophonie

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 270.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1970.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`A`: In original treaty	`W`: *Working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original text of the founding Convention is concluded solely in the French language.

Though the Convention does not specify operational languages, several pieces of text reference the centrality of the French language to the organisation, most notably in the Preamble and Article 5, as well as the introduction to the ACCT's official collation of all of its founding texts.

> L'Agence de Coopération Culturelle et Technique est née à Niamey le 20 mars 1970, à l'issue d'une conférerice constitutive à laquelle participaient vingt-six gouvernements de pays partiellement ou entièrement de langue française...
>
> Ainsi prenait forme une grande idée...qui correspond à la fois à l'exigence de coopération multilatérale de notre époque, et à la conviction que l'usage d'une langue commune peut faciliter l'exercice de cette coopération sous une forme originale...
>
> Les États parties à la présente Convention,
>
> conscients de la solidarité qui les lie par l' usage de la langue française...
>
> Article 5. Signature, Ratification et Adhésion.
>
> (1) Tout Etat dont le français est la langue officielle ou l'une des langues officielles, ou tout Etat qui fait usage habituel et courant de la langue française, peut devenir partie à la présente Convention...
>
> ...

It is abundantly clear that French is the sole operational language of the institution. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Agence de coopération culturelle et technique: Textes fondamentaux*. Publisher: Organisation internationale de la Francophonie. Archives A.C.C.T., 2061-4. 1970. URL: `https://www.francophonie.org/sites/default/files/2019-09/acct-`

textes-fondamentaux-1970-convention-et-charte-3.pdf (visited on 25/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Agence intergouvernementale de La Francophonie*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100037638 (visited on 12/12/2024).

ACDT: American Committee on Dependent Territories

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 320.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1948.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The American Committee on Dependent Territories was created via Resolution XXXIII of the Ninth International Conference of American States, held in 1948 (Fenwick 1948). The Final Act is signed 'in the Spanish language' (Final Act 1948: 311).

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook does not list language information. I code on the basis of the authentic language of the Final Act establishing the organisation.

References

[1] Charles G. Fenwick. 'The Ninth International Conference of American States'. In: *The American Journal of International Law* 42.3 (1948). Publisher: Cambridge University Press, pp. 553–567. ISSN: 0002-9300. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2193955 (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] *Novena Conferencia Internacional Americana: Actos y Documentos, Volumen VI, Bogotá, marzo 30 de 1948*. Publisher: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores de Colombia. Jurisprudence Database, Inter-American Court of Human Rights. 1953. URL: https://www.corteidh.or.cr/tablas/r29662.pdf (visited on 30/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *American Committee on Dependent Territories*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008503 (visited on 14/12/2024).

ACI: African Cultural Institute

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 60.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1971.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`B`: Not in original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

Originally founded as the African and Mauritian Cultural Institute. The single original instrument of the founding Convention is written in the French language.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as languages of the organisation. Final coding is based on the above sources.

References

[1] *Ordonnance N° 74-4 du 29 janvier 1974 portant ratification de la Convention relative à la création de I'Institut Culturel Africain, Malagache et Mauricien (I.C.A.M.) signée Ie 29 Janvier 1971 à Fort-Lamy*. Présidence de la République, Republic of Dahomey. 1974. (Visited on 29/11/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Cultural Institute (ACI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100064260` (visited on 14/12/2024).

ACML: Arab Centre for Medical Literature

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 390.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1983.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list language information. However, the Yearbook notes that among the aims of the organisation are to 'promote arabization of medical literature and translation into Arabic of medical sciences' and to 'encourage Arab doctors to write in the Arabic language.' The organisation was established by decree of the Council of Arab Ministers of Health, itself established within the framework of the League of Arab States. I impute based on this evidence.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Arab Centre for Medical Literature (ACML).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055716 (visited on 14/12/2024).

ACP: African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 220.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Georgetown Agreement on the Organisation of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States is the legal instrument which establishes the organisation. By Article 26, the Agreement is authentic in English and French.

Furthermore, Article 25 of the Agreement specifies the working languages of the organisation.

> Article 25. The working languages of the ACP Group shall be English and French. A delegation may oppose the examination of any text if it has not been drawn up in both languages.

Based on the above, English and French are the sole institutional languages of the organisation, and they have equal status as 'working' languages. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Georgetown Agreement on the Organisation of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States (ACP). Concluded at Georgetown on 6 June 1975'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1247.20345 (1981). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 148–164. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201247/volume-1247-I-20345-English.pdf (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Organisation of African, Caribbean and Pacific States (OACPS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100027396 (visited on 14/12/2024).

ACPEU: ACP-EU Joint Assembly

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 10.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1984.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Dutch	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
German	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Greek	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Italian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Third ACP-EEC Convention is the constitutive legal instrument for this organisation. According to Article 294, the Convention is authentic in Danish, Dutch, German, Greek, English, French, and Italian (though only the English and French versions are published in the United Nations Treaty Series).

The original protocol contains no explicit declaration of operational languages. However, Protocol I, Title II (Arrangements for Administrative Co-operation) contains two articles which regulate the languages to be used for the two core administrative documents.

> Article 9: Movement certificates EUR. 1 shall be made out on the form of which a specimen appears in Annex V to this Protocol. This form shall be printed in one or more of the languages in which the Convention is drawn up. Certificates shall be made out in one of these languages and in accordance with the provisions of the domestic law of the exporting State...
>
> Article 15: Form EUR. 2, a specimen of which appears in Annex VI, shall be completed by the exporter. It shall be made out in one of the languages in which the Convention is drawn up and in accordance with the provisions of the domestic law of the exporting State...

Additionally, without specifying to and from which languages, Articles 1 and 2 of Protocol 2 mention '[e]xpenditure in connection with interpreting at meetings, translation and reproduction of documents.' From the above evidence, it is thus clear that this is a multilingual organisation, and that the set of operational languages most likely corresponds to the set of authentic languages of the Convention. The UIA Yearbook lists twenty-three European languages as institutional languages, with the majority added after their states' respective accessions to the

EU. Thus, I code the seven languages present at the founding of the organisation in 1979.

References

[1] 'Third ACP-EEC Convention (with protocols, final act, exchange of letters, minutes of signature, declaration of signature dated 30 April 1985 and memorandum of rec tification dated 8 May 1985). Concluded at Lomé on 8 December 1984'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1922.32846 (1996). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 4–425. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201247/volume-1247-I-20345-English.pdf (visited on 21/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *OACPS-EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly (OACPS-EU JPA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100042810 (visited on 14/12/2024).

ACS: Association of Caribbean States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 720.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	`1`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	`1`
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original Convention establishing the Association of Caribbean States is done 'in a single copy in the English, French and Spanish languages, each text being equally authentic.'

Article XIX of the founding Convention clearly enumerates the operational languages of the organisation.

> Article XIX: Languages of the Association.
>
> The languages of the Association shall be English, French and Spanish.

Clearly, all three languages are both formal treaty languages and operational languages, though the text does not specify whether they are 'working' or 'official.' This is inconsequential as all of the above evidence suggests they have equal status.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing the Association of Caribbean States (with annexes). Concluded at Cartagena de Indias, Colombia, on 24 July 1994'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1895.32308 (1995). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–100. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201895/v1895.pdf` (visited on 14/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Association of Caribbean States (ACS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100013673` (visited on 19/01/2022).

ACSO: African Civil Service Observatory

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 50.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
English	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1

Coding Rationale

The languages of the 'Statuts de l'Observatoire des Fonctions Publiques Africaines' are treated in Article 20.

The UIA Yearbook lists French as the sole institutional language of this organisation. The text of Article 20 corroborates this.

> Article 20: Dépôts des Statuts
>
> ...La Langue française est Ia langue de travail de I'OFPA. Une copie des statuts, en langues arabe, anglaise, espagnol, française et portugaise sera transmise par le gouvernement du siège de I'OFPA à tous les membres de l'OFPA.

The French copy of the statute is not accorded higher legal status than the versions in other languages. The text clearly specifies French as the sole working language of the organisation.

References

[1] *Decret N° 93-96 du 10 Mai 1993 portant transmission à l'Assemblée Nationale des Statuts de l'Observatoire des Fonctions Publiques Africaines.* Présidence de la République, Republic of Benin. 1993. URL: https://sgg.gouv.bj/documentheque/decrets/917/ (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Civil Service Observatory (ACSO).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100045423 (visited on 19/01/2022).

ACSSRB: Adminstrative Center for Social Security for Rhine Boatmen

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 20.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1950.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	3
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	3
German	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	3

Coding Rationale

Though the Rhine Accord of 1979 is done in German, French, and Dutch ('[f]ait à Genève, le 30 novembre 1979 en trois originaux allemand, français et néerlandais'), the original Agreement concerning the social security of Rhine boatmen, signed in 1950, is done 'en un seul original en français.'

Original protocols and procedural documents are also unavailable. However, a 2016 version of organisational regulations contains an article on languages.

> Article 11: Langues.
>
> Les langues de travail du Centre sont l' allemand, le néerlandais et le français.

Although it is clear that German, French, and Dutch are institutional languages in some capacity, it cannot be ascertained whether they were enumerated as such at the inception of the organisation. The coding reflects this uncertainty.

References

[1] *Accord concernant la sécurité sociale des bateliers rhénans*. Publisher: Centre administratif de la sécurité sociale des bateliers rhénans. 1979. URL: https://www.ccr-zkr.org/files/cass/Accord_fr.pdf (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] 'Agreement concerning the social security of Rhine boatmen (with annex). Done at Paris, on 27 July 1950'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 166.2186 (1953). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 74–102. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028014f4fb&clang=_en (visited on 15/12/2024).

[3] *Règlement intérieur*. Publisher: Centre administratif de la sécurité sociale des bateliers rhénans. 2016. URL: https://www.ccr-zkr.org/files/cass/reglint_cass_fr_de_nl.pdf (visited on 29/11/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Administrative Centre of Social Security for Rhine Boatmen (CASS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100054720` (visited on 14/12/2024).

ACU: Asian Clearing Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 570.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	`1`

Coding Rationale

Article XIX (found in Chapter V) of the Agreement establishing the Asian Clearing Union indicates that the instrument is 'DONE in a single copy in the English language.'

Additionally, Article XI on interpretation, found in Chapter III of the Agreement, contains a language-related provision in Section (b).

> Article XIX: Interpretation.
>
> (b) ⋯The language of arbitration shall be English⋯

Though English is not designated 'working' or 'official,' it is clear that it is the only operational language, in addition to being the sole language of the founding Agreement. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Agreement establishing the Asian Clearing Union*. Publisher: Asian Clearing Union. 1974. URL: `https://www.asianclearingunion.org/Agreement.aspx` (visited on 24/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Asian Clearing Union (ACU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100043447` (visited on 14/12/2024).

ACWL: Advisory Centre on WTO Law

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 25.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2001.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	3
French	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3

Coding Rationale

Article 17 of the Agreement establishing the Advisory Centre on WTO Law indicates that it is done 'in a single copy, in the English, French and Spanish languages, each text being equally authentic.'

The Rules of Procedure of the Management Board of the Advisory Centre on WTO Law do not make any reference to language. The Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly contain an Article VIII on languages. Rule 35 states: 'English, French and Spanish shall be the working languages of the Secretariat of the Centre.' However, a document titled 'The Services of the ACWL' contains different information about the working languages of the ACWL as a whole.

> 'Developing countries and LDCs may request that the ACWL provide them with support in dispute settlement proceedings in English, French or Spanish. However, as the WTO dispute settlement proceedings are normally conducted in English and the ACWL' s working language is English, Members have generally requested support in English.'

While it is clear that English, French, and Spanish are institutional languages of the organisation, the evidence suggests that the ACWL accords English a higher status than French and Spanish.

References

[1] *ACWL/GA/2001/1. Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly of the Advisory Centre on WTO Law*. Publisher: Advisory Centre on WTO Law. ACWL Documents, ACWL/GA/2001/1. 2001. URL: https://www.acwl.ch/wp-content/uploads/acwl-ga-2001-1.pdf (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] *ACWL/MB/2001/1. Rules of Procedure of the Management Board of the Advisory Centre on WTO Law*. Publisher: Advisory Centre on WTO Law. ACWL Documents, ACWL/MB/2001/1. 2001. URL: https://www.acwl.ch/wp-content/uploads/acwl-ga-2001-2_and_acwl-mb-2001-1.pdf (visited on 14/12/2024).

[3] 'Agreement establishing the Advisory Centre on WTO Law (with annexes). Seattle, 30 November 1999'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2299.40998 (2005). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 249. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201895/v1895.pdf (visited on 25/10/2021).

[4] *The Services of the ACWL*. Publisher: Advisory Centre on WTO Law. ACWL Documents. 2015. URL: https://www.acwl.ch/wp-content/uploads/services_of_the_acwl.pdf (visited on 14/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *Advisory Centre on WTO Law (ACWL)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100019211 (visited on 19/01/2022).

AFESD: Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 420.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	3
English	B: Not in original treaty	W: *Working*	3
French	B: Not in original treaty	W: *Working*	3

Coding Rationale

Article 41 of the Agreement establishing the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development indicates that the instrument was done 'in a single copy in the Arabic language.'

Though the original rules of procedure are unavailable, a 2001 document makes reference to working languages of the fund.

> 'All correspondence or documents addressed to the financing Fund/-Funds pertaining to the application of the rules and procedures mentioned in these guidelines shall be in one of the working languages used by the Fund/Funds including Arabic, English and French, as may be agreed upon with the financing Fund/Funds in each case.'

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates Arabic, English, and French as the three languages of the organisation. Though Arabic is the sole formal treaty language, I do not distinguish between the three operational languages.

References

[1] *ESOB/PP-CONF.1/72/BP.8. Agreement establishing the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development.* Publisher: United Nations Economic and Social Office in Beirut. United Nations Digital Library, ESOB/PP-CONF.1/72/BP.8. 1972. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3895016?ln=en&v=pdf (visited on 25/11/2021).

[2] *Guidelines for the Procurement of Goods and Contracting for the Execution of Works.* Publisher: Secretariat of the Coordination Group, Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development. 2001. URL: https://www.arabfund.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/GUIDELINES_FOR_THE_PROCUREMENT-2001.pdf (visited on 01/02/2022).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (AFESD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100017642` (visited on 14/12/2024).

AFEXIMB: African Export Import Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 80.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

Article XVII of the Agreement for the establishment of the African Export-Import Bank states the following: 'The Arabic. English. French and Portuguese texts of this Agreement shall be equally authentic.' Article 39 of the Charter of the bank stipulates that the 'texts of this Charter in the Arabic, English. French and Portuguese languages shall be equally authentic.'

However, there are no original procedural rules specifying that all four of the above languages are also operational languages of the bank. The UIA Yearbook only lists English and French as languages of the organisation. As well, the website of the Bank is only available in English and French. Since working languages are almost only ever added and never subtracted, I code conservatively by only classifying English and French as operational languages, a strict subset of the four treaty languages.

References

[1] 'Agreement for the establishment of the African Export-Import Bank "AFREXIM-BANK" (with Charter). Concluded at Abidjan on 8 May 1993'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1890.32192 (1995). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 214–346. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201890/volume-1890-I-32192-English.pdf (visited on 15/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Export-Import Bank (Afreximbank).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100038235 (visited on 19/01/2022).

AFGEC: African Fund for Guarantee and Economic Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 100.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1977.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The 'Convention portant création et statuts du Fonds de Garantie et de Coopération de l'OCAM' is done in the French language.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as languages of the organisation. However, earlier documents, including of the founding Convention, cannot be found in English. All original founding members were francophone states. Furthermore, the Fund was founded under the auspices of the Organisation Commune Africaine, Malgache et Mauricienne (OCAM), an exclusively Francophone group. For these reasons, I code French as the sole institutional language.

References

[1] *Ordonnance N° 78-7 du 23 février 1978 portant ratification de la Convention créant le Fonds de Garantie et de Coopération de l'O.C.A.M.* People's Republic of Benin. 1978. URL: `https://sgg.gouv.bj/doc/ordonnance-1978-7/` (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Guarantee and Economic Cooperation Fund (FAGACE).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100000307` (visited on 14/12/2024).

AFPU: African Postal Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 160.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1961.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	B: Not in original treaty	O: *Official*	1
English	B: Not in original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The Union was established by signatories of the Casablanca Charter, signed in January of the same year; that document is authentic in French only. A version of the Convention of the African Postal Union is known to exist in English (Peaslee and Peaslee-Xydis 1976: 57). However, the French text is clearly defined to take precedence over all other versions according to Article 4.

Article 4 of the Convention defines the official languages of the organisation.

> Article 4: Languages
>
> 1. The French, English and Arabic languages are the official languages of the Union and for its work. Postal Administrations may come to an understanding either among themselves or with the General Secretariat of the Union on the use of one of those languages for official correspondence in their reciprocal relations.
> 2. In case of a divergence on the interpretation of a text, the French text holds precedence.

References

[1] 'Document 91: Resolutions De La Conference Panafricaine Reunie a Casablanca, Du 3 Au 7 Janvier 1961'. In: *Chronique de politique étrangère* 14.5 (1961). Publisher: Egmont Institute, pp. 1014–1018. ISSN: 0009-6059. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/44827656 (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] A. J. Peaslee and D. Peaslee-Xydis. 'International Governmental Organizations. Constitutional Documents. Revised 3rd Edition: Part V: Communications –Transport –Travel'. In: *International Governmental Organizations. Constitutional Documents. Revised 3rd Edition*. Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2024. ISBN: 978-90-04-63312-4. URL: https://brill.com/edcollbook/title/9563 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African Postal Union (APU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100061558 (visited on 14/12/2024).

AFRAND: African Foundation for Research and Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 90.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable. The only document in the UN System which references the organisation is in English.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook does not list any language information. On the basis of this lack of data, I impute English as the sole operational language.

References

[1] *Report on the Proposed African Foundation for Research and Development (AFRAND).* Publisher: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. UNECA Knowledge Repository, E/ECM/CM.19/15. 1993. URL: https://repository.uneca.org/bitstream/handle/10855/6208/Bib-46142.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Foundation for Research and Development (AFRAND).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100049901 (visited on 19/01/2022).

AFRISTAT: Observatoire économique et statistique d'Afrique subsaharienne

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3740.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Treaty constituting the organisation (Traité portant création d'un Observatoire économique et statistique d'Afrique Subsaharienne) is done in a single copy in French.

No authoritative original documents specifying language rules are available. Though the UIA Yearbook lists French and English as institutional languages, this is likely an error. For one, AFRISTAT's membership is drawn from the Franc Zone, composed of West and Central African states formerly a part of the French colonial empire. Second, the organisation's founding membership is indeed composed exclusively of francophone states. Finally, even up to 2024, AFRISTAT's website is exclusively in French, with no English presence. I code on the basis of the above.

References

[1] *Loi autorisant le Président de la République à ratifier le Traité portant création d'un Observatoire économique et statistique d'Afrique Subsaharienne (AFRISTAT), signé à Abidjan, le 21 septembre 1993*. Republic of Senegal. 1994. URL: https://www.dri.gouv.sn/loi-n%C2%B0-199473-du-22-ao%C3%BBt-1994 (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Economic and Statistical Observatory for Sub-Saharan Africa (AFRISTAT)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055724 (visited on 14/12/2024).

AFSPC: Association of Financial Supervisors of Pacific Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 725.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

No authoritative original protocol documents are available. The UIA Yearbook does not list language information. The only references to this organisation on official government websites exist in English, noting that the Pacific Financial Technical Assistance Centre (PFTAC) acts as a secretariat of the AFSPC. Though original language rules are also unavailable for PFTAC, it is unambiguously an English-using organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Membership of International Organisations*. Financial Supervisory Commission, Cook Islands. 2024. URL: https://www.fsc.gov.ck/public/content.aspx?cn=memberships (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Association of Financial Supervisors of Pacific Countries (AFSPC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100064467 (visited on 19/01/2022).

[3] *Welcome to PFTAC*. IMF | PFTAC (The Pacific Financial Technical Assistance Centre). 2024. URL: https://www.pftac.org (visited on 14/12/2024).

AFTE: Arab Federation for Technical Education

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 410.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1980.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

No authoritative original protocol documents were found. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic as the sole language. The website of the organisation is available solely in Arabic. In addition, one of the stated goals of the organisation is 'to make Arabic the language of instruction in technical education and promoting the movement of authorship and translation of textbooks and references and standardizing scientific terminology' (translation mine). I thus code Arabic as the sole operational language of the organisation.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Arab Federation for Technical Education (AFTE)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100059724 (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] *ᶜAn al-ittḥād [About the Union]*. Al-ittḥād al-ᶜarbī lil-taᶜlīm at-taqnī [The Arab Union for Technical Education]. 2024. URL: http://www.affte.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=6&Itemid=102#%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A7%D9%87%D8%AF%D8%A7%D9%81 (visited on 14/12/2024).

AGC: African Groundnut Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 110.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1964.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

Article VII of the Convention creating the African Groundnut Council states that 'the English and French texts are equally authentic.'

The original statutes do not contain any provisions related to operational languages. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as languages of the organisation, which aligns with the formal languages of the founding Convention. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention creating the African Groundnut Council (with annexed Articles of the African Groundnut Council). Concluded at Dakar on 18 June 1964. Statutes of the African Groundnut Council. Revised at Niamey on 27 October 1968'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 846.12123 (1972). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 216–240. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201895/v1895.pdf` (visited on 26/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Groundnut Council (AGC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100048925` (visited on 15/12/2024).

AGPUNDO: Arab Gulf Programme for United Nations Development Organizations

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 430.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1981.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic and English as languages of the organisation. To date, the website of the organisation is accessible only in these two languages. Absent other data, I code accordingly.

References

[1] *AGFUND in brief*. Arab Gulf Programme for Development (AGFUND). 2024. URL: https://agfund.org/en/about/brief (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Arab Gulf Programme for United Nations Development Organizations (AGFUND)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100060186 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AIC: Arab Investment Company

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 450.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

The UIA Yearbook does not list language information. A French academic source notes that the Company was created via decision by the League of Arab States in 1974, by five Arab states. Though the website of the Company is today accessible in Arabic and English, the lack of information in English from the decade of founding motivates the judgement that English was not among the original operational languages. I code for Arabic only.

References

[1] Thierry de Beauce. 'Trois Fonds Arabes De Coopération'. In: *Politique étrangère* 41.1 (1976). Publisher: Institut Français des Relations Internationales, pp. 43–56. ISSN: 0032-342X. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/42671139 (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] *Company in Brief*. The Arab Investment Company. 2024. URL: https://www.taic.com/company-brief (visited on 15/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Arab Investment Company (TAIC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100012453 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AIDC: Asian Industrial Development Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 590.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1966.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	2
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	2

Coding Rationale

Resolution 68 (XXII), adopted at the 22nd session of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, created the AIDC in section A(b). This document is only available in English, but it cannot be determined that an authoritative version in another language does not exist.

No authoritative original procedural documents for the AIDC are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this short-lived organisation. As it was founded by the UN ECAFE, I turn to the working languages of that organisation, I turn to the rules of procedure of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East.

> Chapter VIII. Languages
>
> Rule 41: English and French shall be the working languages of the Commission.

On this basis, and absent further information, I code for the AIDC accordingly.

References

[1] *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, Annual Report (19 February 1954-7 April 1955), Supplement No. 5*. Publisher: United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. United Nations Official Document System, E/CN.11/407. 1955. URL: https://documents.un.org/symbol-explorer?s=E/2712&i=E/2712_9156886 (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] *Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, annual report, covering the period 30 March 1965 - 4 April 1966 (22nd session)*. Publisher: United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. United Nations Official Document System, E/4180/Rev.1. 1966. URL: https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/b21/101/85/pdf/b2110185.pdf (visited on 14/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Asian Industrial Development Council (AIDC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100005230 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AIDO: Arab Industrial Development and Mining Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 440.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

No authoritative original documents are available that contain language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, and French as the languages of the organisation, forming the basis for my coding. As this organisation was founded under the auspices of the League of Arab States, I code Arabic as the treaty language, but keep the UIA information for operational languages.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Andean Parliament*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100001764 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AIOEC: Association of Iron Ore Exporting Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 730.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 42 of the Agreement establishing the Association of Iron Ore Exporting Countries states that the Agreement is equally authoritative in English, French, and Spanish.

Article 28 of Section VIII of the original Agreement concerns languages.

> Article 28. The official languages of the Association shall be English, Spanish and French.

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates English, French, and Spanish as the languages of the organisation.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Association of Iron Ore Exporting Countries. Concluded at Geneva on 3 April 1975'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 987.14441 (1975). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 356–372. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801063be&clang=_en (visited on 24/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Association of Iron Ore Exporting Countries*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100056107 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AIPO: African Intellectual Property Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 115.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement relating to the Creation of an African Intellectual Property Organization is done in 'Bangui on March 2, 1977, in a single copy in the French language.'

The Agreement specifies in Article 19 that the Administrative Council shall have the power to '(h) determine the working language or languages of the Organization.' However, there are no authoritative original documents available that describe the initial decision relating to working languages. Though the UIA Yearbook lists English and French as languages of the organisation, there is reason to believe English was not added until later. First, the WIPO is clear to note that the official title of the accord is in French (Accord relatif à la création d'une Organisation Africaine de la Propriété Intellectuelle, constituant revision de l'Accord relatif à la creation d'un Office Africaine et Malgache de la Propriété Industrielle). Second, the founding membership was entirely francophone. Third, the 1976 iteration of the organisation was created under the auspices of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation, also composed of francophone states. It is thus likely that English was added after either the 1999 or 2002 revisions to the accord.

References

[1] *Agreement relating to the Creation of an African Intellectual Property Organization, Constituting a Revision of the Agreement Relating to the Creation of an African and Malagasy Office of Industrial Property*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/OA002/002. 1982. URL: https://www.wipo.int/edocs/lexdocs/treaties/en/oa002/trt_oa002.pdf (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Intellectual Property Organization*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100042928 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AITIC: Agency for International Trade Information and Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 275.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2004.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the Agency for International Trade Information and Cooperation as an intergovernmental organisation is done 'in a single copy, in the English, French and Spanish languages, each text being equally authentic.'

Article 14 of the Agreement addresses language use.

> Article 14. Working Languages
>
> The working languages of AITIC shall be English, French and Spanish.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates the information in the Agreement. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Agency for International Trade Information and Cooperation as an intergovernmental organisation (with annex). Geneva, 9 December 2002'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2256.40216 (2006). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 422–464. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801063be&clang=_en (visited on 22/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Agency for International Trade Information and Cooperation (AITIC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100021770 (visited on 15/12/2024).

ALO: Arab Labour Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 460.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1965.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Arab Labour Charter, signed on 12 January 1965 and establishing the Arab Labour Organisation, is unavailable. However, it is noted that the ALO was established under the auspices of the League of Arab States.

Original protocols and procedural documents are also unavailable. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic as the sole institutional language. Given the lack of information in other languages, I impute Arabic as the sole operational language of this organisation.

References

[1] Konstantinos D. Magliveras. 'Completing the Institutional Mechanism of the Arab Human Rights System: The Arab Court of Human Rights'. In: *International Human Rights Law Review* 6.1 (2017). Publisher: Brill Nijhoff, pp. 30–52. ISSN: 2213-1027, 2213-1035. URL: https://brill.com/view/journals/hrlr/6/1/article-p30_30.xml (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Arab Labour Organization (ALO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100012461 (visited on 15/12/2024).

ALSF: African Legal Support Facility

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 225.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2009.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article XXVI of the original Agreement for the establishment of the African Legal Support Facility states that '2. The English and French texts of this Agreement shall be equally authentic.'

The Rules of Procedure of the Management Board of the African Legal Support Facility, as well as the Rules of Procedure of the Governing Council of the African Legal Support Facility, both contain language-related provisions.

> Rule 10: Languages. [Management Board]
>
> 1. The official and working languages of the Board shall be English and French.
>
> Rule 10: Languages. [Governing Council]
>
> 1. The official and working languages of the Council shall be English and French.

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates the provisions in the bye-laws. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement for the establishment of the African Legal Support Facility. Tunis, 19 June 2008'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 3114.53553 (2016). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 143–179. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801063be&clang=_en (visited on 22/10/2021).

[2] *Compendium of the General By-laws and Other Instruments of the African Legal Support Facility*. Publisher: African Legal Support Facility. 2014. URL: https://www.alsf.afdbnet.com/sites/default/files/resources/Compendium%20General%20Rules%20%20MAY%202014%20ENG%20copy.pdf (visited on 14/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African Legal Support Facility (ALSF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100026714 (visited on 19/01/2022).

AMCO: African Malagasy Coffee Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 120.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

According to Article 25, the 'Statuts de l'Organisation Africaine et Malgache du Café' is done in a single copy in the French language.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists French as the sole institutional language of the organisation. Given its relationship with the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation, a francophone organisation, I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Decret N° 89-61 du 17 fevrier 1989 portant transmission au Comité Permanent de l'Assemblée Nationale Révolutionnaire de la Demande de Ratification des Statuts de l'Organisation Africaine et Malgache du Café*. People's Republic of Benin. 1989. URL: `https://sgg.gouv.bj/doc/decret-1989-65/` (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Organisation africaine et malgache du café (OAMCAF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100060793` (visited on 15/12/2024).

AMCOW: African Ministers' Council on Water

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 125.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	F: Unavailable	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Abuja Ministerial Declaration on Water, which creates the African Ministerial Conference on Water (AMCOW), exists for certain as an English document, but it cannot be determined whether a French-language authentic version exists.

The AMCOW Rules of Procedure contains a chapter on languages.

> VIII: Languages
>
> *Official and working languages.*
>
> Rule 29: English and French shall be the official and working languages of the Council.

The UIA Yearbook also lists English and French as the languages of the Council. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *African Ministers' Council on Water: AMCOW Governance Framework*. Publisher: African Ministers' Council on Water. AMCOW Knowledge Hub. 2013. URL: https://amcow.ams3.cdn.digitaloceanspaces.com/resources/Governance%20Framework%20&%20Rules%20of%20Procedure.pdf (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] *Launch of the African Ministerial Conference on Water (AMCOW). The Abuja Ministerial Declaration on Water - A Key to Sustainable Development in Africa. Abuja, Nigeria 29-30 April 2002*. Publisher: African Ministers' Council on Water. AMCOW Knowledge Hub. 2002. URL: https://knowledgehub.amcow-online.org/resource/launch-of-the-african-ministerial-conference-on-water-amcow (visited on 21/10/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African Ministers' Council on Water (AMCOW)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041436 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AMF: Arab Monetary Fund

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 490.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	`A`: In original treaty	`V`: *Official working*	3

Coding Rationale

Article 56 of the original Articles of Agreement of the Arab Monetary Fund states that the agreement is done 'in one original in Arabic.'

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. Though the UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, and French as languages of the organisation, a page on 'Employment' on the official web site of the organisation provides information on language policy.

> 'Arabic is the official working language, whereas English language proficiency is considered a prerequisite for qualifying to fulfil most vacancies. French is a plus.'

Thus, as of this writing, only Arabic has explicitly enumerated institutional status within the organisation (though the authoritative original document specifying this cannot be found). I code accordingly.

References

[1] *About AMF: Employment*. Arab Monetary Fund. 2024. URL: `https://www.amf.org.ae/en/employment` (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] *The Articles of Agreement of the Arab Monetary Fund*. Publisher: Arab Monetary Fund. 1976. URL: `https://www.amf.org.ae/sites/default/files/uploads/The%20Articles%20of%20Agreement%20of%20the%20AMF%20-%20English_0.pdf` (visited on 14/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Arab Monetary Fund (AMF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100036786` (visited on 15/12/2024).

AMIPO: Afro-Malagasy Industrial Property Office

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 240.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1962.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original founding Agreement from 1962 is not available. It is known that the AMIPO was signed by members of the African and Mauritian Common Organisation, and succeeded by the African Intellectual Property Organisation in 1977. The founding instruments for both of the above organisations are done in French only.

No authoritative original documents on language are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. Absent any other information, I code on the basis of this organisation's affiliations with other francophone organisations.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *African Intellectual Property Organization.* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100042928 (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African-Malagasy Office of Industrial Property.* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100038630 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AMPTU: Afro-Malagasy Postal and Telecommunications Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 250.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1961.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Convention du 12 septembre 1961 relative à la création d'une Union Africaine et Malgache des Postes et Télécommunications,' the instrument that formally creates the Union, is done in French.

No authoritative original documents are available that concern the use of languages. I code on the basis of the UIA Yearbook, which lists French as the sole language of the organisation.

References

[1] *Loi N° 61-49 portant approbation de la Convention du 12 Septembre 1961 relative à la création d'une Union Africaine et Malgache des Postes et Télécommunications*. Republic of Dahomey. 1961. URL: https://sgg.gouv.bj/upload/files/documentheque/0963591001534947955.pdf (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Posts and Telecommunications Union (APTU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100047860 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AMSC: African and Malagasy Sugar Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 40.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1966.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The 'Accord africain et malgache sur le sucre,' which establishes the organisation, is done 'in a single copy in the French language,' according to Article 52 of the Accord.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list language information. I code based on the links of this organisation to the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation, and on the basis of its entirely-francophone founding membership.

References

[1] *Décret N° 67-126 du 30 mai 1967, portant ratification de l'accord africain et malgache sur le sucre*. Republic of the Congo. 1967. URL: `https://www.sgg.cg/JO/1967/congo-jo-1967-15.pdf` (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African and Malagasy Sugar Council*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100040399` (visited on 15/12/2024).

AMU: Arab Maghreb Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 470.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1989.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty instituting the Arab Maghreb Union is authentic in Arabic only.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic as the sole language of the organisation. In addition, the Preamble to the Treaty makes reference to linguistic, religious, and historical ties between the member states of the Union.

> '⋯Having faith in the strong ties based on common history, religion and language that unite the peoples of the Arab Maghreb⋯'

Based on this context, I impute Arabic as the sole institutional language of the organisation.

References

[1] 'Treaty instituting the Arab Maghreb Union (with declaration). Concluded at Marrakesh on 17 February 1989'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1546.26844 (1989). Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/AMU/001, pp. 160–166. URL: `https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/es/text/201318` (visited on 21/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100006463` (visited on 15/12/2024).

ANZUS: ANZUS Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 360.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1951.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The official text of the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America is in English. Article XI of the ANZUS treaty states: 'This Treaty in the English language shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of Australia.'

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. Based also on the entirely anglophone membership of the organisation, I follow this judgement.

References

[1] 'Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and the United States of America. Signed at San Francisco, on 1 September 1951'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 131.1736 (1952). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 84–88. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801531ad (visited on 29/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *ANZUS Council*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100050858 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AOAD: Arab Organization for Agricultural Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 500.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1970.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement Establishing the Arab Organization for Agricultural Development is authentic in Arabic only.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic and English as languages of the organisation. However, there is reason to believe that English was either added later, or does not have explicit institutional status. Article 2 enumerates the conditions of membership in the organisation.

> Article (2) Membership
>
> Membership in the organization shall be open to Arab states that are members of the League of Arab States.

Since membership criteria are explicitly ethnolinguistically defined, I impute Arabic as the sole operational language of the organisation.

References

[1] *Agreement Establishing the Arab Organization for Agricultural Development*. 1970. URL: `https://aoad.org/website/en/establishment-agreement/` (visited on 14/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Arab Organization for Agricultural Development (AOAD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014590` (visited on 15/12/2024).

AOCRS: African Organization of Cartography and Remote Sensing

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 140.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1988.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Portuguese	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Establishment of the African Organization for Cartography and Remote Sensing is found in the 1988 Annual Report of the UN Economic Commission for Africa from pages 96-97, and is assigned symbol E/ECA/CM/14/RES/628(XXIII) by the United Nations. However, this document is currently unavailable, and thus the authentic languages of the agreement are unknown.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese as languages of the organisation. Notably, the UN Economic Commission for Africa introduced Portuguese as a working language of that organisation in 1985. Given the links between AOCRS and that organisation, it is reasonable to believe that the four languages enumerated by the Yearbook were, in fact, institutional languages of the AOCRS at founding.

References

[1] *E/ECA/CM/11/RES/553(XX). Introduction of Portuguese as one of the official working languages of the Economic Commission for Africa.* Publisher: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. United Nations Digital Library, UNE(01)/R3. 1985. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/99100?ln=en (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] *E/ECA/CM/14/RES/628(XXIII). Establishment of the African Organization for Cartography and Remote Sensing.* Publisher: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. United Nations Digital Library, UNE(01)/R3. 1988. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/58821?ln=en (visited on 15/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African Organization of Cartography and Remote Sensing (AOCRS).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100004655 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AOMR: Arab Organization for Mineral Resources

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 510.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1979.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are unavailable. It is noted that this organisation is a member of the League of Arab States.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook does not list any languages for this organisation. However, the Yearbook notes that the AOMR ceased to exist upon merger with the AIDO, for which the Yearbook lists Arabic, English, and French. The AOMR's links to UNIDO and special agreement with UNESCO make it plausible that English and French are also operational languages of this organisation in addition to Arabic. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Arab Industrial Development Organization (AIDO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100020409 (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Arab Organization for Mineral Resources (AOMR)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100026058 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AOPU: Asian-Oceanic Postal Union/Asian-Pacific Postal Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 640.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1962.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The authentic text of the Asian-Oceanic Postal Convention, which constitutes the AOPU, is in English only.

Article 5 of the Asian-Oceanic Postal Convention clearly enumerates the official language of the organisation.

> Article 5. Official Language
>
> English is the official language of the Union. However, member-countries whose language is not English may provide for a translation at their own expense.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the organisation.

References

[1] 'Asian-Oceanic Postal Convention (with Final Protocol and Detailed Regulations). Signed at Manila, on 23 January 1961'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 530.7679 (1965). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 141–172. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801531ad (visited on 29/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Asian-Pacific Postal Union (APPU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066115 (visited on 15/12/2024).

AP: Andean Parliament

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 340.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1980.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty establishing the Andean Parliament is done in five equally-authentic copies (en cinco ejemplares originales, igualmente auténticos) in Spanish.

No authoritative original documents on language provisions are available. The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation. I impute Spanish as the sole operational language based on the use of Spanish as the formal language of the treaty text, the use of Spanish for all of the organisation's publications, and the organisation's exclusively hispanophone founding membership.

References

[1] *Tratado Constitutivo del Parlamento Andino*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database. 1979. URL: `https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/treaties/details/402` (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Andean Parliament*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100001764` (visited on 15/12/2024).

APCC: Asian and Pacific Coconut Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 550.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The Agreement establishing the Asian Coconut Community is done 'in a single copy in the English language,' according to Article 10 of the Agreement.

No authoritative original documents are available that contain provisions related to language use. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of this institution. Given the dearth of information available on this information in other languages, and the status of English as the sole authentic text of the founding Agreement, I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Asian Coconut Community. Opened for signature at Bangkok on 12 December 1968'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 684.9733 (1969). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 163. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801531ad` (visited on 25/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Coconut Community (ICC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100063029` (visited on 15/12/2024).

APEC: Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 650.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1989.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

APEC operates on consensus and lacks a founding legal instrument (and thus, members' obligations lie outside the domain of 'international law').

As a further consequence of the above, there are no authoritative procedural rules on language. However, APEC business is de facto conducted in English. The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] Sedfrey M. Candelaria. 'The Legal Characterization of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the Individual Action Plans in International Law'. In: *Ateneo Law Journal* 44.2 (1999). Publisher: HeinOnline, pp. 405–454. URL: https://heinonline.org/hol-cgi-bin/get_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/ateno44&section=10&casa_token=SaYSh6QLkJUAAAAA:nq5Q2qGmnOibFVJI-OW4ohzIwFlwj6GksgIHKoZrK700CC821374ddY2OEEEuUKJUw_n (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100060810 (visited on 19/01/2022).

APFIC: Asia Pacific Fishery Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2060.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1948.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	B: Not in original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 1948 text of the Agreement for the Establishment of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council was '[F]ormulated at Baguio this 26th day of February, one thousand nine hundred and forty-eight, in the English language, in a single copy.' French became a formal language of treaty text in a subsequent amendment in 1961.

Rule XVI in the Rules of Procedure clearly enumerates the official languages of the organisation.

> Rule XVI: Official languages.
>
> The official languages of the Commission shall be English and French ...
>
> ...Note: The FAO CCLM, at its 66th Session (May 1997), gave very careful consideration to the proposed amendment to Rule XVI of the Rules of Procedure of APFIC by which, in future, only the English language would be the official language of the Commission. The CCLM agreed that, from a strictly legal point of view, the amendment was not contrary to the Basic Texts of the Organization. Nevertheless, it was of the opinion that the best solution would be to recommend that the official languages remain English and French with the possibility for the Commission to decide on the working language or languages to be used at each of its sessions.

Interestingly, the note implies that an attempt to remove French as an official language of the organisation was refused. The UIA Yearbook also lists English and French as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement for the establishment of the Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council. Formulated at Baguio on 26 february 1948 and approved by the conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations at its fourth session held in Washington from 15 to 29 November 1948. Amendments to the above-mentioned Agreement. Adopted on 20 January 1961 by the Indo-Pacific fisheries council at

its ninth session held in Karachi from 6 to 23 January 1961 and approved on 23 November 1961 by the eleventh session of the conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations held in Rome from 4 to 24 November 1961'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 418.1615 (1961). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 348–362. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20418/volume-418-I-1615-English.pdf (visited on 30/11/2021).

[2] *APFIC Rules of Procedure | Asia-Pacific Fishery Commission (APFIC) | FAO*. Asia-Pacific Fishery Commission. 2024. URL: https://www.fao.org/apfic/about/apfic-rules-of-procedure/en (visited on 15/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Asia-Pacific Fishery Commission (APFIC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100034475 (visited on 15/12/2024).

APIBD: Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 660.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1987.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 18 of the original Agreement concluded in 1977 and registered ex-officio with the UN Secretary General in 1981 'is in English only.' An amended text was adopted in 1986 (see C.N.195.1986.TREATIES-3) that made the Chinese, English, French, and Russian versions of the Agreement equally authentic. Nevertheless, the original instrument is authentic in English only.

Article 6 of the Agreement enumerates the operational language of the organisation.

> Article 6. Working Language
>
> The official language of the Institute shall be English.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, but it is clear that English is the official language. I note also that the title of the article makes reference to 'working language' and code accordingly.

References

[1] *About Us –AIBD*. Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development. 2024. URL: https://aibd.org.my/about/ (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] 'Adoption of the Amended Text of the Agreement (Agreement establishing the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development concluded at Kuala Lumpur on 12 August 1977)'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1216 (Depositary Notification 1986). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 81. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXV-3&chapter=25&clang=_en (visited on 15/12/2024).

[3] 'Agreement establishing the Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development. Concluded at Kuala Lumpur on 12 August 1977'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1216.19069 (1981). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 81–104. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXV-3&chapter=25&clang=_en (visited on 15/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Asia-Pacific Institute for Broadcasting Development (AIBD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100046899` (visited on 19/01/2022).

APO: Asian Productivity Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 600.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1961.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`O`: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

The official text of the Convention on the Asian Productivity Organization is authentic in English only.

No authoritative original documents pertaining to language use are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. This is corroborated by current language policy of the APO, taken from its website.

> 1. Language
>
> The APO is a regional intergovernmental organization comprised of countries and economies with various national languages. As a matter of practice and policy, the APO' s official language is English. The majority of original materials produced and published by the APO are written in English. In some cases, materials may be translated into national languages by national productivity organizations (NPOs) in member countries, their affiliated organizations, and other third parties under a prior formal arrangement with the APO.

On the basis of the above, English is the official language of the organisation, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention on the Asian Productivity Organization (with schedules). Signed at Manila, on 14 April 1961'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 422.6071 (1981). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 102–122. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20422/volume-422-I-6071-English.pdf` (visited on 27/11/2021).

[2] *Terms of Use*. Asian Productivity Organisation. 2022. URL: `https://www.apo-tokyo.org/terms/` (visited on 02/02/2022).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Asian Productivity Organization (APO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100029878` (visited on 15/12/2024).

APPA: African Petroleum Producers Association

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 150.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1987.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	W: *Working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Portuguese	F: Unavailable	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the African Petroleum Producers' Association exists in English and French. The languages of authentic text are not mentioned, and as such it is impossible to rule out the presence of other authentic texts of the original Agreement.

Chapter IV of the Agreement lays out General Provisions, including rules on operational languages, which are specified in Article XVII.

> Article XVII: The working languages of the Association shall be Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese.

The UIA Yearbook lists the four languages above, plus Spanish, as the languages of the organisation. However, Spanish has no presence in the General Provisions of the original Agreement. I thus code only Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese as operational languages of the organisation.

References

[1] 'African Petroleum Producing Countries: Agreement Establishing the African Petroleum Producers' Association'. In: *International Legal Materials* 26.6 (1987). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 1493–1501. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20693166 (visited on 15/12/2024).

[2] *Ordonnance N° O12/87 du 14.03.1987, portant ratification de l'Accord portant création de l'Association des Producteurs de Pétrole Africains (A.P.P.A.)* Republic of the Congo. 1987. URL: https://www.sgg.cg/textes-officiels/ordonnances/1987/congo-ordonnance-1987-12.pdf (visited on 15/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African Petroleum Producers's Organization (APPO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100059196 (visited on 30/01/2022).

APT: Asia-Pacific Telecommunity

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 670.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`O`: *Official*	`1`

Coding Rationale

English is the language of the authentic text of the Constitution of the Asia-Pacific Telecommunity.

Article 6 of the Constitution clearly establishes the operational language of the organisation.

> Article 6. Official Language.
>
> The official language of the Telecommunity shall be English.

This is corroborated by the UIA Yearbook, which lists English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Constitution of the Asia-Pacific Telecommunity. Adopted by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific on 27 March 1976'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1129.17583 (1979). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 4–17. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXV-2&chapter=25&clang=_en` (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Asia-Pacific Telecommunity (APT)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100010890` (visited on 16/12/2024).

ARC: Asian Reinsurance Corporation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 610.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1979.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Agreement establishing the Asian Reinsurance Corporation was signed 'in a single copy in English' in Bangkok.

The Agreement does not specify language-related protocol. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. As of this writing, the website of the ARC is available only in English, and employment eligibility requirements make reference only to English proficiency. I impute and code accordingly.

References

[1] *About Us –Asian Reinsurance Corporation.* Asian Re – Asian Reinsurance Corporation. 2024. URL: https://asianrecorp.com/about-us/ (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *Shè lì yà zhōu zài bǎo xiǎn gōng sī de xié dìng [Agreement establishing the Asian Reinsurance Corporation].* Publisher: Ministry of Foreign Affairs, People's Republic of China. MFA Treaty Database. 1979. URL: http://treaty.mfa.gov.cn/web/detail1.jsp?objid=1531876007122 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Asian Reinsurance Corporation (Asian Re).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100015676 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ARCAL: Regional Cooperation Agreement for the Promotion of Nuclear Science and Technology in Latin America and the Caribbean

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4070.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1985.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3
Spanish	B: Not in original treaty	V: *Official working*	3

Coding Rationale

The 'Acta de la Ciudad de Viena' establishing ARCAL in 1984 is done in five identical copies in Spanish.

Original procedural documents from 1984 are unavailable. However, Section VIII of the ARCAL Manual of Procedures, promulgated in 2014, clearly lays out the languages of the Board of ARCAL Representatives (BAR), the principal body of the organisation.

> VIII. Language and Documents
>
> Official and working languages: Spanish and English shall be the official and working languages of BAR sessions.

This is corroborated by the UIA Yearbook, which lists English and Spanish as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Acta de la Ciudad de Viena*. Publisher: Regional Co-operation Agreement for the Promotion of Nuclear Science and Technology in Latin America and the Caribbean. Documentos ARCAL. 1984. URL: https://www.arcal-lac.org/wp-content/uploads/documentos/institucionales/otros/Acta%20de%20creaci%C3%B3n%20ARCAL.pdf (visited on 26/01/2022).

[2] *ARCAL Manual of Procedures*. Publisher: Regional Co-operation Agreement for the Promotion of Nuclear Science and Technology in Latin America and the Caribbean. Documentos ARCAL. 2014. URL: https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/18/02/arcal-manual.pdf (visited on 26/01/2022).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Regional Cooperation Agreement for the Promotion of Nuclear Science and Technology in Latin America and the Caribbean (ARCAL Agreement)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100054895 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ARIPO: African Regional Industrial Property Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 170.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The Lusaka Agreement on the Creation of the African Regional Intellectual Property Organization is done in a single copy in English.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole official language of the organisation. In addition, primary sources note that the founding Agreement was originally titled the 'Agreement on the Creation of the Industrial Property Organization for English-speaking Africa,' and was a response to a 'request by these English-speaking countries' for assistance in establishing a regional intellectual property organisation. Given this, it is appropriate to impute English as the sole operational language of the organisation.

References

[1] *About Us | Our History*. The African Regional Intellectual Property Organization. 2022. URL: https://www.aripo.org/browse/about-us/our-history (visited on 30/01/2022).

[2] *Agreement on the Creation of the African Regional Industrial Property Organization (ARIPO) (as adopted by the Diplomatic Conference for the adoption of an Agreement on the Creation of an Industrial Property Organization for English-Speaking Africa at Lusaka (Zambia) on December 9, 1976, and amended by the Administrative Council of ARIPO on December 10, 1982, December 12, 1986 and November 27, 1996)*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/AP001/002. 1996. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text/304938 (visited on 30/01/2022).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African Regional Intellectual Property Organization (ARIPO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023561 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ARPU: Arab Postal Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 520.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1952.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The Arab Postal Union Constitution is done in Arabic.

Article Six of the General Regulations Agreement of the Arab Postal Union concerns language.

> Al-mādah as-sādasah: Al-lughah ar-rasmīyah.
>
> Al-lughah al-ᶜarbīyah hiya al-lughah ar-rasmīyah lil-ittiḥād.
>
> [Article Six: Official language.
>
> The Arabic language is the official language of the Union.]

The UIA Yearbook also lists Arabic as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Al-atfāq al-mubarrim bain jāmiᶜt al-dawl al-ᶜarbīa wal-ittḥād l-barīdi al-ᶜarbī [Agreement concluded between the League of Arab States and the Arab Postal Union].* Al-jāmiᶜh al-lubnānīt: Markāz al-abḥātah wal-dirāsāt fīl-maᶜalūmātīh al-qānūnīh [The Lebanese University: Centre for Research and Studies in Legal Informatics]. 1974. URL: http://77.42.251.205/ViewAgreementPage.aspx?ID=3877 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Arab Permanent Postal Commission (APPC).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052550 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ASATP: African School of Architecture and Town Planning

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 190.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this organisation. However, it is known that the organisation was founded by members of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organisation. In addition, the organisation is a member of the Agence universitaire de la Francophonie. Finally, the website is only accessible in French as of this writing. I impute French as the sole language of the organisation.

References

[1] *Ecole africaine des métiers de l'architecture et de l'urbanisme*. Agence universitaire de la Francophonie. 2024. URL: https://www.auf.org/les_membres/nos-membres/ecole-africaine-des-metiers-de-larchitecture-et-de-lurbanisme/ (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *École Africaine des Métiers de l'Architecture et de l'Urbanisme*. EAMAU. 2024. URL: https://www.eamau.org (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African School of Architecture and Town Planning*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100005275 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ASBLAC: Association of Supervisors of Banks of Latin America and the Caribbean

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 760.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1981.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	O: *Official*	3
Spanish	F: Unavailable	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

No authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available. However, Section VIII of the Bye-laws of the organisation, approved during the XXIII assembly and dating from 2020, contains an article related to language use.

> Article 28. Official languages of the Association
>
> The official languages of the Association are English and Spanish. All the meetings, communications, and official documents sent to the Board and the Associate Members must be made in English and Spanish.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English and Spanish as languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Association of Supervisors of Banks of the Americas Bylaws*. Publisher: Association of Supervisors of Banks of the Americas. Biblioteca ASBA. 2020. URL: https://asbasupervision.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/ASBA-Bylaws-ENG.pdf (visited on 21/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Association of Supervisors of Banks of the Americas (ASBA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100064327 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ASCBC: African Standing Conference on Bibliographic Control

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 200.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1978.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable.

The UIA Yearbook does not catalogue language information for this organisation. Academic and reference works to this organisation are mostly found in English and French. Considering the anglophone and francophone membership of this organisation, I impute accordingly.

References

[1] Eugene de Benko. 'Conference on African Bibliography'. In: *African Studies Review* 15.1 (1972). Ed. by James D. Pearson and Ruth Jones. Publisher: Cambridge University Press, pp. 121–123. ISSN: 0002-0206. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/523539 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Saliou M'baye. 'La Conférence africaine permanente sur le contrôle bibliographique - ASCOBIC'. In: *IFLA Journal* 12.4 (1986). Publisher: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 343–347. ISSN: 0340-0352. URL: https://doi.org/10.1177/034003528601200429 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Salir M'baye. *Manuel ASCOBIC sur le controle bibliographique en Afrique*. Miremby en ligne. United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation, 1981. 61 p. (Visited on 16/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *African Standing Conference on Bibliographic Control (ASCOBIC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100057175 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ASCRubber: Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 740.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1970.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

The original Constitution of the Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries, as well as subsequent amendments registered with the United Nations, are authentic in English.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the Association's sole language. Additionally, the website of the organisation, as of this writing, contains text that clearly specifies the operational language.

> Official Language: The official language of the Association is English.

I code accordingly.

References

[1] *About ANRPC*. The Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries. 2022. URL: https://www.anrpc.org/about-us/about-anrpc (visited on 30/01/2022).

[2] *Constitution of the Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries*. Publisher: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. FAO Lex Database, LEX-FAOC033414. 1968. URL: https://www.fao.org/faolex/results/details/fr/c/LEX-FAOC033414/ (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] 'Constitution of the Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries. Adopted at London on 21 May 1968 Amendment to article 13 (c) Termination of membership in the Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1045.15731 (1977). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 174–182. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXV-3&chapter=25&clang=_en (visited on 15/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Association of Natural Rubber Producing Countries (ANRPC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100011835 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ASEAN: Association of South East Asian Nations

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 750.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1967.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Declaration constituting an agreement establishing the Association of South-East Asian Nations is authentic in English only.

The original Charter of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, besides also being authentic only in English, also contains an unambiguous linguistic provision.

> Article 34: Working Language of ASEAN
>
> The working language of ASEAN shall be English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (with annexes). Singapore, 20 November 2007'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2624.46745 (2009). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 223–298. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028025f1e4 (visited on 21/11/2021).

[2] 'Declaration constituting an agreement establishing the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN). Signed at Bangkok on 8 August 1967'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1331.22341 (1983). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 236–238. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201331/volume-1331-I-22341-English.pdf (visited on 21/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100010906 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ASECNA: Agency for the Safety of Aerial Navigation in Africa and Madagascar

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 290.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1959.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The original 'Convention relative à l'Agence pour la sécurité de la navigation aérienne en Afrique et à Madagascar' is done in French only.

The original statutes and rules of procedure do not contain provisions relating to language. The UIA Yearbook does not list language information. However, Article 18 of a 2016 version of the Statutes contains a provision on language.

> Article 18: Arbitration
>
> ...
>
> 2.2 The place of arbitration shall be decided by the sole arbitrator. The arbitration shall be conducted in French. The law applicable shall be the French law.

Given this provision, and the organisation's francophone founding membership, I determine that French has explicit status as an operational language.

References

[1] *Convention relative à la créàtion d'une Agence pour la Sécurité de la Navigation Aérienne en Afrique et à Madagascar*. Publisher: Agence pour la Sécurité de la Navigation Aérienne en Afrique et à Madagascar. Accords et Conventions de l'ASCENA. 2016. URL: https://www.asecna.aero/index.php/en/2014-03-31-16-47-51/2014-03-31-16-53-08/accords-conventions (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *Loi N° 64-23 du 24 Janvier 1964 autorisant le Président de la République à approuver la Convention relative à la créàtion d'une Agence pour la Sécurité de la Navigation Aérienne en Afrique et à Madagascar*. Republic of Senegal. 1964. URL: https://www.dri.gouv.sn/sites/default/files/an-documents/Loi%2064-23.pdf.

[3] Thomas Tekou. 'L'Agence pour la securite de 1a navigation aerienne en Afrique et a Madagascar'. Master of Laws. Montreal: McGill University, 1982. 302 pp. URL: https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&source=web&rct=j&opi=89978449&url=https://escholarship.mcgill.ca/downloads/sx61dp823.pdf&ved=2ahUKEwil4frcnqyKAxUWWkEAHaJOO70QFnoECCYQAQ&usg=AOvVaw1IO2uP623gnlXAE6kYMljo (visited on 16/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Agency for the Safety of Aerial Navigation in Africa and Madagascar*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100003882 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ASEF: Asia-Europe Foundation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 540.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1997.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable. However, official documents related to the founding conference (1st ASEM Asia-Europe Summit) are available in English only.

Authoritative original documents on language rules are not available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the only language of the organisation. Additionally, the website of the organisation is available only in English at the time of this writing. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Asia-Europe Meeting: Summit of Heads of State and Government. Bangkok, Thailand, 1-2 March 1996. Background*. 1996. URL: https://aseminfoboard.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/1996_-_ASEM1_-_Background_gxCA3fp.pdf (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100022091 (visited on 19/01/2022).

[3] *Who We Are*. Asia-Europe Foundation (ASEF). 2024. URL: https://asef.org/about-us/who-we-are/ (visited on 16/12/2024).

ASPAC: Asian and Pacific Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 560.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1966.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	2

Coding Rationale

The joint communiqué on establishment of the Asian and Pacific Council is done in English.

Authoritative original documents on language rules are not available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, the 1970 agreement establishing an Economic Cooperation Centre (ECONEN) for the Asian and Pacific Region, a core regional institution within the framework of ASPAC, contains a language-related provision.

> Article XVIII: Official language.
>
> The official language of the Centre shall be English.

I infer that English is also the official language of ASPAC, and code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing an Economic Cooperation Centre for the Asian and Pacific Region'. In: *Australian Treaty Series* 1970.12 (1970). Australasian Legal Information Institute, University of Technology Sydney Faculty of Law. URL: https://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties/1970/12.html (visited on 21/11/2021).

[2] 'Establishment of Asian and Pacific Council'. In: *International Legal Materials* 5.5 (1966), pp. 985–986. ISSN: 0020-7829, 1930-6571. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-legal-materials/article/abs/establishment-of-asian-and-pacific-council/8C2F33557E3AE5CB58B04F0B0D0CAAAD (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100015657 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ATO: African Timber Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 210.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 51 of the original Agreement establishing the Organization of Wood Producing and Exporting African Countries, later renamed the African Timber Organisation, states that 'the present statutes are made in three copies, in French, English, and Spanish. Each of those texts being equally authentic.

Chapter 2 (on headquarters) of the Agreement establishing the Organization of Wood Producing and Exporting African Countries contains an article specifying working languages.

> Article 4. The organization's working languages are French, English, and Spanish.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists Portuguese in addition to French, English, and Spanish, reference to the original Agreement makes it clear that Portuguese was not originally an operational language of the organisation.

References

[1] 'African Wood Producing and Exporting Countries: Agreement Establishing the Organization of Wood Producing and Exporting African Countries'. In: *International Legal Materials* 14.5 (1975), pp. 1105–1116. ISSN: 0020-7829, 1930-6571. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-legal-materials/article/abs/african-wood-producing-and-exporting-countries-agreement-establishing-the-organization-of-wood-producing-and-exporting-african-countries/50B43702C52418A356B7F6C0CEB9590C (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Timber Organization (ATO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055603 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ATPC: Association of Tin Producing Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 770.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1983.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the Association of Tin Producing Countries is done 'in the English language in a single copy⋯The text shall be translated into the French and Spanish languages, the English text being authentic.'

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of this now-defunct organisation. Absent other information, I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Association of Tin Producing Countries (London, 29 March 1983)'. In: *Australian Treaty Series* 1984.10 (1984). Australasian Legal Information Institute, University of Technology Sydney Faculty of Law. URL: `https://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties/ATS/1984/10.html` (visited on 21/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Association of Tin Producing Countries (ATPC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100006394` (visited on 16/12/2024).

AU: African Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3761.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Constitutive Act of the African Union is authentic in Arabic, English, French and Portuguese.

Article 25 of the Constitutive Act pertains to languages.

> Article 25. Working Languages.
>
> The working languages of the Union and all its institutions shall be, if possible, African languages, Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese.

The UIA Yearbook also lists Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese as the AU's languages. Article 11 of the 'Protocol on Amendments to the Constitutive Act of the African Union' passed in 2003 states: 'The official languages of the Union and all its institutions shall be Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Kiswahili and any other African language,' amending Article 25 of the original Constitutive Act. Thus, it is clear that Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese are the only languages specified in the original founding document. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Constitutive Act of the African Union. Lomé, 11 July 2000'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2158.37733 (2001). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 2–58. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028008926 (visited on 22/10/2021).

[2] 'Protocol on Amendments to the Constitutive Act of the African Union'. In: *African Journal of International and Comparative Law* 13.1 (2005). Publisher: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 37–40. ISSN: 0954-8890. URL: https://www.euppublishing.com/doi/abs/10.3366/ajicl.2005.13.1.37 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African Union (AU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100033436 (visited on 16/12/2024).

AVRDC: Asian Vegetable Research and Development Center

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 620.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1971.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The Charter of the Asian Vegetable Research and Development Center is in English.

Section 5 of Article X (Miscellaneous) of the original Charter sets forth a linguistic provision.

> Section 5 - The official language of the Center shall be English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Charter of the Asian Vegetable Research and Development Center. 9th amended version: [8 May 2023]*. Publisher: World Vegetable Center. 2023. URL: https://avrdc.org/download/about_worldveg/Charter-2023-05-08-version_2.pdf (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *AVRDC - The World Vegetable Center*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100042378 (visited on 16/12/2024).

AfDB: African Development Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 70.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1963.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The 'Final Act of the Conference of Finance Ministers on the Establishment of an African Development Bank' is 'done in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.' The Agreement establishing the African Development Bank itself contains an article, Article 61, which stipulates that the 'English and French texts of this Agreement shall be regarded as equally authentic.'

Article 41 of the agreement contains provisions on language use.

> Article 41. Publication of the Agreement, Working Languages, Provision of Information and Reports.
>
> (1) The Bank shall endeavour to make available the text of this Agreement and all its important documents in the principal languages used in Africa. The working languages of the Bank shall be, if possible, African languages, English and French.

The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the two languages of the organisation. The phrases 'if possible, African languages,' as well as 'in the principal languages used in Africa,' do not enumerate specific languages, and are thus left uncoded.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the African Development Bank, as amended (with annexes and resolutions adopted by the Board of Governors on 17 May 1979 at Abidjan). Concluded at Lusaka on 7 May 1982'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1276.21052 (1982). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 4–83. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201276/volume-1276-A-21052-English.pdf (visited on 26/11/2021).

[2] *Final Act of the Conference of Finance Ministers on the Establishment of an African Development Bank*. Publisher: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. UNECA Knowledge Repository, E/CN.14/FMAB/38. 1963. URL: https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/8127 (visited on 26/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African Development Bank (ADB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100032429` (visited on 19/01/2022).

AfrOPDA: African Oil Palm Development Association

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 130.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1985.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

An authoritative version of the 'Traité de l'Association pour le Développement du Palmier à Huile' exists in French, but it is unclear whether authoritative versions in other languages exist.

No authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, the UIA Yearbook notes that the organisation publishes a quarterly periodical in English and French. In addition, the organisation was founded after consultations organised by the FAO (the initial working languages of which are English and French), with which it maintains a relationship agreement. On the basis of these facts, I impute and code accordingly.

References

[1] *Décret N° 97-511 du 16 octobre 1997 portant ratification du Traité de l'Association pour le Développement du Palmier à Huile (ADPH)*. Republic of Benin. 1997. URL: https://sgg.gouv.bj/pdf/web/viewer.html?file=/doc/decret-1997-511/read (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African Oil Palm Development Association (AFOPDA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100051710 (visited on 14/12/2024).

AfricaRice: Africa Rice Center

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4480.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1970.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The organisation was founded as the West Africa Rice Development Association. The Constitutive Act for this organisation is authentic in English and French, according to Article XVIII.

No authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as languages of the organisation. A third-party publication, 'Publications of the International Agricultural Research and Development Centers: 1990 Supplement,' contains references to the official languages of the organisation when referring to the WARDA Occasional Papers (see p 216).

> 'Articles of more than journal article length are preferred and published in the two official languages of WARDA, i.e. English and French.'

I infer that English and French are the operational languages of the organisation from the above sources.

References

[1] Jean-Pierre Dobbert. 'Acte constitutif de l'Association pour le développement de la riziculture en Afrique de l'ouest (4 septembre 1970)'. In: *Annuaire Français de Droit International* 17.1 (1971). Company: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS Distributor: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS Institution: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS Label: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS Publisher: CNRS Editions, pp. 717–738. URL: https://www.persee.fr/doc/afdi_0066-3085_1971_num_17_1_1668 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *Publications of the International Agricultural Research and Development Centers: 1990 Supplement*. Google-Books-ID: wF_9KAvMb6kC. International Rice Research Institute, 1990. 342 pp. ISBN: 978-971-10-4226-4.

[3] Union of International Associations. *Africa Rice Center (AfricaRice)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100040688 (visited on 16/12/2024).

Africare: African Reinsurance Corporation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 180.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original text of the Agreement establishing the African Reinsurance Corporation 'is done in a single copy in the English and French languages.'

Article 55 of Chapter XI (Interpretation and Arbitration) of the original Agreement contains a language-related provision.

> Article 55. Interpretation
>
> 1. The text of this Agreement in the working languages approved by the OAU shall be equally authentic.

At the time of the founding of the African Reinsurance Corporation, English and French were still the sole working languages of the OAU as a whole, with Portuguese not added until 1984. Additionally, the UIA Yearbook also lists only English and French as languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the African Reinsurance Corporation (AFRICARE) (with annexes). Concluded at Yaounde on 24 February 1976'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1197.19020 (1980). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 76–123. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800ebf6d&clang=_en (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] *CM/1232(XL)ADD.I. Introduction of Portuguese as an OAU Working Language.* Publisher: Organisation of African Unity. African Union Common Repository, CM/1232(XL)ADD.I. 1984. (Visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *African Reinsurance Corporation (AFRICA RE).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100029105 (visited on 16/12/2024).

AmCC: Amazonian Cooperation Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 310.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1978.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

Article XXVII of the original Treaty for Amazonian Cooperation states: 'This Treaty shall be drawn up in English, Dutch, Portuguese and Spanish, all having equal validity.'

The rules of the Chancellors' Meeting, which is the supreme organ of the organisation, contains an article on official languages.

> *Idiomas Oficiales.*
>
> Artículo XXIX: Serán idiomas oficiales de las reuniones, el español, el holandés, el inglés y el portugués.

An academic publication also lists these four languages as official languages of the organisation (see p. 63), as does the UIA Yearbook. I code accordingly.

References

[1] Anikó Borbély. 'El lugar y el papel de la Organización del Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica (OTCA) en la geopolítica brasileña y sudamericana'. In: *Belvedere Meridionale* 26 (2014), pp. 57–69.

[2] Sergio Sánchez Ballivian et al. *Base Jurídica del Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica. Antecedentes Constitutivos de la Organización del Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica (OTCA)*. Publisher: Organización del Tratado de Cooperación Amazónica. 2002. URL: https://otca.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Base-Juridica-del-Tratado-de-Cooperacion-Amazonica-2002.pdf (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] 'Treaty for Amazonian co-operation. Concluded at Brasflia on 3 July 1978'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1202.19194 (1980). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 71–76. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800eb7e6 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100050683 (visited on 16/12/2024).

Andean: Andean Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 330.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1970.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original text of the Andean Subregional Integration Agreement (Cartagena Agreement) is authentic in Spanish only.

No authoritative original documents are available that concern the use of languages. The UIA Yearbook lists Spanish as the sole language of the organisation. The vast majority of texts relating to this organisation are in Spanish only. I impute and code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement on Andean Subregional Integration'. In: *International Legal Materials* 8.5 (1969). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 910–939. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20690537 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Andean Community*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100031107 (visited on 16/12/2024).

AralSea: International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2770.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1997.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on Joint Actions to Resolving the Problem of the Aral Sea and the Aral Region, Environmental Improvement and Social and Economic Development of the Aral Region is authentic in Russian.

The original regulations for the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea do not specify languages of the organisation. The UIA Yearbook does not list language information. Although as of today the IFAS website is accessible in English as well as Russian, there is reason to believe English was not an operational language at the time of founding in 1993, given that the five founding members were the former Soviet republics of Central Asia. I impute and code accordingly.

References

[1] *About IFAS*. Executive Committee of the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea. 2024. URL: https://ecifas.kz/en/ (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *Položenie ob MFSA [Regulations on IFAS]*. Publisher: Executive Committee of the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea. IFAS Documents. 1993. URL: https://ecifas.kz/en/dokumenty/polozheniya/ (visited on 20/10/2022).

[3] *Soglašenie o Sovmestnyh Dejstvijah po Rešeniju Problemy Aral'skogo Morja i Priaral'ja, Èkologičeskomu Ozdorovleniju i Obespečeniju Social'no-èkonomičeskogo Razvitija Aral'skogo Regiona [Agreement on Joint Actions to Resolving the Problem of the Aral Sea and the Aral Region, Environmental Improvement and Social and Economic Development of the Aral Region]*. Publisher: Executive Committee of the International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea. IFAS Documents. 1993. URL: https://ecifas.kz/en/dokumenty/soglashenie/ (visited on 20/10/2022).

[4] Union of International Associations. *International Fund for Saving the Aral Sea (IFAS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100027942 (visited on 16/12/2024).

ArticC: Arctic Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 530.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1996.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Ottawa Declaration of 1996, which establishes the Arctic Council, is done in English.

Several articles in Part V (Other Matters) of the Rules of Procedure concern languages.

> Languages
>
> 41. English shall be the working language of the Arctic Council.
> 42. The Chairmanship shall make reasonable efforts to provide for Russian interpretation at Ministerial and SAO meetings.
> 43. Any individual may speak in a language other than English and in such cases that individual shall arrange for interpretation into English.
> 44. An Arctic State or Permanent Participant may volunteer to provide interpretation into languages other than English and vice versa.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists both English and Russian as languages of the organisation, article 41 makes it clear that English is the only true operational language of the Arctic Council. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Arctic Council Rules of Procedure (adopted 1998; revised 2013)*. Publisher: Arctic Council. Arctic Council Archive. 2015. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/11374/940 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *Declaration on the establishment of the Arctic Council*. Publisher: Arctic Council. Arctic Council Archive. 1996. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/11374/85 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Arctic Council*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100004399 (visited on 16/12/2024).

AsDB: Asian Development Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 580.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1966.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the Asian Development Bank is done 'in a single copy in the English language.'

Article 39 of the Agreement establishes the working language.

> Article 39: Working Language, Reports.
>
> 1. The working language of the Bank shall be English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Asian Development Bank. Manila, 4 December 1965'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 571.8303 (2009). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 123. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=X-4&chapter=10&clang=_en#:~:text=The%20Agreement%20was%20adopted%20by,2%20to%204%20December%201965. (visited on 26/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Asian Development Bank (ADB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100054117 (visited on 16/12/2024).

BALTBAT: Baltic Peacekeeping Battalion

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 800.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	`1`

Coding Rationale

The 1999 Memorandum of Understanding on the development of BALTBAT into an Infantry Battalion is 'signed in one copy in the English language.'

Section 3 of the Memorandum of Understanding contains a provision concerning language use.

> Section 3. Organisation
>
> ...
>
> 2. English will remain the training and command language of the Battalion.

This implies that English has been the language of training and command since the inception of BALTBAT. The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Memorandum of understanding between Minister of Defence of the Kingdom of Denmark, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Estonia, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Finland, Ministry of Defence of the Republic of Latvia, represented by the Minister of Defence of the Republic of Latvia, Minister of Defence of the Republic of Lithuania, Minister of Defence of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, Minister of Defence of the Kingdom of Norway, Minister of Defence of the Kingdom of Sweden, Secretary of State for Defence of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning Co–operation on the development of BALTBAT Into an Infantry Battalion'. In: *Latvijas Vēstnesis* 107/108 (1999). Legal Acts of the Republic of Latvia. URL: `https://likumi.lv/doc.php?id=23447` (visited on 26/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Baltic Battalion (BALTBAT)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100030271` (visited on 16/12/2024).

BC: Baltic Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 780.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Estonian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Latvian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Lithuanian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on Baltic Parliamentary and Governmental Cooperation between the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Latvia and the Republic of Lithuania is done 'in one copy in Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and English languages, all texts being equally authentic. In the case of divergency in interpretation the text in the English language shall prevail.' This is according to Article 12 of the Agreement.

Original procedural documents on language use are unavailable. The UIA Yearbook notes that the Baltic Council is '[n]ot a formal organization, but a joint annual session held between the Baltic Council of Ministers and the Baltic Assembly.' The Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly, in part due to the higher status accorded to English in the founding text.

References

[1] *Agreement on Baltic Parliamentary and Governmental Cooperation between the Republic of Estonia, the Republic of Latvia and the Republic of Lithuania*. Publisher: Latvijas Vēstnesis. 1994. URL: https://old.baltasam.org/en/cooperation/cooperation-with-the-baltic-council-of-ministers (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Baltic Council*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100025879 (visited on 16/12/2024).

BCSC: British Commonwealth Scientific Committee

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 870.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1946.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`C`: In related treaty	`L`: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

Authoritative original founding documents are unavailable. However, the BCSC is an emanation of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the founding charter of which is in English.

Original procedural documents on language use are unavailable. I impute by connection to the Commonwealth Secretariat. It is inconceivable that any language other than English could be an operational language of the organisation, especially given the anglophone membership of this particular organisation.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Science Council (CSC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100048531` (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008889` (visited on 17/12/2024).

BENELUX: Benelux Economic Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 840.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1958.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty establishing the Benelux Economic Union is done 'in triplicate in the Dutch and French languages, each of which shall be equally authoritative.'

Article 96 of the Treaty concerns languages.

> Article 96: The official languages of the institutions of the Union shall be the Netherlands and French languages.

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates Dutch and French as the two languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Treaty establishing the Benelux Economic Union (Unofficial Translation)*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/BEU/001. 1958. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/treaties/textdetails/12215 (visited on 28/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Benelux Union*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100011815 (visited on 16/12/2024).

BIISEF: Banque internationale d'information sur les Etats francophones

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 820.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1986.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original treaty establishing this organisation is unavailable.

Original procedural documents concerning languages are unavailable, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, it is noted that this organisation was founded pursuant to a recommendation to the First Francophone Summit. All publications are in French, and the organisation's express purpose is to serve as a documentation centre on French-speaking states. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Agence intergouvernementale de La Francophonie*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100037638 (visited on 12/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Banque internationale d'information sur les Etats francophones (BIEF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100024691 (visited on 16/12/2024).

BIONET: BioNET INTERNATIONAL - Global Network for Biosystematics

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 850.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original treaty establishing this organisation is unavailable.

Original procedural documents concerning languages are unavailable, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, it is noted that this organisation was founded under the auspices of CAB International, and all publications are in English. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *BioNET INTERNATIONAL - Global Network for Taxonomy (BI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052951 (visited on 16/12/2024).

BNDP: Board of Nordic Development Projects

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 860.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Finnish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Norwegian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Swedish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement concerning the administration of joint Nordic assistance projects in developing countries is authentic in Norwegian, Danish, Finnish, and Swedish.

Original procedural documents concerning languages are unavailable. The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this now-defunct organisation. I impute the four languages of the authentic texts of this agreement as its operational languages.

References

[1] 'Agreement concerning the administration of joint Nordic assistance projects in developing countries. Signed at Oslo on 18 July 1968. Additional Protocol to the above-mentioned Agreement. Signed at Stockholm on 3 December 1971. Additional Protocol to the above-mentioned Agreement of 18 July 1968. Signed at Copenhagen on 25 May 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 955.13687 (1974). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 320–349. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/Volume%20955/v955.pdf (visited on 25/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Board of Nordic Development Projects*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2021. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052951 (visited on 25/11/2021).

BOBP: Bay of Bengal Programme Inter-Governmental Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 825.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2003.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on the Institutionalisation of the Bay of Bengal Programme as an Inter-Governmental Organisation is done in English.

Rule 12 in the Rules of Procedure concerns the use of languages for the proceedings of the Governing Council.

> Rule 12: Languages
>
> 1. The proceedings of the Governing Council shall be conducted in English.
> 2. All documents prepared for or emanating from the Governing Council shall be in English.

This, however, only concerns the Governing Council and does not specify a language for the institution as a whole. The UIA Yearbook lists Bengali, Dhivehi, English, Oriya, Sinhala, Tamil, and Telugu as languages of the institution. However, as of this writing, the website is only available in English. The imputed code seeks to balance the uncertainty between these sources.

References

[1] *About BOBP*. Bay of Bengal Programme Inter-Governmental Organisation. 2024. URL: `https://bobpigo.org/bobpcms` (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *BOBP/INF/17. Agreement on the Institutionalisation of the Bay of Bengal Programme as an Inter-Governmental Organisation*. Publisher: Bay of Bengal Programme Inter-Governmental Organisation. 2004. URL: `https://bobpigo.org/pages/documents` (visited on 21/10/2021).

[3] *BOBP/INF/18. Rules of Procedure, Financial Regulations, Staff Regulations, Employment Conditions, Schedule of Government Contributions*. Publisher: Bay of Bengal Programme Inter-Governmental Organisation. 2004. URL: `https://bobpigo.org/pages/documents` (visited on 21/10/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Bay of Bengal Programme Inter-Governmental Organization (BOBP-IGO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100039879` (visited on 19/01/2022).

BONN: Agreement for cooperation in dealing with pollution of the North Sea

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 300.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1983.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

Article 24 of the Agreement for cooperation in dealing with pollution of the North Sea by oil and other harmful substances states that 'the English, French and German texts are equally authentic.'

Article 28 and 29 of the Rules of Procedure, annexed to the Agreement, lay out official languages.

> Languages.
>
> 28. The official languages of the meeting of the Contracting Parties shall be English and French. A Contracting Party desiring to use any other language shall be entitled to do so if, at its own expense, it provides for translation and/or interpretation into the official languages.
>
> 29. Meetings of all subsidiary bodies shall be held in English only. A Contracting Party desiring to use any other language shall be entitled to do so if, at its own expense, it provides for translation and/or interpretation into English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English and French as the languages of the organisation. Article 29 makes it clear that English has a higher status in the organisation than French, as the use of French is expressly forbidden in meetings of the subsidiary bodies. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement for cooperation in dealing with pollution of the North Sea by oil and other harmful substances (Bonn Agreement)'. In: *Official Journal of the European Union* 188 (1984). Doc ID: 4422527 Doc Sector: other Doc Title: Bonn Agreement —dealing with pollution of the North Sea by oil and other harmful substances, including air pollution caused by shipping Doc Type: other Usr_lan: en, pp. 9–16. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/EN/legal-content/summary/bonn-

agreement-dealing-with-pollution-of-the-north-sea-by-oil-and-other-harmful-substances-including-air-pollution-caused-by-shipping.html (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *The Bonn Agreement Counter-Pollution Manual*. Publisher: Bonn Agreement. 2023. URL: https://www.bonnagreement.org/site/assets/files/1081/bonn_agreement_counter_pollution_manual.pdf (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Agreement for cooperation in dealing with pollution of the North Sea by oil and other harmful substances (Bonn Agreement)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100039227 (visited on 26/01/2022).

BORGIP: Benelux Organization for Intellectual Property

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 832.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2006.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
English	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`1`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original 'Convention Benelux en matière de propriété intellectuelle' is done 'en trois exemplaires, en langues française et néerlandaise, les deux textes faisant également foi,' making Dutch and French the authentic languages of the treaty text.

Language provisions are laid out in Chapter 3 of the 'Implementing Regulations under the Benelux Convention on Intellectual Property.'

> Rule 1.22 –Use of English
>
> 1. The determination of the language of the proceedings shall not affect the parties' ability to exchange arguments in English during the opposition proceedings, if they have jointly agreed to do so.
> 2. The joint choice of English shall be made as follows:
>   a. the claimant shall indicate when submitting the objection application that he wishes to express himself in English, if the defendant so agrees;
>   b. the defendant shall state in his communication provided for by paragraph 2.b of Rule 1.20 that he agrees to the use of English.
> 3. If the Office notes that English has been chosen jointly, it shall inform the parties accordingly.
> 4. Should English be chosen jointly:
>   a. the arguments introduced in another language shall be deemed not to have been introduced;
>   b. the Office shall not translate any of the parties' arguments.
>
> ...
>
> Rule 3.3 –Languages of the Office

1. The languages of the Office shall be Dutch and French.
2. All documents forwarded to the Office shall be drawn up in either of these languages. The provisions of Rules 1.22 and 1.24 shall constitute an exception in this respect.
3. Supporting documents for a right of priority, a change of name, extracts from documents establishing assignment or another form of transfer, a license or a right of pledge, declarations relating thereto, regulations for use and control and amendments thereto drawn up in another language shall also be accepted if they are presented in English or German.
4. The documents which are referred to in paragraph 3 and which have been drawn up in another language shall also be accepted if they are accompanied by a translation into one of the languages of the Office or English or German.

The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and Dutch as languages of the organisation. Whilst it is clear that French and Dutch are the only languages of the office, English and German are also in use. Of these latter two, English is given specific treatment; German is not. A German version of the rules of procedure is not available. To resolve these ambiguities, I do not code German, and I code English on a lower tier of institutionalisation than French and Dutch.

References

[1] *Convention Benelux en matière de propriété intellectuelle*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/BEU/001. 2006. URL: `https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/treaties/details/229` (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *Implementing Regulations under the Benelux Convention on Intellectual Property (Trademarks and Designs) (June 1, 2006) (Translation)*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database. 2006. URL: `https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/treaties/details/229` (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Benelux Organization for Intellectual Property (BOIP)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100003845` (visited on 19/01/2022).

BS: Bank of the South

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 815.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2007.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Acta Fundacional del Banco del Sur' is made in seven Spanish copies and one Portuguese copy, all being equally authentic.

No authoritative original documents are available that concern language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. I impute based on the languages of the authoritative texts of the treaty and on the founding membership.

References

[1] 'Acta Fundacional del Banco del Sur'. In: *Aportes para la Integración Latinoamericana* 17 (2017). Revistas Universidad Nacional de la Plata. Number: 17. ISSN: 2468-9912. URL: https://revistas.unlp.edu.ar/aportes/article/view/3351 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Bank of the South*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052658 (visited on 19/01/2022).

BSEC: Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3810.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Russian	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 34 of the Charter of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation stipulates that the original Charter is done 'in a single copy in the English language.'

Article 8 of the original Rules of Procedure concerns languages of the organisation.

> Article 8. Official Languages
>
> (1) The official language of the BSEC documents is English.
>
> (2) The official languages of the BSEC meetings are English and Russian.
>
> (3) During meetings at ministerial level, simultaneous interpretation shall be provided by the host country in English, French and Russian.

The UIA Yearbook lists English and Russian as the languages of the organisation. It is clear that English is at a higher level of institutionalisation than Russian, as per Articles 8.1 and 8.2. Furthermore, although French is mentioned, it arguably does not hold operational status in the organisation. Indeed, a later version of the Rules of Procedure removed the reference to French. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Charter of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation*. Publisher: Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation. BSEC Statutory Documents. 1999. URL: https://www.bsec-organization.org/UploadedDocuments/StatutoryDocumentsAgreements/CHARTERFourthEdition7July.pdf (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *Rules of Procedure of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)*. Publisher: Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation. BSEC Statutory Documents. 1997. URL: https://www.bsec-organization.org/UploadedDocuments/StatutoryDocumentsAgreements/RulesofProcedureFourthEdition.pdf (visited on 21/11/2021).

[3] *Rules of Procedure of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). Attachment 2 to Annex IX to BS/FM/R(2023)1*. Publisher: Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation. BSEC Statutory Documents. 2023. URL: https://www.bsec-organization.org/UploadedDocuments/StatutoryDocumentsAgreements/Rules%20of%20Procedure.pdf (visited on 16/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2021. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100045503 (visited on 19/11/2021).

CAAD: Concerted Action for African Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1280.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1979.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available.

No authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. English-language sources for this organisation are close to non-existent. However, French-language media have reported consistently on it. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] Claire Brisset. 'L'accord conclu en 1979 avec cinq pays occidentaux pour le développement de l'Afrique est profondément modifié Les programmes n'auront plus de " chef de file "'. In: *Le Monde* (1981). URL: https://www.lemonde.fr/archives/article/1981/10/01/l-accord-conclu-en-1979-avec-cinq-pays-occidentaux-pour-le-developpement-de-l-afrique-est-profondement-modifie-les-programmes-n-auront-plus-de-chef-de-file_3039620_1819218.html (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] 'The Conferences of Heads of State from France and Africa (1980-1985)'. In: *RFI Archive* (2003). URL: http://www1.rfi.fr/actufr/articles/038/article_20042.asp (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Concerted Action for African Development*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100004078 (visited on 16/12/2024).

CAARC: Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1180.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1946.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. However, it is known to be a body composed of Commonwealth countries.

Likewise, no authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. It is unimaginable that any other language than English could be an operational language of this organisation.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Advisory Aeronautical Research Council (CAARC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100046837 (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008889 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CAB: Convenio Andrés Bello de integración educativa, cientifica y cultural de América Latina y España

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1360.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1970.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Convenio Andrés Bello de integración educativa, cientifica y cultural de América Latina y España' is done in six originals, all in the Spanish language.

No authoritative original documents are available that contain language provisions. A 2019 version of the rules of procedure makes no reference to language provisions, but is entirely in Spanish. The UIA Yearbook also lists Spanish as the sole language of the organisation. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Resolución No. 06 de 2019, Por medio de la cual se reforman y aprueban los Estatutos de la Organización del Convenio Andrés Bello -CAB-*. Publisher: Organización del Convenio Andrés Bello de integración educativa, cientifica y cultural de América Latina y España. 2019. URL: https://convenioandresbello.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Estatutos_Cab_Finales_23_agosto_2019.pdf (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] *Tratado constitutivo de la Organización del Convenio Andrés Bello de integración educativa, cientifica y cultural de América Latina y España*. Publisher: Organización del Convenio Andrés Bello de integración educativa, cientifica y cultural de América Latina y España. 1970. URL: https://convenioandresbello.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/tratado_constitutivo_cab_firmado.pdf (visited on 16/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Convenio Andrés Bello de integración educativa, cientifica y cultural de América Latina y España (Convenio Andrés Bello)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052951 (visited on 25/11/2021).

CABI: CAB International

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 871.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1986.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Agreement on the Reconstitution of the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux as CAB International is done in English only.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the only language of the organisation. The Yearbook notes further that, although its predecessor (founded in 1929) was a Commonwealth institution, the UIA Yearbook notes that, '[u]nder the constitution of CAB INTERNATIONAL, the scope changed from being exclusively Commonwealth to fully international, with membership open to any country.' I impute according to the above information.

References

[1] 'Agreement on the Reconstitution of the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux as C A B International with Agreed Minute'. In: *FCDO Treaty Series* 059 (Cm 387 1987). UK Treaties Online, pp. 3–11. URL: https://treaties.fcdo.gov.uk/responsive/app/consolidatedSearch/#search/v=list,c=1,q=qs%3D%5BAgreement%20on%20the%20Reconstitution%20of%20the%20Commonwealth%20Agricultural%20Bureaux%20as%20C%20A%20B%20International%5D%2CqueryType%3D%5B64%5D,sm=s,l=library2_lib (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *CABI*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100044468 (visited on 19/01/2022).

CACB: Central American Coffee Board

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 950.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The 'Acta Constitutiva de la Empresa Multinacional Cafés Suaves Centrales S.S.' is known to be available only in Spanish, but the original text is not accessible at the time of this writing.

The UIA Yearbook does not catalogue language information for this organisation. Based on the documents accessed, as well as its nature as a multinational corporation registered in a hispanophone country, I impute the Spanish is the only operational language of the organisation.

References

[1] *Acta Constitutiva de la Empresa Multinacional Cafés Suaves Centrales S.S.; suscrita en México*. Publisher: Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores y Culto, Republic of Costa Rica. Archivo Nacional de Costa Rica, CR AN CR-AN-AH-MRREE-017655. 2024. URL: `https://archivodigital.go.cr/index.php/acta-constitutiva-de-la-empresa-multinacional-cafes-suaves-centrales-s-s-suscrita-en-mexico` (visited on 16/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Office centroaméricain du café*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100030918` (visited on 20/01/2022).

CACI: Conferencia de Autoridades Cinematograficas de Iberoamérica

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1350.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1989.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1

Coding Rationale

The original Convenio de Integración Cinematográfica Iberoamericana is done 'en dos ejemplares, en idioma castellano y portugués,' making Spanish and Portuguese the languages of the treaty text.

The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this organisation. Article XXVI in the Convention refers to language in defining membership criteria. Article 9 of the Internal Regulations contain a provision to the same effect.

> Artículo XXVI [Convention]: El presente Convenio queda abierto a la adhesión de cualquier Estado Iberoamericano, del Caribe o Estados de habla hispana o portuguesa, previa aprobación de la CACI.
>
> Artículo 9 [Internal Regulations]: Seconsiderarán Estados observadores de la CACI, aquellos Estados Iberoamericanos,del Caribe o de habla hispana o portuguesa que suscriban acuerdos de cooperación con la CACI y/o se encuentren en proceso de ratificación···

Based on the explicit definition of membership eligibility with respect to linguistic criteria in the original documents, Spanish and Portuguese are coded as institutional languages.

References

[1] *Decreto Nº5, Convenio de Integración Cinematográfica Iberoamericana*. 1989. URL: http://repositorio.cultura.gob.cl/handle/123456789/3836 (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] *Reglamento Interno de la Conferencia de Autoridades Cinematográficas de Iberoamérica*. Publisher: Conferencia de Autoridades Cinematográficas de Iberoamérica. 2015. URL: https://caaci-iberoamerica.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/ric-2015.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Conferencia de Autoridades Cinematograficas de Iberoamérica (CACI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100038959` (visited on 20/01/2022).

CAEC: Central American Energy Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 970.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1979.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The 'Resolución aprobada por la decimotercera reunión de ministros de economía de Centroamérica que crea la Comisión Centroamericana de Energía' is done in Spanish.

Authoritative original documents pertaining to language rules are unavailable. The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this inactive organisation. Given its adoption at the 13th Meeting of Ministers of the Economy of the five Central American States, I impute Spanish as the sole operational language.

References

[1] *Anexo 4: Resolución aprobada por la decimotercera reunión de ministros de economía de Centroamérica que crea la Comisión Centroamericana de Energia*. Publisher: U.S. Agency for International Development. USAID Development Experience Clearinghouse. 2015. URL: `https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNAAY759.pdf` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Comisión Centroamericana de Energia (COMENER)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100053400` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CAECC: Central Asian Economic Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1030.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Kazakh	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Kyrgyz	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Uzbek	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original 'Treaty on the Creation of a Single Economic Space between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan' is done in two copies in Kazakh, Uzbek, and Russian. However, the 'Decision on the accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the Treaty on the establishment of the United economic space between The Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan' is done 'in four original copies in the Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek and Russian languages, with all texts having equal legal force' (*'v četyreh podlinnyh èkzempljarah na kazahskom, kyrgyzskom, uzbekskom, a takže russkom jazykah, pričem vse teksty imejut odinakovuju juridičeskuju silu'*). Since this Decision brings the number of participating states to three, it therefore constitutes an intergovernmental organisation by the definition of the Correlates of War IGO dataset. The text of the 'Decision' tis therefore the founding text of the organisation.

The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this organisation. I impute on the bases of the membership and the founding text of the organisation.

References

[1] 'Dogovor o sozdanii Edinogo èkonomičeskogo prostranstva meždu Respublikoj Kazahstan i Respublikoj Uzbekistan (g. Taškent, 10 janvarja 1994 goda) [Treaty on the establishment of a Single Economic Space between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan (Tashkent, January 10, 1994)]'. In: *Bjulleten' meždunarodnyh dogovorov, soglašenij i otdel'nyh zakonodatel'nyh aktov Respubliki Kazahstan [Bulletin of international treaties, agreements and individual legislative acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan]* 3.38 (1997). Information and Legal System of Regulatory Legal Acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan. URL: https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/O9400000003 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] 'Rešenie o prisoedinenii Kyrgyzskoj Respubliki k Dogovoru o sozdanii Edinogo èkonomičeskogo prostranstva meždu Respublikoj Kazahstan i Respublikoj Uzbekistan [Decision on the accession of the Kyrgyz Republic to the Treaty on the establishment of a Single Economic Space between the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Republic of Uzbekistan]'. In: *Bjulleten' meždunarodnyh dogovorov, soglašenij i otdel'nyh zakonodatel'nyh aktov Respubliki Kazahstan [Bulletin of international treaties, agreements and individual legislative acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan]* 3.38 (1997). Information and Legal System of Regulatory Legal Acts of the Republic of Kazakhstan. URL: https://adilet.zan.kz/rus/docs/O9400000003 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Central Asian Cooperation Organization (CAC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100011694 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CAIPA: Central American Institute for Public Administration

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 980.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1954.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original text of the 'Convenio para el establecimiento del Instituto Centroamericano de Administración Publica' is known to be in Spanish, but the full text is not available at the time of this writing.

No authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available. The UIA Yearbook lists Spanish as the sole language of the organisation, and notes a variety of publications published by the CAIPA, all in Spanish. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Convenio Para El Establecimiento Del Instituto Centroamericano de Administracion Publica (ICAP)*. Publisher: Departamento de Derecho Internacional, Organización de Estados Americános. Tratados Multilaterales, F-79. 1967. URL: http://www.oas.org/juridico/spanish/firmas/f-79.html (visited on 28/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Central American Institute of Public Administration*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100067203 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CAMES: African and Malagasy Council for Higher Education

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 30.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`A`: In original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original 'Convention portant statut du CAMES' is done in French.

Though the convention does not state outright that French is the operational language of the organisation, the preamble to the Convention contains explicit reference to the French language as the language of its member states.

> Preamble: Les États signataires des pays d' expression française d' Afrique et de Madagascar⋯

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates French as the sole language of the organisation. I code based on all of the above evidence that French is the sole institutional language.

References

[1] Chikouna Cissé. 'Annexe IV : Actualisation des textes juridiques du CAMES en 2000'. In: *Le CAMES 1968-2018*. Éditions science et bien commun, 2018. ISBN: 978-2-924661-56-7. URL: `https://scienceetbiencommun.pressbooks.pub/cames/` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African and Malagasy Council for Higher Education (CAMES)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100019648` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CAMRSD: Conference of African Ministers Responsible for Sustainable Development and the Environment

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1310.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original founding documents are unavailable. I refer to the Revised Draft Constitution of the African Ministerial Conference on the Environment (AMCEN), which succeeded CAMRSD in 1997. The original text of this constitution is 'in English and French languages, all of which shall be equally authentic,' as per Article 34.

No authoritative original documents containing language rules are available. A working document, the 'Report of the First Conference of African Ministers Responsible for Sustainable Development and the Environment,' is available from the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, the parent body for this organisation, contains references to only two languages, though it does not explicitly specify operational languages.

> 31. Paragraph 23: the French text should be aligned with the English.
>
> ...
>
> 35. Paragraph 62: the English text needed to be aligned with the French.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this short-lived organisation. The excerpts from the Report of the First Conference imply that French and English are used within the organisation. I impute and code accordingly.

References

[1] *Report of the First Conference of African Ministers Responsible for Sustainable Development and the Environment*. Publisher: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. UNECA Knowledge Repository, E/ECM/CM.19/15. 1996. URL: https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/4758 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *The Revised Draft Constitution of the African Ministerial Conference on the Environment (AMCEN), 2004*. 2004. URL: https://www.unep.org/resources/report/reviseddraftconstitutioneng (visited on 25/01/2022).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Conference of African Ministers Responsible for Sustainable Development and the Environment (AMCEN)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014206 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CAMSF: Central American Monetary Stabilization Fund

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1000.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1969.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The 'Acuerdo del Fondo Centroamericano de Estabilización Monetaria' is done in Spanish.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. The Yearbook notes that this organisation publishes the FOCEM Statistical Bulletin, which is in Spanish only. I impute based on the above, and on the organisation's entirely hispanophone founding membership.

References

[1] 'Acuerdo del Fondo Centroamericano de Estabilización Monetaria'. In: *Revista de Comercio Exterior, Bancomext* 1969 (Diciembre 1969). URL: `http://revistas.bancomext.gob.mx/rce/sp/index.jsp?idRevista=456` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Fondo Centroamericano de Estabilización Monetaria (FOCEM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100058491` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CARICOM: Caribbean Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 880.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

The original 'Treaty establishing the Caribbean Community' is authentic in English only.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. However, a press release by CARICOM dated to 2012 mentions the topic.

> 'Official Language:
>
> Heads of Government recognized that, although English was the official language of the Community, the facility to communicate in their languages could enhance the participation of Haiti and Suriname in the integration process. They therefore requested the conduct of a study to examine the possibilities and implications, including costs, of introducing French and Dutch.'

Additionally, a 2003 news report from the Guyana Chronicle states that the 'Deputy Secretary General of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), Ms. Lolita Applewhaite, has indicated that Spanish has been agreed on as the second official language of CARICOM.' Both sources indicate that English was the sole original institutional language of the organisation. This is corroborated by the UIA Yearbook, which also lists English as the only language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Communiqué Issued at the Conclusion of the Thirty-third Regular Meeting of the Conference of Heads of Government of the Caribbean Community, 4-6 July 2012, Gros Islet, Saint Lucia*. CARICOM Press Releases, Press Release 185/2012. 2012. URL: https://caricom.org/communique-issued-at-the-conclusion-of-the-thirty-third-regular-meeting-of-the-conference-of-heads-of-government-of-the-caribbean-community-4-6-july-2012-gros-islet-saint-lucia/ (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Mark Ramotar. 'Spanish agreed as CARICOM second language'. In: *Guyana Chronicle* (2003). URL: https://www.landofsixpeoples.com/news304/nc310133.htm (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] 'Treaty establishing the Caribbean Community (with annex relating to the Caribbean Common Market and Agree ment establishing the Common External Tariff for the Caribbean Common Market). Concluded at Chaguaramas on 4 July 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 946.13489 (1974). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 18. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/Volume%20955/v955.pdf (visited on 25/11/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Caribbean Community (CARICOM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100057610 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CARIFTA: Caribbean Free Trade Association

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 912.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1966.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original text of the Dickinson Bay Agreement is authentic in English.

No authoritative original documents are available that concern language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. The Yearbook notes that this short-lived organisation was superseded by CARICOM, which was also an English-only organisation at the time of its founding. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement Establishing the Caribbean Free Trade Association (Carifta)'. In: *International Legal Materials* 7.5 (1968), pp. 935–977. ISSN: 0020-7829, 1930-6571. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-legal-materials/article/abs/agreement-establishing-the-caribbean-free-trade-association-carifta/BFDA8F7632511227B5A6149517E54F11 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARIFTA).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100025245 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CARII: Central American Research Institute for Industry

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1010.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1956.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Convenio sobre el establecimiento del Instituto Centroamericano de Investigación y Tecnología Industrial' is done in Spanish only.

No authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, German, and Spanish as languages for this organisation. Given the lack of original documentation in languages than Spanish, however, it is doubtful that English, French, and German were mandated as institutional languages of the organisation from its inception. I impute Spanish only.

References

[1] 'Ley no. 25 de 1975 por la cual se aprueba el Convenio sobre el establecimiento del Instituto Centroamericano de Investigacion y Tecnologia Industrial (ICAITI)'. In: *Gaceta Oficial de Panamá, Republic of Panama* 18.123 (1976). Archived by VLex Panama, pp. 1–3. URL: https://vlex.com.pa/vid/convenio-centroamericano-investigacion-icaiti-31260770.

[2] Union of International Associations. *Central American Research Institute for Industry*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100011169 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CATC: Commonwealth Air Transport Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1200.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1945.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. However, it is known to be a body composed of Commonwealth countries, and the British Empire.

Likewise, no authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available. The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, but it notes that all publications are in English. It is unimaginable that any other language than English could be an operational language of this organisation.

References

[1] 'Drakeford to Forde'. In: *Volume 7: 1944*. Vol. 7. Documents on Australian Foreign Policy. DFAT Historical Documents. Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Commonwealth of Australia, 1944. URL: https://wragge.github.io/dfat-documents-web/volumes/volume-7-1944/drakeford-to-forde/ (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Air Transport Council (CATC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100016584 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008889 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CBFP: Congo Basin Forest Partnership

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1355.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	B: Not in original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Portuguese	B: Not in original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	B: Not in original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

Though there are English, Spanish, and Portuguese versions of the Treaty on the Conservation and Sustainable Management of Forest Ecosystems in Central Africa and to establish the Central African Forests Commission available, Article 27 states: 'The original of this Treaty shall be deposited with the Executive Secretariat of COMIFAC, which shall be the Depository.' The original is done in French, and is thus the exclusive authentic legal instrument, though this is not made explicit within the text.

Article 27 of the original Treaty also establishes working languages.

> Article 27: The working languages of COMIFAC shall be French, English, Spanish, and Portuguese.

The lack of information on languages in the UIA Yearbook is immaterial given the above provision. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Sommet des chefs d' état d' Afrique Centrale sur la conservation et la gestion durable des forets tropicales. Declaration de Yaoundé*. Publisher: Central African Forest Commission. Congo Basin Forest Partnership Archive. 1999. URL: https://archive.pfbc-cbfp.org/keydocs.html (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *Traité relatif à la conservation et à la gestion durable des écosystèmes forestiers d'Afrique centrale et instituant la commission des forêts d'Afrique centrale (COMIFAC)*. Publisher: Central African Forest Commission. Congo Basin Forest Partnership Archive. 1999. URL: https://archive.pfbc-cbfp.org/keydocs.html (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Congo Basin Forest Partnership (CBFP)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100025400 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CBSS: Council of the Baltic Sea States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1420.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
German	F: Unavailable	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Russian	F: Unavailable	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

The organisation was established at a conference of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of littoral countries through the 'Copenhagen Declaration' of 1992. This declaration was done in English, though it is not possible to ascertain whether there are authentic versions in other languages.

Article 12 of the original 1992 Terms of Reference of the organisation relates to the use of languages.

> Article 12. The sessions of the Council will be conducted in English, German and Russian, unless otherwise decided. Simultaneous interpretation from and into these languages will be provided by the host country. Meetings of the Committee of Senior Officials and working groups will conduct their business in English.

The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. It is clear that, though German and Russian have institutional status, English is on a higher tier of institutionalisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] Oxford Public International Law. *1992 CBSS 1st Ministerial Session –Copenhagen Declaration, 5th March 1992, OXIO 655*. In: *Oxford International Organizations*. Online: Oxford University Press, 2021. URL: https://opil.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law-oxio/e655.013.1/law-oxio-e655?prd=OXIO (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Council of the Baltic Sea States (CBSS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100058748 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CCOM: Central Compensation Office of the Maghreb

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1060.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1969.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Convention entre les réseaux des chemins de fer maghrébins pour l'institution du bureau central de compensation maghrébin,' signed in Tunis in 1969, is available in French translation from the Arabic. The final article is silent on the authenticity of the text: 'Toute divergence dans l'interprétation des dispositions qui précedent, sera soumise au comité permanent du bureau central de compensation maghrébin qui en réfèrera, au besoin, au comité des transports ferroviaires du Maghreb.'

The Convention does not contain language provisions, nor are other authoritative original documents on language rules available. The UIA Yearbook does not list any languages for this organisation, but notes that it is set up within the ambit of the Permanent Consultative Committee of the Maghreb (PCCM). For this latter organisation, the UIA Yearbook lists both French and Arabic. The PCCM was short-lived, and Libya withdrew in 1970, six years after founding, and does not bear a direct institutional relationship to the Arab Maghreb Union, founded in 1989. Thus, it is inappropriate to impute from the AMU. Given the above, I impute Arabic and French as languages of this organisation.

References

[1] Ahmed Aghrout and Keith Sutton. 'Regional Economic Union in the Maghreb'. In: *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 28.1 (1990). Publisher: Cambridge University Press, pp. 115–139. ISSN: 0022-278X. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/160904 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] 'Décret n° 72-117 du 7 juin 1972 portant publication de la convention entre les réseaux des chemins de fer maghrébins pour l'institution du bureau central de compensation maghrébin, signée à Tunis le 3 juin 1969'. In: *Journal officiel de la Republique Algerienne Democratique et Populaire: Conventions et accords internationaux –Lois, ordonnances et decrets, arretes, decisions, circulaires, avis, communications et annonces (Traduction francaise)* 11.54 (1972), p. 663. URL: https://www.joradp.dz/FTP/jo-francais/1972/F1972054.PDF.

[3] Habib Gherari. 'l'Union du Maghreb Arabe'. In: *Studia Diplomatica* 43.3 (1990). Publisher: Egmont Institute, pp. 83–115. ISSN: 0770-2965. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/44836214 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Central Office for Maghrebian Compensation.* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100033723 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *Permanent Consultative Committee of the Maghreb (PCCM).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100002862 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CCPA: Cocoa Producers Alliance

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1120.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1962.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original accord that founded this organisation in 1962 is not available. A secondary academic source from 1975 notes that the agreement was not published. (Hanisch 1975, footnote 20).

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. I impute based on secondary sources about the organisation, though confidence in this judgement remains low.

References

[1] Jock A Finlayson and Mark Wzacher. 'The Politics of International Commodity Regulation: The Negotiation and Operation of the International Cocoa Agreements'. In: *Third World Quarterly* 5.2 (1983), pp. 386–417. ISSN: 0143-6597, 1360-2241. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436598308419702 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Rolf Hanisch. 'Confrontation between primary commodity producers and consumers: The cocoa hold-up of 1964–65'. In: *The Journal of Commonwealth & Comparative Politics* 13.3 (1975), pp. 242–260. ISSN: 0306-3631. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14662047508447241 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] *L' organisation des pays producteurs de Cacao (Copal) face à d' importants problèmes financiers*. Agence Ecofin. 2012. URL: https://www.agenceecofin.com/cacao/0910-7044-l-organisation-des-pays-producteurs-de-cacao-copal-face-a-d-importants-problemes-financiers (visited on 17/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Alliance of Cocoa Producing Countries (COPAL)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100056970 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CComm: Caribbean Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 875.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1946.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Article XXI of the Agreement states that it is 'on 30th October, 1946, and done in quadruplicate, in the English, French and Netherlands languages, each of which shall be equally authentic.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions. No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook does not contain language information for this organisation. Absent further information, I impute on the basis of the authentic texts of the treaty, which are the national languages of the founding member states.

References

[1] 'An Agreement for the Establishment of the Caribbean Commission, Signed October 30, 1946, in Washington, D. C.' In: *International Organization* 1.1 (1947). Publisher: [The MIT Press, Cambridge University Press, International Organization Foundation], pp. 251–256. ISSN: 0020-8183. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2703565 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Caribbean Commission*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100063115 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CDB: Caribbean Development Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 890.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1969.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the Caribbean Development Bank is done 'in a single copy in the English language.'

Article 38 of the original Articles of Agreement clearly lays out the official language of the Bank.

> Article 38. Official Language and Reports
>
> 1. The official language of the Bank shall be English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the Bank. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Caribbean Development Bank (with annexes, Protocol to provide for procedure for amendment of article 36 of the Agreement and Final Act of the Conference of Plenipotentiaries on the Caribbean Development Bank). Done at Kingston, Jamaica, on 18 October 1969'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 712.10232 (1970). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 217. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=X-6&chapter=10&clang=_en (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Caribbean Development Bank (CDB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062241 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CEAO: West African Economic Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4485.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`K`: Undefined	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Articles of Association for the establishment of an Economic Community of West Africa are equally authentic in English and French.

The Articles of Association do not contain language provisions. No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists French as the sole language of this organisation. Given the francophone founding membership, I follow the UIA Yearbook and impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Articles of Association for the establishment of an Economic Community of West Africa. Done at Accra, on 4 May 1967'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 595.8623 (1967). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 287. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=X-5&chapter=10&clang=_en` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Communauté économique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052290` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CEEPN: Central and Eastern European Privatization Network

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1020.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available.

No authoritative original documents are available that contain language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, the Yearbook notes a number of regular publications by this organisation, which are all in English, and this is corroborated by other sources. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Central and Eastern European Privatization Network (CEEPN)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066924 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CEFTA: Central European Free Trade Association

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1070.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Central European Free Trade Agreement is done 'in a single authentic copy in the English language.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions. The UIA Yearbook does not catalogue language information for this organisation. I impute based on the authentic language of the Agreement, and noting that as of this writing, the website of the Association is available only in English.

References

[1] *About Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA)*. CEFTA. 2024. URL: https://cefta.int/about/ (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *Central European Free Trade Agreement*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database. 1992. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/treaties/details/391 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Central European Free Trade Agreement (CEFTA) (Accord de libre-échange centre-européen)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062930 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Central European Free Trade Association (CEFTA) (Association centre-européenne de libre-échange (ACELE))*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100018003 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CEI: Central European Initiative

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1080.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1989.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	W: *Working*	3

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. A 'Guidelines and Rules of Procedure' document, adopted in 2023, contains an article on language use.

> Article 32. The working language of the CEI is English. CEI documents are produced in English.

The UIA Yearbook also lists English as the sole language of the organisation, and notes that all publications are in English. I impute for original operational language accordingly.

References

[1] *109.001-23. CEI Guidelines and Rules of Procedure*. Publisher: Central European Initiative. 2023. URL: https://www.cei.int/sites/default/files/2024-01/109_CEI%20Guidelines%20and%20Rules%20of%20Proceduref2.pdf.

[2] Union of International Associations. *Central European Initiative (CEI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100044198 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CELC: Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1220.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents are available. The UIA Yearbook notes that this organisation was established following recommendation of 1st Commonwealth Education Conference, 1959, Oxford (UK).

No authoritative original documents concerning language are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. I note that this is a Commonwealth organisation, and code accordingly.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Education Liaison Committee (CELC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055511 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008889 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CEMAC: Communauté économique et monétaire d'Afrique centrale

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1260.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1

Coding Rationale

The original 'Traité instituant la Communauté Économique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale' is done 'en langues française, espagnole et anglaise, le texte français faisant foi en cas de divergence d'interprétation,' making English, French, and Spanish the languages of the treaty text.

An annexed document to the original treaty titled 'Additif au traité de la CEMAC relatif au système institutionnel et juridique de la Communauté' addresses languages.

> Article 42 —La langue de travail de la Communauté est le français.

This makes it clear that French was the sole working language of CEMAC from its inception. The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing French as the only language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Additif au traité de la CEMAC relatif au système institutionnel et juridique de la Communauté*. Publisher: Ministère de l'économie et des finances, Republic of the Congo. 1964. URL: https://www.finances.gouv.cg/fr/additif-au-traite-de-la-cemac-relatif-au-systeme-institutionnel-et-juridique-de-la-communaute (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *Traité instituant la Communauté Économique et Monétaire de l'Afrique Centrale*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database. 1999. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/fr/treaties/details/296.

[3] Union of International Associations. *Communauté économique et monétaire d'Afrique centrale (CEMAC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023702 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CENTO: Central Treaty Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1100.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1955.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Turkish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Baghdad Pact of 1955 is done 'in Arabic, Turkish and English, all three texts being equally authentic except in the case of doubt when the English text shall prevail,' according to Article 8.

The Baghdad Pact contains no provisions on the operational languages of the organisation. No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. I impute based on the languages of the treaty text.

References

[1] 'Pact of Mutual Co-operation (with exchange of letters). Signed at Baghdad, on 24 February 1955'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 233.3264 (1956). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 287. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801471cf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Central Treaty Organization (CENTO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100010183 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CEPGL: Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1510.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The Convention establishing the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries is authentic in French only.

The Convention contains no provisions on the languages of the organisation, nor are any authoritative original documents on language rules available. The UIA Yearbook lists French as the organisation's sole language. Accounting for the above, and for the authenticity of the French text of the founding treaty, I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL). Concluded at Gisenyi on 20 September 1976'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1092.16748 (1978). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 50–55. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800f81f4&clang=_en` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Communauté économique des pays des Grands Lacs (CEPGL)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100037595` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CERN: European Organization for Nuclear Research

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1720.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1954.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	3
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	3

Coding Rationale

The 'Convention pour l'établissement d'une organisation européenne pour la recherche nucléaire' is done 'dans les langues française et anglaise, les deux textes faisant également foi,' making French and English the authentic languages of the treaty text.

The Convention itself contains no provisions on the languages of the organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the languages of the organisation. Additionally, a page on the CERN website relating to human resources addresses the working languages of the organisation.

> 'CERN has two working languages, English and French. It is important that people who work at CERN have sufficient knowledge of both languages, not only for their job at CERN but also for integration in the local area.'

Despite the unavailability at present of an original protocol on language use, the above evidence points to English and French as being working languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention (with Financial Protocol and annex) for the establishment of a European Organization for Nuclear Research. Signed at Paris, on 1 July 1953'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 200.2701 (1954). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 151–180. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20200/volume-200-I-2701-English.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *Language | Human Resources*. CERN. 2024. URL: https://hr.web.cern.ch/language (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100039860 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CFATF: Caribbean Financial Action Task Force

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 910.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Kingston Declaration on Money Laundering, which establishes the organisation, is done in English and Spanish.

The Declaration contains no provisions on language, nor are authoritative original documents on language rules available. The UIA Yearbook lists English and Spanish as languages of the organisation. Absent further information, I follow this judgement and impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Kingston Declaration on Money Laundering, November 5-6, 1992*. Publisher: Caribbean Financial Action Task Force. 1992. URL: https://www.cfatf-gafic.org/index.php/documents/cfatf-resources/24-kingston-declaration-on-money-laundering (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Caribbean Financial Action Task Force (CFATF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052114 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CFC: Common Fund for Commodities

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1160.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1989.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Chinese	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Agreement establishing the Common Fund for Commodities is done 'in one original in the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages, all texts being equally authentic.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish as languages of the organisation. The Yearbook also notes that the CFC was established following negotiations within UNCTAD. The six languages of the text are thus the six official and working languages of the United Nations since 1973. I impute accordingly given the above connection.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Common Fund for Commodities. Geneva, 27 June 1980'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1538.26691 (1989). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 3. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetailsIII.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-21&chapter=19&Temp=mtdsg3&clang=_en#:~:text=The%20Agreement%20was%20adopted%20on,Trade%20and%20Development%20(UNCTAD). (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Common Fund for Commodities (CFC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100065693 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CHSTEA: Conference of Heads of State of Equatorial Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1320.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original text of the 'Convention du 23 juin 1959 portant statut de la conférence des Premiers ministres des Etats de l'Afrique Equatoriale' is not available in its entirety, but it is known to be in French.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, it is clear that this organisation developed as a grouping of states of the former Fédération de l'Afrique équatoriale française. I impute on this basis.

References

[1] 'Conférence des premiers ministres des états de l'Afrique Équatoriale'. In: *Journal officiel de la Republique du Congo* 1960.1 (1960). L' information juridique au Congo, pp. 3–10. URL: https://www.sgg.cg/JO/1960/congo-jo-1960-01.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Conference of Heads of State of Equatorial Africa*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100034466 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CICA: Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1345.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2006.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
Russian	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Y`: *Working*, non-*official*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The Statute of the Secretariat of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia is done 'in one original in English language.'

Article 1.3 of the Statute declares that 'English and Russian shall be working languages of the Secretariat.' The CICA rules of procedure contain provisions relating to language use in other domains, as well.

> 2.6. —Languages of meetings and documents
>
> 1. English and Russian shall be the working languages of the Meetings.
> 2. The language of the official documents to be signed or adopted shall be English.

These provisions place English in wider use than Russian. The UIA Yearbook lists English and Russian as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *MM/2021/DEC/3. CICA Rules of Procedure (as amended in 2021)*. Publisher: Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia. 2021. URL: `https://www.s-cica.org/docs/14684815766284cc7d91252.pdf` (visited on 21/10/2021).

[2] *Statute of the Secretariat of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia*. Publisher: Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia. 2006. URL: `https://www.s-cica.org/docs/1046958711637b58ae692f0.pdf` (visited on 21/10/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052843` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CILSS: Permanent Interstate Committee for Drought Control in the Sahel

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3970.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	B: Not in original treaty	V: *Official working*	3
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3

Coding Rationale

The Convention establishing a Permanent Inter-State Drought Control Committee for the Sahel is authentic in French only.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. Though the UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese as official languages, this is only declared in Article 31 of a revised version of the Convention in 1994 ('Les langues offlcielles du CILSS sont I'Anglais, l'Arabe, Ie Francais et le Portugais.'). A report by an intern written in 1981 contains a reference to working languages.

> '*Historique*
>
> ...
>
> Les langues officielles de travail sont le français et l'anglais.'

Though not an official act, this document is indeed published by the CILSS. Absent information from the UIA Yearbook, I impute based on this source.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing a Permanent Inter-State Drought Control Committee for the Sahel. Concluded at Ouagadougou on 12 September 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1576.27528 (1970). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 305–314. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201576/v1576.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *Convention Revisée du CILSS*. Publisher: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. FAO Lex Database, mul17464. 1994. URL: https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/mul17464.pdf (visited on 21/10/2021).

[3] Zongo Fatimata. *Rapport de Stage*. Publisher: Comité permanent inter-Etats de lutte contre la sécheresse dans le Sahel. 1981. (Visited on 21/10/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Comité permanent inter-Etats de lutte contre la sécheresse dans le Sahel (CILSS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100043410` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CIMA: Conférence interafricaine des marchés d'assurances

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1290.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`A`: In original treaty	`W`: *Working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original 'Traité instituant une Organisation intégrée de l'industrie des assurances dans les états Africains' is done in French only.

Article 61 of the Treaty lays out a provision on language.

> Article 61: La langue de travail de la Conférence et des institutions spécialisées est le français.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing French as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Traité CIMA*. Publisher: Conférence interafricaine des marchés d'assurances. 1992. URL: `https://cima-afrique.org/?attachment_id=2301&lang=en` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Conférence interafricaine des marchés d'assurances (CIMA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023698` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CIS: Commonwealth of Independent States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1230.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States is done 'in one original in the Russian language.'

Article 35 of the Charter concerns official language.

> The Official Language of the Commonwealth
>
> Article 35. The official language of the Commonwealth shall be Russian.

The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this organisation, but the text of the original Charter is sufficient. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Commonwealth of Independent States (with declaration and decisions). Adopted at Minsk on 22 January 1993'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1819.31139 (1994). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 58–98. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201819/volume-1819-I-31139-English.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100027022 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CMAEC: Council of Ministers for Asian Economic Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1400.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Resolution on Strategy for Integrated Regional Cooperation' passed under the aegis of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East exists in an official English copy. As well, reports of the Ministerial Conference on Asian Economic Co-operation (the previous name given to this body) are also in English.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. I impute based on the language of documents found.

References

[1] *E/CN.11/641. Report of the Ministerial Conference on Asian Economic Co-Operation.* Publisher: United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. United Nations Digital Library, E/CN.11/641. 1964. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/3881803 (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] R. G. Nayak. *DM/70/59. Departmental Memorandum: Progress of Regional Economic Cooperation in Asia.* Ed. by D. S. Savkar. Publisher: International Monetary Fund. Archives of the International Monetary Fund, 238942. 1970. URL: https://archivescatalog.imf.org/Details/archive/125034774 (visited on 18/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Council of Ministers for Asian Economic Cooperation.* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041862 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CMAOC: Conference of Ministers of Agriculture of West and Central Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1330.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	F: Unavailable	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The 'Acte constitutif de la Conférence des Ministres de l'Agriculture de l'Afrique de l'Ouest et du Centre' is done in French, but contains no provision about the authenticity of treaty text, making it impossible to rule out the existence of an authentic version in another language.

Article 5 of the original Constitutive Act concerns working languages.

> Langues de travail
>
> Article 5: Les langues de travail de la Conférence sont le français et l'anglais.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English and French as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Loi n° 1997/09 du 10 mars 1997 autorisant le Président de la République à ratifier l'Acte constitutif de la Conférence des Ministres de l'Agriculture de l'Afrique de l'Ouest et du Centre (CMA/ACC), adopté à Yaoundé , le 16 février 1996.* Republic of Senegal. 1997. URL: https://www.dri.gouv.sn/%C3%A9tiquettes/acte-constitutif (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Conference of Ministers of Agriculture of West and Central Africa (CMA/WCA).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062035 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CMEA: Council for Mutual Economic Aid

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1370.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1949.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Bulgarian	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Czech	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Hungarian	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Polish	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Romanian	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Slovak	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article XVIII of the Charter of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance states that the Charter is *'sostavlen v odlom èklempljare na russkom jazyke'*, making Russian the sole language of the authentic treaty text.

Article XIV of the original Charter addresses the use of languages.

> *'Stat'ja XIV. Jazyki*
>
> *Oficial'nymi jazykami Soveta Èkonomičeskoj Vzaimopomoŝi javljajutsja jazyki vseh stran —členov Soveta.*
>
> *Rabočim jazykom Soveta javljaetsja russkij jazyk.'*
>
> [Article XIV. LANGUAGES
>
> The official languages of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are the languages of all member countries of the Council.
>
> The working language of the Council is Russian.]

The UIA Yearbook lists Bulgarian, Czech, Hungarian, Mongolian, Polish, Romanian, Russian, Slovakian, Spanish, and Vietnamese as languages of the organisation. Article XIV of the charter makes it clear, however, that coding of the initial operational languages should only consider the languages of the founding membership.

References

[1] 'Poz 197. Statut Rady Wzajemnej Pomocy Gospodarczej podpisany w Sofii dnia 14 grudnia 1959 r'. In: *Dziennik Ustaw Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* 1960.35 (1959). Internetowy System Aktów Prawnych, pp. 342–347. URL: https://isap.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/DocDetails.xsp?id=WDU19600350197 (visited on 29/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100010694 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CMHASG: Council of Ministers of Health of the Arab States of the Gulf

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1410.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. However, the UIA Yearbook notes that this organisation established and maintains the Arab Centre for Medical Literature, and was established within the framework of the League of Arab States through Resolution no. 3275 during the 63rd session held on 26 April, 1975.

No authoritative original documents concerning language are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. I impute based on the above connection to the League of Arab States.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Council of Arab Ministers of Health*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041480 (visited on 17/12/2024).

COE: Council of Europe

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1390.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1949.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Statute of the Council of Europe is done 'in English and French, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy.'

Article 12 in Chapter III of the original Statute clearly defines the official languages of the organisation.

> Article 12
>
> The official languages of the Council of Europe are English and French. The rules of procedure of the Committee of Ministers and of the Consultative Assembly shall determine in what circumstances and under what conditions other languages may be used.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists English, French, German, Italian, Russian as languages of the organisation, the text of Article 12 leaves no ambiguity as to which languages are the original official languages of the Council of Europe. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Statute of the Council of Europe'. In: *European Treaty Series* 1.1 (1949). URL: https://assembly.coe.int/nw/xml/rop/statut_ce_2015-en.pdf (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Council of Europe (CE)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066199 (visited on 17/12/2024).

COLOMBO: Council for Technical Cooperation in South and Southeast Asia

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1380.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1950.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

The Colombo Plan was established by meetings of the Commonwealth Consultative Committee in 1950. The documents of these meetings, including the original 'Report for Commonwealth Consultative Committee on establishment of a Technical Assistance Bureau in Colombo,' are all done in English.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the only language of the organisation. I impute via connection to Commonwealth organisations.

References

[1] 'Commonwealth Consultative Committee for South and Southeast Asia'. In: *International Organization* 5.4 (1951). Publisher: [The MIT Press, Cambridge University Press, International Organization Foundation], pp. 840–844. ISSN: 0020-8183. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2703484 (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] 'Report for Commonwealth Consultative Committee on establishment of a Technical Assistance Bureau in Colombo'. The National Archives, Kew. London, 1950. URL: https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3734841.

[3] Union of International Associations. *Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific (CPS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100022243 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008889 (visited on 17/12/2024).

COMESA: Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1170.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original text of the Treaty establishing the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa is done 'in the English, French and Portuguese languages, the three texts being equally authentic.'

In Chapter 36 of the original Treaty, Article 185 concerns official languages.

> Article 185: Official Languages.
>
> The official languages of the Common Market shall be English, French and Portuguese.

In addition, in Chapter 5 on the court of Justice, Article 43 states: 'The official languages of the Court shall be English, French and Portuguese.' The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, and French, but it is clear that the original text of the Treaty takes precedence. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Treaty establishing the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (with annexes). Kampala, 5 November 1993'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2314.41341 (2005). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 265–650. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800ae565&clang=_en (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100061172 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CONFEJES: Conférence des ministres de la jeunesse et des sports de la Francophonie

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1300.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1977.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`A`: In original treaty	`W`: *Working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original Statute is known to be done in French. CONFEJES is a body within the ambit of the Francophonie organisation.

Article 4 of the Statutes of the organisation, adopted by the 36 Ministerial Conference from 20-21 April 2017 in Cotonou, lay out the working language of the organisation. This is presumed to be the original Statute.

> Article 4 : Langue de travail
>
> La langue de travail est le français.

I code on the basis of the assumption that the original statute was not revised in the 2017 conference.

References

[1] *Textes fondamentaux de la Confejes*. Publisher: Conférence des ministres de la jeunesse et des sports de la Francophonie. Documents Officiels. 2017. URL: `https://confejes.org/index.php/documents-officiels/#` (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Conférence des ministres de la jeunesse et des sports de la Francophonie (CONFEJES)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100011173` (visited on 17/12/2024).

COPTAC: Conference of Posts and Telecommunications Administrations of Central Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1340.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Convention de la conférence des Administrations des Postes et Télécommunications de l'Afrique Centrale is known to be done in French, but the full text is unavailable at the time of this writing.

No authoritative original documents are available that concern language rules for the original CAPTAC. This organisation was dissolved and re-established as 'COPTAC' in 1998. It is a restricted Union of the UPU, which is known to have been a French-only organisation in 1975. The UIA Yearbook also lists French as the sole language of the organisation. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Loi N° 85/014 du 11 Décembre 1985 autorisant le Président de la République à ratifier la Convention de la conférence des Administrations des Postes et Télécommunications de l'Afrique Centrale (CAPTAC)*. Republic of Cameroon. 1985. URL: `https://www.juriafrica.com/lex/loi-85-014-11-decembre-1985-17339.htm` (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Conference of Posts and Telecommunications of Central Africa*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062680` (visited on 17/12/2024).

COSAVE: Comité Regional de Sanidad Vegetal del Cono Sur

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1130.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 'Convenio entre los Gobiernos de la República Argentina, de la República Federativa del Brasil, de la República de Chile, de la República del Paraguay y de la República Oriental del Uruguay sobre la constitución del Comité Regional de Sanidad Vegetal' is done 'en dos originales en los idiomas español y portugués, siendo ambos textos auténtico,' according to Article 24, making Portuguese and Spanish the languages of the treaty text.

Chapter 5 on General Dispositions contains an article concerning official languages.

> Artículo 12. Los idiomas oficiales del COSAVE serán el español y el portugués.

The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this organisation, but the text of the original Convention is sufficient. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convenio entre los Gobiernos de la República Argentina, de la República Federativa del Brasil, de la República de Chile, de la República del Paraguay y de la República Oriental del Uruguay sobre la constitución del Comité Regional de Sanidad Vegetal'. In: *Diario Oficial, Republic of Chile* 33.738 (1990). FAO Lex Database, LEX-FAOC002361, pp. 5682–5683. URL: https://www.fao.org/faolex/results/details/fr/c/LEX-FAOC002361/ (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Comité Regional de Sanidad Vegetal del Cono Sur (COSAVE)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100047407 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CPSC: Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1270.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1996.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	`A`: In original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	`1`

Coding Rationale

The authentic text of the original Statutes of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries is in Portuguese.

Portuguese is the operational language of the organisation almost by definition. Article 6 stipulates that any state using Portuguese as an official language may become a member of the organisation.

> Artigo 6º. —Membros
>
> 1. Para além dos membros fundadores, qualquer Estado, desde que use o Português como língua oficial, poderá tornar-se membro da CPLP, mediante a adesão sem reservas aos presentes Estatutos.

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates Portuguese as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Statutes of the Community of Portuguese-Speaking Countries (with declaration). Lisbon, 17 July 1996'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2233.39756 (2003). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 207–241. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028007a508` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Comunidade dos Paises de Lingua Portuguesa (CPLP)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100001810` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CPU: Caribbean Postal Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 920.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1997.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
French	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`1`
Spanish	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The Convention establishing the Caribbean Postal Union and Protocol of privileges and immunities of the Caribbean Postal Union is done 'in a single Original' in English.

Article 9 of the Convention and Protocol clearly lays out the languages of the organisation.

> Article 9. Official languages
>
> 1. English, French and Spanish shall be the official languages of the Union.
> 2. A Member whose language is neither English, French nor Spanish may provide for translation and interpretation at its own expense.
> 3. The working language within the Secretariat shall be English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing French, English, and Spanish as the languages of the organisation. Article 9 makes it clear that English is on a higher tier of institutionalisation than the other languages. I code accordingly.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Caribbean Postal Union (CPU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100042045` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] 'Verdrag inzake de oprichting van de Caraïbische Postunie, met Protocol inzake voorrechten en immuniteiten van de Caraïbische Postunie; Saint Lucia, 5 september 1997'. In: *Tractatenblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* 2001.61 (2001). Officiële bekendmakingen, Overheid.nl, pp. 1–25. URL: `https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/trb-2001-61.html` (visited on 18/12/2024).

CSLF: Carbon Sequestration Leadership Forum

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 873.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2003.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Charter of the Carbon Sequestration Leadership Forum is done in English alone.

Neither the Charter nor the Terms of Reference of the organisation make reference to language rules. Other authoritative original documents concerning language rules are unavailable. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the Organisation. Given the above, and that the US Department of Energy acts as the secretariat of the organisation, I impute English as the language of operations.

References

[1] *Charter for the Carbon Sequestration Leadership Forum (CSLF): A Carbon Capture and Storage Technology Initiative*. Publisher: Department of Energy, United States of America. 2011. URL: https://www.energy.gov/node/4813027 (visited on 16/12/2021).

[2] *Terms of Reference. Revised 5 December 2017. Carbon Sequestration Leadership Forum Terms of Reference and Procedures*. Publisher: Department of Energy, United States of America. 2017. URL: https://fossil.energy.gov/archives/cslf/Resources/Publications.html (visited on 16/12/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Carbon Sequestration Leadership Forum (CSLF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100032225 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CSTO: Collective Security Treaty Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1125.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organisation is done 'in a single original in the Russian language.'

The UIA Yearbook does not catalogue language information for this organisation, but the original Charter contains an unambiguous language provision in Article 28.

> Article 28: The official and working language of the Organization shall be Russian.

I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organisation. Chisinau, 7 October 2002'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2235.39775 (2003). VLex International, p. 79. URL: https://international.vlex.com/vid/charte-l-organisation-du-863211464 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100038655 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CTCAf: Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1145.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1950.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`F`: Unavailable	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
Portuguese	`F`: Unavailable	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original text of the 'Convention portant création de la Commission de cooperation téchnique en Afrique au sud du Sahara' is done in French, but it cannot be ascertained whether there are authentic copies of the text in other languages, as the Convention does not address this.

Section 2) of Article VII (Procedure of the Commission) is a provision on the use of languages.

> 2) Les langues officielles de la Commission et des organismes énumérées à l'Article Ier sont le français et l'anglais. En outre, le portugais sera utilisé dans les conférences techniques convoquées en vertu de l'Article VI 2) c), ainsi qu'il ressortira des règles de procédure à adopter conformément à l'Article VI 2) h).

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, but Article VII 2) clearly specifies French and English as official languages. These two are furthermore on a higher tier of institutionalisation than Portuguese, which is mentioned, but is given only limited use. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Document 5: Convention Portant Creation De La Commission De Cooperation Technique En Afrique Au Sud Du Sahara (C.C.T.A.)' In: *Chronique de politique étrangère* 11.4 (1958). Publisher: Egmont Institute, pp. 551–555. ISSN: 0009-6059. URL: `https://www.jstor.org/stable/44828727` (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara (CTCA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100012737` (visited on 17/12/2024).

CXC: Caribbean Examinations Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 900.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1972.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

The Agreement establishing the Caribbean Examinations Council is done in English.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language use. However, an introduction on the CXC web site states that the 'CXC is a regional examining body that provides secondary and post-secondary examinations in 16 English-speaking Caribbean countries and territories...the official language of instruction in the 16 countries is English.' This furthermore makes reference to English as the language of all exams administered. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Revised Agreement Establishing the Caribbean Examinations Council, Port-Au-Prince, Haiti, 27 February 2018*. Publisher: Caribbean Community. CARICOM Documents and Publications. 2018. URL: https://caricom.org/treaties/revised-agreement-establishing-the-caribbean-examinations-council-cxc/ (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100067429 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008889 (visited on 17/12/2024).

CfRN: Coalition for Rainforest Nations

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1115.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2005.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, Italian, and Spanish as languages of the organisation. However, to this day, the website of the CfRN is only available in English, and all publications are exclusively in English, which forms the basis of my imputation.

References

[1] *Our Vision Mission and Goal*. Coalition for Rainforest Nations. 2024. URL: https://www.rainforestcoalition.org/our-vision-mission-and-goal/ (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] *Publications*. Coalition for Rainforest Nations. 2024. URL: https://www.rainforestcoalition.org/publications/ (visited on 18/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Coalition for Rainforest Nations (CfRN)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: Coalition%20for%20Rainforest%20Nations%20(CfRN) (visited on 18/12/2024).

ComSec: Commonwealth Secretariat (ComSec)

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1240.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1965.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement to establish Commonwealth Secretariat is done in English only.

No explicit provision on language rules exists in the Agreement, or in other administrative rules. However, it is clear that English is the only operational language of the organisation, with a recent web-based primary source noting that all member states 'use the English language for all Commonwealth official business.' The UIA Yearbook also lists English as the sole language of the organisation, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] *About the Commonwealth*. The Commonwealth Association. 2024. URL: https://comassoc.org/about-the-commonwealth/ (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] 'Commonwealth of Nations: Agreement to Establish Secretariat'. In: *International Legal Materials* 4.6 (1965). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 1108–1117. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20689989 (visited on 18/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008889 (visited on 17/12/2024).

Corg: Caribbean Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 913.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Agreement for the establishment of the Caribbean Organization is done 'in een enkel exemplaar in de Engelse, de Franse, de Nederlandse en de Spaanse taal, alle vier teksten gelijkelijk autentiek,' making English, French, Dutch, and Spanish the authentic languages of the original text.

Article XV of the original statute, annexed to the Agreement, lays out the languages of the organisation.

> Artikel XV: Talen
>
> Het Engels, het Frans, het Nederlands en het Spaans zijn de officiële talen van de Organisatie. De werktalen zijn het Engels en het Frans.

This makes English, French, Dutch and Spanish the official languages of the Organization, while the working languages, English and French, are on a higher tier of institutionalisation. The UIA yearbook also lists these four languages as languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Caribbean Organization'. In: *International Organization* 15.2 (1961), pp. 315–316. ISSN: 1531-5088, 0020-8183. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization/article/abs/caribbean-organization/2F5377F2D80B4C790113FB47AFE9BEE1 (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] 'Overeenkomst tot oprichting van de Caraïbische Organisatie, met Statuut; Washington, 21 juni 1960'. In: *Tractatenblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* 1960.130 (1960). Officiële bekendmakingen, Overheid.nl, pp. 1–14. URL: https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/trb-1960-130.pdf (visited on 18/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Caribbean Organization*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100002182 (visited on 17/12/2024).

D8: Developing 8 Organization for Economic Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1455.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1997.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Charter of the Developing-8 Organization for Economic Cooperation is done in 'drawn up in one original copy in English,' according to Article 27.4 in Chapter XII (Final Provisions). In addition, the Istanbul Declaration of 1997 which founded the D8 grouping is also in English.

Chapter VI (Rules of Procedure) of the Charter contains an article specifying the official language of the organisation.

> Official Language.
>
> Article 15: English shall be the official language of the Organization in all meetings, documents and correspondence.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, but the original text of the Charter contains sufficient information. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Charter of the The Developing-8 Organization for Economic Cooperation*. Publisher: D-8 Organisation for Economic Cooperation. Digital Library. 2012. URL: https://developing8.org/image/Otherdocument/8388836.pdf (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] *Istanbul Declaration of 1997*. Publisher: D-8 Organisation for Economic Cooperation. Digital Library. 1997. URL: https://developing8.org/image/Documentand Resouce/9297091.pdf (visited on 18/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *D-8 Organization for Economic Cooperation (D-8)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100029615 (visited on 17/12/2024).

DBGLS: Development Bank of the Great Lakes States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1460.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1977.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	`C`: In related treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original text of the 'Accord portant création de la Banque de Développement des Etats des Grands Lacs' is not available at this time, but it is known to have been founded at the first regular session of the CEPGL, the Convention establishing which is authentic in French only.

No authoritative original documents are available that contain language rules. I impute on the basis of the organisation's ties to CEPGL and its francophone founding membership, as well as the preponderance of available material on the organisation available in French.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL). Concluded at Gisenyi on 20 September 1976'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1092.16748 (1978). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 50–55. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800f81f4&clang=_en` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Banque de développement des Etats des Grands Lacs (BDEGL)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023112` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Communauté économique des pays des Grands Lacs (CEPGL)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100037595` (visited on 17/12/2024).

DLCOEA: Desert Locust Control Organization for East Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1450.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1962.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original text of the Agreement regarding the Desert Locust Control Organization for Eastern Africa is done 'in a single copy in the English and French languages, the text in each of these languages being equally authentic.' The 1965 revision, deposited with the FAO, is also done 'in two copies, each in the English and French languages, which languages shall be equally authoritative.'

Article VII (Functions of the Governing Council) lays out the languages of the organisation; this was not changed in the revisions in 1965.

> 5. ⋯ The working languages of DLCO-EA shall be English and French.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English and French as the two languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Agreement regarding the Desert Locust Control Organization for Eastern Africa (established by Amendments to the Convention for the Establishment of the Desert Locust Control Organization for Eastern Africa)*. Publisher: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. FAO Treaties Database. 1965. URL: https://www.fao.org/4/50641e/50641E05.htm (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Desert Locust Control Organization for Eastern Africa (DLCO-EA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100059885 (visited on 17/12/2024).

Danube: Danube Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1440.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1948.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The 'Russian and French texts are authentic' for the original Convention concerning the regime of navigation on the Danube and its annexes, signed in Belgrade in 1948.

Chapter II (Administrative Provisions) enumerates the languages of the Commission in Article 15.

> Article 15. The official languages of the Commission shall be Russian and French.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists German in addition to French and Russian, it is clear from the text of the original Convention that German was added as an official language only afterwards. I thus code only French and Russian.

References

[1] 'Convention concerning the regime of navigation on the Danube (with annexes and supplementary protocol). Signed at Belgrade, on 18 August 1948'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 33.518 (1949). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 181–225. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028016253e (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Commission du Danube (CD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100035089 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EAC: East African Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4120.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1996.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
Swahili	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original 'Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community' is authentic in English only.

In Chapter 29 of the Treaty (General, Transitional, and Final Provisions), Article 137 concerns languages.

> Article 137. Official Language
>
> 1. The official language of the Community shall be English.
> 2. Kiswahili shall be developed as a lingua franca of the Community.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, but the original text of the Treaty suggests that, although English is the sole 'official language,' the explicit aspiration to develop KiSwahili also makes it a language of the organisation, albeit on a lower tier of institutionalisation than English. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Treaty for the establishment of the East African Community. Arusha, 30 November 1999'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2144.37437 (2000). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 255–400. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%202144/v2144.pdf` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *East African Community (EAC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100059095` (visited on 17/12/2024).

EACM: East African Common Market

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1470.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1967.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original 1967 Treaty for East African Cooperation is authentic in English only.

The Treaty does not specify languages of the organisation. No authoritative original documents are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this now-dissolved organisation. I code on the basis of existing documentation and the language of the Treaty text.

References

[1] 'Treaty for East African cooperation. Signed at Kampala on 6 June 1967'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1989.34026 (1997). UN-iLibrary, pp. 3–547. URL: https://www.un-ilibrary.org/content/books/9789210455190s003-c019 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *East African Common Market*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100005113 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EACSO: East African Common Services Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1475.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1961.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Agreement between the Government of Tanganyika, the Government of Kenya, and the Government of Uganda for the Establishment of the East African Common Services Organization' is done in English only.

Neither the Agreement nor the Constitution of the organisation contain provisions on languages. No authoritative original documents on languages are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list information on languages. I impute based on the language of the founding and operational documents, and the founding membership, which are all former British colonies.

References

[1] *The East African Common Services Organization Ordinance, 1961*. Publisher: Government Printer, Republic of Kenya. Kenya Law. 1961. URL: http://kenyalaw.org:8181/exist/rest/db/kenyalex/Kenya/Legislation/English/Amendment%20Acts/No.%2026%20of%201961.pdf.

[2] Union of International Associations. *East African Common Services Organization (EACSO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100033374 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EADB: East African Development Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1480.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1967.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`W`: *Working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original Charter of the East African Development Bank (its first iteration), like the 1967 Treaty for East African Cooperation to which it is annexed, is authentic in English only.

Article 34 within Chapter VII (Organisation and Management of the Bank) addresses the working language of the Bank.

> Article 34. Working Language.
>
> The working language of the Bank shall be English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Annex VI–The Charter of the East African Development Bank. Treaty for East African cooperation. Signed at Kampala on 6 June 1967'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1989.34026 (1997). UN-iLibrary, pp. 81–119. URL: `https://www.un-ilibrary.org/content/books/9789210455190s003-c019` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *East African Development Bank (EADB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100037079` (visited on 17/12/2024).

EAEC: Eurasian Economic Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1545.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2000.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Belarusian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Kyrgyz	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Tajik	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty on the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Community is done in 'one counterpart in each of the Belorussian, Kyrgyz, Russian and Tajik languages, all counterparts having equal legal force. In the event of any controversy regarding the content of this Agreement, the Contracting Parties shall revert to the Russian language version.'

Article 17 establishes a working language of the organisation.

> Article 17. Working Language.
>
> The Working language of the EAEC shall be the Russian language.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing Russian as the only language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Treaty on the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Community (Translation).* Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/EURASEC/001. 2000. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text/234738.

[2] Union of International Associations. *Eurasian Economic Community (EurAseC).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100035858 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EAPC: Euro Atlantic Partnership Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1550.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Russian	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Agreement among the States Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty and the other States participating in the Partnership for Peace regarding the Status of their Forces' is done in 'the English and French languages, both texts being equally authoritative,' though Russian and Ukrainian translations exist.

No authoritative original documents are available that concern language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and Russian as the languages of the organisation. I follow this judgement and impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Agreement among the States Parties to the North Atlantic Treaty and the other States participating in the Partnership for Peace regarding the Status of their Forces*. Publisher: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. NATO Newsroom. 1995. URL: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_24742.htm (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Euro Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100067730 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EAPO: Eurasian Patent Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1540.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Eurasian Patent Convention notes in Article 26 (1) in the Final Clauses that: 'This Convention shall be signed in the Russian language.'

Part II, Article 2 (6) of the Eurasian Patent Convention establishes the official language of the organisation.

> —(6) The official language of the Organization shall be Russian.

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates this, listing Russian as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Eurasian Patent Convention*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database. 1994. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/treaties/details/228 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Eurasian Patent Organization (EAPO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055882 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EBRD: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1570.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1990.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement Establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development is done 'in a single original, whose English, French, German and Russian texts are equally authentic.'

The use of languages is absent from the original Agreement. It is addressed in the Chairman' s Report on the Agreement Establishing the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Article 35, and also in a letter annexed to the Chairman's Report.

> Article 35.1. Delegates agreed that there was no need to have a provision about working languages in the Articles. The letter from the Conference Chairman to all Delegates (copy attached to this Report) sets out the understanding of Delegates about working languages.
>
> ...
>
> Letter from the Chairman of the conference to all delegations:
>
> '··· During our discussions about the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, we agreed to follow the normal practice of making no reference to the working languages in the Bank' s Statutes. This letter is therefore to record the understanding we reached together, that the four languages of the authentic text of the Agreement, mentioned in the testimonium, would be the Bank' s working languages, to be used by the Bank according to its day to day needs, and taking into consideration the interests of efficiency and economy.'

The letter thus makes it clear that English, German, French, and Russian are both the working languages of the Bank as well as the languages of the authentic text of the agreement. The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing those four languages as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Basic documents of the EBRD*. Publisher: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. 2013. URL: https://www.ebrd.com/news/publications/institutional-documents/basic-documents-of-the-ebrd.html (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023510 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECB: European Central Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1580.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1998.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Dutch	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
Finnish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
German	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Greek	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Irish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Italian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Swedish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The Statute of the European System of Central Banks and of the European Central Bank, which is annexed to the Treaty on European Union, is an integral part of the Treaty on European Union, and is therefore authentic in all of the languages of the authentic text of the Maastricht Treaty at the time of the approval of the founding of the Bank in 1998. With the addition of Sweden and Finland to the EU in 1995, Swedish and Finnish were added to the 11 treaty languages of the original Maastricht Treaty.

The Statute of the European System of Central Banks and of the European Central Bank contains no provisions on language, nor are any other authoritative original documents on language available. Though the UIA Yearbook lists the current 24 languages of the EU for this organisation, the ECB is a separate organisation from the EU. A 'frequently asked questions' page on the careers portion of the ECB website provides one answer to this question.

> '*What is the official language of the ECB? In which language do I need to apply?*
>
> 'The official language of the ECB is English and any information provided in the context of an application must be in English.
>
> In general, candidates should have an excellent knowledge of English, with a proven drafting ability. In addition, the ECB requires all candidates to have at least a working knowledge of one other EU language.

For some positions, knowledge of other languages can be an advantage.'

However, a different portion of the ECB website states: 'There are currently 24 official EU languages, and you can communicate with us in any of them. The languages we use to communicate with citizens depend on the target audience and the specific circumstances. The ECB publishes legal acts in all official EU languages, and its working language is English.' English is substantively the operational language of the organisation, but with reservations.

References

[1] 'Document 12016E/PRO/04. Protocol (no 4) on the Statute of the European System of Central Banks and of the European Central Bank'. In: *Official Journal of the European Union* 59 (C 202 2016). EUR-Lex, 12016E/PRO/04. ISSN: 1977-091X. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:12016E/PRO/04.

[2] *Frequently asked questions | Careers*. European Central Bank. 2023. URL: https://www.ecb.europa.eu/careers/faq/html/index.en.html (visited on 18/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Central Bank (ECB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100019012 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECCA: Eastern Caribbean Currency Area

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1489.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1979.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original East Caribbean Currency Agreement, which established the East Caribbean Currency Authority and the Eastern Caribbean Currency Area, is known to be in English. However, the original text is not accessible at this time.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for the ECCA, and no known authoritative original documents address the use of languages within the organisation. A contemporary academic source, McClean (1975), observes that the ECCA is a successor of the British Caribbean Currency Board.

> 'The establishment of the East Caribbean Currency Authority was occasioned by the dissolution of the British Caribbean Currency Board; and, therefore, a knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the establishment and dissolution of the latter is essential to an appreciation of the present structure and function of the ECCA.'

On the basis of the origins of this organisation in British imperial institutions, I impute English for this organisation.

References

[1] A. Wendell A. McClean. *Money and Banking in the East Caribbean Currency Area*. Caribbean Economic Research Team, Past Publications. Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1975. 84 pp. URL: `https://www.cert-net.com/files/publications/monograph_book/MoneyandBankingintheEastCaribbeanCurrencyArea.pdf`.

[2] Clive Y. Thomas. *The Structure, Performance, and Prospects of Central Banking in the Caribbean*. Caribbean Economic Research Team, Past Publications. Kingston: Institute of Social and Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1972. 76 pp. URL: `https://www.cert-net.com/files/publications/monograph_book/TheStructurePerformanceandProspectsofCentralBankingintheCaribbean.pdf`.

[3] Union of International Associations. *East Caribbean Currency Union (ECCU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100060299` (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECCAS: Economic Community of Central African States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1500.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1981.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty Establishing the Economic Community of Central African States is done 'in single original in the English, French, Portuguese and Spanish languages, the four texts being equally authentic.'

Article 85 of Chapter XXI (General and Transitional Provisions) of the Treaty addresses official languages of the organisation.

> Article 85. Official Language.
>
> The official languages of the Community shall be English, French, Portuguese and Spanish.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing the four aforementioned languages for this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Treaty Establishing the Economic Community of Central African States*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/ECCAS/001. 1983. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/treaties/details/297.

[2] Union of International Associations. *Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100007392 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECCB: Eastern Caribbean Central Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1490.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1983.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Eastern Caribbean Central Bank Agreement is done in English.

Neither the Agreement nor other basic documents of the organisation contain language provisions, but it is clear that all documentation is in English, as well as the website itself. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *About the ECCB - Eastern Caribbean Central Bank*. Eastern Caribbean Central Bank. 2024. URL: https://www.eccb-centralbank.org/about-the-eccb (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] *Eastern Caribbean Central Bank Agreement Act, 1983. Consolidated Version of ECCB Agreement Showing Law as at 31 January 2016*. Publisher: Eastern Caribbean Central Bank. 2016. URL: https://www.eccb-centralbank.org/eccb-agreement-1 (visited on 20/10/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Eastern Caribbean Central Bank (ECCB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100046240 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECCM: East Caribbean Common Market

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1486.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The East Caribbean Common Market Agreement is done in English.

Neither the Agreement nor other basic documents of the organisation contain language provisions, but it is clear that all documentation is in English. The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation. I impute based on the language of documentation and the text of the founding instrument.

References

[1] *No. 4 of 1970. An Ordinance to give Legal Effect to the Provisions of the East Caribbean Common Market Agreement.* Publisher: Government of Montserrat. 1970. URL: https://www.gov.ms/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/East-Caribbean-Common-Market-Ratification-of-Agreement-Act.pdf (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *East Caribbean Common Market (ECCM).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062955 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECCPIF: European Company for the Chemical Processing of Irradiated Fuels

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1620.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1957.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
German	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
Italian	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1

Coding Rationale

The original Convention on the Constitution of the European Company for the Chemical Processing of Irradiated Fuels is done 'in the French, English, German, Italian and Dutch languages.'

The Statute of the Convention does not address the issue of languages. No authoritative original documents on language rules are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, separately from the Convention, the Statute also contains a provision that relates to language.

> Article 35. The present Statute shall come into force at the same time as the Convention.
>
> Done in Paris, this twentieth day of December Nineteen Hundred and Fifty Seven, in the French, English, German, Italian and Dutch languages, in a single copy···

Though there is no explicit declaration of languages of the organisation, Article 35 indicates that the five named languages are official in some capacity within the organisation, forming the basis for my coding.

References

[1] 'Convention on the Constitution of the European Company for the Chemical Processing of Irradiated Fuels (Eurochemic)'. In: *The American Journal of International Law* 53.4 (1959). Publisher: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1030–1037. ISSN: 0002-9300. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2195803 (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] 'Statute of the European Company for the Chemical Processing of Irradiated Fuels (Eurochemic)'. In: *The American Journal of International Law* 53.4 (1959). Publisher: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1037–1047. ISSN: 0002-9300. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2195804 (visited on 18/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Company for the Chemical Processing of Irradiated Fuels*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100012551 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECO: Economic Cooperation Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1530.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1985.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

Article XXXVIII of the original 1977 Treaty of Izmir stipulates that the Treaty is done 'in four original copies in the English language, all four texts being equally authentic.'

The section on General Dispositions of the original Treaty contains an article on languages.

> Article XXXIV. English shall be the official language of the Organization.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Treaty of Izmir (with annex and protocol). Signed at Tehran on 12 March 1977. Protocol amending the above-mentioned Treaty. Signed at Islamabad on 18 June 1990'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1655.28480 (1991). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 201–207. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800d45f9 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066565 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECOWAS: Economic Community of West African States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1520.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 1975 Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States is done 'in single original in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.'

Chapter XIV of the Treaty, on General and Final Provisions, contains an article on official languages.

> Article 58. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
>
> The official languages of the Community shall be such African languages declared official by the Authority and English and French.

The phrase 'such African languages declared official' is nebulous enough so as to not constitute an explicit nomination of particular official languages besides English and French. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and Portuguese as languages of this organisation, but it is clear from the text of the original treaty that the latter did not have institutional status at founding. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Treaty of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Concluded at Lagos on 28 May 1975'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1010.14843 (1976). UN-iLibrary, pp. 18–41. URL: https://www.un-ilibrary.org/content/books/9789210596091s004-c004 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100029396 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECPTA: European Conference of Postal and Telecommunications Adminstrations

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1640.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1959.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	B: Not in original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
German	B: Not in original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The original 'Arrangement instituant la Conférence européenne des Administrations des postes et des télécommunications' contains a provision on languages that also treats the authenticity of the text.

This article treats the languages of production and authenticity of texts, the languages of deliberations, and other situations.

> Article 9. Langues
>
> 1. Les documents relatifs à l' Assemblée plénière sont rédigés en langues française, anglaise et allemande, le texte français faisant foi. S' agissant des contributions, la langue originale fait foi.
> 2. Les langues française, anglaise et allemande sont admises pour les délibérations en Assemblée.
> 3. D' autres langues sont également admises pour les délibérations en Assemblée, dans la limite des possibilités de la Présidence.

It is clear that all three languages are institutional languages. The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English, French, and German as the languages of the organisation, but that only texts in French are authentic. Outside of the above, 'other languages' is too vague to merit status as operational languages. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Arrangement instituant la Conférence européenne des Administrations des postes et des télécommunications (CEPT)*. Publisher: European Conference of Postal and Telecommunications Administrations. CEPT Portal. 2009. URL: https://cept.org/files/4464/CEPT%20Arrangemment%20of%20April%20French.pdf.

[2] Union of International Associations. *Conférence européenne des administrations des postes et des télécommunications (CEPT)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100065497` (visited on 17/12/2024).

ECSC: European Coal and Steel Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1585.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1952.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	B: Not in original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
German	B: Not in original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
Italian	B: Not in original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The official text of the Treaty instituting the European Coal and Steel Community, along with Protocols and the Convention containing Transitional Provisions, is French alone. An 'exchange of letters concerning the Saar' is authentic in both French and German.

The Treaty, Protocols, and Convention do not explicitly address the use of languages, and the UIA Yearbook lists 11 languages that include those of states that later joined the ECSC. Authoritative newspaper and academic sources state that, on 24 and 25 July in 1952, the Ministers decided on German, French, Italian, and Dutch as official languages for the organisation. I code on this basis.

References

[1] John Goormahgtigh. 'European Coal and Steel Community Document No. 503'. In: *International Conciliation* 30 (1955), pp. 343–408. URL: https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?collection=journals&handle=hein.journals/intcon30&id=1143&men_tab=srchresults (visited on 18/12/2024).

[2] Jean Schwoebel. 'Comment l'Europe l'a emporté grace à l'épuisement des "six"'. In: *Le Monde (1944-2000)* (1952). URL: https://www.proquest.com/docview/2500115711/777F6F93F90C4925PQ/11?accountid=13042&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers (visited on 18/12/2024).

[3] 'Treaty instituting the European Coal and Steel Community (with annexes) Protocol on the privileges and immunities of the Community; Protocol on the code of the Court of Justice; Protocol concerning relations with the Council of Europe ; Exchange of letters concerning the Saar ; Convention containing the Transitional Provisions ; and Protocol of the Conference of Ministers relating to the Interim Commission. All signed at Paris, on 18 April 1951'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 261.3729 (1957). UN-iLibrary, pp. 140–319. URL: https://www.un-ilibrary.org/content/books/9789210455190s003-c019 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100039929 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EEC: European Economic Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1653.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1958.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Italian	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty establishing the European Economic Community is, according to Article 248, 'drawn up in a single original in the German, French, Italian and Netherlands languages, all four texts being equally authentic.'

By Article 217 of the Treaty of Rome, 'Regulation No 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community,' adopted 15 April 1958, contains detailed and comprehensive provisions on language use.

> The Council of the European Economic Community,
>
> Having regard to Article 217 of the Treaty which provides that the rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community shall, without prejudice to the provisions contained in the rules of procedure of the Court of Justice, be determined by the Council, acting unanimously;
>
> Whereas each of the four languages in which the Treaty is drafted is recognised as an official language in one or more of the Member States of the Community;
>
> has adopted this Regulation:
>
> Article 1. The official languages and the working languages of the institutions of the Community shall be Dutch, French, German and Italian.
>
> Article 2. Documents which a Member State or a person subject to the jurisdiction of a Member State sends to institutions of the Community may be drafted in any one of the official languages selected by the sender. The reply shall be drafted in the same language.
>
> Article 3. Documents which an institution of the Community sends to a Member State or to a person subject to the jurisdiction of a Member State shall be drafted in the language of such State.

Article 4. Regulations and other documents of general application shall be drafted in the four official languages.

Article 5. The Official Journal of the Community shall be published in the four official languages.

Article 6. The institutions of the Community may stipulate in their rules of procedure which of the languages are to be used in specific cases.

Article 7. The languages to be used in the proceedings of the Court of Justice shall be laid down in its rules of procedure.

Article 8. If a Member State has more than one official language, the language to be used shall, at the request of such State, be governed by the general rules of its law.

This Regulation shall be binding in its entirety and directly applicable in all Member States.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this now-defunct organisation, but the provisions in Regulation No. 1 make it clear that German, French, Italian, and Dutch are both official and working languages of the EEC, and that no other language is specifically mentioned to merit institutional status. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'EEC Council: Regulation No 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community'. In: *Official Journal of the European Communities* 017.6 (1958). EUR-Lex, 31958R0001, pp. 385–386. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/1958/1(1)/oj (visited on 19/12/2024).

[2] 'Final Act of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Common Market and EURATOM (with annexed declarations). Done at Rome, on 25 March 1957. Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (with annexes and Protocols). Done at Rome, on 25 March 1957. Protocols annexed to the said Treaty. Done at Brussels, on 17 April 1957. Implementing Convention relating to the association with the Community of the overseas countries and territories (with annexes and Protocols). Done at Rome, on 25 March 1957'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 298.4300 (1958). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–168. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028014143e (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Community*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100005619 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EFCC: European Food Code Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1645.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1958.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
German	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available.

No authoritative original documents are available that concern language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. Working documents from the EUI's Historical Archive of the European Union dating to 1960 and 1961 from this organisation are known to be done in French and German. I impute according to these records.

References

[1] *CM2/1960-618. Codex alimentarius europaeus : conférence à Vienne du 30.05.1960 au 01.06.1960 et adhésion à une organisation internationale.* Publisher: European University Institute. Historical Archives of the European Union, CM2/1960-618. 1961. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/83367?item=CM2/1960-13.02-618.

[2] *CM2/1961-223. 4e conférence du Conseil européen du Codex Alimentarius, Vienne, du 31 mai 1961 au 2 juin 1961.* Publisher: European University Institute. Historical Archives of the European Union, CM2/1961-223. 1961. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/84108?item=CM2/1961-08.02-223.

[3] *Inventaire CM2/1961. Conseil des ministres CEE et Euratom –1961.* Publisher: European University Institute. Historical Archives of the European Union, Inventaire CM2/1961. 2005. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/83778?item=CM2/1961.

[4] Union of International Associations. *European Food Code Council.* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100011325 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EFILWC: European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1660.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Dutch	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
German	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Irish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Italian	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

EEC Council Regulation (1365/75) creating the EFILWC was originally published in the Official Journal of the European Communities in Danish, German, English, French, Italian, and Dutch. Additionally, Irish had been a Treaty Language of the European Communities since the accession of the Republic of Ireland in 1973, making it a formal regime language of the organisation by Article 19.

Article 19 of the EEC Council Regulation (1365/75) that creates the EFILWC stipulates that the language rules of the EEC apply to this organisation.

> Article 19
>
> The rules governing the languages of the European Communities shall apply to the Foundation.

I thus code all EEC Treaty languages as of 1975 as formal regime languages, and only Danish, German, English, French, Italian, and Dutch as operational languages of this organisation (the UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation).

References

[1] 'Regulation (EEC) No 1365/75 of the Council of 26 May 1975 on the creation of a European Foundation for the improvement of living and working conditions'. In: *Official Journal of the European Communities* L 139.30 (1975). EUR-Lex, 31975R1365, pp. 1–4. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A31975R1365 (visited on 19/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (Eurofound)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100059620` (visited on 17/12/2024).

EFTA: European Free Trade Association

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1670.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The original Convention establishing the European Free Trade Association is done 'at Stockholm, this 4th day of January 1960, in a single copy in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.' However, the Annexes to the convention are authentic in English only.

Neither the original Convention nor the protocols and annexes stipulate operational languages for the organisation, though the fact that the Annexes and the Schedules are in English only provide a hint that English is widely-used within the organisation. Though no authoritative original documents on language rules are available, an internal style guide, last edited in 2012, contains mention of the language of the organisation.

> 'The official working language of EFTA is UK English. Before working on any document, check that the default language and spellchecker have been set to UK English.'

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation. In the absence of further information, I code according to the sources introduced above.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing the European Free Trade Association. Signed at Stockholm on 4 January 1960'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 370.5266 (1960). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–398. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20370/v370.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Juliet Reynolds, ed. *Language and Style Manual of the European Free Trade Association*. Publisher: European Free Trade Association. 2012. (Visited on 02/02/2022).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Free Trade Association (EFTA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100015704 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EIB: European Investment Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1690.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1957.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Italian	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 129 of the Treaty of Rome provides for the establishment of the European Investment Bank. The Protocol on the Statute of the European Investment Bank is annexed to the Treaty in Annex V.

The original Rules of Procedure contain two articles relating to 'language' in a general sense, but do not lay down operational language of the bank.

> Article 9
>
> Each member of the Board of Governors shall be entitled to avail himself of one of the official languages of the European Union. He may require that any document for consideration by the Board be drawn up in the language of his choice.
>
> ...
>
> Article 13
>
> Each member of the Board of Directors shall be entitled to avail himself of one of the official languages of the European Union. He may require that any document for consideration by the Board be drawn up in the language of his choice.

The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the two languages of the Bank. A careers page on the EIB website corroborates this, stating that 'English and French are our two official working languages.' However, it cannot be determined that this was the case beginning in 1958. In particular, archival sources deposited at the European University Institute show that none of the EIB documents from 1958 were in English, and were primarily in French. Given these facts, I understand Regulation No. 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community to have applied to the bank at its founding, long before they were amended to the putative version of the rules cited on the Careers page. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Banque européenne d'investissement (BEI): Documents from [1956] to [2018]*. Historical Archives of the European Union, European University Institute. Publisher: European University Institute. Historical Archives of the European Union, (BEI). 2015. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/30462?item=BEI (visited on 19/12/2024).

[2] 'EEC Council: Regulation No 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community'. In: *Official Journal of the European Communities* 017.6 (1958). EUR-Lex, 31958R0001, pp. 385–386. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/1958/1(1)/oj (visited on 19/12/2024).

[3] 'Final Act of the Intergovernmental Conference on the Common Market and EURATOM (with annexed declarations). Done at Rome, on 25 March 1957. Treaty establishing the European Economic Community (with annexes and Protocols). Done at Rome, on 25 March 1957. Protocols annexed to the said Treaty. Done at Brussels, on 17 April 1957. Implementing Convention relating to the association with the Community of the overseas countries and territories (with annexes and Protocols). Done at Rome, on 25 March 1957'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 298.4300 (1958). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–168. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028014143e (visited on 17/12/2024).

[4] *Our eligibility criteria*. European Investment Bank. 2024. URL: https://www.eib.org/en/about/careers/recruitment-process/eligibility-criteria (visited on 19/12/2024).

[5] *Protocole sur le Statut du Fonds d'investissement (BEI-1022)*. Historical Archives of the European Union, European University Institute. Publisher: European University Institute. Historical Archives of the European Union, (BEI-1022). 2024. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/30718?item=BEI-1022 (visited on 19/12/2024).

[6] 'Rules of Procedure, European Investment Bank. Decision of the Board of Governors of 12 May 2010 on the Amendment of the Rules of Procedure of the European Investment Bank to Reflect the Entry into Force of the Treaty of Lisbon and of the New Statute of the Bank'. In: *Official Journal of the European Communities* L 266.11 (2011). EUR-Lex, 32011D1011(01), pp. 1–6. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32011D1011(01) (visited on 19/12/2024).

[7] *Sources Cited in the Academic History: Archival Inventory*. Publisher: European Investment Bank. EIB Archives. 2008. URL: https://www.eib.org/attachments/general/archives/the_eib_1958_2008_inventaire_en.pdf (visited on 19/12/2024).

[8] Union of International Associations. *European Investment Bank (EIB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023044 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EIP: European Institute for Peace

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1675.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2014.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents are available for this organisation. 'In terms of its formal organizational structure, the EIP is completely independent of any EU or state-level institution' (Bergmann 2017), though it was created by 9 EU member states and works closely with the EU.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are known. Pages on the careers website of the EIP frequently state the 'knowledge of English is essential,' and knowledge of other EU languages is 'a plus.' The UIA Yearbook lists English and French, but the website is available only in English. Given the above, I impute English with caution.

References

[1] *About Us*. European Institute of Peace. 2024. URL: https://www.eip.org/board/board-of-governors/ (visited on 19/12/2024).

[2] Julian Bergmann. 'Turning an Idea into Reality: Creating the European Institute of Peace'. In: *Cooperation and Conflict* 53.3 (2018). Publisher: Sage Publications, Inc., pp. 375–391. ISSN: 0010-8367. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/48512982 (visited on 19/12/2024).

[3] *Fundraising manager*. European Institute of Peace. 2024. URL: https://www.eip.org/vacancies/fundraising-manager/ (visited on 19/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *European Institute of Peace (EIP)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1122277227 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EIPA: European Institute of Public Administration

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1680.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1981.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
German	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The organisation is known to have been founded at a first meeting of ministers of the European Council from 23-24 March 1981 in Maastricht, but no authoritative original founding documents are available at the time of this writing.

The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the only languages of this organisation. However, the campuses of the EIPA are located at Luxembourg and at Maastricht (where it was founded). Additionally, the website of the EIPA is available in English and German. On the basis of the above information, I impute English, French, and German, with caution.

References

[1] *About us*. European Institute of Public Administration. 2024. URL: https://www.eipa.eu/about-us/ (visited on 19/12/2024).

[2] *Conclusions of the Sessions of the European Council (1975-1990). Maastricht, 23 and 24 March 1981*. Publisher: The European Council. Archive of European Integreation, University of Pittsburgh. 1990. URL: http://aei.pitt.edu/1419/1/Maastricht_march_1981.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Institute of Public Administration (EIPA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100045613 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ELDO: European Space Vehicle Launcher Development Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1810.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1964.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Convention for the establishment of a European Organisation for the Development and Construction of Space Vehicle Launchers is done 'at London this 29th day of March, 1962, in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authoritative, in a single original.'

Authoritative original documents pertaining to language rules for the organisation are unavailable, and the UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation. A document in the Historical Archives of the European Union on the languages of the 1961 meetings of the preparatory group of the Secretariat is done in English and French, but is inaccessible at this time. However, given that the documents in the archive from the early years of the ELDO (1961-1972) are mostly in English, French, or both, I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention for the establishment of a European Organisation for the Development and Construction of Space Vehicle Launchers (with annexes, Financial Protocol and Protocol concerning certain responsibilities in connection with the initial programme). Done at London, on 29 March 1962'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 507.7401 (1964). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 177–243. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20507/v507.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *ELDO-183 (ELDO/PG/SECR/4). Languages of the meetings [Preparatory Group–Secretariat-Management]*. Publisher: European Launcher Development Organisation. Historical Archives of the European Union, ELDO-183 (ELDO/PG/SECR/4). 1962. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/106040?item=ELDO-138 (visited on 19/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Space Vehicle Launcher Development Organization (ELDO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100068517 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EMBC: European Molecular Biology Conference

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1700.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1969.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
German	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the European Molecular Biology Conference of 1969 is done 'in the English, French and German languages, the three texts being equally authoritative, in a single original.'

The original documents on language rules are not available, as the Rules of Procedure (including language rules) reflect amendments as of 2013. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. However, an authoritative academic work published by the EMBC for the occasion of its 50th anniversary, titled 'The Foundation of the European Molecular Biology Conference (EMBC), 1963–1969,' makes reference to discussions on the official languages of the organisation (Cassata and Strasser 2019, p. 8-9).

> 'But the hopes for a prompt signature of the Agreement (it had been scheduled for May 1968) were dashed when Germany unexpectedly demanded that German be recognised as the third official language of the EMBC. Germany' s demand carried significant weight since it was to pay the largest single share of the cost of the Conference and had already made a serious offer to host a future laboratory in Munich. Following resolution of the translation problems, an exhausted Max Perutz reflected: "International agreement is a difficult business even when all the interested parties are agreed on what they want to do!"
>
> The resolution of the German language controversy paved the way to the signing of the "established Conference", on 13 February 1969.'

It is thus clear that French, English, and German were the official languages of the organisation from its founding. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the European Molecular Biology Conference (with annex). Signed at Geneva on 13 February 1969'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 727.10462 (1970). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 309–341. URL: https :

//treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20727/v727.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Francesco Cassata and Bruno J. Strasser. 'The Foundation of the European Molecular Biology Conference (EMBC), 1963-1969 (abridged version)'. In: (2019). Publisher: European Molecular Biology Organization. EMBC Downloads. URL: https://embc.embo.org/documents/The_Foundation_of_the_European_Molecular_Biology_Conference_(EMBC)_2019_web.pdf (visited on 19/12/2024).

[3] *EMBC Agreement, Rules of Procedure, Financial Rules*. Publisher: European Molecular Biology Conference. 2013. URL: https://embc.embo.org/documents/EMBC_Agreement_Rules_2019.pdf (visited on 19/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *European Molecular Biology Conference (EMBC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041030 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EMBL: European Molecular Biology Laboratory

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1710.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	3
French	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3
German	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the European Molecular Biology Laboratory of 1973 is done 'in the English, French and German languages, the three texts being equally authoritative, in a single original.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions, nor are original documents on language rules available. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and German as languages of the organisation. Issue 58 of the EMBL Newsletter refers to these languages as the 'three official languages' of the EMBL Council. On a 'Campus Visits' site of the EMBL ELLS (European Learning Laboratory for the Life Sciences), another reference is found.

> 'Guided visits are usually offered in English, the working language of EMBL. Depending on the availability of EMBL scientists and staff, we may also be able to provide parts of the visit in German or other languages, but this cannot be guaranteed.'

I code English on a higher tier of institutionalisation than French and German.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the European Molecular Biology Laboratory (with annex). Concluded at Geneva on 10 May 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 954.13668 (1974), pp. 352–377. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20954/volume-954-I-13668-English.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *Campus visits –EMBL ELLS*. European Medical Biology Laboratory –European Learning Laboratory for the Life Sciences. 2022. URL: https://www.embl.org/ells/school-visits/campus/ (visited on 30/01/2022).

[3] 'Getting the scoop on EMBL Council'. In: *EMBL etcetera: The Newsletter of the European Molecular Biology Laboratory* 58 (2010). Publisher: European Molecular Biology Laboratory. EMBL Archive, p. 2. URL: https://archive.embl.org/index.php/embl-etcetera-august-2010 (visited on 19/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *European Molecular Biology Laboratory (EMBL)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100049970 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EMI: European Monetary Institute

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1715.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Dutch	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
German	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
Greek	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Irish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Italian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

Article 109f of the Treaty on European Union establishes the European Monetary Institute, and the Protocol on the Statute of the European Monetary Institute is annexed to the original Treaty. As such, it too is authentic in Spanish, Danish, German, Greek, English, French, Irish, Italian, Dutch and Portuguese.

The Protocol on the Statute of the EMI does not contain provisions relating to language use, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, an Inventory on EMI documents published by the archives of the European Central Bank, the successor institution to the EMI, contain a note on the languages used at the EMI.

> 'Languages
>
> The main languages used for documents created or held by the EMI were English, French and German. Since the 1970s there has been a growing trend towards English becoming the dominant language in an international environment, particularly in the financial sector. During the EMI period, English was already the dominant language in the financial sector and was the working language of EMI staff. However, the EMI fonds covers a variety of languages beyond English, French and German, including some non-EU languages. The EMI Council continued to write agendas and minutes in French and German as well as English, and many major reports of sub-committees and working groups were translated into German and then into English.
>
> The EMI language regime remained a sensitive topic, especially in view

> of public perception. President Lamfalussy and then President Duisenberg regularly spoke in languages other than English, for instance at conferences, and the EMI responded to public requests for information and occasionally interacted with national institutions in the respective national languages.'

The Archival Inventory notes that documents on the 'Languages and the linguistic regime at the EMI' are assigned call number EMI 1.2/5, and are available in German, English, and French. However, the original documents are not accessible at this time. I impute German, French, and English based on the information above.

References

[1] *Inventory: European Monetary Institute, 1994-1998*. Publisher: European Central Bank. Archives of the European Central Bank. 2024. URL: https://www.ecb.europa.eu/ecb/history-arts-culture/archives/emi/shared/pdf/EMI_1st-3rd_level.en.pdf (visited on 19/12/2024).

[2] 'Treaty on European Union (with protocols and final act). Concluded at Maastricht on 7 February 1992'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1757.30615 (1993). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 4–266. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800b2cee (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Monetary Institute (EMI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100025570 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EMPPO: European and Mediterranean Plant Protection Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1560.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1951.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The text of the 'Convention for the establishment of the European and Mediterranean Plant Protection Organization' does not make reference to the language of 'single copy' of the authentic treaty text, but is known to be done in English and French.

No authoritative original documents concerning language are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the languages of this organisation. Absent other information, I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Convention for the Establishment of the European and Mediterranean Plant Protection Organisation*. Publisher: European and Mediterranean Plant Protection Organization. ECOLEX, TRE-000494. 1951. URL: https://www.ecolex.org/details/treaty/convention-for-the-establishment-of-the-european-and-mediterranean-plant-protection-organisation-tre-000494/ (visited on 19/12/2024).

[2] *Convention for the establishment of the European and Mediterranean Plant Protection Organization*. Publisher: European and Mediterranean Plant Protection Organization. 1999. URL: https://www.eppo.int/ABOUT_EPPO/eppo_convention (visited on 19/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European and Mediterranean Plant Protection Organization (EPPO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100028460 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EPA: European Productivity Agency

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1770.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1953.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2
French	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. However, the 'EPA was created by the Council of the ministers of the OEEC on March 24, and officially came into existence on May 1, 1953' (Bent 2003: 61) as a quasi-independent body. The charter of the OEEC is authentic in English and French.

The UIA Yearbook does not catalogue language information for this organisation. I code based on the documents accessed, the authentic languages of the OEEC charter, as well as the nature of the EPA as part of an American-led effort to Europeanise production in the process of post-war reconstruction and integration.

References

[1] Bent Boel. *The European Productivity Agency and Transatlantic Relations 1953-1961 (Vol. 4)*. Studies in 20th and 21st Century European History. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2003. 1 p. ISBN: 978-87-7289-673-1 978-87-635-0212-2.

[2] 'Un nouvel organisme de l'O.E.C.E.: l'Agence européenne de productivité'. In: *Le Monde (1944-2000)* (1954). ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Le Monde, p. 10. ISSN: 03952037. URL: https://www.proquest.com/docview/2497719571/citation/1E8576D473644A25PQ/103?accountid=13042&sourcetype=Historical%20Newspapers (visited on 19/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Productivity Agency (EPA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008504 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EPFSC: European Postal Financial Services Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1760.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	C: In related treaty	O: *Official*	2

Coding Rationale

The EPFSC was originally a working group of the ECPTA, and later became a wholesale reorganisation of that organisation. The founding documents of this organisation are not available; however, French is known to have been the sole language of the authentic text of the instrument establishing its predecessor organisation.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The EPFSC is a restricted union of the Universal Postal Union, governed by Article 9 of the Constitution of that organisation. Though this makes no provision for the language rules of restricted unions, I impute via this connection to the UPU, which at the time of the founding of the EPFSC was an organisation with French as its sole official language.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *European Postal Financial Services Commission (EFPSC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100044228 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EPO: European Patent Office

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1740.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1977.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
German	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The Convention on the Grant of European Patents contains an article on 'Languages of the Convention.' Article 177 states: 'This Convention, drawn up in a single original, in the English, French and German languages, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany, the three texts being equally authentic.'

The Convention contains very detailed language provisions, with the term 'official language' occurring 40 times throughout the original text. Chapter I of the 'Implementing Regulations to Part I of the Convention' contains seven detailed rules on languages (UNTS 1978: 410-412). In addition, Article 14 on 'Languages of the European Patent Office' contains 9 detailed sub-articles on language use. However, 14 (1) is most relevant, as it explicitly defines the official languages of the organisation.

> Article 14. LANGUAGES OF THE EUROPEAN PATENT OFFICE
>
> (1) The official languages of the European Patent Office shall be English, French and German. European patent applications must be filed in one of these languages.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English, French, and German as languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention on the Grant of European Patents (European Patent Convention) (with Implementing Regulations, Protocol on Jurisdiction and the Recognition of Deci sions in Respect of the Right to the Grant of a Euro pean Patent, Protocol on Privileges and Immunities of the European Patent Organisation, Protocol on the Centralisation of the European Patent System and on its Introduction, and Protocol on the Interpretation of article 69 of the Convention). Concluded at Munich on 5 October 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1065.16208 (1978). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 255–509. URL: https://treaties.un.org/

Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800fad30&clang=_en (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *European Patent Office (EPO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100056429 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EPU: European Payments Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1750.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1950.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Agreement on the establishment of a European Payments Union is done 'in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. The Yearbook notes that this organisation was founded by European Movement International (EMI), for which the Yearbook lists English and French as languages. Absent further information, I impute on the basis of the above, and on the basis of the authentic languages of the text of the Agreement.

References

[1] *Agreement on the establishment of a European Payments Union (19 September 1950)*. Publisher: Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History, University of Luxembourg. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l' Europe. 2013. URL: https://www.cvce.eu/en/obj/agreement_on_the_establishment_of_a_european_payments_union_19_september_1950-en-7b471fa9-af0b-427d-a657-017de6a3e1de.html#:~:text=On%2019%20September%201950%2C%20representatives,Anglo%2DAmerican%20Zone%20of%20the (visited on 20/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *European Payments Union (EPU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066857 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ERIA: Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1532.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2008.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Chairman's Statement of the Third East Asia Summit of 2007, which established this organisation, reads: '13. We agreed to the establishment of the Economic Research Institute of ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA) to be accommodated temporarily at the ASEAN Secretariat.' This document is done in English.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning languages rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole official language of this organisation. In addition, the only operational language of ASEAN is English. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Economic Research Institute for ASEAN and East Asia (ERIA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062515 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ESA: European Space Agency

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1790.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Italian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Swedish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1

Coding Rationale

The original Convention for the Establishment of a European Space Agency is done 'in the German, English, Spanish, French, Italian, Dutch and Swedish languages, all these texts being equally authentic, in a single original.'

The ESA Council Rules of procedure refer to a 'Resolution No. 8 attached to the Final Act of the Conference of Plenipotentiaries for the establishment of a European Space Agency.' This resolution is exceptionally detailed, and hints at the difficulties involved in negotiations over language policy.

> Resolution No. 8: Use of languages
>
> The Conference,
>
> Considering the need to settle, before the signature of the Convention for the Establishment of a European Space Agency, the question of the future use of languages in this Agency,
>
> Taking into account the desire, on the one hand, to facilitate the presentation of Member States' views in the Agency' s delegate bodies and, on the other hand, to endow the Agency with working rules that guarantee the effectiveness of its proceedings and the economical use of funds,
>
> Agrees that the following rules shall apply in the Agency:
>
> 1. With regard to meetings of any organ, committee or working group of the Agency, the English, French and German languages may be used, and interpretation will be provided into those three languages.
> 2. With regard to documents, the following provisions will apply:

(a) Official documents of the Agency bearing a reference number relating to the Council, one of its subordinate bodies or a working group, will be issued in English, French and German.

(b) All other documents of the Agency will be issued in English and French.

(c) Documents of Member States, of a scientific, technical, legal or administrative nature, should preferably be submitted to the Agency in English or French but may be sent to the Agency in any other language of a Member State.

3. Additionally, in meetings of the Council or any of its subordinate bodies at which questions relating to the Spacelab programme are discussed, the Italian language may be used and interpretation will be provided; official Agency documents bearing a reference number of the Council or one of its subordinate bodies and concerning that programme will also be issued in Italian.

4. ···

5. The Agency will normally conduct its correspondence in English or French; delegations shall write to the Agency preferably in English or French, but, should they find it appropriate, they may do so in any other language of a Member State.

STRESSES that it is not intended that the application of the above rules should lead to an increase in translations for the internal use of the Agency,

EXPRESSES the strong desire that, as in the past, Member States will so avail themselves of these facilities that additional expense and administrative complications are minimised,

RECOMMENDS that the language arrangements should be reviewed by the Council of the Agency if at any time disproportionate use appears to be made by delegations of the facilities referred to above.

The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and German as the languages of this organisation. The text of Resolution 8 implies several caveats. First, English and French are decidedly in wider use than German. Second, all three of the aforementioned languages have a higher status than Italian, which is explicitly mentioned but used in a very limited range of settings. Third, 'other' unnamed languages may also be used for such functions. Finally, the conclusion of the resolution indicates that the Council wishes to minimise extraneous translation.

For this reason, I do not code Italian. I code English and French on a higher tier of institutionalisation than German.

References

[1] 'Convention for the establishment of a European Space Agency (with annexes and final act). Concluded at Paris on 30 May 1975'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1297.21524 (1983). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 161–382. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800df46b (visited on 20/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *European Space Agency (ESA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100002952 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ESO: European Southern Observatory

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1780.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1962.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
German	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Swedish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The text of the Convention for the establishment of a European Organization for Astronomical Research in the Southern Hemisphere is done 'in a single copy in the German, French, Dutch and Swedish languages, the French text being authoritative in the event of dispute.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, German, and Spanish as languages of the organisation. However, it is implausible that these were the original operational languages of the organisation, as the treaty text is not authentic in English and Spanish, and furthermore these two languages are not the language of any member state at the time of founding. The primacy of the French text of the treaty in case of dispute points in the direction of this argument. I impute the four languages of the treaty text for the operational languages.

References

[1] 'Convention (with Financial Protocol) for the establishment of a European Organization for Astronomical Research in the Southern Hemisphere. Signed at Paris, on 5 October 1962'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 502.7333 (1964). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 225–285. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20502/v502.pdf (visited on 20/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *European Southern Observatory (ESO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100017262 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ESRO: European Space Research Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1800.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1964.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The Convention for the Establishment of a European Space Research Organisation is done 'in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authoritative.'

The authoritative original documents concerning language rules are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, several original archival documents from around the year of founding make reference to the issue. A report on the Summer Schools of 1966 states: 'It was suggested to lecturers that they should give their lectures in whichever of the two official languages they felt themselves best able to be understood by participants. Of the two main series, that on passive control was given in French and that on active control was given in English...' (ESRO-4283). Additionally, and even more tellingly, a document from 1974 contains the following passage:

> '3. Working Languages
>
> At the Group' s last meeting, the German expert requested that interpretation be provided from German into the two official languages of the Organisation. The Group considered that this was a political issue and did not express any opinion.
>
> At present, English and French interpretation is done by the two interpreters. Interpretation from German would require the employment of two additional interpreters. The cost of interpretation for the Finance Group in 1974 was 4524 AU. With two additional interpreters, expenditure to be allowed for in 1975 would be of the order of 5300 AU.'

The above (ESRO-2747) is clear evidence that the language issue was a topic that touched on sensitivities in various domains. More importantly, it confirms that English and French had statutory status as institutional languages within the organisation. I thus code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention for the Establishment of a European Space Research Organisation'. In: *International Legal Materials* 4.2 (1965). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 306–322. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20689896 (visited on 20/12/2024).

[2] *ESRO-2747. Programme of work for Finance Group*. Publisher: European Space Research Organisation. Historical Archives of the European Union, ESRO-2747 [ESRO/AF(74)153]. 1974. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/142299?item=ESRO.A-02.03-2747.

[3] *ESRO-4283. 1966 Summer School*. Publisher: European Space Research Organisation. Historical Archives of the European Union, ESRO-4283 [ESRO/ST/220]]. 1966. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/142299?item=ESRO.A-02.03-2747.

[4] Union of International Associations. *European Space Research Organization (ESRO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100068447 (visited on 17/12/2024).

ETF: European Training Foundation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1820.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1990.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Dutch	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
German	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Greek	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Italian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The Council Regulation of the EEC establishing the European Training Foundation is authentic in the languages of the EEC at the time.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish as languages of this organisation. Whilst many documents are produced in these languages, it is doubtful that they were languages at the time of the organisation's founding. A webpage titled 'Language Policy' provides further insights.

> 'Language Policy
>
> The ETF website is available in six languages: English, French, German, Italian, Russian and Arabic.
>
> Its original language is English.
>
> Translations are by the Translation Centre (CDT), based in Luxembourg. Should you find any translation error in this website, please contact us.
>
> While the main pages are translated in all the website languages, some specific pages and news items might be available in English only.'

It is clear from the above that English, as the 'original language' of the content, supersedes the others. I impute English as the sole language with institutional status within this organisation, noting that other languages may be used for training purposes.

References

[1] 'Council Regulation (EEC) No 1360/90 of 7 May 1990 establishing a European Training Foundation'. In: *Official Journal of the European Communities* L 131.23 (1990). EUR-Lex, 31990R1360, pp. 1–5. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX%3A31990R1360 (visited on 20/12/2024).

[2] *ETF - Language Policy*. European Training Foundation. 2021. URL: http://notes1.etf.europa.eu/web/web.nsf/pages/Language_policy (visited on 21/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Training Foundation (ETF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100036603 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EU: European Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1830.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Dutch	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Greek	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Irish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Italian	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty on European Union is 'drawn up in a single original in the Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Irish, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish languages, the texts in each of these languages being equally authentic.'

Declaration 29 annexed to the treaty, 'Declaration on the use of languages in the field of the common foreign and security policy,' states that 'The Conference agrees that the use of languages shall be in accordance with the rules of the European Communities.' The original 1958 EEC Regulation No. 1 determining language rules stipulated that Dutch, French, German, and Italian would be the official and working languages of the Community. However, between 1958 and 1993, that Regulation had been amended three times in 1972, 1979, and 1985, as Denmark, Ireland, the United Kingdom, Greece, Spain, and Portugal were admitted to the European Communities. Thus, at the time of the Maastricht Treaty, the relevant text of Regulation No. 1 read as follows:

> Article 1. The official languages and the working languages of the institutions of the Community shall be Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish.

Notably, the EUROPA Publications Office's interinstitutional style guide, in '7.2.4. Rules governing the languages of the institutions,' notes that '[u]p to 31 December 2006, Irish was not included in the working languages of the EU institutions,' which is consistent with the text in Article 1 of Regulation No. 1 as of 1993. The UIA Yearbook lists the 24 current EU languages at the time of this writing, and do not reflect the language regime at founding. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *7.2.4. Rules governing the languages in the institutions - Publications Office*. EUROPA Interinstitutional Style Guide. 2021. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20211216145029/http://publications.europa.eu/code/en/en-370204.htm (visited on 20/12/2024).

[2] *Consolidated text: Regulation No 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community*. EUR-Lex, 01958R0001-20130701. 2013. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/1958/1(1)/2013-07-01 (visited on 21/10/2021).

[3] 'EEC Council: Regulation No 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community'. In: *Official Journal of the European Communities* 017.6 (1958). EUR-Lex, 31958R0001, pp. 385–386. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/1958/1(1)/oj (visited on 19/12/2024).

[4] 'Treaty on European Union (with protocols and final act). Concluded at Maastricht on 7 February 1992'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1757.30615 (1993). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 4–266. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800b2cee (visited on 17/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *European Union (EU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055821 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EUFMD: European Commission for the Control of Foot and Mouth Disease

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1600.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1954.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1

Coding Rationale

Article XIX of the original Constitution of the European Commission for the control of foot-and-mouth disease states: 'The text of this Constitution drawn up in the English, French and Spanish languages, which languages shall be equally authoritative.'

The Rules of Procedure contain an unambiguous provision on the use of languages.

> Rule XV. Languages
>
> English and French shall be the working languages of the Commission.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English and French as the two languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Constitution of the European Commission for the control of foot-and-mouth disease. Approved by the Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations at its seventh session, Rome, 11 December 1953'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 191.2588 (1954). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 285–317. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/Volume%20191/v191.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *European Commission for the Control of Foot-and-Mouth Disease (EuFMD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100021754 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EURAMET: European Association of National Metrology Institutes

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1563.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2007.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`B`: Not in original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	`1`
German	`A`: In original treaty	`K`: Undefined	`1`

Coding Rationale

EURAMET is registered as a non-profit association under German law. German is therefore the language that establishes the organisation as a legal entity.

Section 1 of the original byelaws of EURAMET contains a provision on the use of languages.

> (4) The language used by EURAMET is English. Documents with importance for the German fiscal authority and Register of Associations will be translated into German by the Secretariat.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the organisation. I code German and English for their respective functions accordingly.

References

[1] *EURAMET e.V. Byelaws as established at the General Assembly on 11 January 2007 in its version of as of 25th July 2016*. Publisher: EURAMET e.V. EURAMET Documents and Publications. 2016. URL: `https://www.euramet.org/G-PRM-BYL-010_EURAMET_e.V._Byelaws.pdf` (visited on 21/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *European Association of National Metrology Institutes (EURAMET)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014045` (visited on 17/12/2024).

EURATOM: European Atomic Energy Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1565.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1958.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Italian	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Commission is 'drawn up in a single original in the Dutch, French, German and Italian languages, all four texts being equally authentic,' according to Article 225 of the Treaty.

Article 190 of the EURATOM treaty provides that '[t]he rules governing the languages of the institutions of the Community shall, without prejudice to the provisions contained in the rules of procedure of the Court of Justice, be determined by the Council, acting unanimously.' The relevant regulation is titled 'Regulation No 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Atomic Energy Community,' which sets out the official and working languages of the organisation.

> Article premier
>
> Les langues officielles et les langues de travail des institutions de la Communauté sont l'allemand, le français, l'italien et le néerlandais.

The UIA Yearbook lists twenty languages that clearly did not have institutional status at the founding of EURATOM. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Règlement n° 1, portant fixation du régime linguistique de la Communauté européenne de l'énergie atomique'. In: *Official Journal of the European Communities* 017.6 (1958). EUR-Lex, 31958R0001, pp. 401–402. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/reg/1958/1(1)/oj (visited on 20/12/2024).

[2] 'Treaty (with annexes and Protocol) establishing the European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM). Done at Rome, on 25 March 1957'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 298.4301 (1958). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 169–265. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801413d5 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100007938 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EUROCONTROL: European Organization for the Safety of Air Navigation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1730.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original International Convention relating to co-operation for the Safety of Air Navigation is done 'in the German, English, French and Dutch languages, in a single copy...In case of any inconsistency, the text in the French language shall prevail.'

In addition to stipulating that 'the language used for the air traffic control operations ensured by the Agency shall be the English language,' Article 35 of the Convention states that 'The Committee shall determine the administrative languages of the Agency.' EUROCONTROL's governing bodies are the Permanent Commission and the Provisional Council. Only the revised versions of the rules of procedure for each of these bodies are currently available. Article 16 of the revised Rules of Procedure of the Permanent Commission, as well as Article 15 of the revised Rules of Procedure of the Provisional Council, concern languages. Both documents are as of 1997.

> Article 16 (Languages) [Permanent Commission]
>
> The working languages of the Commission shall be German, English, Spanish, French, Greek, Italian, Dutch, Portuguese, Turkish, one of the three Scandinavian languages on a rotation basis using one single interpretation channel, and the language of the President if this is not one of the aforementioned languages and if he/she wishes to use it.
>
> Article 15 (Languages) [Provisional Council]
>
> 1. The deliberations of the Provisional Council shall be conducted in German, English, Spanish, French, Greek, Italian, Dutch, Portuguese, Turkish, one of the three Scandinavian languages on a rotation basis using one single channel, and the language of the President if this is not included in the list of languages mentioned above and if he/she wishes to use his/her language.

2. General correspondence and all working papers of the Provisional Council shall be presented in English and French. Working papers and correspondence dealing with financial and personnel matters, and all agendas, shall also be presented in the languages which are currently used in the Provisional Council's deliberations.

EUROCONTROL was founded by six states (Belgium, France, the Federal German Republic, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom) so it is implausible that Spanish, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Turkish, or any Scandinavian languages were operational languages at founding, most likely having been added to the regime after accession of new member states. The implication is that the original languages of deliberations were German, English, French, and Dutch. Within this set of languages, it is clear that English and French are in wider use (and, furthermore, that English is 'primus inter pares' as it is the language of air traffic control operations'). The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English and French as the only languages of the agency. I code accordingly.

References

[1] '"EUROCONTROL" International Convention relating to co-operation for the safety of air navigation (with annexes and Protocol of signature). Signed at Brussels, on 13 December 1960'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 523.7557 (1965). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 117–235. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20523/v523.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *About us | EUROCONTROL*. EUROCONTROL. 2024. URL: https://www.eurocontrol.int/about-us (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] *Measure N° 85/51 amending the Rules of Procedure of the Permanent Commission*. Publisher: European Organisation for the Safety of Air Navigation. EUROCONTROL Library. 1997. URL: https://www.eurocontrol.int/sites/default/files/content/documents/official-documents/pc/commission-act/measures-85-51en.pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[4] *Measure N° 85/52 approving the Rules of Procedure of the provisional Council*. Publisher: European Organisation for the Safety of Air Navigation. EUROCONTROL Library. 1997. URL: https://www.eurocontrol.int/sites/default/files/content/documents/official-documents/pc/commission-act/measures-85-52en.pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *EUROCONTROL*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100007128 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EUROFIMA: European Company for the Financing of Railway Rolling Stock

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1630.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1956.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
German	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Italian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The original Convention on the establishment of "Eurofima' ,' European Company for the financing of railway equipment is done 'in French, German and Italian, in a single copy,' according to Article 17.

The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and Dutch as languages of this organisation. However, it is clear that English was not used at the organisation's inception, from the fact that all original basic documents are done only in French and German. Even the most recent edition of the Statutes (2024) stipulates that 'Only the French and German texts are binding.' I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Constitutive Documents*. EUROFIMA - Rolling Stock Financing. 2024. URL: https://www.eurofima.org/about-us/who-we-are/constitutive-documents/ (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] 'Convention on the establishment of "Eurofima", European Company for the financing of railway equipment (with Statute and Protocol of signature). Signed at Berne, on 20 October 1955. Additional Protocol to the above-mentioned Convention. Signed at Berne, on 20 October 1955'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 378.5425 (1960). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 159–247. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280138bc5&clang=_en (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] *Statutes of the European Company for the Financing of Railroad Rolling Stock*. Publisher: European Company for the Financing of Railroad Rolling Stock. EUROFIMA Constitutive Documents. 2024. URL: https://www.eurofima.org/sites/default/assets/File/investor-relations/Constitutive%20documents/Statutes%202024-3%20e.pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *EUROFIMA European Company for the Financing of Railroad Rolling Stock (EUROFIMA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100000235 (visited on 17/12/2024).

EUROMET: European Collaboration on Measurement Standards

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1590.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1987.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

EUROMET, the predecessor to EURAMET, was 'formally established by the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding by participating States in Madrid, Spain on the 23rd of September 1987.' The only version of this document available is in English. However, section 6 of the Memorandum of Understanding notes that 'This Memorandum of Understanding is of an exclusively recommendatory nature. It will not create any binding legal effect in public international law.' Therefore, the MoU is not the language that constitutes the organisation as a legal body.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. As of October 1999, 12 years after its founding and 8 years before its dissolution, the EUROMET website was available only in English. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *EUROMET Memorandum of Understanding (MoU). Issued: 23.09.1987. Revised: 25.07.2002/Sh. Version: 6.0.* Publisher: European Collaboration in Measurement Standards. EURAMET Documents and Publications. 2002. URL: https://www.euramet.org/Media/docs/EUROMET-docs/E-MoU-v06_02.pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] *Intro | EUROMET*. European Collaboration on Measurement Standards. Wayback Internet Archive. 1999. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/19991103010637/http://www.euromet.org/pages/intro/intro.htm (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Collaboration on Measurement Standards (EUROMET)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100047541 (visited on 17/12/2024).

Entente: Council of the Entente

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1430.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

The original Convention for the establishment of the Council of the Entente is authentic in French only.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor do the regulations and statute make explicit reference to official languages; however, they are all solely available in French. The UIA Yearbook lists French as the sole language of this organisation. A strategic plan document from 2018 makes reference to French as the official language of the 'Espace Entente.' I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Charte du conseil de l'entente*. Publisher: Conseil de l'Entente. Documents Juridiques. 2019. URL: http://conseildelentente.org/index.php/documents/juridiques/charte-et-statuts/81-charte-du-conseil-de-l-entente.html (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] 'Convention for the establishment of the Council of the Entente. Signed at Abidjan on 29 May 1959'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1175.19920 (1980). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 419–421. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201175/volume-1175-A-18820-English.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] *Le Conseil de l' Entente demain: Plan stratégique 2018-2022*. Publisher: Conseil de l'Entente. Publications. 2018. URL: http://conseildelentente.org/images/pdf/documents/recent/plan_strategique_2018_2022.pdf (visited on 02/02/2022).

[4] *Règlement Conférence des Chefs d'Etats*. Publisher: Conseil de l'Entente. Documents Juridiques. 2019. URL: http://conseildelentente.org/index.php/documents/juridiques/reglements/84-reglement-conference-des-chefs-d-etats.html (visited on 21/12/2024).

[5] *Règlement Intérieur du Comités des Experts*. Publisher: Conseil de l'Entente. Documents Juridiques. 2019. URL: http://conseildelentente.org/index.php/documents/juridiques/reglements/85-reglement-interieur-du-comites-des-experts.html (visited on 21/12/2024).

[6] *Règlement Intérieur du Conseil des Ministres*. Publisher: Conseil de l'Entente. Documents Juridiques. 2019. URL: http://conseildelentente.org/index.php/documents/juridiques/reglements/83-reglement-interieur-du-conseil-des-ministres.html (visited on 21/12/2024).

[7] Union of International Associations. *Entente Council*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100049283 (visited on 17/12/2024).

FAO: FAO

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1840.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1945.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`1`
English	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
French	`B`: Not in original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
Russian	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`1`
Spanish	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

Though amendments to the Constitution of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations stipulate that the set of authentic text languages has widened considerably, the original 1945 instrument is done 'in the English language, in a single copy.'

At the first session of the FAO Conference in 1946, the General Committee put forth a resolution concerning the specifics of language use within the organisation.

> 'That pending the adoption by the United Nations of rules regarding the use of languages, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations shall employ two languages, namely, English and French, in its proceedings and documentation, and shall adopt English, French, Spanish, Chinese, and Russian as its official languages.'

The UIA Yearbook lists all six current UN official and working languages as languages of this organisation, but original documentation from the FAO (CL 132/17) shows that the FAO language regime has been amended in 1949, 1967, 1977, and in other years. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *60 Stat. 1886. Constitution of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations*. United States Library of Congress: Treaties and Other International Agreements of the United States of America, 1776-1949, compiled by Charles I. Bevans. Volume 3 Multilateral Treaties (1934-1945), 60 Stat. 1886. 1945. URL: `https://www.loc.gov/collections/united-states-treaties-and-other-international-agreements/articles-and-essays/bevans/` (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] *CL 132/17. Council. Hundred and Thirty-Second Session. Rome, 18 –22 June 2007. Adoption of Russian as a Language of FAO*. Publisher: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. FAO Meetings, CL 132/17. 2007. URL: https://www.fao.org/unfao/bodies/council/cl132/Index_en.htm (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] *IX. Appendix II. Report of the First Session of the Conference, City of Quebec, Canada, October 16 to November 1, 1945*. Publisher: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. FAO Meetings. 1945. URL: https://www.fao.org/4/x5584e/x5584e00.htm#Contents.

[4] Union of International Associations. *Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100043851 (visited on 17/12/2024).

FDIPLAC: Fund for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1860.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the Fund for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean, according to Article 15, is 'in Spanish, Portuguese and English texts of equally validity.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. All periodicals published by this organisation (notably, the Bulletin) are published in Spanish. However, absent further information, I impute all three languages of the Agreement text as the languages of this organisation.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Fund for the Development of the Indigenous Peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. Concluded at Madrid on 24 July 1992'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1830.30177 (1993). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 380–409. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201728/volume-1728-I-30177-English.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Fondo para el Desarrollo de los Pueblos Indigenas de América Latina y el Caribe (FILAC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100012168 (visited on 17/12/2024).

FEC: Far East Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1850.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1945.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The terms of reference of the Far Eastern Commission were drawn up in English.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. I impute English based on the language of the terms of reference.

References

[1] *483/1/7. 6 Minter to Makin. Letter CANBERRA, 3 January 1946*. Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. DFAT Historical Documents, AA:A1838/2. 2013. URL: https://www.dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/historical-documents/Pages/volume-09/6-minter-to-makin,%20https://www.dfat.gov.au/about-us/publications/historical-documents/Pages/volume-09/6-minter-to-makin (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Far Eastern Commission (FEC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100000898 (visited on 17/12/2024).

G15: Group of Fifteen

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1910.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1989.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Group of Fifteen was founded at a summit-level group of developing countries. The document recording this meeting, the 'Final documents of the Ninth Conference of Heads of State of Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries,' is annexed to General Assembly Document A/44/551 (Security Council Document S/20870). The original of this document exists in four languages: Arabic, English, French, and Spanish.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, French, and Spanish as the languages of this organisation. I impute based on this, and on the authentic texts of the founding documents.

References

[1] *A/44/551. Annex: Final documents of the Ninth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade, from 4-7 September 1989*. Publisher: United Nations. United Nations Official Document System, A/44/551. 1989. URL: https://undocs.org/Home/Mobile?FinalSymbol=A%2F44%2F551&Language=E&DeviceType=Desktop&LangRequested=False (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Group of Fifteen (G-15)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100043970 (visited on 21/12/2024).

G24: Intergovernmental Group of Twenty-Four on International Monetary Affairs

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2285.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1972.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Group of 24 was founded 'following a Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, on 7 November 1971 in Lima.' The Group of 77 is a grouping within the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, a member of the UN System. Other-language versions of the text of this Declaration are likely to exist. This meeting within UNCTAD received support at the 26th session of the UN General Assembly, in the Second Committee's 1412th meeting. The documents for this meeting are authentic in Arabic, English, French, and Spanish only.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, French, and Spanish as languages of this organisation. I impute based on this, and based on the languages of the Summary Record document previously referred.

References

[1] Mourad Ahmia. 'CHAPTER II: Ministerial Meetings of the Group of 77 in preparation for UNCTAD conferences'. In: *The Collected Documents of the Group Of 77*. Fiftieth Anniversary Edition. Vol. VI. Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2015. ISBN: 978-0-19-025860-3. URL: http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/oxford/detail.action?docID=2033563 (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] *General Assembly, 26th session, official records, 2nd Committee, 1415th meeting, Monday, 22 November, 1971, New York*. Publisher: United Nations General Assembly. United Nations Digital Library, A/C.2/SR.1415-EN. 1971. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/1318626?ln=en&v=pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] *Joint Statement of the Second Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77*. Publisher: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. World Bank Documents Archive, MM/77/II/11. 1971. URL: https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/198371468336856229/pdf/777100BR0SecM108B00PUBLIC0011019071.pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[4] *Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization. Lima, Peru, 12—26 March 1975. Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Cooperation*. Publisher: United Nations Industrial Development Organisation. UNIDO Publications Catalogue, P1/38. 1976. URL: https://www.unido.org/sites/default/files/2012-10/Lima%20Declaration%20and%20Plan%20of%20Action%20on%20Industrial%20Development%20and%20Co-operation_26.3.1975_0.PDF (visited on 21/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *Intergovernmental Group of Twenty-Four on International Monetary Affairs (Group of Twenty-Four)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100000727 (visited on 21/12/2024).

G3: Group of Three

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1950.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1995.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original 'Tratado del Grupo de los Tres' is authentic in Spanish (en tres ejemplares originales, siendo todos los textos igualmente auténticos).

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. Absent further information, I impute based on the language of the authentic treaty text, and on the basis of the organisation's hispanophone founding membership.

References

[1] *Tratado del Grupo de los Tres (G-3)*. Publisher: Ministerio de Comercio, Industria y Turismo, Republic of Colombia. Transparencia y Acceso a la Información Pública. 2024. URL: https://www.tlc.gov.co/getattachment/acuerdos/vigente/tratado-de-libre-comercio-entre-los-estados-unidos/importante/texto-del-acuerdo-colombia-mexico/texto-g-3/texto-g-3.pdf.aspx (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Group of Three (G-3)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100021156 (visited on 21/12/2024).

GATT: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1880.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1948.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original text of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade is done 'in a single copy, in the English and French languages, both texts authentic.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions, nor are original documents pertaining to language available. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and Spanish as the languages of the organisation. However, it is likely that Spanish was not added until later. Spanish became an authentic text of GATT 1944 (see 2. Explanatory Note (c) (i)), which is 'legally distinct from the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, dated 30 October 1947.' See the Marrakesh Agreement establishing the World Trade Organisation. Due to the above, I impute only English and French for the original 1947 GATT.

References

[1] 'General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 55.814 (1950). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 187–316. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800161d7 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] 'Marrakesh Agreement establishing the World Trade Organization (with final act, annexes and protocol). Concluded at Marrakesh on 15 April 1994'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1867.31874 (1995). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–507. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800ade6c (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100067779 (visited on 21/12/2024).

[4] *WTO | legal texts - Marrakesh Agreement*. The WTO Agreements: GATT 1994. 1994. URL: https://www.wto.org/english/docs_e/legal_e/gatt94_e.htm (visited on 21/12/2024).

GBACT: Group on the Balkan Agreement on Co-operation on Tourism

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1970.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1971.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The Agreement for mutual co-operation on tourism in the Balkan region is authentic in English and French.

Article 5 of the agreement pertains to languages.

> Article 5. The official languages of the Commission will be English and French.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, but the original text of the Agreement is a sufficient basis upon which to code.

References

[1] 'Agreement for mutual co-operation on tourism in the Balkan region. Signed at Bucharest on 13 May 1971'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 931.13267 (1974). United Nations Treaty Collection, p. 147. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20931/volume-931-I-13267-English.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Groupe de l'Accord sur la coopération des pays balkaniques en matière de tourisme*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100067119 (visited on 21/12/2024).

GCC: Gulf Cooperation Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1990.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1981.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Charter of the GCC 'is signed on one copy in the Arabic language.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic and English as the languages of this organisation. However, there is reason to suspect that English did not acquire this status until after founding. In addition to the English version of the charter not being legally binding, the Yearbook notes that the vast majority of the GCC's functional publications are in Arabic. I impute on this basis.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Co-operation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf (with Rules of procedures of the Supreme Council, of the Ministerial Council and of the Commission for Settlement of Disputes)'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1288.21244 (1982). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 131–170. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800e04ff` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *Primary Law*. Gulf Cooperation Council. 2024. URL: `https://gcc-sg.org/en/AboutUs/Pages/PrimaryLaw.aspx` (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100061115` (visited on 21/12/2024).

GCRSNC: Guidance Committee for Road Safety in the Nordic Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1980.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2
Norwegian	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2
Swedish	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. However, this organisation is known to have replaced the Nordic Road Safety Council, set up in 1971, under the auspices of the Nordic Council of Ministers.

No authoritative original documents concerning languages rules are available for this now-defunct organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists Danish, Swedish, and Norwegian as languages of this organisation. Absent other information, I impute on this basis.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Guidance Committee for Road Safety in the Nordic Countries*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100060331 (visited on 21/12/2024).

GEF: Global Environment Facility

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1900.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Global Environment Facility was established via Resolution 91-5 of the Executive Directors of the World Bank. This document is available only in English. As English is the sole language of the World Bank treaty and World Bank operations, it is unlikely that this document is authentic in any other language.

Currently, the Rules of Procedure of the GEF contain a section (section X) on Languages.

> Section X. Languages
>
> Interventions shall be made at the Council meetings in either English, French, or Spanish and shall be interpreted into the other two languages.

It must be noted, however, that these are the rules of the 'restructured GEF,' and were accepted in 1994. The original GEF was set up as a 3-year pilot programme. The original languages from 1991 remain unknown. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. I impute with caution.

References

[1] *Rules of Procedure for the GEF Council*. Publisher: Global Environment Facility. GEF Policies and Guidelines. 2007. URL: https://www.thegef.org/sites/default/files/publications/11488_English_2.pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Global Environment Facility (GEF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100028461%5C (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] 'World Bank: Documents Concerning the Establishment of the Global Environment Facility'. In: *International Legal Materials* 30.6 (1991). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 1735–1777. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20693644 (visited on 21/12/2024).

GEO: Group on Earth Observations

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1960.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2005.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

This organisation was formed as a result of the 10-Year Implementation Plan for the Global Earth Observation System of Systems. This document is done in English alone.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language use, nor do the current Rules of Procedure (as of 2019) contain such provisions. At the time of this writing, the website of GEO is accessible only in English. The UIA Yearbook also lists English as the sole language of this organisation. I impute based on the above.

References

[1] *GEO Rules of Procedure*. Publisher: Group on Earth Observations. GEO Library. 2019. URL: https://old.earthobservations.org/documents/GEO_Rules_of_Procedure.pdf (visited on 21/10/2021).

[2] *Mission | GEO*. Group on Earth Observations. 2024. URL: https://earthobservations.org/mission#glance (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] *The Global Earth Observation System of Systems (GEOSS) 10-Year Implementation Plan*. Publisher: Group on Earth Observations. GEO Library. 2005. URL: https://old.earthobservations.org/documents/10-Year%20Plan%20Reference%20Document.pdf (visited on 20/10/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Group on Earth Observations (GEO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100016075 (visited on 21/12/2024).

GHSI: Global Health Security Initiative

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1905.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2001.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

This organisation was formed by joint statement at Ottawa on 7 November 2001. This statement is done in English only.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language use, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, its website is accessible only in English, and all documentation is in English. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] Michael Foley. *Health Ministers Take Action to Improve Health Security Globally.* Global Health Security Initiative. 2001. URL: `http://ghsi.ca/ministerial-statements/ottawa-november-2001/` (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Global Health Security Initiative (GHSI).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100015559` (visited on 21/12/2024).

GLACSEC: Group of Latin American and Caribbean Sugar Exporting Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1920.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The Statutes of this organisation are done 'en cuatro ejemplares igualmente válidos en los idiomas Español, Francés, Inglés y Portugués,' making English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish the languages of the authentic constitutive text.

Article 42 of the Statutes define the official languages of this organisation.

> Artículo 42. Son idiomas oficiales del Grupo los siguientes: Español, Francés, Inglés y Portugués.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Estatutos del Grupo de Países Latinoamericanos y del Caribe Exportadores de Azúcar (GEPLACEA). Calí, 1976'. In: *La Gaceta, Diario Oficial de la República de Nicaragua.* 115.5 (1977). Legislación de Nicaragua. URL: http://legislacion.asamblea.gob.ni/Instrumentos.nsf/d9e9b7b996023769062578b80075d821/dc0ff521400ec78f062574ac0075f748?OpenDocument&ExpandSection=1#_Section1 (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Grupo de Paises Latinoamericanos y del Caribe Exportadores de Azúcar (GEPLACEA).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100044975 (visited on 21/12/2024).

GOIC: Gulf Organization for Industrial Consulting

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2000.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original 1976 Convention establishing the Gulf Organization for Industrial Consulting is done 'in a single original in Arabic.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic and English as the languages of this organisation. However, there is reason to suspect that English did not acquire this status at founding in 1976, especially as the Convention establishing the organisation is authentic in Arabic only. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Marsūm biqānūn raqm (18) lisanant 1976 bil-muwāfaqah ᶜalā atifāqiah ainshā' munaẓamah al-khalīj lil-astishārāt al-ṣināᶜīh [Decree-Law No. (18) of 1976 Approving the Agreement for the Establishment of the Gulf Organization for Industrial Consulting]*. Ministry of Legal Affairs, Kingdom of Bahrain. 1976. URL: https://www.legalaffairs.gov.bh/Legislation/HTM/L1876# (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Gulf Organization for Industrial Consulting (GOIC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100019716 (visited on 21/12/2024).

HCPIL: Hague Conference on Private International Law

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2010.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1955.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Statute of The Hague Conference on Private International Law, as registered in the UN Treaty Series, is authentic in French alone. As of 1975, the statute was done in English and French, but the French text would prevail in case of doubt. It is not until 2007 that the Statutes are equally authentic in English and French.

The Statute does not contain provisions on language use. Authoritative original documents on languages are not available. Section F under General Provisions contains a reference to languages.

> 6. b. To the extent possible, written proposals are encouraged to be provided in both official languages of the HCCH.

This reference to 'both languages' implies that both English and French are official languages of the organisation, as of 2007. The UIA Yearbook also lists English and French as the sole languages of the organisation. However, given the evolution of the Statutes from being authentic solely in French to being bilingually authentic, it is not certain that English was an operational language at the time of founding. I impute with caution.

References

[1] *01: Statute of the Hague Conference on Private International Law*. Published by the Hague Conference on Private International Law. HCCH Instruments. 2020. URL: https://www.hcch.net/en/instruments/conventions/full-text (visited on 28/11/2021).

[2] Vera Bolgár. 'Status of the Hague Conventions on Private International Law'. In: *The American Journal of Comparative Law* 23.2 (1975). Publisher: American Society of Comparative Law, pp. 380–387. ISSN: 0002-919X. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/839118 (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] *Rules of Procedure of the Hague Conference on Private International Law (HCCH)*. Published by the Hague Conference on Private International Law. HCCH Instruments. 2020. URL: https://www.hcch.net/de/governance/rules-of-procedure (visited on 21/12/2024).

[4] 'Statute of The Hague Conference on Private International Law (revised text). Drawn up at the Seventh Session of the Conference held at The Hague from 9 to 31 October 1951'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 220.2997 (1995). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 121–129. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280148455&clang=_en (visited on 17/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *The Hague Conference on Private International Law (HCCH)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100043607 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IABE: Ibero-American Office of Education

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2020.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1949.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	B: Not in original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Statutes of the OEI are authentic in Spanish and not in Portuguese. The relevant documents published in the Diário da República of the Portuguese Republic, 'cujas versões autênticas em língua espanhola e respectivas traduções em língua portuguesa' are annexed to the resolution ratifying them, which speaks to this difference.

The first article of the Statutes defines the languages of the organisation.

> Artículo 1
>
> La Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura u Organização de Estados Ibero-Americanos para a Educação, a Ciência e a Cultura, anteriormente denominada "Oficina de Educación Iberoamericana" es un Organismo Internacional de carácter gubernamental para la cooperación entre los paíoses iberoamericanos en los campos de la educación, la ciencia, la tecnología y la cultura en el contexto del desarrollo integral. Sus siglas son "OEI" y sus idiomas oficiales el español y el portugués.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing Spanish and Portuguese as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Estatutos de la OEI*. Publisher: Organización de Estados Iberoamericanos para la Educación, la Ciencia y la Cultura. Publications of the General Secretary. 1985. URL: https://oei.int/oficinas/secretaria-general/publicaciones/estatutos-de-la-oei/ (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] 'Resolução da Assembleia da República n.º 27/2002'. In: *Diário da República, Portuguese Republic* 84/2002.1 (3428). URL: https://diariodarepublica.pt/dr/detalhe/resolucao-assembleia-republica/27-2002-303251 (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organization of Ibero-American States for Education, Science and Culture*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100040708` (visited on 21/12/2024).

IACS: Inter-African Committee on Statistics

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2080.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1954.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	D: Not in related treaty	X: *Official and working*	2
French	C: In related treaty	X: *Official and working*	2
Portuguese	D: Not in related treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents are available for this short-lived organisation. Portuguese-language sources specify that this organisation functioned under the aegis of the CTCAf, and that this organisation was formed on the recommendation of Portugal during the 6th session of the CTCAf in 1953 (Pinto da Cruz 2014: 40). This connection is missed by the UIA Yearbook.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. Information on this organisation in English is exceedingly sparse. An index published in 1960 cataloguing works related to population research notes an English-language paper in the Bulletin of the Inter-African Committee on Statistics published in December 1959, with 'Duplicate text in Portuguese and French.' This is consistent with its relationship to the CTCAf, which also functioned in English, French, and Portuguese, though the charter of that organisation was authentic in French only, and English and French were used more widely than Portuguese within that organisation. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] '3506-3517'. In: *Population Index* 26.3 (1960). Publisher: Office of Population Research, pp. 263–267. ISSN: 0032-4701. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/2731644 (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] 'Document 5: Convention Portant Creation De La Commission De Cooperation Technique En Afrique Au Sud Du Sahara (C.C.T.A.)' In: *Chronique de politique étrangère* 11.4 (1958). Publisher: Egmont Institute, pp. 551–555. ISSN: 0009-6059. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/44828727 (visited on 18/12/2024).

[3] 'Jornal da Manhã'. In: *Diário Popular* (1956). In collab. with R. Pinheiro de Oliveira. Hemeroteca Digital, Hemeroteca Municipal de Lisboa, p. 6. URL: https://hemerotecadigital.cm-lisboa.pt/Periodicos/DiarioPopular/1956/Marco/N4832/N4832_master/DiarioPopularN4832.pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[4] Bernardo Luís Campos Pinto da Cruz. 'Proto-Totalitarismo de Gabinete: A génese e consolidação do Gabinete dos Negócios Políticos do Ministério do Ultramar'. RUN –Repositório da Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Mestrado em Ciência Política e Relações Internacionais. Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2014. 149 pp. URL: https://run.unl.pt/bitstream/10362/14942/1/TESE%20FINAL_Bernardo.pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *Inter-African Committee on Statistics*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100019720 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IADB: Inter-American Development Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2160.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1959.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the Inter-American Development Bank is done 'in a single original, dated April 8, 1959, whose English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish texts are equally authentic.'

Authoritative original documents pertaining to language rules for the organisation are unavailable, and the UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation. An IADB news release dating to 2002 contains the following information:

> 'Inter-American Development Bank' s Annual Report 2001, is now available on the Internet in four official languages of the IDB –English, French, Spanish and Portuguese.]

This primary source implies that the four languages of the founding Agreement are also the four 'official languages' of the organisation. Though it is possible that there was change in the language regime in the 43 years between the two texts, it is highly plausible that English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese were official languages from the founding of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Inter-American Development Bank (with annexes). Done at Washington, on 8 April 1959'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 389.5593 (1961). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 69–219. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20389/v389.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] *IDB Annual Report available on internet in four languages | IADB*. Inter-American Development Bank. Wayback Internet Archive. 2023. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20230721200427/https://www.iadb.org/en/news/news-releases/2002-05-13/idb-annual-report-available-on-internet-in-four-languages%2C1722.html (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Inter-American Development Bank (IDB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100040548` (visited on 21/12/2024).

IAEA: International Atomic Energy Agency

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2370.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1957.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1

Coding Rationale

According to XXIII, the original 1956 Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency is 'done in the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages, each being equally authentic.'

Rule 89 of the original Rules of Procedure clearly delineates the official and working languages of the General Conference.

> Chapter XV. LANGUAGES AND RECORDS
>
> Rule 89. Official and working languages
>
> Chinese, English French, Russian and Spanish shall be the official languages of the General Conference. English, French, Russian and Spanish shall be the wording languages of the General Conference. Speeches made in any one of the working languages shall be interpreted into the other working languages.

The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic in addition to English, French, Russian, Spanish, and Chinese, but it is clear that the original rules of procedure precede the addition of Arabic to the UN language regime. Furthermore, the Rules of Procedure place Chinese on a lower tier of institutionalisation than the other four languages. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Rules of Procedure of the General Conference. Adopted on 23 October 1957*. Publisher: International Atomic Energy Agency. IAEA Documents, GC(02)/INF/16. 1958. URL: https://www.iaea.org/sites/default/files/gc/gc02inf-16_en.pdf (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] 'Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency (with annex). Done at the Headquarters of the United Nations, on 26 October 1956'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 276.3988 (1957). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–124. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280142abd (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052721 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IAFC: Inter-American Federation of Cotton

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2170.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1959.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The text of this original 'Convenio Constitutivo de la Federación Interamericana del Algodón' is done in Spanish.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list language information for this organisation, for which references are sparse. I impute based on the text of the original convention, and on the organisation's exclusively hispanophone founding membership.

References

[1] 'Convenio Constitutivo de la Federación Interamericana del Algodón'. In: *La Gaceta de la República de Nicaragua* 271.28 (1959). URL: `http://legislacion.asamblea.gob.ni/Instrumentos.nsf/bde7f9f0e2863496062578b80075d822/f289de426de162e70625755400526aa4?OpenDocument&ExpandSection=1#_Section1` (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Inter-American Federation of Cotton*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100057621` (visited on 21/12/2024).

IAIC: Inter-American Investment Corporation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2200.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1986.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the Inter-American Investment Corporation contains a provision in Article XI stipulating that its 'English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish texts are equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents are available that concern language rules, and the Rules of Procedure of the Committee of the Board of Governors do not make reference to languages. This organisation, which does business as 'IDB Invest,' is an investment corporation affiliated with the IADB. Contemporary information on the IAIC's website, dating to 2018, references 'the institution' s four official languages –Spanish, English, French and Portuguese.' The UIA Yearbook corroborates these four languages. Although it is unknown whether they had official status in 1986, it is highly likely considering the authentic languages of the Agreement text and the linkages to the IADB. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Agreement establishing the Inter-American Investment Corporation*. Publisher: IDB Invest, a member of the Inter-American Development Bank Group. IDB Invest Institutional Information. 1984. URL: https://idbinvest.org/en/how-we-work/institutional-information (visited on 21/11/2021).

[2] *IDB Invest launches the public consultation on its new Access to Information Policy | IDB Invest*. 2018. URL: https://idbinvest.org/en/news-media/idb-invest-launches-public-consultation-its-new-access-information-policy (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] *Rules of Procedure of the Committee of the Board of Governors*. Publisher: IDB Invest, a member of the Inter-American Development Bank Group. IDB Invest Institutional Information. 1984. URL: https://idbinvest.org/en/how-we-work/institutional-information (visited on 21/11/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Inter-American Investment Corporation (IIC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100049696 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IAIGC: Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Corporation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2220.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Convention establishing the Inter-Arab Investment Guarantee Corporation is done in Arabic, and the English translation is explicitly described as non-binding.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. Though the UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, and French for this organisation, there is reason to believe these were not the languages used at founding. The IAIGC, as the first multilateral credit insurer in the world, only covered investments between Arab member countries (International Legal Materials 1985: footnote 13). It is likely that languages other than Arabic were added later. Of note, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (which operates in English) was not founded until 1988. I impute on the basis of the above, and on the basis of the authentic text.

References

[1] *Convention Establishing the Arab Investment and Export Credit Guarantee Corporation*. Publisher: The Arab Investment and Export Credit Guarantee Corporation. Dhaman Publications. 2016. URL: https://www.dhaman.org/establishing-convention.html (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Arab Investment and Export Credit Guarantee Corporation (DHAMAN)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100030144 (visited on 21/12/2024).

[3] 'World Bank: Convention Establishing the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency'. In: *International Legal Materials* 24.6 (1985), pp. 1598–1638. ISSN: 0020-7829, 1930-6571. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-legal-materials/article/abs/world-bank-convention-establishing-the-multilateral-investment-guarantee-agency/041206BF857E2D0E37833B5639066564 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IAMLO: International African Migratory Locust Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2330.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1952.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original 1952 African Migratory Locust Convention is done 'in the French and English languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy.'

No authoritative original documents concerning languages rules are available for this now-defunct organisation, nor does the UIA Yearbook contain language information. I impute on the basis of the authentic treaty text.

References

[1] 'African Migratory Locust Convention. Signed at Paris on 15 May 1952'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 728.10476 (1970). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 393–405. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20728/volume-728-I-10476-English.pdf` (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International African Migratory Locust Organisation*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066557` (visited on 21/12/2024).

IAPhy: Inter-African Phytosanitary Convention

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2090.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1954.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original 1954 Phyto-Sanitary Convention for Africa South of the Sahara is done 'in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authoritative, in a single copy.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese as languages for this organisation, though it is unlikely that all were operational languages at the time of founding. Arabic was likely not added until the organisation became part of the OAU. Likewise, Portuguese was likely not added until it became part of CTCAf in 1960. At its inception, this organisation was supported by the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux. Based on the above, and on the languages of the authentic text of the Convention, I impute only English and French.

References

[1] 'Phyto-Sanitary Convention for Africa South of the Sahara. Signed at London, on 29 July 1954'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 249.3500 (1956). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 45–58. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20249/volume-249-I-3500-English.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Inter-African Phytosanitary Council (AU-IAPSC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062629 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IARA: Inter-Allied Reparation Agency

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2100.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1946.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on reparation from Germany, on the establishment of an Inter-Allied Reparation Agency and on the restitution of monetary gold is signed 'in the English and French languages, the two texts being equally authentic, in a single original.'

Part II in the Agreement, which concerns the establishment of the Agency, lays out the official languages of the Agency.

> Article 11: OFFICIAL LANGUAGES.
>
> The official languages of the Agency shall be English and French.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, but the original text of the Agreement is a sufficient basis upon which to code.

References

[1] 'Agreement on reparation from Germany, on the establishment of an Inter-Allied Reparation Agency and on the restitution of monetary gold. Done at Paris, on 14 January 1946; and Protocol attached to the above-mentioned Agreement. Signed at Brussels, on 15 March 1948'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 555.8105 (1966). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 70–109. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028012c04c (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Inter-Allied Reparations Agency (IARA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100024899 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IARuhr: International Authority for the Ruhr

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2380.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1949.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
German	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

Article 34 of the original Agreement for an International Authority for the Ruhr states that 'The English and French texts of the present Agreement are authentic.'

Article 12 of the Agreement concerns the use of languages in the organisation.

> Article 12. The Authority shall conduct its business in English, French and German, of which English and French shall be the official languages. Authoritative German texts of documents shall be provided as necessary.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, but the original text of the Agreement makes it clear that English and French are on a higher tier of institutionalisation than German, though all three languages are used in some operational capacity. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Agreement for an International Authority for the Ruhr (London, 28 April 1949).* Publisher: Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History, University of Luxembourg. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l' Europe. 2013. URL: `https://www.cvce.eu/content/publication/1997/10/13/39099742-20be-484c-b7b2-95a7c03c972f/publishable_en.pdf` (visited on 29/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Authority for the Ruhr (IAR).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100059513` (visited on 21/12/2024).

IASAJ: International Association of Supreme Administrative Jurisdictions

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2360.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1983.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Statutes of this organisation are done in the English and French languages.

Article 19 of the Statutes define the languages of the organisation.

> Article 19: WORKING LANGUAGES.
>
> The working languages of the Association shall be English and French. All documents produced at the Association's expense shall be prepared in these languages.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English and French as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Statutes*. Publisher: International Association of Supreme Administrative Jurisdictions. 2024. URL: https://www.aihja.org/en/statutes/ (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Association of Supreme Administrative Jurisdictions (IASAJ)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100000818 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IATTC: Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2210.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1950.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Convention for the strengthening of the Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission is done 'in duplicate, in the English and Spanish languages, both texts being equally authentic.'

Article I, Section 14 of the Convention is a provision on language use in the organisation.

> Section 14. The official languages of the Commission shall be English and Spanish, and members of the Commission may use either languages during meetings. When requested, translation shall be made to the other language. The minutes, official documents, and publications of the Commission shall be in both languages, but official correspondence of the Commission may be written, at the discretion of the secretary, in either language.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English and Spanish as languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention for the establishment of an Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission. Signed at Washington, on 31 May 1949. Exchange of notes relating to the above-mentioned Agreement. Washington, 3 March 1950'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 80.1041 (1951). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–17. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%2080/volume-80-I-1041-English.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Inter-American Tropical Tuna Commission (IATTC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100011476 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IBA: International Bauxite Association

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2410.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement Establishing the International Bauxite Association was signed in 1974. Article XXVIII establishes that 'the English and French texts are equally authoritative.'

Article XIII of the Agreement defines the official languages of the organisation.

> Article XIII. Official Languages.
>
> The official languages of the Association shall be French and English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English and French as the two languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Australia—Guinea—Guyana—Jamaica—Sierra Leone—Surinam—Yugoslavia: Agreement Establishing the International Bauxite Association'. In: *International Legal Materials* 13.5 (1974). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 1245–1253. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20691334 (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Bauxite Association (IBA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041977 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IBEC: International Bank for Economic Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2390.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1963.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

Article X of the Agreement concerning the Organization and Activities of the International Bank for Economic Co-operation Indicates that it is done 'on 22 October 1963, in a single copy in Russian.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions, nor are original documents on language rules available. The UIA Yearbook lists English and Russian as the languages of this organisation, and the website of the Bank is accessible in these languages as of this writing. However, there is reason to believe that the bank which served the Soviet bloc, operated solely in Russian at the time of its founding in 1963; I impute on the basis of the authentic text of the Agreement.

References

[1] *International Bank for Economic Co-operation / IBEC*. International Bank for Economic Co-operation. 2024. URL: `http://ibec.int` (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] 'International Bank for Economic Cooperation: Agreement and Statutes (Soviet bloc international bank)'. In: *International Legal Materials* 3.2 (1964). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 324–338. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: `https://www.jstor.org/stable/20689748` (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Bank for Economic Co-operation (IBEC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100016256` (visited on 21/12/2024).

IBI: Intergovernmental Bureau for Informatics

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2240.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

This organisation was originally founded under the auspices of UNESCO as the International Computation Centre, and was later restructured in 1972 (Pohle 2013). The Original Convention for the establishment of the International Computation Centre is done 'in one copy, in the French and English languages, both texts being equally authentic.'

The Convention itself contains no provisions on the languages of the organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and Spanish as the languages of the organisation. It is plausible that this held from the founding of the organisation, as at that time Spanish had already become a UN working language. Absent further information, I impute on this basis.

References

[1] 'Convention for the establishment of the International Computation Centre (with annex). Signed at Paris, on 6 December 1951'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 325.6119 (1962). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 61–81. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801347ee (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Julia Pohle. *From a Global Informatics Order to Informatics for Development: The Rise and Fall of the Intergovernmental Bureau for Informatics*. Rochester, NY, 2013. URL: https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=2827639 (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Intergovernmental Bureau for Informatics (IBI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100039569 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IBPMP: International Bureau for the Protection of the Moselle against Pollution

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2440.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1963.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Protocol concerning the establishment of an International Commission to Protect the Moselle against Pollution is done 'en trois exemplaires, dont chacun est rédigé en français et en allemand, les deux textes faisant également foi,' making French and German the languages of the authentic text, according to Article 14.

Article 13 of the Protocol defines the working languages of the organisation.

> Article 13. Les langues de travail de la Commission sont le français et l'allemand.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates German and French as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Protocol concerning the establishment of an International Commission to Protect the Moselle against Pollution. Signed at Paris on 20 December 1961'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 940.13392 (1974). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 211–219. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/Volume%20940/v940.pdf (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Commission for the Protection of the Moselle*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100018436 (visited on 21/12/2024).

IBRD: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2400.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1945.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	3

Coding Rationale

The official text of the original Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is in English.

The Articles of Agreement contain no provisions on the use of Language, nor do the bye-laws stipulate language rules, meaning no authoritative original documents on institutional language are available. However, a section on the World Bank Group website dating to 2015 contains a reference to the working language of the World Bank Group, of which the IBRD forms a part.

> 'While the working language of the World Bank Group is English, an increasing amount of content is available in other languages.'

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the organisation. Given the language of the official text of the Articles of Agreement, and the language of documentation within the Bank, I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Bretton Woods Agreements: Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund and Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Came into force on 27 December 1945, by acceptance.' In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2.20 (1947). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 39–207. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280165d37 (visited on 29/11/2021).

[2] *By-Laws of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development*. Publisher: World Bank Group. World Bank Documents Archive. 2021. URL: https://www.worldbank.org/en/about/leadership/directors/by-laws (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] *Language Resources*. World Bank Group. Wayback Internet Archive. 2015. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20150404043245/https://www.worldbank.org/en/language-resources (visited on 22/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100034299` (visited on 21/12/2024).

ICC: International Criminal Court

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2702.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Chinese	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 128 of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court concerns the authenticity of the text, stipulating that 'the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic.'

Article 50 of the Rome Statute clearly defines the official and working languages of the organisation.

> Article 50. Official and working languages
>
> 1. The official languages of the Court shall be Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish. The judgements of the Court, as well as other decisions resolving fundamental issues before the Court, shall be published in the official languages. The Presidency shall, in accordance with the criteria established by the Rules of Procedure and Evidence, determine which decisions may be considered as resolving fundamental issues for the purposes ofthis paragraph.
> 2. The working languages of the Court shall be English and French. The Rules of Procedure and Evidence shall determine the cases in which other official languages may be used as working languages.
> 3. At the request of any party to a proceeding or a State allowed to intervene in a proceeding, the Court shall authorize a language other than English or French to be used by such a party or State, provided that the Court considers such authorization to be adequately justified.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish as the languages of this organisation. At the time of founding of the ICC, all six languages were official languages of the UN system. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court. Rome. 17 July 1998'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2187.38544 (2002). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 91–158. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280025774&clang=_en (visited on 22/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Criminal Court (ICC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2022. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100018777 (visited on 19/01/2022).

ICCEC: Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2280.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 36 of the original Agreement to Establish the Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries stipulates that its 'English, French and Spanish texts are equally authentic.'

Article 20 of the Agreement defines the official languages of the organisation.

> Article 20. The official languages of CIPEC shall be English, French and Spanish.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English, French, and Spanish as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'An Agreement to Establish the Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries (CIPEC), as amended June 1974 (Lusaka, 1-8 June 1967)'. In: *Australian Treaty Series* 1975.43 (1995). Australasian Legal Information Institute, University of Technology Sydney Faculty of Law. URL: http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties/1975/43.html (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Intergovernmental Council of Copper Exporting Countries*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: Intergovernmental%20Council%20of%20Copper%20Exporting%20Countries (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICCILMB: Interim Committee for Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2320.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1978.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original text of the 'Déclaration concernant le Comité intérimaire pour la coordination des études sur le bassin inférieur du Mékong' is done in both French and English, though the Declaration does not make reference to the language of the authentic texts.

The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, which succeeds the Committee for Co-ordination of investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin, set up in 1957 under the auspices of the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. The Rules of Procedure for the predecessor organisation do not refer to languages, but they stipulate that 'for any matter arising which has not been foreseen by the present Rules, the pertinent rules of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East shall be applied....' Rule 42 of Chapter VIII (Languages) of the Rules of procedure for the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East state:

> Chapter VIII. Languages
>
> Rule 42. English and French shall be the working languages of the Commission.

Though these rules of procedure no longer apply to the ICCILMB after its founding, they make it plausible that English and French were the operational languages of this organisation. Notably, the first annual report of this organisation was done in both English and French. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Annex VI. Rules of procedure of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East'. In: *E/CN.11/482. United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East: Annual Report (29 March 1957-15 March 1958).* United Nations Official Document System, E/CN.11/482. New York: United Nations Economic and Social Council, 1958, pp. 65–68. URL: `https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/b09/128/4x/pdf/b091284.pdf` (visited on 21/12/2024).

[2] 'Annexe II: Déclaration concernant le Comité intérimaire pour la coordination des études sur le bassin inférieur du Mékong'. In: *MKG/R.339/CONS. Mise en valeur du Mékong: Retrospective. Activités du Comité intérimaire du Mékong (1977-1980)*. Vol. I. Centre de documentation et des archives, Organisation pour la mise en valeur du fleuve Sénégal, 11593. Comité pour la Coordination des Etudes sur le Bassin Inférieur du Mékong, 2012, pp. 169–170. URL: https://cda-omvs.org/category/comite-pour-la-coordination-des-etudes-sur-le-bassin-inferieur-du-mekong/.

[3] 'Annexe III: Règlement Intérieur'. In: *MKG/R.339/CONS. Mise en valeur du Mékong: Retrospective. Activités du Comité intérimaire du Mékong (1977-1980)*. Vol. I. Centre de documentation et des archives, Organisation pour la mise en valeur du fleuve Sénégal, 11593. Comité pour la Coordination des Etudes sur le Bassin Inférieur du Mékong, 2012, pp. 170–173. URL: https://cda-omvs.org/category/comite-pour-la-coordination-des-etudes-sur-le-bassin-inferieur-du-mekong/.

[4] *Annual report 1978 : interim committee for co-ordination of investigations of the lower Mekong basin*. Publisher: United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. ESCAP Repository, ST/ESCAP/79. 1978. URL: https://repository.unescap.org/handle/20.500.12870/3625?locale-attribute=en (visited on 22/12/2024).

[5] *Statute of the Committee for Co-ordination of Investigations of Lower Mekong Basin Established by the Governments of Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and the Other Republics of Viet-Nam in Response to the Decision Taken by the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Phnom-Penh (cambodia), on 31 October 1957*. Publisher: Committee for Co-ordination of Investigations of Lower Mekong Basin. Transboundary Freshwater Dispute Database, Department of Geosciences, Oregon State University, 216ENG. 2012. URL: http://gis.nacse.org/tfdd/tfdddocs/216ENG.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[6] Union of International Associations. *Interim Committee for Coordination of Investigations of the Lower Mekong Basin (Interim Mekong Committee)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100050660 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICCO: International Cocoa Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2520.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Article 77 of the original International Cocoa Agreement of 1972 states: 'The texts of this Agreement in the English, French, Russian and Spanish languages shall all be equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. A 2024 vacancy notice for an economist position in Abidjan, written in English, refers to French, Russian, and Spanish as the '3 other official ICCO languages.' The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English, French, Russian, and Spanish as the languages of this organisation. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'International Cocoa Agreement, 1972 (with annexes). Concluded at Geneva on 21 October 1972'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 882.12652 (1973). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 67–256. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-9&chapter=19&clang=_en (visited on 24/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Cocoa Organization (ICCO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100039711 (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] *Vacancy notice –Economist*. Publisher: International Cocoa Organization. 2024. URL: https://www.icco.org/wp-content/uploads/ICCO-Job-opening-Economist.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICCROM: International Center for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2480.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1958.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1

Coding Rationale

The original Statutes of this organisation are authentic in English, Russian, Spanish, and French. The Amendments to the statutes are authentic only in English and French.

The rules of procedure for both the General Assembly and the Council define the same languages as the working languages of those bodies.

> Rule 30 [of the General Assembly]. Working languages.
>
> (1) English and French are the working languages of the General Assembly.
>
> Rule 19 [of the Council]. Working languages.
>
> (1) English and French shall be the working languages of the Council.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English and French as the two languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Basic Texts - Textes fondamentaux*. Publisher: International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and the Restoration of Cultural Property. ICCROM Institutional Documents. 2020. URL: https://www.iccrom.org/about/corporate-info/our-commitment-transparency/institutional-documents (visited on 28/11/2021).

[2] 'Statutes of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM). Adopted by the General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization at its fifth session on 5 December 1956. Amendments to the above-mentioned Statutes. Adopted by the General Assembly of the Centre on 24 April 1963. Amend-

ments to the above-mentioned Statutes of 5 December 1956, as amended. Adopted by the General Assembly of the Centre of 12 April 1973. Amendments to the above-mentioned Statutes of 5 December 1956, as amended. Adopted by the General Assembly of the Centre on 23 April 1979'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1321.22032 (1983). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 287–333. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201321/volume-1321-I-22032-English.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100030824 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICCS: International Commission on Civil Status

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2620.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1948.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

This organisation was formed in 1948 and officialised in 1950 via the Protocol relating to the International Commission on Civil Status, and an Additional Protocol signed in 1952. French is the sole language of the authentic text of these legal instruments.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the languages of this organisation, and the current Rules of the International Commission on Civil Status, adopted in Strasbourg on 24 September 2020, contain an Article 5 that states: 'French and English are the official languages of the Commission.' However, reporting in 2021 by the European Association of Private International Law notes that the adoption of the new regulation, which entered in force on 1 January 2021, took place as a modernisation drive. Nicolas Nord, then-Secretary-General of ICCS, referred explicitly to changes in the organisation's official language regime.

> 'The will of the member States is to modernize the organisation, to adapt it to new challenges and to make it more attractive. Some essential reforms have thus been introduced. Three examples may be given. English becomes the second official language of the organisation, alongside French...Our desire by introducing a second official language is to allow non-French speaking countries, European or not, to join us in order to work together⋯It is a reaction to the surprising withdrawal of France⋯The reform of the ICCS internal regulation is precisely a reaction to such concerns, in order to make the organisation more attractive and to ensure its sustainability.'

From this, it is apparent that the addition of English as an official language is one of many recent reforms meant to ensure the survival of the organisation. This makes it clear that French was the sole official language of the organisation for most of its history. I code accordingly.

References

[1] Marion Ho-Dac. *International Commission on Civil Status (ICCS) Adopts New Internal Regulation*. European Association for Private International Law. 2021.

URL: https://eapil.org/2021/01/19/international-commission-on-civil-status-iccs-adopts-new-internal-regulation/ (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] 'Protocol relating to the International Commission on Civil Status. Concluded at Berne on 25 September 1950. Additional Protocol to the above-mentioned Protocol. Concluded at Luxembourg on 25 September 1952'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 932.13270 (1974). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 21–29. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028010e339&clang=_en (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] *Rules of the International Commission on Civil Status, adopted in Strasbourg on 24 September 2020*. Publisher: International Commission on Civil Status. Gouvernance CIEC. 2020. URL: https://www.ciec1.org/GouvernancePDF/Rules_of_the_ICCS.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *International Commission on Civil Status (ICCS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100001393 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICFAM: Intergovernmental Institution for the use of Micro-Algae Against Malnutrition

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2492.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2001.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The original Convention for the use of food micro-algae and inter-university scientific research, which also constitutes the Intergovernmental University of Cooperation, is done 'in English, French and Spanish, with equal texts,' according to Article 9.

No authoritative original documents are available that concern the use of languages, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. Very little information is available on this organisation, even on its website, which is accessible only in English and French but not in Spanish. I impute based on the above.

References

[1] *Accueil*. Centre international pour les micro algues alimentaires contre la malnutrition. 2024. URL: https://www.icfam.net/fr/accueil/ (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] 'Convention for the use of food micro-algae and inter-university scientifc research (with annex). Conakry, 1 December 2000, Kinshasa, 13 December 2000, Malabo, 12 February 2001, Sao Tomé, 27 February 2001 and Rome, 31 May 2001'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2151.37543 (2001). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 15–28. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%202151/v2151.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Centre for Food Micro-Algae Against Malnutrition (ICFAM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100032818 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICHRB: International Commission for the Hydrology of the Rhine Basin

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2550.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1970.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
German	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents are available for this organisation. The earliest documentation from this organisation exists in French and German only.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English and German as the languages of this organisation. Whilst the website of the ICHRB is currently only available in English and German, English-language publications listed in the 'Publications' section of the website do not appear until the 1990s. Most reports published prior to the 1990s are published only in French and German. A large monograph from 1975 is also available exclusively in French. It is likely that French and German were the original operational languages of this organisation before French was deprecated in favour of English. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Publications*. International Commission for the Hydrology of the Rhine basin (CHR). 2024. URL: https://www.chr-khr.org/en/publications (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] J. Tricart. 'La commission internationale de l'hydrologie du bassin du Rhin nous présente son domaine'. In: *Annales de Géographie* 89.494 (1980). Publisher: Armand Colin, pp. 512–516. ISSN: 0003-4010. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/23449523 (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Commission for the Hydrology of the Rhine Basin*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100020964 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICNWAF: International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2570.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1949.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries is done 'in Washington this eighth day of February 1949 in the English language.'

The Convention does not mention language rules. However, the Rules of Procedure, as published in the 'Handbook,' which are available on the website of its successor organisation, the North Atlantic Fisheries Organisation, contain the original rules of procedure of the ICNWAF. Rule 19 defines the official and working language of the Commission.

> *Language of the Commission.*
>
> Rule 19: English shan be the official and working language of the Commission but, if desired, any other language may be used, it being understood that persons doing so at meetings will provide their own interpreters. All official publications and communications of the Commission shall be in English.

The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this organisation, but the text of the original Rules of Procedure is sufficient. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *ICNAF - Convention and Handbook*. Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization. 2024. URL: https://www.nafo.int/Library/ICNAF/ICNAF-Publications/ICNAF-Convention-Handbook (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] 'International Convention for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries (with annex). Done at Washington, on 8 February 1949'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 157.2053 (1953). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 158–182. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20157/volume-157-I-2053-English.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] 'Rules of the Commission'. In: *ICNAF - Directory*. NAFO Library, ICNAF-1960 Handbook. North Atlantic Fisheries Organization, 1960, pp. 20–54. URL: https://www.nafo.int/Library/ICNAF/ICNAF-Publications/ICNAF-Convention-Handbook (visited on 22/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries (ICNAF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023548 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICPRP: International Bureau for the Protection of the Rhine against Pollution

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2450.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1963.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The 1963 Agreement on the International Commission for the protection of the Rhine against pollution is, according to Article 16, 'prepared in one copy in the German, French and Dutch languages, all three texts being equally authentic.'

Article 14 of the Agreement defines the working languages of the organisation.

> Article 14: The working languages of the Commission shall be German and French.

The UIA Yearbook lists Dutch, English, French, and German, but it is clear that English was only later added to the set of operational languages, and that Dutch is an authentic language of the original treaty text but not an operational language. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement on the International Commission for the protection of the Rhine against pollution (with protocol of signature). Signed at Bern on 29 April 1963'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 994.14538 (1976). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–21. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20994/v994.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Commission for the Protection of the Rhine (ICPR)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100018437 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICRI: International Coral Reef Initiative

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2670.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

According to the website of this organisation, its formation was announced at the 'inaugural Conference of the Parties to the CBD, on 7th December 1994.' All original documents from this conference are in English. Additionally, the document titled 'Announcement of the Creation of ICRI' exists only in English.

Authoritative original documents pertaining to language rules for the organisation are unavailable. The website of the organisation is available only in English. Additionally, the UIA Yearbook lists English as its sole language. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *About Us*. International Coral Reef Initiative. 2024. URL: https://icriforum.org/about/ (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] *Announcement of the Creation of ICRI*. Publisher: International Coral Reef Initiative. ICRI Publications and Resources. 1994. URL: https://icriforum.org/documents/icri-creation/ (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] *COP-01. Meeting documents - First Ordinary Meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity. 28 November-9 December 1994. Nassau, Bahamas*. Convention on Biological Diversity. 2024. URL: https://www.cbd.int/meetings/COP-01 (visited on 22/12/2024).

[4] *ICRI, Coral Reefs and the UN*. International Coral Reef Initiative. 2024. URL: https://icriforum.org/icri-coral-reefs-and-the-un/ (visited on 22/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *International Coral Reef Initiative (ICRI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066919 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICRPBC: Intergovernmental Committee of the River Plate Basin Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2260.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1969.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty of the River Plate Basin is done 'in one copy in the Spanish and Portuguese languages.'

The statutes of the organisation, as of 2001, contain a provision in Chapter IX (General Dispositions) on languages.

> Artículo 16.
>
> —Son idiomas oficiales del CIC el español y el portugués.

Though this version of the statutes was adopted in 1992 and not in 1969, there is good reason to believe that a similar position was also in force upon founding, given the founding membership and the authentic languages of the Treaty text. The UIA Yearbook also corroborates Spanish and Portuguese as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Estatuto del Comité Intergubernamental Coordinador de los Países de la Cuenca del Plata (CIC)*. Publisher: Comité Intergubernamental Coordinador de los Países de la Cuenca del Plata. Publicaciones CIC Cuenca del Plata. 2001. URL: https://cicplata.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/estatuto-vigente-del-cic.pdf (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] 'Treaty of the River Plate Basin. Signed at Brasilia on 23 April 1969'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 875.12550 (1970). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 4–13. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280111a04 (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Comité Intergubernamental Coordinador de los Paises de la Cuenca del Plata (CIC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100019257 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICSEAF: International Commission for the Southeast Atlantic Fisheries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2590.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1969.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 1969 Convention on the conservation of the living resources of the Southeast Atlantic is done 'in a single copy in the English, French and Spanish languages, each version being equally authoritative.'

Article V, section 5 of the Convention clearly defines the working languages of the organisation.

> (5) The working languages of the Commission shall be English, French and Spanish.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English, French, and Spanish as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention on the conservation of the living resources of the Southeast Atlantic (with Final Act of the Conference and resolutions). Done at Rome on 23 October 1969'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 801.11408 (1971). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 101–151. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028011a77b (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Commission for the Southeast Atlantic Fisheries (ICSEAF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100003135 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICSG: International Copper Study Group

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2660.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Chinese	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Terms of Reference of the International Copper Study Group were adopted in 1989. Its texts 'are equally authentic in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish, in accordance with paragraph 1 of the Resolution by which the Conference adopted the Terms of Reference.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation, for which the UIA Yearbook lists only English. The website of the organisation is available in English, Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and Spanish. I impute on the principle of reconciling these sources to the best of my ability.

References

[1] *International Copper Study Group - Homepage*. International Copper Study Group. 2024. URL: https://icsg.org/ (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] 'Terms of Reference of the International Copper Study Group. Geneva, 24 February 1989'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1662.28603 (1992). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 229–278. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-35&chapter=19&clang=_en (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Copper Study Group (ICSG)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100048031 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICfO: International Coffee Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2530.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1963.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
Russian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

Article 74 of the original International Coffee Agreement of 1962 states: 'The texts of this Agreement in the English, French, Russian, Spanish and Portuguese languages shall all be equally authentic.'

The original Agreement does not contain language provisions. Rule 36 of the Rules of the International Coffee Organisation, as of 2002, defines the official languages of the organisation.

> Rule 36. Official languages
>
> English, French, Portuguese and Spanish are the official languages of the Organization. The Executive Director shall make such arrangements for interpretation and translation as may be necessary. Documents shall be published in the official languages as needed. Any delegation whose members wish to speak at meetings of the Council or any of its committees or working groups in any language other than one of the official languages shall arrange at their own expense for interpretation into one of the official languages.

Though these are not the original rules of procedure from 1963, it is likely that these were the languages of the organisation from its inception, given the organisation's founding membership and the authentic texts of the treaty. The UIA Yearbook also lists English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish for this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *EB-3820/03. Rules of the International Coffee Organization*. Publisher: International Coffee Organization. ICO Documents, EB-3820/03. 2007. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20070630044842/http://dev.ico.org/show_document.asp?id=212 (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] 'International Coffee Agreement, 1962 (with annexes). Done at New York, on 28 September 1962'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 469.6791 (1963). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 169–415. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-4&chapter=19&clang=_en (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Coffee Organization (ICO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100034532 (visited on 22/12/2024).

ICivDO: International Civil Defence Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2510.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1972.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	B: Not in original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Chinese	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Constitution of the International Civil Defence Organization is done 'in a single copy in Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages, each text being equally authentic,' according to Article 53.

Article 47 of the Internal Regulations defines the official and working languages of the organisation.

> *Languages*
>
> Article 47.
>
> The six official and working languages of the Organization shall be English, Arabic, French, Spanish, Russian and Chinese.

Though it is uncertain whether these rules were in force at the time of founding, there is reason to believe that this was the initial language regime, particularly as the Convention (to which these rules are affixed) was never amended to be authentic in Arabic, and also taking into account the addition of Chinese and Arabic to the UN working language regime in 1973. The UIA Yearbook also lists these six languages as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Constitution of the International Civil Defence Organization (with Statutes dated 10 January 1958). Concluded at Monaco on 17 October 1966'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 985.14376 (1975). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 11–49. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280106b5b (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] *Internal Regulations of the International Civil Defence Organisation*. Publisher: International Civil Defence Organisation. 2024. URL: https://icdo.org/files/documents/intreg/internal_regulation_en.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Civil Defence Organization (ICDO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100063447 (visited on 22/12/2024).

IEA: International Energy Agency

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2710.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
German	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on an International Energy Program contains a provision in Article 76 declaring that its 'English, French and German texts are equally authentic.'

The original Agreement does not provide for language rules for the operation of the organisation, nor do other authoritative original documents on language use exist. However, an authoritative History of the organisation, commissioned for its 20th anniversary, contains a detailed discussion on language use within the organisation (which did not lay down clear language rules). It details the transition from a primarily English-language environment at founding, to one which saw increased use of French and German beginning in the 1990s (Scott 1974: 332-338).

> 'Although the English language has been used most extensively as an official and working language throughout the history of the IEA, the evolution of membership in 1991-1992 had a strong influence on increasing the use of French and German.
>
> ...
>
> 'The most significant changes in the Agency' s language expectations and practices occurred in connection with the membership of France in 1992. Early in the 1991 discussions with French authorities about the possibility of French membership, representatives of France raised the question of the presence of the French language in the Agency. In that context it had to be made clear that French was not an "official language of the Agency" and that the Governing Board would have to examine the question···'

The negotiations to the original Agreement took place in English, and only later was the text translated into French and German. Language did not become a controversial issue until later on. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement on an International Energy Program (with annex). Concluded at Paris on 18 November 1974'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1040.15664 (1977). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 271–338. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800fe7bd (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Richard Scott. 'D. Languages. (in Chapter VIII)'. In: *The History of the International Energy Agency: The First Twenty Years. Volume I: Origins and Structure*. Vol. I. IEA Blob Core. Paris: OECD Publications, 1994, pp. 332–338. URL: https://iea.blob.core.windows.net/assets/b73b0800-ed54-48ba-bf16-cc6820b723a3/1ieahistory.pdf (visited on 23/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Energy Agency (IEA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100010487 (visited on 22/12/2024).

IFAD: International Fund for Agricultural Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2760.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1

Coding Rationale

The authenticity of the texts of the original Agreement establishing the International Fund for Agricultural Development is given treatment in Section 5 of Article 13, which states: 'The versions of this Agreement in the Arabic, English, French and Spanish languages shall each be equally authoritative.'

The rules of procedure for both the Governing Council and the Executive Board (both adopted in 1977) contain clear provisions defining operational languages.

> Rule 20 [Governing Council]: Languages of the Governing Council.
>
> Arabic, English, French and Spanish shall be the languages of the Governing Council.
>
> Rule 27 [Executive Board]: Languages of the Board.
>
> Arabic, English, French and Spanish shall be the languages of the Board. The Board may, from time to time, consider and prescribe, with a view to its most effective operation, guidelines for the interpretation of speeches and for the translation of proposals, decisions and documents.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates Arabic, English, French, and Spanish as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the International Fund for Agricultural Development (with schedules). Concluded at Rome on 13 June 1976'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1059.16041 (1977). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 192–323. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=X-8&chapter=10&clang=_en#:~:text=The%20Agreement%20was%20adopted%20on,10%20to%2013%20June%201976. (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100017213 (visited on 22/12/2024).

IFC: International Finance Corporation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2750.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1956.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	3

Coding Rationale

English is the sole language of the original Articles of Agreement of the International Finance Corporation.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English as its sole language. Additionally, I note that the IFC was founded as the private arm of the World Bank Group. It is clear that English was the only operational language of the IFC at its founding. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Articles of Agreement of the International Finance Corporation. Opened for signature at Washington, on 25 May 1955'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 264.3791 (1957). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 117–160. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280143e22 (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] *Language Resources*. World Bank Group. Wayback Internet Archive. 2015. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20150404043245/https://www.worldbank.org/en/language-resources (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Finance Corporation (IFC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041215 (visited on 22/12/2024).

IGAD: Intergovernmental Authority on Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2230.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1986.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Article 24 of the Agreement Establishing the Inter-governmental Authority on Development states: 'Both English and French versions of this Agreement are authentic.'

The Agreement contains no language provisions other than Article 24. No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the languages of this organisation, which is consistent with the languages of the authentic text of the Agreement. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Agreement Establishing the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).* Publisher: Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) - Assembly of Heads of State and Government. IGAD Archives. 1996. URL: https://igad.int/download/agreement-establishing-the-intergovernmental-authority-on-development-igad/ (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100029375 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IGC: International Grains Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3260.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1949.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	3
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	3

Coding Rationale

The original International Wheat Agreement is done 'this twenty-third day of March 1949, in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.' The subsequent amendment to this text in 1953 is authentic in English, French, and Spanish.

The Agreement makes no provisions for operational languages for the Council, and no authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The Wheat Agreements and Grain Conventions of 1962, 1971, 1986, and 1995 also do not make reference to language rules. Rule 9, Article 9 (a) of the 1995 rules of procedure concern language use.

> Article 9
>
> —(a) The records of the Council shall be in the English, French, Russian and Spanish languages.

The UIA Yearbook also lists English, French, Russian, and Spanish as languages of the organisation. However, the language regime of this organisation has most likely changed over time, as evidenced in part by the authentic languages of the agreements. The 1949 agreement was authentic in English and French only; the 1953 amendment in English, French, and Spanish. Beginning in 1962, all Agreements and Conventions were authentic in English, French, Russian, and Spanish. Thus, it is overwhelmingly likely that English and French were the only operational languages of this organisation at the time of its founding. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Grains Trade Convention, 1995. Miscellaneous Series No. 39.* Publisher: Foreign and Commonwealth Development Office, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. UK Official Documents, CP 159. 2019. URL: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5d3090c040f0b64a855315fe/MS_31.2019_Grains_Trade_Convention.pdf.

[2] 'International Grains Agreement, 1995: (a) Grains Trade Convention, 1995 (with annex). Concluded at London on 7 December 1994. (b) Food Aid Convention, 1995. Concluded at London on 5 December 1994'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1882.32022 (1995). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 195–371. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-41-a&chapter=19&clang=_en (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] 'International Grains Arrangement 1967: (a) Wheat Trade Convention (with annexes). Opened for signature at Washington from 15 October 1967 until 30 November 1967. (b) Food Aid Convention. Opened for signature at Washington from 15 October 1967 until 30 November 1967'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 727.10455 (1970). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 4–191. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20727/volume-727-I-10455-English.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[4] 'International Wheat Agreement, 1971: (a) Wheat Trade Convention, 1971 (with annexes). Opened for signature at Washington from 29 March 1971 until 3 May 1971. (b) Food Aid Convention, 1971. Opened for signature at Washington from 29 March 1971 until 3 May 1971'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 800.11400 (1971). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 45–197. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20800/volume-800-I-11400-English.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[5] 'International Wheat Agreement, 1986: (a) Wheat Trade Convention, 1986 (with annex). Concluded at London on 14 March 1986. (b) Food Aid Convention, 1986. Concluded at London on 13 March 1986'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1429.24237 (1986). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 71–206. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-28-a&chapter=19&clang=_en (visited on 22/12/2024).

[6] 'International Wheat Agreement. Done at Washington, on 23 March 1949. Agreement revising and renewing the above-mentioned Agreement. Done at Washington, on 13 April 1953'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 203.2746 (1955). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 179–334. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028014b70f (visited on 22/12/2024).

[7] *Junior Market Analyst*. International Grains Council. 2021. URL: http://www.igc.int/en/about/vacancies.aspx (visited on 23/12/2024).

[8] Union of International Associations. *International Grains Council (IGC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041215 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IGCC: Intergovernmental Copyright Committee

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2270.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1952.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	2
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	2
Spanish	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	2

Coding Rationale

Article XVI of the original Universal Copyright Convention of 1952 states: 'This Convention shall be established in English, French and Spanish. The three texts shall be signed and shall be equally authoritative.' Protocols attached thereto are also authentic in these three languages.

The Convention is silent on operational language rules, nor are other authoritative original documents on language rules available. The UIA Yearbook lists the six current languages of the United Nations (Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish) for this organisation. A 1997 IGCC report on a committee meeting contains the following text:

> Working languages of the Committee
>
> 65. The Secretariat informed the members of the Committee that, due to budgetary restrictions, it was extremely likely that in the future UNESCO would not be in a position to finance the cost of interpretation and translation of the Committee' s work for Arabic and Russian.
>
> 66. The delegations of Algeria, Chile, Iraq, Morocco, Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation and Tunisia insisted that Arabic and Russian should remain working languages of the Committee. They recalled decisions of principle taken by the governing bodies of UNESCO concerning working languages, and urged that they be respected ··· These delegations stressed the need to comply strictly with UNESCO' s Constitution and with the Committee' s Rules of Procedure with regard to working languages, in accordance with the decisions taken by the Executive Board and the General Conference of UNESCO.

This implies that, because of the IGCC's relationship to UNESCO, related provisions from UNESCO should be the source of language rules for the organisation at founding. In 1952, English, French, and Spanish were the only working languages of that organisation. A year-end 1952 UNESCO contains a proposal to translate

UNESCO publications into Arabic in addition to English, French, and Spanish. Thus, it is apparent that Arabic, Chinese, and Russian were not working languages of UNESCO, and by extension, this organisation, upon its founding in 1952. This is consistent with the authenticity of the original text in English, French, and Spanish only. Additionally, the UIA Yearbook notes that the IGCC publication titled 'Copyright Laws and Treaties of the World' is published in English, French, and Spanish. I code based on the ensemble of evidence presented above.

References

[1] *7 C/PRG/40. Report of the rapporteur, UNESCO. General Conference, 7th, 1952. Programme Commission [66]*. Publisher: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation. UNESCO Digital Library, 7 C/PRG/40. 1952. URL: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000224633 (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] *IGC(1971)/XI/9, CLT.97/CONF.205/CLD.10. Report (of the Intergovernmental Copyright Committee). Intergovernmental Copyright Committee, 11th, Paris, 1997 [40]*. Publisher: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation. UNESCO Digital Library, IGC(1971)/XI/9, CLT.97/CONF.205/CLD.10. 1997. URL: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000111560 (visited on 23/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Intergovernmental Committee of the Universal Copyright Convention (IGC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014853 (visited on 23/12/2024).

[4] 'Universal Copyright Convention. Signed at Geneva, on 6 September 1952. Protocol 1 annexed to the Universal Copyright Convention concerning the application of that Convention to the works of stateless persons and refugees. Signed at Geneva, on 6 September 1952. Protocol 2 annexed to the Universal Copyright Convention concerning the application of that Convention to the works of certain international organizations. Signed at Geneva, on 6 September 1952. Protocol 3 annexed to the Universal Copyright Convention concerning the effective date of instruments of ratifi cation or acceptance of or accession to that Convention. Signed at Geneva, on 6 September 1952'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 216.2937 (1955). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 132–220. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801497e7 (visited on 22/12/2024).

IIFEO: International Thermonuclear Experimental Reactor International Fusion Energy Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3177.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2006.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on the Establishment of the ITER International Fusion Energy Organization for the Joint Implementation of the ITER Project is done 'in a single original, in the English language,' according to Article 29.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as this organisation's sole language. In addition, under the 'General Information' section on the website of the IIFEO, the organisation's official language is defined.

> 'The official language of the ITER Organization is English.'

Given that English is the sole authentic text of the founding Agreement, it is highly likely that English has been the language of operations since the founding of IIFEO in 2006. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement on the establishment of the ITER International Fusion Energy Organization for the joint implementation of the ITER Project (with annexes). Paris, 21 November 2006'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2491.44688 (2008). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 203–271. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%202491/v2491.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] *General information*. ITER - the way to new energy. 2023. URL: https://www.iter.org/industry/procurement/general-information (visited on 23/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *ITER International Fusion Energy Organization (ITER Organization)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100011008 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IIWEE: International Institute for Water and Environment Engineering

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2795.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2004.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Statutes of this organisation exist solely in French.

The Statutes also define the working language of the organisation in Article 5.

> Article 5 –Langues de 2iE.
>
> La langue de travail de 2iE est le français. Les communications destinées aux communautés scientifiques ou toutes autres instances, ainsi qu'au public, sont publiées en français et en anglais et, sur décision de la Direction générale en toute autre langue.

Though English is used for outwards-facing publications, it is clear that French is the language of operations, and it is the sole language named for this purpose. The UIA Yearbook corroborates French as the only language of this organisation, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Institut 2iE: Statuts*. Publisher: Institut International d'Ingénierie de l'Eau et de l'Environnement. Gouvernance/Organisation 2iE. 2020. URL: https://www.2ie-edu.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/03.-Nouveaux-Statuts-de-lInstitut-2iE_18Janv2020.pdf (visited on 22/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Institut International d'Ingénierie de l'Eau et de l'Environnement (2iE)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100001898 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IJO: International Jute Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2820.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1984.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Russian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The original International Jute Agreement is done, according to Article 47, with 'the Arabic, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages being equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this now-defunct organisation, for which the UIA Yearbooks lists Arabic, Chinese, English, and French. It is unlikely that this is the set of operational languages at founding. For one, Chinese was not adopted as a language of the authentic text of the Agreement until 13 December 1985. For another, the UIA Yearbook notes a personnel size of only 1 professional and 10 supporting staff, making it almost inconceivable to have a language regime with four operational languages. In the absence of further information, I impute English with caution.

References

[1] 'International Agreement on jute and jute products, 1982 (with annexes). Concluded at Geneva on 1 October 1982'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1346.22672 (1984). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 59–180. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-24&chapter=19&clang=_en (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Jute Organization (IJO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100002679 (visited on 23/12/2024).

ILZSG: International Lead and Zinc Study Group

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2840.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1977.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Terms of Reference of the International Lead and Zinc Study Group do not make reference to the language of authentic text, but are verified to exist in English, French, Russian, and Spanish.

Rule 26 of the Rules of Procedure defines official and working languages.

> Official and working languages
>
> Rule 26
>
> English, French, Russian and Spanish shall be the official and working languages of the Group. Any representative wishing to speak in any other languages shall be responsible for interpretation into one of the working languages.
>
> All documents for the Group shall be translated into the four working languages.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists Chinese in addition to English, French, Russian, and Spanish, no Chinese version of the rules of procedure could be found. Since Chinese is not mentioned in the rules of procedure, I do not code for it.

References

[1] *2001/221/CE: Décision du Conseil du 12 mars 2001 relative à la participation de la Communauté au groupe d'étude international du plomb et du zinc - mandat du groupe d'étude international du plomb et du zinc - réglement intérieur du groupe d'étude international du plomb et du zinc*. Legislative Body: CONSIL. 2001. URL: http://data.europa.eu/eli/dec/2001/221/oj/fra (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] '2001/221/EC: Council Decision of 12 March 2001 concerning the participation of the Community in the International Lead and Zinc Study Group - Terms of Reference of the International Lead and Zinc Study Group - Rules of Procedure of the International Lead and Zinc Study Group'. In: *Official Journal of the European Union* L 082.22 (2001). EUR-Lex, 32001D0221, pp. 21–27. URL: https://eur-

lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX%3A32001D0221 (visited on 23/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Lead and Zinc Study Group (ILZSG)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100049740 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IMC: International Moselle Company

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2890.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1956.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
German	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1

Coding Rationale

The original 1956 Convention between the French Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg on the canalization of the Moselle is done 'in three copies, each drafted in French and German, both texts being equally authentic.'

Article 28 of the annexed Statutes of the International Moselle Company contain a provision regulating language use.

> Article 28. Use of the French language
>
> The Statutes, decisions of the General Assemblies, the Supervisory Board and managers, and the notices referred to in article 4 shall if necessary be published in French and in German.
>
> Done at Luxembourg on 27 October 1956, in three copies each prepared in German and French, both texts being equally authentic.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates French and German as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention between the French Republic, the Federal Republic of Germany and the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg on the canalization of the Moselle (with annexes, exchanges of letters and attachment). Luxembourg, 27 October 1956'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2375.42852 (2006). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–123. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028010d985 (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Internationale Mosel-Gesellschaft mbH (IMG).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100059584 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IMF: International Monetary Fund

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2880.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1945.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`W`: *Working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund are done in a single copy in English.

Rule C-13 within the original 1946 Bye-laws of the IMF define the working language of the organisation.

> Language [Bye-laws, 1966 edition]
>
> C-13. The working language of the Fund will be English. The discussion, documents, and reports of meetings will ordinarily be in English. Speeches or papers presented in other languages shall be translated into English.
>
> ——Adopted September 25, 1946

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Bretton Woods Agreements: Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund and Articles of Agreement of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Came into force on 27 December 1945, by acceptance.' In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2.20 (1947). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 39–207. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280165d37` (visited on 29/11/2021).

[2] 'By-Laws of the International Monetary Fund'. In: *The International Monetary Fund 1945-1965: Twenty Years of International Monetary Cooperation Volume III: Documents*. IMF eLibrary. DOI: 10.5089/9781451972511.071. Washington, D.C: International Monetary Fund, 1996, p. 557. ISBN: 978-1-4519-7251-1. URL: `https://www.elibrary.imf.org/display/book/9781451972511/9781451972511.xml` (visited on 23/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Monetary Fund (IMF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100010463` (visited on 23/12/2024).

IMO: International Maritime Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2860.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1948.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1

Coding Rationale

Article 62 of the original 'Convention on the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization' states that 'the English, French, and Spanish texts are equally authentic.'

Rules 33, 34, and 35 of the original Rules of Procedure adopted at the first Assembly session in 1959 regulate the use of languages in the organisation.

> *Languages* Rule 33: English and French shall be the working languages of the Assembly and of its committees. Speeches made in either of the working languages shall be interpreted into the other working language. Rule 34: All documents shall be issued in both working languages. Rule 35: All resolutions, recommendations, reports, and other decisions of the Assembly and its committees shall be drawn up in both working languages.

The UIA Yearbook lists all six current UN official and working languages as languages of this organisation, but it is clear that this is the result of amendments to the original rules. Resolution A.27(II) of 1961 led to a new Rule 29 declaring: 'The official languages of the Organization are English, French, Russian and Spanish. the working languages are English and French.' I thus code in accordance with the original rules.

References

[1] 'Final Act of the United Nations Maritime Conference (with annexes). Done at Geneva, on 6 March 1948. Convention on the Intergovernmental Maritime Consultative Organization. Done at Geneva, on 6 March 1948'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 289.1520 (1958). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–109. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XII-1&chapter=12&clang=_en (visited on 30/11/2021).

[2] *Resolution A.13(I): Adoption of Rules of Procedure for subsequent sessions of the Assembly*. Publisher: Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organisation. Knowledge Centre. 1959. URL: https://www.imo.org/en/KnowledgeCentre/IndexofIMOResolutions/Pages/A-1959.aspx (visited on 23/12/2024).

[3] *Resolution A.27(II): Adoption of the Rules of Procedure*. Publisher: Inter-governmental Maritime Consultative Organisation. Knowledge Centre. 1961. URL: https://www.imo.org/en/KnowledgeCentre/IndexofIMOResolutions/Pages/A-1961-63.aspx (visited on 23/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *International Maritime Organization (IMO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100004701 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IMSO: International Mobile Satellite Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2870.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1979.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Convention on the International Maritime Satellite Organization is done 'in the English, French, Russian and Spanish languages, all the texts being equally authentic, in a single original.'

Rule 33 of the Rules of Procedure of the Assembly, the highest body of the organisation, concerns the use of languages.

> Rule 33. Languages
>
> (a) The official languages of the Assembly are English, French, Russian and Spanish. The working language is English.
>
> (b) Speeches made in any of the four official languages shall be interpreted into the three other official languages.

Though this is the most recent version of the rules of procedure, its provisions align with the languages of the authentic text of the agreement, and are reasonable given efficiency considerations. The UIA Yearbook also corroborates English, French, Russian, and Spanish as languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention on the International Maritime Satellite Organization (INMARSAT) (with annex and Operating Agreement). Concluded at London on 3 September 1976'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1143.17948 (1979). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 105–280. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800f95d2 (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] *Rules of Procedure for the IMSO Assembly*. Publisher: International Mobile Satellite Organization. IMSO Documents. 2023. URL: https://imso.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Rules-of-Procedure-for-the-Assembly-English.pdf (visited on 23/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Mobile Satellite Organization (IMSO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100040852` (visited on 23/12/2024).

INCAP: Institute of Nutrition for Central America and Panama (INCAP)

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2070.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1949.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original 'Convenio celebrado entre los delegados de los gobiernos de las Repúblicas de Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua y Panamá, y la Oficina Sanitaria Panamericana para la creación de un Instituto de Nutrición' is signed in a single copy in Spanish, though it makes no provisions to the language of the authentic text, which is assumed to be Spanish.

Neither the original Convention, nor the original Protocol annexed to it, contain language provisions. No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation, for which the UIA Yearbooks lists English and Spanish. It is unlikely that English was an operational language at the organisation's founding, especially given that neither the original Convention nor the Protocol exist in English. The organisation's founding membership was exclusively hispanophone; Belize, currently its sole anglophone member, had not yet gained independence. I impute based on the above.

References

[1] *Convenio celebrado entre los delegados de los gobiernos de las Republicas de Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua y Panamá, y la Oficina Sanitaria Panamericana para la creación de un Instituto de Nutrición.* Publisher: Instituto de Nutrición de Centro América y Panamá. INCAP Governance. 1949. URL: `https://www.incap.int/index.php/en/legal-framework` (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Institute of Nutrition of Central America and Panama (INCAP).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100063496` (visited on 23/12/2024).

INFOFISH: Intergovernmental Organization for Marketing Information and Technical Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Asia and Pacific Region

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2300.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1981.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement for the establishment of the Intergovernmental Organization for Marketing Information and Technical Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Asia and Pacific Region is done 'in a single copy in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents concerning language rules are available for this organisation, nor does current documentation specify operational languages. The UIA Yearbook lists English as its only language, and notes that most periodicals are published in English only. A recent job vacancy published in one of the periodicals for a trade promotion officer requires 'very good inter-personal and communication skills in English; Excellent written English skills.' I impute based on the information above.

References

[1] 'Agreement for the establishment of the Intergovernmental Organization for Marketing Information and Technical Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Asia and Pacific Region (INFOFISH) (with annex and final act). Concluded at Kuala Lumpur on 13 December 1985'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1458.24651 (1978). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–27. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showActionDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800ce5f2&clang=_en (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Intergovernmental Organization for Marketing Information and Technical Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Asia and Pacific Region (INFOFISH).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100060345 (visited on 23/12/2024).

[3] 'Vacant Position: Trade Promotion Officer'. In: *INFOFISH International –Catch the Latest in Fisheries* 4 (2024). INFOFISH Media Archive, p. 50. URL: http://infofish.org/v4/media/attachments/2024/07/03/issue_4_24-final-compressed.pdf (visited on 23/12/2024).

INFSMK: Centre for Marketing Information and Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Arab Region

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1110.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1986.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Constitution of the Centre for Marketing Information and Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Arab Region is done 'in a single copy in the Arabic, English and French languages, each version being equally authoritative.' This is the amended text done in 1993 and adopted by the General Assembly of the Centre at its First Extraordinary Session in 1995, which constituted the INFSMK as an independent organisation separate from the FAO, where it began as a regional project (see UIA Yearbook).

No authoritative original documents concerning language rules are available for this organisation, nor does current documentation specify operational languages. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, and French for this organisation. I impute accordingly, as these are also the languages of the authentic text of the original Constitution.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Centre for Marketing Information and Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Arab Region (INFOSAMAK)*. Publisher: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. FAO Treaties Database. 1993. URL: https://www.fao.org/treaties/results/details/en/c/TRE-000018/ (visited on 20/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Centre for Marketing Information and Advisory Services for Fishery Products in the Arab Region (INFOSAMAK)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100067381 (visited on 23/12/2024).

INPFC: International North Pacific Fisheries Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2920.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1952.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Japanese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

Article XI of the original International Convention for the high seas fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean specifies that it is done 'in triplicate, in the English and Japanese languages, both equally authentic.'

Article II, Section 10 of the Convention defines the official languages of the organisation.

> 10. The official languages of the Commission shall be Japanese and English. Proposals and data may be submitted to the Commission in either language.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English and Japanese as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'International Convention (with annex and protocol) for the high seas fisheries of the North Pacific Ocean. Signed at Tokyo, on 9 May 1952'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 205.2770 (1955). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 65–101. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028014b4aa (visited on 29/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International North Pacific Fisheries Commission (INPFC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100038716 (visited on 23/12/2024).

INRO: International Natural Rubber Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2900.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1980.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

Article 69 of the original 1979 International Natural Rubber Agreement states: 'The texts of this Agreement in the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages shall be equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents are available that contain language provisions for this now-dissolved organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists Chinese, English, French, and Russian, which I follow in the absence of almost any further information.

References

[1] 'International Natural Rubber Agreement, 1979 (with annexes). Done at Geneva on 6 October 1979. Objection by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the reservation made upon signature by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1201.19184 (1980). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 191–397. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280000509&clang=_en (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Natural Rubber Organization (INRO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023351 (visited on 23/12/2024).

INSG: International Nickel Study Group

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2910.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1990.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3
Russian	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3

Coding Rationale

The original Terms of Reference of the International Nickel Study Group are authentic in English, French, Russian, Spanish and Arabic.

Rules 2 and 3 of the Rules of Procedure (as amended and adopted in 2015) define the official and working languages.

> Official and Working Languages
>
> Rule 2. English, French, Russian and Spanish shall be the official and working languages of the Group for interpretation purposes at general and special sessions and for all official documents relating to the general and special sessions. Any delegates wishing to speak or to receive official documentation in any other language shall be responsible for interpretation and translation.
>
> Rule 3. Written communications to the Group may be made in any of the official languages.

Though the version consulted is the Rules of Procedure as of 2015 (the earlier versions being unavailable), the UIA Yearbook corroborates these languages, and I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Rules of Procedure of the International Nickel Study Group*. Publisher: International Nickel Study Group. 2015. URL: http://insg.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/doc_INSG_RULES_OF_PROCEDURE_May2015.pdf (visited on 25/01/2022).

[2] 'Terms of Reference of the International Nickel Study Group, as adopted on 2 May 1986 by the United Nations Confer ence on Nickel, 1985'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1566.27296 (1990). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 29–65. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280041c91&clang=_en (visited on 20/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Nickel Study Group (INSG)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100050256` (visited on 23/12/2024).

INTELSAT: International Telecommunications Satellite Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3170.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1964.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article XXII (b) of the Agreement relating to the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization stipulates that its 'English, French and Spanish texts are equally authentic.'

Article XXI (a) of the original Agreement defines official and working languages for the organisation.

> Article XXI. MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS.
>
> (a) The official and working languages of INTELSAT shall be English, French and Spanish.

The UIA Yearbook also lists English, French, and Spanish as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement relating to the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization "INTELSAT" (with annexes). Done at Washington on 20 August 1971'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1220.19677 (1981). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 21–148. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800e8e08&clang=_en (visited on 26/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Telecommunications Satellite Organization (ITSO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100026264 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IOATHRE: Inter-State Organization for Advanced Technicians of Hydraulics and Rural Equipment

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3300.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1972.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this now-defunct organisation are available. The IOATHRE and the Inter-State School of Hydraulic and Rural Engineering for Senior Technicians merged in 2004 to form the International Institute for Water and Environment Engineering (IIWEE), whose statutes are done solely in French.

No authoritative original documents concerning language rules are available for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists French as its sole language; its successor organisation, the IIWEE, adopted Statutes declaring French to be its official and working language. I impute on this basis.

References

[1] *Historique –Le site officiel | 2iE*. Institut International d'Ingénierie de l'Eau et de l'Environnement. 2024. URL: https://www.2ie-edu.org/a-propos/historique/ (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Inter-State Organization for Advanced Technicians of Hydraulics and Rural Equipment*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100032346 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IOCom: Indian Ocean Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2050.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1982.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Accord générale de coopération entre les états membres de la Commission de l'océan Indien is done in French, according to its Article 16.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as languages of this organisation, but large sections of its website are only accessible in French. Documents from the founding decade of the COI, retrieved from the Documentation Centre of the COI, are exclusively in French. I impute based on these facts, and on the organisation's francophone founding membership.

References

[1] *Accueil*. Commission de l'océan Indien. 2024. URL: https://www.commissionoceanindien.org/ (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] 'Annexe VI-2. Accord générale de coopération entre les états membres de la Commision de l'océan Indien'. In: *Recueil des instruments juridiques et institutionnels de facilitation du transport et des échanges en Afrique Subsaharienne*. Portail d'Informations Commerciales de Madagascar (PICM). Victoria, 1984, pp. 1490–1491. URL: https://www.pic.commerce.mg/sites/default/files/2023-02/Annexe%20VI-02_%20Accord%20g%C3%A9n%C3%A9ral%20de%20coop%C3%A9ration.pdf (visited on 26/01/2025).

[3] *Centre de documentation de la COI*. Commission de l'océan Indien. 2024. URL: https://www.commissionoceanindien.org/ressources-centre-documentation/ (visited on 23/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Commission de l'Océan Indien (COI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100028838 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IOLM: International Organization for Legal Metrology

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2970.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1955.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

French is the language of the sole authoritative text of the original Convention establishing an International Organisation of Legal Metrology.

Article XI of the Convention, in Chapter II (Constitution of the Organisation), specifies an official language.

> Article XI
>
> The official language of the Organisation shall be French.
>
> However, the Conference may provide for the use of one or several other languages for its work and debates.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists both English and French for this organisation, the original Convention and Constitution make it clear that English was not added until later. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing an International Organisation of Legal Metrology. Opened for signature at Paris, on 12 October 1955'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 560.8165 (1966). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 4–37. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028012bc65 (visited on 28/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Organization of Legal Metrology*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100002513 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IOMig: International Organization for Migration

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2250.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1951.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	3

Coding Rationale

The original Constitution of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration contains an Article 35 that declares: 'The English, French and Spanish texts of this Constitution shall be regarded as equally authentic.'

The Constitution makes no reference to the operational languages of the organisation. No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. However, the current Rules of Procedure of the International Organisation for Migration contain the following provision:

> Rule 21: English, French and Spanish shall be the official languages of the Council.

Furthermore, a webpage on Diversity and Inclusion at the organisation states that 'The working languages of IOM are English, French and Spanish.' Whilst these are not the original rules at founding in 1951, they are consistent with the languages of the authentic text of the agreement, and also with the UIA Yearbook, which lists them as the languages of the organisation. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Constitution of the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (with annex). Adopted by the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration at its 59th meeting, on 19 October 1953'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 207.2807 (1955). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 190–202. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20207/volume-207-I-2807-English.pdf (visited on 29/11/2021).

[2] *Diversity and Inclusion at IOM*. International Organization for Migration. 2024. URL: https://www.iom.int/diversity-and-inclusion-iom (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] *Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and Immigration to the United States: Report of a Special Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, Pursuant to H. Res. 22*. HathiTrust. Washington, D.C.: United States Congress House Committee on the Judiciary, 1955. 204 pp. URL: https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001151875 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[4] *Rules of Procedure of the Council*. Publisher: International Organization for Migration. 2024. URL: https://www.iom.int/rules-procedure-council (visited on 24/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *International Organization for Migration (IOM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100031258 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IOOC: International Olive Oil Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2960.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1959.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

English, French, and Spanish are the languages of the official texts of the original International Agreement on Olive Oil (1956), registered in the United Nations Treaty Series. The 1958 amendment is also authentic in these languages.

The Agreement makes no explicit reference to language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, French, Italian, and Spanish as the languages of this organisation; however, it is clear that there has been an expansion of the language regime for this organisation. The 2015 version of the Agreement is authentic in Arabic, English, French, and Spanish, but makes no mention of Italian. I impute only English, French, and Spanish based on the changes tracked above.

References

[1] 'International Agreement on Olive Oil and Table Olives. Geneva, 9 October 2015'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 3169.54201 (2017). United Nations Treaty Collection. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-49&chapter=19&clang=_en (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] 'International Agreement on Olive Oil, 1956, as amended by the Protocol of 3 April 1958'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 336.4806 (1959). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 177–233. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280032733&clang=_en (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Olive Council (IOC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023447 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IOPCF: International Oil Pollution Compensation Funds

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2950.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Spanish	B: Not in original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 48 of the International Convention on the establishment of an international fund for compensation for oil pollution damage states the following: 'This Convention is established in a single original in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic. Official translations in the Russian and Spanish languages shall be prepared by the Secretariat of the Organization and deposited with the signed original.' Thus, English and French are the languages of the sole authentic text.

This organisation consists of two subsidiary bodies, the 1992 Fund and the Supplementary Fund. The rules of procedure of both specify the same set of official and working languages.

> *Languages* [1992 Fund]
>
> Rule 29
>
> The official and working languages of the 1992 Fund are English, French and Spanish.
>
> *Languages* [Supplementary Fund]
>
> Rule 29
>
> The official and working languages of the Supplementary Fund are English, French and Spanish.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'International Convention on the establishment of an international fund for compensation for oil pollution damage (with official Russian and Spanish translations). Concluded at Brussels on 18 December 1971'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1110.17146 (1978). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 57–109. URL: https :

//treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201110/volume-1110-I-17146-English.pdf (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] *Rules of Procedure for the Assembly of the International Oil Pollution Compensation Fund Established Under the 1992 Fund Convention*. Publisher: The International Oil Pollution Compensation Funds. IOPC Funds: Resolutions, Regulations and Other Documents. 2023. URL: https://iopcfunds.org/about-us/structure/rules-and-regulations/ (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] *Rules of Procedure for the Assembly of the International Oil Pollution Compensation Supplementary Fund Established Under the 2003 Supplementary Fund Protocol*. Publisher: The International Oil Pollution Compensation Funds. IOPC Funds: Resolutions, Regulations and Other Documents. 2015. URL: https://iopcfunds.org/about-us/structure/rules-and-regulations/ (visited on 24/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *International Oil Pollution Compensation Funds (IOPC Funds)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100047742 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IORARC: Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2055.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1997.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	3

Coding Rationale

The Charter of the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation is signed 'in a single original in the English language.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. A document from the 70th session of the UN General Assembly, requesting observer status for the IORARC, contains the following text in a description of the organisation.

> 'The Secretariat is based in Ebène, Mauritius, and operates in English.'

The UIA Yearbook also lists English as the sole language of the organisation, though no explicit provision on the status of the English language within the organisation can be found. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *A/70/192. Request for the inclusion of a supplementary item in the agenda of the seventieth session. Observer status for the Indian Ocean Rim Association in the General Assembly. Letter dated 6 August 2015 from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia addressed to the Secretary-General.* Publisher: United Nations General Assembly. United Nations Official Document System, A/70/192. 2015. URL: https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/n15/249/64/pdf/n1524964.pdf (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] *Charter of the Indian Ocean Rim Association.* Publisher: Indian Ocean Rim Association. United Nations Digital Library, UNGA 70th Session. 2014. URL: https://www.un.org/en/ga/sixth/70/docs/iora_charter.pdf (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055899 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IOcC: Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2290.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The 2000 version of the Statutes of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission are done in English, French, Russian, and Spanish, though they do not make reference to the language of the authentic texts. Though these are not the original statutes (having been amended in 1999), the four languages denominated correspond to the official and working languages of the Rules of Procedure from before the amendment.

The Rules of Procedure from 1989 contain a section on Languages, which defines the working and official languages of the organisation.

X –Languages

Rule 33.

1. The official language of the Commission shall be English, French, Russian, and Spanish.
2. English, French, Russian, and Spanish shall be the working languages for documentation and interpretation at sessions of the Assembly and the Executive Council of the Commission.
3. Documentation needed for the work of any committees, subsidiary or other bodies, shall be provided in the appropriate working languages according to the needs of the Member States of the Commission represented on such committees, or bodies, or of the individual experts which are members of them.
4. Interpretation needed for conducting meetings of committees, subsidiary or other bodies, shall be provided in the appropriate working languages according to the needs of the representatives of Member States of the Commission or of the individual expert members participating at such meetings.

These provisions derive from the earliest available version of the Rules of Procedure. The UIA Yearbook also corroborates English, French, Russian, and Spanish as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *IOC/INF-1148. Statutes (of the Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission: IOC)*. Japan Oceanographic Data Center: IOC INF Documents, 1148/2000. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation, 2000. 47 pp. URL: `https://www.jodc.go.jp/info/ioc_doc/html/inf.htm` (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] *IOC/INF-785. IOC Manual Part I - Constitutional and other formal texts*. Japan Oceanographic Data Center: IOC INF Documents, 785/1989. Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation, 1989. 78 pp. URL: `https://www.jodc.go.jp/info/ioc_doc/html/inf.htm` (visited on 23/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Intergovernmental Oceanographic Commission (IOC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100024437` (visited on 23/12/2024).

IPC: International Pepper Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3000.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1971.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the Pepper Community contains a provision on signature in Article 10 which states: 'The original of this Agreement in a single copy in the English language shall remain open for signature⋯'

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of this organisation. Absent additional information, I impute accordingly, in part on the basis that English is also the sole language of the authentic text of the founding Agreement.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Pepper Community. Opened for signature at Bangkok on 16 April 1971'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 818.11654 (1972). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 89–99. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-8&chapter=19&clang=_en` (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Pepper Community (IPC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100058307` (visited on 23/12/2024).

IPI: International Patent Institute

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2972.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1947.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	2
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	2

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement concerning the establishment of an International Patents Bureau is done 'at The Hague, on 6 June 1947, in quadruplicate, in Dutch and French, both texts being equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents pertaining to language use are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this now-defunct organisation. This organisation was superseded by the European Patent Office in 1977. The Convention for that organisation specifies English, French, and German as both the languages of the authentic text and as the official languages of the organisation. I impute French alone on this basis, as it is the only language common to both organisations.

References

[1] 'Agreement concerning the establishment of an International Patents Bureau. Signed at The Hague, on 6 June 1947'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 46.714 (1950). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 249–261. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%2046/v46.pdf (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] 'Convention on the Grant of European Patents (European Patent Convention) (with Implementing Regulations, Protocol on Jurisdiction and the Recognition of Deci sions in Respect of the Right to the Grant of a Euro pean Patent, Protocol on Privileges and Immunities of the European Patent Organisation, Protocol on the Centralisation of the European Patent System and on its Introduction, and Protocol on the Interpretation of article 69 of the Convention). Concluded at Munich on 5 October 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1065.16208 (1978). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 255–509. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800fad30&clang=_en (visited on 17/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Patent Institute*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100010437 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IRENA: International Renewable Energy Agency

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3075.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2009.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Statute of the International Renewable Energy Agency is done 'at Bonn, this 26th January 2009, in a single original, in the English language.'

No authoritative original documents concerning language rules for the organisation are known to exist. As a best proxy, the rules of procedure for the first Conference contain a section on Languages and Documents, which sets out an official language.

> VI. Languages and Records
>
> Rule 24: Language of the Conference.
>
> English shall be the official language of the Conference.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing English as the sole language of the organisation. Furthermore, a Progress Review on the use of languages in IRENA activities dating from 2015 states that 'the Agency continues to review, assess and upgrade its capacities to provide publications, communications materials and conference services targeting audiences in languages other than English. The document demonstrates a recognition of 'the need to balance the benefits of multilingualism with cost considerations.' The implication is that English is the main language of the organisation, in accordance with the rules laid down for the First Conference in 2009. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Decision FC/dc.1 on Adopting the Rules of Procedure of the Conference on the Establishment of the International Renewable Energy Agency*. Publisher: International Renewable Energy Agency. IRENA Official Documents, IRENA/FC/dc.1. 2009. URL: https://www.irena.org/-/media/Files/IRENA/Agency/About-IRENA/Preparatory-Commission/Founding-Conference/IRENAFCdc1rulesofprocedure26012009.pdf (visited on 21/10/2021).

[2] *Progress review: Use of Languages in IRENA Activities. Note of the Director-General*. Publisher: International Renewable Energy Agency. IRENA Official Documents, A/6/6. 2009. URL: https://www.irena.org/-/media/Files/IRENA/Agency/About-IRENA/Assembly/Sixth-Assembly/A_6_6_Use-of-Languages.pdf (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] *Statute of the International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA).* Publisher: International Renewable Energy Agency. IRENA Official Documents, IRENA/FC/Statute. 2009. URL: https://www.irena.org/-/media/Files/IRENA/Agency/About-IRENA/Preparatory-Commission/Founding-Conference/IRENAFCdc1rulesofprocedure26012009.pdf (visited on 21/10/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100057772 (visited on 23/12/2024).

IRLCS: International Red Locust Control Service

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3040.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1949.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

Article XI of the original 1949 International Convention for the Permanent Control of Outbreak Areas of the Red Locust states: 'the present Convention in the English and French languages both texts being equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents are available that concern language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this now-superseded organisation. I impute with caution on the basis of the authentic texts of the founding agreement.

References

[1] *International Convention for the Permanent Control of Outbreak Areas of the Red Locust*. Publisher: Foreign and Commonwealth Development Office, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. UK Treaties Online, Cmd. 7783. 1949. URL: `https://api.parliament.uk/uk-treaties/treaties/7061` (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Red Locust Control Service (IRLCS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100050241` (visited on 23/12/2024).

IRO: International Refugee Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3050.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1946.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Constitution of the International Refugee Organization contains an Article 17 on interpretation, which states: 'The Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of this Constitution shall be regarded as equally authentic.'

Neither the Constitution the Agreement on interim measures to be taken in respect of refugees and displaced persons, concluded simultaneously, contain provisions for the use of languages within the organisation. No other authoritative original documents on the subject are known to exist, and the UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this now-reformed organisation. I impute based on the languages of the authentic text of the Constitution.

References

[1] 'Constitution of the International Refugee Organization and Agreement on interim measures to be taken in respect of refugees and displaced persons. Opened for signature on 15 December 1946'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 18.283 (1948). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–137. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showdetails.aspx?objid=0800000280043ad5 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Refugee Organization (IRO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100048538 (visited on 23/12/2024).

ISA: International Seabed Authority

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3100.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
Chinese	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1

Coding Rationale

Article 320 of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea states that '[t]he original of this Convention' is equally authentic in 'the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts.'

Section VIII of the first iteration of the Rules of Procedure, adopted in July of 1994, regulates the use of language in the Assembly, the highest organ of the organisation. Rule 39 defines the languages of the Assembly.

> VIII. LANGUAGES
>
> Rule 39. Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish shall be the languages of the Assembly and its subsidiary organs.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Rules of Procedure of the Assembly of the International Seabed Authority (adopted at its 15th meeting, on 17 March 1995)*. Publisher: International Seabed Authority. ISBA Documents and Resources, ISBA/A/6. 1994. URL: https://www.isa.org.jm/documents/isba-a-6/ (visited on 14/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Seabed Authority (ISA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/110003380 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] 'United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (with annexes, final act and procès-verbaux of rectification of the final act dated 3 March 1986 and 26 July 1993). Concluded at Montego Bay on 10 December 1982'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1833.31363 (1994). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 397–381. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showdetails.aspx?objid=0800000280043ad5 (visited on 24/12/2024).

ISB: Inter-State Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3290.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Articles of Association of the Interstate Bank are done 'in one original copy in the Russian language' (*'odnom podlinnom èkzempljare na russkom jazyke'*)

The Articles of Association do not contain language provisions. No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Russian as the sole language of this organisation, and to this day its website is available solely in Russian. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *O banke: Sodejstvie èkonomičeskoj integracii i razvitiju nacional'nyh èkonomik stran SNG [About the bank: Promoting economic integration and development of national economies of the CIS countries]*. Mežgosudarstvennyj bank [The Interstate Bank]. 2024. URL: `https://www.isbnk.org/about-bank/` (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] *Soglašenie ob Učreždenii Mežgosudarstvennogo Banka [Articles of Association of the Interstate Bank]*. Publisher: Mežgosudarstvennyj Bank [The Interstate Bank]. 1993. URL: `https://www.isbnk.org/about-bank/` (visited on 21/10/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Interstate Bank*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100033356` (visited on 24/12/2024).

ISDB: Islamic Development Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3320.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`1`
English	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Y`: *Working*, non-*official*	`1`
French	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Y`: *Working*, non-*official*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The Articles of Agreement of the Islamic Development Bank are done 'in a single copy in the Arabic, English, and French language,' according to Article 66. However, Article 63 provides that 'The Arabic text of this Agreement shall be regarded as the authentic text for both interpretation and application.'

Article 63 of the Articles of Agreement is titled 'Languages, Interpretation, and Application' and contains the relevant provisions on language rules.

> Article 63. Languages, Interpretation, and Application.
>
> —1. The official language of the Bank shall be Arabic. In addition English and French shall be working languages. The Arabic text of this Agreement shall be regarded as the authentic text for both interpretation and application.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing Arabic, English, and French as the languages of this organisation. It is clear that Arabic has a qualitatively different status within the organisation than English and French; I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Islamic Development Bank Articles of Agreement*. Publisher: Islamic Development Bank. 2019. URL: `https://www.isdb.org/publications/isdb-articles-of-agreement` (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Islamic Development Bank (IsDB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100039734` (visited on 24/12/2024).

ISHREST: Inter-State School of Hydraulic and Rural Engineering for Senior Technicians

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3310.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1972.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. However, it is known that this organisation merged with the Inter-State Organization for Advanced Technicians of Hydraulics and Rural Equipment

No authoritative original documents concerning language rules are available for this organisation, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for it. Its successor organisation, the IIWEE, adopted Statutes declaring French to be its official and working language. Additionally, this organisation was originally founded as a joint venture of the African and Mauritian Common Organisation. I code on this basis.

References

[1] *Historique –Le site officiel | 2iE*. Institut International d'Ingénierie de l'Eau et de l'Environnement. 2024. URL: https://www.2ie-edu.org/a-propos/historique/ (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Inter-State School of Hydraulic and Rural Engineering for Senior Technicians*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052054 (visited on 24/12/2024).

ISRBC: International Sava River Basin Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3095.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Bosnian	B: Not in original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Croatian	B: Not in original treaty	O: *Official*	1
English	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Serbian	B: Not in original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Slovenian	B: Not in original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Framework Agreement on the Sava River Basin is done 'in five originals, in the English language.'

Article 8 of the Statute of the original International Sava River Basin Commission, which is annexed to the Framework Agreement, addresses the official languages of the organisation.

> Article 8. Official Languages of the Sava Commission
>
> 1) The official languages of the Sava Commission and its Secretariat, permanent and ad hoc expert groups shall be the official languages of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian, Croatian, Serbian), Croatian, Serbian and Slovenian.
>
> 2) The Sava Commission may use other languages if necessary.

The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this organisation, but the text of the original Charter is sufficient. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Framework Agreement on the Sava River Basin (with annexes). Kranjska Gora, 3 December 2002'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 256.3622 (2006). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 479–515. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280069231 (visited on 20/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Sava River Basin Commission*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023523 (visited on 24/12/2024).

ITC: International Tin Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3180.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1956.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

Article XXII of the first International Tin Agreement, signed in 1954, states that '[t]he texts of this Agreement in the English, French and Spanish languages are all equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this short-lived organisation, which underwent financial collapse in 1958 (Chandrasekhar 1989). Several successive Tin Agreements have since replaced the original one, which came into force in 1956. Absent further information, I follow the judgement of the UIA Yearbook, which lists English and French for this organisation.

References

[1] Sandhya Chandrasekhar. 'Cartel in a Can: The Financial Collapse of the International Tin Council'. In: *Northwestern Journal of International Law and Business* 10 (1989). Publisher: HeinOnline, p. 309. URL: https://heinonline.org/hol-cgi-bin/get_pdf.cgi?handle=hein.journals/nwjilb10&section=29&casa_token=1LivvXDckMMAAAAA:N5y-zcpO5ziZI4sLCr4r9zjNQnjIZ7rPO6i61WEknawb94XL2HJexwPtSIZXFZiC_ZD1 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] 'International Tin Agreement (with annexes). Done at London, on I March 1954'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 256.3622 (1956). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 31–123. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showActionDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280144d3d&clang=_en (visited on 23/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Tin Council (ITC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100024793 (visited on 24/12/2024).

ITPA: International Tea Promotion Association

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3140.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1977.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

Article 27 of the Agreement establishing the International Tea Promotion Association states: 'The texts of this Agreement in the English, French and Spanish languages shall all be equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available for this now-dissolved organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English as its only language. Absent further information, I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the International Tea Promotion Association (with annex). Concluded at Geneva on 31 March 1977'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1128.17582 (1979). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 367–398. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-16&chapter=19&clang=_en (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Tea Promotion Association (ITPA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100018293 (visited on 24/12/2024).

ITRO: International Tripartite Rubber Organization, Thailand

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3185.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2001.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. However, the same meeting that established this organisation also established a private company, the International Rubber Consortium Limited, to carry out market operations. Though the founding documents of this organisation are also unavailable, the website of this organisation is available only in English.

The UIA Yearbook lists no languages for this organisation, which it classifies as dissolved. As above, the website of the ITRO's private arm, the IRCo, is available solely in English. I impute on this basis.

References

[1] *ABOUT US –IRCo*. International Rubber Consortium Limited. 2024. URL: https://ircorubber.com/about-us/ (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Tripartite Rubber Organization, Thailand (ITRO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100051012 (visited on 24/12/2024).

ITTO: International Tropical Timber Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3190.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1987.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Chinese	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	3
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	3
Russian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	3

Coding Rationale

The original International Tropical Timber Agreement is done with 'the Arabic, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages being equally authentic,' according to Article 43.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and Spanish for this organisation. Additionally, the annually-recurring application for the ITTO's Fellowship Programme states that 'On-line Application is available in English, French, and Spanish (the official languages of ITTO).' I impute on this basis.

References

[1] *Eligibility, appraisals and selection criteria*. ITTO International Tropical Timber Organization. URL: https://www.itto.int/fellowship/application_conditions/ (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] 'International Tropical Timber Agreement, 1983 (with annexes). Concluded at Geneva on 18 November 1983'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1393.23317 (1985). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 67–245. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XIX-26&chapter=19&clang=_en (visited on 21/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Tropical Timber Organization (ITTO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100049026 (visited on 24/12/2024).

ITVRC: Intergovernmental TV and Radio Corporation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2310.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on the establishment of the Interstate Television and Radio Company is done 'in one original copy in Russian' (*'v odnom podlinnom èkzempljare na russkom jazyke'*).

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists Russian as the only language for this organisation. I follow this judgement based on the language of the founding text of the organisation, and based on its founding membership of CIS countries.

References

[1] *Soglašenie o sozdanii Mežgosudarstvennoj teleradiokompanii [Agreement on the establishment of the Interstate Television and Radio Company]*. Publisher: Ispolnitel'nyj Komitet Sodružestva Nezavisimyh Gosudarstv [Executive Committee of the Commonwealth of Independent States]. Internet-portal SNG [CIS Internet Portal]. 1992. URL: https://cis.minsk.by/page/11546/soglasenie-o-sozdanii-mezgosudarstvennoj-teleradiokompanii (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Intergovernmental TV and Radio Corporation (ITRC MIR)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100007290 (visited on 24/12/2024).

IUIC: Intergovernmental University of Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2315.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2001.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The original Convention for the use of food micro-algae and inter-university scientific research, which also constitutes the Intergovernmental Institution for the use of Micro-Algae Against Malnutrition, is done 'in English, French and Spanish, with equal texts,' according to Article 9.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. Very little information is available for this institution. I impute with caution based on the coding for ICFAM, its sister organisation founded under the same convention.

References

[1] 'Convention for the use of food micro-algae and inter-university scientifc research (with annex). Conakry, 1 December 2000, Kinshasa, 13 December 2000, Malabo, 12 February 2001, Sao Tomé, 27 February 2001 and Rome, 31 May 2001'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2151.37543 (2001). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 15–28. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%202151/v2151.pdf (visited on 22/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Intergovernmental University Institute of Cooperation (IUIC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100029051 (visited on 24/12/2024).

IUPNVP: Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4360.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1961.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	B: Not in original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
German	B: Not in original treaty	L: Other, defined	1

Coding Rationale

Article 41 of the original International Convention for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants states that the 'This Convention is drawn up in a single copy in the French language.'

Article 28 of the Convention contains three provisions regulating the use of languages within the organisation.

> Article 28. Languages to be used by the Office and in the Council
>
> (1) The English, French and German languages shall be used by the Office of the Union in carrying out its duties.
>
> (2) Meetings of the Council and of revision conferences shall be held in the three languages.
>
> (3) If the need arises, the Council may decide, by a majority of three-quarters of the members present, that further languages shall be used.

The UIA Yearbook lists Spanish in addition to German, English, and French. The original text of the Convention, however, makes it clear that only three languages had institutional status at the organisation's inception. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Act of 1961/1972. International Convention for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants. Adopted by the Diplomatic Conference on December 1, 1961.* Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/UPOV/001. 1992. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text/193302 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Union internationale pour la protection des obtentions végétales (UPOV)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100018334` (visited on 24/12/2024).

IWSG: International Wool Study Group

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3270.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1947.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No original founding documents are available for this organisation. However, it is known that this organisation began as a grouping of Commonwealth Countries, and that the final impetus leading to the formation of the organisation came from US President Harry Truman in 1946 (US Department of State 1949: 73).

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this now-dissolved organisation, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for it. A 1949 secondary source from the United States Department of State states the following (1949: 75):

> 'The official languages are English and French. The present secretary of the group is Angus Smart.'

I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *International Organizations in which the United States Participates: 1946-1949*. Vol. 8. International Organization and Conference Series I. Google-Books-ID: gkgWi7TMzvAC. Washington, D.C: United States Department of State, 1949. 356 pp. URL: https://www.google.co.uk/books/edition/International_Organizations_in_which_the/gkgWi7TMzvAC?hl=en&gbpv=1&dq=international+wool+study+group+official+languages&pg=PA75&printsec=frontcover (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] 'International Wool Study Group'. In: *International Organization* 4.3 (1950), pp. 545–546. ISSN: 1531-5088, 0020-8183. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-organization/article/international-wool-study-group/1AFECA80AAAE330BBC26B4AC4E538E9F (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Wool Study Group (IWSG)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100007951 (visited on 24/12/2024).

IWhale: International Whaling Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3250.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1946.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	B: Not in original treaty	Y: *Working*, non-*official*	1
Spanish	B: Not in original treaty	Y: *Working*, non-*official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling 'in Washington this second day of December, 1946, in the English language.'

The Rules of Procedure define the official and working languages of the organisation. The 2007 amendment to these rules did not change which languages were defined as official and/or working.

> Languages of the Commission
>
> 1. English shall be the official language of the Commission. English, French and Spanish shall be the working languages of the Commission. Commissioners may speak in any other language, if desired, it being understood that Commissioners doing so will provide their own interpreters. All official publications and communications of the Commission shall be in English. Agreed publications shall be available in English, French and Spanish.

An author writing on language politics writes that 'the International Whaling committee adopted English as its official language and forbids the use of other languages, which handicaps the non-English-speaking representatives and prevents them from fully participating in the discussion' (Tsuda 1986: 1). It is true that English is the only 'official' language of the organisation, and the provision that 'all official publications and communications of the Commission shall be in English' means that the organisation is substantively monolingual. However, I code according to the explicit designation of French and Spanish as 'working languages' in addition to English. The UIA Yearbook also lists English, French, and Spanish as languages of this organisation.

References

[1] 'International Convention for the Regulation of Whaling (with annexed schedule). Signed at Washington, on 2 December 1946. Amendments to paragraphs 6, 7 (a) and 10 of the schedule to the above-mentioned Convention. Adopted at the first meeting of the International Whaling Commission, held in London, 30 May-7

June 1949. Amendment to paragraph 17 of the schedule to the above-mentioned Convention. Adopted at the first meeting of the International Whaling Commission, held in London, 30 May-7 June 1949. Amendments to paragraphs 6, 8 (c), 8 (d) and 8 (e) of the schedule to the above-mentioned Convention. Adopted at the second meeting of the International Whaling Commission, held at Oslo in July 1950'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 161.2124 (1953). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 72–111. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280150135 (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] *Rules of Procedure and Financial Regulations*. Publisher: International Whaling Commission. IWC Archive, RS3605. 2024. URL: https://archive.iwc.int/pages/download_progress.php?ref=3605&size=&ext=pdf&k=# (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] Yukio Tsuda. *Language Inequality and Distortion in Intercultural Communication: A Critical Theory Approach*. John Benjamins Publishing, 1986. 111 pp. ISBN: 978-90-272-7928-6.

[4] Union of International Associations. *International Whaling Commission (IWC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100047689 (visited on 24/12/2024).

Iocean: Interoceanmetal

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3280.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1987.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on the creation of the "Interoceanmetal" Joint Organisation for the search, exploration, and preparation for the industrial development of ferromanganese nodules is done 'in the city of Moscow in a single copy in the Russian language.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English and Russian as the languages of this organisation, and today its website is only accessible in English, not in Russian. However, the exclusively Soviet-bloc founding membership (Bulgaria, Vietnam, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, Poland, the USSR and Czechoslovakia) leads to doubt that English was in use at the time of founding. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *IOM Story –IOM*. Interoceanmetal Joint Organization. 2022. URL: https://iom.gov.pl/iom-story/ (visited on 23/12/2024).

[2] *Soglašenie o sozdanii sovmestnoj organizacii "Interokeanmetall" dlja provedenija rabot po poiskam, razvedke, podgotovke k promyšlennomu osvoeniju železo-margancevyh konkrecij [Agreement on the establishment of a joint organization "Interoceanmetal" to carry out work on prospecting, exploration, and preparation for industrial development of ferromanganese nodules]*. Publisher: Verhovna Rada Ukra ni: Zakonodavstvo Ukra ni [Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine: Legislation of Ukraine]. Zakon Online. 1988. URL: https://zakononline.com.ua/documents/show/157927___157927 (visited on 20/10/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Interoceanmetal Joint Organization (IOM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023602 (visited on 23/12/2024).

JALAAO: Joint Anti-Locust and Anti-Aviarian Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3340.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1965.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this now-defunct organisation are available. The same is true of its predecessors, the Organisation commune de lutte antiacridienne and the Organisation commune de lutte antiaviaire, which merged to form this organisation in 1965. Its successor organisation is the Centre National de Lutte Antiacridien, a Nigerien government department.

Likewise, no authoritative original documents on language rules are available. All records relating to this organisation are in French, the bulk of which are held in the 'Archives rapatriées de la Mission de coopération et d' action culturelle à Ouagadougou' in the French Diplomatic Archives, which are unavailable at this time. Based on the above, I impute French as the sole language of the authentic texts of its constitutive instruments and its operations.

References

[1] *Centre National de Lutte Antiacridien (CNLA) –MAG/EL.* Ministère de l'Agriculture et de l'Elevage, Republic of Niger. 2024. URL: https://agriculture.gouv.ne/centre-national-de-lutte-antiacridien-cnla/ (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] *FR MAE 499PO/1/1-679. Archives rapatriées de la Mission de coopération et d' action culturelle à Ouagadougou 1960-1989.* Publisher: Archives Diplomatiques, French Republic. Archive 499PO/1, 1-679. 2020. URL: https://archivesdiplomatiques.diplomatie.gouv.fr/media/02d765c7-0029-4337-b96f-d7345de2c46f.pdf (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] A. Mallamaire. 'L'Organisation commune de lutte antiacridienne'. In: *Protection des cultures tropicales: Compte rendu des travaux.* Office de la recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer [Institut de Recherche pour le Développement], A1325. Marseille: Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Marseille, 1965, pp. 251–257. URL: https://horizon.documentation.ird.fr/exl-doc/pleins_textes/pleins_textes_5/b_fdi_08-09/11325.pdf (visited on 24/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Joint Anti-Locust and Anti-Aviarian Organization*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100021128 (visited on 24/12/2024).

JINR: Joint Institute for Nuclear Research

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3350.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1956.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The Agreement on the Establishment of a Joint Nuclear Research Institute 'was signed in Moscow on March 26, 1956. It was done in one copy, in Russian,' according to Article 10. The Charter of the re-structured 1992 JINR is done in Russian and English, but the authentic text is Russian (*'Ustav sostavlen v dvuh èkzempljarah na russkom i anglijskom jazykah, autentičnym tekstom javljaetsja èkzempljar na russkom jazyke'*).

The original 1956 agreement makes no mention of language provisions. No authoritative original documents are available that concern the use of languages. The 1992 Charter contains an Article 2 that defines the official and working languages of the organisation.

> *'Stat'ja 2*
>
> *Oficial'nymi jazykami Instituta javljajutsja jazyki gosudarstv - členov Instituta, rabočimi jazykami - russkij i anglijskij.'*
>
> [Article 2
>
> The official languages of the Institute are the languages of the member states of the Institute; the working languages, Russian and English.]

The UIA Yearbook also lists English and Russian for this organisation. Given the change in authentic languages over time, however, it is very likely that English was not added until after the re-structuring of the institute in 1992. I impute only Russian, as it is the only language known for certain to have been used in the operation of the institute in 1956.

References

[1] *Agreement on the Establishment of a Joint Institute for Nuclear Research*. Publisher: Joint Institute for Nuclear Research. JINR Digital EcoSystem. 1956. URL: https://www.jinr.ru/wp-content/uploads/Advisory_Bodies/Agreement_JINR_English.pdf (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Joint Institute for Nuclear Research (JINR)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100045322 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[3] *Ustav Ob"edinennogo instituta jadernyh issledovanij [Charter of the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research]*. Publisher: Joint Institute for Nuclear Research. JINR Digital EcoSystem. 1992. URL: https://www.jinr.ru/wp-content/uploads/Advisory_Bodies/Charter_JINR_1992_rus.pdf (visited on 24/12/2024).

JNOLCRH: Joint Nordic Organization for Lappish Culture and Reindeer Husbandry

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3360.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1965.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Finnish	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Norwegian	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Swedish	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents are available, but it is known that this organisation was created on recommendation of the Nordic Council in 1965.

No authoritative original documents on language rules are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. I impute based on the founding membership (Norway, Sweden, and Finland) and the connection to the Nordic Council, where Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish are languages of the treaty text and have institutional status as operational languages.

References

[1] *Riksarkivet - Sök i arkiven.* Nationell Arkivdatabas. Arkiv - Samefonden och Nordiska samarbetsorganet för samespörsmål och renskötselfrågor. Publisher: Riksarkivet. 2024. URL: https://sok.riksarkivet.se/?ValdSortering=DatumFallande&PageSize=20&Sokord=Kristina&EndastDigitaliserat=False&FacettLimits=5Vsy4A%3A0&AvanceradSok=True&FacettFilter=arkis_aukt_huvudkategori_facet%24%C3%96vriga%3A&page=12&tab=post&postid=Arkis+576ded52-6d7d-43be-8f3d-e17412f3c34e&s=TARKIS08_Balder (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Joint Nordic Organization for Lappish Culture and Reindeer Husbandry Affairs.* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066168 (visited on 24/12/2024).

LACAC: Latin American Civil Aviation Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3380.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	B: Not in original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Portuguese	B: Not in original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Statute of the Latin American Civil Aviation Commission is authentic in Spanish only.

Article 26 of the original Statute contains a provision on language in Chapter VII (Final and Transitional Provisions).

> Article 26. The working languages of the Commission shall be Spanish, Portuguese and English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English, Portuguese, and Spanish as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Statute of the Latin American Civil Aviation Commission. Signed at Mexico City on 14 December 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1241.20170 (1981). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 185–203. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showActionDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800e69cd&clang=_en (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Latin American Civil Aviation Commission (LACAC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014055 (visited on 24/12/2024).

LACP: Latin American Center for Physics

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3370.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1962.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The 'Acuerdo que instituye el Centro Latinoamericano de Física' is done 'en un solo ejemplar en lenguas española, francesa y portuguesa, siendo los tres textos igualmente auténticos,' making French, Portuguese, and Spanish the languages of the authentic text.

No authoritative original documents pertaining to language use are available, and the 2018 version of the Statutes does not mention languages. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish. However, there is reason to doubt that these were the languages used at inception. For one, English is nowhere to be found amongst the languages of the authentic text. Additionally, the website of the organisation at the time of this writing is still only accessible in Portuguese and Spanish, with no functionality for English and French. Absent other information, I impute with caution on this basis.

References

[1] 'Acuerdo que Instituye el Centro Latinoamericano de Física (CLAF)'. In: *La Gaceta, Diario Oficial de la República de Nicaragua* 121.3 (1965). Legislación de Nicaragua. URL: http://legislacion.asamblea.gob.ni/Instrumentos.nsf/d9e9b7b996023769062578b80075d821/57af7b6e3cde7228062575430061e0ed?OpenDocument&ExpandSection=1#_Section1 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] *Estatutos del Centro Latinoamericano de Física (edición 2018)*. Publisher: Centro Latinoamericano de Física. CLAF Convênios e Bolsas. 2018. URL: https://claffisica.org.br/downloads/ESTATUTO-DEL-CLAF-2018.pdf (visited on 20/10/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Centro Latino-Americano de Fisica (CLAF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100026152 (visited on 24/12/2024).

LAEO: Latin American Energy Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3410.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement establishing the Latin American Energy Organization is done 'in four copies in the English, French, Portuguese and Spanish languages, all four texts being equally valid.'

Chapter VII of the Agreement contains a single article, pertaining to institutional languages.

> Chapter VII. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
>
> Article 31. The official languages of the Organization shall be Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French, and all documents shall be simultaneously distributed in all the official languages.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates these four languages for this organisation, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Latin American Energy Organization (OLADE) (Agreement of Lima). Concluded at Lima on 2 November 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1000.14670 (1976). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 130–141. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201000/volume-1000-I-14670-English.pdf (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Latin American Energy Organization*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100037525 (visited on 24/12/2024).

LAFDO: Latin American Fisheries Development Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3420.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1982.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Portuguese	B: Not in original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement instituting the Latin American Organization for Fisheries Development is authentic in English, French, and Spanish.

Article 39 of the Agreement concerns languages, and defines them with regard to another organisation.

> Article 39. OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
>
> The official languages of this Agreement are those recognised by the Latin American Economic System.

At the time of this organisation's founding, the relevant languages were English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish. The UIA Yearbook also corroborates these four languages, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement instituting the Latin American Organization for Fisheries Development (OLDEPESCA) (with amend ments of 2 November 1984). Concluded at Mexico City on 29 October 1982'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1427.24116 (1986). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 115–149. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800d17dc&clang=_en (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Latin American Fisheries Development Organization*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100004482 (visited on 24/12/2024).

LAFTA: Latin American Free Trade Association

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3428.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1961.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	2
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	2

Coding Rationale

The Montevideo Treaty of 1960 (Treaty establishing a free-trade area and instituting the Latin American Free Trade Association) is done 'en un original en los idiomas español y portugués, siendo ambos textos igualmente válidos,' making Portuguese and Spanish the languages of the authentic text of the Treaty.

The Protocol on Norms and Procedures for Negotiations, affixed to the Treaty, does not contain language provisions. It is, however, done 'in one original in the Spanish, and one in the Portuguese language, both texts being equally authentic.' No other authoritative original documents pertaining to language use are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this now-defunct organisation, which was succeeded in 1980 by the Latin American Integration Association. It is relatively certain that Portuguese and Spanish were assumed to be the only operational languages within LAFTA. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Treaty establishing a free-trade area and instituting the Latin American Free Trade Association (Montevideo Treaty) (with protocol). Concluded at Montevideo on 18 February 1960. Termination (Note by the Secretariat)'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1484.23592 (1987). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 262–302. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800d17dc&clang=_en (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100006093 (visited on 24/12/2024).

LAIA: Latin American Integration Association

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3430.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1980.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3

Coding Rationale

The Montevideo Treaty of 1980, which establishes this organisation and dissolves the Latin American Free Trade Association, is done 'in an original in the Spanish and Portuguese languages, both texts being equally authentic.'

The Treaty makes no reference to language rules, nor are any other authoritative original texts containing language regulations available. Contemporary primary sources, however, refer to Spanish and Portuguese as the organisation's official languages. The website of the organisation is additionally only available in Spanish and Portuguese. The UIA Yearbook corroborates these two languages for this organisation, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] *ALADI*. ALADI –Asociación Latinoamerica de Integración. 2021. URL: https://www.aladi.org/sitioaladi/ (visited on 25/12/2024).

[2] *Bases del Segundo Concurso Latinoamericano de Cortos –ALADI*. ALADI – Asociación Latinoamerica de Integración. 2021. URL: https://www.aladi.org/sitioaladi/concurso-de-cortos/ (visited on 25/12/2024).

[3] 'Treaty of Montevideo, 1980. Concluded at Montevideo on 12 August 1980'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1329.22309 (1983). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 225–273. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800dc2b1 (visited on 20/10/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Latin American Integration Association (LAIA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100004447 (visited on 24/12/2024).

LAIEC: Latin American Institute of Educational Communication

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3400.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1978.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`K`: Undefined	`0`
Portuguese	`A`: In original treaty	`K`: Undefined	`0`
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

Article 30, Chapter XI (Final Provisions) of the original Convention on co-operation for the restructuring of the Latin American Institute for Educational Communication states that the original 'exists in equally authentic versions in the Spanish, English, Portuguese, and French languages.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English and Spanish for this organisation. The organisation's website and online presence exist exclusively in Spanish; however, the organisation runs an English-language learning programme called 'SEPA Inglés' directed at the wider public. No official information is available in Portuguese or French. Absent further information, I impute English and Spanish only.

References

[1] *Acerca del ILCE*. Instituto Latinoamericano de Comunicación Educativa ILCE. 2024. URL: `https://www.ilce.edu.mx/index.php/ilce/acerca-del-ilce` (visited on 25/12/2024).

[2] 'Convention on co-operation for the restructuring of the Latin American Institute for Educational Communication. Concluded at Mexico City on 31 May 1978'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1253.20439 (1981). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 103–110. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showActionDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800e4ff5&clang=_en` (visited on 23/11/2021).

[3] *SEPA Inglés*. Instituto Latinoamericano de Comunicación Educativa ILCE. 2024. URL: `https://www.ilce.edu.mx/oferta-educativa/sepa-ingles` (visited on 25/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Instituto Latinoamericano de la Comunicación Educativa (ILCE)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100037483` (visited on 24/12/2024).

LATIN: Latin Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3440.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1983.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Catalan	`B`: Not in original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`3`
Italian	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`3`
Portuguese	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`3`
Romanian	`B`: Not in original treaty	`Z`: *Official*, non-*working*	`3`
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`X`: *Official and working*	`3`

Coding Rationale

The original 1954 'Convenio constitutivo de la Union Latina' states, in Article XXVI, that its 'textos español, italiano, portugués y francés tendrán la misma validez,' making French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish the languages of the original authentic text.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this now-defunct organisation. However, as of 2001, its official website made explicit reference to official and working languages.

> 'Las lenguas oficiales de la Unión Latina son: español, frances, italiano, portugués y rumano. Las cuatro primeras son utilizadas como lenguas de trabajo. Todos los textos de difusión general son traducidos en estas cuatro lenguas y algunos también en rumano. De esta forma la Organización vive y demuestra constantemente su ideal cultural panlatino.'

In addition, several sources, including an academic piece written by the former Uruguayan ambassador to UNESCO, count Catalan in addition to the five aforementioned languages. The UIA Yearbook also lists Catalan, a romance language, alongside French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, and Romanian. I code the latter five according to the information provided on the website, and I impute for Catalan based on external sources.

References

[1] *¿Qué es?* Unión Latina. Wayback Internet Archive. 2001. URL: `https://web.archive.org/web/20010720053528/https://www.unilat.org/info_es/info/qui.html` (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] 'Agreement establishing the Latin Union. Concluded at Madrid on 15 May 1954. Ratifications and accessions by various countries. Withdrawals. Reinstatement to membership in the Latin Union.' In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1955.33483 (1981). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–79. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/Volume%201955/v1955.pdf (visited on 20/11/2021).

[3] Omar Mesa González. 'Les chemins de l' Union latine : une approche historique'. In: *Hermès, La Revue* 75.2 (2016). Publisher: CNRS Éditions Section: History, pp. 123–130. ISSN: 0767-9513. URL: https://shs.cairn.info/revue-hermes-la-revue-2016-2-page-123 (visited on 26/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Latin Union*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014963 (visited on 24/12/2024).

LCBC: Lake Chad Basin Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1150.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1964.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`W`: *Working*	`1`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`W`: *Working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The text of the original 1965 Fort-Lamy Convention establishing the Lake Chad Basin Commission is equally authentic in English and French, according to Article VIII.

Besides establishing the languages of the authentic texts of the convention, Article VIII also provides for the working languages of the organisation. This same provision is substantively repeated in Rule 6 of the Rules of Procedure.

> Article VIII [Convention]
>
> 1. The English and French texts of the present Convention shall be equally authentic.
> 2. The working languages of the Commission shall be if possible African languages, English and French.
>
> Rule 6 [Rules of Procedure] African languages shall also be used, if possible French and English shall be the working languages of the Commission.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English and French as the two languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Annex 1: Convention and Statute Relating to the Development of the Chad Basin'. In: *CM/345 (Part 4). Lake Chad Basin Commission. Council of Ministers, Fifteenth Ordinary Session. Addis Ababa –August 1970*. African Union Common Repository, Council of Ministers & Executive Council Collection [4430]. Organisation of African Unity, 1970. URL: `https://archives.au.int/handle/123456789/7690` (visited on 25/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Lake Chad Basin Commission (LCBC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100054261` (visited on 24/12/2024).

LGIDA: Liptako-Gourma Integrated Development Authority

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3470.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1970.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Convention establishing the Statutes of the Liptako-Gourma Integrated Development Authority is authentic in the French language only.

The original Convention makes no mention of language rules. However, the revised 'Protocole d'accord révisé portant création de l'Autorité de developpement intégré de la région du Liptako-Gourma,' besides also being done solely in French, contains an article establishing a working language for the authority.

> Article 14: Le Français est la langue de travail de l'Autorité.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates this, listing French as the only language of the organisation. Though the revised document does not date from 1970, it is clear that it legalises an already established fact about language use within the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing the Statutes of the Liptako-Gourma Integrated Development Authority (with map). Signed at Bamako on 3 June 1971'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1247.20352 (1981). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 359–373. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201247/v1247.pdf (visited on 20/11/2021).

[2] *Textes législatifs révisés de l' Autorité du LIPTAKO-GOURMA*. Publisher: Autorité de Développement intégré de la région du LIPTAKO-GOURMA. Centre de documentation et des archives, Organisation pour la mise en valeur du fleuve Sénégal, 14925. 2000. URL: https://cda-omvs.org/14925-2/ (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Liptako-Gourma Integrated Development Authority (LGA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100031060 (visited on 24/12/2024).

LOAS: League of Arab States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3450.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1945.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	`A`: In original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original Pact of the League of Arab States is 'drawn up in the Arabic language.'

The Internal Regulations of the Council, the Committees, and the General Secretariat make no explicit mention to the official language of the organisation. However, the Cultural Treaty of the Arab League (20 November 1946) contains an article which specifies the centrality of the Arabic language to the organisation.

> Article 9: The States of the Arab League will work for the standardization of scientific terms, by means of councils, congresses and joint committees, which they will set up, and by means of bulletins which these organizations will issue. They will work to make the Arabic language convey all expressions of thought and modem science, and to make of it the language of instruction in all subjects and in all educational stages in the Arab countries.

The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic as this organisation's only language. Article 9 of the Cultural Treaty makes it clear that Arabic is not only an institutional language, but indeed part of the raison d'être of the League of Arab States. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Cultural Treaty of the Arab League (1946)*. Trans. by Ed Hayes. Publisher: Arab League General Information, Winthrop University. Wayback Internet Archive. 2000. URL: `https://web.archive.org/web/20000617174645/http://192.203.180.62/mlas/CulTreaty.html` (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] *Internal Regulations of the Committees of the League of Arab States (1951)*. Trans. by Ed Hayes. Publisher: Arab League General Information, Winthrop University. Wayback Internet Archive. 2000. URL: `https://web.archive.org/web/20000817162824/http://192.203.180.62/mlas/CmteeRegs.html` (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] *Internal Regulations of the Council of the League of Arab States (1951)*. Trans. by Ed Hayes. Publisher: Arab League General Information, Winthrop University. Wayback Internet Archive. 2000. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20000817162800/http://192.203.180.62/mlas/CouncilRegs.html (visited on 26/12/2024).

[4] *Internal Regulations of the Secretary-General of the League (1953)*. Trans. by Ed Hayes. Publisher: Arab League General Information, Winthrop University. Wayback Internet Archive. 2000. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20000817162911/http://192.203.180.62/mlas/SecGenRegs.html (visited on 26/12/2024).

[5] 'Pact of the League of Arab States. Signed at Cairo, on 22 March 1945'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 70.241 (1950). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 237–265. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028015a44b (visited on 20/11/2021).

[6] *The Charter of the Arab League (1945)*. Trans. by Ed Hayes. Publisher: Arab League General Information, Winthrop University. Wayback Internet Archive. 2000. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20000817001241/http://192.203.180.62/mlas/charter.html (visited on 26/12/2024).

[7] Union of International Associations. *League of Arab States (LAS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014984 (visited on 24/12/2024).

MAOCN: Maritime Analysis and Operations Centre - Narcotics

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3485.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2008.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	3
French	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3
Italian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3

Coding Rationale

The original 2007 agreement establishing this organisation (Agreement between Ireland, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Kingdom of Spain, the Italian Republic, the Portuguese Republic, the French Republic, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland establishing a maritime analysis and operations centre - narcotics) is done 'in the Dutch, English, French, Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish languages, all texts being equally authentic.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions; it makes reference to a Procedure Handbook which is not available at this time. The Website of this organisation, founded in 2008, was not available until 2019. The three vacancies posted since then, in 2019, 2022, and 2024, all contain identical text specifying language skills needed to qualify for employment within the organisation.

> 'Entry Criteria:
>
> —An excellent command of English, ideally at C1 standard or equivalent.
>
> —Knowledge of additional languages used in the Centre will be considered advantageous but not essential (Dutch, French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish and German).
>
> ...

The UIA Yearbook corroborates above languages, minus German, for the organisation. It is clear from the documents that English occupies the highest tier of institutionalisation, but that the other languages are 'used in the Centre' and thus have institutional status. No German-speaking states were party to the original 2007 agreement, which was not authentic in German, and therefore German was almost certainly not an operational language at founding. I therefore code English,

French, Italian, Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish for this organisation.

References

[1] 'Agreement between Ireland, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the Kingdom of Spain, the Italian Republic, the Portuguese Republic, the French Republic, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland establishing a maritime analysis and operations centre - narcotics. Lisbon, 30 September 2007'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2784.48975 (2011). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 13–103. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%202784/v2784.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] *APPLICATION CLOSED –Analyst –MAOC (N)*. Maritime Analysis and Operations Centre (Narcotics). 2022. URL: https://maoc.eu/maoc-n-analyst-vacancy-notice/ (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] *APPLICATION CLOSED –Support Officer –MAOC (N)*. Maritime Analysis and Operations Centre (Narcotics). 2019. URL: https://maoc.eu/maoc-n-support-officer-vacancy-notice/ (visited on 26/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Maritime Analysis and Operations Centre - Narcotics (MAOC-N)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100003788 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[5] *Vacancy Notice –Analyst –MAOC (N)*. Maritime Analysis and Operations Centre (Narcotics). 2024. URL: https://maoc.eu/vacancy-notice-analyst/ (visited on 26/12/2024).

MARRI: Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3505.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2003.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 'Agreement on the Status and Activities of the Regional Centre of the Migration, Asylum, and Refugees Regional Initiative –MARRI in Skopje' is the host agreement that establishes this organisation as a legal entity. It is 'signed on 15 November 2004, in Tirana, in two originals in English language.' The declaration and MoU on the establishment of this organisation earlier in 2004 are also done exclusively in English.

The Agreement, Declaration, and MoU on establishing this organisation do not make mention of language rules. However, the Guidelines and Rules of Procedure contain an article within the General Provisions defining the working language of the organisation.

> General Provisions
>
> ...
>
> 22. English is the working language of all MARRI meetings (Forum and working groups) as well as the Centre.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Agreement on the Status and Activities of the Regional Centre of the Migration, Asylum, and Refugees Regional Initiative – MARRI in Skopje*. Publisher: Migration, Asylum, and Refugees Regional Initiative. MARRI Publications. 2004. URL: http://marri-rc.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Host-Agreement.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] *Guidelines and Rules of Procedure of the Migration, Asylum, and Refugees Regional Initiative*. Publisher: Migration, Asylum, and Refugees Regional Initiative. MARRI Publications. 2019. URL: http://marri-rc.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2019/09/MARRI-Guidlines-and-Rules-of-Procedures.pdf (visited on 22/10/2021).

[3] *Joint Statement: Ministerial SEECP Meeting / Regional Forum of MARRI in Herceg Novi 5 April 2004*. Publisher: The South-Eastern European Cooperational Process (SEECP). MARRI Publications. 2004. URL: http://marri-rc.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/Herceg-Novi-Joint-Declaration-on-MARRI-2004.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[4] *Memorandum of Understanding: Establishment of the Regional Forum of the Migration, Asylum, and Refugees Return Initiative*. Publisher: The South-Eastern European Cooperational Process (SEECP). MARRI Publications. 2004. URL: http://marri-rc.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/MoU-on-establishing-MARRI-Regional-Forum-2004.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[5] *Statute of the Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative Regional Centre*. Publisher: Migration, Asylum, and Refugees Regional Initiative. MARRI Publications. 2015. URL: http://marri-rc.org.mk/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/MARRI-STATUTE.pdf (visited on 22/10/2021).

[6] Union of International Associations. *Migration, Asylum, Refugees Regional Initiative (MARRI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100031841 (visited on 24/12/2024).

MCPTTC: Multi-Country Posts and Telecommunications Training Centre, Blantyre

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3520.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1984.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. The UIA Yearbook notes that it was founded and funded by the UNDP for the first phase of its existence.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language use, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. Information on this organisation is sparse. I impute English on the basis of its exclusively Anglophone founding membership (Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, and Swaziland).

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Multi-Country Posts and Telecommunications Training Centre, Blantyre (MCTC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100054555 (visited on 24/12/2024).

MCWCASM: Ministerial Conference of West and Central African States on Maritime Transport

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3510.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 'Convention portant institutionnalisation de la Conférence ministérielle des États de l'Afrique de l'Ouest et du Centre sur les Transports maritimes' is done 'en un seul original, en anglais et en français, les deux textes faisant également foi.' This makes English and French the authentic languages of the text of the Convention.

Article 26 in Chapter XIII (final provisions) of the Convention defines the working languages of the organisation.

> Chapitre XIII : Dispositions finales
>
> Article 26 : Les langues de travail de la Conférence sont l'anglais et le français.

The UIA Yearbook lists Portuguese in addition to English and French. The original text of the Convention, however, makes it clear that Portuguese did not have operational status at the inception of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Loi n° 1986/10 du 24 janvier 1986 autorisant le Président de la République à ratifier la Convention portant institutionnalisation de la Conférence ministérielle des Etats de l'Afrique de l' Ouest et du Centre sur les Transports maritimes signée à Accra, le 26 février 1977*. Republic of Senegal. 1986. URL: https://www.dri.gouv.sn/%C3%A9tiquettes/conf%C3%A9rence-minist%C3%A9rielle-des-etats-de-lafrique-de-l%E2%80%99ouest-et-du-centre (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Maritime Organization of West and Central Africa (MOWCA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100002379 (visited on 24/12/2024).

MFO: Multinational Force and Observers

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3550.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1981.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Hebrew	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0

Coding Rationale

The Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel, which is done 'in triplicate in the Arabic, Hebrew, and English languages, each text being equally authentic,' contains a Protocol that establishes this organisation.

None of these documents, however, contain provisions relating to language use. The website of this organisation is, to this day, available only in English. Additionally, the UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language of this organisation. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *MFO - About Us*. Multinational Force and Observers. 2024. URL: https://mfo.org/about-us (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] *Protocol to the Egyptian-Israeli Treaty of Peace*. Publisher: Multinational Force and Observers. MFO Documents and Downloads. 1981. URL: https://mfo.org/documents-and-downloads (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] 'Treaty of Peace (with annexes, maps and agreed minutes). Signed at Washington on 26 March 1979. Letter Agreement, additional to the above-mentioned Treaty, concerning the establishment of full autonomy in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip (with annexed "Framework for Peace in the Middle East agreed at Camp David" and "Framework for the conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel", signed at Washington on 17 September 1978, and seven related letters dated 17 and 22 September 1978, concerning (1) settlements in the Sinai, (2) Jerusalem, and (3) the position of Egypt with respect to the implementation of the comprehensive settlement). Washington, 26 March 1979'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1136.17813 (1979). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 115–205. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%201136/volume-1136-i-17813-english.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Multinational Force and Observers (MFO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100050441 (visited on 24/12/2024).

MIGA: Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3540.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1988.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	3

Coding Rationale

The text of the original Convention establishing the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency is authentic in English only.

The Convention does not contain language provisions, nor are other authoritative original documents on language rules available. The UIA Yearbook does not list any languages for this organisation, but the MIGA is a World Bank Group institution. A section on the World Bank Group website dating to 2015 contains a reference to the working language of the Group.

> 'While the working language of the World Bank Group is English, an increasing amount of content is available in other languages.'

I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (with annexes and schedules). Concluded at Seoul on 11 October 1985'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1508.26012 (1988). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 99–179. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201508/volume-1508-I-26012-English.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] *Language Resources*. World Bank Group. Wayback Internet Archive. 2015. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20150404043245/https://www.worldbank.org/en/language-resources (visited on 22/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100043395 (visited on 24/12/2024).

MRU: Mano River Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3480.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1980.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Mano River Declaration establishing the Mano River Union between Liberia and Sierra Leone is done 'in two copies, both in the English language.'

Neither the Declaration, nor the voluminous Protocols attached thereto, make mention of language provisions. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French for this organisation. A secondary academic source also corroborates this (Steady 2011: 39). I impute according to the above, and on the basis of the fact that many of the protocols signed after the initial founding of the organisation are authentic in both English and French.

References

[1] *Consolidated Protocol to the Mano River Declaration*. Publisher: Mano River Union. MRU Documents. 1983. URL: http://mru.int/en/wp-content/uploads/2024/09/CONSOLIDATED-PROTOCOLS-FINAL_231002_020511.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] 'Mano River Declaration establishing the Mano River Union between Liberia and Sierra Leone. Concluded at Malema on 3 October 1973. First Protocol to the above-mentioned Declaration: Principles and procedures for the adoption of Protocols. Concluded at Bo on 3 October 1974. Second Protocol to the above-mentioned Declaration: Institutions of the Mano River Union. Concluded at Bo on 3 October 1974. Third Protocol to the above-mentioned Declaration: Celebration of the signing of the Declaration. Con cluded at Bo on 3 October 1974. Fourth Protocol to the above-mentioned Declaration: Financial arrangements of the Mano River Union. Concluded at Bo on 3 October 1974. Fifth Protocol to the above-mentioned Declaration: General Convention on privileges and immunities of the Mano River Union. Concluded at Bo on 3 October 1974. Sixth Protocol to the above-mentioned Declaration: Registration of the Mano River Declaration and its Protocols with the Secretariats of the Organization of African Unity and the United Nations Organization. Concluded at Bo on 3 October 1974'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 932.13608 (1974). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 265–365. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20932/v932.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] Filomina Chioma Steady. 'The Mano River Union (MRU) and Mano River Women' s Peace Network (MARWOPNET)'. In: *Women and Leadership in West Africa: Mothering the Nation and Humanizing the State*. Ed. by Filomina Chioma Steady. New York: Palgrave Macmillan US, 2011, pp. 39–52. ISBN: 978-1-137-01039-1. URL: https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137010391_4 (visited on 26/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Mano River Union (MRU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100039810 (visited on 24/12/2024).

MWN: Mediterranean Water Network

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3490.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Mediterranean Charter for Water (Charte Méditerrannéenne de l'Eau), signed in Rome in 1992, makes no reference to the authentic language of the text. It is known to exist only in English and French.

No documents on language rules for this organisation, authoritative, original or otherwise, are known to exist. The UIA Yearbook lists no languages for this organisation. I impute solely on the basis of the known languages of the texts of the Charter for Water.

References

[1] *Charte Méditerranéenne de l'Eau*. Publisher: 2ème Conférence Méditerranéenne de l'Eau. Wayback Internet Archive. 1992. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20240629094650/http://www.emwis.net/overview/fol101997/fol590538/Roma_19921030_ChME_fr.pdf/download/1/Roma_19921030_ChME_fr.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] *Key dates*. Euro-Mediterranean Information System on know-how in the Water sector. Wayback Internet Archive. 2010. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20100201005214/http://www.emwis.net/overview/fol101997/fol590538/ (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Mediterranean Water Network (MWN)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100036323 (visited on 24/12/2024).

Mercosur: Southern Common Market

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4260.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty establishing a Common Market (Asunción Treaty) between the Argentine Republic, the Federative Republic of Brazil, the Republic of Paraguay and the Eastern Republic of Uruguay is done 'en un original en los idiomas espanol y portugues, siendo ambos textos igualmente autenticas,' making Portuguese and Spanish the languages of the authentic treaty text.

Article 17 of the Treaty defines the official languages of the organisation.

> Artículo 17
>
> Los idiomas oficiales del Mercado Común serán el español el portugués y la versión oficial de los documentos de trabajo será la del idiona del pais sede de cada reunión.

The UIA Yearbook lists Guarani in addition to Portuguese and Spanish. However, it is clear from the original text that only the latter two languages have operational status in the organisation, as well as being the languages of the authentic treaty text. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Treaty for the establishment of a Common Market (Asunción Treaty) between the Argentine Republic, the Federative Republic of Brazil, the Republic of Paraguay and the Eastern Republic of Uruguay (with annexes). Asunción, 26 March 1991'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2140.37341 (2001). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 257–359. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800a84a2 (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Southern Common Market*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100004417 (visited on 24/12/2024).

Montreal: Multilateral Fund for the Implementation of the Montreal Protocol

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3530.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1990.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Chinese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original text of the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer is authentic in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish. Additionally, both the Terms of Reference for the Interim Multilateral Fund, as well as for its Executive Committee, are done in those languages.

The Rules of Procedure for the Meetings of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol and the Terms of reference of the Executive Committee for the Interim Multilateral Fund both refer to the six official languages of the United Nations (as of 1989 and 1990) in defining the official languages for the respective gatherings.

> Rule 52 [Rules of Procedure for the Meetings of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol]
>
> The Official languages of the meeting shall be Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish.
>
> 5 [Terms of reference of the Executive Committee for the Interim Multilateral Fund]
>
> The meetings of the Executive Committee shall be conducted in those official languages of the United Nations required by members of the Executive Committee. Nevertheless the Executive Committee may agree to conduct its business in one of the United Nations official languages.

The above sources make it clear that the Fund uses Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish as its operational languages. The UIA Yearbook also corroborates the six languages of the United Nations as the languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Annex I: Rules of procedure for Meetings of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol. First Meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer*. Publisher: United Nations Environment Programme. UNEP Publications and Data. 1989. URL: https://ozone.unep.org/treaties/montreal-protocol/meetings/first-meeting-parties/decisions/annex-i-rules-procedure-meetings-parties-montreal-protocol?q=treaties/montreal-protocol/meetings/first-meeting-parties/decisions/annex-i-rules-procedure-meetings-parties-montreal-protocol (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] *Annex IV –Appendix II: Terms of reference for the Executive Committee for the Interim Multilateral Fund. Second Meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer*. Publisher: United Nations Environment Programme. UNEP Publications and Data, UNEP/OzL.Pro.2/3. 1990. URL: https://ozone.unep.org/meetings/second-meeting-parties-montreal-protocol/decisions/annex-iv-appendix-ii-terms-reference (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] *Annex IV –Appendix IV: Terms of reference for the Interim Multilateral Fund. Second Meeting of the Parties to the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer*. 1990. URL: https://ozone.unep.org/meetings/second-meeting-parties-montreal-protocol/decisions/annex-iv-appendix-iv-terms-reference (visited on 26/12/2024).

[4] 'Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer (with annex). Concluded at Montreal on 16 September 1987'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1522.26369 (1989). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–111. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=XXVII-2-a&chapter=27&clang=_en (visited on 26/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *Multilateral Fund for the Implementation of the Montreal Protocol*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100020866 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NACAP: Network of Aquaculture Centres in Asia-Pacific

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3560.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1990.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on the network of aquaculture centres in Asia and the Pacific is done 'in a single copy in the English language.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions. No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the sole language for this organisation, the website of which is only available in English. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *About NACA*. Network of Aquaculture Centres in Asia-Pacific. 2000. URL: `https://enaca.org/?id=5` (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] 'Agreement on the network of aquaculture centres in Asia and the Pacific (with annex). Concluded at Bangkok on 8 January 1988'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1560.27140 (1990). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 201–218. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800c1efd` (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Network of Aquaculture Centres in Asia-Pacific (NACA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100006437` (visited on 24/12/2024).

NAFO: Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2572.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1979.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`V`: *Official working*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original 1978 Convention on future multilateral co-operation in the Northwest Atlantic fisheries is done 'in a single original, in the English and French languages, each text being equally authentic.'

The Rules of the Procedure of the Fisheries Commission, as well as the Rules of Procedure of the General Council, both drafted upon the founding of the organisation in 1979, contain almost identical provisions defining the official and working language of those bodies, which together constitute the organisation.

> Rule 7. [Fisheries Commission] LANGUAGE
>
> English shall be the official and working language of the General Council and its subsidiary bodies but, if desired, any other language may be used, on condition that persons doing so will provide interpreters. All official publications and communications of the General Council shall be in English.
>
> Rule 7. [General Council] LANGUAGE
>
> English shall be the official and working language of the General Council and its subsidiary bodies but, if desired, any other language may be used, on condition that persons doing so will provide interpreters. All official publications and communications of the General Council shall be in English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention on future multilateral co-operation in the Northwest Atlantic fisheries (with annexes). Concluded at Ottawa on 24 October 1978'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1135.17799 (1979). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 369–410. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201135/volume-1135-I-17799-English.pdf` (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] *Proceedings of the Inaugural Meeting, March 1979; First Annual Meeting, June 1979*. Publisher: Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization. NAFO Library. 1979. URL: https://www.nafo.int/Library/Commission/Meeting-Proceedings-of-GC-FC/meeting-proceedings-1979 (visited on 23/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization (NAFO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100050592 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3670.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1

Coding Rationale

Article 2206 of the North American Free Trade Agreement states: 'The English, French and Spanish texts of this Agreement are equally authentic.'

The Agreement does not define operational languages for the organisation per se, but portions of the text concerning trademarks and country of origin marking make clear the languages to which the relevant prohibitions or permissions apply.

> Article 1708: Trademarks
>
> ...
>
> ——13. Each Party shall prohibit the registration as a trademark of words, at least in English, French or Spanish, that generically designate goods or services or types of goods or services to which the trademark applies.
>
> Annex 311: Country of Origin Marking
>
> ...
>
> ——3. Each Party shall permit the country of origin marking of a good of another Party to be indicated in English, French or Spanish, except that a Party may, as part of its general consumer information measures, require that an imported good be marked with its country of origin in the same manner as prescribed for goods of that Party.

The UIA Yearbook does not list language information for this organisation. The relevant text in the Agreement listed above makes it clear that English, French, and Spanish are the languages covered by the provisions of the Agreement. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Canada-Mexico-United States: North American Free Trade Agreement'. In: *International Legal Materials* 32.2 (1993), pp. 289–456. ISSN: 0020-7829, 1930-6571. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/international-legal-

materials/article/abs/canadamexicounited-states-north-american-free-trade-agreement/E7D9D13DA456B68F07CC940C07A5642D (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *NAFTA Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100023659 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NAM: Non-Aligned Movement

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3580.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1961.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Non-Aligned Movement is not a formal organisation, and the Belgrade Declaration of 1961 does not have an 'authentic' text.

No authoritative original documents on language rules exist, due to the above. Another contemporary source (the Political Handbook of the World) simply does not list languages for this gathering, as it is not a formal organisation. The organisation itself does not have an official website, though the NAM Centre for South-South Technical Cooperation does (and this site is accessible only in English). The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, French, and Spanish for this organisation. I impute according to the UIA Yearbook, as it likely best represents the actual use of languages within the gatherings.

References

[1] Tom Lansford. 'Non-Aligned Movement'. In: *Political Handbook of the World 2022-2023*. Vol. 2. 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320: CQ Press, 2023. ISBN: 978-1-07-185303-0 978-1-07-185308-5. URL: https://sk.sagepub.com/cqpress/political-handbook-of-the-world-2022-2023 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] *NAM CSSTC: Non-Aligned Movement Centre for South-South Technical Cooperation*. Non-Aligned Movement Centre for South-South Technical Cooperation. 2024. URL: http://csstc.org/# (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Non-Aligned Movement (NAM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100064161 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NAPPO: North American Plant Protection Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3680.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
Spanish	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The original text of the North American Plant Protection Agreement is done 'in triplicate in the English and Spanish languages, each being equally authentic.'

The Agreement does not make provisions regulating language use. The bye-laws of this organisation, dating to 2016 and amended 2024, make reference to languages in Article VII and Article XII.

> Article VII. Responsibilities of NAPPO Officials
>
> ...
>
> Translator-Interpreter/Technical Writer - TI
>
> The main responsibilities of the TI are to:
>
> a) Translate all NAPPO documents (English to Spanish and Spanish to English);
>
> b) provide interpretation at meetings, either consecutive or simultaneous, as appropriate;
>
> c) work with additional translators-interpreters hired to assist at specific NAPPO events to ensure that they are well-prepared and informed;
>
> d) develop and maintain a NAPPO lexicon of English/Spanish and Spanish/English equivalent terms
>
> Article XII. Publications
>
> NAPPO publications are made available in English and Spanish.

Though English and Spanish are not defined as official or working languages, it is clear from these regulations that they are the only operational languages of the organisation. The constitution and byelaws were amended in 2016, and further in 2024. However, as the text of the original 1976 treaty is bilingually authentic in English and Spanish, it is highly likely that English and Spanish were the only operational languages at founding. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French for

this organisation, but it is clear that French does not have institutional status. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *NAPPO Constitution and Bylaws*. Publisher: North American Plant Protection Organization. NAPPO Governance Documents. 2024. URL: https://www.nappo.org/application/files/4917/2410/4351/20240602_FINAL_NAPPO_Constitution_By-Laws-e.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] 'North American Plant Protection Agreement. Signed at Yosemite, United States of America, on 13 October 1976'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1086.16632 (1978). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 335–337. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201086/volume-1086-A-16632-English.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *North American Plant Protection Organization (NAPPO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100001702 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NASCO: North Atlantic Salmon Conservation Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3690.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1983.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Convention for the conservation of salmon in the North Atlantic Ocean is opened for signature 'in a single original, in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authoritative.'

Article 3 of the Convention establishes this organisation. Section 6 of this article defines its official languages.

> ——6. The official languages of the Organization shall be English and French.

The UIA Yearbook also lists English and French as the languages of this organisation, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention for the conservation of salmon in the North Atlantic Ocean. Open for signature at Reykjavik on 2 March 1982'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1338.22433 (1983). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 33–54. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?clang=_en&objid=08000002800d8e0d (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *North Atlantic Salmon Conservation Organization (NASCO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100001647 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NATO: North Atlantic Treaty Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3700.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1949.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 14 of the North Atlantic Treaty states: ‘ This Treaty, of which the English and French texts arc equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America.’

In the first session of the North Atlantic Council, the principal organ of NATO, the Council agreed to its terms of reference and organisation. The Final Communiqué of the First Session contains a provision on language use for the organisation as a whole.

> Languages
>
> English and French shall be the official languages for the entire North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English and French as the two languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Final Communiqué of the first Session of the North Atlantic Council - (Terms of Reference and Organisation)*. Publisher: North Atlantic Treaty Organisation. NATO e-Library: Official texts (Chronological). 1949. URL: https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_17117.htm (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] ‘North Atlantic Treaty. Signed at Washington, on 4 April 1949’. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 34.541 (1949). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 244–254. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028016226c (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100040671 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NCM: Nordic Council of Ministers

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3620.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1971.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	3
Finnish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3
Icelandic	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	3
Norwegian	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	3
Swedish	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	3

Coding Rationale

The Nordic Council of Ministers was established in a 13 February 1971 amendment to the Treaty of Cooperation between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden (the Helsinki Treaty). Its final provisions state that it is signed 'in the Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish languages, in a single copy, each text being equally authoritative.'

The Treaty text does not define operational languages for this organisation. However, language policy for Nordic Co-operation is given careful treatment by the public-facing institutional website of the Nordic Council of Minister and the Nordic Council.

> 'Languages in the Nordic region
>
> Nordic co-operation involves a certain degree of parallel language use between the three Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish) on one side, and English on the other. Danish, Norwegian and Swedish are the working languages of official Nordic co-operation. For meetings of the Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers, an interpretation service is offered between Finnish, Icelandic and Scandinavian, but never between the Scandinavian languages. The secretariats for the Nordic Council, the Nordic Council of Ministers and Culture Fund use Danish, Norwegian and Swedish as their working languages.
>
> Since 1991, the Nordic Council of Ministers has developed close co-operation with the three Baltic republics –Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. English is the working language of Nordic-Baltic co-operation.
>
> In some academic and professional contexts, English is used as the language of co-operation.
>
> In some respects, it might be easier and more convenient for all co-operation to be through the medium of English. However, the fact

> that political co-operation is rooted in the mutual understanding of the neighbouring Nordic languages (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish) sends a positive signal of cohesion across linguistic and national boundaries.
>
> The Nordic countries have concluded several agreements on Nordic language co-operation.'

The UIA Yearbook lists Danish Norwegian Swedish for this organisation. It is clear that these three languages are on a qualitatively higher tier of institutionalisation than Icelandic and Finnish, which are also in use within the Nordic Council of Ministers. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *The Nordic languages | Nordic cooperation*. Nordic Co-operation. Publisher: The Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers. 2024. URL: `https://www.norden.org/en/information/nordic-languages` (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] *Treaty of Co-operation between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden (the Helsinki Treaty)*. Publisher: The Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers. 1995. URL: `https://www.norden.org/en/information/helsinki-treaty` (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Nordic Council of Ministers (NCM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100007549` (visited on 24/12/2024).

NCRR: Nordic Council for Reindeer Research

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3600.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1980.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Finnish	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Norwegian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Swedish	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Statutes of the Nordic Council for Reindeer Research (Vedtekter for Nordisk Organ for Reindriftsforskning) are currently only available in Norwegian on the website of the organisation, but this does not preclude the existence of authentic versions in other languages.

The Statutes make no reference to language rules; no authoritative original documents on language rules are known to exist. The UIA Yearbook lists Danish, English, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish as languages of this organisation. However, as of this writing, the website of the organisation is substantively accessible only in Norwegian. A banner on the site additionally lists the name of the organisation in Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and English. I impute only these four languages.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Nordic Council for Reindeer Husbandry Research*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100047700 (visited on 24/12/2024).

[2] *Vedtekter | NOR –Rangifer*. Nordisk organ for reindriftsforskning. 2003. URL: https://site.uit.no/rangifer/rangifer-4/vedtekter/ (visited on 27/12/2024).

NCTR: Nordic Council for Tax Research

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3610.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Finnish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Norwegian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Swedish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on the establishment of the Nordic Council for Tax Research is done 'in one copy in the Finnish, Norwegian, Swedish and Danish languages, all texts being equally authentic.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions. No authoritative original documents on language rules are available for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish; to these, I add Finnish, as it is also a language of the authentic text of the Agreement, and impute accordingly absent further information.

References

[1] 'Agreement on the establishment of the Nordic Council for Tax Research. Signed at Helsinki on 13 April 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 917.13097 (1974). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 159–171. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/Volume%20917/v917.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Nordic Tax Research Council*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100024435 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NDF: Nordic Development Fund

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3630.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1989.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
English	B: Not in original treaty	W: *Working*	3
Finnish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Icelandic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Norwegian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Swedish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3

Coding Rationale

The Agreement regarding the establishment of the Nordic Development Fund is done 'in one original in the Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish languages, each of these texts being equally authentic'

The Agreement does not mention language use, and no other authoritative original documents on language rules are available. The Rules of Procedure of the Board of Directors of the Nordic Development Fund contain language provisions in Section 3 and Section 8.

> Section 3. Meetings
>
> ——4. The Managing Director and the Secretary shall ensure that the notice, agenda and supporting documentation for a meeting is prepared and distributed to the Members and Alternates not less than 15 working days prior to the following meeting. Notice, agenda and other documentation shall be in English, unless practical reasons exist for having part of the supporting documentation in one of the Nordic languages. The documentation shall be distributed electronically, by reliable and secure means.
>
> Section 8. Minutes
>
> ——1. The Secretary shall prepare minutes from the meetings, reflecting the decisions of the Board. A Member may require that her or his opinion be included in the minutes. The minutes shall be prepared in the English language.

The above text suggests that English is effectively the working language of the Board of Directors, though other languages may be used in a supporting capacity. I thus code for English alone as an operational language, despite it not being a language of the authentic text of the founding Agreement.

References

[1] *Rules of Procedure of the Board of Directors of the Nordic Development Fund*. Publisher: Nordic Development Fund. NDF Legal framework, policies and guidelines. 2014. URL: https://www.ndf.int/media/rules-of-procedure-of-the-board-of-directors-june-2014.pdf (visited on 25/01/2022).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Nordic Development Fund (NDF)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100027322 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NEAFC: Northeast Atlantic Fisheries Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3730.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1998.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1

Coding Rationale

Article 22 of the original 1980 Convention on future multilateral co-operation in North-East Atlantic Fisheries stipulates that its 'English and French texts are equally authentic.'

The Convention is silent on operational language rules. However, the Rules of Procedure (adopted at the 32nd Annual Meeting, November 2013 and as amended at the 39th Annual Meeting November 2020) define the official language of the commission in Chapter 3, Article 14.

> Chapter 3. Meetings
>
> 14. The official language of the Commission shall be English. Reports of meetings of the Commission shall be transmitted to the Contracting Parties in English.

The UIA Yearbook also lists English as the sole language of this organisation. Whilst these rules of procedure are not those from the founding of the organisation, they are the first version of such rules available, and likely institutionalise an established fact. Additionally, the website of the organisation is accessible solely in English. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *About the Work of NEAFC*. North-East Atlantic Fisheries Commission. 2024. URL: https://www.neafc.org/about (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] 'Convention on future multilateral co-operation in North-East Atlantic Fisheries. Concluded at London on 18 November 1980'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1285.21173 (1982). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 129–149. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800e14c4&clang=_en (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] *Rules of Procedure of the North East Atlantic Fisheries Commission (NEAFC) adopted at the 32nd Annual Meeting, November 2013 and as amended at the 39th Annual Meeting November 2020*. Publisher: North East Atlantic Fisheries Commission. NEAFC Basic Texts. 2020. URL: https://www.neafc.org/rules-procedure (visited on 24/01/2022).

[4] Union of International Associations. *North-East Atlantic Fisheries Commission (NEAFC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100033136 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NERC: Nordic Economic Research Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3640.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1979.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Faroese	D: Not in related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Finnish	C: In related treaty	K: Undefined	0
Icelandic	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Norwegian	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Swedish	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. The UIA Yearbook notes that it was set up by the Nordic Council of Ministers in 1980, and ceased to exist in 1996.

No documents on language rules for this organisation, authoritative, original or otherwise, are known to exist. The UIA Yearbook lists Danish, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish for this organisation. I follow the judgement of the UIA Yearbook on operational languages absent further information. Additionally, I impute formal languages on the basis of the connection to the NCM.

References

[1] Harald Dickson. 'Nordiska ekonomiska forskningsrådet: Årbog 1985'. In: *Ekonomisk Debatt* 7.86 (1986). Nationalekonomiska Föreningen, pp. 592–594. URL: https://www.nationalekonomi.se/wp-content/uploads/2000/01/14-7-hd.pdf (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Nordic Economic Research Council*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100024733 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NIB: Nordic Investment Bank

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3650.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
English	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	3
Finnish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Icelandic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Norwegian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Swedish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3

Coding Rationale

The original 1975 Agreement establishing the Nordic Investment Bank (Överenskommelse om upprättandet av Nordiska investeringsbanken) is done in a single copy in the Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish languages, all texts being equally authoritative. (i ett exemplar på danska, finska, isländska, norska och svenska språken, vilka samtliga texter har samma vitsord).

Neither the original Agreement, nor its Statutes, make any reference to the operational languages of the organisation. This organisation was restructured several times after the accession of Baltic states. The 'Jobs' page on the current website states that the 'official working language is English,' and the UIA Yearbook also lists English as the sole language of this organisation. However, as the original Agreement from 1975 makes no mention of English (and is indeed not authentic in English translation), I impute with caution.

References

[1] *Jobs - Nordic Investment Bank*. Nordic Investment Bank. 2024. URL: https://www.nib.int/who-we-are/our-people/jobs/ (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] 'Nr 31. Överenskommelse om upprättandet av Nordiska investeringsbanken. Köpenhamn den 4 december 1975'. In: *Sveriges överenskommelser med främmande makter* SÖ 1976.31 (1976). Regeringskansliet: Dokument & Publikationer. URL: https://www.regeringen.se/contentassets/10673786c803471cb6ee60b51d834b18/overenskommelse-om-upprattandet-av-nordiska-investeringsbanken-kopenhamn-den-4-december-1975.pdf (visited on 27/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Nordic Investment Bank (NIB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100033780 (visited on 24/12/2024).

NPAFC: North Pacific Anadromous Fish Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3705.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Japanese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Convention for the Conservation of Anadromous Stock in the North Pacific Ocean, signed in 1992, is done 'in a single original, in the English, French, Japanese and Russian languages, each text being equally authentic.'

The Convention also defines the official languages of the commission in Section 6 of Article VIII.

> —6. The official languages of the Commission shall be English, Japanese and Russian.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists Korean in addition to English, Japanese, and Russian, the text of the original agreement makes it clear that the latter three were the initial set of operational languages. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Convention for the Conservation of Anadromous Stock in the North Pacific Ocean.* Publisher: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. FAO Lex Database, LEX-FAOC020908. 2000. URL: https://www.fao.org/faolex/results/details/en/c/LEX-FAOC020908/ (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *North Pacific Anadromous Fish Commission (NPAFC).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100003900 (visited on 26/12/2024).

NPFSC: North Pacific Fur Seal Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3710.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1958.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Japanese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original text of the Interim Convention (with schedule) on conservation of North Pacific fur seals, signed in 1957, is authentic in English, Japanese, and Russian.

The Convention does not explicitly specify operational languages, but Article VI makes reference to the languages of the documents required to undertake certain functions stipulated in the Convention.

> Article VI
>
> In order to implement the provisions of Article III, the Parties agree as follows:
>
> 1. When a duly authorized official of any of the Parties has reasonable cause to believe that any vessel outfitted for the harvesting of living marine resources and subject to the jurisdiction of any of the Parties is offending against the prohibition of pelagic sealing as provided for by Article III, he may, except within the territorial waters of another State, board and search such vessel. Such official shall carry a special certificate issued by the competent authorities of his Government and drawn up in the English, Japanese, and Russian languages which shall be exhibited to the master of the vessel upon request.

Though the UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation, an authoritative source dating from 1968 contains the following text regarding the Scientific Committee of this organisation (Commercial Fisheries Review 1968: 453): 'The Commission meeting was preceded by a meeting of the Commission's Standing Scientific Committee, which began March 25. 'The Committee completed work on a comprehensive summary of 1964-66 investigations. This will be published in the Commission's 3 official languages.' This confirms that English, Japanese, and Russian were the original operational languages used in this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Commercial Fisheries Review*. Vol. 30. Google-Books-ID: o60gAAAAMAAJ. Silver Spring: National Marine Fisheries Service, 1968. 1308 pp. URL: https://books.google.com/books/about/Commercial_Fisheries_Review.html?hl=fr&id=AiSCpvs0-m4C (visited on 02/02/2022).

[2] 'Interim Convention (with schedule) on conservation of North Pacific fur seals. Signed at Washington, on 9 February 1957'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 314.4546 (1958). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 106–146. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20314/volume-314-I-4546-English.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *North Pacific Fur Seal Commission (NPFSC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100033181 (visited on 26/12/2024).

NPI: Nordic Patent Institute

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3655.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2008.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Icelandic	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Norwegian	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Swedish	B: Not in original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on the establishing of the Nordic Patent Institute is done 'in a single original in the English, Danish, Icelandic and Norwegian languages which shall be deposited with the Depositary. In case of a conflict between the English text of this Agreement and the Danish, Icelandic and Norwegian text(s) of this Agreement, the English text shall prevail.'

The original External Regulations to the Agreement on the establishing of the Nordic Patent Institute, in force as of 1 January 2009, address the use of languages in Rule 2.

> Rule 2. Languages
>
> (1) Communications to the Nordic Patent Institute pertaining to PCT-work shall be in Danish, English, Icelandic, Norwegian or Swedish.
>
> (2) Communications to the Nordic Patent Institute pertaining to contractual work or commercial services shall be in Danish, English, Norwegian or Swedish.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists only English for this organisation, it is clear that Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish are also used for both PCT and contractual or commercial work. In addition, Icelandic is used for PCT work. This puts Icelandic on a lower tier of institutionalisation than the other four languages. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Agreement on the Establishing of the Nordic Patent Institute*. Publisher: Nordic Patent Institute. 2006. URL: https://npi.int/media/0dncrrkc/agreement-on-the-establishing-of-nordic-patent-institute.pdf (visited on 21/10/2021).

[2] *External Regulations to the Agreement on the establishing of the Nordic Patent Institute (NPI)*. Publisher: Nordic Patent Institute. 2009. URL: https://npi.int/media/1denydta/external-regulations-to-the-agreement-on-the-establishing-of-the-nordic-patent-institute.pdf (visited on 27/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Nordic Patent Institute (NPI)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100027036 (visited on 26/12/2024).

NRC: Niger River Commission/Niger Basin Authority

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3570.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1964.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Agreement concerning the Niger River Commission and the navigation and transport on the River Niger, which establishes this organisation, is done 'in one copy in English and one in French.'

No authoritative original documents concerning language rules are available for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as its languages. Additionally, its website is accessible at the time of this writing solely in English and French. I code on the basis of the above, and on the basis of these two languages as the sole authentic languages of the text of the original founding Agreement.

References

[1] 'Agreement concerning the Niger River Commission and the navigation and transport on the River Niger. Done at Niamey, on 25 November 1964'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 587.8507 (1967). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 21–33. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20587/volume-587-I-8507-English.pdf (visited on 26/12/2024).

[2] *Official documents*. Autorite du bassin du Niger. 2024. URL: http://www.abn.ne/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=53&Itemid=46&lang=en (visited on 27/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Niger Basin Authority (NBA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100045871 (visited on 26/12/2024).

NTSC: Nordic Telecommunications Satellite Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3660.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1965.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Norwegian	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Swedish	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this now-defunct organisation are available.

No documents on language rules for this organisation, authoritative, original, or otherwise, are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook lists languages for this organisation. The Yearbook notes that the NTSC was set up as an internal committee by the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish telecommunications administrations. Absent further information, I impute Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish with caution.

References

[1] *The Untold Story of Nordic Satellite Collaboration*. Nordic Innovation. Publisher: Nordic Council of Ministers. 2023. URL: https://www.nordicinnovation.org/news/untold-story-nordic-satellite-collaboration (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Nordic Telecommunications Satellite Council (NTSR)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100050446 (visited on 26/12/2024).

NVC: Nordic Centre for Welfare and Social Issues

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3585.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2009.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	C: In related treaty	X: *Official and working*	2
Finnish	C: In related treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	2
Icelandic	C: In related treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	2
Norwegian	C: In related treaty	X: *Official and working*	2
Swedish	C: In related treaty	X: *Official and working*	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. However, the board of this organisation is appointed by the Nordic Council of Ministers; I impute Treaty text based on this connection.

No authoritative original documents on language are available for this organisation, nor do the Rules of Procedure make reference to language rules. The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation. I code by connection to the Nordic Council of Ministers.

References

[1] *Stadgar för Nordens välfärdscenter*. Publisher: Nordic Welfare Centre. Nordens välfärdscenter publikationer. 2021. URL: https://nordicwelfare.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Stadgar-f%C3%B6r-Nordens-v%C3%A4lf%C3%A4rdscenter.docx (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Nordens välfärdscenter (NVC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100009340 (visited on 26/12/2024).

NWHF: Nordic World Heritage Foundation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3665.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Faroese	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Icelandic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Norwegian	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Swedish	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this short-lived organisation, which began work under the auspices of UNESCO and ceased work in 2014.

No documents on language rules for this organisation, authoritative, original, or otherwise, are available. The UIA Yearbook lists Danish, English, Faroese, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish as the languages of this organisation. Absent further information, I impute by following this judgement.

References

[1] Karen Ibenholt et al. *Evaluation of Nordic World Heritage Foundation (2008-2013)*. 2013/40. Government.no Documents. Oslo: Ministry of the Environment, Government of Norway, 2013. URL: https://www.regjeringen.no/en/dokumenter/evaluation-nwhf/id744858/ (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Nordic World Heritage Foundation*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100021584 (visited on 26/12/2024).

[3] Tim Williams. 'Editorial: The Nordic World Heritage Foundation'. In: *Conservation and Management of Archaeological Sites* 16.4 (2014). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 293–295. ISSN: 1350-5033. URL: https://doi.org/10.1179/1350503315Z.000000000103 (visited on 27/12/2024).

NordC: Nordic Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3590.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1952.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	F: Unavailable	X: *Official and working*	2
Finnish	F: Unavailable	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	2
Icelandic	F: Unavailable	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	2
Norwegian	F: Unavailable	X: *Official and working*	2
Swedish	F: Unavailable	X: *Official and working*	2

Coding Rationale

The Nordic Council held its first session in 1953. The governments comprising the Nordic Council did not constitute the Nordic Council via international convention, and did not make its statutes binding. Thus, there is no original authoritative text of a legal instrument that constitutes this organisation in international law.

No authoritative original documents are available that concern language rules for this organisation. I code by relation to the Nordic Council of Ministers, a formalised organisation established in the 1970s, and on the basis of the founding membership of this organisation.

References

[1] *The Nordic Council - Historical events in the European integration process (1945–2009)*. CVCE.EU by UNI.LU. Publisher: Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History, University of Luxembourg. Centre virtuel de la connaissance sur l' Europe. URL: https://www.cvce.eu/en/education/unit-content/-/unit/02bb76df-d066-4c08-a58a-d4686a3e68ff/73b80c9e-835e-4c0d-9831-d4f85ac6a63b (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] *The Nordic languages | Nordic cooperation*. Nordic Co-operation. Publisher: The Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers. 2024. URL: https://www.norden.org/en/information/nordic-languages (visited on 27/12/2024).

[3] *Treaty of Co-operation between Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden (the Helsinki Treaty)*. Publisher: The Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers. 1995. URL: https://www.norden.org/en/information/helsinki-treaty (visited on 26/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Nordic Council (NC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014033 (visited on 26/12/2024).

OAPEC: Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3800.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1968.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	`A`: In original treaty	`L`: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement for the Establishment of an Arab Organization for the Petroleum Exporting Countries is authentic in Arabic only.

The Agreement does not make provisions regulating language use. No authoritative original documents explicitly regulating language use are available. Authoritative sources list Arabic as the sole language of the organisation; the UIA Yearbook also only catalogues Arabic. I code accordingly, based additionally on the exclusively Arab membership of the organisation.

References

[1] 'Agreement for the establishment of an Arab Organization for the Petroleum Exporting Countries. Signed at Beirut on 9 January 1968'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 681.9707 (1969). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 248–270. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20681/volume-681-I-9707-English.pdf` (visited on 01/02/2022).

[2] Arthur S. Banks, Thomas C. Muller and William R. Overstreet. 'Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC)'. In: *Political Handbook of the World 2007*. 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320: CQ Press, 2007. ISBN: 978-0-87289-370-2 978-1-4833-4120-0. URL: `https://sk.sagepub.com/cqpress/political-handbook-of-the-world-2007` (visited on 27/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100015212` (visited on 27/12/2024).

OAU: Organization for African Unity

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3760.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1963.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original text of the Charter of the 1963 Organization for African Unity is 'done, if possible in African languages, in English and French, all texts being equally authentic.'

Article XXIX of the original Charter establishes the official languages of the organisation.

> Article XXIX
>
> The working languages of the Organization and all its institutions shall be, if possible African languages, English and French.

The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic and Portuguese in addition to English and French, but the text of the original Convention makes it clear that this was not the case at the inception of the organisation. Original OAU documents show that Portuguese, for example, was not introduced as a working language of the OAU until 1984. Furthermore, the phrase 'if possible' before the term 'African languages' is too vague to constitute an explicit declaration of institutional status for a particular language. For these reasons, I code English and French only.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Organization of African Unity. Done at Addis Ababa, on 25 May 1963'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 479.6947 (1963). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 70–88. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20479/volume-479-I-6947-English.pdf (visited on 01/02/2022).

[2] *CM/1232(XL) ADD.I. Introduction of Portuguese as an OAU Working Language.* Publisher: Organisation of African Unity. African Union Common Repository, Council of Ministers & Executive Council Collection [4430]. 1984. URL: https://archives.au.int/handle/123456789/9941 (visited on 27/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organization of African Unity (OAU).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100018734 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OCAM: Afro-Malagasy Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 260.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1961.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Charter of the Afro-Malagasy Common Organization is only authentic in French.

Neither the original Charter nor the Internal Regulations of this now-defunct organisation make reference to language rules, and the UIA Yearbook catalogues no language information for this organisation. I impute based on the history of this organisation as founded by an exclusively francophone grouping of ten African states.

References

[1] 'Organisation Commune Africaine et Malgache: Charter and Internal Regulations'. In: *International Legal Materials* 6.1 (1967). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 53–77. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20690170 (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *African and Mauritian Common Organization*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100053443 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OCAS: Organization of Central American States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3812.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1951.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Charter of the Organization of Central American States is authentic in Spanish only.

The Charter makes no reference to language rules; no authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available. I impute on the basis of the language of the authentic text of the Charter and the UIA Yearbook, which lists only Spanish for this organisation.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Organization of Central American States (OCAS). Signed at Panama City, on 12 December 1962'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 552.8048 (1966). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 24–36. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/untc/Pages/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20552/volume-552-I-8048-English.pdf` (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Organization of Central American States*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100024286` (visited on 27/12/2024).

OCCEDCA: Organization of Coordination for the Control of Endemic Diseases in Central Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3820.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1963.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and Spanish for this organisation. Though the website of this organisation is indeed available in those languages, the OCCEDCA was founding in 1963 by an exclusively Francophone membership (Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo Brazzaville, and Gabon). Equatorial Guinea, the hispanophone member of this organisation, did not join until 1983. I impute only French, with caution.

References

[1] *Agence d'exécution de la CEMAC*. Organisation de coordination pour la lutte contre les endémies en Afrique Centrale. 2024. URL: https://www.oceac.org/ (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] *Operation and organization of OCEAC*. Organisation de coordination pour la lutte contre les endémies en Afrique Centrale. 2022. URL: https://www.oceac.org/history-of-oceac/ (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organization of Coordination for the Control of Endemic Diseases in Central Africa*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100022231 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OCR: Organization for the Collaboration of Railways

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3780.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1956.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on Direct International Goods Transport by Rail stipulates, in Article 59, that the text is done 'in Chinese and Russian' and that the 'Russian text shall prevail in case of conflict of interpretation' (本协定用中文、俄文写成。在条文解释上发生分歧时，以俄文本为准). The Agreement on Direct International Carriage of Passengers and Luggage by Rail is also 'done in Chinese and Russian, both texts being equally authentic, with the Russian text prevailing in case of conflict of interpretation' (本协约用中文和俄文写成。两种文本有同等效力。在本协约和客车规则的条文解释上发生分歧时，以俄文文本为准).

The Agreement on Direct International Transport provides for the languages of the organisation in Article 6. The current Regulations corroborate this in Article XII.

> 第 6 条
>
> 1、 有关本协约的事务由铁组委员会使用铁组工作语文——中文和俄文掌管。
>
> 2、 本协约用中文和俄文写成。两种文本具有同等效力。在本协约和客车规则的条文解释上发生分歧时，以俄文文本为准。
>
> [Article 6 [of the Agreement on Direct International Carriage of Passengers and Luggage by Rail]
>
> 1. Matters concerning this Agreement shall be handled by the OSJD Committee in the working languages of OSJD –Chinese and Russian.
>
> 2. This Agreement is drawn up in Chinese and Russian. Both texts are equally authentic. In case of any disagreement on the interpretation of the provisions of this Agreement and the Passenger Carriage Regulations, the Russian text shall prevail.]
>
> *'Stat'ja XII.* Jazyki
>
> 1. *Rabočimi jazykami OSŽD javljajutsja kitajskij i russkij jazyki.*

2. *Každyj člen OSŽD imeet pravo pol'zovat'sja drugimi jazykami. V ètom slučae on objazan obespečit' perevod na ljuboj iz rabočih jazykov.*
3. *V meždunarodnyh otnošenijah mogut primenjat'sja anglijskij i nemeckij jazyki.'*

[Article XII [of the Regulations of the Organisation for Cooperation between Railways]. Languages

1. The working languages of the OSJD are Chinese and Russian.
2. Each OSJD member has the right to use other languages. In this case, it is obliged to provide translation into any of the working languages.
3. English and German may be used in international relations.

]

In addition to listing Chinese and English as the languages of this organisation, the UIA Yearbook notes 'English and German used in international activities,' reflecting the text of Article XII in the current Regulations. However, the current Regulations are in force as of 2002. I defer to the original basic texts and code Chinese and Russian only.

References

[1] *Guó jì lián yùn kè chē shǐ yòng guī zé (kè chē guī zé) xié yuē [Agreement on Direct International Carriage of Passengers and Luggage by Rail and Procedure Instruction attached thereto]*. Publisher: Organisation for Cooperation on Railways. OSJD Documents. 1951. URL: https://zh.osjd.org/zh/8807/page/106077?id=2090 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] *Guó jì tiě lù huò wù lián yùn xié dìng (guó jì huò xié) jí qí bàn shì xì zé [Agreement on Direct International Goods Transport by Rail and Procedure Instruction attached thereto]*. Publisher: Organisation for Cooperation on Railways. OSJD Documents. 1951. URL: http://policy.mofcom.gov.cn/pact/pactContent.shtml?id=1353 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] *Ob OSŽD [About OSJD]*. Organizacija sotrudničestva železnyh dorog [Organisation for Cooperation between Railways]. 2024. URL: https://osjd.ctm.ru/about (visited on 28/12/2024).

[4] *Položenie ob Organizacii sotrudničestva železnyh dorog [Regulations on the Organisation of Cooperation between Railways]*. Publisher: Organisation for Cooperation on Railways. OSJD Documents. 2002. URL: https://osjd.org/ru/8962/page/106077?id=2127 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *Organisation for Cooperation between Railways (OSJD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100047866 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3750.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1961.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Convention on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development is done 'in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy.'

Neither the Convention nor its supplementary protocols contain provisions regulating the use of languages. However, the Rules of Procedure clearly define the official languages of the organisation and how they should be used.

> VIII. LANGUAGES
>
> Rule 27
>
> a) English and French are the official languages of the Organisation.
>
> b) Speeches made in either of the official languages shall be interpreted into the other official language.
>
> c) At their convenience, the bodies of the Organisation may dispense with the interpretation into either or both the official languages.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English and French as the two languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention on the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (with Supplementary Protocols Nos. 1 and 2). Done at Paris on 14 December 1960'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 888.12736 (1973). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 180–199. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280110c0a&clang=_en (visited on 27/11/2021).

[2] *Rules of Procedure of the Organisation.* Publisher: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development. OECD ONE, C(2007)14/FINAL. 2008. URL: https://one.oecd.org/document/C(2007)14/FINAL/en/pdf (visited on 27/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100004177` (visited on 27/12/2024).

OECS: Organization of Eastern Caribbean States

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3830.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1981.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Basseterre Treaty establishing the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States is authentic in English alone.

The Treaty contains no provisions regulating the use of languages, nor are any other authoritative original documents on language use available. Though the UIA Yearbook lists French and English for this organisation and the OECS website is also accessible in these languages, another contemporary source (the Political Handbook of the World) lists only English. Given the exclusively anglophone founding membership of this organisation, I impute English only.

References

[1] Tom Lansford. 'Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States'. In: *Political Handbook of the World 2022-2023*. Vol. 2. 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320: CQ Press, 2023. ISBN: 978-1-07-185303-0 978-1-07-185308-5. URL: https://sk.sagepub.com/cqpress/political-handbook-of-the-world-2022-2023 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] *OECS History: Founding Fathers and Key Milestones*. Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States. 2024. URL: https://oecs.int/en/who-we-are/history (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] 'Treaty establishing the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (with annex). Concluded at Basseterre on 18 June 1981'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1338.22435 (1983). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 97–123. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201338/v1338.pdf (visited on 23/11/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100056861 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OEEC: Organization for European Economic Co-operation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3762.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1948.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The original 1948 Convention on European Economic Co-operation is done 'in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single copy.'

The Convention of this now-defunct organisation makes no reference to the use of languages, and the UIA Yearbook does not catalogue language information. It is clear, however, that French and English were the operating languages of this organisation. The Archives for this organisation at the European University Institute contain documents in French and English only. i impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention for European Economic Co-operation (with annex and Supplementary Protocol No. I, on the legal capacity, privileges and immunities of the Organisa tion, and Supplementary Protocol No. II, on the financial regulations of the Organisation). Done at Paris on 16 April 1948. Protocol on the revision of the Convention for European Economic Co-operation of 16 April 1948. Done at Paris on 14 December 1960'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 888.12735 (1973). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 142–177. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280110b3f (visited on 30/11/2021).

[2] *Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)*. Historical Archives of the European Union, European University Institute. Publisher: European University Institute. Historical Archives of the European Union, (OEEC). 2024. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/173448?item=OEEC (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066710 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OIC: Organization of the Islamic Conference

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3850.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1969.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	1

Coding Rationale

The original Charter of the Islamic Conference, as registered with the United Nations, is authentic in Arabic, English, and French.

Article XIII of the Charter defines the languages of the organisation.

> Article XIII. LANGUAGE
>
> Languages of the Conference shall be Arabic, English and French.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates Arabic, English, and French as the languages of this organisation, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Islamic Conference. Adopted by the Third Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers at Djidda, on 4 March 1972'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 914.13039 (1974). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 110–128. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20914/volume-914-I-13039-English.pdf (visited on 20/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Organisation of Islamic Cooperation (OIC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100058402 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OIV: International Organization of Vine and Wine

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3245.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2004.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
German	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Italian	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 19 of the original 2004 Agreement establishing the International Organisation of Vine and Wine states: 'The original of this Agreement, of which the French, Spanish and English, texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of the French Republic.'

Article 5, section 6 within Chapter IV (Working Methods, Decision-making Processes) of the Agreement establishes language rules for the organisation.

> Section 6.
>
> The official languages shall be French, Spanish and English.
>
> The corresponding funding shall be determined according to Annex 2 to this Agreement. Nevertheless, the General Assembly may adapt it, if necessary, under the conditions defined in Article 5, paragraph 3.a.
>
> At the request of one or more members, other languages shall be added according to the same methods of funding, notably Italian and German, in order to improve communication between members. Beforehand, the concerned users shall formally accept the new financial contributions that result from their request.
>
> Beyond a total of five languages, any new request shall be submitted to the General Assembly which shall take its decision in accordance with the conditions defined in Article 5, paragraph 3.a.
>
> French shall remain the reference language in the event of any dispute with third parties who are not members of the Organisation.

The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish as the languages of this organisation. It is clear that Russian did not have institutional status at founding. The original text of the Agreement place English, French, and Spanish on the highest tier of institutionalisation, as they are the only 'official' languages so declared without reservation. Nevertheless, German and Italian are

mentioned specifically in Section 6 of Article 5, and they are offered *in potentia* the same funding terms as the established official languages. The UIA Yearbook notes that several publications of this organisation are published in German and/or Italian in addition to the three 'official' languages. Therefore, I include German and Italian as operational languages of the organisation as well, but I code them on a lower tier of institutionalisation than English, French, and Spanish.

References

[1] *Agreement Establishing the International Organisation of Vine and Wine*. Publisher: International Organisation of Vine and Wine. Fundamental Texts of the International Organisation of Vine and Wine. 2001. URL: `https://www.oiv.int/sites/default/files/documents/en-oiv-accord-20010403.pdf` (visited on 22/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *International Organisation of Vine and Wine (OIV)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100019321` (visited on 27/12/2024).

OMDKR: Organization for the Management and Development of the Kagera River

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3790.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1977.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement for the establishment of the Organization for the Management and Development of the Kagera River Basin is 'is signed in four original copies, in the French and English texts, both being equally authentic.'

The original Agreement does not contain language provisions, nor are other documents available that regulate the use of languages. A website for this organisation is not available. The UIA Yearbook catalogues English and French as the languages of this organisation. Absent other information, I impute according to this judgement.

References

[1] 'Agreement for the establishment of the Organization for the Management and Development of the Kagera River Basin (with attached map). Concluded at Rusumo, Rwanda, on 24 August 1977'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1089.16695 (1978). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 171–177. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800f8929 (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Organization for the Management and Development of the Kagera River Basin (KBO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062908 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OMVG: Gambia River Basin Development Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1870.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1978.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Article 27 of the original Convention relating to the creation of the Gambia River Basin Development Organization states that the text is signed 'in six copies in the French and English Languages, both texts being authentic.'

The Convention makes no reference to the use of languages outside of the above. No authoritative original founding documents are available that concern the use of languages. The UIA Yearbook lists English, French, and Portuguese for this organisation. However, the website of the organisation is available only in French, but contains large amount of substantive content in English (and no content in Portuguese). Based on the above, and on the languages of the authentic text of the founding Convention, and absent further information, I impute only French and English.

References

[1] *Accueil*. 2016. URL: https://web.archive.org/web/20161002203450/http://omvg.org/ (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] *Convention relating to the creation of the Gambia River Basin Development Organization signed at Kaolack, on 30 June 1978*. Publisher: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. FAO Lex Database, LEX-FAOC015879. 1981. URL: https://www.fao.org/faolex/results/details/en/c/LEX-FAOC015879/.

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organisation pour la mise en valeur du fleuve Gambie (OMVG)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100052785 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OPANAL: Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 280.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1969.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 31 of the original Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America states that '[t]he Spanish, Chinese, English, French, Portuguese and Russian texts are equally authentic.'

Article 33 of the Rules of Procedure General Conference, the main body of the Organisation, contains a provision defining the official languages of the body and its organs.

> X. Official and Working Languages
>
> Article 33. English, French, Portuguese and Spanish shall be the official languages of the General Conference and its organs.

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates these four languages for this organisation. Though these rules of procedure were amended in 2016, no amendments have been made to the provision relating to language use since the original Rules of Procedure were adopted in 1973. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Tratado de Tlatelolco. Textos básicos - Reference texts: OPANAL, 1969-2019.* Publisher: Organisation for Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean. 2019. URL: https://www.opanal.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/11/Textos-b%C3%A1sicos_Reference-Text-OPANAL-1.pdf (visited on 01/02/2022).

[2] 'Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (with annexed Additional Protocols I and II). Done at Mexico, Federal District, on 14 February 1967'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 634.9068 (1968). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 325–423. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20634/volume-634-I-9068-English.pdf (visited on 25/11/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America and the Caribbean*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100032684 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OPEC: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3840.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The Agreement concerning the creation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries is done in English only.

The original Agreement contains no provisions regulating the use of language. However, the original Statutes of the organisation define the official language of OPEC within Chapter I (Organization and Objectives).

> Article 6. English shall be the official language of the Organization.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement concerning the creation of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Done at Baghdad, on 14 September 1960'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 443.6363 (1962). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 247–252. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028013372f (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] 'Statute of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (opec)'. In: *International Legal Materials* 4.6 (1965). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 1175–1189. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20689999 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100045312 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OSCE: Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3770.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Italian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original of the Helsinki Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe is 'drawn up in English, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish.'

The original Helsinki Final Act does not contain language provisions. However, the Rules of Procedure address the use of languages in Chapter IV.1 (Rules of procedure for decision-making bodies –General rules).

> (B) Working languages and official records
>
> ——1. The working languages of the OSCE shall be: English, French, German, Italian, Russian and Spanish.
>
> ...
>
> ——11. All statements made at meetings of decision-making bodies in working languages other than English and subsequently distributed to all the participating States in a written form shall be translated by the Secretariat into English.

Though this version of the Rules of Procedure was adopted in 2006, no amendments to the section on language provisions have been known since 1973. The UIA Yearbook corroborates (B).1, listing English, French, German, Italian, Russian, and Spanish for this organisation. (B).11 makes it clear that English is 'primus inter pares' among the set of working languages of the OSCE. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Conference on Security and Co-Operation in Europe: Final Act'. In: *American Journal of International Law* 70.2 (1976), pp. 417–421. ISSN: 0002-9300, 2161-7953. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-journal-of-international-law/article/abs/conference-on-security-and-cooperation-in-europe-final-act/B8292B575C746FA353306BDECAC491E6 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] *Rules of Procedure of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe*. Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe. CSCE/OSCE Documents Library, MC.DOC/1/06. 2006. URL: https://www.osce.org/resources/csce-osce-key-documents (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100016047 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OSLO: Oslo Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3855.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1972.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

Article 27 of the original Convention for the prevention of marine pollution by dumping from ships and aircraft stipulates that its 'the English and French texts are equally authentic.'

The original Convention does not contain language provisions; authoritative original documents regulating language use are not available. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the languages of this now-defunct organisation that was superseded by the OSPAR Commission. I code by relation to this successor organisation, as well as to the languages of the founding text of the Oslo Commission.

References

[1] 'Convention for the prevention of marine pollution by dumping from ships and aircraft (with annexes). Signed at Oslo on 15 February 1972'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 932.13269 (1974). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 4–19. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20932/volume-932-i-13269-english.pdf (visited on 25/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Oslo Commission (OSCOM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100033175 (visited on 27/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *OSPAR Commission for the Protection of the Marine Environment of the North-East Atlantic (OSPAR Commission)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100016901 (visited on 27/12/2024).

OSPAR: OSPAR Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3860.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1998.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 32 of the original Convention for the protection of the marine environment of the North-East Atlantic states: 'The original of the Convention, of which the French and English texts shall be equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Government of the French Republic'

Though the Convention does not contain language provisions, Rules 72-73 of the Rules of Procedure (Section J) define the official languages of the organisation and regulate their use.

J. Languages

Rules 72-73

72. The official languages of the Commission are English and French. A Contracting Party desiring to use any other language shall be entitled to do so if, at its own expense, it provides for translation or interpretation into at least one of the official languages.

73. The host country shall be responsible for ensuring adequate interpretation into both official languages at the plenary sessions of meetings of:

    – the Commission;

    – the main committees, and

    – as far as possible, any working group.

    Nevertheless, where the Secretariat:

    (a) at a date six weeks before the commencement of a meeting of a main committee or a working group, has received no notification from any Contracting Party that its delegation would wish to use interpretation facilities; and

    (b) considers that the meeting of the main committee can effectively be conducted in a single specified language, there shall be no requirement to provide interpretation at that meeting of that committee or working group.

> there shall be no requirement to provide interpretation at that meeting of that committee or working group.

Though these rules of procedure are in force as of 2013, there have been no substantive amendments to the original definition of the organisation's official languages. The UIA Yearbook also corroborates English and French, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention for the protection of the marine environment of the North-East Atlantic (with annexes, appendices and final declaration). Paris, 22 September 1992'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2354.42279 (2006). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 67–143. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showdetails.aspx?objid=0800000280069bb5 (visited on 25/10/2021).

[2] *How OSPAR works*. OSPAR Commission. 2024. URL: https://www.ospar.org/about/how (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] *Rules of Procedure of the OSPAR Commission*. Publisher: OSPAR Commission. OSPAR Archive, 2013-02. 2013. URL: https://ospar-archive.s3.eu-west-1.amazonaws.com/DECRECS/AGREEMENTS/13-02e_rules-of-procedure_2023.pdf?X-Amz-Content-Sha256=UNSIGNED-PAYLOAD&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=AKIAJIACMW2T5USCSU5A%2F20241228%2Feu-west-1%2Fs3%2Faws4_request&X-Amz-Date=20241228T174317Z&X-Amz-SignedHeaders=host&X-Amz-Expires=900&X-Amz-Signature=77a68ef09dd55912adffbd2de79db79384d302284cc56c06bb09380fad6b5159 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *OSPAR Commission for the Protection of the Marine Environment of the North-East Atlantic (OSPAR Commission)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100016901 (visited on 27/12/2024).

PAP: Pan-African Parliament

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3875.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Protocol to the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community relating to the Pan-African Parliament contains no language on the authentic language of the text, but the Treaty itself is 'drawn up in four (4) original texts in the Arabic, English, French and Portuguese languages, all four (4) texts being equally authentic,' according to its Article 106.

Article 17 of the Protocol to the Treaty, which establishes the Pan-African Parliament, defines the working languages of the organisation.

> Article 17. Working Languages.
>
> The working languages of the Pan-African Parliament shall be, if possible, African languages, Arabic, English, French, and Portuguese.

The UIA Yearbook lists Spanish, Portuguese, and Swahili in addition to the four languages referenced above. However, the original text makes it clear that these latter three languages were not yet a part of the language regime of the Pan-African Parliament. I code accordingly.

References

[1] Bheki R. Mngomezulu. 'Reflecting on the Pan-African Parliament: Prospects and challenges'. In: *Journal of African Union Studies* 7.2 (2018). Publisher: Adonis & Abbey Publishers Ltd, pp. 45–62. ISSN: 2050-4292. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/26889808 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] *Protocol to the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community relating to the Pan-African Parliament*. Publisher: African Union. African Union Common Repository. 2001. URL: https://au.int/en/treaties/protocol-treaty-establishing-african-economic-community-relating-pan-african-parliament (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] *Treaty Establishing the African Economic Community*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/AEC/001. 1991. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text/592984 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Pan-African Parliament (PAP)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100046241` (visited on 28/12/2024).

PAPU: Pan African Postal Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3905.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1980.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 29 of the original Convention of the Pan African Postal Union states that the 'plenipotentiaries shall sign the present Convention in three copies of the working languages of the Union, all texts being equally authentic.'

Article 3 of the Convention defines the working languages of the Union to which Article 29 refers.

> Article 3. Working languages of the Union.
>
> The working languages of the Union shall be those of the African Unity (AU).

The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, and Spanish for this organisation. However, at the founding of the PAPU in 1980, the only clearly-specified languages of African Unity were Arabic, English, and French. Portuguese, for example, did not become a language of the Organisation of African Unity until 1984. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *CM/1232(XL) ADD.I. Introduction of Portuguese as an OAU Working Language.* Publisher: Organisation of African Unity. African Union Common Repository, Council of Ministers & Executive Council Collection [4430]. 1984. URL: https://archives.au.int/handle/123456789/9941 (visited on 27/12/2024).

[2] *Convention of the Pan African Postal Union (PAPU).* Faculty of Law, University of Oslo. 1980. URL: https://www.jus.uio.no/english/services/library/treaties/07/7-05/oau_postal_union.html (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Pan African Postal Union (PAPU).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100059078 (visited on 28/12/2024).

PC: Paris Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3910.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1977.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

Article 29 of the original Convention for the prevention of marine pollution from land-based sources states that its 'French and English texts shall be equally authentic.'

The Convention does not contain explicit language provisions; authoritative original documents regulating language use are unavailable. The UIA Yearbook lists English and French as the languages of this now-defunct organisation. It notes, in addition, that its functions were superseded by the OSPAR Commission. I code by relation to this successor organisation, as well as by the languages of the founding text of the Paris Commission.

References

[1] 'Convention for the prevention of marine pollution from land-based sources (with annexes). Concluded at Paris on 4 June 1974'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1546.26842 (1989). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 119–135. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201546/volume-1546-I-26842-English.pdf (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Paris Commission (PARCOM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100018687 (visited on 28/12/2024).

PCSP: Permanent Commission for the Conservation of the Maritime Resources of the South Pacific

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3930.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1952.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The Agreement relating to the organization of the Permanent Commission of the Conference on the exploitation and conservation of the marine resources of the South Pacific is authentic in Spanish only. The Santiago Declaration signalling agreement on the establishment of this organisation is also done in Spanish only.

The Agreement makes no explicit reference to language rules, and authoritative original documents relating to language use are not available. However, the most recent version of the Statutes defines the official language of the organisation.

> Artículo 5. Idioma oficial.
>
> El idioma oficial de la CPPS es el español.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists both English and Spanish for this organisation, it is overwhelmingly likely that Spanish is the only operational language of the organisation. For one, this is declared in the Rules of Procedure, which have been amended in the past, but there is little reason to suspect that the linguistic provision has substantively changed. For another, all institutional documents, as well as the website of this organisation, are available in Spanish only. I code on these bases, in addition to Spanish as the sole language of the authentic text of the legal instruments constituting it, and its exclusively hispanophone founding membership.

References

[1] 'Agreement relating to the organization of the Permanent Commission of the Conference on the exploitation and conservation of the marine resources of the South Pacific. Signed at Santiago on 18 August 1952'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1006.14759 (1976). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 333–335. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201006/volume-1006-I-14759-English.pdf (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] *Declaración de Santiago, 1952*. Publisher: Comisión Permanente del Pacifico Sur. Archivo de la CPPS. 1952. URL: https://archivo.cpps-int.org/index.php/s/2m1qCwDnCOekWBT (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] *Estatuto de la Comisión Permanente del Pacifico Sur, 2022*. Publisher: Comisión Permanente del Pacifico Sur. Archivo de la CPPS. 2022. URL: https://archivo.cpps-int.org/index.php/s/efAwf9j52W1GF2n (visited on 28/12/2024).

[4] *Normativas*. Comisión Permanente del Pacífico Sur. 2024. URL: https://www.cpps-int.org/index.php/home/normativas (visited on 28/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *Comisión Permanente del Pacifico Sur (CPPS)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100066547 (visited on 28/12/2024).

PED: Pôle européen de développement

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4000.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1985.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available, but it is known to be registered in accordance with Belgian Law and concerns cooperation in the francophone part of that country. Additionally, documentation for related successor projects is known to be authentic in French only.

No authoritative original documents for this organisation are available, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. However, the geographic scope of the cooperation, as well as its legal framework, make it overwhelmingly likely that French is the sole operational language of this cooperation. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Communication de la Commission aux États membres, du 28 avril 2000, fixant des orientations pour une initiative communautaire concernant la coopération transeuropéenne et destinée à favoriser un développement harmonieux et équilibré du territoire européen - INTERREG III [Journal officiel C 143 du 23.05.2000].* EUR-Lex Access to European Union law. Doc ID: g24204 Doc Sector: other Doc Title: INTERREG III (2000-2006) Doc Type: other Usr_lan: en. 2000. URL: https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=legissum:g24204 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] Jean-Paul Dondelinger. *Le Pôle Européen de Développement a 30 ans : quel bilan tirer ?* Cercle d'histoire de Messancy. 2015. URL: https://messancy-histoire.be/dossiers/aubange/le-pole-europeen-de-developpement-a-30-ans-quel-bilan-tirer,%20https://messancy-histoire.be/dossiers/aubange/le-pole-europeen-de-developpement-a-30-ans-quel-bilan-tirer (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] *espaces-transfrontaliers.org: Pôle européen de développement de Longwy.* MOT: Transfrontier Operational Mission. 2024. URL: http://www.espaces-transfrontaliers.org/ressources/territoires/agglomerations-transfrontalieres/pole-europeen-de-longwy-0/pole-europeen-de-developpement-de-longwy-1/ (visited on 28/12/2024).

[4] *Projet d'agglomération du Pôle Européen de Développement: Programme 2000 - 2006 Wallonia - Lorraine - Luxemburg (BE-FR-LU)*. Interreg: Keep.eu. 2023. URL: https://keep.eu/projects/3515/Projet-d-agglom-ration-du-P--FR/ (visited on 28/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *Association transfrontalière du pôle européen de développement (PED)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100010065 (visited on 28/12/2024).

PICES: North Pacific Marine Science Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3720.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1

Coding Rationale

The original 1992 Convention for a North Pacific Marine Science Organization is done 'in the English and French languages, each version being equally authentic.'

Article X of the Convention defines the working and official language of the Governing Council, the supreme body of the organisation.

> Article X. Working and Official Language
>
> The working and official language of the Council shall be English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Conventions - PICES - North Pacific Marine Science Organization*. North Pacific Marine Science Organization. 1990. URL: https://meetings.pices.int/about/convention (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *North Pacific Marine Science Organization (PICES)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100016578 (visited on 28/12/2024).

PIF: South Pacific Forum

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4200.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1971.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Agreement establishing the South Pacific Bureau for economic co-operation of 1973 established the South Pacific Bureau for economic co-operation, the predecessor body to this organisation. What is currently recognisable as the South Pacific Forum secretariat was not established until the 1991 Agreement establishing the South Pacific Forum Secretariat. The text of both documents above is authentic in English alone.

None of the aforementioned agreements make explicit reference to language rules. No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. However, the UIA Yearbook as well as the Political Handbook of the World both list English as this organisation's only language. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the South Pacific Bureau for economic co-operation (with annex). Opened for signature at Apia on 17 April 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 874.12543 (1973). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 163–175. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20874/v874.pdf (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] 'Agreement establishing the South Pacific Forum Secretariat (with annex). Opened for signature at Pohnpei on 29 July 1991'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1720.29909 (1993). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 95–108. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201720/volume-1720-I-29909-English.pdf (visited on 30/01/2022).

[3] Tom Lansford. 'Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)'. In: *Political Handbook of the World 2022-2023*. Vol. 2. 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks California 91320: CQ Press, 2023. ISBN: 978-1-07-185303-0 978-1-07-185308-5. URL: https://sk.sagepub.com/cqpress/political-handbook-of-the-world-2022-2023 (visited on 28/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Pacific Islands Forum*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100021829 (visited on 28/12/2024).

PIPD: Partners in Population and Development - A South-South Initiative

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3920.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development was adopted in 1994 at the International Conference on Population and Development.

The footnote on page 2 of the Annex to the Report of the International Conference on Population and Development, which describes the setting-up of the Programme of Action, concerns the official language of the Programme.

> '∗The official language of the Programme of Action is English, with the exception of paragraph 8.25, which was negotiated in all six official languages of the United Nations.'

Though the UIA Yearbook lists French in addition to English, it is clear from the original text that English was the only operational language of this organisation at founding. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Annex: Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development'. In: *Report of the International Conference on Population and Development. Cairo, 5-13 September 1994*. United Nations Official Document System, A/CONF.171/13/Rev.1. New York: United Nations, 1995, pp. 2–115. URL: https://www.un.org/development/desa/pd/sites/www.un.org.development.desa.pd/files/a_conf.171_13_rev.1.pdf (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Partners in Population and Development (PPD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100044231 (visited on 28/12/2024).

PMAESA: Port Management Association of Eastern and Southern Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4010.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The English and French texts of the original Statutes of the Port Management Association of Eastern and Southern Africa are equally authentic, according to Article XI (Final Dispositions).

Section 3 of Article I (Creation and Objectives) of the Statutes define the official languages of the organisation.

> ——3. Les langues officielles de l'Association sont l'anglais et le français.

The UIA Yearbook also lists English and French as the sole languages of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *About –PMAESA*. Port Management Association of Eastern & Southern Africa. 2024. URL: https://www.pmaesa.org/about/ (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] *Statuts provisoire de l'Association de gestion des ports de l'Afrique de l'Est*. Publisher: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. UNECA Knowledge Repository, E/CN.14/TRANS/93. 1973. URL: https://repository.uneca.org/handle/10855/11670?show=full.

[3] Union of International Associations. *Port Management Association of Eastern and Southern Africa (PMAESA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100047693 (visited on 28/12/2024).

PSNARCO: Permanent Secretariat of the South American Agreement on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3980.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1979.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Article sixteen of the original South American Agreement on narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances states that its 'Spanish and Portuguese texts...are equally authentic.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this short-lived organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists Spanish and Portuguese as its only institutional languages. Absent further information, I impute on this basis, and on basis of the fact that they are the sole authentic languages of the institution's founding text.

References

[1] 'South American Agreement on narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances (with additional protocols). Concluded at Buenos Aires on 27 April 1973'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1039.15596 (1977). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 68–84. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201039/volume-1039-I-15596-English.pdf (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Permanent Secretariat of the South American Agreement on Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100063377 (visited on 28/12/2024).

PTASEA: Preferential Trade Agreement for Southern and Eastern Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4030.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1981.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty for the Establishment of a Preferential Trade Area for the Eastern and Southern African States is done 'in the English, French, and Portuguese languages, the three texts being equally authentic.'

Article 42 in Chapter 12 (General and Transitional Provisions) of the original Treaty defines the official languages of the organisation.

> Article 42. Official languages.
>
> The official languages of the Preferential Trade Area shall be English, French, and Portuguese.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English, French, and Portuguese as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Eastern and Southern African States: Treaty for the Establishment of a Preferential Trade Area'. In: *International Legal Materials* 21.3 (1982). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 479–541. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20692442 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Preferential Trade Area for Eastern and Southern African States (PTA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100057503 (visited on 28/12/2024).

RASCOM: Regional African Satellite Communications Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4050.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Constitution and Operating Agreement of this organisation are unavailable. However, the OAU Resolution on the Establishment of the Regional African Satellite Communications System of 1992 is known to exist in English and French.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation, for which the UIA Yearbook lists English and French. Absent further information, I impute according to the above judgement.

References

[1] *Resolution on the Establishment of the Regional African Satellite Communications System (RASCOM)*. Publisher: Organisation of African Unity. African Union Document Management System, CM/Res.1498 (LIX) (E). 1994. URL: https://portal.africa-union.org/DVD/Documents/DOC-OAU-DEC/CM%20Res%201498%20(LIX)%20_E.pdf (visited on 28/12/2024).

[2] *Resolution sur le fonctionnement de l'Organisation regionale Africaine de communications par satellite (RASCOM)*. Publisher: Organisation of African Unity. African Union Document Management System, CM/Res.1498 (LIX) (F). 1994. URL: https://portal.africa-union.org/DVD/Documents/DOC-OAU-DEC/CM%20Res%201664%20(LXIV)%20_F.pdf (visited on 28/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Regional African Satellite Communications Organization (RASCOM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014034 (visited on 28/12/2024).

RCAELA: Regional Council for Adult Education and Literacy in Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4080.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available.

No authoritative original documents are available that prescribe language rules for this organisation. The UIA Yearbook catalogues French as the only language for this organisation; a UNESCO report on this organisation is available only in French. Absent further information, I impute only for French.

References

[1] 'Annexe 2.11: Conseil regional pour l'education et l'alphabetisation en Afrique (CREAA)'. In: *Final Report: Regional Workshop on the Preparation of Integrated Plans for the Eradication of Illiteracy, Dakar, 1987*. Publisher: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation. UNESCO Digital Library, uil 379.635.2 Fi. Dakar: UNESCO Regional Office for Education in Africa (Senegal), 1987, pp. 68–73. URL: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000201009_fre (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Regional Council for Adult Education and Literacy in Africa*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100060755 (visited on 28/12/2024).

RCC: Regional Cooperation Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4075.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2008.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 2008 Statute of the Regional Cooperation Council is done in English.

Article 24 of the Statute defines a working language for the organisation.

> Article 24. The working language of RCC meetings as well as of the Secretariat is English.

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Laidiens: 09.01.2008., Nr. 4. Statute of the Regional Co-Operation Council (RCC).* Legal Acts of the Republic of Latvia. 2008. URL: https://www.vestnesis.lv/ (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Regional Cooperation Council (RCC).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100006835 (visited on 28/12/2024).

RCFC: Regional Commonwealth in the Field of Communications

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4060.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Russian	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 1991 Agreement establishing the Regional Commonwealth in the Field of Communications is done in Russian.

Article 12 of the Agreement defines the official and working language of the organisation.

> *'Stat'ja 12: Oficial'nym i rabočim jazykom Regional'nogo sodružestva v oblasti svjazi priznaetsja russkij jazyk.*
>
> [Article 12: The official and working language of the Regional Commonwealth in the field of communications is recognized as the Russian language.]

The UIA Yearbook corroborates Russian as the sole language of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Agreement of the Establishment of the RCC and the RCC Charter*. Publisher: Regional Commonwealth in the Field of Communications. 1991. URL: https://en.rcc.org.ru/regional-commonwealth-in-the-field-of-communications/regional-commonwealth-in-the-field-of-communications/soglashenii-sozdaniircc-ustavrcc/ (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Regional Commonwealth in the Field of Communications (RCC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100021977 (visited on 28/12/2024).

RECSA: Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4055.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2004.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

Article 25, section (a) of the Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa, which constitutes this organisation, states: 'The original text of this Protocol will be in English, French and Arabic; the three texts being equally authentic.'

The Protocol contains no language provisions; authoritative original documents on language rules are not available. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, and French for this organisation. Absent further information, and based on the fact that the Nairobi Protocol is authentic in these three languages, I follow the judgement of the UIA Yearbook.

References

[1] *The Nairobi Protocol for the Prevention, Control and Reduction of Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa*. Publisher: Alva Myrdal Centre for Nuclear Disarmament, Uppsala University. 2004. URL: https://www.uu.se/download/18.30683fbd18f378098e33a72/1714657746359/amc_nairobi.pdf (visited on 22/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Regional Centre on Small Arms and Light Weapons in the Great Lakes Region, the Horn of Africa and Bordering States (RECSA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062571 (visited on 28/12/2024).

RIMMO: Réserve internationale maritime en méditerranée occidentale

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4090.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Italian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original 'Déclaration conjointe relative à l' institution d' un sanctuaire méditerranéen pour les mammifères marins' is Article 22 of the original 1999 Accord relatif à la création en Méditerranée d'un sanctuaire pour les mammifères marins is 'rédigé en langues française et italienne, chaque version faisant également foi.'

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation, and the UIA Yearbook does not catalogue languages for it. Absent further information, I impute on the basis of the authentic languages of the text of the Accord, as well as the founding membership of the organisation (France, Italy, and Monaco). I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Décret n° 2002-1016 du 18 juillet 2002 portant publication de l'accord relatif à la création en Méditerranée d'un sanctuaire pour les mammifères marins (ensemble une déclaration), fait à Rome le 25 novembre 1999*. Publisher: Republique Française. Légifrance. 1999. URL: https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000000780189 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Réserve internationale maritime en méditerranée occidentale (RIMMO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100065866 (visited on 28/12/2024).

RIOPPAH: International Regional Organization against Plant and Animal Diseases

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3060.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1953.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original 1953 'Segundo Convenio de San Salvador sobre la Creación del Comité Internacional Regional de Sanidad Agropecuaria,' which constitutes this organisation, is done in Spanish only.

No authoritative original documents are available that contain language rules. Tithe UIA Yearbook lists English in addition to Spanish for this organisation. However, the lack of English-language sources from the 20th century, coupled with the fact that Belize, the only anglophone member of this grouping, did not join until after 1987, lead to the conclusion that Spanish was the only institutional language of this organisation at its founding. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Convenio para la constitución del organismo internacional regional de sanidad agropecuaria*. Publisher: Organismo Internacional Regional de Sanidad Agropecuaria. Documentos OIRSA. 2017. URL: https://www.oirsa.org/contenido/2018/Convenio%20constitutivo_ES.PDF (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] 'Segundo Convenio de San Salvador sobre la Creación del Comité Internacional Regional de Sanidad Agropecuaria (CIRSA) (San Salvador, 1953).' In: *La Gaceta, Diario Oficial de la República de Nicaragua* 183.13 (1955). Legislación de Nicaragua. URL: http://legislacion.asamblea.gob.ni/Instrumentos.nsf/d9e9b7b996023769062578b80075d821/2140cd2fa27e00f50625759e00743fa6?OpenDocument&ExpandSection=1#_Section1 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organismo Internacional Regional de Sanidad Agropecuaria (OIRSA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100033630 (visited on 28/12/2024).

RIOgroup: Rio Group

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4100.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1986.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available, since the RIO Group was a consensus-based permanent meeting of heads of state and government. This was superseded by the Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribenos in 2012, which also absorbed the Cumbre de América Latina y el Caribe sobre Integración y Desarrollo.

Due to the above, no authoritative original documents on language rules exist. The UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation. The constitutive document of the successor organisation, CELAC, is titled 'Procedimientos para el Funcionamiento Orgánico de la CELAC' and contains a provision on languages for that organisation.

> IV. Idiomas
>
> Los idiomas oficiales de la Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños son el español, el francés, el holandés, el inglés y el portugués; y los idiomas de trabajo serán el español, el francés, el inglés y el portugués.

Given the 26-year gap between the founding of the Rio Group and its successor, it is unlikely that all of the languages listed above had institutional status in the Rio Group. As the Rio Group began with eight members comprising the Contadora Group and the Contadora Support Group, I impute only for Spanish and Portuguese.

References

[1] *Procedimientos para el Funcionamiento Orgánico de la CELAC*. Publisher: Comunidad de Estados Latinoamericanos y Caribeños. Documentos del Parlamento Latinoamericano y Caribeno. 2011. URL: https://parlatino.org/pdf/comunidad-estados/procedimientos-funcionamiento.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Permanent Mechanism for Consultation and Political Coordination (Rio Group)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100002961 (visited on 28/12/2024).

SAAFA: Special Arab Aid Fund for Africa

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4270.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	C: In related treaty	X: *Official and working*	2
English	C: In related treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	2
French	C: In related treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this extremely short-lived organisation are available. It is known to have been established as an 'emergency facility' by Arab oil-exporting countries in parallel to the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa. Three years later, this organisation was merged into the latter organisation.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this now-defunct organisation, nor does the UIA Yearbook catalogue language information. I code based on the strong connection to ABEDA, the founding charter of which was authentic in Arabic, English, and French, and which used Arabic as an official and working language, as well as English and French in some situations.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Special Arab Aid Fund for Africa (SAAFA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008382 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SAARC: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4170.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1985.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	3

Coding Rationale

The original Charter of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation is done in English.

The Charter makes no reference to language rules; no authoritative original documents containing language provisions are available. The current Provisional Rules of Procedure provide for the language of meetings of meetings of all SAARC bodies.

> Language of the meeting
>
> Rule 14
>
> 1. English shall be the language of the Meeting.
> 2. A representative may deliver his/her statement(s) in his/her national language if he/she provides for interpretation into English.

The UIA Yearbook also corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. However, as rules of procedure are still provisional as of 2020, I impute with caution for the original operational language at founding.

References

[1] *Charter of the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/SAARC/001. 1985. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text/173470 (visited on 26/01/2022).

[2] *Provisional Rules of Procedure*. Publisher: South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation. SAARC Digital Library. 2020. URL: https://www.saarc-sec.org/index.php/resources/agreements-conventions/46-saarc-charter-provisional-rules-of-procedure/file (visited on 26/01/2022).

[3] Union of International Associations. *South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100064738 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SACEP: South Asia Cooperative Environment Programme

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4160.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1983.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Colombo Declaration on The South Asia Co-operative Environment Programme is endorsed in English only.

The original 1982 Articles of Association of this organisation define its working language in Article 10.

> Article 10. Working Language
>
> The working language of SACEP shall be English.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the only language of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Declaration and Articles of Association of SACEP*. Publisher: South Asia Co-operative Environment Programme. SACEP Publications Library. 1981. URL: http://www.sacep.org/pdf/MoUs-Restricted/002.Pg-15-to-26-1981.02.25-Articles-of-Association-of-SACEP.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *South Asia Cooperative Environment Programme (SACEP)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100011913 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SACU: Southern African Customs Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4240.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1969.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Afrikaans	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Customs Union Agreement of 1969 establishing this organisation is done 'in quadruplicate, in Afrikaans and English texts, each of which texts shall be of equal authenticity.'

The Agreement does not contain language provisions, nor are original documents pertaining to language available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as the organisation's only language. Absent further information, I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Customs Union Agreement (with memorandum of understanding). Signed at Pretoria on 11 December 1969'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 860.12324 (1973). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 69–92. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20860/volume-860-I-12324-English.pdf (visited on 25/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Southern African Customs Union (SACU).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100026397 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SADC: Southern African Development Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4250.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty of the Southern African Development Community is done 'in two (2) original texts in the English and Portuguese languages, both texts being equally authentic,' according to Article 44 of the Treaty.

Chapter Fifteen of the treaty concerns language, and contains a single article defining the working languages of the organisation.

> Chapter XV: Language.
>
> Article 37. The working languages of SADC shall be English and Portuguese, and such other languages as the Council may determine.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists French in addition to English and Portuguese, the original text of the Treaty makes it clear that English and Portuguese are the only languages explicitly named at the founding of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Treaty of the Southern African Development Community. Windhoek, 17 August 1992'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 3062.52885 (2015). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 331–381. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%203062/v3062.pdf (visited on 19/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Southern African Development Community (SADC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100061207 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SADCC: Southern African Development Coordination Conference

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4251.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1980.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	2
Portuguese	B: Not in original treaty	J: Other, imputed	2

Coding Rationale

The Declaration of the Southern African Development Coordination Summit Conference is done in English only.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists English and Portuguese as the languages of this organisation; these are the original working languages of its successor organisation, the SADC. I impute on this basis.

References

[1] 'Southern Africa: Toward Economic Liberation. A Declaration by the Governments of Independent States of Southern Africa Made at Lusaka on the 1st of April 1980'. In: *SADEX: The Southern Africa Development Information/Documentation Exchange* 2.2 (1980). USAID Development Experience Clearinghouse, pp. 1–6. URL: https://pdf.usaid.gov/pdf_docs/PNAAX403.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055569 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SAMI: Societe arabe des mines de l'Inchiri

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4140.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1980.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this now-defunct organisation are available.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for this organisation. It was established in 1980 by Iraq, Jordan, Libya, Mauritania, and Saudi Arabia, making it overwhelmingly likely that Arabic was an operational language of this explicitly Arab organisation. Furthermore, the organisation has no English name; in English, its French name is used. The biography of the Mauritian Minister of Economic Affairs, Ousmane Mamoudou Kane, states that he was the director of operations for this organisation from 1985-1990. However, his profile states that he only speaks French and English, not Arabic. On the basis of the information above, the organisation was most likely bilingual in Arabic and French. I impute on this basis.

References

[1] *AMI - Ousmane Mamoudou Kane*. Agence Mauritanienne d'information. 2024. URL: https://oldfr.ami.mr/Membre-Gouvernement-5 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Société arabe des mines de l'Inchiri (SAMIN)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100022884 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. Arab Multinational Enterprises: An Analytical Compendium*. Publisher: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development. UNCTAD/ECDC/223. 1993. URL: https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/poecdcd223.en.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

SARTC: Southern Africa Regional Tourism Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4230.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1973.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	2
Portuguese	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. The 1997 charter of its successor organisation, the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa, is known to be authentic in English and Portuguese only, done as it was under the auspices of the SADC.

No authoritative original documents are available for this organisation. Though the UIA Yearbook lists French in addition to English and Portuguese, this organisation was dissolved by the SADC when the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa was set up. I impute by connection to the SADC and its predecessor organisation, the SADCC, which operated in English and Portuguese, but not French.

References

[1] *Charter of the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA).* Google-Books-ID: zy0WHAAACAAJ. Southern African Development Community, 1997. 22 pp. URL: https://books.google.com/books/about/Charter_of_the_Regional_Tourism_Organisa.html?id=zy0WHAAACAAJ.

[2] Union of International Associations. *Southern Africa Regional Tourism Council (SARTOC).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100003372 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SCAf: Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4110.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1950.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
French	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
Portuguese	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this long-defunct organisation are available.

The UIA Yearbook lists no languages for this organisation, which is known to have been an inter-colonial organisation comprised of delegates from the United Kingdom, France, Belgium, Portugal, the Union of South Africa, and Southern Rhodesia (Matasci 2020). Based on this information, I impute English, French, and Portuguese.

References

[1] Damiano Matasci. 'Internationalising Colonial Knowledge. Edgar Barton Worthington and the Scientific Council for Africa, 1949–1956'. In: *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 48.5 (2020). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 892–913. ISSN: 0308-6534. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/03086534.2020.1816621 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100002420 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SCHENGEN: Group of Schengen

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1930.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1985.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
German	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement between the Governments of the States of the Benelux Economic Union, the Federal Republic of Germany and the French Republic on the gradual abolition of checks at their common borders stipulates that 'les textes du présent accord en langues allemande, française et néerlandaise, faisant également foi,' making German, French, and Dutch the languages of the official treaty text.

The Agreement makes no provisions regarding the use of languages. The UIA Yearbook lists 'EU languages' for this organisation, but given that the Schengen agreement began as a group with much more restrictive membership, I impute only German, French, and Dutch for this organisation's initial operational languages, coinciding with the authentic texts of the original Schengen acquis.

References

[1] 'The Schengen acquis - Agreement between the Governments of the States of the Benelux Economic Union, the Federal Republic of Germany and the French Republic on the gradual abolition of checks at their common borders'. In: *Official Journal of the European Union* L 239.22 (1985). EUR-Lex, 42000A0922(01), pp. 13–18. URL: `http://data.europa.eu/eli/agree_internation/2000/922(1)/oj/eng` (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Group of Schengen*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100034907` (visited on 29/12/2024).

SCO: Shanghai Cooperation Organisation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4115.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1996.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Treaty on Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions in Shanghai by the heads of states of Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan is done 'in five copies in Chinese and Russian, both texts being equally authentic.' As well, the original Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation is done 'in a single original in the Chinese and Russian languages, both texts being equally authoritative,' according to Article 26 of the Charter.

Article 20 of the Charter defines the languages of the organisation.

> Article 20. Languages.|
>
> The official and working languages of SCO shall be Russian and Chinese.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates Chinese and Russian as the languages of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Saint Petersburg, 7 June 2002'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 2896.50517 (2013). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 209–265. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%202896/Part/volume-2896-I-50517.pdf (visited on 24/01/2022).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100025279 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *Zhōng huá rén mín gòng hé guó hé hā sà kè sī tǎn gòng hé guó, jí ěr jí sī gòng hé guó, é luó sī lián bāng, tǎ jí kè sī tǎn gòng hé guó guān yú zài biān jìng dì qū jiā qiáng jūn shì lǐng yù xìn rèn de xié dìng [Treaty on Deepening Military Trust in Border Regions in Shanghai by the heads of states of Kazakhstan, China, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan]*. Publisher: Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. MFA Treaty Database, People's Republic of China. 1996. URL: http://treaty.mfa.gov.cn/web/detail1.jsp?objid=1531875996621 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SEAMEO: Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4220.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1965.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The Charter of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization is done 'in a single copy, in the English language.'

The Charter does not contain provisions on language use. No authoritative original documents pertaining to language rules are available. The UIA Yearbook lists English as its sole language, and its website is available only in English as of this writing. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization. Signed at Singapore on 7 February 1968'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 669.9513 (1969). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 31–44. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/Volume%20669/v669.pdf` (visited on 01/02/2022).

[2] *SEAMEO Secretariat*. Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization. 2024. URL: `https://www.seameo.org/` (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100028031` (visited on 29/12/2024).

SEATO: Southeast Asia Treaty Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4210.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1954.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`
French	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The Pacific Charter and the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty are registered in the United Nations Treaty Series in English and French. Article XI of the Treaty states: 'The English text of this Treaty is binding on the Parties, but when the Parties have agreed to the French text thereof and have so notified the Government of the Republic of the Philippines, the French text shall be equally authentic and binding on the Parties.'

Neither the Charter nor the Treaty specify the operational languages, and the UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this now-defunct organisation. A secondary academic source notes that, like NATO, this organisation settled on English and French as its official languages due to the 'multiplicity of languages and of the participants' (Tabory 1980: 22). I impute on this basis, additionally because English and French are also the languages of the authentic founding instruments.

References

[1] 'Pacific Charter. Proclaimed at Manila, on 8 September 1954. Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty (with Protocol). Signed at Manila, on 8 September 1954'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 209.2819 (1955). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 23–36. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/unts/volume%20209/volume-209-i-2819-english.pdf` (visited on 28/11/2021).

[2] Mala Tabory. *Multilingualism in International Law and Institutions*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Sijthoff & Noordhoff, 1980. 284 pp. ISBN: 978-90-286-0210-6.

[3] Union of International Associations. *South-East Asia Treaty Organization (SEATO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100007979` (visited on 29/12/2024).

SEGIB: Ibero-American General Secretariat

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 2015.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2003.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	V: *Official working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original texts of the 'Convenio de Santa Cruz de la Sierra constitutivo de la Secretaría General Iberoamericana' are declared 'en español y portugués son igualmente auténticos,' making Spanish and Portuguese the languages of the authentic texts of the constitutive instrument.

Article 9 of the Convention defines the languages of the organisation.

> Articulo 9º. Idiomas Oficiales y de Trabajo.
>
> Los idiomas oficiales y de trabajo de la Secretaría General serán el español y el portugués.

The UIA Yearbooks corroborates Spanish and Portuguese, which I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Convenio de Santa Cruz de la Sierra constitutivo de la Secretaría General Iberoamericana*. Publisher: Secretaría General Iberoamericana. Documentos SEGIB. 2003. URL: https://www.segib.org/?document=convenio-de-santa-cruz-de-la-sierra-constitutivo-de-la-secretaria-general-iberoamericana (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Ibero-American General Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100001881 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SELA: Latin American Economic System

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3390.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Portuguese	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 1975 Panama Convention establishing the Latin American Economic System is done 'with original copies in the English, French, Portuguese and Spanish languages, whose texts are equally authentic.'

Chapter VI on General Provisions of the Panama Convention contains an article that defines the official languages of the organisation.

> Article 38. The official languages of SELA shall be: English, French, Portuguese and Spanish.

The UIA Yearbook corroborates these four languages for this organisation, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Panama Convention establishing the Latin American Economic System (SELA) (with resolution). Concluded at Panama City on 17 October 1975'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1292.21295 (1982). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 338–351. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201292/volume-1292-I-21295-English.pdf (visited on 20/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Sistema Económico Latinoamericano (SELA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041522 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SICA: Central American Integration System

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 990.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1991.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The Tegucigalpa Protocol to the Charter of the Organization of Central American States, as registered with the United Nations Treaty Series, is authentic in Spanish only, despite the text making no references to the language of the instrument.

The Protocol contains no language provisions. Constitutive documents of other SICA bodies also do not mention the use of languages. The UIA Yearbook lists Spanish as this organisation's only language, and its website is only available in Spanish as of this writing. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] 'Charter of the Organization of Central American States (OCAS). Signed at Panama City, on 12 December 1962: Tegucigalpa Protocol to the above-mentioned Charter. Signed at Tegucigalpa on 13 December 1991'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1695 (A-8048 1992). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 382–420. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/Volume%201695/v1695.pdf` (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] *Estatuto constitutivo del Comité consultivo del Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana*. Publihser: Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana. Instrumentos jurídicos del SICA. 2011. URL: `https://www.sica.int/viewer/?84784` (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *Reseña histórica del SICA*. Sistema de la Integración Centroamericana. 2024. URL: `https://www.sica.int/sica/resena_sica` (visited on 29/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Central American Integration System*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100034612` (visited on 29/12/2024).

SIECA: General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1890.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original 1960 General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration makes no reference to the language of the authentic text, but is authoritative only in Spanish as registered with the United Nations Treaty Series.

The Treaty contains no provisions relating to language rules; no authoritative original documents for this organisation address the use of languages. SIECA was re-constituted by the 1980 Treaty on Central American Integration. The website of the Secretariat is, as of this writing, only available in Spanish, and the UIA Yearbook also lists Spanish as its sole language. Considering as well the unique authenticity of the Spanish text of the 1960 General Treaty, I impute Spanish as the only operational language for this organisation.

References

[1] *¿Qué es la SIECA?* Secretaría de Integración Económica Centroamericana (SIECA). 2024. URL: https://www.sieca.int/acerca/ (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] 'General Treaty on Central American Economic Integration (with annexes). Signed at Managua, on 13 December 1960'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 455.6543 (1963). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–200. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20455/v455.pdf (visited on 20/10/2021).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Secretaria Permanente del Tratado General de Integración Económica Centroamericana (SIECA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100007224 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SITTDEC: South Investment, Trade and Technological Data Exchange Centre

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4180.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1990.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
English	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Spanish	C: In related treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. The organisation was founded following a meeting of the Group of 15 in 1990.

No authoritative original documents concerning language rules are available. Very little original information about this organisation is available, and the UIA Yearbook does not catalogue languages. I impute by connection to the Group of Fifteen, which established this organisation and was founded just one year prior.

References

[1] *SITTDEC: South Investment, Trade and Technology Data Exchange Centre: South Investment, Trade and Technology Data Exchange Centre: Statute*. South Investment Trade and Technology Data Exchange Centre, 1992. URL: https://webopac.miti.gov.my/neuseal/Record/0000008615 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Kripa Sridharan. 'G-15 and South: South Cooperation: Promise and Performance'. In: *Third World Quarterly* 19.3 (1998). Publisher: [Taylor & Francis, Ltd., Third World Quarterly], pp. 357–373. ISSN: 0143-6597. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3993128 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *South Investment, Trade and Technological Data Exchange Centre (SITTDEC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100044464 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SPC: South Pacific Commission/Secretariat of the Pacific Commission

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4190.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1947.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Dutch	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	1
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 1947 Agreement establishing the South Pacific Commission stipulates in Article 67 that 'the English, French and Netherlands texts are equally authentic.'

Article V of the Agreement on the Procedure of the Commission contains a provision on the official languages of the organisation.

> ——17. The official languages of the Commission and its auxiliary and subsidiary bodies shall include English and French.

The UIA Yearbook also lists English and French as the sole languages of this organisation. Although it is technically possible that other official languages exist (as 'shall include' only stipulates that English and French belong to the complete set of official languages, but does not define the totality of them), they are not specified in this founding agreement alongside English and French. I therefore code only these two languages for this organisation.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the South Pacific Commission (with appended resolution concerning immediate projects). Signed at Canberra, on 6 February 1947'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 97.1352 (1951). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 228–254. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%2097/volume-97-I-1352-English.pdf (visited on 30/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Pacific Community (SPC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100043584 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SRDO: Senegal River Development Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4130.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1972.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original 'Convention portant création de l'organisation pour la mise en valeur du fleuve Sénégal' is done in French alone.

The Convention contains no provisions on language rules; no authoritative original documents are available that regulate languages in the organisation. The UIA Yearbook lists only French. All items in the documentation centre for this organisation are written in French, and the website is available in French alone. I impute on the above basis.

References

[1] *Collections digitales: L'information au fil des temps sur le bassin du fleuve Sénégal.* Organisation pour la mise en valeur du fleuve Sénégal. 2024. URL: https://collections-digitales-omvs.org/ (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] *Convention portant création de l'organisation pour la mise en valeur du fleuve Sénégal. Signée à Nouakchott, le 11 mars 1972.* Publisher: Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations. FAO Lex Database, LEX-FAOC016003. 1972. URL: https://www.fao.org/faolex/results/details/fr/c/LEX-FAOC016003/ (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Organisation pour la mise en valeur du fleuve Sénégal (OMVS).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100044565 (visited on 29/12/2024).

SWAPU: South and West Asia Postal Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4150.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1987.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`O`: *Official*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The original Constitution of the South and West Asia Postal Union and General Regulations of the South and West Asia Postal Union are both authentic in English alone, as registered with the United Nations Treaty Series.

The first article of the first Chapter (General Provisions) of the General Regulations of the South and West Asia Postal Union regulates the use of languages within the organisation.

> Article 101. LANGUAGE FOR THE DELIBERATIONS OF THE MEETINGS, PUBLICATION OF DOCUMENTS AND OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE
>
> English shall be used in the deliberations of meetings of the organs of the Union, publication of documents as well as official correspondence. However, subject to arrangements for the interpretation into English, other languages are also admissible. The cost of such interpretation or translation shall be borne by the delegation(s) using the other language(s).

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the sole language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Constitution of the South and West Asia Postal Union and General Regulations of the South and West Asia Postal Union. Concluded at Ankara on 12 March 1988'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1672.28906 (1992). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 267–291. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800babf4` (visited on 21/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *South and West Asia Postal Union (SWAPU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100030373` (visited on 29/12/2024).

SWPD: South-West Pacific Dialogue

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4265.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2002.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. As a 'forum,' it a loosely institutionalised annual meeting of ministers.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for it. I impute English with caution, based on the language of available information from attending heads of state.

References

[1] *23rd Asean Regional Forum and 14th Southwest Pacific Dialogue*. The Embassy of the Independent State of Papua New Guinea to The Republic of Indonesia. 2016. URL: https://www.kundu-jakarta.com/index.php/blog-view/92-23rd-asean-regional-forum-and-14th-southwest-pacific-dialogue.html (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] *Joint Media Statement of the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the Southwest Pacific Dialogue*. Australian Government Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade. 2007. URL: https://www.dfat.gov.au/international-relations/regional-architecture/asean/Pages/joint-media-statement-of-the-fifth-ministerial-meeting-of-the-southwest-pacific-dialogue,%20https://www.dfat.gov.au/international-relations/regional-architecture/asean/Pages/joint-media-statement-of-the-fifth-ministerial-meeting-of-the-southwest-pacific-dialogue (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *Joint Statement on the 15th Southwest Pacific Dialogue*. Minister for Foreign Affairs, The Hon Julie Bishop MP. 2017. URL: https://www.foreignminister.gov.au/minister/julie-bishop/media-release/joint-statement-15th-southwest-pacific-dialogue,%20https://www.foreignminister.gov.au/minister/julie-bishop/media-release/joint-statement-15th-southwest-pacific-dialogue (visited on 29/12/2024).

[4] Joefe B. Santarita. 'Southwest Pacific dialogue Indonesia's newest leverage in the Asia Pacific'. In: *Asian Studies* 38.2 (2002), pp. 121–135. URL: https://tuklas.up.edu.ph/Record/IPP-00000143661/Details?sid=153132767 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[5] *Southwest Pacific dialogue: Menuju kerjasama kawasan baru*. Perpustakaan Kementerian Luar Negari. Jakarta: Departemen Luar Negeri, Republic of Indonesia, 2003. ISBN: 978-979-97367-0-3. URL: `//10.128.150.174%2Findex.php%3Fp%3Dshow_detail%26id%3D598%26keywords%3D` (visited on 29/12/2024).

[6] Union of International Associations. *South-West Pacific Dialogue (SWPD)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100054126` (visited on 29/12/2024).

TCRMG: Tripartite Commission for the Restitution of Monetary Gold

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4320.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1946.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	2
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	2

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement on reparation from Germany, on the establishment of an Inter-Allied Reparation Agency and on the restitution of monetary gold is signed 'in the English and French languages, the two texts being equally authentic, in a single original.'

The Agreement does not specify the languages of this organisation. The Commission was co-located with the Inter-allied Reparations Agency, established by the same legal instrument. I impute English and French by relation to this sister organisation. The UIA Yearbook corroborates English and French as the sole languages of this now-dissolved organisation.

References

[1] 'Agreement on reparation from Germany, on the establishment of an Inter-Allied Reparation Agency and on the restitution of monetary gold. Done at Paris, on 14 January 1946; and Protocol attached to the above-mentioned Agreement. Signed at Brussels, on 15 March 1948'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 555.8105 (1966). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 70–109. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=080000028012c04c (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] '57. Final Report, Tripartite Commission for the Restitution of Monetary Gold, Brussels (September 13, 1998)'. In: *Digest of United States Practice in International Law 1991-1999*. Ed. by Sally J. Cummins and David P. Stewart. Vol. I. US Department of State: Archived Content (2009-2017). Washington, D.C.: International Law Institute, 1998. ISBN: 0-935328-97-1. URL: //2009-2017.state.gov/s/l/65668.htm (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *General Records of the Department of State (RG 59)*. National Archives, USA. 2016. URL: https://www.archives.gov/research/holocaust/finding-aid/civilian/rg-59-3.html (visited on 29/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Tripartite Commission for the Restitution of Monetary Gold*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014294 (visited on 29/12/2024).

Turksoy: Joint Administration of the Turkic Culture and Arts

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 3330.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1993.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Azerbaijani	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Kazakh	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Kyrgyz	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Turkish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	3
Turkmen	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3
Uzbek	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	3

Coding Rationale

The original 1993 Agreement Concerning the Joint Administration of Turkish Culture and Arts is done 'in six copies in Azerbaijani, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Turkish and Turkmen, all six texts being equally authentic.'

The Agreement does not provide for operational languages for this organisation, authoritative original documents for which are unavailable. Though the UIA Yearbook catalogues English, Russian, and Turkish, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkiye, which led the establishment of this organisation, states the following:

> 3) TÜRKSOY has been established with the objective to strengthen cooperation in the fields of culture and arts between the countries of Turkish origin and language. The organization also aims to ensure better understanding and to deepen friendly relations and contacts between these countries as well as to protect and promote the Turkish culture.
>
> The official language of TÜRKSOY is Turkish and its headquarters is in Ankara.

I impute Turkish as the sole operational language of this organisation based on this authoritative source.

References

[1] *TÜRKSOY (Joint Administration of Turkic Culture and Art)*. Republic of Türkiye Ministry of Foreign Affairs. 2024. URL: https://www.mfa.gov.tr/turksoy-_joint-administration-of-turkic-culture-and-art_.en.mfa (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] *Türksoy'un Kuruluşu ve Faaliyet İlkeleri Hakkında Anlaşmanın Onaylanmasının Uygun Bulunduğuna Dair Kanun [Law on the Approval of the Agreement on the Establishment and Operating Principles of Türksoy]*. Publisher: Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi [Turkish Grand National Assembly]. Başbakanlık Kanunlar ve Kararlar Genel Müdürlüğü, B.02.0.KKG/101-619/06340. 1993. URL: https://www5.tbmm.gov.tr/tutanaklar/TUTANAK/TBMM/d19/c053/tbmm19053072ss0400.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *International Organization of Turkic Culture (TURKSOY)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100062767 (visited on 29/12/2024).

UASC: United Arab Shipping Company

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4380.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1976.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available. It is known, however, that UASC began as an intergovernmental joint venture, incorporated in the State of Kuwait.

No authoritative original documents are available for this organisation that concern language rules, nor does the UIA Yearbook catalogue languages for it. I impute Arabic on the basis of the Arab character of the organisation and its registration in Kuwait. I also impute English on the basis of its international operations.

References

[1] G. C. Bricault. *Major Companies of the Arab World 1988*. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1988. 1 p. ISBN: 978-94-011-9794-6. URL: https://www.google.com/books/edition/Major_Companies_of_the_Arab_World_1988/WTTpCAAAQBAJ?hl=en&gbpv=0.

[2] Union of International Associations. *United Arab Shipping Company (UASC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100027951 (visited on 29/12/2024).

UBEC: Union of Banana Exporting Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4370.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1974.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Spanish	`A`: In original treaty	`O`: *Official*	`1`

Coding Rationale

The Agreement establishing the Union of Banana Exporting Countries is authentic in Spanish only.

Chapter V on Juridical Personality and Privileges and Immunities contains an article defining the official language of the organisation.

> Artículo 26.
>
> La UPEB tiene personalidad juridica y, en especial, capacidad para contratar, adquirir y enajenar bienes muebles o inmuebles y para entablar procedimientos judiciales.
>
> El Espanol sera el idioma oficial de la Organization. Sin embargo, el Consejo podrá oficializar cualquier otro idioma, particularmente cuando la adhésion de nuevos miembros así lo requiera.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists English in addition to Spanish, it is clear from the original text that Spanish was the sole operational language of this organisation at its founding. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Agreement establishing the Union of Banana Exporting Countries. Concluded at Panama City on 17 September 1974'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1292.21294 (1982). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 273–284. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201292/volume-1292-I-21294-English.pdf` (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Unión de Paises Exportadores de Banano (UPEB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100057982` (visited on 29/12/2024).

UDEAC: Central African Customs and Economic Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 940.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1964.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	2

Coding Rationale

The original 1964 Traité institutant une Union douanière et économique de l'Afrique Centrale is authentic in French alone.

The Treaty contains no language provisions; authoritative original documents on language use are unavailable. The UIA Yearbook lists French as the sole language for this now-dissolved organisation, which it notes was absorbed into CEMAC, which at the same time succeeded the Union monétaire de l'Afrique centrale. I impute by connection to this successor organisation, and based on the fact that French is the sole language of the founding treaty.

References

[1] *Traité institutant une Union douanière et économique de l'Afrique Centrale*. Publisher: General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. L'Encyclopédie en ligne Osidimbea, la mémoire des pays de la Cemac, L/2354. 1965. URL: https://cemac-osidimbea.jimdofree.com/udeac/ (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Union douanière et économique de l'Afrique centrale (UDEAC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100022930 (visited on 29/12/2024).

UEMOA: Union économique et monétaire Ouest africaine

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4340.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1994.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The original Traité de l'Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest-Africaine is authentic in French alone. The modified treaty is also authentic in French only.

The original 1994 treaty makes no mention of languages, and no authoritative original document is available that contains language provisions. However, the modified Treaty of 2003 contains a provision defining the official language of the union.

> Article 105
>
> La langue de travail de l'Union est le français. La Conférence des Chefs d'Etat et de Gouvernement peut ajouter d'autres langues de travail.

The UIA Yearbook lists French as the only language of this organisation. Though the modified Treaty is not an original document, it is overwhelmingly likely that it institutionalises an established fact about the use of French within the organisation, and it is the first known authoritative document that defines a language regime for this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *Traité de l'Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest-Africaine (UEMOA) (Texte authentique)*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/WAEMU/001. 1994. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text/203554 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] *Traité modifié de l'Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA)*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, TRT/WAEMU/002. 2003. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text/590118 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Union économique et monétaire Ouest africaine (UEMOA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100060991 (visited on 29/12/2024).

UKDWD: United Kingdom–Dominion Wool Disposals

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4390.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1945.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The act constituting this organisation is done in English only, as it pertains to the UK, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for it. Given its history, it is almost inconceivable that this organisation would not be monolingual in English. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *A BILL INTITULED An act to approve an Agreement between the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, and the Union of South Africa in relation to the Disposal of Wool, and to provide for the carrying-out of the Agreement on the part of the Dominion of New Zealand, and for other Purposes*. Publisher: New Zealand Legal Information Institute. New Zealand Historical Bills, 48-1. 1945. URL: `http://nzlii.austlii.edu.au/nz/legis/hist_bill/wdb1945481179.pdf` (visited on 30/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *United Kingdom Dominions Wool Disposals - Joint Organization*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055219` (visited on 29/12/2024).

UM: Union for the Mediterranean

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4375.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 2008.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Arabic	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Paris Declaration and the Marseilles Declaration of 2008 that constitute this organisation are known to exist in English and French. It is not possible to rule out the existence of other texts, or to comment on their authenticity.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. The UIA Yearbook lists Arabic, English, and French for this organisation; its website is also available in these three languages. I impute accordingly based on the above.

References

[1] *15187/08 (Presse 314). Barcelona Process: Union for the Mediterranean ministerial conference: Final Declaration*. Publisher: Council of the European Union. European Commission, C/08/314. 2008. URL: https://ufmsecretariat.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/Marseille-Declaration.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] *15187/08 (Presse 314). Processus de Barcelone : Union pour la Méditerranée conférence ministérielle. Déclaration finale*. Publisher: Council of the European Union. European Commission, C/08/314. 2008. URL: https://ec.europa.eu/commission/presscorner/detail/fr/pres_08_314 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *Paris Summit for the Mediterranean –Joint Declaration*. Paris: European Union Institute for Security Studies (EUISS), 2009, pp. 277–282. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep06971.61 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Union for the Mediterranean (UfM)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100012291 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[5] *Who we are*. Union for the Mediterranean - UfM. 2024. URL: https://ufmsecretariat.org/who-we-are/ (visited on 29/12/2024).

UMAC: Union monétaire de l'Afrique centrale

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4365.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1972.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	2

Coding Rationale

The 'Convention de coopération monétaire entre les Etats membres de la banque des Etats de l' Afrique centrale (BEAC) et la République Française' is done in French and English, but only the French text is authentic. The 'Convention de compte d'operations' which further institutionalises this agreement is done in French alone.

Neither of the Conventions contain language provisions; no authoritative original documents regulating language use are available. The UIA Yearbook catalogues French as the only language of this now-defunct organisation, which was absorbed into CEMAC upon its founding in 1994. French was explicitly defined as the working language of CEMAC when it assumed the functions of UMAC. I impute according to the above.

References

[1] *Convention de compte d'operations*. Publisher: Banque des états de l'Afrique Centrale. Publications BEAC. 1973. URL: https://www.beac.int/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/CONV-Coop.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] *Convention de coopération monétaire entre les Etats membres de la banque des Etats de l' Afrique centrale (BEAC) et la République Française*. Publisher: Banque des états de l'Afrique Centrale. Publications BEAC. 1972. URL: https://www.beac.int/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/convbeacfr.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Union monétaire de l'Afrique centrale (UMAC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100045471 (visited on 29/12/2024).

UMOA: West African Monetary Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4503.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1962.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
French	C: In related treaty	W: *Working*	2

Coding Rationale

The original 1962 Traité instituant une Union Monétaire Ouest Africaine is unavailable. However, the 1973 and 2007 revisions, along with the associated accords instituting cooperation with France, are all done in French exclusively.

None of the legal instruments establishing the UMOA explicitly regulate the use of languages within the organisation; no such authoritative original documents are available. The UIA Yearbook lists French as the sole language, and also notes that the organisation was replaced by UEMOA in 1994. This latter organisation defined French as its sole working language. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Cf loi n° 1974/10 du 22 avril 1974. Loi autorisant le Président de la République à approuver l'Accord de coopération entre la République française et les Républiques membres de l'Union monétaire Ouest africaine, signé à Dakar, le 4 Décembre 1973*. Publisher: Ministre des affaires etrangeres, Republic of Senegal. Direction des relations avec les institutions, Cf loi n° 1974/10. 1974. URL: https://www.dri.gouv.sn/sites/default/files/an-documents/LOI%20N%201974%2010%20DU%2022%20AVRIL%201974.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] *Traité de l'union monétaire ouest-Africaine*. Publisher: Banque centrale des etats de l'Afrique de l'ouest. Documents UMOA, BCEAO. 2007. URL: https://www.bceao.int/sites/default/files/inline-files/TraiteUMOA2010.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Union monétaire Ouest africaine (UMOA)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100007352 (visited on 29/12/2024).

UN: United Nations

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4400.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1945.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 111 of the Charter of the United Nations stipulates that its 'Chinese, French, Russian, English, and Spanish texts are equally authentic.'

The San Francisco Conference adopted Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish as 'official' languages, and English and French as 'working' languages. At the second session of the UN General Assembly on 17 November 1973, the UNGA adopted its first permanent rules of procedure. Chapter VIII of this document (rules 44-52) defined the official and working languages of the organisation, and the distinction between these categories.

> VIII. Languages
>
> Rule 44. *Official and working languages*
>
> Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish shall be the official languages of the General Assembly, its committees and sub-committees. English and French shall be the working languages.
>
> Rule 45. *Interpretation from a working language*
>
> Speeches made in either of the working languages shall be interpreted into the other working language.
>
> Rule 46. *Interpretation from official languages*
>
> Speeches made in any of the other three official languages shall be interpreted into both working languages.
>
> ...

The subsequent year, the General Assembly amended Rule 44 to include Spanish as a working language. The Security Council, the Economic and Social Commission, and the Trusteeship Council contain similar language rules to the General Assembly. the See UN document A/CN.4/187: Preparation of multilingual treaties; memorandum by the Secretariat (1966: 105-111) for a detailed treatment of the

initial UN language regime, which ended its expansion in 1973 with the addition of Arabic as an official and working language (Tabory 1980). I code with reference to the first version of the rules of procedure adopted by the General Assembly.

References

[1] *A/520. Rules of Procedure of the General Assembly*. Publisher: United Nations General Assembly. United Nations Official Document System, A/520. 1947. URL: https://documents.un.org/doc/undoc/gen/nl4/700/22/pdf/nl470022.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] 'A/CN.4/187. Preparation of Multilingual Treaties: Memorandum by the Secretariat'. In: *Yearbook of the International Law Commission 1966. Documents of the second part of the seventeenth session and of the eighteenth session including the reports of the Commission to the General Assembly*. Vol. II. Archived by the International Law Commission of the United Nations. New York: United Nations, 1967, pp. 104–111. URL: https://legal.un.org/ilc/documentation/english/a_cn4_187.pdf (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *Charter of the United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice*. Google-Books-ID: OwNPngEACAAJ. New York: United Nations Publications, 2015. 128 pp. ISBN: 978-92-1-101294-1.

[4] Mala Tabory. 'The Addition of Arabic as an Official and Working Language of the UN General Assembly and at Diplomatic Conferences'. In: *Israel Law Review* 13.3 (1978), pp. 391–410. ISSN: 2047-9336, 0021-2237. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/israel-law-review/article/abs/addition-of-arabic-as-an-official-and-working-language-of-the-un-general-assembly-and-at-diplomatic-conferences/FDA2FC2C349CFC53D5F020E68629D1FE (visited on 30/12/2024).

[5] Union of International Associations. *United Nations (UN)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100057394 (visited on 29/12/2024).

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4410.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1945.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation is signed 'in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic.'

The Rules of Procedure for the First Session of the General Conference of UNESCO were modelled explicitly upon those of the UN General Assembly. Rule 33 concerns languages and their use.

VII. Languages

Rule 33.

a) The official languages. of the General Conference are English, French, Russian, Spanish and Chinese.

b) English and French shall be the working languages of the General Conference.

   At the meetings of the Conference and its commissions, speeches shall be interpreted from English into French and from French into English. In these meetings delegates may also speak in any other language, but they must themselves provide for interpretation of their speech into either English or French, according to their choice; the Secretariat shall provide for interpretation into the other language.

   All documents, verbatim records, etc. of the Conference shall be issued in the two working languages of the Conference.

c) Any amendment to the text of the Constitution, and any decision of the Conference regarding the Constitution and the legal status of UNESCO shall be translated into English, French, Russian,

> Spanish and Chinese.
>
> At the request of any Delegation, any other document may be translated into any one, or into all five, of the above-mentioned languages. The interested Delegation shall provide the staff of translators and precis writers if the occasion arises.

In sessions of the General Conference in 1947 and 1948, Hindustani (Hindi) and Italian were added to the official languages (not reflected in the UIA Yearbook's records for this organisation) and Spanish became an additional working language. This notwithstanding, it remains a fact that English and French were the original working languages, and Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish the original official languages. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *1/C/4. Rules of Procedure for the General Conference*. Publisher: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation. UNESCO Digital Library, 0000221649. 1946. URL: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000221649?posInSet=3&queryId=0619eaf0-622b-4d1c-a878-fb0b2ec84a6c (visited on 29/12/2024).

[2] *23 C/39. Amendment to Rule 54.1 of the Rules of Procedure of the General Conference with a view to the introduction of Portuguese as an official language of the General Conference*. Publisher: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation. UNESCO Digital Library, 0000065407. 1985. URL: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000065407 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *3C/PRO/1. Draft Rules of Procedure of the General Conference*. Publisher: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation. UNESCO Digital Library, 0000249024. 1948. URL: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000249024 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[4] *4C/PRO/9. Procedure Committee: Amendment to the Rules of Procedure*. Publisher: United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation. UNESCO Digital Library, 0000223229. 1949. URL: https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000223229 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[5] 'Constitution of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Signed at London, on 16 November 1945'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 4.52 (1947). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 275–300. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801651f0&clang=_en (visited on 29/12/2024).

[6] Union of International Associations. *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100010946 (visited on 29/12/2024).

UNIDO: United Nations Industrial Development Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4420.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1966.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 29 of the Constitution of the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation, signed in 1979, stipulates: 'This Constitution shall be authentic in Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish.' However, UNIDO was originally established through Resolution 2512 (XXI) at the 21st Session of the UN General Assembly in 1966 as an autonomous UN organisation. At this point in time, Arabic was not yet an official or working language of the UN. Thus, A/RES/2512 (XXI) is authentic only in English, French, Russian, Spanish, and Chinese.

The original 1967 rules of procedure of the Industrial Development Board, the highest organ of UNIDO, adopted when UNIDO was still an organ of the United Nations, defines official and working languages in Rule 63.

> X. Languages and Records
>
> Official and Working Languages
>
> Rule 63. Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish shall be the official languages, and English, French, and Spanish the working languages of the Board.
>
> Interpretation from Official Languages
>
> Rule 64. Speeches made in any of the official languages shall be interpreted into the other official languages.
>
> ...

These rules were adopted before Arabic became a language of the UN System, and before UNIDO abolished the distinction between working and official languages. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *A/RES/2152(XXI). United Nations Industrial Development Organisation*. Publisher: United Nations General Assembly. United Nations Digital Library, A/RES/2152(XXI). 1966. URL: https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/203178?ln=en&v=pdf (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] 'Constitution of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (with annexes). Concluded at Vienna on 8 April 1979'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1401.23432 (1985). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–165. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/ViewDetails.aspx?src=TREATY&mtdsg_no=X-9&chapter=10&clang=_en (visited on 01/02/2022).

[3] *ID/B/2. Adoption of the Rules of Procedure of the Board. Industrial Development Board, First Session, New York, 10-28 April 1967*. Publisher: United Nations Industrial Development Organisation. UNIDO Publications Catalogue, 03952. 1967. URL: https://downloads.unido.org/ot/46/88/4688393/00001-10000_03952.pdf?_ga=2.211916820.1213191889.1735585312-841434908.1735585312 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[4] Union of International Associations. *United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100061471 (visited on 29/12/2024).

USP: University of the South Pacific

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4440.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1967.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	3

Coding Rationale

The Charter of the University of the South Pacific makes no mention of the language of the authentic text, but it is done exclusively in English.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation. However, the website of the University, as well as secondary sources, state that English is the language of administration and instruction. The UIA Yearbook catalogues English as the only language of the organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *FAQ - International Office*. The University of the South Pacific. 2024. URL: https://www.usp.ac.fj/study-at-usp/international-students/faq-international-office/ (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] John Lynch and France Mugler. 'Pacific Languages at the University of the South Pacific'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* (2002). Publisher: Taylor & Francis Group. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200208668038 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *University of the South Pacific (USP)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041860 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[4] *University of the South Pacific: The Charter of the University. At the Court at Buckingham Palace the 4th Day of February 1970 present the Queen' s Most Excellent Majesty in Council*. Publisher: University of the South Pacific. The Laws of Fiji, LN 35 of 1970. 1970. URL: https://www.laws.gov.fj/Acts/DisplayAct/453# (visited on 30/12/2024).

VALDIVIA: Group of Temperate Southern Hemisphere Countries on the Environment

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1940.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1995.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	F: Unavailable	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents for this organisation are available.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation, nor does the UIA Yearbook list languages for it. A secondary academic source does not explicitly catalogue language information, but I infer that English is the only working language of the group and impute accordingly.

References

[1] Klaus Dodds. 'The Geopolitics of Regionalism: The Valdivia Group and Southern Hemispheric Environmental Co-operation'. In: *Third World Quarterly* (1998). Publisher: Taylor & Francis Group. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01436599814217 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *Group of Temperate Southern Hemisphere Countries on the Environment (Valdivia Group)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100035061 (visited on 29/12/2024).

VASAB: Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4450.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1992.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	`A`: In original treaty	`J`: Other, imputed	`0`

Coding Rationale

The conclusions of the First Conference of Ministers for Spatial Planning and Development, held in 1992, was concluded and exists only in English.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules, and the Rules of Procedure of the Secretariat, adopted in 2017, make no mention of language. These rules are done in English, which the UIA Yearbook lists as the organisation's only language. I impute accordingly.

References

[1] *Conclusions of the First Conference of Ministers for Spatial Planning and Development. Karlskrona, August 20-21, 1992*. Publisher: Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea. VASAB Documents. 1992. URL: `https://vasab.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Conclusions_1st_VASAB_Ministerial_Conference-1.pdf` (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] *Rules of Operations of the VASAB Secretariat*. Publisher: Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea. VASAB Documents. 2017. URL: `https://vasab.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/07/Rules_of_Operations_of_the_VASAB_Secretariat_EN.pdf` (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Vision and Strategies around the Baltic Sea (VASAB)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100053476` (visited on 29/12/2024).

WAEC: West African Examinations Council

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4490.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1960.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

The West African Examinations Council Ordinance of 1951 is done in English only. The Convention establishing this organisation, which first came into force in 1982, is also done in English only, though it makes no mention of the language of its authentic text.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules. It is clear, however, that English is the only language relevant to this organisation. A volume on educational development in small Commonwealth states, published by the Commonwealth Secretariat, states: 'Four of the five WAEC member countries are former British colonies which inherited education systems influenced by models in the United Kingdom... Liberia's history is rather different, but it has in common with the other four a strong role for English in its education system.' The Revised Convention establishing the WAEC, entering into force in 2003, also addresses the anglophone nature of the member states.

> 'The West African Examinations Council is West Africa' s foremost examining board established by law to determine the examinations required in the public interest in the English-speaking West African countries, to conduct examinations and to award certificates comparable to those of equivalent examining authorities internationally.'

The UIA Yearbook also lists English as its only language. Absent further information, I code based the above, on the connection to the Commonwealth, and on the language of the establishing instruments.

References

[1] 'An Ordinance to Provide for the Status and Functions, including the Powers and Duties, within Sierra Leone of the West African Examinations Council which was Established in the Gold Coast by the West African Examinations Council Ordinance, 1951, of the Gold Coast, and for Purposes Connected therewith.' In: *Ordinances of Sierra Leone* 2 (Cap. 109 1951). The Sierra Leone Web, pp. 1164–1172. URL: https://www.sierra-leone.org/ordinances.html (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] Matthew Ndure. 'West African Examinations Council'. In: *Examination Systems in Small States: Comparative Perspectives on Policies, Models, and Operations*. Ed. by Mark Bray and Lucy Steward. Educational Development of the Small States of the Commonwealth 7. The Commonwealth iLibrary. London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 1998, pp. 181–197. URL: https://www.thecommonwealth-ilibrary.org/index.php/comsec/catalog/book/457 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] *Revised Convention Establishing the West African Examinations Council*. Publisher: West African Examinations Council. 2003. URL: https://www.waecheadquartersgh.org/whq/our-convention/#:~:text=The%20Convention%20provides%20uniform%20legal,developments%20in%20the%20member%20countries..

[4] Union of International Associations. *West African Examinations Council (WAEC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100019744 (visited on 29/12/2024).

WAHC: West African Health Community

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4500.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1972.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	C: In related treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

No authoritative original founding documents are available for this organisation. The instrument establishing its successor organisation, the WAHO, does not point to a registered treaty in the United Nations Treaty Series corresponding to the 1978 treaty bestowing this organisation with its current name. The organisation is known to have been set up in 1972 with assistance from the Commonwealth Secretariat.

No authoritative original documents are available concerning language rules for this organisation. However, based on the connection to the Commonwealth Secretariat, it is apparent that English was the only operational language. The UIA Yearbook also lists English as this organisation's only language. I code accordingly.

References

[1] Union of International Associations. *Commonwealth Secretariat*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100008889 (visited on 17/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *West African Health Community (WAHC)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100034343 (visited on 29/12/2024).

WAHO: West African Health Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4501.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1988.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
French	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Protocol on the establishment of a West African Health Organisation is done 'in a single original in the English and French language, both texts being equally authentic.'

The Protocol contains no language provisions; authoritative original documents on language rules are not available. Though the UIA Yearbook does not catalogue language information for this organisation, it notes that it was formed by the merger of an anglophone organisation, the West African Health Community, and a francophone organisation, the Organisation de coordination et de coopération pour la lutte contre les grandes endémies (OCCGE). Absent further information, I impute both English and French, as they are also the languages of the authentic texts of the Protocol.

References

[1] 'Protocol on the establishment of a West African Health Organisation. Concluded at Abuja on 9 July 1987'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1690.29143 (1992). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 247–281. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201690/v1690.pdf (visited on 19/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *West African Health Organization (WAHO).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100055526 (visited on 29/12/2024).

WCDC: Working Community of the Danube Countries

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4540.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1990.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Bulgarian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Croatian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Czech	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
German	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Hungarian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Romanian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Serbian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Slovak	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Ukrainian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

The final provision in the Joint Declaration on the Working Community of Danube Countries states: 'Diese Erklärung wird in einer Urschrift in deutscher, tschechischer, slowakischer, ungarischer, kroatischer, serbischer, bulgarischer, rumänischer, ukrainischer und (russischer) Sprache ausgefertigt.' This makes German, Czech, Slovak, Hungarian, Croatian, Serbian, Bulgarian, Romanian, Ukrainian, and Russian the languages of the authentic text of its founding legal instrument.

The first version of the rules of procedure (Verfahrensregeln für die Organisation der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer), adopted 1993, contain several provisions regulating language use.

> ——4.4. Als permanentes Organ der Arbeitsgruppe der Leitenden Beamten/innen wird der Ständige Ausschuss eingerichtet (Artikel 7, „Gemeinsame Erklärung “)···Die Arbeitssprache ist grundsätzlich Deutsch. Entscheidungen dieses Gremiums sind der Arbeitsgruppe der Leitenden Beamten/innen zur weiteren Behandlung und Beschlussfassung vorzulegen.
>
> ...
>
> ——5.2. Der Vorsitz in den Arbeitskreisen, Arbeitsgruppen und Projektgruppen ist verpflichtet, alle Protokolle und Veröffentlichungen dem Generalsekretariat in deutscher und zur Verfügung zu stellen.
>
> ...

7. Konferenzsprachen

——7.1. Die Konferenzsprachen der ARGE Donauländer sind die offiziellen Sprachen der Mitglieder der Arbeitsgemeinschaft.

——7.2. Dolmetscher/innen werden vom Gastland über Anforderung zur Verfügung gestellt (Punkt 2 Anhang zu Artikel 10, „Gemeinsame Erklärung “).

——7.3. Für die Konferenz der Regierungschefs/innen und die Sitzungen der Arbeitsgruppe der Leitenden Beamten/innen erfolgt eine Simultanübersetzung, für jene Teilnehmer/innen, die fristgerecht um eine Dolmetschung ersucht haben.

——7.4. Die Sitzungsunterlagen werden allen Mitgliedern in deutscher zur Verfügung gestellt (Punkt 4 des Anhanges zu Artikel 10, „Gemeinsame Erklärung “).

Though all of the languages of the authentic text of the Joint Declaration are 'conference languages,' it is clear that, in the original Rules of Procedure, German occupies a qualitatively higher tier of institutionalisation than the others. In subsequent amendments to the Rules of Procedure, English was also given a status on par with German, and the UIA Yearbook lists English and German for this organisation. However, upon founding, German was the sole 'working' language of the organisation.

References

[1] *Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer "Gemeinsame Erklärung" [Danube Countries Working Group "Joint Declaration"]*. Publisher: Working Community of the Danube Countries. Land Niederösterreich. 1990. URL: https://www.noe.gv.at/noe/Topics-in-English/Documents__Forms_and_Minutes.html (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] Teresa Stummer. 'The Working Community of the Danube Regions: A Long History of Interregional Dialogue and Overcoming Dividing Lines with the Hope of a Peaceful Europe'. In: *Der Donauraum* 63.3 (2023). Publisher: Böhlau Verlag W, pp. 57–64. ISSN: 0012-5415. URL: https://www.vr-elibrary.de/doi/abs/10.7767/dedo.2023.63.3-4.57 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Working Community of the Danube Regions*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100041384 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[4] *Verfahrensregeln für die Organisation der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Donauländer [Rules of Procedure for the Organisation of the Danube Working Group]*. Publisher: Working Community of the Danube Countries. Land Niederösterreich. 1993. URL: https://www.noe.gv.at/noe/Topics-in-English/Documents__Forms_and_Minutes.html (visited on 30/12/2024).

WCO: European Customs Union Study Group

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 1650.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1950.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

The Convention establishing a Customs Co-operation Council is done 'in the English and French languages, both texts being equally authentic, in a single original.'

The Convention is silent on operational language rules, and the UIA Yearbook lists no languages for this organisation. It notes, however, that it was formed by member states of the Committee for European Economic Cooperation, later the OEEC. I code based on this connection, and by virtue of the fact that English and French were also the languages of the original founding Convention.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing a Customs Co-operation Council (with annex). Signed at Brussels, on 15 December 1950'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 157.2052 (1953). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 129–155. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280150a01 (visited on 29/11/2021).

[2] *European Customs Union Study Group (ECUSG) (RTG-11)*. Historical Archives of the European Union, European University Institute. Publisher: European University Institute. Historical Archives of the European Union, (ECUSG) (RTG-11). 2024. URL: https://archives.eui.eu/en/fonds/471768?item=RTG-11 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *European Customs Union Study Group*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100013091 (visited on 29/12/2024).

WEU: Western European Union

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4510.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1955.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2
French	A: In original treaty	L: Other, defined	2

Coding Rationale

The original 1948 Treaty for collaboration in economic, social and cultural matters and for collective self-defence (the Brussels Treaty), is done 'in English and French, each text being equally authentic, in a single copy.' Protocol I modifying and completing this treaty, done in 1954 and creating the Western European Union, is also done 'in two texts, in the English and French languages, each text being equally authoritative in a single copy.'

Though no authoritative original documents on language rules are available, it is known that the Brussels Treaty was the framework for the formation of the Council of Europe and NATO, the latter of which eventually assumed the functions of the WEU. In addition, an authoritative policy source (Bailes and Messervy-Whiting 2011: 13, 25) makes several references to English and French being the two working languages of the organisation.

> 'The WEU' s two working languages, English and French, had equal status and were used in meetings and day-to-day business without interpretation (13).
>
> ...
>
> 'As an empirical observation, all the groups of non-full members tended to send young diplomats and military officers of above-average talent to their WEU delegations –not least for the practical reason that they had to understand both English and French (25).'

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English and French as the only two languages of the organisation. I code on the basis of the languages of the authentic text of the Brussels Treaty, the connection to the Council of Europe and NATO, which both explicitly declared English and French as their sole official languages, and the source cited above.

References

[1] Alyson JK Bailes and Graham Messervy-Whiting. *Death of an Institution: The end for Western European Union, a future for European defence?* Brussels: Egmont

Institute, 2011. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep06710 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] 'Protocol No. I Modifying and Completing the Brussels Treaty: Signed at Paris, October 23, 1954; in force May 6, 19551'. In: *American Journal of International Law* 49 (S3 1955), pp. 128–131. ISSN: 0002-9300, 2161-7953. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/american-journal-of-international-law/article/abs/protocol-no-i-modifying-and-completing-the-brussels-treaty/8E850B65BDEFE0F394F21A5F09E3C0B7 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] 'Treaty for collaboration in economic, social and cultural matters and for collective self-defence. Signed at Brussels, on 17 March 1948'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 19.304 (1948). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 52–63. URL: https://treaties.un.org/Pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280163604 (visited on 28/11/2021).

[4] Union of International Associations. *Western European Union (WEU)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100040418 (visited on 29/12/2024).

WHO: World Health Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4550.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1946.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Chinese	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Constitution of the World Health Organization is done 'in a single copy in the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish languages, each text being equally authentic.'

The Constitution is silent on language rules, and authoritative documents concerning languages from the founding of the WHO are not available. Resolution WHA31.13 of 1978 noted that the term 'official languages' up until then referred to 'interpretation of speeches made in those languages, whereas the concept of working languages relates essentially to translation and is applied on a pragmatic basis.' It then defined Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian, and Spanish as working languages (which the UIA Yearbook corroborates). However, the first rule defining languages for the organisation is found in the Rules of Procedure for the International Health Conference of 1946. These then carried over into the functioning of the WHO.

> VI. Languages
>
> Rule 36.
>
> In respect of languages, the business of the Conference and of its committees and sub-committees shall be conducted in accordance with the provisions of the Rules of Procedure adopted by the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.[1]

---

[1]Excerpts from Rules of Procedure of the Economic and Social Council:

Rule 27: Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish shall be the official languages, and English and French the working languages of the Council.

Rule 28: Speeches made in either of the working languages shall be interpreted into the other working language.

Rule 29: Speeches made in any other of the three official languages shall be interpreted into both working languages.

Rule 30: Any representative may make a speech in a language other than the official languages. In this case he shall himself provide for interpretation into one of the working languages.

Thus, the initial language operational language regime of the WHO placed English and French on the highest tier of institutionalisation, followed by Chinese, Russian, and Spanish. The Health Assembly would later adopt its own rules of procedure on this front in 1978, as per Article 17; the Board and Regional Committees had the power to do so as well (Articles 27 and 49). But absent a decision on those fronts, the rules of the Conference applied to the entire organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] '1. Constitution of the World Health Organization, Signed on July 22, 1946, in New York City'. In: *International Organization* 1.1 (1947), pp. 225–239. ISSN: 0020-8183, 1531-5088. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/S0020818300007049/type/journal_article (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] Gro Harlem Brundtland. *Reaching out to the largest audience: Languages for communication in WHO. Report by the Director-General.* Publisher: World Health Organization. WHO Institutional Repository for Information Sharing, EB105/20. 1999. URL: https://apps.who.int/gb/ebwha/pdf_files/EB105/ee20.pdf (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] *Documentation and languages of the Health Assembly and the Executive Board. Fourth meeting, 24 May 1977.* Publisher: World Health Organization. WHO Institutional Repository for Information Sharing, EB60.R7. 1977. URL: https://iris.who.int/bitstream/handle/10665/91097/EB60R7_eng.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (visited on 30/12/2024).

[4] *Documentation and languages of the Health Assembly and the Executive Board. Tenth plenary meeting, 18 May 1978 (Committee B, second report).* Publisher: World Health Organization. WHO Institutional Repository for Information Sharing, WHA31.13. 1978. URL: https://iris.who.int/bitstream/handle/10665/93411/WHA31.13_eng.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y (visited on 30/12/2024).

[5] *Official Records of the World Health Organzation, No. 2. Summary Report on Proceedings Minutes and Final Acts of the International Health Conference, Held in New York from 19 June to 22 July 1946.* Publisher: World Health Organization. WHO Institutional Repository for Information Sharing. 1948. URL: https://iris.who.int/bitstream/handle/10665/85573/Official_record2_eng.pdf (visited on 30/12/2024).

[6] Union of International Associations. *World Health Organization (WHO).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100054686 (visited on 29/12/2024).

WIPO: World Intellectual Property Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4560.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1970.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

Article 20 of the Convention establishing the World Intellectual Property Organization, concerning Final Provisions, states: 'This Convention shall be signed in a single copy in English, French, Russian and Spanish, all texts being equally authentic.'

The first version of the General Rules of Procedure, adopted in 1970, contains two rules on languages under Chapter VII (Miscellaneous Provisions).

> Rule 40. Languages of Documents
>
> (1) Documents intended for the various bodies shall be drawn up in English and French. The Director General may, in so far as he considers it advisable and practicable, decide that certain documents shall be drawn up also in Spanish or Russian, or in both of those languages.
>
> (2) The Director General shall decide on the language or languages in which documents intended for subsidiary bodies shall be drawn up.
>
> Rule 41. Languages of Oral Interventions: Interpretation
>
> (1) Oral interventions during meetings of the various bodies shall be in English or French, and interpretation shall be provided for in the other language. The Director General may, however, decide that oral interventions may also be made in Spanish or Russian, or in both of those languages; in such cases, interpretation shall be provided for in all the accepted languages.
>
> (2) With regard to the subsidiary bodies, the Director General shall decide on the language or languages in which oral interventions shall be made and for which interpretation shall be provided.
>
> (3) In any meeting in which simultaneous interpretation is provided by the Secretariat in at least two languages, any participant may

> make oral interventions in another language in so far as he provides for simultaneous interpretation in one of the languages for which interpretation is provided by the Secretariat.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists Arabic and Chinese in addition to the four languages mentioned in the text, it is clear that at the founding of the organisation, English, French, Spanish, and Russian were the four languages that may be chosen for various situations. Additionally, English and French occupied a higher tier of institutionalisation than Spanish and Russian. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention establishing the World Intellectual Property Organization signed at Stockholm on 14 July 1967'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 828.11846 (1972). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–105. URL: `https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280115a73` (visited on 25/11/2021).

[2] *General Rules of Procedure of the World Intellectual Property Organization and Special Rules of Procedure*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Meetings Documents, WIPO/AB/I/34. 1970. URL: `https://www.wipo.int/meetings/en/doc_details.jsp?doc_id=635166` (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: `https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100029679` (visited on 29/12/2024).

WMO: World Meteorological Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4530.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1948.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	X: *Official and working*	1
Russian	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1
Spanish	B: Not in original treaty	Z: *Official*, non-*working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Convention of the World Meteorological Organisation is done 'in the English and French languages, each equally authentic.'

The first version of the General Regulations of the World Meterological Organisation, as adopted by Resolution 21(I) of the First Congress of the WMO in 1951, contains a chapter on Languages. Regulations 76 and 77 define the official and working languages of the organisation.

> Languages
>
> Regulation 76
>
> The official languages of the Organization shall be English, French, Russian and Spanish.
>
> Regulation 77
>
> Except as provided for in the case of Associations in accordance with Regulation 78, English and French shall be the working languages of the constituent bodies of the Organization, its committees and working groups.

Though this language regime was expanded in subsequent years, the original set of official and working languages is restricted to the above. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Convention of the World Meteorological Organization (with annexes and Protocol concerning Spain). Signed at Washington, on 11 October 1947'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 77.998 (1950). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 143–189. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=0800000280157e8e (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] Union of International Associations. *World Meteorological Organization (WMO).* In: *Yearbook of International Organizations.* Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100031338 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *WMO-No. 1. Final Report: Volume I –Resolutions. First Congress of the World Meteorological Organization. Paris, 19 March-28 April 1951.* WMO/1/1. World Meteorological Organization e-Library, Cg-I. Geneva: Secretariat of the World Meteorological Organization, 1951, p. 117. URL: https://library.wmo.int/viewer/58630/download?file=1-v1_en.pdf&type=pdf&navigator=1 (visited on 30/12/2024).

WNF: West-Nordic Foundation

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4520.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1987.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Danish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Faroese	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Finnish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Greenlandic	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Icelandic	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Norwegian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0
Swedish	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The original Agreement concerning the establishment of the Nordic Development Fund for the Western Nordic Region is done 'in one copy in the Danish, Faeroese, Greenlandic, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish languages, all the texts being equally authentic.'

The Agreement is silent language rules, and the UIA Yearbook does not list languages for this organisation. However, it notes that it commenced operations in 1987 as a cooperation body of the Nordic Council of Ministers. In the absence of rules regulating the use of languages for this organisation, I note that, at the time of entry into force of the Agreement, the Nordic Language Convention had also entered into force. This Convention bestows the right for Nordic nationals to use their mother tongue in other Nordic countries, and covers Danish, Finnish, Icelandic, Norwegian, and Swedish. Absent further information, I impute on this basis.

References

[1] 'Agreement concerning the establishment of the Nordic Development Fund for the Western Nordic Region (with annexed statutes). Signed at Hofn on 19 August 1986'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1494.25688 (1988). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 333–393. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%201494/v1494.pdf (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] *The Nordic Language Convention*. Nordic Co-operation. Publisher: The Nordic Council and the Nordic Council of Ministers. 2024. URL: https://www.norden.org/en/treaties-and-agreements/nordic-language-convention (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *West-Nordic Foundation*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100014567 (visited on 29/12/2024).

WPact: Warsaw Treaty Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4460.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1955.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
Czech	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
German	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Polish	A: In original treaty	K: Undefined	0
Russian	A: In original treaty	J: Other, imputed	0

Coding Rationale

The Warsaw Security Pact, or the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Between the People's Republic of Albania, the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the Rumanian People's Republic, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Czechoslovak Republic, is done 'in one copy each in the Russian, Polish, Czech and German languages, all texts being equally authentic'

The Pact makes no provision for operational languages of the organisation; nor does the UIA Yearbook catalogue languages for this organisation. However, academic sources indicate that Russian was de-facto the language of communication within this organisation (see Aronova 2017).

> 'The policies of the Warsaw Pact and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) were conditioned on the premise that Russian would serve as a vehicular language of communication throughout the Soviet "bloc." The study of Russian was made mandatory for East European army officers, and it was taught as the first foreign language in schools in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Romania. Despite the fact that the Russian language was increasingly seen in Eastern Europe as a tool of political domination, these efforts succeeded, even though the spread of the Russian language in the East was less significant than that of English in the West.'

I impute accordingly.

References

[1] Elena Aronova. 'Russian and the Making of World Languages during the Cold War'. In: *Isis* 108.3 (2017). Publisher: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 643–650. ISSN: 0021-1753. URL: https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/694163 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] 'Treaty of Friendship, Co-operation and Mutual Assistance. Signed at Warsaw, on 14 May 1955'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 219.2962 (1955). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 23–32. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002801488a3 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100003308 (visited on 29/12/2024).

WTO: World Trade Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4580.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1995.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
French	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	1

Coding Rationale

The Marrakesh Agreement Establishing the World Trade Organization is done 'in a single copy, in the English, French and Spanish languages, each text being authentic.' The texts of the annexed schedules are also authentic in these three languages.

The original Rules of Procedure for meetings of the Ministerial Conference, the General Council, and the Dispute Settlement Body contain almost identical provisions defining the working languages for these bodies.

> Chapter VIII —Languages [Rules of Procedure for Meetings of the Ministerial Conference]
>
> Rule 35: English, French and Spanish shall be the working languages.
>
> Chapter VIII —Languages [Rules of Procedure for Meetings of the General Council]
>
> Rule 30: English, French and Spanish shall be the working languages.
>
> Chapter VIII —Languages [Rules of Procedure for Meetings of the Dispute Settlement Body]
>
> Rule 35: English, French and Spanish shall be the working languages.

In addition to the above, a FAQ page on the WTO website states: 'The three working languages of the WTO are English, French and Spanish.' The UIA Yearbook also corroborates this, and I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Marrakesh Agreement establishing the World Trade Organization (with final act, annexes and protocol). Concluded at Marrakesh on 15 April 1994'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 1867.31874 (1995). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 3–507. URL: https://treaties.un.org/pages/showDetails.aspx?objid=08000002800ade6c (visited on 25/10/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *World Trade Organization (WTO)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100040595 (visited on 29/12/2024).

[3] *Working at the WTO - FAQs*. World Trade Organisation. 2024. URL: https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/vacan_e/faq_e.htm# (visited on 30/12/2024).

[4] 'Rules of Procedure for Meetings of the Dispute Settlement Body'. In: *The WTO Dispute Settlement Procedures: A Collection of the Relevant Legal Texts*. Ed. by World Trade Organization Secretariat. 3rd ed. WTO Internal Only. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 66–76. ISBN: 978-1-107-02799-2. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/wto-dispute-settlement-procedures/rules-of-procedure-for-meetings-of-the-dispute-settlement-body/8ABACC6A1AAD7B17F12DF304B3B84A41 (visited on 30/12/2024).

[5] *WT/L/28. Rules of Procedure for Sessions of the Ministerial Conference and Meetings of the General Council. Adopted by the General Council on 31 January 1995*. Publisher: World Trade Organisation. WTO Documents Online, 95-0230. 1995. URL: https://docs.wto.org/dol2fe/Pages/FE_Browse/FE_B_009.aspx?TopLevel=3875 (visited on 30/12/2024).

WTOURO: World Tourism Organization

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4570.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1975.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
French	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Russian	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1
Spanish	A: In original treaty	O: *Official*	1

Coding Rationale

The original 1970 Statutes of the World Tourism Organization are authentic in English, French, Russian, and Spanish, according to Article 39.

The Statutes define the official languages of the organisation, in addition to defining the languages of the authentic texts of the statutes, in two articles on 'Interpretation and Languages.'

> Interpretation and Languages
>
> Article 38. The official languages of the Organisation shall be English, French, Russian and Spanish.
>
> Article 39. The English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of these Statutes shall be regarded as equally authentic.

Though the UIA Yearbook lists Chinese in addition to the languages above, it is evident from the original Statutes that only English, French, Russian, and Spanish were institutional languages at the time of founding. I code accordingly.

References

[1] 'Statutes of the World Tourism Organization (WTO) (with annex). Adopted at Mexico City on 27 September 1970'. In: *United Nations Treaty Series* 985.14403 (2010). United Nations Treaty Collection, pp. 339–470. URL: https://treaties.un.org/doc/Publication/UNTS/Volume%20985/v985.pdf (visited on 23/11/2021).

[2] Union of International Associations. *UN Tourism*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100067971 (visited on 29/12/2024).

Wassen: Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies

Correlates of War IGO identification number: 4470.
Correlates of War IGO founding year: 1996.

Institutional Languages

Language	Formal Code	Operational Code	Source
English	A: In original treaty	W: *Working*	3

Coding Rationale

The Final Declaration of December 1995 establishing the Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies is done in English only.

The Guidelines and Procedures make no mention of language rules. However, the FAQ page on this organisation's website clearly defines the working language of the organisation.

> 'What is the Working Language of the Wassenaar Arrangement?
>
> The working language of the Wassenaar Arrangement is English and no official translations in other languages are provided by the Secretariat. For more information please refer to the respective national authorities by clicking on "National Contacts."'

The UIA Yearbook corroborates English as the only language of this organisation. I code accordingly.

References

[1] *About Us | What is the Working Language of the Wassenaar Arrangement?* The Wassenaar Arrangement. 2023. URL: https://www.wassenaar.org/about-us/ (visited on 30/12/2024).

[2] *Founding Documents. Public Documents, Volume I*. Publisher: Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies. Founding Documents of the Wassenaar Arrangement, WA-DOC (17) PUB 001. 2017. URL: https://www.wassenaar.org/app/uploads/2015/06/WA-DOC-17-PUB-001-Public-Docs-Vol-I-Founding-Documents.pdf (visited on 30/12/2024).

[3] Union of International Associations. *Wassenaar Arrangement on Export Controls for Conventional Arms and Dual-Use Goods and Technologies (Wassenaar Arrangement)*. In: *Yearbook of International Organizations*. Online: Brill, 2024. URL: https://ybio-brillonline-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/s/or/en/1100054200 (visited on 29/12/2024).

III

Domestic Language Policies Dataset

This dataset contains yearly information on the domestic language policies of the 202 states in the Correlates of War (COW) dataset for the years of their membership between 1945 and 2014, comprising a total of 10,188 state-year observations. The aim of these data is to catalogue continuity and change in states' policies towards *languages in institutional use at the national level*. In this process, I also include substantial information on subnational-level language policies. However, since these data are somewhat less reliable, *only national-level language policies should be considered complete and correct.* The main analysis incorporates national language policy data only.

For each state-year, I examine four dimensions of language policies which are encoded in two variables. First, a state may prioritise either indigenous or foreign languages, resulting in what Kloss (1968) has famously called 'endoglossic' and 'exoglossic' national language policies.[1] The field titled 'Origin' may take on two values, as determined by the Ethnologue. `N` indicates that a language is indigenous to a state's territory, whilst `X` denotes an imported language. Territorial swaps may change this variable over time. Bengali, for example, is considered an indigenous language of Pakistan before the independence of Bangladesh in 1971. Though this variable is considered complete, it is not the focus of the main analysis.

The second variable encodes three language policy dimensions: A language's *legal status*, its *function* or the nature of its use, and the *scope of its application*. To describe them, the Ethnologue employs a classification scheme (Eberhard, Simons,

[1] As in this research, Kloss focusses on 'national official languages,' with distinctly less emphasis on language policy at the regional or subnational level. He uses the terms 'indigenous' and 'imported' to describe languages themselves, whereas 'endoglossic' and 'exoglossic' refer to a state's language policy as a whole. Kloss distinguishes between 'all-exoglossic' states, which 'use none of the indigenous languages for the purpose of national government,' and 'part-exoglossic' states, which employ a mix of imported and indigenous languages (p. 71).

and Fennig 2025) that builds on the framework developed by Robert Cooper. First, a language may be given *de jure* legal status in a legal document such as a constitution or a piece of language policy legislation, or its use may be *de facto*. Second, a language may be a *working* language, used for the business of government and administration; an *identity* language, which symbolises the polity; or it may serve both purposes, a situation which I call *functional convergence*. Third, legal status and function may apply at either the *national* level or the *provincial* level, the latter term encompassing all types of first-level administrative divisions. These three dimensions combine to yield twelve categories that describe the institutional status of a language. I assign them the following classification codes with the addition of a placeholder code.

Table III.1: Classification codes for institutional status categories

Code	Classification	Definition	Examples
`A`	Statutory national language	This is the language in which the business of the national government is conducted and this is mandated by law. It is also the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	Indonesian in Indonesia; Spanish in Spain
`B`	Statutory national working language	This is a language in which the business of the national government is conducted and this is mandated by law. However it is not the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	English in India; Danish in Greenland;
`C`	Statutory language of national identity	This is the language of national identity and this is mandated by law. However, it does not function as the language of government business.	Irish in Ireland; Maori in New Zealand
`D`	*De facto* national language	This is the language in which the business of the national government is conducted but this is not mandated by law. It is also the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	German in Germany; Japanese in Japan

Continued on next page

Table III.1: Classification codes for institutional status categories (Continued)

Code	Classification	Definition	Examples
E	*De facto* national working language	This is a language in which the business of the national government is conducted, but this is not mandated by law. Neither is it the language of national identity for the citizens of the country.	Spanish in Andorra; English in Botswana
F	*De facto* language of national identity	This is the language of national identity but this is not mandated by law. Neither does it function as the language of government business.	Jamaican Creole in Jamaica; Tokelauan in Tokelau
G	Statutory provincial language	This is the language in which the business of provincial government is conducted and this is mandated by law. It is also the language of identity for the citizens of the province.	Assamese in India; Turkish in Greece
H	Statutory provincial working language	This is a language in which the business of the provincial government is conducted and this is mandated by law. However, it is not the language of identity for the citizens of the province.	Russian in Ukraine; Portuguese in Macau
I	Statutory language of provincial identity	This is the language of identity for the citizens of the province and this is mandated by law. However, it does not function as the language of government business.	Turkmen in Afghanistan; German in Denmark
K	*De facto* provincial language	This is the language in which the business of the provincial government is conducted, but this is not mandated by law. It is also the language of identity for the citizens of the province.	Hausa in Nigeria; Faroese in Denmark

Continued on next page

Table III.1: Classification codes for institutional status categories (Continued)

Code	Classification	Definition	Examples
L	*De facto* provincial working language	This is a language in which the business of provincial government is conducted, but this is not mandated by law. Neither is it the language of identity for the citizens of the province.	Greek in Albania; Kurdish in Iran
M	*De facto* language of provincial identity	This is the language of identity for citizens of the province, but this is not mandated by law. Neither is it developed enough or known enough to function as the language of government business.	Nepali in Bhutan; Aceh in Indonesia
–	Other notable usage	This language fits into none of the above categories, but is used in work and mass media without official status to transcend language differences across a region.	Spanish in Belize; Wolof in Senegal

I collected these data to explore how *shared national languages affect patterns of state IGO membership*. My coding scheme diverges from the Ethnologue scheme in several key respects.

First, I employ a placeholder code (–) in my framework to capture languages that do not fit cleanly into the first twelve categories, but nonetheless are sufficiently widespread to potentially affect institutional state-to-state relations. In the Ethnologue, these languages often do not fit into the institutional status framework, but are frequently listed as 'languages of wider communication' on the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2025).

Second, and relatedly, I dispense with three categories in the original Ethnologue coding scheme titled 'recognised language,' 'provincially recognised language,' and 'language of recognised nationality' (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig ibid.). These Ethnologue categories capture languages in highly circumscribed and mostly symbolic use, largely by minority groups that overwhelmingly lack sufficient power to affect institutional state-to-state ties. I ignore them due to time and funding constraints.

Finally, the Ethnologue identifies over 7,000 living languages, but as of 2023, fewer than 500 are used in government, trade, and education by 6.1 billion people (Eberhard, Simons, and Fennig 2024). The number of languages in sufficiently vigorous use to plausibly affect state membership in international organisations is fewer still. Thus, I consistently classify and code *only* those languages that have national-level institutional status in at least one state for a given year. Though information is

often included for languages that do not meet these criteria, the main analysis considers only the subset of languages that are *shared* by two or more states at the national level.

Language function and recognition often shift over time, but archived editions of the Ethnologue do not provide reliable institutional language status information year-by-year prior to 2009. Additionally, for statutory languages, the Ethnologue cites only the *most recent* instead of the earliest legislation. To compile accurate time-series cross-sectional data on changes in *de jure* language policies, I consult original legislative documents. For changes in language function, I consult *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, a qualitative database on language history maintained by Jacques Leclerc at the Université Laval (Leclerc 2025), as well as academic literature in linguistics, sociology, and related fields.

Entries are ordered by 3-digit numerical COW code. Each entry contains a data table listing relevant domestic languages for that state, the variables described above, as well as the year range during which particular variable values are applicable. Following this, I explain in detail the rationale for my coding, with extensive reference to the sources consulted. All sources are thoroughly and appropriately cited in the references to each entry.

References

How Do We Classify and Measure the Status of Languages? (2024). In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International. URL: `https://www.ethnologue.com/insights/classifying-language-status/` (visited on 12/02/2025).

Methodology (2025). In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 28th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International. URL: `https://www.ethnologue.com/methodology/` (visited on 12/02/2025).

Kloss, Heinz (1968). 'Notes Concerning a Language-Nation Typology'. In: *Language Problems of Developing Nations*. Ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, Charles Albert Ferguson and Jyotirindra Dasgupta. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, pp. 69–85.

Leclerc, Jacques (2025). *Page d'accueil*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/new_mexico.htm` (visited on 12/02/2025).

Contents

002: United States 1462
020: Canada 1464
031: Bahamas 1467
040: Cuba 1469
041: Haiti 1471
042: Dominican Republic 1474
051: Jamaica 1476
052: Trinidad and Tobago 1478
053: Barbados 1480
054: Dominica 1482
055: Grenada 1484
056: Saint Lucia 1486
057: Saint Vincent and the Grenadines 1488
058: Antigua and Barbuda 1490
060: Saint Kitts and Nevis 1492
070: Mexico 1494
080: Belize 1496
090: Guatemala 1498
091: Honduras 1500
092: El Salvador 1502
093: Nicaragua 1504
094: Costa Rica 1506
095: Panama 1508
100: Colombia 1510
101: Venezuela 1512
110: Guyana 1514
115: Suriname 1516
130: Ecuador 1518
135: Peru 1521
140: Brazil 1525
145: Bolivia 1528
150: Paraguay 1530
155: Chile 1533
160: Argentina 1535
165: Uruguay 1537
200: United Kingdom 1539
205: Ireland 1542
210: Netherlands 1544
211: Belgium 1546
212: Luxembourg 1549
220: France 1552
221: Monaco 1554
223: Liechtenstein 1556
225: Switzerland 1558
230: Spain 1562
232: Andorra 1565
235: Portugal 1567
255: Germany 1569
260: West Germany 1571
265: East Germany 1573
290: Poland 1575
305: Austria 1578
310: Hungary 1580
315: Czechoslovakia 1583
316: Czech Republic 1586
317: Slovak Republic 1588
325: Italy 1590
331: San Marino 1593
338: Malta 1595
339: Albania 1597
341: Montenegro 1599
343: Macedonia 1603
344: Croatia 1605
345: Serbia / Yugoslavia 1609
346: Bosnia and Herzegovina . . . 1624
347: Kosovo 1628
349: Slovenia 1631
350: Greece 1633
352: Cyprus 1635
355: Bulgaria 1638
359: Moldova 1640
360: Romania 1644
365: Russia / Soviet Union 1647

366: Estonia 1651
367: Latvia 1654
368: Lithuania 1656
369: Ukraine 1658
370: Belarus 1661
371: Armenia 1664
372: Georgia 1667
373: Azerbaijan 1669
375: Finland 1672
380: Sweden 1674
385: Norway 1676
390: Denmark 1678
395: Iceland 1682
402: Cape Verde 1684
403: Sao Tome and Principe 1687
404: Guinea-Bissau 1689
411: Equatorial Guinea 1691
420: Gambia 1695
432: Mali 1697
433: Senegal 1701
434: Benin 1704
435: Mauritania 1707
436: Niger 1711
437: Cote d'Ivoire 1714
438: Guinea 1717
439: Burkina Faso 1720
450: Liberia 1723
451: Sierra Leone 1725
452: Ghana 1728
461: Togo 1731
471: Cameroon 1734
475: Nigeria 1738
481: Gabon 1741
482: Central African Republic . . . 1744
483: Chad 1748
484: Congo 1751
490: Democratic Republic of the Congo 1755
500: Uganda 1760
501: Kenya 1763
510: Tanzania 1767
511: Zanzibar 1770
516: Burundi 1772
517: Rwanda 1775
520: Somalia 1779
522: Djibouti 1783
530: Ethiopia 1786
531: Eritrea 1790
540: Angola 1792
541: Mozambique 1794
551: Zambia 1797
552: Zimbabwe 1800
553: Malawi 1803
560: South Africa 1806
565: Namibia 1813
570: Lesotho 1816
571: Botswana 1819
572: Swaziland 1821
580: Madagascar 1824
581: Comoros 1829
590: Mauritius 1834
591: Seychelles 1837
600: Morocco 1840
615: Algeria 1845
616: Tunisia 1850
620: Libya 1853
625: Sudan 1856
626: South Sudan 1860
630: Iran 1862
640: Turkey 1865
645: Iraq 1869
651: Egypt 1874
652: Syria 1878
660: Lebanon 1882
663: Jordan 1885
666: Israel 1888
670: Saudi Arabia 1891
678: North Yemen 1893
679: Yemen 1895
680: South Yemen 1897
690: Kuwait 1899
692: Bahrain 1901
694: Qatar 1904
696: United Arab Emirates 1907
698: Oman 1910
700: Afghanistan 1912
701: Turkmenistan 1916
702: Tajikistan 1920
703: Kyrgyzstan 1923
704: Uzbekistan 1929

705: Kazakhstan 1933
710: China 1938
712: Mongolia 1944
713: Taiwan 1947
731: North Korea 1950
732: South Korea 1953
740: Japan 1955
750: India 1957
760: Bhutan 1964
770: Pakistan 1968
771: Bangladesh 1973
775: Myanmar 1976
780: Sri Lanka 1979
781: Maldives 1985
790: Nepal 1988
800: Thailand 1992
811: Cambodia 1994
812: Laos 1999
816: Vietnam / North Vietnam . . 2003
817: South Vietnam 2007
820: Malaysia 2010
830: Singapore 2014
835: Brunei 2017
840: Philippines 2020
850: Indonesia 2026
860: East Timor 2029
900: Australia 2032
910: Papua New Guinea 2033
920: New Zealand 2035
935: Vanuatu 2038
940: Solomon Islands 2040
946: Kiribati 2042
947: Tuvalu 2044
950: Fiji 2046
955: Tonga 2050
970: Nauru 2052
983: Marshall Islands 2054
986: Palau 2056
987: Micronesia 2059
990: Samoa 2061

002: United States

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1945-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Spanish	1945-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of the United States. Notably, the United States has never had a *de jure* official language at the federal level. While national language policy has been the subject of vigorous normative debate throughout American history, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates the Ethnologue's assessment of the institutional status of English, which I code as the *de facto* national language for the entirety of the period from 1945 to 2014.

Spanish is designated as a *de facto* provincial language in New Mexico, as per the Ethnologue. Although Article XX, Section 12 of the 1911 constitution of New Mexico stipulated that all legislation be published in both English and Spanish for a period of 20 years following the constitution's adoption, no subsequent provisions ensured the *de jure* status of Spanish beyond 1945 in the state.

However, the Ethnologue's coding fails to account for the status of Spanish in Puerto Rico, a US territory since 1898. Spanish was granted official status through the *Ley de los Idiomas Oficiales*, Article 51 of which mandates that English and Spanish be used 'indistinctively' in public administration. The *Ley de Idioma Oficial número 4 de 5 de abril de 1991* initially removed English, but two years later, *Ley número 1 de 1993* restored both English and Spanish, thereby cementing the final revision to Puerto Rico's domestic language policy within the relevant time frame. Consequently, I code Spanish as a statutory provincial language from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *United States*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/US/ (visited on 12/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *La politique linguistique fédérale américaine*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/usa_2pol-federale.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Nouveau-Mexique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2015. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/new_mexico.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Porto Rico, État libre associé aux États-Unis*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/portorico.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

[5] *Official language of the United States | USAGov*. USAGov. 2024. URL: https://www.usa.gov/official-language-of-us (visited on 12/02/2025).

[6] Thomas K. Ricento. '6 Language Policy in the United States'. In: *Language Policies in English-dominant Countries: Six Case Studies*. Ed. by Michael Herriman and Barbara Burnaby. Multilingual Matters, 1996, pp. 122–158. ISBN: 978-1-80041-802-8. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781800418028-008/html (visited on 26/03/2025).

[7] Thomas K. Ricento and Barbara Burnaby, eds. *Language and Politics in the United States and Canada: Myths and Realities*. 0th ed. Routledge, 1998. ISBN: 978-1-4106-0389-0. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781135681050 (visited on 12/02/2025).

020: Canada

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1945-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1945-1968	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1969-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and French as the principal languages of Canada, with English deemed a statutory national language following the passage of the Official Languages Act 1988 (Chapter 38, Articles 1 and 34). However, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that Article 41 of the Union Act 1840 effectively abolished the use of French at the federal level, thereby establishing English as the sole national language. The Constitution Act 1867, which created the Dominion of Canada as a self-governing entity within the British Empire, recognised the use of both French and English in Parliament and the courts.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde further observes: 'Fait significatif: la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867* ayant été adoptée uniquement en anglais, c'est en cette langue que la constitution de 1867 bénéficie d'un statut officiel, la version française, une traduction, n'étant qu'officieuse. Encore aujourd'hui, seule la version anglaise peut être invoquée devant les tribunaux.'

Thus, while English was not formally designated as the official language in legislation, the effect of these laws was to establish English as the only legal medium for state business. The Official Languages Acts 1969 and 1988, along with the Constitution Act 1982, subsequently reaffirmed English as an 'official language' alongside French.

At the same time, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* highlights that the 1867 constitution did not prevent individual provinces from passing 'lois anti-françaises' that restricted the use of French. Canada, therefore, functioned primarily in English at the federal level until the 1960s. However, in Quebec, French had been a *de facto* provincial language since the start of the coding period, and its use expanded both provincially and nationally during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. The Official Languages Act 1969, the 1982 constitution, and the Official Languages Act 1988 all enshrined French as an official language at the federal level, alongside English.

In light of this historical context, I classify English as the statutory national language from 1945 to 2014. I code French as a *de facto* provincial language from 1945 to 1968, with its status shifting to a statutory national language from 1969

to 2014, following the passage of the 1969 Official Languages Act and subsequent linguistic legislation.

References

[1] Barbara Burnaby. '7 Language Policies in Canada'. In: *Language Policies in English-dominant Countries: Six Case Studies*. Ed. by Michael Herriman. Multilingual Matters, 1996, pp. 159–219. ISBN: 978-1-80041-802-8. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781800418028-009/html (visited on 26/03/2025).

[2] Linda Cardinal. 'State Tradition and Language Regime in Canada'. In: *State Traditions and Language Regimes*. Ed. by Linda Cardinal and Selma K. Sonntag. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015. ISBN: 978-0-7735-8289-7 978-0-7735-8294-1.

[3] *Canada*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CA/ (visited on 12/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Canada: (3.1) La politique des langues officielles du gouvernement fédéral*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/canada-federal-3.1-pol-lng-off.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Les minorités francophones au Canada et les lois antifrançaises*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/cnd_antifranco.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Québec: (5) La politique linguistique et la Charte de la langue française*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/Quebec-5Politique_lng.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

[7] Thomas K. Ricento and Barbara Burnaby, eds. *Language and Politics in the United States and Canada: Myths and Realities*. 0th ed. Routledge, 1998. ISBN: 978-1-4106-0389-0. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781135681050 (visited on 12/02/2025).

[8] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[9] *The evolution of English–French bilingualism in Canada from 1901 to 2011*. Statistics Canada, Government of Canada. Last Modified: 2016-01-28. 2016. URL:

`https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-630-x/11-630-x2016001-eng.htm` (visited on 12/02/2025).

031: Bahamas

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1973-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bahamian Creole	1973-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)
English	1973-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue designates English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of the Bahamas. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* supports this assessment, noting that this status has remained unchanged since the country's independence from the United Kingdom. Although no constitutional provisions explicitly require English for governmental functions, several laws stipulate that a sufficient knowledge of English is necessary for naturalisation as a Bahamian citizen, for practising in health professions, or for serving as a witness in court.

Bahamian Creole is recognised as the *de facto* language of national identity in the Bahamas, a view shared by both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. While the majority of Bahamians speak Bahamian Creole, and its use is occasionally allowed in judicial procedures, public affairs are overwhelmingly conducted in English, and no formal efforts have been made to introduce Bahamian Creole in Parliament. As such, a situation of diglossia exists, with English reserved for 'high' functions, particularly in written official documents, while Creole predominates in oral communication.

I thus code English as the *de facto* national language and Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period from 1973 to 2014, in accordance with the judgment of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Bahamas*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BS/` (visited on 12/02/2025).

[2] Alexander Laube and Janina Rothmund. ' 'Broken English' , 'Dialect' or 'Bahamianese' ?: Language Attitudes and Identity in the Bahamas'. In: *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 36.2 (2021). Publisher: John Benjamins, pp. 362–394. ISSN: 0920-9034, 1569-9870. URL: `https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/journals/10.1075/jpcl.00079.lau` (visited on 24/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Bahamas / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/bahamas-lois_div.htm` (visited on 12/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Les Bahamas*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/bahamas.htm` (visited on 12/02/2025).

040: Cuba

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue classifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Cuba, citing Article 2 of the 1992 constitution. However, earlier legislation had already established Spanish as the official language of the country. The 1940 constitution, which was in force at the beginning of the coding period, includes the following provision:

> Artículo 6. [1940]
>
> El idioma oficial de la República es el español.

No other language holds a comparable presence at the national level, as confirmed by both *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* and the Ethnologue. Spanish, by contrast, is declared an official language in the constitutions of 1940, 1959, 1976, and the constitutional revisions of 1992 and 2002. It continues to be the sole language of national administration, the judiciary, the legislature, all levels of education, business, and commerce, as well as in the private sphere.

In line with the classification by the Ethnologue, I thus code Spanish as the statutory national language of Cuba for the entire duration from 1945 to 2014. No other language comes close to matching its usage during this period.

References

[1] *Constitución de la República de Cuba de 1976 (Incluye la reforma constitucional del 26 de mayo de 2002)*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(729.1). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: `https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcp0018` (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución de la República de Cuba proclamada el 24 de febrero 1976 (Incluye la reforma constitucional del 12 de julio de 1992)*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(729.1). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: `https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcsr0s2` (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Constitución del 5 de julio 1940*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(729.1). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: `https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc28244` (visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] *Constitución del 7 de febrero 1959*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(729.1). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcxh1h5 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[5] *Cuba*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CU/ (visited on 12/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Cuba*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/cuba.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

041: Haiti

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1945-2014	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)
Haitian Creole	1945-1982	`N`	`D`: *De facto* national
	1983-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French and Haitian Creole as the two principal languages and the statutory national languages of Haiti, citing Article 5 of the 1987 constitution:

> Article 5 [1987]
>
> 1) Tous les Haïtiens sont unis par une langue commune: le créole.
>
> 2) Le créole et le français sont les langues officielles de la République.

This, however, overlooks several preceding constitutional provisions. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that during the American occupation, Haiti adopted a constitution in 1918 which stipulated: *« Le français est la langue officielle. Son emploi est obligatoire en matière administrative et judiciaire. »* The constitutions of 1946, 1950, 1957, 1964, 1983, and 1987 all reaffirmed the official status of French. Accordingly, I code French as a statutory national working language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

The constitutional officialisation of Haitian Creole, by contrast, dates back to the 1957 constitution, which stated, in a departure from the 1946 and 1950 constitutions: 'Le français est la langue officielle. Son emploi est obligatoire dans les services publics. Néanmoins, la loi détermine les cas et conditions dans lesquels l'usage du créole est permis et même recommandé pour la sauvegarde des intérêts matériels et moraux des citoyens qui ne connaissent pas suffisamment la langue française.'

In 1983, a new constitution declared both French and Creole to be 'national' languages, with French remaining the only 'official' language:

> Article 62 [1983]
>
> Les langues nationales sont le français et le créole. Le français tient lieu de langue officielle de la république d'Haïti.

Thus, 1983 marks a pivotal moment in the government's recognition of Haitian Creole. In fact, Cahill (2022) observes that Haitian Creole is one of only two French-lexified creoles, alongside Seychellois Creole in the Seychelles, to hold *de*

jure status as a state language. In light of this, I code Haitian Creole as a *de facto* national language from 1945 until 1982, and as a statutory national language from 1983 to 2014, reflecting its formal enshrinement in the 1983 constitution.

References

[1] Griffin Cahill. 'Nation-Building and State Support for Creole Languages: The Cases of Haiti and the Seychelles'. In: *Working papers in Applied Linguistics and Linguistics at York* 2 (2022), pp. 21–28. ISSN: 2564-2855. URL: https://wally.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/default/article/view/16 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[2] Yves Dejean. 'An Overview of the Language Situation in Haiti'. In: 1993.102 (1993). Publisher: De Gruyter Mouton Section: International Journal of the Sociology of Language, pp. 73–84. ISSN: 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1993.102.73/html (visited on 29/03/2025).

[3] *Haiti*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/HT/ (visited on 12/02/2025).

[4] *Haïti. Constitution de 1964 (avec les amendements du 14 janvier 1971)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1971. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ht1971.htm (visited on 29/03/2025).

[5] *Haïti. Constitution de la République d'Haïti*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1987. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ht1987.htm (visited on 29/03/2025).

[6] *Haïti. Constitution du 19 décembre 1957*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1957. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ht1957.htm (visited on 29/03/2025).

[7] *Haïti. Constitution du 22 novembre 1946*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1946. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ht1946.htm (visited on 29/03/2025).

[8] *Haïti. Constitution du 25 mai 1964*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1964. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ht1964.htm (visited on 29/03/2025).

[9] *Haïti. Constitution du 25 novembre 1950*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1950. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ht1950.htm (visited on 29/03/2025).

[10] *Haïti. Constitution du 27 août 1983*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1983. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ht1983.htm (visited on 29/03/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | H: Haïti, Honduras, Hongrie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-H.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Haïti*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/haiti.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

[13] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

042: Dominican Republic

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-1999	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national
	2000-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language of the Dominican Republic, and both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborate the year 2000 as the point it acquired legal status as the statutory national language. Article 6 of the *Ley No. 41-00 que crea la Secretaría de Estado de Cultura* states:

> Artículo 6 [2000]
>
> El Estado protege el idioma español como lengua oficial de la República Dominicana.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde observes that this law represents the only comprehensive language legislation in the Dominican Republic, as the constitutions of 1844 and 1994 contain no specific provisions concerning language. Spanish thus held the status of national language *de facto* prior to 2000, and it has maintained dominance across all state and private institutions throughout the entire coding period.

The Ethnologue identifies no other languages with institutional status at either the national or provincial level. I thus code Spanish alone as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1999 and as the statutory national language for the period from 2000 to 2014, reflecting Article 6 of the 2000 constitution and aligning with the classification by the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Constitución de la República Dominicana de 1994*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(729.3). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: `https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/constituciones_hispanoamericanas/obra/constitucion-de-la-republica-dominicana-de-1994/` (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución Política de la República Dominicana de 1844*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(729.3). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/constituciones_hispanoamericanas/obra/constitucion-politica-de-la-republica-dominicana-de-1844/ (visited on 29/03/2025).

[3] *Dominican Republic*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/DO/ (visited on 12/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *République dominicaine*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/rep-dominicaine.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *République dominicaine | Lois diverses (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/rep-dominicaine-lois.htm (visited on 12/02/2025).

051: Jamaica

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1962-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1962-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national
Jamaican Creole	1962-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as Jamaica's only principal language and its *de facto* national language. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this, noting that Jamaica has traditionally followed a policy of linguistic non-intervention. English thus occupies a *de facto* and not *de jure* privileged status. Though domain-specific laws require English in some official documents, such as birth certificates, the 1962 Jamaica (Constitution) Order in Council, Jamaica's basic law throughout the coding period, is silent on languages.

This notwithstanding, the Ethnologue classifies Jamaican Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity in Jamaica. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms that the majority of Jamaicans speak Jamaican Creole as their mother tongue. Articles 15 and 20 in the 1962 constitution implicitly recognise this. They stipulate that judicial processes must take place in English, but a person under arrest must be informed 'in a language which he understands' and have recourse to an interpreter free of charge if he cannot understand the English language.'

Cresswell (2018) argues that formal British control of Jamaica, which began in the seventeenth century, relegated the Creole languages developed by enslaved Africans to a lower status. For centuries, even native Jamaicans perceived Creole as a form of 'bad English.' However, recent research shows a growing pride toward Jamaican Creole as a language in its own right and as a symbol of national identity. I thus align my judgement with the Ethnologue, coding English as the *de facto* national language and Jamaican Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire duration from 1962 to 2014.

References

[1] Anna Elizabeth Cresswell. '21st Century Language Policy in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago'. Birmingham eTheses. Master of Arts by Research. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2018. 212 pp. URL: `https://etheses.bham.ac.uk//id/eprint/9449/7/Cresswell2019MAbyRes.pdf` (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *Jamaica*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/JM/ (visited on 13/02/2025).

[3] *Jamaica (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1962. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=349 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | J: Jamaïque, Japon, Jordanie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-J.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Jamaïque*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/Jamaique.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Jamaïque | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/jamaique-lois-div.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

[7] Lena McCourtie. 'The Politics of Creole Language Education in Jamaica: 1891-1921 and the 1990s'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 19.2 (1998). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 108–127. ISSN: 0143-4632. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/01434639808666346 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[8] Simon Romero and Alejandro Cegarra. 'A Patois Revival: Jamaica Weighs Language Change as Ties to Britain Fray'. In: *The New York Times* (2023). ISSN: 0362-4331. URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2023/10/11/world/americas/jamaica-official-language-patois.html (visited on 22/02/2025).

052: Trinidad and Tobago

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1962-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1962-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national
Trinidadian Creole	1962-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue classifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Trinidad and Tobago. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this assessment, noting no linguistic provisions in the 1971 constitution. Additionally, no such regulations were present in the 1961 Trinidad and Tobago (Constitution) Order in Council, which served as the country's basic text until 1976. This notwithstanding, several regulations in other domains including justice, education, patents, etc. require the use of English. The 1961 constitution made English proficiency a requirement for serving as a legislator. I thus code English as a *de facto* national language for the entire coding period.

Devonish (1986) observes that, in contrast to former French colonies in the region, language did not emerge as a central issue in the anticolonial struggles of the Commonwealth Caribbean. In Trinidad and Tobago, as in many neighbouring states, Creole is often regarded as a form of 'bad English' unsuited to official functions. This has given rise to a situation of diglossia, with Creole largely confined to informal spoken communication and the private sphere. Devonish (1986: 24) writes:

> 'On the attainment of political independence, English became the sole official language of the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean. The diglossia involving, on one hand, Creole as the language of everyday informal interaction for the mass of the population, and English as the written, public-formal, and official language, on the other, continued. The new political elite, with a command of English not possessed by the Creole-speaking mass of the population, were and continue to be beneficiaries of the prevailing official language policies.'

I thus classify Trinidadian Creole as a *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period from 1962 to 2014, aligning my coding with the Ethnologue. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that the since 2004, the Trinidadian government has embarked on an unsuccessful campaign of Hispanicisation to eventually replace English with Spanish and better connect to crucial Latin American markets. Accordingly, the Ethnologue shows no national status for Spanish, which I do not code.

References

[1] *1961 No. 1192. Caribbean and North Atlantic Territories. the Trinidad and Tobago (constitution) Order in Council, 1961.* Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1961. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=406 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Trinidad and Tobago'. In: *Independence Documents of the World.* Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 707–708. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s066.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[3] Anna Elizabeth Cresswell. '21st Century Language Policy in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago'. Birmingham eTheses. Master of Arts by Research. Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2018. 212 pp. URL: https://etheses.bham.ac.uk//id/eprint/9449/7/Cresswell2019MAbyRes.pdf (visited on 29/03/2025).

[4] Hubert Devonish. 'The Decay of Neo-Colonial Official Language Policies: The Case of the English-lexicon Creoles of the Commonwealth Caribbean'. In: *Focus on the Caribbean.* Ed. by Manfred Görlach and John A. Holm. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1986, pp. 23–51. ISBN: 978-90-272-4866-4. URL: https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ZSkuSGKi-tAC&oi=fnd&pg=PA23&dq=trinidad+creole+language+policy&ots=qlBCBkLo65&sig=iURWJ7x1QvQz_2e-ZTFH_JGQf_M&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=trinidad%20creole%20language%20policy&f=false (visited on 29/03/2025).

[5] *Trinidad and Tobago.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TT/ (visited on 13/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Trinité-et-Tobago.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/trinite-tobago.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Trinité-et-Tobago | Lois diverses à portée linguistique.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/trinite-tobago-lois.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

053: Barbados

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1966-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bajan Creole	1966-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
English	1966-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Barbados. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* characterises the state's language policy as one of linguistic non-intervention. The Standings Order of the House of Assembly of Barbados 1973 is one of the rare documents that explicitly mandates the use of English for debates and procedures within the legislative body. The Barbados Independence Order 1966, the country's foundational legal text since its independence from the United Kingdom, makes no provision for a *de jure* state language.

Devonish (1986) observes that, in contrast to former French colonies in the region, language did not emerge as a central issue in the anticolonial struggles of the Commonwealth Caribbean. In Barbados, as in many neighbouring states, Creole is often regarded as a form of 'bad English' unsuited to official functions. This has given rise to a situation of diglossia, with Creole largely confined to informal spoken communication and the private sphere. Devonish (1986: 24) writes:

Devonish (1986) notes that, unlike in former French colonies in the region, language did not take centre stage in the anticolonial struggles of the Commonwealth Caribbean. In Barbados, as in many neighbouring states, Creole is sometimes perceived as a form of 'bad English' unsuited to official functions. A situation of diglossia thus exists, where Creole is largely relegated to spoken communications and the private sphere. Devonish (1986: 24) writes:

> 'On the attainment of political independence, English became the sole official language of the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean. The diglossia involving, on one hand, Creole as the language of everyday informal interaction for the mass of the population, and English as the written, public-formal, and official language, on the other, continued. The new political elite, with a command of English not possessed by the Creole-speaking mass of the population, were and continue to be beneficiaries of the prevailing official language policies.'

In Barbados, Bajan Creole serves as the language of the supermajority ethnic group, which the Ethnologue classifies as the *de facto* language of national identity. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that while its use in the private

sphere, the arts, and media is widespread, it does not feature in national administration, thereby reflecting the diglossic situation described by Devonish (1986). I thus code English as the *de facto* national language and Bajan Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period from 1966 to 2014, in alignment with the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Hubert Devonish. 'The Decay of Neo-Colonial Official Language Policies: The Case of the English-lexicon Creoles of the Commonwealth Caribbean'. In: *Focus on the Caribbean*. Ed. by Manfred Görlach and John A. Holm. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1986, pp. 23–51. ISBN: 978-90-272-4866-4. URL: https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ZSkuSGKi-tAC&oi=fnd&pg=PA23&dq=trinidad+creole+language+policy&ots=qlBCBkLo65&sig=iURWJ7x1QvQz_2e-ZTFH_JGQf_M&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=trinidad%20creole%20language%20policy&f=false (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *Barbados*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BB/ (visited on 13/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *La Barbade*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/barbade.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *La Barbade / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/barbade-lois.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

[5] *Statutory Instruments. 1966 No. 1455. Caribbean and North Atlantic Territories. the Barbados Independence Order 1966*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1966. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=309 (visited on 29/03/2025).

054: Dominica

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1978-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1978-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Saint Lucian Creole	1978-2014	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Dominica. Like many neighbouring Commonwealth Caribbean states, the 1978 constitution does not designate it a *de jure* state language, although Sections 3 and 15 stipulate that an arrested person must be informed of the reasons for their detention 'in a language that he understands,' and Section 31 mandates that lawmakers must be proficient in English. This relatively non-interventionist language policy has remained largely unchanged since independence, with English being employed *de facto* in nearly all official domains.

Whilst several creole languages are spoken in Dominica, only Saint Lucian Creole (also known as Lesser Antillean French Creole) is recognised by the Ethnologue as a *de facto* language of national identity. Although the Commonwealth Caribbean is predominantly characterised by English-lexified creoles, Saint Lucian Creole is, in fact, a French-based variety. Garrett (2008: 156) argues that it 'should not be lumped together with Jamaican, Guyanese, Antiguan, Bajan (Barbadian), and related varieties as another Caribbean English Creole.'

Notably, the dialect spoken in Dominica is virtually indistinguishable from the variety spoken in Saint Lucia. Both islands were French colonies prior to British rule. Although French was used for governance in Dominica before the conclusion of the Seven Years' War in 1763, it is no longer widely employed. I therefore classify English as the *de facto* national language and Saint Lucian Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period from 1978 to 2014, aligning with the assessment of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Dominica*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/DM/ (visited on 13/02/2025).

[2] *Lesser Antillean French Creole*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 28th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2025. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/acf/ (visited on 23/02/2025).

[3] Paul B. Garrett. 'An "English Creole" That Isn 't: On the Sociohistorical Origins and Linguistic Classification of the Vernacular English in St. Lucia'. In: *Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean*. Ed. by Michael Aceto and Jeffrey P. Williams. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2008, pp. 155–210. ISBN: 978-90-272-9650-4. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1075/veaw.g30.11gar/html (visited on 29/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Dominique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/Dominique.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Dominique | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/Dominique-lois_div.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

[6] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

055: Grenada

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1974-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1974-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Grenadian Creole	1974-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Grenada. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this, noting that, like other island states in the anglophone Caribbean, Grenada lacks a *de jure* language policy. Similar to the constitutions of several neighbouring countries, Grenada's 1978 constitution requires that any person under arrest be informed of the reasons for their detention 'in a language that he understands.' Additionally, the ability to read English is a prerequisite for becoming a national lawmaker. Despite these provisions, however, the constitution does not formally designate a state language.

Devonish (1986) observes that, in contrast to former French colonies in the region, language did not emerge as a central issue in the anticolonial struggles of the Commonwealth Caribbean. In Grenada, as in many neighbouring states, Creole is often regarded as a form of 'bad English' unsuited to official functions. This has given rise to a situation of diglossia, with Creole largely confined to informal spoken communication and the private sphere. Devonish (1986: 24) writes:

> 'On the attainment of political independence, English became the sole official language of the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean. The diglossia involving, on one hand, Creole as the language of everyday informal interaction for the mass of the population, and English as the written, public-formal, and official language, on the other, continued. The new political elite, with a command of English not possessed by the Creole-speaking mass of the population, were and continue to be beneficiaries of the prevailing official language policies.'

In Grenada, Grenadian English Creole functions as the *lingua franca* for the general population. An unwritten language, it is the *de facto* language of national identity, according to the Ethnologue, and is used daily alongside its lexifier language, English. As a result, it is difficult to accurately assess the number of Creole and English speakers. For its part, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* refers to this language as 'Grenadian English' and estimates that 95 percent of Grenadians speak it as their mother tongue. Only a small minority of Grenadians of White British stock speak English as their first language. Thus, I classify English as the *de*

facto national language and Grenadian Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period from 1974 to 2014.

References

[1] Hubert Devonish. 'The Decay of Neo-Colonial Official Language Policies: The Case of the English-lexicon Creoles of the Commonwealth Caribbean'. In: *Focus on the Caribbean*. Ed. by Manfred Görlach and John A. Holm. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1986, pp. 23–51. ISBN: 978-90-272-4866-4. URL: https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ZSkuSGKi-tAC&oi=fnd&pg=PA23&dq=trinidad+creole+language+policy&ots=qlBCBkLo65&sig=iURWJ7x1QvQz_2e-ZTFH_JGQf_M&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=trinidad%20creole%20language%20policy&f=false (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *Grenada*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GD/ (visited on 14/02/2025).

[3] *Grenadian English Creole*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 28th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2025. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/gcl/ (visited on 23/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *La Grenade*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/grenade.htm (visited on 14/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *La Grenade | Lois à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/grenade-lois.htm (visited on 23/02/2025).

056: Saint Lucia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1979-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1979-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national
Saint Lucian Creole	1979-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue classifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Saint Lucia. Although Article 25 of the 1979 constitution mandates that prospective lawmakers be able to read English, the document contains no further provisions establishing a state language. Nevertheless, English is *de facto* employed for official functions, business, education, and media, a legacy of the island's British colonial past. Alongside English, Saint Lucia Creole is widely spoken. As St Hilaire (2007: 520) summarises:

> 'English is the island's sole official language. However, the French-lexicon creole, Kweyol (Patois), is widely spoken throughout the island and, since national independence, has become the most readily recognisable symbol of St Lucian identity. Indeed, Kweyol may now be considered the unofficial national language of St Lucia and nothing else identifies someone as being St Lucian as clearly as the ability to speak Kweyol (Frank, 1993). The rise of Kweyol cultural nationalism in St Lucia has altered the status quo of the historically stigmatised language, with implications for its long-term viability⋯'

The Ethnologue accordingly categorises Saint Lucian Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity. Like Dominica, Saint Lucia was ceded to Britain by France and lies in close proximity to the French overseas departments of Guadeloupe and Martinique. While French is no longer widely spoken, Saint Lucian Creole remains the principal language of the home and community.

Following independence, the country's first post-colonial government sought to 'remove the historic institutional biases' against Creole; however, this policy was short-lived under the subsequent administration. Despite English maintaining dominance in official and state affairs, St Hilaire (2007: 533) argues that 'pro-Kweyol advocates have successfully pushed for the elevation of the language as a symbol of St Lucian national identity.'I thus code English as the *de facto* national language and Saint Lucian Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period from 1979 to 2014, aligning with St Hilaire's analysis as well as the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Lesser Antillean French Creole*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 28th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2025. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/acf/ (visited on 23/02/2025).

[2] *Saint Lucia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LC/ (visited on 14/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Sainte-Lucie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/Ste-Lucie.htm (visited on 14/02/2025).

[4] Aonghas St. Hilaire. 'National Development and the Language Planning Challenge in St Lucia, West Indies'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 28.6 (2007). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 519–536. ISSN: 0143-4632. URL: https://doi.org/10.2167/jmmd531.0 (visited on 22/02/2025).

057: Saint Vincent and the Grenadines

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1979-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1979-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national
Vincentian Creole	1979-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue designates English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes that, as with much of the Commonwealth Caribbean, the state has maintained a hands-off approach to linguistic affairs. The 1979 constitution includes several provisions requiring that individuals under arrest or detention be informed of the reasons in a language they understand, but it does not designate a state language. Laws pertaining to specific domains, such as business and finance, stipulate that certain documents must be written in English or accompanied by a certified translation. Despite these legal frameworks, English's status as the national language remains *de facto*.

Devonish (1986) notes that, unlike in former French colonies in the region, language did not play a central role in the anticolonial movements of the Commonwealth Caribbean. As in many neighbouring states, Creole is often perceived as a form of 'bad English,' unsuited for official functions. This has led to a diglossic situation, where Creole is predominantly relegated to informal spoken communication and the private sphere. As Devonish (1986: 24) writes:

> 'On the attainment of political independence, English became the sole official language of the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean. The diglossia involving, on one hand, Creole as the language of everyday informal interaction for the mass of the population, and English as the written, public-formal, and official language, on the other, continued. The new political elite, with a command of English not possessed by the Creole-speaking mass of the population, were and continue to be beneficiaries of the prevailing official language policies.'

The dominant creole spoken in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines is Vincentian Creole, an English-based creole that emerged from the language of enslaved Africans on island plantations. The islands were contested between Britain and France several times during the eighteenth century before being permanently ceded to Britain in 1763. Prescod and Fraser (2015) note that, despite French being predominant on the island prior to 1763, its influences have largely disappeared from Vincentian Creole.

According to both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Vincentian Creole is the *de facto* language of national identity. It derives most of its grammatical structure from English and is widely spoken by the vast majority of the population, who are bilingual in English and Creole. In light of this, I code English as the *de facto* national language and Vincentian Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire duration from 1979 to 2014.

References

[1] Michael Aceto. 'Eastern Caribbean English-Derived Language Varieties: Morphology and Syntax'. In: *A Handbook of Varieties of English*. Ed. by Bernd Kortmann and Edgar W. Schneider. De Gruyter, 2020, pp. 1631–1645. ISBN: 978-3-11-019718-1. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110197181-103/html (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] Hubert Devonish. 'The Decay of Neo-Colonial Official Language Policies: The Case of the English-lexicon Creoles of the Commonwealth Caribbean'. In: *Focus on the Caribbean*. Ed. by Manfred Görlach and John A. Holm. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1986, pp. 23–51. ISBN: 978-90-272-4866-4. URL: https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ZSkuSGKi-tAC&oi=fnd&pg=PA23&dq=trinidad+creole+language+policy&ots=qlBCBkLo65&sig=iURWJ7x1QvQz_2e-ZTFH_JGQf_M&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=trinidad%20creole%20language%20policy&f=false (visited on 29/03/2025).

[3] *Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/VC/ (visited on 13/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Saint-Vincent-et-les-Grenadines*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/St-Vincent-Grenadines.htm (visited on 14/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Saint-Vincent-et-les-Grenadines | Lois à portée linguistique*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/St-Vincent-Grenadines-lois.htm (visited on 23/02/2025).

[6] Paula Prescod and Adrian Fraser. 'Sociohistorical and Linguistic Account of St Vincent and the Grenadines'. In: *Language Issues in Saint Vincent and the Grenadines*. Ed. by Paula Prescod. Vol. G51. Varieties of English Around the World. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015, pp. 1–44. ISBN: 978-90-272-4911-1 978-90-272-6900-3. URL: https://benjamins.com/catalog/veaw.g51.01pre (visited on 29/03/2025).

058: Antigua and Barbuda

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1981-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1981-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national
Leeward Caribbean Creole	1981-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Antigua and Barbuda. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates that the country has largely refrained from intervening in the colonial-era linguistic practices since its independence. Although the 1981 constitution contains provisions requiring legislators to be able to read English and mandates that individuals under arrest be informed of the reason 'in a language [they] understand,' it, like the constitutions of many other Anglophone Caribbean states, does not formally define a national language.

Devonish (1986) observes that, unlike in former French colonies of the region, language did not become a central issue in the anticolonial struggles of the Commonwealth Caribbean. In Antigua and Barbuda, as in many neighbouring states, Creole is often viewed as a form of 'bad English,' unsuitable for official functions. As a result, a diglossic situation exists, with Creole predominantly confined to informal spoken communication and the private sphere. As Devonish (1986: 24) explains:

> 'On the attainment of political independence, English became the sole official language of the countries of the Commonwealth Caribbean. The diglossia involving, on one hand, Creole as the language of everyday informal interaction for the mass of the population, and English as the written, public-formal, and official language, on the other, continued. The new political elite, with a command of English not possessed by the Creole-speaking mass of the population, were and continue to be beneficiaries of the prevailing official language policies.'

In Antigua and Barbuda, the primary English-lexified creole is Leeward Caribbean Creole, which the Ethnologue categorises as the *de facto* national language of national identity. Antiguan Creole and Barbuda Creole are considered dialects of this language, and Aceto (2002) notes similarities with other creoles spoken on neighbouring islands such as Saint Kitts. Like many other Caribbean nations, Creole is widely used in everyday life, particularly within the home and community.

Therefore, I classify English as the *de facto* national language and Leeward Carib-

bean Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period from 1981 to 2014.

References

[1] Hubert Devonish. 'The Decay of Neo-Colonial Official Language Policies: The Case of the English-lexicon Creoles of the Commonwealth Caribbean'. In: *Focus on the Caribbean*. Ed. by Manfred Görlach and John A. Holm. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 1986, pp. 23–51. ISBN: 978-90-272-4866-4. URL: https://books.google.co.uk/books?hl=en&lr=&id=ZSkuSGKi-tAC&oi=fnd&pg=PA23&dq=trinidad+creole+language+policy&ots=qlBCBkLo65&sig=iURWJ7x1QvQz_2e-ZTFH_JGQf_M&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q=trinidad%20creole%20language%20policy&f=false (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *Antigua and Barbuda*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AG/ (visited on 13/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Antigua-et-Barbuda*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/antigua-barbuda.htm (visited on 14/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Antigua-et-Barbuda / Lois à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/antigua-barbuda-lois.htm (visited on 23/02/2025).

060: Saint Kitts and Nevis

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1983-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1983-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the only principal language and the *de facto* national language of Saint Kitts and Nevis. Much like its Caribbean neighbours, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes that post-independence Saint Kitts and Nevis has seldom intervened in the linguistic legacy inherited from the colonial era. Although some laws in the areas of shipping, business, insurance, and finance stipulate that documents must be prepared in or translated into English, the 1983 constitution does not formally define a state language.

Unlike other Anglophone Caribbean states, the Ethnologue does not classify a *de facto* language of national identity in Saint Kitts and Nevis. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that Saint Kitts was the first Caribbean island to be colonised by both the French and the British, possibly making it the cradle of the Caribbean Creoles. However, its independence in 1983 is far removed from this era. Schmalz (2021) observes that attitudes towards Creole remain particularly negative in Saint Kitts, partly due to the small population, which complicates the systematic introduction of Creole into education. Accordingly, I align my judgement with the Ethnologue, coding only English as the *de facto* national language for the period from 1983 to 2014.

References

[1] *Saint Kitts and Nevis*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KN/` (visited on 13/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Saint-Christophe-et-Niévès*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/st-kitts-nevis.htm` (visited on 14/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Saint-Christophe-et-Niévès | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/st-kitts-nevis-lois.htm` (visited on 23/02/2025).

[4] Mirjam Schmalz. 'Language Attitudes in St. Kitts: Changing Norms of English and Creole in a Caribbean Community'. ZORA (Zurich Open Repository and Archive). PhD thesis. Zurich: University of Zurich, 2021. 244 pp. URL: https://www.zora.uzh.ch/id/eprint/205343/1/Schmalz_Mirjam_Dissertation.pdf.

070: Mexico

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the only principal language and the *de facto* national language of Mexico. Though the Mexican constitution of 1917 recognises the rights of indigenous communities and peoples to 'preserve and enrich their languages,' it declines to name them specifically. With no viable competitors, Spanish is the only language that predominates nationwide.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde notes an abortive 1981 attempt to constitutionally define Spanish an 'official language,' partially to counteract the perceived encroachment of English in Mexico. However, the proposal faced backlash from those who feared that such an amendment would disadvantage indigenous Mexican languages. The *Comisión para la Defensa del Idioma Español* responsible for the proposal was dissolved in 1983.

Article 4 of the 2003 *Ley General de Derechos Lingüísticos de los Pueblos Indígenas* stipulates: 'Las lenguas indígenas que se reconozcan en los términos de la presente Ley y el español son lenguas nacionales por su origen histórico, y tienen la misma validez en su territorio, localización y contexto en que se hablen.' However, neither *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* nor the Ethnologue consider this to confer statutory institutional status upon Spanish or any other Mexican language. I therefore code Spanish as the sole *de facto* national language for the entire relevant period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Mexico*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MX/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Mexique | (1) Présentation générale: données géo-démolinguistiques et historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/mexique-1demolng.htm (visited on 23/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Mexique / (2) La politique linguistique à l'égard de l'espagnol*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/mexique-2espagnol.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Mexique / Constitution politique des États-Unis du Mexique, 2024*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/mexique-2espagnol.htm (visited on 23/02/2025).

[5] Roland Terborg, Laura García Landa and Pauline Moore. 'The Language Situation in Mexico'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 7.4 (2006). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 415–518. ISSN: 1466-4208. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2167/cilp109.0 (visited on 20/03/2025).

080: Belize

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1981-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1981-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Spanish	1981-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Belize, where it functions as the language of official government documents, laws, contracts, signage, and so forth, as noted by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. However, the 1981 constitution does not explicitly designate English as the state language. I code English as the *de facto* national language for the entire coding period from 1981 to 2014.

In addition to English, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes that Spanish and Belize Creole are occasionally used in interactions with the government. The former serves as a second language in education, due to Belize's proximity to the Hispanophone world, while the latter, according to the Ethnologue, '[d]eveloped and grew between 1650 and 1930 as a result of the slave trade.' Though the Ethnologue classifies Spanish and Belize Creole as languages in use for the purposes of wider communication, neither is deemed to hold institutional status.

I do not code Belize Creole, as it has never enjoyed national-level institutional status in any country. I employ a placeholder code for Spanish, reflecting its widespread use throughout the region. There is no indication that Spanish had greater prevalence at any previous point during the coding period, and thus I maintain the placeholder code for the entire duration from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Belize*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BZ/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] *Belize English Creole*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/bzj/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Belize*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/Belize.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Cristina Mudarra Sánchez. 'El Español en Belice'. In: *Enciclopedia del Español en el Mundo*. Vol. 2006-2007. Anuario del Instituto Cervantes. Madrid: Instituto Cervantes, 2006. ISBN: 978-84-692-0833-5. URL: https://cvc.cervantes.es/LENGUA/ANUARIO/ANUARIO_06-07/pdf/paises_42.pdf (visited on 23/02/2025).

[5] Britta Schneider. 'The Multiplex Symbolic Functions of Spanish in Multilingual Belize'. In: *When Creole and Spanish Collide*. Caribbean Series 39. Section: When Creole and Spanish Collide. Leiden: Brill, 2021, pp. 253–276. ISBN: 978-90-04-46015-7. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004460157/BP000023.xml (visited on 23/02/2025).

090: Guatemala

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Guatemala, as stipulated by Article 143 of the 1985 constitution. The text of the article is as follows:

> Artículo 143. Idioma oficial. [1985]
>
> El idioma oficial de Guatemala es el español. Las lenguas vernáculas, forman parte del patrimonio cultural de la Nación.

This, however, is not the first such constitutional provision during the coding period. Articles 4 of the 1945 constitution, 5 of the 1956 constitution, and 4 of the 1965 constitution all define Spanish as the official language. The rapid succession of new constitutions reflects a series of coups and counter-coups in mid-twentieth-century Guatemala.

> Artículo 4. [1945]
>
> El idioma oficial de la República, es el español.

Thought the Ethnologue lists several indigenous languages as 'recognised languages,' Spanish has clearly remained the sole language of government throughout Guatemala's modern history. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that the 2003 *Ley de Idiomas Nacionales* represented a step forward in the recognition of specific indigenous languages. The first article states:

> Artículo 1. Idiomas nacionales. [2003]
>
> El idioma oficial de Guatemala es el español. El Estado reconoce, promueve y respeta los idiomas de los pueblos Mayas, Garífuna y Xinka.

However, no indigenous language is substantively used for national-level governance. Despite being named in the 2003 constitution, Maya, Garifuna, and Xinca are not identified by the Ethnologue as having institutional status, either in Guatemala or elsewhere. I thus code only Spanish as a statutory national language from 1945 to 2014 on the basis of the 1945, 1956, 1965, and 1985 constitutions, aligning with the assessment of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Constitución de la República de Guatemala Decretada por la Asamblea Constituyente en 11 Marzo de 1945*. Juridical Archives, National Autonomous University of Mexico. 1945. URL: https://archivos.juridicas.unam.mx/www/bjv/libros/5/2210/24.pdf (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala, 1956*. 2nd Printing. Vol. 1. LLMC Digital. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1960. 1-53. URL: https://llmc-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/docDisplay5.aspx?set=61894&volume=0001&part=001 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala, 1961*. Vol. 1. LLMC Digital. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1966. 1-58. URL: https://llmc-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/docDisplay5.aspx?set=61895&volume=0001&part=001 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[4] *Guatemala*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GT/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Guatemala*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/guatemala.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Guatemala | Constitution de 1993 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/guatemala-const.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Guatemala | Loi sur les langues nationales (Ley de Idiomas Nacionales) (2003)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/guatemala-loi-LNG-2003.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

091: Honduras

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-1956	X	D: *De facto* national
	1957-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Honduras, grounding its *de jure* official status in Article 6 of the 1985 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* similarly references the 1965 constitution. Both sources, however, overlook the 1957 constitution, the first to unequivocally declare Spanish as the official language.[2]

> Artículo 14. [1957]
>
> El idioma oficial de la República es el español.

Adding to this declaration, further provisions in Article 12 of the 1965 constitution and Article 6 of the 1982 constitution stipulate that *'El Estado protegerá su pureza e incrementará su enseñanza'*. Prior to 1957, Spanish, though not formally declared in the constitution, was nonetheless the exclusive language used in national-level governance. The Ethnologue lists no other languages with institutional status at the national level. Accordingly, I classify Spanish as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1956 and as a statutory national language from 1957 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitución de Honduras de 1936*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(728.4). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc0w084 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución de Honduras de 1965*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(728.4). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcjq2t5 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Constitución de Honduras de 1965*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(728.4). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc0w084 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] The 1936 constitution makes no such provision.

[4] *Honduras*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/HN/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Juan C. Godenzzi and Inge Sichra. 'Language Policy and Planning: Latin America'. In: *The Routledge Handbook of Hispanic Applied Linguistics*. 1st Edition. Num Pages: 18. New York: Routledge, 2014, pp. 606–623. ISBN: 978-1-315-88272-7. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315882727-47/language-policy-planning-latin-america-juan-godenzzi-inge-sichra.

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Honduras*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/honduras.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

092: El Salvador

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-1949	X	D: *De facto* national
	1950-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of El Salvador. Both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cite Article 62 of the 1983 constitution as the basis for Spanish's *de jure* status as the state language. However, a comparable provision may also be found in the constitutions of 1950, 1962, and 1982.[3]

> Artículo 10. [1950]
>
> El idioma oficial de la República es el castellano. El Gobierno está obligado a velar por su conservación y enseñanza.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde observes that, throughout the relevant period, Spanish has consistently been employed to the exclusion of other languages at all levels of government. Domain-specific laws from the first decade of the twenty-first century, governing commerce, consumer protection, labour, civil procedure, and related areas, mandate that all documentation be produced in Castilian Spanish. A review of Salvadoran history suggests that Spanish has served as the language of government since the country's independence in 1821.

Accordingly, I categorise Spanish as a *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1949 and as a statutory national language from 1950 to 2014, in alignment with the provisions of the 1950 constitution and coinciding with the present assessment of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Constitución Política de la República de El Salvador de 1939*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(728.4). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc932n8 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución Política de la República de El Salvador de 1950*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(728.4). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc5b1x8 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] The constitution of 1939 contains no such provision.

[3] *Constitución Política de la República de El Salvador de 1962*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(728.4). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: `https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcwt0k5` (visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] *El Salvador*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SV/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Salvador*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/salvador.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Salvador | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/salvador-lois-div.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

093: Nicaragua

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Nicaragua, citing Article 11 of the 1987 constitution. However, this is not the first instance of a basic law defining Spanish as the language of the state. Article 7 of the 1939 constitution, the earliest in force during the coding period, declared Spanish the official language of the Republic.

> Artículo 7. [1939]
>
> Es español es el idioma oficial de la República.

This provision is repeated almost verbatim in Article 5 of the 1948 constitution, Article 7 of the 1950 constitution, and Article 6 of the 1974 constitution. Although the 1974 constitution additionally designated Spanish as a 'national' language, Article 11 of the 1987 constitution omits this title. The 1987 document further stipulates that the languages of the Atlantic Coast communities are to be used officially 'in cases determined by the law.' The 1993 *Ley de Uso Oficial de las Lenguas de las Comunidades de la Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua* defines the scope of these cases, but opens with an article reaffirming the primacy of Spanish in Nicaragua.

> Artículo 1 [1993]
>
> El español es el idioma oficial del Estado. Las lenguas de las comunidades de la Costa Atlántica de Nicaragua serán de uso oficial en las Regiones Autónomas, en los casos que establezca la presente Ley.

In practice, Spanish has always been the sole language used for national-level governance, regardless of constitutional linguistic policy. The Ethnologue lists no other languages with institutional-level status, classifying Nicaragua English Creole merely as a 'recognised language' in widespread use. Accordingly, I code Spanish as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014, based on the successive constitutions dating back to 1939.

References

[1] *Constitución Política de Nicaragua 1939*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1939.

URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1288 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *CONSTITUCIÓN POLÍTICA DE NICARAGUA. Aprobada el 21 de Enero de 1948*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1948. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1300 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[3] *CONSTITUCIÓN POLÍTICA. Aprobado 01 de Noviembre de 1950*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1950. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1301 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[4] *CONSTITUCIÓN POLÍTICA. Aprobado el 14 de Marzo de 1974*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1974. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1302 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[5] *Nicaragua*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/NI/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | N: Namibie, Nauru, Népal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-N.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Nicaragua*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/nicaragua.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Nicaragua | Loi no 162 du 22 juin 1993. Loi sur l'usage officiel des langues dans les communautés de la Côte atlantique du Nicaragua*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/nicaragua-loi-ling-1993.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

094: Costa Rica

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-1974	X	D: *De facto* national
	1975-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and statutory national language of Costa Rica. Both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cite Article 76 of the 1949 constitution as declaring it the state language. However, the original article did not define Spanish as the official language until it was amended in 1975 by the *Ley Nº. 5703 de 6 de junio de 1975*.

> Artículo 76. [1975]
>
> El español es el idioma oficial de la Nación.

Unlike many of its Central American neighbours, Costa Rica has long maintained a well-defined language policy promoting the use of Spanish, a policy partly shaped by the historical influence of the United Fruit Company and the prominent role of English in the region. In addition to the amended Article 76 of the constitution, the *Ley de Defensa del Idioma Español y Lenguas Aborígenes Costarricenses* of 29 August 1996 represents a rare instance of Latin American language law, mandating the use of Spanish in public administration.

> Art. 4. Uso obligatorio del español [1996]
>
> Las normas prosódicas, ortográficas y gramaticales de la lengua española serán de uso obligatorio en la Administración Pública, la cual deberá prever el asesoramiento y los mecanismos necesarios para cumplir con esta disposición.
>
> Art. 5. Creación de la Comisión Nacional para la Defensa del Idioma
>
> 1) Para proteger el idioma español, créase la Comisión Nacional para la Defensa del Idioma, como órgano de desconcentración máxima, adscrito al Ministerio de Cultura, Juventud y Deportes···
>
> ...

Prior to these pieces of linguistic legislation, the 1871 constitution did not formally define a language of the state. Nevertheless, all available evidence suggests that Spanish has been the exclusive language of national government throughout Costa

Rica's history. While separate legislation exists to protect indigenous languages, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that practical challenges have impeded the effective implementation of these measures. The Ethnologue corroborates this, identifying no indigenous languages with institutional status. I thus code Spanish as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1974 and as the statutory national language from 1975 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitución Política de Costa Rica con los textos vigentes hoy*. 1st ed. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. San José: Imprenta y Librería Alsina / Sauter, Srías & Co., 1929. 35 pp. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1418 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución Política de la República de Costa Rica de 1949*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(728.6). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/constituciones_hispanoamericanas/obra/constitucion-politica-de-la-republica-de-costa-rica-de-1949/ (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of the Republic of Costa Rica, 1949*. 1st ed. HathiTrust. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1961. 36 pp. URL: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39076006012343&view=1up&seq=43&skin=2021 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[4] *Costa Rica*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CR/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | C: Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, Cap-Vert, Centrafrique, Chili, Chine, Chypre du Nord (grecque), Chypre du Sud (turque), Colombie, Comores, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Corée du Nord, Corée du Sud, Costa Rica, Côte d' Ivoire, Croatie, Cuba*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-C.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Costa Rica*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/costa_rica.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

095: Panama

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and statutory national language of Panama. Both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cite Article 7 of the 1972 constitution as conferring *de jure* status upon Spanish as the state language. However, this overlooks the 1941 constitution, the first of Panama's modern constitutions.

> Artículo 10. [1941]
>
> El Castellano es el idioma oficial de la República. Es función del Estado velar por su pureza, conservación y enseñanza en todo el país.

Moreover, Article 7 of the 1972 constitution, as cited by the Ethnologue, is in fact already present, verbatim, in the 1946 constitution.

> Artículo 7. [1946]
>
> El español es el idioma oficial de la República.

The linguistic history of modern Panama is intricately linked to American intervention, most notably through the use of English in the construction and administration of the Panama Canal. Nevertheless, domain-specific legislation mandates the use of Spanish for certain procedures and documentation in areas such as justice, commerce, and finance. Furthermore, de Ricord (2015) observes that, while Panamanian elites may hold English in high regard as a commercial language, the majority of the population adopts anglicisms only after they have been fully integrated into the Spanish lexicon.

The Ethnologue does not indicate that English is holds institutional status. In addition, while laws exist to protect and promote indigenous languages, Spanish remains the accepted unifying language of the nation, with no viable linguistic rival in sight. Given this, and considering the successive constitutions which have declared it the official language of the state, I code only Spanish as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitución de la República de Panamá (1946) con Indicé Alfabético*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. Panama: The All Constitutions Project, University

Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company, 1941. 1-110. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=393 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución de la República de Panamá [Texto impreso]*. Biblioteca National de Espana. Panama: Imprenta Nacional, Panama [Biblioteca National de Espana], 1941. 1-46. URL: http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000101813&page=6 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] Elsie Alvarado De Ricord. 'The impact of English in Panama'. In: *WORD* 33.1 (1982), pp. 97–107. ISSN: 0043-7956, 2373-5112. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00437956.1982.11435725 (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] *Panama*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/PA/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Panama*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/panama.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Panama | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/panama-lois-div.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

100: Colombia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-1959	X	D: *De facto* national
	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and statutory national language of Colombia, citing Article 10 of the 1991 constitution. However, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* highlights several earlier legislative acts that granted *de jure* status to Spanish as the state language. Notably, Article 1 of the comprehensive 1960 language law, titled *Ley número 2 de 1960 de 6 de agosto por el cual se decretan algunas medidas que destinan a la defensa del idioma de la patria*, mandates that almost all public and most private documents be written in 'the national language.'

Decree no. 189 of 1964 further clarifies that Spanish is the 'national language' referenced in the 1960 law, additionally naming it the 'official language.' This decree goes so far as to prohibit foreign grammatical constructions in Spanish.

> Artículo 1. [1964]
>
> El uso correcto de la lengua española, que es la oficial y nacional y cuya defensa se propone la Ley 2 de 1960, proscribe no solamente el empleo de voces o palabras en idioma extranjero, en los documentos y casos a que dicha Ley se refiere, sino el de construcciones gramaticales ajenas a la índole de la lengua española.
>
> Esta regla no impide que dentro del texto español se incluyan entre paréntesis vocablos o expresiones en otro idioma como citas o por vía de ejemplo o cuando por no haber un término equivalente exacto, se haga indispensable la palabra extranjera.

Subsequent legislation in 1979 and 1980 updated the laws of 1960 and 1964, respectively, and established a Colombian Academy to regulate spelling and grammar for Colombian Spanish. A historical overview makes it abundantly clear that Spanish functioned as the *de facto* national language throughout the entire relevant period prior to the comprehensive linguistic legislation issued in 1960.

Much like neighbouring Panama, the early twentieth-century history of Colombia is characterised by American interference. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* suggests that Colombian language legislation was introduced in part to counter the growing dominance of English, the only language capable of challenging Spanish. Despite the existence of laws protecting indigenous languages, the Ethnologue

catalogues no indigenous language with institutional status at the national level. Accordingly, I code only Spanish, first as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1959 and then as the statutory national language from 1960 to 2014.

References

[1] *Colombia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CO/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Colombie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/colombie.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Décret no 2744 du 14 octobre 1980 au moyen duquel la défense de la langue espagnole est rétablie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/colombie_decret2744-89.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Loi 14 du 5 mars 1979 par laquelle la défense de la langue espagnole est rétablie et l'autorisation à l'Académie colombienne de la langue est accordée*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/colombie_decret189-1964.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Loi en faveur de la langue espagnole en Colombie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/colombie_loi60.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Réglementation de la loi sur la défense de la langue : Décret n° 189 de 1964*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/colombie_decret189-1964.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

101: Venezuela

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-1960	X	D: *De facto* national
	1961-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and statutory national language of Venezuela. Both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cite Article 9 of the 1999 constitution as conferring *de jure* status upon Spanish. However, this overlooks Article 6 of the earlier 1961 constitution, which unequivocally declares Spanish the official language of the state.

> Artículo 6. [1961]
>
> El idioma oficial es el castellano.

This provision marks the first such declaration during the coding period, as the constitutions of 1945, 1947, and 1953 make no reference to language. The 1961 constitution remained in force until being rewritten in 1999. That constitution, still in effect, not only reiterates Spanish's status as the state language but also recognises indigenous languages, introducing a measure of linguistic pluralism.

> Artículo 9. [1999]
>
> El idioma oficial es el castellano. Los idiomas indígenas también son de uso oficial para los pueblos indígenas y deben ser respetados en todo el territorio de la República, por constituir patrimonio cultural de la Nación y de la humanidad.

It is crucial to note, however, that the text remains clear in its affirmation of Spanish as *the* state language. The indigenous languages, while meant 'to be respected throughout the territory of the Republic,' are only recognised as being 'in official use for indigenous peoples,' underscoring their secondary status in comparison to Spanish. An overview of Venezuelan history further affirms that Spanish has long been regarded as the national language by Venezuelans themselves and has consistently served as the language of state governance.

Thus, I code Spanish first as a *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1960, and subsequently as a statutory national language from 1961 to 2014. This approach aligns with the current Ethnologue and accurately reflects the provisions set forth in the constitutions of 1961 and 1999.

References

[1] *Constituciones de Venezuela –Constitución de 1945*. Publisher: Centro para la Integración y el Derecho Público (CIDEP). Constituciones de Venezuela, CIDEP. 2024. URL: https://cidep.online/files/constituciones/1945.pdf (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constituciones de Venezuela –Constitución de 1947*. Publisher: Centro para la Integración y el Derecho Público (CIDEP). Constituciones de Venezuela, CIDEP. 2024. URL: https://cidep.online/files/constituciones/1947.pdf (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Constituciones de Venezuela –Constitución de 1953*. Publisher: Centro para la Integración y el Derecho Público (CIDEP). Constituciones de Venezuela, CIDEP. 2024. URL: https://cidep.online/files/constituciones/1953.pdf (visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] *Constituciones de Venezuela –Constitución de 1961*. Publisher: Centro para la Integración y el Derecho Público (CIDEP). Constituciones de Venezuela, CIDEP. 2024. URL: https://cidep.online/files/constituciones/1961.pdf (visited on 12/03/2025).

[5] *Venezuela*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/VE/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Venezuela | (1) Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/venezuela-1.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Venezuela | (2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/venezuela-2.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Venezuela | (3) La politique de valorisation de l'espagnol*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/venezuela-3.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Venezuela | Constitution de 1999*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/venezuela-constitution-1999.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

110: Guyana

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1966-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1966-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national
Guyanese Creole	1966-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Guyana. This assessment is corroborated by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, which observes that Guyanese language policy has not aimed to supplant the colonial language. The 1980 constitution mandates that legislators possess the ability to read English, though it does not explicitly declare it the state language. A series of subsequent laws, regulating domains such as commerce and judicial procedure, further entrench English as the dominant language.

Nonetheless, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* asserts that '[l]' anglais, en tant que langue officielle, demeure la seconde langue d'importance après le créole guyanais.' Though precise data on speaker numbers remain elusive, both *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* and the Ethnologue acknowledge Guyanese Creole as the mother tongue of the majority of the Guyanese populace. The Ethnologue classifies it as the *de facto* language of national identity, a status it has held since Guyana's independence from the United Kingdom in 1966.

In light of the above, I align with the Ethnologue's classification and extend the coding of English as the *de facto* national language and Guyanese Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity to cover the entire period from 1966 to 2014.

References

[1] *Guyana*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GY/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Guyana*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/Guyana.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Guyana / Lois à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/Guyana-lois.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

115: Suriname

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1975-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Dutch	1975-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Sranan Tongo	1975-2014	N	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Dutch and Sranan Tongo as the two principal languages of Suriname, classifying Dutch as the *de facto* national language. While various pieces of legacy colonial-era legislation require the use of Dutch in certain domains, the constitution of 1987 does not explicitly designate it the language of the state. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* similarly notes the absence of comprehensive linguistic legislation, observing that a proposed 2011 language law never materialised into enacted policy.

Despite this constitutional and legislative silence, Dutch has been consistently employed in the workings of national government and is widely regarded as emblematic of Surinamese national identity. Gobardham-Rambocus (2008: 11) remarks that 'after Independence (1975), the status of Dutch was consolidated and Dutch has become more and more Suriname's own language. Alongside Sranan, Dutch has also acquired a unifying function and consequently is also spoken in informal situations. Before 1975, this was only the case with Sranan and other mother tongues.'

Sranan Tongo, often referred to simply as 'Sranan,' is identified by the Ethnologue as the *de facto* national working language. Though spoken natively by less than a plurality of the population, it has long functioned as a *lingua franca* in Suriname. Developed by enslaved Africans in the early eighteenth century, it achieved status as a trade language as early as 1725. The persistence of slavery until 1865 and the country's enduring multi-ethnic composition have ensured the continued salience of Sranan Tongo in interethnic communication. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* affirms that its status as a national working language owes less to demographic dominance than to its practical role in everyday life.

Based on the above, I code Dutch as the *de facto* national language and Sranan Tongo as the *de facto* national working language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Sranan Tongo*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL

International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/srn/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] *Suriname*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SR/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Lila Gobardham-Rambocus. 'The Status of the Dutch Language in Suriname'. In: *Dutch Crossing* 32.1 (2008), pp. 3–14. ISSN: 0309-6564, 1759-7854. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03096564.2008.11730907 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Surinam / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/surinam-lois.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Suriname*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/surinam.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

130: Ecuador

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Ecuador, citing Article 2 of the 2008 constitution. *L'Aménagement linguistique dans le monde* likewise references a similar provision in the 1998 constitution, yet the earliest constitutional articulation of Spanish as the official language dates to Article 5 of the 1945 constitution.

> Artículo 5. [1945]
>
> El castellano es el idioma oficial de la República. Se reconocen el quechua y demás lenguas aborígenes como elementos de la cultura nacional.

This provision not only establishes Spanish as the official language of the Republic but also accords cultural recognition to Quechua and other indigenous languages, describing them as 'elements of national culture.' However, the 1945 constitution proved short-lived. In 1946, a new constitutional text retained the official status of Spanish but omitted any reference to indigenous languages.

> Artículo 7. [1946]
>
> El idioma oficial de la República es el castellano. El Escudo, la Bandera y el Himno nacionales son los determinados por la Ley.

This unilingual formulation remained in force under the 1967 constitution. A period of political instability followed: General Guillermo Rodríguez Lara seized power in 1972 and reinstated the 1945 constitution, only to suspend it two years later. Another coup in 1976 led to Rodríguez Lara's ouster and the reinstatement of the 1945 text once more. A more durable and reformist 1979 constitution was subsequently adopted through referendum. It resurrected the language provision of 1945, restoring cultural recognition to Quechua and other aboriginal languages.

> Artículo 1. [1979]
>
> ...
>
> El idioma oficial es el castellano. Se reconocen el quichua y demás lenguas aborígenes como integrantes de la cultura nacional.
>
> ...

This verbiage was further preserved in the 2008 constitution, the current legal

framework. Although such texts afford symbolic recognition to indigenous languages, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* emphasises that these provisions enshrine a *de jure* linguistic hierarchy with Spanish firmly at its summit. Ecuador has no overarching language law; instead, the use of Spanish in certain procedures and official documentation is ensured through domain-specific regulations. As such, the state's approach to the language may be described as one of legislative minimalism or benign neglect.

Despite constitutional protections, the practical use of indigenous languages remains largely confined to their respective ethnolinguistic communities. The Ethnologue affirms this limitation, listing no indigenous language with institutional status at the national level. In light of this, I code Spanish as the sole statutory national language of Ecuador for the entire period from 1945 to 2014, taking into consideration the relevant provisions of the constitutions of 1945, 1946, 1967, 1979, and 2008.

References

[1] *Constitución de la República de Ecuador el 6 de marzo 1945*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(460). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2015. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc0g5k6 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución Política de la República de Ecuador el 25 de mayo 1967*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(866). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcr22t4 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Constitución Política de la República de Ecuador el 31 de diciembre 1946*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(460). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcvt3j5 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] *Constitucion Politica del Año 1979. Decreto Supremo 000, Registro Oficial 800 de 27 de Marzo de 1979.* Publisher: Observatorio de Reformas Políticas en América Latina. 1979. URL: https://reformaspoliticas.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/ecuadorconstitucion1979.pdf (visited on 12/03/2025).

[5] *Ecuador*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/EC/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Kendall A. King and Marleen Haboud. 'Language Planning and Policy in Ecuador'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 3.4 (2002), pp. 359–424. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664200208668046 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Équateur*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024.

URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/equateur.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Équateur | Constitution du 19 juillet 2008 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/equateur-const2008.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Équateur | Lois diverses (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/equateur-lois-diverses.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[10] *Political Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador of 1998, Ecuador. Constitución de 1998 (Decreto Legislativo No. 000. RO/ 1 de 11 de Agosto de 1998)*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database. 1998. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/legislation/details/1220 (visited on 24/02/2025).

135: Peru

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Quechua	1945-1971	N	-: Other notable usage
	1972-1974	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1975-1978	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
	1979-2014	N	-: Other notable usage
Spanish	1945-1974	X	D: *De facto* national
	1975-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Peru based on Article 48 of the 1993 constitution. However, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes a long series of linguistic legislation before this time, most significant among them the *Decreto Ley No. 21156 que reconoce el quechua como lengua oficial de la República* of 1975, also known as the *Ley de la Oficialización del Quechua*.

> Artículo 1º [1975]
>
> Reconócese el quechua, al igual que el castellano, como lengua oficial de la República.

The wording of the text establishes *ex post* that Spanish been the sole official language of the Republic prior to the passage of this legislation. Previous decades witnessed a series of coups and counter-coups punctuated by interregna. The declaration of Spanish as the official language of the Peruvian state is found in the later constitutions of 1979 and 1993 constitutions, but absent from the earlier 1933 constitution. Spanish is indisputably the national language today. Based on this history, I code Spanish as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1974 and as statutory national language from 1975 to 2014.

The Ethnologue divides the Quechua macrolanguage into specific varieties. Two of these (Ayacucho Quechua and Cusco Quechua) are classified as languages of wider communication, being used in bilingual education, textile-making, church, radio and television broadcasts, everyday communication, traditional Andean music, the arts, health services, agriculture, and animal husbandry. Nevertheless, the Ethnologue does not classify any variety of Quechua as having national-level institutional status.

Other sources note the brutal suppression of indigenous languages during Spanish colonial rule and a significant period post-independence. However, the military

government of Juan Velasco Alvarado began an Education Reform in 1972. This turned late-1960s-era grassroots revitalisation of Quechua into official state policy.

The National Policy of Bilingual Education of 1972 required Quechua-Spanish education in all areas of Peru where non-Spanish languages were spoken, and the 1975 *Ley de la Oficialización del Quechua* made it an official language alongside Spanish. Substantively, the 1975 law mandated Quechua instruction in all levels of education. It also required Quechua in judicial proceedings involving monolingual Quechua-speakers and established a Quechua commission to standardise and publicise vocabulary and grammar.

This language policy, however, provoked backlash from coastal elites of European descent, and Velasco was replaced later in 1975. A new 1979 constitution dismantled many of Velasco's linguistic reforms.

> Article 83. [1979]
>
> 1) Spanish is the official language of the Republic.
> 2) Quechua and Aymara are also for official use in the areas and the form that the law establishes.
> 3) The other aboriginal languages also integrate the cultural heritage of the nation.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde notes that this provision effectively demotes Quechua (and Aymara) to the status of regional languages. As well, the *de jure* status of Quechua and Aymara is qualified and conditional, unlike Spanish. Article 48 of the later 1993 constitution contains similar verbiage.

I thus code for Quechua as follows. Before 1972, I employ a placeholder code. From 1972 to 1974, I code Quechua as the *de facto* language of national identity, based on the relevant educational reforms under Velasco. From 1975 to 1978, I code Quechua as the *de jure* language of national identity on the basis of the 1975 legislation. From 1979 until 2014, I return to the placeholder code on the basis of the constitutions of 1979 and 1993. This aligns with the Ethnologue, which classifies Quechua as a 'recognised language' as a result of the backlash to Velasco's linguistic policies. I do not code for Aymara as it has never held institutional status in any other country.

References

[1] David Brisson. 'Quechua Education in Peru: The Theory-Context Mergence Approach'. Publisher: American University (Washington, D.C.) SIS Honors Capstone. Washington, D.C.: The American University, 2010. 48 pp. URL: `https://aura.american.edu/articles/educational_resource/Quechua_Education_in_Peru_The_Theory-Context_Mergence_Approach/23829780/1` (visited on 24/02/2025).

[2] *Constitución de 1 de julio de 1993*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(85). Alicante: Universidad de Alic-

ante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc3j584 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Constitución de 9 de abril de 1933*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(85). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcmg9h0 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] *Constitución política del Perú, 12 de julio 1979*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(85). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcbz816 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[5] *Peru*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/PE/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] *Quechua*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/que/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Gregory Paul Glasgow. 'Language Ideology, Policy and Planning in Peru'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 18.2 (2017), pp. 233–236. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2016.1194249 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[8] Nancy H. Hornberger. 'Language Planning Orientations and Bilingual Education in Peru'. In: *Language Problems and Language Planning* 12.1 (1988). Publisher: John Benjamins, pp. 14–29. ISSN: 0272-2690, 1569-9889. URL: https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/journals/10.1075/lplp.12.1.02hor (visited on 24/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | P: Pakistan, Palaos, Panama, Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée, Paraguay, Pays-Bas, Pérou, Philippines, Pologne, Portugal*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-P.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Pérou*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/perou.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Pérou | Décret-loi 21156 reconnaissant le quechua comme langue officielle de la République (27 mai 1975)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/perou-loi1975.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[12] *Nueva Constitución Política del Estado. Congreso Nacional, octubre 2008*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(84). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2015. URL: `https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcb29t3` (visited on 12/03/2025).

140: Brazil

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Portuguese	1945-1987	X	D: *De facto* national
	1988-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Portuguese as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Brazil based on Article 13 of the 1988 constitution.

> Artigo 13
>
> A língua portuguesa é o idioma oficial da República Federativa do Brasil.
> ...

This is the first such constitutional provision during the relevant period, as the constitutions of 1946, 1967, and 1969 all lack an equivalent. Although national administration had historically used Portuguese before 1988, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde. L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* argues that Article 13 is intended to safeguard Portuguese against the perceived encroachment of English. As an example, an unpublished draft law titled Bill of Law No. 1676/1999 in the State of Sao Paulo goes to extremes to affirm the use of Portuguese in almost all areas of public life.

> Artigo 1 [1999 (draft)]
>
> Nos termos do caput do artigo 13, e com base no caput, I, § 1º e § 4º do artigo 216 da Constituição Federal e caput, I, do artigo 260 da Constituição Estadual, a língua portuguesa:
>
> I - É o idioma oficial da República Federativa do Brasil e do Estado de São Paulo.
>
> II - É forma de expressão oral e escrita do povo brasileiro e paulista, tanto no padrão culto, como nos moldes populares.
>
> III - Constitui bem de natureza imaterial integrante do patrimônio cultural nacional e estadual.
>
> Parágrafo único
>
> Considerando o disposto no caput, I, II e III deste artigo, a língua portuguesa é um dos elementos da integração nacional e estadual, concorrendo, juntamente com outros fatores, para a definição da soberania do Brasil como nação.

...

Artigo 3

É obrigatório, no Estado, o uso da língua portuguesa, nos seguintes domínios sócio-culturais:

I - No ensino e na aprendizagem.

II - No trabalho.

III - Nas relações jurídicas.

IV - Na expressão oral, escrita, audiovisual e eletrônica oficial.

V - Na expressão oral, escrita, audiovisual e eletrônica, em eventos públicos.

VI - Nos meios de comunicação de massa.

VII - Na produção e no consumo de bens, produtos e serviços.

VIII - Na publicidade de bens, produtos e serviços.

Though the 1999 bill remains a proposal, various pieces legislation require Portuguese in specific domains, particularly education. Portuguese was clearly the *de facto* national language of Brazil before the 1988 constitution. In fact, the 1967 and 1969 constitutions both make two references to processes that must take place in 'the national language,' without explicitly defining Portuguese as such. From 1945 to 1987, I code Portuguese as the *de facto* national language. From 1988 to 2014, I align with the Ethnologue and code it as the statutory national language on the basis of the 1988 constitution.

References

[1] *Constituição do Brasil (1967). Diário Oficial da União de 24.1.1967*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1967. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=428 (visited on 25/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the United States of Brazil 1967 (As amended by Constitutional Amendment No. 1 of October 17, 1969)*. 1st ed. HathiTrust. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1969. iv, 73. URL: https://llmc-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/docDisplay5.aspx?set=62874&volume=0001&part=001 (visited on 25/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of the United States of Brazil, 1946*. 1st ed. HathiTrust. Washington, D.C.: Pan American Union: General Secretariat, Organization of American States, 1946. 1-72. URL: https://llmc-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/docDisplay5.aspx?set=62874&volume=0001&part=001 (visited on 25/03/2025).

[4] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Brazil*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/constitutional-history-brazil (visited on 29/03/2025).

[5] *Brazil*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BR/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Brésil / Constitution de 1988, modifiée en 1994*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/bresil-constitution-1988.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Brésil / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/bresil-1demoling.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Brésil / Politique linguistique à l'égard du portugais*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/bresil-2pol-portugais.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Brésil / Présentation générale: données géo-démolinguistiques et historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/bresil-1demoling.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[10] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in Portuguese Colonies and Successor States'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.1 (2018), pp. 62–97. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2017.1316564 (visited on 10/03/2025).

145: Bolivia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Quechua	1945-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Spanish	1945-2007	X	D: *De facto* national
	2008-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Bolivia, for which both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cite Article 5(1) of the 2009 constitution. However, the text of this clause is in fact already present in the 2008 constitution.

> Artículo 5. [2008]
>
> I. Son idiomas oficiales del Estado el castellano y todos los idiomas de las naciones y pueblos indígena originario campesinos, que son el aymara, araona, baure, bésiro, canichana, cavineño, cayubaba, chácobo, chimán, ese ejja, guaraní, guarasu'we, guarayu, itonama, leco, machajuyai-kallawaya, machineri, maropa, mojeño-trinitario, mojeño-ignaciano, moré, mosetén, movima, pacawara, puquina, quechua, sirionó, tacana, tapiete, toromona, uru-chipaya, weenhayek, yaminawa, yuki, yuracaré y zamuco.

Spanish has been the language of national governance throughout Bolivian history. Though Article 5(1) explicitly enumerates a number of indigenous languages,[4] it is clear that Spanish is *primus inter pares*, which are listed in alphabetical order. The 2008 constitution represents the first constitutional declaration of Spanish as an official language, as the constitutions of 1945, 1947, 1967, 1995, and 2004 lack an equivalent provision. I code Spanish from 1945 to 2007 as a *de facto* national language, and from 2008 to 2014 as a statutory national language.

The Ethnologue places Quechua in limited use in La Paz department, Franz Tamayo province, and the Apolo region. However, it does not have institutional status either as a working language or a language of provincial identity, being rather a 'recognised language.' This is also the case for all languages enumerated in the 2008 constitution other than Spanish. For consistency, I employ a placeholder code for Quechua for the entire duration, as Quechua has held national-level status in Peru. I do not code Aymara or any other indigenous language, as none have had institutional status in another country.

[4]The text of this provision is repeated almost verbatim in the 2012 *Ley General de Derechos y Políticas lingüísticas.*

References

[1] *Constitución de 1967*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(84). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcdv3d1 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución política de 24 de noviembre de 1945*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(85). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2015. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmckm191 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Constitución Política de la República de Bolivia del 26 de noviembre de 1947*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(84). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcjh5d9 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] *Constitución Política del Estado de Bolivia del 6 de febrero de 1995*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(84). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc932p0 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[5] *Constitución política del Estado del 2004 (Ley de 13 de abril de 2004)*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(84). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2015. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcfv0j6 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[6] *Bolivia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BO/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Bolivie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/bolivie.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Bolivie / Constitution de 2009*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/bolivie-cnst2009.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Bolivie / Loi générale des droits et des politiques linguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/bolivie-loi-2012LNG.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[10] *Nueva Constitución Política del Estado. Congreso Nacional, octubre 2008*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(84). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2015. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcb29t3 (visited on 12/03/2025).

150: Paraguay

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Guarani	1945-1966	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1967-1991	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
	1992-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Spanish	1945-1966	X	D: *De facto* national
	1967-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish and Guaraní as the two principal languages and statutory national languages of Paraguay. For the *de jure* status of Guaraní, the Ethnologue cites the 2010 Law on Languages, which *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* describes as intended to reinforce Guaraní. The Ethnologue further cites Article 140(2) of the 1992 constitution as making Spanish an official language. However, this provision also declares Guaraní a state language, predating the aforementioned 2010 Law on Languages.

> Artículo 140: De los idiomas [1992]
>
> 1) El Paraguay es un país pluricultural y bilingüe.
> 2) Son idiomas oficiales el castellano y el guaraní. La ley establecerá las modalidades de utilización de uno y otro.
> 3) Las lenguas indígenas, así como las de otras minorías, forman parte del patrimonio cultural de la Nación.

Interestingly, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that the 1967 constitution already contained a *de jure* definition of Spanish and Guaraní as national languages.

> Artículo 5. [1967]
>
> 1) Los idiomas nacionales de la Republica son el español y el guarani.
> 2) Sera de uso oficial el español.

On this basis, I code Spanish as a *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1966 and as a statutory national language from 1967 to 2014. Article 5 is the first constitutional linguistic provision within the coding period; the 1940 constitution contains no equivalent. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* maintains that the 1967 constitution placed Guaraní on a lower tier of institutionalisation than Spanish, particularly that Guaraní-speakers endured repression under the Alfredo Stroessner regime (1954-1989). During this era, Guaraní was widely passed on in

secret, and today remains spoken by most of the population.

Paraguay is the only country in Latin America where a majority speaks an indigenous language, and Guaraní is currently the only indigenous Latin American language with constitutional status as a national language. Nineteenth-century state-building ideologies constructed Paraguayan identity as racially-mixed and Guaraní-speaking. Practical imperatives also bolstered the position of Guaraní. In the Chaco War against Bolivia (1932-1935), for example, Paraguayan soldiers employed Guaraní to avoid being understood by the enemy.

I code Guaraní as a *de facto* language of national identity from 1945 to 1966. From 1967 to 1991, I code it as a statutory language of national identity to reflect its enduring symbolic value in spite of repression under Stroessner. Finally, I code it as a statutory national language from 1992 to 2014, with the 1992 constitution marking a turning point for the revitalisation of Guaraní following the fall of Stroessner in 1989.

References

[1] *Constitución de 1967 (25 de agosto de 1967, sancionada el 25 de agosto de 1967 y promulgada en la misma fecha)*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(892). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcwq1w0 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución de Paraguay 1940*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(892). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2015. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc2n724 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Paraguay*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/PY/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Nicole Lea Hanna. 'We are Paraguayan: Construction of Paraguayan National Identity Through Guaraní Language Use, 1814-1870'. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 10280681. Master of Arts in Latin American Studies. Charlotte: The University of North Carolina at Charlotte, 2017. URL: https://www.proquest.com/openview/dce4b864edecf2f09e7c28334bae7b7e/1?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&casa_token=IMnOThIQVVsAAAAA:kAvDa25-oMa-c7HhPe5ePnSN3MijWaqtjQBvsH_VuWNbEne7LOUfZ6jZlHOgB7BYMndMPw (visited on 24/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitution de la république du Paraguay de 1992*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/paraguay-cnst-92.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Paraguay*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture

d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/paraguay.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jorge Gómez Rendón. 'The Demographics of Colonization in Paraguay and the Emergence of Paraguayan Guarani'. In: *Guarani Linguistics in the 21st Century*. Brill's Studies in the Indigenous Languages of the Americas. Section: Guarani Linguistics in the 21st Century. Leiden: Brill, 2017, pp. 131–157. ISBN: 978-90-04-32257-8. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004322578/B9789004322578_005.xml (visited on 24/02/2025).

155: Chile

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Chile. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this assessment, noting that the constitution of 1980 does not define a state language.

A number of domain-specific laws require Spanish for certain procedures and documents in fields including judicial procedure, tourism, and the arts. However, no comprehensive linguistic legislation is known to exist in Chile apart from provisions within the *Ley 19.253 sobre Protección, Fomento y Desarrollo Indígena* of 1993. Taken together, Chilean language policy has never sought to systematically intervene in the dominance of Spanish in public life and national governance. Aligning with the Ethnologue, I code Spanish as the *de facto* national language of Chile for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitución Política de la República de Chile, 1980*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(83). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcbc5t2 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución política del Estado de Chile : promulgada el 18 de septiembre de 1925*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(83). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2015. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc573b8 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Chile*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CL/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Chili*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/chili.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Chili / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/chili-lois-div.htm` (visited on 24/02/2025).

160: Argentina

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Argentina, which has never declared a *de jure* state language either constitutionally, by law, or by decree. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes two pieces of draft legislation proposed to enshrine Spanish as an official language: the 1991 *Ley del Idioma* and the 1994 *Ley de Preservación de la Lengua Castellana*. Purportedly a response to the increasing use of English, the proposals met substantial backlash and ultimately were not adopted.

Though Argentina has no comprehensive language legislation, a number of domain-specific laws require Spanish to be used for official procedures and documentation in some circumstances, including judicial procedure and commerce. Knowledge of Spanish is also necessary to naturalise as an Argentine citizen. In sum, Spanish is the only language in *de facto* use in national governance, notwithstanding Article 75 of the constitution of 1994, which guarantees 'respect for identity' and the right to a 'bilingual and intercultural education.' Provisions in provincial constitutions and associated laws aim to protect indigenous language rights, but the Ethnologue identifies no language other than Spanish with national-level institutional status. I thus code only Spanish as the *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Argentina*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AR/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Argentine | 1) Données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/argentine-1demo.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Argentine | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/argentine-2histoire.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Argentine | 3) Politique linguistique relative à l'espagnol*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/argentine-3pol-lng-espagnol.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Argentine | 5) Les législations linguistiques provinciales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/argentine-5provinces.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Argentine | Les constitutions provinciales (par ordre alphabétique)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2019. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/argentine-CONST-provinces.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Argentine | Projet de loi Asís de 1994: Loi sur la préservation de la langue castillane (Ley de Preservación de la Lengua Castellana)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2019. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/argentine-loi-projet-1994.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Argentine | Projet de loi Vanossi de 1991: Loi sur la langue (Ley del Idioma)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2019. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/argentine-loi-projet-1991.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

165: Uruguay

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Spanish	1945-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Uruguay. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms that the 1997 constitution contains no linguistic provisions. Like several other countries in hispanophone South America, Uruguayan language policy has never sought to systematically challenge the dominance of Spanish. No comprehensive linguistic legislation is known to exist, though several domain-specific laws that require the use of Spanish in for specific purposes sometimes refer to it as the 'national language.'

As Uruguay is effectively monolingual in Spanish, the Ethnologue identifies no other language with national-level institutional status. An examination of Uruguayan sociolinguistic history shows that this situation has persisted since the colonial period. I thus code only Spanish as the *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitución de 1952*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(899). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmc6x163 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitución de 1967*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(899). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmctq7t3 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Constitución de 1967 con reformas de 1989, 1994, 1996 y 2004*. In: *Constituciones Hispanoamericanas, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes*. 342.4(899). Alicante: Universidad de Alicante/Biblioteca Valenciana, 2014. URL: https://www.cervantesvirtual.com/nd/ark:/59851/bmcpz730 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] *Uruguay*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/UY/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Uruguay*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amsudant/uruguay.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

200: United Kingdom

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1945-2014	N	D: *De facto* national
Irish	1945-2014	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of the United Kingdom. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that none of the major constitutional texts, i.e., the Magna Carta (1215), the Bill of Rights (1689), the Reform Act (1832), and the Human Rights Act (1998), formally define the status of the English language. Though a number of language laws exist,[5] they are aimed at other languages. As English is clearly the language of national government and British identity, I code it as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 2014.

The Ethnologue identifies Welsh as a statutory provincial language in Wales on the basis of the 1993 Welsh Language Act, and Scottish Gaelic as a statutory provincial language in Scotland based on the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates the relevant legislation. However, I do not code these languages as they lack national-level institutional status in any country including the United Kingdom.

The Ethnologue also identifies Irish as a statutory language of provincial identity in Northern Ireland based on the Identity and Language (Northern Ireland) Act 2022. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* provides the full text of the relevant provision. It recognises the Irish language as official in Northern Ireland and creates institutions to establish this fact by amending the Northern Ireland Act 1998.

> Section 2. Irish language [2022]
>
> 1) In the Northern Ireland Act 1998 after Part 7A (inserted by section 1(1)) insert—
>
> "Part 7B: The Irish Language
>
> 78J. Recognition of the status of the Irish language
>
> 1) The purpose of this Part is to provide official recognition of the status of the Irish language in Northern Ireland

[5] E.g., the Welsh Language Acts of 1967, 1993, and 1998.

by—

(a) providing for the appointment of an Irish Language Commissioner,

(b) providing for the development of standards of best practice relating to the use of the Irish language by public authorities, and

(c) requiring public authorities to have due regard to such standards.

2) This is in addition to any other official recognition of the status of the Irish language including, for example, in—

(a) section 28D,

(b) the North/South Co-operation (Implementation Bodies) (Northern Ireland) Order 1999 (S.I. 1999/859), and

(c) provision relating to Irish-medium education.

3) Nothing in this Part affects the status of the English language.

..."

...

Thought it grants Irish *de jure* provincial-level institutional status, this Act lies outside the coding period. Spoken natively by very few, the Irish language underwent a revival in the late-nineteenth century across the island. It remained a symbol of republican nationalism throughout the Northern Ireland conflict in the late twentieth century. I thus code Irish as a *de facto* language of provincial identity in Northern Ireland from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] D. MacGiolla Chriost. 'The Irish Language and Current Policy in Northern Ireland'. In: *Irish Studies Review* 8.1 (2000). Publisher: Taylor & Francis Group, pp. 45–55. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/09670880050005101 (visited on 24/02/2025).

[2] *United Kingdom*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GB/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Irlande du Nord (Royaume-Uni)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/irlandenord.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *L'état central | L'Angleterre*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/angleterre.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Royaume-Uni | Législation en matière de langue (Extraits)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Royaume-Uni-lois-diverses.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Royaume-Uni | Loi sur l'Irlande du Nord de 1998*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/irlande-nord-loi-1998.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Royaume-Uni Loi sur l'identité et la langue (Irlande du Nord). Identity and Language (Northern Ireland) Act 2022*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/irlande-nord-loi-2022.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Linda Thompson, Michael Fleming and Michael Byram. '5 Languages and Language Policy in Britain'. In: *Language Policies in English-dominant Countries: Six Case Studies*. Ed. by Michael Herriman and Barbara Burnaby. Multilingual Matters, 1996, pp. 99–121. ISBN: 978-1-80041-802-8. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781800418028-007/html (visited on 26/03/2025).

205: Ireland

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1945-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
Irish	1945-2014	`N`	`C`: Statutory national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of the Republic of Ireland. Irish is additionally the statutory language of national identity. The Ethnologue cites Articles 8(1) and 8(2) of the 1937 constitution as the legal text conferring *de jure* institutional status both languages.[6]

> Article 8. Languages [1937]
>
> 1) The Irish language as the national language is the first official language.
>
> 2) The English language is recognised as a second official language.
>
> 3) Provision may, however, be made by law for the exclusive use of either of the said languages for any one or more official purposes, either throughout the State or in any part thereof.

Additional provisions in the constitution stipulate that the Irish text of any bilingual bill prevails over its English counterpart, and that unilingual bills must be translated into the other language. The Official Languages Act 2003 provides for the use of both languages in Parliament. It also allows either to be used before the courts, though substantive procedures take place largely in English.

The Ethnologue identifies no other languages with national-level institutional status. The number of mother-tongue Irish-speakers has declined precipitously over the twentieth century, despite repeated attempts to revitalise the language. Nevertheless, the Ethnologue highlights its symbolic importance for the Irish nation. Accordingly, I code English as the statutory national language and Irish as the statutory language of national identity from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Ireland*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL Inter-

[6] The Ethnologue erroneously identifies 1948 as the year of the constitution.

national, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/IE/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Muiris Ó Laoire. 'The Language Planning Situation in Ireland'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 6.3 (2005), pp. 251–314. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200508668284 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Irlande (Éire)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/irlande.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Irlande | Constitution de 1948 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/irlande-constitution.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Irlande | Official Languages Act (Acht na dTeangacha Oifigiúla) (Loi sur les langues officielles) 2003*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/irlande-loi2003-bilingue.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

210: Netherlands

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Dutch	1945-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Dutch as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of the Netherlands. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* elaborates that no law defines Dutch an official state language, though it notes that the 2013 *Wet gebruik Friese taal* declares both Frisian and Dutch *de jure* official in the province of Friesland.

The bulk of Dutch language policy in recent decades has in fact sought to preserve Frisian in Friesland. This is necessary since in practice, Dutch dominates national governance, education, business, and the media, and is a symbol of Dutch identity. Aligning with the Ethnologue, I code it as the *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

The Ethnologue also identifies Frisian as a statutory provincial language in Friesland upon ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages by Act No. 136 of 1996.[7] However, I do not code Frisian as it has never held institutional status in any other country.

References

[1] *Netherlands*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/NL/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Pays-Bas | (1) Situation générale et données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2022. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/paysbas2-general.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Pays-Bas | (2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2019. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/paysbas3-HST.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] The Ethnologue defines Limburgish as a statutory language of provincial identity in Limburg Province on the basis of the same legislation.

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Pays-Bas / (4) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2017. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/paysbas4-Pol-lng.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

211: Belgium

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Dutch	1945-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1945-2014	X	A: Statutory national
German	1945-1962	X	-: Other notable usage
	1963-1979	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1980-1993	X	G: Statutory provincial
	1994-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Dutch, French, and German as the three principal languages of Belgium and classifies them all as statutory national languages, in accordance with the 1994 constitution. Although that constitution formalised Belgian federalism, linguistic conflict has shaped Belgian politics since the country's founding. The 1831 constitution established Belgium as a unitary state, and the 1994 document is merely one milestone in a long legislative history aimed at managing linguistic tensions.

Throughout much of the 19th century, governance in Belgium occurred de facto in French. However, a growing Flemish movement gradually secured recognition for Dutch speakers. The Coremans-De Vriendt Law of 1898 established Dutch as an official language alongside French, granting Dutch translations of legislation equal legal status. The 1893 constitution extended voting rights to all adult men, further empowering the Flemish movement. This momentum culminated in the Language Law of 1935, which mandated that courts in Flanders operate in Dutch and invalidated proceedings conducted in French. By the beginning of the coding period in 1945, French and Dutch had already become statutory national languages, operating within a regime of de facto territorial bilingualism.

The Language Laws of 1963 marked a critical step in Belgium's transition from a unitary to a federal state. These laws defined French-speaking Wallonia, Dutch-speaking Flanders, and the German-speaking territories (acquired from Germany via the 1919 Treaty of Versailles) as monolingual regions, while maintaining official bilingualism in the Brussels-Capital Region. This principle of territorial monolingualism was reaffirmed in the First, Second, and Third State Reforms, which resulted in the constitutional revisions of 1971, 1980, and 1989, respectively. Each reform refined the structure and autonomy of the linguistic communities, ultimately aligning them with distinct geographic territories. The Fourth State Reform, culminating in the 1994 constitution, transformed Belgium into a full-fledged federal state.

Accordingly, I code French and Dutch as statutory national languages for the entire coding period from 1945 to 2014.

By contrast, Belgium's German-speaking population and territory are small. The German-speaking East Cantons, annexed by Nazi Germany in 1940 and returned to Belgium after the war, underwent a campaign of de-Germanisation. From 1945 to 1962, I assign a placeholder code. The 1963 Language Laws represent a turning point: from that year until 1979, I code German as a statutory language of provincial identity in the East Cantons. Beginning in 1980—corresponding with the Second State Reform, which granted each linguistic community its own parliament and government—I code German as a statutory provincial language. Finally, following the 1994 reorganisation of Belgium into a federal state until 2014, I code German as a statutory national language.

References

[1] Frank Asbrock and Alain Van Hiel. 'An Insiders' Outside Perspective on the Flemish-Walloon Conflict: The Role of Identification and Disidentification for the German-Speaking Minority'. In: *Psychologica Belgica* 57.3 (2017), pp. 115–131. ISSN: 0033-2879. URL: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC6194527/ (visited on 24/02/2025).

[2] Jan Blommaert. 'The Long Language-Ideological Debate in Belgium'. In: *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 6.3 (2011). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 241–256. ISSN: 1744-7143. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2011.595492 (visited on 24/02/2025).

[3] *Belgium*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BE/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Peter Gilles. '30 Language policies at the Germanic-Romance language border: the case of Belgium, Luxembourg and Lorraine'. In: *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe: A Comprehensive Guide*. Ed. by Bernd Kortmann and Johan van der Auwera. De Gruyter Mouton, 2011, pp. 561–574. ISBN: 978-3-11-022026-1. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110220261.561/html (visited on 24/02/2025).

[5] David J. Hensley. 'The Blurred Boundaries of Belgianness: Walloon Intellectuals, Pride, and the Development of Regionalist Rhetoric, 1884-1914'. Penn State University Libraries: Electronic Theses and Dissertations for Graduate School. Master of Arts in History. College Station: The Pennsylvania State University, 2008. 103 pp. URL: https://etda.libraries.psu.edu/catalog/8459.

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *1) L'État belge*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/belgiqueacc.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *3) Histoire de la Belgique et ses conséquences linguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/belgiqueetat_histoire.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *4) La politique linguistique de l'État fédéral*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/belgiqueetat_pol-lng.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Belgique | Constitution coordonnée du 17 février 1994 (en vigeur)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2015. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/belgiqueconst.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[10] Michele Valasek. 'The "Other Language": Language Planning in Belgium'. In: *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)* Spring 1990.4 (1990). URL: https://repository.upenn.edu/handle/20.500.14332/49625 (visited on 24/02/2025).

[11] Ulrike Vogl and Matthias Hüning. 'One Nation, One Language? The Case of Belgium'. In: *Dutch Crossing* 34.3 (2010). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 228–247. ISSN: 0309-6564. URL: https://doi.org/10.1179/030965610X12820418688570 (visited on 24/02/2025).

212: Luxembourg

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1945-1983	X	D: *De facto* national
	1984-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
German	1945-1983	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1984-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Luxembourgish	1945-1983	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1984-2014	N	C: Statutory national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French and German as the two principal languages and statutory national language of Luxembourg based on the Language Law of 24 February 1984. In addition, Luxembourgish is designated as the statutory language of national identity under the same legislation. In the decades following 1984, further language legislation has been promulgated to implement the provisions of the 1984 law.

> Art. 1. –Langue nationale [1984]
>
> La langue nationale des Luxembourgeois est le luxembourgeois.
>
> Art. 2. –Langue de la legislation
>
> Les actes législatifs et leurs règlements d'exécution sont rédigés en français. Lorsque les actes législatifs et réglementaires sont accompagnés d'une traduction, seul le texte français fait foi.
>
> Au cas où des règlements non visés à l'alinéa qui précède sont édictés par un organe de l'Etat, des communes ou des établissements publics dans une langue autre que la française, seul le texte dans la langue employée par cet organe fait foi.
>
> Le présent article ne déroge pas aux dispositions applicables en matière de conventions internationales.
>
> Art. 3. –Langues administratives et judiciaires
>
> En matiére administrative, contentieuse ou non contentieuse, et en matière judiciaire, il peut être fait usage des langues française, allemande ou luxembourgeoise, sans préjudice des dispositions spéciales concernant certaines matières.
>
> Art. 4. –Requêtes administratives

> Lorsqu'une requête est rédigée en luxembourgeois, en français ou en allemand, l'administration doit se servir, dans la mesure du possible, pour sa réponse de la langue choisie par le requérant.

The final article of this legislation, Article 5, obrogates any pre-existing legislation contrary to the substance of the first four articles. The examples listed all date from the nineteenth century, including the *Arrêté royal grand-ducal du 22 février 1834 concernant l'usage des langues allemande et française dans les actes publics*. The constitution, which dates back to 1868, does not mention any language specifically, stating in Article 29 only that "The law regulates the use of languages in administrative and judicial matters." Thus, prior to 1984, French and German held *de facto* status as languages of the state.

Luxembourg was annexed by force by Nazi Germany in 1940, as the Luxembourgers rejected annexation by referendum. The Luxembourgish language, which had hitherto been marginalised and regarded as merely a German dialect, gained prestige in the post-war era as a symbol of resistance to the policy of Germanisation imposed by the Nazis. The following decades saw the rise of a political movement in favour of the Luxembourgish language, culminating in the Language Law of 1984. Within Article 2 of this law, French clearly occupies a higher tier of institutionalisation than German, as it is the sole authentic text of all legislation and executive acts.

Based on the historical overview above, I code Luxembourgish as the *de facto* language of national identity from 1945 to 1983, whereupon it becomes the statutory language of national identity. I code French as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1983, as the post-war backlash against the German language elevated the prestige and symbolic value of French. Similarly, I code German as a *de facto* national working language from 1945 to 1983. From 1984 until 2014, French, German, and Luxembourgish take on the categories assigned by the current version of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Grand Duchy of Luxembourg'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 435–439. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: `https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s010.xml` (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Luxembourg*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LU/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Peter Gilles. '30 Language policies at the Germanic-Romance language border: the case of Belgium, Luxembourg and Lorraine'. In: *The Languages and Linguistics of Europe: A Comprehensive Guide*. Ed. by Bernd Kortmann and Johan van der Auwera. De Gruyter Mouton, 2011, pp. 561–574. ISBN: 978-3-11-022026-1.

URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110220261.561/html (visited on 24/02/2025).

[4] Kristine Horner and Jean Jacques Weber. 'The Language Situation in Luxembourg1'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 9.1 (2008), pp. 69–128. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.2167/cilp130.0 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Luxembourg*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/luxembourg.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Luxembourg | Loi du 24 février 1984 sur le régime des langues*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/luxembourg-loi1984.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

220: France

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1945-1991	N	D: *De facto* national
	1992-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of France based on Article 2 of the 1958 constitution. However, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that the original 1958 text did not proclaim French the official state language. Rather, this declaration is found in the first article of the *Loi constitutionnelle n° 92-554 du 25 juin 1992* which amended the constitution.

> Article 1er [1992]
>
> Après le premier alinéa de l'article 2 de la constitution du 4 octobre 1958, il est inséré un alinéa ainsi rédigé :
>
> « La langue de la République est le français. »

Although France has a long history of linguistic interventionism, it had not, until 1992, officially declared French as the state language. The impetus for the 1992 revision to the 1958 constitution was the signing of the Maastricht Treaty, which sparked concern that English might threaten the status of French. This anxiety is evident in another well-known piece of language legislation from the same period, the *loi n° 94-665 du 4 août 1994*, commonly referred to as the Toubon Law. This ambitious and wide-ranging legislation mandates the use of French in various commercial and administrative contexts, as well as in broadcast media. It seeks to curb the use of English terms where equivalent French expressions exist.

Accordingly, I code French as the *de facto* national language prior to 1994, and as the statutory national language from that year onwards. The Ethnologue identifies no other language with national status. It lists Corsican, a language in decline, as the statutory language of provincial identity in Corsica, based on Article 7 of Act No. 2002-92 on Corsica. However, I do not code Corsican since it has never held national-level institutional status in any country, including France.

References

[1] *Corsican*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 28th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2025. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/cos/ (visited on 24/02/2025).

[2] *France*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/FR/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *2) La politique linguistique du français*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/france-2politik_francais.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | F: Fidji, Finlande, France*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-F.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *France | Législation linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/france-legislation-lng.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *République française | Loi du 4 août 1994 relative à l'emploi de la langue française*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/franceloi-1994.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] *LOI constitutionnelle n° 92-554 du 25 juin 1992 ajoutant à la Constitution un titre : « Des Communautés européennes et de l'Union européenne » (1)*. Légifrance. 1992. URL: https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/jorf/id/JORFTEXT000000723466 (visited on 16/02/2025).

221: Monaco

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1993-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1993-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
Genoese	1993-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Monaco. Both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cite Article 8 of the 1962 constitution as explicitly establishing French as the *de jure* state language.

> Article 8 [1962]
>
> La langue française est la langue officielle de l'État.

Although Monaco has no comprehensive language legislation akin to France's 1994 Toubon Law, various legal provisions reinforce the primacy of French in judicial proceedings, public services, trademarks, and consumer notifications. Under the Franco-Monegasque Treaties of 1861, 1913, and 2002, Monaco is a sovereign state, though France is responsible for its defence. Furthermore, Monaco and France have been in customs union since before European integration. As such, French has served as the statutory national language used for national administration and private communication throughout the entire coding period. I code it as such from 1993 to 2014, aligning with the Ethnologue.

In addition to French, the Ethnologue identifies Monegasque as the *de facto* language of national identity. The 1962 constitution declares French the only state language, and Monaco has largely adopted a non-interventionist policy towards the dominance of French. Exceptionally, however, a commission was established in 1982 to safeguard the Monegasque language, which had approached extinction in the 1970s. Monegasque is a compulsory subject at both primary and secondary levels under Law No. 1,337 of 2007 (which, incidentally, also mandates the teaching of French). However, very little substantive administrative activity takes place in Monegasque. Based on the above, I code it as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire coding period.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Principality of Monaco'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 477–480. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: `https:`

//brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s020.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Monaco*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MC/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | M: Macédoine, Madagascar, Malaisie, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Malte, Maroc, Marshall, Maurice, Mauritanie, Mexique, Micronésie, Moldavie, Monaco, Mongolie, Monténégro, Mozambique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-M.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Monaco*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/monaco.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

223: Liechtenstein

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1990-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
German	1990-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies German as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Liechtenstein. Both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cite Article 6 of the 1921 constitution as explicitly declaring German the official state language.

> Artikel 6 [1921]
>
> Die deutsche Sprache ist die Staats- und Amtssprache.

Unlike neighbouring Switzerland, where multiple languages have official status, Liechtenstein is a monolingual state. All government administration, legislation, and judicial proceedings are conducted in German. Though several pieces of domain-specific legislation explicitly require the use of German, there are no comprehensive language laws. German serves *de facto* as the primary language of education, business, and media, and Liechtenstein has long adopted a policy of *de facto* non-intervention in the German-dominant linguistic status quo.

While the Alemannic dialect of German (Liechtensteinisch) is widely spoken in the home and the community, it has no distinct official status separate from Standard German. The Ethnologue notes that it is listed simply as 'German' in the census, making it difficult to accurately assess the number of speakers of this dialect. As the Ethnologue identifies no other language with institutional status, I code accordingly only for German as the statutory national language from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Principality of Liechtenstein'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 433–434. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: `https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s009.xml` (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Liechtenstein*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LI/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains / L: Laos, Lesotho, Lettonie, Liban, Liberia, Libye, Liechtenstein, Lituanie, Luxembourg*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-L.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Liechtenstein*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/liechtenstein.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

225: Switzerland

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1945-2014	X	A: Statutory national
German	1945-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Italian	1945-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Romansh	1945-2003	N	K: *De facto* provincial
	2004-2014	N	G: Statutory provincial

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French, German, and Italian as the three principal languages and the statutory national languages of Switzerland, citing Article 70(1) of the 1999 constitution. This, however, overlooks the 1874 constitution, which superseded the 1848 constitution and designated these three languages as 'national languages of the Confederation.'

> Article 116 [1874]
>
> Les trois principales langues parlées en Suisse, l'allemand, le français et l'italien, sont langues nationales de la Confédération.

The 1874 constitution underwent more than 140 revisions. By 1987, the Federal Council was mandated to initiate a complete overhaul, as the document had become an incoherent hotch-potch. By that point, the trilingual regime of French, German, and Italian was firmly entrenched. In 1986, just before the revision process began, Article 116 appeared as follows:

> Article 116 [as of 1986]
>
> 1) L'allemand, le français, l'italien et le romanche sont les langues nationales de la Suisse.
>
> 2) Sont déclarés langues officielles de la Confédération: l'allemand, le français et l'italien.

Thus, the legal status of French, German, and Italian was clearly well established before 1999. This explains why, for instance, the 1987 *Ordonnance sur les publications officielles* required certain documents to be published in 'the three official languages' —a provision that both predates and survives the 1999 constitution. Accordingly, I code French, German, and Italian as statutory national languages throughout the entire period.

Romansh, declared a 'national language' in the pre-amendment constitution as of 1986, requires further consideration in light of the 1999 constitutional text:

Article 4 [1999]

Les langues nationales sont l'allemand, le français, l'italien et le romanche.

...

Article 70

1) Les langues officielles de la Confédération sont l'allemand, le français et l'italien. Le romanche est aussi langue officielle pour les rapports que la Confédération entretient avec les personnes de langue romanche.
2) Les cantons déterminent leurs langues officielles. Afin de préserver l'harmonie entre les communautés linguistiques, ils veillent à la répartition territoriale traditionnelle des langues et prennent en considération les minorités linguistiques autochtones.
3) La Confédération et les cantons encouragent la compréhension et les échanges entre les communautés linguistiques.
4) La Confédération soutient les cantons plurilingues dans l'exécution de leurs tâches particulières.
5) La Confédération soutient les mesures prises par les cantons des Grisons et du Tessin pour sauvegarder et promouvoir le romanche et l'italien.

Both pre- and post-1999, the constitution recognised Romansh as a 'national language' alongside the established French, German, and Italian. However, only the latter three are designated 'official' languages, a category absent from the original 1874 text. Despite this distinction, Ethnologue identifies Romansh today merely as a statutory provincial language in the Canton of Grisons, citing Article 3(1) of the 2004 cantonal constitution:

Articolo 3. Lingue [2004]

1) Il tedesco, il romancio e l'italiano sono le lingue cantonali e ufficiali equivalenti dei Grigioni.

The term 'national language' in the original 1874 constitution –initially applied to French, German, and Italian –had shifted in meaning by 1986. Romansh was added to this category via a 1938 referendum, meaning it has enjoyed *de jure* federal recognition since the beginning of the coding period. However, given that it is spoken by a vanishingly small share of the population, its inclusion appears largely symbolic. The introduction of the 'official language' category for practical administrative purposes in later constitutional texts suggests that the label 'national language' alone is no longer a reliable basis for coding in line with Ethnologue methodology.

Accordingly, I disregard the 'national language' designation for Romansh introduced by the 1938 referendum and code it as a *de facto* language of provincial

identity from 1945 to 2003, and as a statutory provincial language from 2004 to 2014 under the Grisons cantonal constitution.

References

[1] Erica Berazategui. 'La Suisse : neutre au niveau linguistique ?' In: *Le Regard Libre* 85.5 (2022). Publisher: Le regard libre, pp. 34–36. ISSN: 2571-7723. URL: https://shs.cairn.info/revue-regard-libre-2022-5-page-34 (visited on 25/02/2025).

[2] *Confédération suisse | Constitution fédérale de 1848*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1848. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ch1848.htm (visited on 25/02/2025).

[3] *Switzerland*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CH/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Canton des Grisons*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/Grisons.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | S: Saint-Christophe-et-Niévès, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Marin, Saint-Vincent-et-les-Grenadines, Salomon, São-Tomé-et-Príncipe, Salvador, Samoa occidentales, Sénégal, Serbie, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Slovaquie, Slovénie, Somalie, Soudan, Soudan du Sud, Sri Lanka, Suède, Suisse, Surinam, Swaziland, Syrie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-S.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Grisons | Lois diverses (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/Grisons-loi-div.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *La Suisse fédérale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/suissefed.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Suisse*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025.

URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/suisse-1Intro.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

230: Spain

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Catalan	1945-1978	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1979-2014	N	G: Statutory provincial
Spanish	1945-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language of Spain and classifies it as the statutory national language, citing Article 3(1) of the 1978 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this provision, but notes that even prior to the constitution, Spanish functioned as the sole language of the State under the Franco regime (1936-1975), when the Spanish nation was closely linked to Catholicism and the Spanish language. A series of laws mandated the exclusive use of Spanish in various public domains. For instance, Article 7 of the *Ley de 17 de Julio de 1945 sobre Educación Primaria* refers to Spanish as the 'national tongue' and mandates its use in primary education nationwide:

> Artículo 7. Lengua nacional [1945]
>
> La lengua española, vinculo fundamental de la comunidad hispánica será obligatoria y objeto de cultivo especial como imprescindible instrumento de expresión y de formación humana, en toda la educación primaria nacional.

While this provision does not explicitly prohibit other languages, provincial legislation actively suppressed their use, particularly in the Basque Country and in Catalonia. Article 1 of the *Decreto estableciendo el uso exclusivo del español en los servicios públicos* of 1940, enacted in Barcelona, establishes automatic and non-negotiable dismissal for any public servant using a language other than Spanish while performing official duties:

> Artículo 1 [1940]
>
> A partir del día primero de agosto próximo, todos los funcionarios interinos de las corporaciones provinciales y municipales de esta provincia, cualquiera que sea su categoría, que en acto de servicio, dentro o fuera de los edificios oficiales, se expresen, en otro idioma que no sea el oficial del Estado, quedarán «ipso facto», destituidos, sin ulterior recurso.

Based on the repeated references by state legislation to Spanish as the 'national language' or the 'official language' and the suppression of other languages, I determine that Spanish was, in fact, the *de jure* national language at the beginning of the

coding period. This judgement is based on the juridical and historical context of the Francoist dictatorship and its political aims, even taking into account variations in state repression. Even after the death of Franco, the 1978 constitution reaffirms the status of Spanish and establishes that citizens have not just the right but the affirmative duty to know and use it.

> Artículo 3. [1978]
>
> El castellano y las demás lenguas españolas
>
> 1) El castellano es la lengua española oficial del Estado. Todos los españoles tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla.
> 2) Las demás lenguas españolas serán también oficiales en las respectivas Comunidades Autónomas de acuerdo con sus Estatutos.
> 3) La riqueza de las distintas modalidades lingüísticas de España es un patrimonio cultural que será objeto de especial respeto y protección.

Although multilingualism is tolerated at the regional level, the Spanish state has consistently pursued an interventionist, unilingual policy favouring Spanish, both before and after the adoption of the 1978 constitution. I therefore code Spanish as the statutory national language throughout the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

The Ethnologue also classifies Basque, Catalan, and Galician as statutory provincial languages. I do not code Basque or Galician, as neither holds national-level institutional status in Spain or any other country. Catalan, by contrast, warrants coding due to its nationwide use in neighbouring Andorra. During the Francoist period, Catalan faced severe repression, with restrictions extending even into the private sphere. I therefore code Catalan as a provincial language of national identity from 1945 to 1978, reflecting its cultural importance as a symbol of resistance under repression.

Article 20 of the 1978 constitution restored freedom of expression, including in non-Castilian languages, but conferred no formal legal status on them. Catalan finally acquired statutory institutional status in 1979 under the Statute of Autonomy.

> Article 3 [1979]
>
> 1) La llengua pròpia de Catalunya és el català.
> 2) L'idioma català és l'oficial de Catalunya, així com també ho és el castellà, oficial a tot l'Estat espanyol.

Since then, Catalonia has taken significant steps to promote Catalan as the primary language of the region, particularly through the 1983 Law on Linguistic Standardisation (replaced by a new language law in 1998). The law mandated the use of Catalan in territorial administration, aimed at parity in classroom instructional hours between Catalan and Spanish, and ultimately enabled Catalan to become the dominant medium of instruction by the 1990s. Owing to the vigour and success of these efforts, I code Catalan as a statutory provincial language from 1979 onwards.

References

[1] *Spain*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ES/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Brève histoire linguistique de l'Espagne et de ses régions*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/espagne_histoire.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Catalogne*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/espagnecatalogne.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Catalogne | Statut d'autonomie de 1979 (Abrogé par le Statut d'autonomie de 2006)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/espagnecatalognestatut-1979.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Catalogne | Statut d'autonomie de la Catalogne (2006)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/espagnecatalognestatut-2006.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *L'Espagne | Constitution espagnole (1978) Dispositions linguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/espagne-constitution1978.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *L'Etat espagnol*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/espagneetat.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *L'État espagnol | Décret portant création de l'usage exclusif de l'espagnol dans les services publics (Abrogé) 1940*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/espagneetat-decret-1940.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

232: Andorra

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1993-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Catalan	1993-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1993-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Spanish	1993-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Catalan, French, and Spanish as the principal languages of Andorra. Catalan is the statutory national language, being central to both administration and national identity in the principality, which lies between France and Spain. Both *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* and the Ethnologue refer to Article 2(1) of the 1993 constitution as the source of *de jure* national status for Catalan which is stated clearly and unconditionally:

> Article 2 [1993]
>
> 1) La llengua oficial de l'Estat és el català.

Historically, the state has intervened heavily in favour of Catalan to curb the dominance of the languages of its two powerful neighbours. Prior to the 1993 constitutional referendum, Andorra was ruled jointly by the heads of state of France and Spain —an arrangement that remains in place today. Several language laws, foremost among them the 1999 *Llei d'ordenació de l'ús de la llengua oficial*, mandate the use of Catalan in nearly all areas of public life and in private interactions with the government, although not necessarily to the exclusion of French and Spanish. In light of this history, I code Catalan as the statutory national language from 1993 to 2014, in line with the Ethnologue.

That said, French and Spanish remain in widespread use in national administration out of both necessity and pragmatism. The ongoing diarchic system, in which the French President and the Spanish Bishop of Urgell serve as co-heads of state, reinforces their prominence. French and Spanish are also widely spoken among the population, even as Catalan remains the exclusive linguistic symbol of national identity. It is thus unsurprising that the Ethnologue classifies both French and Spanish as *de facto* national working languages, which likewise I adopt for the full coding period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Andorra*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL Inter-

national, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AD/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Andorre*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/andorre.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | A: Afghanistan, Afrique du Sud, Albanie, Algérie, Allemagne, Andorre, Angola, Antigua-et-Barbuda, Arabie Saoudite, Argentine, Arménie, Australie, Autriche, Azerbaïdjan*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-A.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

235: Portugal

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Portuguese	1945-2000	N	D: *De facto* national
	2001-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Portuguese as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Portugal, citing Article 11(3) of the 2005 constitution as the source of its *de jure* status. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* disputes this date, offering a more detailed account of Portuguese constitutional history. Neither the 1976 constitution nor the four subsequent revisions in 1982, 1989, 1992, and 1997 declared Portuguese an official language. However, the fifth constitutional revision of 2001 did so by adding a third section to Article 11:

> Artigo 11. [2001]
>
> Símbolos nacionais e língua official
>
> 1) A Bandeira Nacional, símbolo da soberania da República, da independência, unidade e integridade de Portugal, é a adoptada pela República instaurada pela Revolução de 5 de Outubro de 1910.
> 2) O Hino Nacional é A Portuguesa.
> 3) A língua oficial é o Português.

This text has remained unchanged in subsequent revisions. A historical examination makes clear that even prior to 2001, Portuguese functioned substantively as the language of both national administration and identity, with legislation in place to require and regulate its use in various domains. For example, the *Decreto n.º 35 228 de 8 de Dezembro de 1945* provided for the unification and synchronisation of Portuguese orthography and required all publications, public or private, to adhere to the defined norms of correct usage.

I therefore code Portuguese as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 2000, and as the statutory national language from 2001 to 2014. Besides Portuguese, the Ethnologue identifies Mirandese as a statutory language of provincial identity. However, as its use is confined to in four municipalities in the northeast and does not extend outside Portugal, I do not code it.

References

[1] *Portugal*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL Inter-

national, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/PT/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Portugal*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/portugal.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Portugal | Constitution du 24 juillet 2004*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Portugal-constitution-2004.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Portugal | Décret n° 35 228 du 8 décembre 1945 sur l'accord orthographique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/portugal_loi-35228-1945.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

255: Germany

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945, 1990-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
German	1945-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

Correlates of War state system membership for Germany is interrupted from 1945 to 1990. Though the post-reunification Federal Republic of Germany is a legal continuation of the state commonly known as West Germany, the Correlates of War project treats the latter as a separate polity under code 260. For the present endeavour, 'Germany' thus exists for 1945, leaves the state system from 1946 to 1989, and re-emerges in 1990.

The Ethnologue identifies German (Standard German) as the sole principal language and as the *de facto* national language of Germany. Historically, German domestic language policy has been largely non-interventionist, though the state has promoted German abroad via its cultural diplomacy organisation, the Goethe-Institut. Domain-specific legislation requires German in certain processes and documents. For instance, the *Verwaltungsverfahrensgesetz* of 1976, amended in 2003 and 2009, designates German as the official language of administrative procedure.

The Länder, not the federal government, have jurisdiction over education, but German is taught throughout the country despite the absence of a federal mandate. Additionally, a 2004 law requires competence in the language to naturalise as a citizen. Despite such provisions, no constitution declares German the state language, and Germany does not have a comprehensive language law. In line with the Ethnologue, I code German as the *de facto* national language of unified Germany for the entire coding period from 1990 to 2014.

The 2024 Ethnologue also identifies Danish as a statutory language of provincial identity in Schleswig-Holstein based on paragraphs 1-12 of the 1955 Bonn Declaration, titled 'Rights of the Danish Minority.' However, this designation is absent from the 2014 Ethnologue, which describes the usage of Danish as 'dispersed' and estimates only around 20,000 speakers as of 2000. The judgement of the earlier Ethnologue, which lies closer to the coding dates, is corroborated by Thaler (2007). By the 1990s, the post-war Danish minority had integrated culturally and linguistically into German society. Crucially, 'on both sides of the border, [the Danish and German] national minorities developed a sense-of-self not rooted in language' (2007: 159). I align my judgement with the 2014 Ethnologue classification and opt to leave Danish uncoded.

References

[1] Astrid Adler and Rachel Beyer. 'Languages and Language Policies in Germany / Sprachen und Sprachenpolitik in Deutschland'. In: *National Language Institutions and National Languages: Contributions to the Efnil Conference 2017 in Mannheim*. Ed. by Gerhard Stickel. Budapest: Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2018, pp. 221–242. ISBN: 978-963-9074-74-3. URL: https://efnil.org/documents/publications/ (visited on 26/02/2025).

[2] *Germany*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/DE/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *1) Situation géopolitique: Allemagne / Deutschland*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/allemagne-1-general.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *2) Données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/allemagne-2demo.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *3) La politique linguistique fédérale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/allemagne-3pol-lng.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *4) La politique linguistique des Länder*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/allemagne-4pol_lander.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Allemagne | Lois diverses (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/allemagne-lois-div.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Peter Thaler. 'A Tale of Three Communities: National Identification in the German–Danish Borderlands'. In: *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32.2 (2007), pp. 141–166. ISSN: 0346-8755, 1502-7716. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03468750601159840 (visited on 07/04/2025).

260: West Germany

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1955-1989.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
German	1955-1989	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

Though post-reunification Germany is a legal continuation of the state commonly known as West Germany, the Correlates of War project treats the latter as a separate polity under code 260. West Germany enters the state system in 1955, when France, the United States, and the United Kingdom terminated their occupation under the Bonn–Paris conventions, and leaves the system after 1989.

The Ethnologue does not record separate information for this period of German history. Based on the information supplied in its entry for Germany, as well as information taken from *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, it is apparent that the same coding applies to both Germany and West Germany, with German the *de facto* national language. As in the case for post-reunification Germany, the *Verwaltungsverfahrensgesetz* of 1976, amended in 2003 and 2009, declared German the official language of administrative procedure, but no constitutional provision proclaimed German a state language. I code German as the *de facto* national language for the entire coding duration.

Though the 2024 Ethnologue identifies Danish as a statutory language of provincial identity in Schleswig-Holstein in reunified Germany, this designation is absent from the 2014 Ethnologue, which lies closer to the coding period. Thaler (2007) corroborates this, estimating the ethnic Danish population to have peaked at 70,000 around 1950 before dropping and stabilising at roughly 20,000 people. He further argues that the post-war Danish minority in West Germany managed to secured political recognition, but their '[n]umerical expansion came at the expense of cultural integration.' He concludes that 'on both sides of the border, [the Danish and German] national minorities developed a sense-of-self not rooted in language' (2007: 158-9). I thus opt to leave Danish uncoded, which also aligns my coding with the 2014 Ethnologue classification.

References

[1] Astrid Adler and Rachel Beyer. 'Languages and Language Policies in Germany / Sprachen und Sprachenpolitik in Deutschland'. In: *National Language Institutions and National Languages: Contributions to the Efnil Conference 2017 in Mannheim*. Ed. by Gerhard Stickel. Budapest: Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2018, pp. 221–242. ISBN: 978-963-9074-74-3. URL: https://efnil.org/documents/publications/ (visited on 26/02/2025).

[2] Ulrich Ammon. 'The Differentiation of the German Language into National Varieties of the Federal Republic of Germany (f.r.g.), the German Democratic Republic (g.d.r.), Austria and Switzerland'. In: *History of European Ideas* 13.1 (1991), pp. 75–88. ISSN: 0191-6599. URL: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/019165999190115F (visited on 26/02/2025).

[3] *Germany*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/DE/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *2) Données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/allemagne-2demo.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *3) La politique linguistique fédérale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/allemagne-3pol-lng.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Peter Thaler. 'A Tale of Three Communities: National Identification in the German–Danish Borderlands'. In: *Scandinavian Journal of History* 32.2 (2007), pp. 141–166. ISSN: 0346-8755, 1502-7716. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/03468750601159840 (visited on 07/04/2025).

265: East Germany

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1954-1989.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
German	1954-1989	`N`	`D`: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The historical entity known formally as the German Democratic Republic and colloquially as East Germany is a state system member from 1954 to 1989 in the Correlates of War dataset. It ceases to exist after German reunification in 1990.

Neither the most recent edition of the Ethnologue nor its earliest online-accessible edition (1996) contains data for East Germany. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that though Article 11 of the 1949 East German constitution guarantees certain linguistic protections for '[d]ie fremdsprachigen Volksteile der Republik,' it leaves implicit the assumption that the native language is German.

Other sources provide no indication that German was formally proclaimed the language of the state, either constitutionally or through comprehensive linguistic legislation. Language policy in East Germany notably focussed on introducing and reinforcing socialist terminology into the German language rather than elevating the status of German relative to other languages. Over the course of the Cold War, German showed little divergence linguistically despite the political division of the German state. I thus code German as the *de facto* national language for the entire coding period from 1954 to 1989.

Statutes were passed to enshrine Sorabian as a *de jure* language in Brandenburg, where Ethnologue classifies it as a statutory language of provincial identity in modern Germany. I opt not code it, however, as Sorabian today is a moribund language with fewer than 10,000 speakers and has never had held national-level institutional status in any state.

References

[1] Astrid Adler and Rachel Beyer. 'Languages and Language Policies in Germany / Sprachen und Sprachenpolitik in Deutschland'. In: *National Language Institutions and National Languages: Contributions to the Efnil Conference 2017 in Mannheim*. Ed. by Gerhard Stickel. Budapest: Research Institute for Linguistics, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2018, pp. 221–242. ISBN: 978-963-9074-74-3. URL: `https://efnil.org/documents/publications/` (visited on 26/02/2025).

[2] Ulrich Ammon. 'The Differentiation of the German Language into National Varieties of the Federal Republic of Germany (f.r.g.), the German Democratic Republic (g.d.r.), Austria and Switzerland'. In: *History of European Ideas* 13.1 (1991), pp. 75–88. ISSN: 0191-6599. URL: https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/019165999190115F (visited on 26/02/2025).

[3] *Germany*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/DE/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *2) Données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/allemagne-2demo.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *République démocratique allemande*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2022. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/allemagne-EST-RDA.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of the German Democratic Republic: Gesetzblatt der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik 1968, Teil I No. 8 (as amended). Consolidated text in Gesetzblatt der DDR 1974, Teil I No. 47.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 164–189. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s016.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

290: Poland

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
German	1945-2004	X	-: Other notable usage
	2005-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Lithuanian	1945-2004	X	-: Other notable usage
	2005-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Polish	1945-1996	N	D: *De facto* national
	1997-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Polish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Poland. Both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cite Article 27 of the 1997 constitution, which explicitly declares Polish the official language of the state:

> Artykuł 27. [1997]
>
> W Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej językiem urzędowym jest język polski. Przepis ten nie narusza praw mniejszości narodowych wynikających z ratyfikowanych umów międzynarodowych.

Poland's language policy actively promotes the use of Polish, while safeguarding certain rights for minority languages. As linguistic minorities make up only a small share of the population, Polish is overwhelmingly dominant in practice. A wide range of laws governing penal and judicial procedure, public administration, elections, citizenship, consumer protection, signage, and other domains mandate the use of Polish. A comprehensive 1999 language law, the *Ustawa o języku polskim*, further reinforces this framework, requiring that Polish serve as the language of instruction and evaluation in both public and private education.

Polish was *de facto* the national language during the Communist period. *L'Aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that the 1952 constitution of the Polish People's Republic, modelled on the Soviet constitution, did not declare any official language *de jure*. While the constitution guaranteed equal rights and formally prohibited discrimination, in practice these provisions often favoured the dominant second language, Russian, and Polish absorbed a number of Russian lexical borrowings. Nonetheless, Poland was never subject to Russification, and by the 1970s, growing Polish nationalism prompted increasingly restrictive policies toward Russian-speaking minorities. In light of this history, I code Polish as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1996, and as the statutory national language from 1997 to 2014.

The 2015 edition of the Ethnologue classifies German (in Opolskie and Silesia) and Lithuanian (in Podlaskie) as statutory provincial languages, citing Article 2(2) of the Minorities Act of 2 January 2005. In the current edition, these languages are downgraded to the status of 'recognised languages.' I follow the earlier edition as it more accurately reflects the situation at the end of the coding period. *L'Aménagement linguistique dans le monde* underscores the importance of this *de jure* recognition, especially in the case of German, given the mass expulsion of ethnic Germans after the Second World War. Accordingly, I assign a placeholder code to both languages from 1945 to 2004, and code them as statutory provincial languages from 2005 to 2014.

References

[1] *Poland*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/PL/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Pologne / (2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/pologne-2histoire.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Pologne / (3) La politique linguistique à l'égard du polonais*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/pologne-3pol-polonais.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Pologne / Constitution du 2 avril 1997 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/pologne-const-1997.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Pologne / Loi sur la langue polonaise (Ustawa o języku polskim) (Le 7 octobre 1999)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/pologne_loi1999-pol-2020.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Pologne / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/pologne-lois-div.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] *Poland*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 18th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International,

2015. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/18/country/PL/status/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of the Polish People' s Republic: Dziennik Ustaw 1952 No. 32 item 232 (as amended). Consolidated text in Dziennik Ustaw 1976 No. 7 item 36.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 288–310. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s026.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

305: Austria

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1955-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
German	1955-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies German as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Austria, citing Article 8 of the 1929 constitution, which was reinstated in 1945 following the Second World War. Post-war Austria re-entered the Correlates of War state system in 1955, following the conclusion of Allied occupation under the Austrian State Treaty.

> Artikel 8. [1929 and 1945]
>
> Die deutsche Sprache ist, unbeschadet der den sprachlichen Minderheiten bundesgesetzlich eingeräumten Rechte, die Staatssprache der Republik.

This article has since been amended to include provisions on the state flag and coat of arms (1981), to expand protections for linguistic minorities (2000), and to recognise Austrian Sign Language as an independent language (2005). None of these revisions have altered the status of German as the official state language.

Although several domain-specific laws, such as the 1985 Citizenship Act and the 2017 Integration Act, require German for specific official functions, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that German has historically been so dominant that language-specific legislation was largely deemed unnecessary. As a result, German has enjoyed an overwhelmingly entrenched position in public life, with little need for formal reinforcement. The Ethnologue identifies no other languages with institutional status at either the national or provincial level in Austria. Accordingly, I code German as the statutory national language for the entire coding period from 1955 to 2014.

References

[1] *Austria*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AT/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] *Gesetz vom 1. Oktober 1920, (B.-G.-Bl. Nr. 1) womit die Republik Österreich als Bundesstaat eingerichtet wird (Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz) in der Fassung der Wiederverlautbarung des Bundes-Verfassungsgesetz vom 1. Januar 1930 (in der Fassung vom 7. Dezember 1929)*. Verfassungen Österreichs. 2002. URL: `https://www.verfassungen.at/at18-34/index29.htm#` (visited on 26/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Autriche | 1) Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/autriche-2Pol_allemand.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Autriche | 2) Politique linguistique à l'égard de l'allemand*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/autriche-1general.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

310: Hungary

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Hungarian	1945-2011	N	D: *De facto* national
	2012-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Hungarian as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Hungary. While the 1997 constitution indeed contained no linguistic provisions, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that the new constitution, in effect since 1 January 2012, explicitly declares Hungarian the official language of the state (renamed 'Hungary' from its previous designation, the 'Hungarian Republic').

> H) CIKK [2012]
>
> 1) Magyarországon a hivatalos nyelv a magyar.
> 2) Magyarország védi a magyar nyelvet.
> 3) Magyarország védi a magyar jelnyelvet mint a magyar kultúra részét.

Hungarian's historic dominance has meant that an interventionist language policy has rarely been necessary during the coding period. Nevertheless, several recent domain-specific laws reinforce its privileged position. Article 38/B of the 2012 *Law XXXVI on the National Assembly* requires that parliamentary proceedings be conducted in Hungarian. Laws governing civil and criminal procedure, public administration, and the judiciary, all passed during the 2010s, also mandate the use of Hungarian. In education, a 1993 Act stipulates that Hungarian is the medium of instruction throughout pre-tertiary schooling. These measures, however, merely codify an already well-established status quo.

This status quo rests on a legacy of historical *de jure* intervention before the coding period. During the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the state actively promoted Hungarian through a series of legislative acts. Notably, Article I of the *Az 1868. évi XLIV a nemzetiségi egyenjogúság tárgyában* declared Hungarian the language of the state and mandated that all parliamentary business be conducted in Hungarian or translated into it. Although no longer in force by 1945 due to the collapse of the empire and the disruptions of two world wars, this earlier legal foundation shaped Hungary's linguistic landscape well into the modern era.

During the Communist period, the 1949 constitution did not designate an official language but did affirm protections for ethnic minorities. Russian enjoyed a priv-

ileged status as a foreign language, particularly in education, but never seriously threatened Hungarian's dominant role in public administration or cultural identity. The Ethnologue identifies no other languages with institutional status at either the national or provincial level. Accordingly, I code Hungarian as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 2011, and as the statutory national language from 2012 to 2014.

References

[1] *Hungary*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/HU/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] *Hongrie. Constitution de la République de Hongrie (version de 1989)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1989. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/hu1989.htm (visited on 13/03/2025).

[3] *Hongrie. Constitution de la République populaire de Hongrie (adoptée le 18 Août 1949)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1959. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/hu1949.htm (visited on 13/03/2025).

[4] *Hungary's Constitution of 2011*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2011. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=788 (visited on 13/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitution de la Hongrie (Loi fondamentale)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Hongrie-const2011.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Hongrie | 3) La politique linguistique à l'égard du hongrois*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/hongrie-3-pol-hongrois.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Péter Medgyes and Katalin Miklósy. 'The Language Situation in Hungary'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 1.2 (2000), pp. 148–242. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200008668008 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[8] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of the Hungarian People' s Republic: Magyar Közlöny 1949, pp. 1355–1362 (as amended). Consolidated text in Magyar Közlöny 1972 No. 32, and subsequent amendment in Magyar Közlöny 1975 No. 23.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 196–213. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-

3. URL: `https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s018.xml` (visited on 20/03/2025).

315: Czechoslovakia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-1992.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Czech	1945-1967	N	D: *De facto* national
	1968-1992	N	A: Statutory national
Slovak	1945-1967	N	D: *De facto* national
	1968-1992	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Correlates of War considers Czechoslovakia a member of the state system until its dissolution in 1992. This period predates all currently available editions of the Ethnologue. Nevertheless, an historical examination of the country's language policy and legislative framework indicates that Czech and Slovak functioned as the two principal languages of the Czechoslovak state, initially as *de facto* national languages, and later as statutory national languages.

In 1920, a new Czechoslovak constitution replaced the provisional constitutions of 1918. Articles 128–134 of the document outlined protections for national, religious, and racial minorities. On the same day the constitution was ratified, the National Assembly adopted a companion Language Law that designated 'Czechoslovak' the official state language. Passed under the authority of Article 129, the Language Law was considered a core constitutional text.

> Článek 1 [1920]
>
> Jazyk československý jest státním, officielním jazykem republiky (čl. 7. smlouvy mezi čelnými mocnostmi spojenými a přidruženými a mezi Československem, podepsané v St. Germain en Laye dne 10. září 1919)

The term 'Czechoslovak' was a political construct, devised to fuse Czech and Slovak identities in alignment with the Wilsonian ideal of national self-determination. Sociolinguistically, Slovak was often treated as a dialect of Czech, the prestige variety, resulting in the imposition of Czechisms on Slovak speakers without reciprocal linguistic borrowing. Although this generated friction, the issue was rendered moot with the suspension of the constitution during Nazi occupation.

Following the Second World War, the Soviet Union forcibly expelled of much of Czechoslovakia's German-speaking population, effectively reversing wartime Germanisation. A population exchange with Hungary further consolidated ethnic and linguistic homogeneity. In 1948, a new constitution replaced the 1920 document and conspicuously omitted any references to 'Czech,' 'Slovak,' 'Czechoslovak,' or any other language. This ambiguity persisted in the 1960 constitution but was

rectified by the 1968 *Ústavní zákon o československé federaci*. In terms of language policy, Article 6 enshrined Czech and Slovak as equal in law and practice.

> Článek 6 [1968]
>
> 1) Českého a slovenského jazyka se užívá rovnoprávně při vyhlašování zákonů a jiných obecně závazných právních předpisů.
>
> 2) Při jednání všech státních orgánů Československé socialistické republiky a obou republik, v řízení před nimi a v ostatním jejich styku s občany se užívá obou jazyků rovnoprávně.

Named the 'Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation' in English, the new basic text defined a federal structure composed of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic as its constituent entities. Federalisation eliminated the need for a synthetic Czechoslovak language based on the unitary nation-state ideal, and the linguistic arrangement simultaneously bestowing *de jure* official status on Czech and Slovak remained in place until the dissolution of Czechoslovakia at the end of 1992. Accordingly, I code both Czech and Slovak as *de facto* national languages from 1945 to 1967, and as statutory national languages from 1968 to 1992.

References

[1] Tomasz Dominik Kamusella. 'The Political Expediency of Language-Making in Central Europe: The Case of Czechoslovak'. In: *Studia Slavica / Slovanské Studie* X1 (2007). Accepted: 2017-09-15T12:30:07Z. ISSN: 1803-5663. URL: `https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/11673` (visited on 26/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *République tchèque | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/reptcheque-2HST.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Tchécoslovaquie*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/tchecoslovaquie.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic: Sbírka zákonů Československá socialistiká republika 1960 No. 100, as amended 1968 Nos. 143, 144; 1969 Nos. 57, 155; 1971 No. 43; 1978 No. 62'. In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 140–158. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: `https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s014.xml` (visited on 20/03/2025).

[5] William B. Simons. 'Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation: Sbírka zákonů. Československá socialistická republika 1968 No. 143, as amended 1970

No. 125; 1971 No. 43; 1975 No. 50.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 582–624. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s035.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

316: Czech Republic

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1993-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Czech	1993-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Czech as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of the Czech Republic (Czechia). *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this classification, noting that the Czech constitution, which entered into force on 1 January 1993, contains no provisions concerning language.

Czech is the mother tongue of over 95 percent of the population, rendering any formal constitutional definition largely redundant. As such, no general language law has been enacted to define a state language or regulate the domestic language situation in broad terms. Instead, domain-specific legislation in areas such as education, judicial procedure, nationality, public administration, healthcare, and media mandates the use of Czech in certain official and institutional contexts.

In exceptional circumstances, Czech law allows for communication with public authorities in Slovak or other recognised minority languages. However, the dissolution of Czechoslovakia accelerated the linguistic homogenisation of Czechia, as many ethnic Slovaks repatriated to Slovakia. While legal frameworks exist to protect the rights of linguistic minorities, the Ethnologue does not identify any language other than Czech as possessing institutional status at the national level. Accordingly, I code only Czech as the *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1993 to 2014.

References

[1] *Czechia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CZ/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *République tchèque / 3) Politique linguistique à l'égard du tchèque*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/reptcheque-3Pol-tcheque.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *République tchèque / Lois diverses / Dispositions linguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/reptcheque-lois-diverses.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] J.V. Neustupný and Jirí Nekvapil. 'Language Management in the Czech Republic'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 4.3 (2003), pp. 181–366. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200308668057 (visited on 26/02/2025).

317: Slovak Republic

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1993-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Hungarian	1993-1998	X	-: Other notable usage
	1999-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Slovak	1993-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Slovak as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Slovakia, citing Article 6(1) of the constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms that the constitution, which entered into force with the creation of the Slovak Republic in 1993, explicitly declares Slovak the official language of the state. In contrast to its western neighbour, Slovakia has pursued a more interventionist language policy aimed at strengthening the position of Slovak, which had historically been subordinated to Czech during the Czechoslovak period.

The Official Language Law of 1995 operationalises the constitutional provisions on language, introducing detailed regulations for the use of Slovak across virtually all domains of public life. Updated in 2009, the law replaced an earlier 1990 statute passed by the Slovak Socialist Republic, which was considered overly permissive. As the 1990 legislation remained in force until superseded, I code Slovak as the statutory national language for the entire coding period from 1993 to 2014, aligning with the Ethnologue.

The Ethnologue also identifies Hungarian as a statutory provincial language in southern and southeastern Slovakia, based on Article 2 of the 1999 Law on the Use of National Minority Languages. Slovakia has frequently been accused of implementing restrictive measures aimed in particular at the Hungarian minority. The 1999 law was introduced to align Slovak legislation with European standards on minority rights in anticipation of EU accession. I therefore apply a placeholder code for Hungarian from 1993 to 1998, and code it as a statutory provincial language from 1999 to 2014.

References

[1] *Slovakia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SK/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | S: Saint-Christophe-et-Niévès, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Marin, Saint-Vincent-et-les-Grenadines, Salomon, São-Tomé-et-Príncipe, Salvador, Samoa occidentales, Sénégal, Serbie, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Slovaquie, Slovénie, Somalie, Soudan, Soudan du Sud, Sri Lanka, Suède, Suisse, Surinam, Swaziland, Syrie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-S.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Slovaquie | (1) Informations préliminaires et dispositions constitutionnelles*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/slovaquieinfos.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Slovaquie | (2) La politique de valorisation du slovaque*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/slovaquiepolval.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Slovaquie | Loi sur l'emploi des langues des minorités nationales. Loi no 184/1999*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/slovaquie-loi99.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Slovaquie | Loi sur la langue officielle (1995). Modifiée substantiellement en 2009*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/slovaquie-loi95.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

325: Italy

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1945-1947	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1948-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
German	1945-1998	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1999-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Italian	1945-1998	N	D: *De facto* national
	1999-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Slovene	1945-1998	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1999-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Italian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Italy. As the 1947 Constitution contains no explicit language provisions, both *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* and the Ethnologue cite Article 1 of the Historical Minorities Protection Act, or Law No. 482 of 1999, titled *Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche*, as the legal basis for this designation. This law fills the definitional gap left by Article 6 of the Constitution, which merely states that 'The Republic safeguards linguistic minorities by means of appropriate measures.'

> Articolo 1. [1999]
>
> 1) La lingua ufficiale della Repubblica è l'italiano.
>
> 2) La Repubblica, che valorizza il patrimonio linguistico e culturale della lingua italiana, promuove altresí la valorizzazione delle lingue e delle culture tutelate dalla presente legge.

Italian, one of the closest living relatives of Latin, had already established itself as an administrative and literary language long before the unification of Italy in 1861. As in many European states, unification triggered a process of linguistic standardisation through education, the military, and public administration. By the second half of the twentieth century, Italian was firmly entrenched across nearly all domains of public life, including the judiciary, civil service, education, commerce, and media. Accordingly, I code Italian as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1998, and as the statutory national language from 1999 to 2014.

Although the 2024 edition of the Ethnologue does not identify any provincial languages in Italy, the 2014 edition, which records the state of affairs at the end of the coding period, classifies French, German, and Slovene as statutory provin-

cial languages based on the 1999 Historical Minorities Protection Act. This law granted formal recognition to minority languages in regions with varying degrees of autonomy, most notably Valle d'Aoste, Trentino-Alto Adige, and Friuli-Venezia Giulia (Trieste and Gorizia). While the latest Ethnologue has since downgraded these to 'recognised languages,' I follow the earlier version for the purposes of historical coding.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde further notes that French in Valle d'Aoste enjoys an even earlier constitutional basis. The 1948 *Statuto speciale per la Valle d'Aosta*, the founding statute of the region, explicitly states: 'La langue française et la langue italienne sont à parité en Vallée d'Aoste.' The French version of this statute is not merely a translation but an authentic legal text. Based on this, I code French as a *de facto* provincial language from 1945 to 1947, and as a statutory provincial language from 1948 to 2014.

By contrast, no equivalent legal framework existed for German in Trentino-Alto Adige or Slovene in Friuli-Venezia Giulia until the 1999 nationwide legislation. I therefore code German and Slovene as *de facto* provincial languages from 1945 to 1998, and as statutory provincial languages from 1999 to 2014. This coding scheme aligns with the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue, which documents the linguistic landscape at the end of the relevant period.

References

[1] *Italy*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/IT/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Italie-Autriche / Accord de Gasperi-Gruber de 1947. DISPOSITIONS LINGUISTIQUES*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/italie_accord-gasperi-gruber-1947.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *L'État italien*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/italieetat.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Région autonome du Frioul—Vénétie-Julienne*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2022. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/italiefrioul.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Trentin-Haut-Adige*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval,

2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/italietrentin.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Vallée d'Aoste*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/italieaoste.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Vallée d'Aoste | Statut spécial de la Vallée d'Aoste (Statuto speciale per la Valle d'Aosta). Loi constitutionnelle du 26 février 1948, n° 4 (Legge Costituzionale 26 febbraio 1948, n. 4)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/italieaoste_statut1948.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] *Italy*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/IT/status/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[9] Arturo Tosi. 'The Language Situation in Italy'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 5.3 (2004), pp. 247–335. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200408668259 (visited on 20/03/2025).

331: San Marino

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1992-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Italian	1992-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national
Romagnol	1992-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Italian as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of San Marino. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms that the Statutes of 1600—one of the oldest surviving constitutions in the world—contain no linguistic provisions. San Marino has no comprehensive language law, and very little legislation addresses language at all, aside from scattered provisions in specific domains such as education and intellectual property.

In practice, however, the dominance of Italian is a well-established sociolinguistic fact. As a landlocked enclave within Italy, San Marino is almost entirely Italian-speaking, and Italian is used across all domains of public life, including government, education, media, and administration. I therefore extend the Ethnologue's classification of Italian as a *de facto* national language to cover the entire coding period from 1945 to 2014.

The Ethnologue also identifies Romagnol as the *de facto* language of national identity. A regional dialect of Standard Italian, Romagnol is widely understood by the population and serves as a symbol of local heritage. However, it is seldom employed in official contexts, and its use has declined, especially among younger generations. Following the Ethnologue's assessment, I code Romagnol as the *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Romagnol*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/rgn/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] *San Marino*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SM/` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Saint-Marin*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2015. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/san-marino.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

338: Malta

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1964-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1964-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Maltese	1964-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists Maltese and English as the two principal languages of Malta, which was a British Crown colony from 1813 until independence in 1964. While English is recognised as a statutory national working language, Maltese, native to the islands, is classified as the statutory national language. Both designations derive from Article 5 of the 1964 constitution, which remains in force.

> Article 5. Language [1964]
>
> 1) The National language of Malta is the Maltese Language.
> 2) The Maltese and the English languages and such other language as may be prescribed by Parliament (by a law passed by not less than two-thirds of all the members of the House of Representatives) shall be the official languages of Malta and the Administration may for all official purposes use any of such languages:
>
> — Provided that any person may address the Administration in any of the official languages and the reply of the Administration thereto shall be in such language.
>
> 3) The language of the Courts shall be the Maltese language:
>
> — Provided that Parliament may make such provision for the use of the English language in such cases and under such conditions as it may prescribe.
>
> 4) The House of Representatives may, in regulating its own procedure, determine the language or languages that shall be used in Parliamentary proceedings and records.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde notes additional provisions in the constitution reinforcing official bilingualism. Article 74, for example, requires laws to be published in both Maltese and English, specifying that the Maltese text shall prevail in the case of conflict.

Since independence, Malta has consistently pursued a policy of official bilingualism. The Maltese Language Act 2003 obliges the state to promote the use of Maltese by all appropriate means, a mandate operationalised through the establishment

of the National Council for the Maltese Language in 2005. While both languages are widely used, Maltese is the native language of the population, and English is typically acquired as a second language.

Legislation across multiple domains including justice, education, citizenship, and commerce, permits the use of either Maltese or English, though Maltese predominates in daily life. On the basis of the Ethnologue's classification and these institutional provisions, I code Maltese as the statutory national language and English as the statutory national working language for the entire period from 1964 to 2014.

References

[1] *Malta*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MT/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Malte*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/malte.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Malte / Constitution de 1964*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/malte-const-1964.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Malte / Loi sur la langue maltaise de 2003*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/malte-loi-2003.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

339: Albania

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Albanian	1945-1997	N	D: *De facto* national
	1998-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Greek	1945-2014	X	L: *De facto* provincial (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Albanian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Albania, citing Article 14 of the 1998 constitution as the legal basis for this designation. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this view, noting that neither the 1976 nor the 1991 constitutions, which were both adopted during periods of socialist governance, explicitly identified an official language despite recognising national minorities. This omission was rectified following a 1998 constitutional referendum that produced the constitution currently in force.

> Neni 14 [1998]
>
> 1) Gjuha zyrtare në Republikën e Shqipërisë është shqipja.

This explicit provision codified an existing sociolinguistic reality. Albanian had long functioned as the sole national language, particularly under the authoritarian rule of Enver Hoxha from 1944 to 1985. During this period, foreign languages were effectively excluded from public life. Following the Sino-Soviet split, Hoxha distanced Albania from both the US- and Soviet-led blocs, reinforcing linguistic self-reliance at the expense of English and Russian. His government also standardised Albanian on the basis of the southern-based Tosk dialect rather than the Gheg dialect spoken in the north, reflecting the regional origin of the ruling elite. Given this context, I code Albanian as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1997, and as the statutory national language from 1998 to 2014.

The Ethnologue further identifies Greek as a *de facto* language of provincial identity in the southern districts of Gjirokastër, Sarandë, and Delvinë, which border Greece. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that the Greek minority has historically received greater recognition than other minority groups in Albania. Following the fall of communism, public protests in the early 1990s led to limited legal and symbolic concessions aimed at redressing past repression. Nevertheless, the number of Greek speakers has declined markedly due to emigration and assimilation, and no statutory protections currently underpin their linguistic rights. In line with the Ethnologue and in view of this sociolinguistic trajectory, I code Greek as a *de facto* language of provincial identity for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Albania*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AL/ (visited on 15/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Albanie | Constitution de 1998 (Kushtetuta e Republikës së Shqipërisë). Dispositions linguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/albanie-const-1998.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Albanie | Informations générales et démolinguistiques (Première partie)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/albanie_1infor-demo.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *La politique linguistique de l'Albanie (Troisième partie)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/albanie_3pol-lng.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Les dispositions constitutionnelles (Seconde partie)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/albanie_2constitution.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of the People' s Socialist Republic of Albania: Gazeta Zyrtare e Republikës Popullore të Shqipërisë 1976 No. 5'. In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 8–31. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s006.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

[7] Alexander Vezenkov. 'The Albanian Language Question: Contexts and Priorities'. In: *Entangled Histories of the Balkans*. Vol. 1. Balkan Studies Library 9. Section: Entangled Histories of the Balkans - Volume One. Leiden: Brill, 2013, pp. 489–522. ISBN: 978-90-04-25076-5. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/edcoll/9789004250765/B9789004250765_011.xml (visited on 26/02/2025).

341: Montenegro

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 2006-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Albanian	2006-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Montenegrin	2006-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Serbian	2006	X	B: Statutory national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Montenegrin as the principal language and the statutory national language of Montenegro, citing Article 13 of the 2007 Constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms that this document constitutes a *de jure* declaration of languages in official use in the Montenegrin state.

> *Član 13. Jezik i pismo* [2007]
>
> 1) *Službeni jezik u Crnoj Gori je crnogorski jezik.*
> 2) *Ćirilično i latinično pismo su ravnopravni.*
> 3) *U službenoj upotrebi su i srpski, bosanski, albanski i hrvatski jezik.*
>
> [Article 13. Language and Script [2007]
>
> 1) The official language in Montenegro is the Montenegrin language.
> 2) The Cyrillic and Latin scripts are equal.
> 3) The Serbian, Bosnian, Albanian and Croatian languages are also in official use.]

This article marks a terminological departure from the 1992 constitution of the Republic of Montenegro (as constituent part of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia), which remained in force until Montenegro became independent in 2006. Besides identifying 'Serbian in the Ijekavian dialect' instead of 'Montenegrin' as the official language, the 1992 constitution only permitted the official use of minority languages at the municipal level:

> Article 9. Language and Alphabet [1992]
>
> 1) In Montenegro, Serbian language of the Ijekavian dialect will be the official language.
> 2) Cyrillic and Latin alphabets shall be deemed to be equal.
> 3) In the municipalities in which the majority or a substantial number of population consists of the national minorities and ethnic groups, their respective languages and alphabets shall be in official use.

The terminological and political significance of 'Serbian' in this context must be carefully understood. Within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, 'Serbo-Croatian' referred to a shared linguistic continuum comprising what would later be defined as Serbian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Montenegrin. The 1954 Novi Sad Agreement had codified two main variants of a Yugoslav language. Whilst Croats used the Western variant, named 'Croato-Serbian,' the Eastern 'Serbo-Croatian' variant in turn comprised an Ekavian dialect, spoken by Serbs, and an Ijekavian dialect spoken by Montenegrins and Bosniac Muslims. Greenberg (2008: 37, 39) provides context:

> 'In the first Yugoslavia, the Montenegrins and Muslim Slavs were not recognized as constituent ethnic groups; therefore, only the Croats had the political clout to defend the threatened ijekavian standard.
>
> ...
>
> 'The final phase of the debates surrounding ijekavian is still ongoing. This dialect is currently considered to be at the core of the Bosnian, Croatian, and Montenegrin successor languages to Serbo-Croatian, and is one of the two official pronunciations of the Serbian language.'

Curiously, this reveals that 'Croato-Serbian' was in fact much closer linguistically to Ijekavian than to Ekavian. Besides pronunciation, the Serbs favoured the Cyrillic script, whilst proponents of an independent Montenegrin idiom favoured Latin. Following the collapse of the SFRY, the Serbo-Croatian language also broke apart. The 1992 federal constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia enumerated one official language, described as 'Serbian in its Ekavian and Ijekavian speech,' with an exclusive emphasis on the Cyrillic script.

> Article 15 [1992]
>
> 1. In the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Serbian language in its ekavian [ekavskog] and ijekavian [ijekavskog] speech and the Cyrillic script are official, while the Latin script shall be in official use as provided for by the constitution and law.
> 2. In regions of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia inhabited by national minorities, the languages and scripts of these minorities shall also be in official use in the manner specified by law.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia collapsed in 2002 and was replaced by a looser confederate union in which Montenegro obtained autonomy in all domains except defence and foreign policy. The 1992 constitution of the Republic of Montenegro, cited previously, remained in force, and the Ijekavian dialect persisted as the language of identity in Montenegro. On the eve of the independence in 2006, Montenegrin (understood as Ijekavian Serbian) had already assumed national identity functions, while Serbian (Ekavian) remained an administrative language without such symbolism. I therefore code Montenegrin as the statutory national language and Serbian as a statutory national working language for the year 2006.

Following Montenegro's independence in 2006, the 'Serbian in its Ekavian and

Ijekavian speech' of the 1992 federal constitution further splintered into two languages, 'Serbian' and 'Montenegrin.' The 2007 constitution cited previously designated Montenegrin the official language of the new state, while Serbian, Bosnian, Albanian, and Croatian were listed as 'also in official use.' I thus continue to code Montenegrin as the statutory national language, a classification which extends from 2006 to 2014. In line with the Ethnologue, I do not code Serbian from 2007 to 2014.

The recognition of Serbian, Bosnian, Albanian, and Croatian in Article 13(3) as being 'in official use' does not explicitly confer statutory institutional status upon them. Of the above, the Ethnologue identifies only Albanian as a statutory provincial language. This status, which obtains in Tuzi City Municipality, Plav Municipality, and Ulcinj Municipality, is based on Article 9 of *Statute No. 5-06* (2006) which predates the current constitution. Accordingly, I code Albanian as a statutory provincial language from 2006 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: April 27, 1992 (as Amended to July 6, 2000)*. In: *Oxford Constitutions of the World*. Online. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-ocw-cd1212-H2000.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd1212-H2000?prd=OCW (visited on 26/02/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro (12 October 1992)*. Publisher: Venice Commission, Council of Europe. Documents, CDL(2005)096-English. 2005. URL: https://www.venice.coe.int/webforms/documents/?pdf=CDL(2005)096-e (visited on 26/02/2025).

[3] *Montenegro*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ME/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Introduction'. In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 1–15. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0001 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[5] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Montenegrin: A Mountain Out of a Mole Hill?' In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 88–108. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0004 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[6] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Serbo-Croatian: United or Not We Fall'. In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 16–67. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0002 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | M: Macédoine, Madagascar, Malaisie, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Malte, Maroc, Marshall, Maurice, Mauritanie, Mexique, Micronésie, Moldavie, Monaco, Mongolie, Monténégro, Mozambique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-M.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Monténégro | 3) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Montenegro-3Politique-lng.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[9] *Languages of Serbia and Montenegro*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 15th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2005. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/15/show_country/CS/` (visited on 16/02/2025).

343: Macedonia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1993-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Albanian	1993-2014	`X`	`G`: Statutory provincial
Macedonian	1993-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue identifies Albanian (Gheg Albanian) and Macedonian as the principal languages of Macedonia, now known as North Macedonia. Macedonian is the statutory national language, while Albanian is classified as a statutory national working language. However, the Ethnologue specifies that Albanian only gained this status in 2019, which lies outside the coding period. An earlier 2015 edition of the Ethnologue had previously identified Macedonian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language. Both editions cite Article 7(1) of the 1991 constitution:

> *(1) Vo Republika Makedonija služben jazik e makedonskiot jazik i negovoto kirilsko pismo.*
>
> [(1) The official language in the Republic of Macedonia is the Macedonian language and its Cyrillic script.]

This clause clearly establishes Macedonian as the sole statutory national language of the state. Unlike many of its Balkan neighbours, North Macedonia was largely uninvolved in the Yugoslav Wars. Nevertheless, ethnic tensions between the majority Macedonian population and the substantial Albanian minority escalated following the Kosovo War, which brought an influx of Kosovar Albanian refugees. Ethnic Albanian leaders began to demand that Albanian be recognised as an official language and that Albanians be acknowledged as a 'constituent people' of the republic. These demands culminated in the officialisation of Albanian at the national level in 2019, but the constitutionality of this measure has been questioned and falls outside the scope of the present coding period.

Throughout the period from 1993 to 2014, North Macedonia maintained a policy of unilingualism at the national level, with Macedonian enjoying exclusive official status. I therefore code Macedonian as the statutory national language for the entire period. Although there were provisions for the official use of minority languages at the municipal level where minorities constituted a significant portion of the population, Albanian did not receive national-level recognition within the coding period. I accordingly code Albanian only as a statutory provincial language from 1993 to 2014.

References

[1] *North Macedonia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MK/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | M: Macédoine, Madagascar, Malaisie, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Malte, Maroc, Marshall, Maurice, Mauritanie, Mexique, Micronésie, Moldavie, Monaco, Mongolie, Monténégro, Mozambique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-M.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Macédoine du Nord*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/macedoine.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Macédoine: Constitution, 1991 (avec les modifications de 2001)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Macedoine-const-1991.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] *Macedonia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 18th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2015. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/18/country/MK/status/ (visited on 26/02/2025).

344: Croatia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1992-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Croatian	1992-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national
Italian	1992-2002	`X`	`M`: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	2003-2014	`X`	`G`: Statutory provincial

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Croatian as the sole principal language and statutory national language of Croatia based on Article 12(1) of the 1990 constitution. Although the constitution has undergone multiple amendments, Article 12 has remained unchanged throughout the coding period:

> Article 12 [1990]
>
> — The Croatian language and the Latin script shall be in official use in the Republic of Croatia.
>
> — In individual local units, another language and Cyrillic or some other script may be introduced into official use together with the Croatian language and Latin script under conditions specified by law.

Croatian and modern Serbian are highly mutually intelligible. During the Yugoslav period, 'Serbo-Croatian' functioned as the common polycentric standard idiom for the South Slavic state. However, cultural and religious differences, notably script usage (Cyrillic for Serbs and Montenegrins, Latin for Croats) contributed to the eventual 'administrative dissolution' of Serbo-Croatian in the 1990s. By that time, Croatian had already emerged as a distinct standard language. Research continues to show that Croats tend to emphasise the distinctiveness of Croatian relative to Serbian more than Serbs do in the other direction (Aleksic 2023). Given this linguistic divergence and the unambiguous constitutional provision from 1990, I code Croatian as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1992 to 2014.

The Ethnologue additionally identifies Italian as a statutory provincial language in Istria County, grounded in Article 6 of the Istrian Regional Statute of 2003. Article 6(1) declares that Croatian and Italian are to be equal in official use in the regional administration:

> Članak 6 [2003]
>
> (1) U Istarskoj županiji hrvatski i talijanski jezik su u ravnopravnoj službenoj uporabi u radu županijskih tijela u samoupravnom djelok-

rugu.

[Article 6 [2003]

(1) In the Istrian Region, the Croatian and the Italian language are in equal official use in the work of the Regional committees in the self-governing domain.]

Istria was part of Italy from 1919 until its cession to Yugoslavia in 1947. Although the number of individuals in Istria self-identifying as ethnically Italian nearly doubled from 1981 to 1991, they still constituted under 10 percent of the population. For this reason, I code Italian as a *de facto* language of provincial identity from 1991 to 2002, and as a statutory provincial language from 2003 to 2014 based on the Istrian statute and classifications by the 2009 and 2014 editions of the Ethnologue and beyond.

While more recent editions of the Ethnologue (2017–2022) list Serbian and Bosnian as statutory provincial working languages, and Hungarian and Slovene as statutory provincial identity languages based on Article 15 of the 2002 Constitutional Law on the Rights of National Minorities, this law does not name specific languages or groups. Moreover, the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue, which marks the end of the coding period, does not attribute institutional status to these languages. In the current edition, all four are demoted to 'recognised languages.' I therefore do not code them.

References

[1] Adam Aleksic. 'The Effects of Language Policy on Language Identity in Serbia and Croatia'. Publisher: Unpublished. Bachelor of Arts. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2023. URL: https://rgdoi.net/10.13140/RG.2.2.15910.13123 (visited on 28/02/2025).

[2] Ranko Bugarski. 'Language, Identity and Borders in the Former Serbo-Croatian Area'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 33.3 (2012). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 219–235. ISSN: 0143-4632. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2012.663376 (visited on 28/02/2025).

[3] Ranko Bugarski. 'Language, Nationalism and War in Yugoslavia'. In: 2001.151 (2001). Publisher: De Gruyter Mouton Section: International Journal of the Sociology of Language, pp. 69–87. ISSN: 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.2001.048/html (visited on 28/02/2025).

[4] *Croatia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/HR/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Croatian: We Are Separate but Equal Twins'. In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 109–134. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0005 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[6] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Serbo-Croatian: United or Not We Fall'. In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 16–67. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0002 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[7] Jens-Eberhard Jahn. 'The Political, Ethnic and Linguistic Borders of the Upper Adriatic After the Dissolution of Yugoslavia'. In: *Poznań Studies in Contemporary Linguistics* 35 (1999), pp. 73–81. URL: http://ifa.amu.edu.pl/psicl/files/35/05Jahn.pdf (visited on 28/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Croatie | (2) La politique linguistique de croatisation*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/croatiepolcroa.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Croatie | (3) La politique linguistique à l'égard des minorités nationales*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/croatiepolminor.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Croatie | Loi constitutionnelle sur les droits des minorités nationales (Ustavni zakon o pravima nacionalnih manjina) (Le 19 décembre 2002)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/croatie-loi-diverses.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Croatie | Lois diverses à portée linguistique (dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/croatie-loi-diverses.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[12] *Croatia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/HR/status/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[13] Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook. 'Chapter 1. Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages'. In: *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*. Ed. by Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook. Multilingual Matters, 2006, pp. 1–41. ISBN: 978-1-85359-925-5. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781853599255-003/html (visited on 28/02/2025).

[14] *Croatia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 20th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2017. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/20/country/HR/status/ (visited on 28/02/2025).

[15] *The Consolidated Text of the Constitution of the Republic of Croatia as of 15 January 2014*. Publisher: Constitutional Court of the Republic of Croatia. 2014. URL: https://www.usud.hr/sites/default/files/dokumenti/The_consolidated_text_of_the_Constitution_of_the_Republic_of_Croatia_as_of_15_January_2014.pdf (visited on 28/02/2025).

345: Serbia / Yugoslavia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Albanian	1945-1973	X	-: Other notable usage
	1974-1988	X	G: Statutory provincial
	1989-1998	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1999-2007	X	-: Other notable usage
Bosnian	1974-1991	N	K: *De facto* provincial
Croatian	1945-1962	N	D: *De facto* national
	1963-1973	N	A: Statutory national
	1974-1991	N	D: *De facto* national
	1992-2008	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	2009-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Hungarian	1945-1973	X	-: Other notable usage
	1974-1988	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1989-2001	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	2002-2008	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	2009-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Macedonian	1945-1962	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1963-1973	N	B: Statutory national (working)
	1974-1991	N	G: Statutory provincial
Montenegrin	1974-1991	N	K: *De facto* provincial
	1992-2002	N	A: Statutory national
	2003-2005	N	D: *De facto* national
Romanian	1945-1973	X	-: Other notable usage
	1974-2008	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	2009-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Serbian	1945-1962	N	D: *De facto* national
	1963-1973	N	A: Statutory national
	1974-1991	N	D: *De facto* national
	1992-2002	N	A: Statutory national
	2003-2005	N	D: *De facto* national
	2006-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Slovak	1945-1973	X	-: Other notable usage
	1974-2008	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	2009-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Slovene	1945-1962	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1963-1973	N	B: Statutory national (working)
	1974-1991	N	K: *De facto* provincial

Coding Rationale

Correlates of War (COW) code 345 is used to identify the former Yugoslavia and the succession of political entities that emerged following its dissolution. From 1945 to 1991, it denotes the state initially known as the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, renamed the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1963. The COW dataset records Bosnia and Herzegovina (COW code 346), Croatia (344), and Slovenia (349) as seceding from this entity and entering the international system as independent states in 1992.

In 1993, Macedonia (now North Macedonia) gained independence and a separate COW code 343. From 1993 to 2005, code 345 corresponds to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and successor state, the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, following a restructuring in 2003. Montenegro became an independent state in 2006, entering the system under COW code 341. Finally, in 2008, Kosovo (COW code 347) entered the system as an independent entity; from that point until 2014, COW code 345 refers to what is now known as Serbia, exclusive of Kosovo.

Sociolinguistic Background

Ranko Bugarski and Robert D. Greenberg provide the most comprehensive and widely cited scholarly treatments of language policy and sociolinguistics in Yugoslavia and its successor states. The political unification of the South Slavic peoples in 1918, under the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes, introduced Serbo-Croatian as a symbol of Yugoslav national rather than ethnic identity. Article 3 of the 1931 constitution of the renamed Kingdom of Yugoslavia declared 'Serbo-Croato-Slovene' the official language.

Although the Independent State of Croatia declared Croatian a separate language during the Second World War as a Nazi puppet state, the Communist victory in 1945 allowed Tito to reassert the linguistic unity of Serbo-Croatian. In 1954, the Novi Sad Agreement formalised this consensus: Serb and Croat linguists affirmed the existence of a shared language with two major variants, Eastern (Belgrade-centred) and Western (Zagreb-centred). These were respectively labelled 'Serbo-Croatian' and 'Croato-Serbian.' The agreement also endorsed two pronunciations or dialects (Ekavian and Ijekavian) that cut across the variant divide.

While the 1946 constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia avoided naming an official language, the 1963 constitution adopted the terminology of the Novi Sad Agreement. Article 42 recognised the equality of the 'languages and scripts of the peoples of Yugoslavia' and stipulated that the armed forces would operate in Serbo-Croatian. Article 131 mandated that federal legislation be published 'in the languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia, that is, in Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian, in Slovene, and in Macedonian.'

This delicate linguistic consensus began to erode in the late 1960s, as republic-level autonomy expanded and ethnic tensions resurfaced. In 1967, prominent Zagreb linguists publicly rejected the term 'Croato-Serbian,' calling instead for recognition of the 'Croatian literary language.' The issue culminated in the Croatian Spring of

1971, which was suppressed by Tito's regime.

By 1974, the Novi Sad Agreement was effectively defunct. Article 171 of the new federal constitution granted each republic the right to determine its own official language(s). Serbo-Croatian was no longer named as the state language. The Socialist Republics of Croatia and Montenegro responded by recognising their own 'standard linguistic idioms,' adding a further dimension to the existing bifurcation into Eastern and Western variants and the Ekavian–Ijekavian pronunciation divide. Bosniak Muslims, absent from the original 1954 accord, seized this opportunity to promote a 'Bosnia-Herzegovinian standard idiom,' the precursor to what would later be termed Bosnian. The table below (adapted from Greenberg 2008: Ch. 2, p. 40) summarises these terminological developments between 1954 and 1974:

Table III.2: Changes in nomenclature for Serbo-Croatian dialects, 1954-1974

1954	1974
Western Variant (Croato-Serbian)	Croatian Standard Idiom
Eastern Variant (Serbo-Croatian)	
Ekavian	Eastern Variant-Ekavian Pronunciation
Ijekavian	Eastern Variant-Ijekavian Pronunciation
Ijekavian	Montenegrin Standard Idiom
Undefined (Serbo-Croatian)	Bosnia-Herzegovinian Standard Idiom

In brief, the early decades of socialist Yugoslavia were marked by the existence of a shared language, with two variants, known either as Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian. This consensus was articulated in the 1954 Novi Sad Agreement and institutionalised in the 1963 constitution. During the 1960s and early 1970s, however, this unity unravelled. By 1974, the republics were codifying their own idioms, and with the dissolution of Yugoslavia in 1992, Serbo-Croatian fragmented into four distinct successor languages: Croatian, Bosnian, Montenegrin (then known as 'Ijekavian Serbian'), and Serbian (then known as 'Ekavian Serbian').

Between 1992 and 2006, the umbrella term 'Serbian' thus encompasses more than its present-day meaning. Article 15 of the 1992 constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, comprising both Serbia and Montenegro, declares that 'the Serbian language in its ekavian [ekavskog] and ijekavian [ijekavskog] speech and the Cyrillic script are official' (see also the entry for Montenegro, COW code 341). This effectively includes both what are now recognised as Serbian and Montenegrin. Following the dissolution of the union in 2006, Serbian came to denote exclusively the Ekavian dialect, written in Cyrillic.

Coding the Serbo-Croatian Languages

For the purposes of this study, I adopt the following coding conventions. Between 1945 and 1973, any reference to 'Serbo-Croatian' is coded as both Serbian and

Croatian, reflecting the binational character of Yugoslavia and the consensus embodied in the Novi Sad Agreement. 'Croato-Serbian,' however, is coded solely as Croatian, acknowledging the junior status of Croats in the linguistic partnership and their struggle for distinction, symbolised by the reversal of order in the term. From 1974 onwards, I maintain this approach for the terms 'Serbo-Croatian' and 'Croato-Serbian' while recognising the emergence of Bosnian and Montenegrin at the republic level. From 1992 to 2006, I distinguish between 'Serbian in the Ekavian dialect' (coded as Serbian) and 'Serbian in the Ijekavian dialect' (coded as Montenegrin). From 2007 onwards, all terminology corresponds to contemporary linguistic designations.

I code Serbian, Montenegrin, Croatian, and Bosnian as follows. From 1945 to 1962, Serbian and Croatian (as part of Serbo-Croatian) are the *de facto* national languages of Yugoslavia, used in both administration and as a key symbolic marker of Yugoslav national identity. From 1963 to 1973, they are elevated to statutory national languages, as the 1963 constitution stipulates that the military shall operate in Serbo-Croatian and that legislation shall be promulgated in Serbo-Croatian / Croato-Serbian.

> Article 131 [1963]
>
> The federal laws and other general acts of the federal organs shall be made public in the official gazette of the Federation, in the authentic texts in the languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia: in Serbo-Croatian and Croato-Serbian, Slovene and Macedonian. In official communication the organs of the Federation shall abide by the principle of equality of languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

However, they are subsequently demoted to de facto national languages by the 1974 Constitution, which guarantees language rights in Article 171 but does not designate an official state language. This absence of an explicitly stated national language reflects the decentralising ethos of the 1974 constitutional reform and the growing recognition of republic-level linguistic autonomy.

> Article 171 [1974]
>
> — Members of nationalities shall, in conformity with the constitution and statute, have the right to use their language and alphabet in the exercise of their rights and duties, and in proceedings before state agencies and organizations exercising public powers.
>
> — Members of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia shall, on the territory of each Republic and/or Autonomous Province, have the right to instruction in their own language in conformity with statute.

In 'conformity with statute,' languages effectively became a provincial matter. Article 8 of the 1990 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (as a constituent republic of Yugoslavia) stipulated that 'the Serbo-Croatian language and the Cyrillic alphabet are officially used.' However, the 1991 Serbian Law on the Official Use of Languages

and Scripts reframes this language by asserting: 'The Serbo-Croatian language is also called Serbian language (hereinafter referred to as the Serbian language) as far as its pronunciations Ekavski and Ijekavski are concerned.' This provision refers to what are today recognised as Serbian and Montenegrin, though this law applies only to the territory of the Republic of Serbia within Yugoslavia. As the 1974 Constitution remained in force at the federal level, this does not alter my coding: Serbian and Croatian remain *de facto* national languages of Yugoslavia from 1974 to 1991.

From 1992, the provisions of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia apply to Correlates of War code 345. As previously noted, this constitution stipulates that the Ekavian and Ijekavian dialects of Serbian, written in the Cyrillic script, are official languages. This clearly does not apply to Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia after their secession.

> Article 15 [1992]
>
> 1. In the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Serbian language in its ekavian [ekavskog] and ijekavian [ijekavskog] speech and the Cyrillic script are official, while the Latin script shall be in official use as provided for by the constitution and law.
> 2. In regions of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia inhabited by national minorities, the languages and scripts of these minorities shall also be in official use in the manner specified by law.

Therefore, I code Serbian and Montenegrin as statutory national languages from 1992 to 2002. With the breakup of Yugoslavia, Croatian is no longer subsumed under 'Serbian' and requires separate treatment based on subnational legal provisions.

In 2003, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was reconstituted as the State Union of Serbia and Montenegro, rendering the 1992 constitution obsolete. The new Constitutional Charter of the State Union contained no explicit provisions on language. In this confederal arrangement, Serbia was the dominant republic. As such, I code Serbian as the *de facto* national language of the State Union from 2003 to 2005, based on its statutory recognition in the Republic of Serbia via the 1990 constitution and the 1991 Law on Official Language. Similarly, from 2003 to 2005, I code Montenegrin as a *de facto* national language. This status overrides its previous position as a statutory provincial language within the Republic of Montenegro, established under the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Montenegro.

From 2006, Montenegro is no longer part of the entity defined by Correlates of War code 345. I thus base my coding solely on the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia. Article 10 of the 2006 Constitution declares:

> Article 10. Language and script [2006]
>
> — Serbian language and Cyrillic script shall be in official use in the Republic of Serbia.

— Official use of other languages and scripts shall be regulated by the law based on the Constitution.

I therefore code Serbian as a statutory national language from 2006 until the end of the coding period in 2014. To summarise my coding for Serbian:

— *De facto* national language from 1945 to 1962

— Statutory national language from 1963 to 1973

— *De facto* national language from 1974 to 1991

— Statutory national language from 1992 to 2002

— *De facto* national language from 2003 to 2005

— Statutory national language from 2006 to 2014

For Montenegrin, no coding is entered from 1945 to 1973, during which time the Novi Sad Agreement was in effect and Montenegrin linguistic identity was weak. From 1974 to 1991, I code Montenegrin as a *de facto* provincial language. Although the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Montenegro names 'Serbo-Croatian' as the official language, Greenberg notes growing recognition that the language used in the republic was in fact a distinct Montenegrin standard idiom.

From 1992 to 2002, Montenegrin is coded as a statutory national language of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, as its 1992 Constitution declares 'Serbian in the Ijekavian pronunciation' an official language. From 2003 to 2005, it becomes a *de facto* national language within the State Union. I do not code Montenegrin after 2006, as Montenegro is no longer part of Serbia, and the Ethnologue identifies Montenegrin as an unestablished language in present-day Serbia.

Next, I treat Croatian. From 1945 to 1962, I code Croatian as a *de facto* national language alongside Serbian, as part of Croato-Serbian. It becomes a statutory national language from 1963 to 1973, in line with the 1963 constitution. From 1974 to 1991, Croatian returns to being a *de facto* national language under the 1974 constitution.

After the dissolution of Yugoslavia, I code Croatian based on developments in Vojvodina. Although the 1990 Constitution of the Republic of Serbia allowed for minority language use 'in the manner stipulated by law,' the 1991 Law on Official Language reinstated Serbian as the official language in both Kosovo and Vojvodina. In practice, other languages, including Croatian, were marginalised, and Croats were among the minorities purged from Vojvodina during the Milošević era. Thus, from 1992 to 2001, I code Croatian as a *de facto* provincial language of identity.

Although the 2002 Federal Law on the Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities improved conditions for linguistic minorities, I continue to code Croatian as a *de facto* provincial language from 2002 to 2008. The new Federal Law represented a changed legal framework which Korhecz (2008) argues 'significantly upgraded and extended the rights of minorities to the official use of their languages.'

However, Croats made up only a small percentage of Vojvodina's population and enjoyed fewer protections in practice compared to Hungarians. It was not until 2009 that the Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina explicitly listed Croatian among the official provincial languages:

> Article 26 [2009]
>
> In bodies and organisations of the AP of Vojvodina, the Serbian language and Cyrillic script shall be in the official use, as well as Hungarian, Slovak, Croatian, Romanian and Ruthenian languages and their scripts, in accordance with the law and the Provincial Assembly decision.

Accordingly, I code Croatian as a statutory provincial language from 2009 to 2014.

Finally, I turn to Bosnian, the fourth and final language descended from Serbo-Croatian. From 1945 to 1973, I do not code Bosnian at all, as the Novi Sad Agreement was in effect and a separate Bosnian linguistic identity was not formally recognised. From 1974 to 1991, I code Bosnian as a *de facto* provincial language. Although the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina continued to list 'Serbo-Croatian' as the official language, Greenberg notes a growing awareness of a distinct Bosnian idiom.

After 1991, I do not code Bosnian. During the FRY period, no province-level government (i.e., Serbia or Montenegro) used Bosnian in an official capacity. Although the Ethnologue currently identifies Bosnian as a statutory language of provincial identity in Bujanovac, Medveđa, and Preševo, it is primarily used in education and not widely institutionalised. Moreover, the Ethnologue refers to Article 3 of the 1991 Law on Official Languages as its basis for this classification. Yet this law never names Bosnian, and it was passed under the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which no longer exists. I therefore end my coding for Bosnian in 1991.

Coding Slovene and Macedonian

I now turn to the non-Serbo-Croatian languages of Yugoslavia, beginning with Slovene and Macedonian. Both were spoken in constituent republics of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), and, unlike the other minority languages of Yugoslavia, both were eventually recognised in the 1963 constitution.

From 1945 to 1962, Yugoslav language policy sought to suppress overt ethnic differentiation in favour of a unified Yugoslav idiom. During this period, Slovene and Macedonian served as *de facto* provincial languages of provincial identity, used in cultural life but not in administration within the Socialist Republics of Slovenia and Macedonia, respectively. However, they held no formal recognition at the federal level. This changed in 1963. The SFRY constitution of that year named Slovene and Macedonian, alongside Serbo-Croatian and Croato-Serbian, as languages in which federal laws were to be published.

> Article 131 [1963]
>
> The federal laws and other general acts of the federal organs shall be

> made public in the official gazette of the Federation, in the authentic texts in the languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia: in Serbo-Croatian and Croato-Serbian, Slovene and Macedonian. In official communication the organs of the Federation shall abide by the principle of equality of languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia.

This is evidence of statutory institutional recognition at the federal level. However, Serbo-Croatian continued to function as the language of both federal administration and symbolic national identity. Accordingly, from 1963 to 1973, I code Slovene and Macedonian as statutory national working languages —languages with federal recognition used in institutional contexts, but not tied to broader national identity across the state.

As previously noted, the 1974 constitution altered this arrangement by devolving language policy to the republics and declining to name an official language of the federation. In practice, Serbo-Croatian remained dominant at the federal level, while the republics exercised linguistic autonomy. The 1974 constitution of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia did not formally name Slovene as the official language. However, Slovene functioned in practice as the sole language of administration and identity in Yugoslav Slovenia (Rupel 1986). As a result, I code Slovene as a *de facto* provincial language from 1974 to 1991.

Macedonian received more robust legal recognition. Both the 1963 and 1974 constitutions of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia explicitly named Macedonian as the official language within the constituent republic. Accordingly, I code Macedonian as a statutory provincial language from 1974 to 1991.

Following the breakup of Yugoslavia in 1991, Slovenia and Macedonia became independent states and no longer formed part of the entity covered by Correlates of War code 345. From 1992 onwards, I do not code either Slovene or Macedonian, as they are no longer institutionally present in the post-Yugoslav rump state. The Ethnologue classifies both languages as unestablished in contemporary Serbia, where they play no institutional role.

Coding Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian in Vojvodina

I now turn to three of the minority languages recognised in the 2009 Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina: Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian. These languages have historically been spoken by ethnic minorities in Vojvodina, a multiethnic region that gained substantial autonomy within the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia under the 1974 constitution.

Before 1974, Vojvodina did not enjoy formal autonomy, and minority languages lacked institutional protections. As such, from 1945 to 1973, I enter a placeholder code for Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian. These languages were in local use, but there was no formal recognition at the federal or provincial level.

As previously mentioned, the 1974 Yugoslav constitution restructured the federal state and granted Vojvodina the status of a constituent unit of the federation,

with its own institutions and significant autonomy. This autonomy allowed for the practical recognition of minority languages. From 1974 to 1988, I code Hungarian as a *de facto* provincial language, reflecting its widespread use and the fact that Hungarians comprised a large and politically active minority in Vojvodina. According to the 1992 census, Hungarians made up 16.8 percent of the population, second only to Serbs at 57 percent. I also code Slovak and Romanian as *de facto* languages of provincial identity from 1974 to 1988, though their smaller population sizes and more limited use in administration distinguish them from Hungarian.

In 1989, under the leadership of Slobodan Milošević, Vojvodina's autonomy was sharply curtailed, and ethnic minorities faced state-led repression. During this period, minority language use was suppressed in official contexts. From 1989 to 2001, I code Hungarian as a *de facto* language of provincial identity, to reflect its reduced role in public life, and maintain Slovak and Romanian as *de facto* languages of provincial identity. Although Hungarian retained cultural significance, it was politically marginalised.

Under international pressure, the 2002 Federal Law on the Protection of the Rights and Freedoms of National Minorities expanded the legal protections for minority languages. However, actual implementation varied across the region. From 2002 to 2008, I continue to code Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian as de facto languages of provincial identity. Hungarian remained the most institutionally visible of the three, but none yet enjoyed fully entrenched legal status.

This changed in 2009 with the adoption of the Statute of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina, which explicitly named Serbian, Hungarian, Slovak, Romanian, Croatian, and Ruthenian as official languages of the province.

> Article 26 [2009]
>
> In bodies and organisations of the AP of Vojvodina, the Serbian language and Cyrillic script shall be in the official use, as well as Hungarian, Slovak, Croatian, Romanian and Ruthenian languages and their scripts, in accordance with the law and the Provincial Assembly decision.

On this basis, in addition to Croatian which I have already considered, I code Hungarian, Slovak, and Romanian as statutory provincial languages from 2009 to 2014. I do not code Ruthenian, despite its inclusion in the 2009 statute, as it does not have national-level institutional status in any country and remains a very small minority language.

Coding Albanian in Kosovo

Turning to Albanian, my coding trajectory takes into account the situation in Kosovo. Like Vojvodina, Kosovo gained significant autonomy under the 1974 Yugoslav constitution, which designated it as a Socialist Autonomous Province. However, this autonomy was revoked in 1989 under Milošević. Kosovo was subsequently subjected to a harsh regime of political and cultural repression, culminating in the Kosovo War of 1998-1999. From 1999 onwards, Serbia no longer

exercised *de facto* control over Kosovo.

The Ethnologue identifies Albanian as a *de facto* provincial language in Kosovo as a Serbian province, as it does not recognise Kosovo as a sovereign entity. However, the Correlates of War dataset records Kosovo as having entered the international system in 2008, at which point it is no longer considered part of Serbia for the purposes of this coding.

Given this context, I employ a placeholder code for Albanian from 1945 to 1973. Beginning in 1974, I classify Albanian as a statutory provincial language, as the 1974 constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo explicitly provided for equal status between Albanian and Serbo-Croatian in official use. This coding continues until 1988, after which autonomy was withdrawn. From 1989 to 1998, during a period of severe repression, I code Albanian as a de facto language of provincial identity.

From 1999 onwards, Kosovo functioned with de facto self-governance under international administration, and Serbian law no longer held sway over the province. I therefore return to a placeholder code for Albanian beginning in 1999. Finally, I do not code Albanian from 2008 onwards, as Kosovo obtains its own Correlates of War code (347) and is no longer formally part of the entity defined by Correlates of War code 345.

Contesting the Coding of Bulgarian

Finally, the Ethnologue identifies Bulgarian as a statutory provincial language in the Serbian municipalities of Novi Pazar, Sjenica, and Tutin, citing the 1991 Law on the Official Use of Languages and Scripts as its legal basis. However, as discussed earlier, this 1991 law did not specify individual languages, instead referring broadly to the use of 'the Serbo-Croatian language' and its variants. Moreover, this law was enacted under the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a state that dissolved soon thereafter and has since seen three successor states. The enduring applicability of this law is therefore questionable.

In addition to these legal ambiguities, Bulgarian-speaking communities in Serbia are very small. The population of Bulgarian-speakers was approximately 60,000 in 2006 and only 7,940 by 2022. The language is also notably absent from my systematic review of Yugoslav and Serbian language policy documents. On the basis of these factors (lack of specific legal designation, post-Yugoslav state fragmentation, and very limited speaker numbers), I contest the Ethnologue's classification and do not code Bulgarian at all.

References

[1] Adam Aleksic. 'The Effects of Language Policy on Language Identity in Serbia and Croatia'. Publisher: Unpublished. Bachelor of Arts. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, 2023. URL: https://rgdoi.net/10.13140/RG.2.2.15910.13123 (visited on 28/02/2025).

[2] Ranko Bugarski. 'Language, Identity and Borders in the Former Serbo-Croatian Area'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 33.3 (2012). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 219–235. ISSN: 0143-4632. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2012.663376 (visited on 28/02/2025).

[3] Ranko Bugarski. 'Language, Nationalism and War in Yugoslavia'. In: 2001.151 (2001). Publisher: De Gruyter Mouton Section: International Journal of the Sociology of Language, pp. 69–87. ISSN: 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.2001.048/html (visited on 28/02/2025).

[4] *Constitution of the Republic of Serbia: September 28, 1990 (Serbia and Montenegro (historical) [csxx])*. In: *Oxford Constitutions of the World*. Online. OCW CD 1210 (CSXX) H 1990. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-ocw-cd1210-H1990.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd1210-H1990?prd=OXCON (visited on 01/03/2025).

[5] Daniel Duncan. 'Language Policy, Ethnic Conflict, and Conflict Resolution: Albanian in the Former Yugoslavia'. In: *Language Policy* 15.4 (2016), pp. 453–474. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-015-9380-0 (visited on 26/02/2025).

[6] *Serbia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/RS/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Bosnian: A Three-Humped Camel?' In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 135–158. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0006 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[8] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Conclusion'. In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 159–167. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0007 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[9] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Croatian: We Are Separate but Equal Twins'. In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 109–134. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0005 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[10] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Introduction'. In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 1–15. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0001 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[11] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Montenegrin: A Mountain Out of a Mole Hill?' In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 88–108.

ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0004 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[12] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Serbian: Isn't my language your language?' In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 58–87. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0003 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[13] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Serbo-Croatian: United or Not We Fall'. In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 16–67. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0002 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[14] 'Text of the 1954 Novi Sad Agreement'. In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 0. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.005.0002 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[15] Tamás Korhecz. 'Official Language and Rule of Law: Official Language Legislation and Policy in Vojvodina Province, Serbia'. In: *International Journal on Minority and Group Rights* 15.4 (2008). Publisher: Brill Nijhoff, pp. 457–488. ISSN: 1385-4879, 1571-8115. URL: https://brill.com/view/journals/ijgr/15/4/article-p457_2.xml (visited on 01/03/2025).

[16] Jacques Leclerc. *États de Serbie-et-Monténégro*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/youg-serbie-montenegro.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[17] Jacques Leclerc. *Kosovo | (2) Données historiques et politiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Kosovo-2hst.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[18] Jacques Leclerc. *Kosovo | (3) La politique linguistique du gouvernement central*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Kosovo-3Pol-lng.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[19] Jacques Leclerc. *Kosovo | Les politiques linguistiques yougoslaves*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Kosovo-6Pol-lngYougosl.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[20] Jacques Leclerc. *Kosovo | Loi sur l'emploi des langues, 2006*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CE-

FAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/kosovo-loi-langues-2006.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[21] Jacques Leclerc. *La République fédérale de Yougoslavie (RFY)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Yougoslavie-RFY-3.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[22] Jacques Leclerc. *La République fédérale socialiste de Yougoslavie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Yougoslavie-titiste.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[23] Jacques Leclerc. *Les constitutions yougoslaves | Dispositions linguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Yougoslavies-constitutions.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[24] Jacques Leclerc. *Serbie | 1) Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/serbie-1General.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[25] Jacques Leclerc. *Serbie | 3) La politique linguistique à l'égard du serbe*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/serbie-3Politique_serbe.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[26] Jacques Leclerc. *Serbie | 4) La politique linguistique à l'égard des minorités nationales en Serbie centrale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/serbie-4Politique_minorites.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[27] Jacques Leclerc. *Voïvodine | 2) Historical data*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/Voivodine-2HST.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[28] Jacques Leclerc. *Voïvodine | 3) Politique linguistique provinciale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/voivodine-3Politique_prov.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[29] Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook. 'Chapter 1. Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages'. In: *Disinventing and Reconstituting Languages*. Ed. by

Sinfree Makoni and Alastair Pennycook. Multilingual Matters, 2006, pp. 1–41. ISBN: 978-1-85359-925-5. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781853599255-003/html (visited on 28/02/2025).

[30] Dimitrij Rupel. 'The Maintenance of National Languages in a Socialist Setting: Slovene in Yugoslavia'. In: *Slovene Studies* 8.2 (1986), pp. 43–52.

[31] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia: Službeni list SFRJ 1974 No. 18.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 428–577. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s034.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

[32] Sherrill Stroschein. *Vojvodina*. In: *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Self-Determination*. Princeton: The Trustees of Princeton University, 2025. URL: https://pesd.princeton.edu/node/746 (visited on 01/03/2025).

346: Bosnia and Herzegovina

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1992-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bosnian	1992-1999	N	D: *De facto* national
	2000-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Croatian	1992-1999	X	D: *De facto* national
	2000-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Serbian	1992-1999	X	D: *De facto* national
	2000-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian as the principal languages of Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), classifying all three as statutory national languages based on Article 6(1) of the 1995 Federal Constitution. However, this interpretation is problematic. The constitution in question pertains to the 'Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina' (FBiH), one of the constituent entities of the sovereign state of BiH as established by the Dayton Accords of 1995. The two other constituent entities are the Republika Srpska (RS) and the District of Brčko (DB). Consequently, the constitution cited by the Ethnologue confers *de jure* institutional status at the provincial rather than national level.

Greenberg observes that 'while Slavic standard languages, such as Czech, Slovene, or Polish developed over several centuries, the Bosnian language erupted suddenly and unexpectedly in the context of the 1992–5 war in Bosnia-Herzegovina' (2008: Ch. 6, p. 136). By the signing of the Dayton Accords in 1995, ethnic Bosniaks formed a majority in the FBiH, while ethnic Serbs constituted the majority in the RS.

Contrary to the Ethnologue's claim, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* clarifies that the constitution of BiH contains no explicit provisions on language at the federal level. Instead, authority over language policy is devolved to the constituent entities: the FBiH, RS, and DB. Article 6(1) of the 1994 FBiH constitution designates Bosnian and Croatian as *de jure* official languages within the Federation. In 1996, Article 7 of the RS constitution was amended to declare the official languages of the Republika Srpska to be 'the language of the Serb people, the language of the Bosniak people, and the language of the Croat people.' While this formulation avoids naming specific languages, the implication is clearly that Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian are all recognised. Finally, in 1999, the Statute of the District of Brčko specified that Croatian, Bosnian, and Serbian are all to be used for official purposes.

The first legal recognition of these languages at the national level came with the 2000 Law on the Court of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Article 9 reads:

> Article 9: Language
>
> 1) The official languages of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnian, Croat and Serb, and the official alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic, shall be used in the proceedings before the Court and in its communication with the parties. Persons participating in proceedings have the right to use any of these languages at any stage of the proceedings.
>
> ...

Subsequent legislation reinforced this status. The 2002 Law on Administrative Procedure and the 2003 Code of Criminal Procedure likewise reference Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian as official state languages. In addition, the 2000 Law on Open Access to Information requires all requests for information to be submitted in 'one of the official languages of Bosnia and Herzegovina.' By 2000, then, all three languages had acquired not only *de jure* provincial-level institutional status in the FBiH, RS, and DB, but national-level status as well.

Accordingly, I code Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian as follows. From 1992 to 1994, during the period of civil war, I classify all three as *de facto* national languages. This classification continues from 1995 to 1999, reflecting the implementation of the Dayton Accords but prior to national-level legal recognition. From 2000 to 2014, I code all three as statutory national languages. This brings my coding into alignment with the institutional status reported by the Ethnologue, albeit grounded in a more accurate reading of the relevant legislation.

References

[1] Ranko Bugarski. 'Language, Identity and Borders in the Former Serbo-Croatian Area'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 33.3 (2012). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 219–235. ISSN: 0143-4632. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2012.663376 (visited on 28/02/2025).

[2] Ranko Bugarski. 'Language, Nationalism and War in Yugoslavia'. In: 2001.151 (2001). Publisher: De Gruyter Mouton Section: International Journal of the Sociology of Language, pp. 69–87. ISSN: 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.2001.048/html (visited on 28/02/2025).

[3] *Bosnia and Herzegovina*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BA/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Robert D. Greenberg. 'Bosnian: A Three-Humped Camel?' In: *Language and Identity in the Balkans: Serbo-Croatian and Its Disintegration*. Ed. by Robert D. Greenberg. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 135–158. ISBN: 978-0-19-920875-3. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199208753.003.0006 (visited on 01/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *(4) Les accords de Dayton: Les structures gouvernementales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bosnie-herz-4dayton.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Bosnie-Herzégovine | (2) Bosniaque, serbe et croate : trois/quatre langues en une*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bosnie-herz-2langues.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Bosnie-Herzégovine | District de Brčko*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bosnie-herz-8pol-DBrko.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Bosnie-Herzégovine | District de Brčko | Lois à porté linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bosnie-DBrcko-lois_div.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Fédération de Bosnie-Herzégovine (FBIH) | La politique linguistique de la FBIH*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bosnie-herz-6pol-FBIH.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Fédération de Bosnie-Herzégovine (FBIH) | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bosnie-FBiH-lois_div.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *La politique linguistique de l'État central (BIH)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bosnie-herz-5pol_lng.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc. *République de Bosnie-Herzégovine | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bosnieherz-lois_div.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[13] Jacques Leclerc. *République serbe de Bosnie | Politique linguistique de la Republika Srpska*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec

City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bosnie-herz-7pol-RS.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

347: Kosovo

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 2008-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Albanian	2008-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Bosnian	2008-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Serbian	2008-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Turkish	2008-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue does not recognise Kosovo as a sovereign entity. It classifies Albanian as a *de facto* provincial language under its entry for Serbia. By contrast, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* offers detailed and updated information on the linguistic regime in Kosovo. Most notably, Article 5(1) of the 2008 Constitution of the Republic of Kosovo defines Albanian and Serbian as the official languages of the state, without qualification:

> Neni 5. Gjuhët [2008]
>
> 1) Gjuhë zyrtare në Republikën e Kosovës janë Gjuha Shqipe dhe Gjuha Serbe.
>
> 2) Gjuha Turke, Boshnjake dhe ajo Rome kanë statusin e gjuhëve zyrtare në nivel komune ose do të jenë në përdorim zyrtar në cilindo nivel në pajtim me ligj.

In translation, Article 5(1) reads: 'The official languages in the Republic of Kosovo are the Albanian language and the Serbian language.' Article 5(2) stipulates that Turkish, Bosnian, and Romani may attain 'official status' or be 'in official use' at the municipal level, in accordance with other legal provisions. Thus, on the basis of Article 5(1), I code Albanian and Serbian as statutory national languages for the entire period from 2008 to 2014.

I now turn to Bosnian, Turkish, and Romani. Municipal-level language policy in Kosovo is functionally equivalent to provincial-level policy in other countries. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cites documentation from the Bureau of the Commissariat for Languages, which clarifies that Romani is not in official use in any municipality; therefore, I do not code Romani.

Bosnian, by contrast, has held official status in the municipality of Pejë since 2008, alongside Albanian and Serbian, according to a local rule on language usage adopted that year. I thus code Bosnian as a statutory provincial language for the entire period from 2008 to 2014.

As for Turkish, the relevant legal basis is provided by the 2006 Law on the Use of Languages, adopted by the Assembly of Kosovo prior to the adoption of the 2008 constitution. The law affirms national-level institutional status for Albanian and Serbian in Article 2(1), while also granting a specific and unconditional status to Turkish at the municipal level:

> Article 2. [2006]
>
> 1. Albanian and Serbian and their alphabets are official languages of Kosovo and have equal status in Kosovo institutions.
> 2. All persons have equal rights with regard to use of the official languages in Kosovo institutions.
> 3. In municipalities inhabited by a community whose mother tongue is not an official language, and which constitutes at least five (5) percent of the total population of the municipality, the language of the community shall have the status of an official language in the municipality and shall be in equal use with the official languages. Notwithstanding the foregoing, exceptionally, in Prizren Municipality the Turkish language shall have the status of an official language.

While the status of minority languages under Article 2(3) is conditional, the content regarding Turkish in Prizren is explicit and exceptional. Therefore, I code Turkish as a statutory provincial language from 2008 to 2014.

References

[1] *Serbia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/RS/` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Kosovo | (2) Données historiques et politiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Kosovo-2hst.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Kosovo | (3) La politique linguistique du gouvernement central*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Kosovo-3Pol-lng.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Kosovo | Langues officielles et langues d'usage officiel par municipalité (Gjuhët Zyrtare dhe Gjuhët në përdorim Zyrtar në Komuna)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/kosovo-municipalites-lng-off.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Kosovo / Les politiques linguistiques yougoslaves*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Kosovo-6Pol-lngYougosl.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Kosovo / Loi sur l'emploi des langues (2006)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/kosovo-loi-langues-2006.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Serbie / Loi sur l'emploi officiel des langues et des alphabets*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/serbie-loi-1991.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

349: Slovenia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1992-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Hungarian	1992-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Italian	1992-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Slovene	1992-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Slovene as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Slovenia on the basis of Article 11 of the 1991 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* provides the full text of this article, which unambiguously declares Slovene the official language of the state:

> 11. Člen [1991]
>
> Uradni jezik v Sloveniji je slovenščina. Na območjih občin, v katerih živita italijanska ali madžarska narodna skupnost, je uradni jezik tudi italijanščina ali madžarščina.

Translated, this reads: 'The official language in Slovenia is Slovene. In the territories of municipalities where the Italian or Hungarian national communities reside, Italian or Hungarian shall also be official languages.' On the basis of Article 11, I code Slovene as the statutory national language of Slovenia for the entire period from 1992 to 2014.

As indicated above, the constitution also provides for the official use of Hungarian and Italian in municipalities where those respective minority communities are present. These rights are further specified in Article 64 of the 1991 constitution, which guarantees extensive protections for the Italian and Hungarian minorities, including the right to official language use in their areas of settlement.

While the current edition of the Ethnologue classifies Hungarian and Italian as 'recognised languages' under Article 64, the 2014 edition identifies them as statutory provincial languages. I follow the interpretation of the edition most proximate to the end of the coding period and therefore code both Hungarian and Italian as statutory provincial languages for the entire duration from 1992 to 2014.

References

[1] *Slovenia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SI/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *4) Politique linguistique à l'égard des minorités nationales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/slovenie-4minorites.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitution du 23 décembre 1991 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/slovenie-cnst.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Slovénie | 1) Informations générales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/slovenie-1info.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Slovénie | 3) Politique linguistique à l'égard du slovène*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/slovenie-3Pol-slovene.htm` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] *Slovenia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SI/` (visited on 16/02/2025).

350: Greece

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Greek	1945-2014	`N`	`D`: *De facto* national
Turkish	1945-2014	`X`	`G`: Statutory provincial

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Greek as the only principal language and the *de facto* national language of Greece. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this classification, noting that despite the longstanding emphasis placed by the Greek state on the preservation of its language and culture, Greek has never been explicitly declared the official language in any constitutional text.

For much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the principal axis of linguistic contention centred on the choice between ancient and modern varieties of Greek. Article 6 of the 1968 constitution, which reads: 'The official language of the State and of education is the one in which the constitution and the texts of the Hellenic legislation are written,' implicitly designates Katharevousa, a purified, archaic form of Greek, as the official language of the state, without explicitly naming 'Greek.'

Technicalities notwithstanding, it is beyond doubt that Greek, whether in its ancient or modern forms, has functioned as the *de facto* language of both administration and national identity. Unlike in the constitution, legislation in areas as diverse as finance, electronic communications, citizenship, consumer protection, the judiciary, and education all refer unambiguously to the 'Greek language.' On this basis, I code Greek as the *de facto* national language of Greece for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

The Ethnologue also classifies Turkish as a statutory provincial language in Xanthi and two other eastern provinces, on the basis of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* clarifies that the Treaty, which is still the only legislative document in Greece to acknowledge a minority language, technically recognises only a *religious* and not a linguistic minority, namely Muslims. Nevertheless, it remains the legal basis for the teaching of the Turkish language in Thrace. In practice, however, Turkish is absent from public administration, as the relevant provisions of the Treaty apply exclusively to religious affairs. Moreover, from 1923 until the 1990s, the Muslim minority in Thrace faced sustained discrimination.

Despite the limitations of its legal scope and practical application, I preserve the Ethnologue's classification for the sake of consistency and thus code Turkish as a

statutory provincial language from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Greece*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GR/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Grèce / 3) La politique linguistique à l'égard de la langue grecque*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/grece-3Pol_grec.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Grèce / 4) La politique linguistique à l'égard des minorités*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/grece-4Pol_minorites.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

352: Cyprus

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1960-1965	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1966-1996	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Greek	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Turkish	1960-1974	X	A: Statutory national
	1975-2014	X	C: Statutory national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Greek as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Cyprus, based on Article 3(1) of the 1960 constitution. A cursory history of the Republic of Cyprus confirms that the primacy of Greek remains unbroken throughout the coding period, with legislation in numerous domains mandating the use of Greek for specific administrative and legal purposes. Given that the overwhelming majority of the Cypriot population is Greek-speaking, I code Greek as a statutory national language for the entire duration from 1960 to 2014.

The Ethnologue also classifies Turkish as a *de facto* provincial language in Northern Cyprus. However, neither the Correlates of War dataset nor the Ethnologue recognises the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus as a sovereign state. I accordingly treat the Correlates of War code 352 as referring exclusively to the area under the *de facto* administration of the Republic of Cyprus (i.e., Southern Cyprus), and do not consider Northern Cyprus to constitute a province-level entity within Cyprus.

Upon gaining independence from the United Kingdom in 1960, the population of Cyprus comprised approximately 77 percent Greek Cypriots and 18 percent Turkish Cypriots. Political tensions escalated in 1963 when the president of Cyprus sought to reduce Turkish Cypriot representation in the legislature, prompting Turkish Cypriots to withdraw from government and call for partition. These developments culminated in the 1974 Turkish invasion in response to a Greek-supported coup, leading to the *de facto* division of the island that endures to the present day.

At the outset of the coding period, Article 3(1) of the 1960 constitution declared that Greek and Turkish the languages of the state.

> Article 3 [1960]
>
> 1. The official languages of the Republic are Greek and Turkish.
> 2. Legislative, executive and administrative acts and documents shall be drawn up in both official languages and shall, where under the

express provisions of this Constitution promulgation is required, be promulgated by publication in the official Gazette of the Republic in both official languages.

3. Administrative or other official documents addressed to a Greek or a Turk shall be drawn up in the Greek or the Turkish language respectively.

   ...

...

Following the declaration of the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus in 1975, the island became effectively ethnically divided, with only a negligible number of Turkish Cypriots remaining in the South. From that point forward, Turkish ceased to be used in public administration in the Republic. Nevertheless, the government of Cyprus has consistently preserved the *de jure* status of Turkish as an official language. Article 2 of Law No. 67 of 1988, for instance, reiterates that 'the official languages of the Republic are Greek and Turkish.' While bilingual administration is no longer the *de facto* norm, Articles 3(2) and 3(3) of the 1960 constitution, which mandate it, remain in force. Revoking the official status of Turkish would imply the exclusion of Turkish Cypriots in the North from Cypriot citizenship, an outcome deemed politically and legally unacceptable.

Based on the above, I code both Greek and Turkish as statutory national languages from 1960 to 1974. From 1975 to 2014, I continue to code Greek as a statutory national language, and Turkish as a statutory language of national identity, aligning with the classification of the Ethnologue.

Finally, it is worth noting that English was widely used in public administration at the time of independence. The constitution allowed a five-year transition period for the translation of law, effectively granting English a constitutionally sanctioned grace period. In practice, English continued to be used in the courts well beyond this interval, owing to the Cypriot legal system's foundations in English common law. English remained in *de facto* use in the judicial system until 1996.

Accordingly, I code English as a statutory national working language from 1960 to 1965. From 1966 to 1996, I code English as a *de facto* national working language. From 1997 onwards, I do not code English, as the Ethnologue does not presently assign it any institutional status in Cyprus.

References

[1] *Cyprus*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CY/` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[2] Xenia Hadjioannou, Stavroula Tsiplakou and Matthias Kappler. 'Language Policy and Language Planning in Cyprus'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning*

12.4 (2011). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 503–569. ISSN: 1466-4208. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2011.629113 (visited on 02/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *3) République de Chypre (Zone grecque au sud) | La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/chypre-3rep_grecque.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *4) République turque de Chypre du Nord (Kuzey Kibris Türk Cumhuriyeti) | La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/chypre-4rep_turque.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *L'île de Chypre | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/chypre-2HST.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

355: Bulgaria

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bulgarian	1945-1989	N	D: *De facto* national
	1990-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Bulgarian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Bulgaria based on Article 3 of the constitution of 1991, in force through 2015. Though *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* also cites this provision, the clause containing the relevant text was in fact already in place in a 1990 amendment to the 1971 constitution.

The Ethnologue identifies Bulgarian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Bulgaria, citing Article 3 of the 1991 constitution, which remained in force through 2015. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* also references this provision. However, the relevant clause, which declared Bulgarian the official language, was already present in a 1990 amendment to the 1971 constitution:

> *[Izm.—DV, br. 29 ot 1990 g., br. 94 ot 1990 g.]*
>
> *Ofitsiale nezik v Republika Bŭlgariyae bŭlgarskiyat ezik.*
>
> [(Amended - [State Gazette, No. 29 of 1990, No. 94 of 1990]
>
> The official language in the Republic of Bulgaria is the Bulgarian language.]

In addition, Article 36 of the 1991 constitution affirms that the study and use of the Bulgarian language is both a right and a duty of Bulgarian citizens. While there is no specific language law requiring that parliamentary proceedings be conducted in Bulgarian, this is standard practice. Furthermore, laws in numerous domains including education, media, the judiciary, penal and civil procedure, commercial advertising, elections, and official documentation all contain explicit situation-specific provisions mandating the use of Bulgarian.

Although Russian held a privileged position during the Communist era, particularly in education and the media, Bulgarian never relinquished its central role as the language of administration, identity, and statehood. Based on this, I code Bulgarian as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1989. From 1990 to 2014, I code Bulgarian as the statutory national language.

References

[1] *Bulgaria*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BG/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[2] *Konstitutsiya na Narodna republika Bŭlgariya, 1971*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1971. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=786 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Bulgarie | 1) Généralités*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bulgarie-1general.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Bulgarie | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bulgarie-2HST.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Bulgarie | 3) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bulgarie-3pol_ling.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Bulgarie | Législation linguistique en matière en matière de justice*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bulgarie-lois_div1.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of the People's Republic of Bulgaria: Dŭrzhaven Vestnik 1971 No. 39.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 38–67. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s008.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

359: Moldova

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Romanian	1991-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Russian	1991-1993	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1994-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Romanian (also referred to as Moldovan) and Russian as the primary languages of Moldova. It classifies Romanian as the statutory national language on the basis of Constitutional Court judgements 8b and 41b from 2013. The relevant text, however, dates back to the 1994 constitution:

> Articolul 13 [1994] Limba de stat, funcţionarea celorlalte limbi
>
> 1) Limba de stat a Republicii Moldova este limba moldovenească, funcționând pe baza grafiei latine.
>
> 2) Statul recunoaşte şi protejează dreptul la păstrarea, la dezvoltarea şi la funcţionarea limbii ruse şi a altor limbi vorbite pe teritoriul ţării.
>
> ...

In 2023, a constitutional law amended this article to replace the term 'Moldovan language' to read 'Romanian language,' a change that distances the Republic of Moldova from the Soviet-era narrative that framed Moldovan as distinct from Romanian. The new formulation affirms unambiguously that Romanian, written in the Latin script, is the official language of the Republic of Moldova.

Prior to the 1994 constitution, the relevant legal texts date from the Soviet era. The 1989 Official Language Status Act (*Lege cu privire la statutul limbii de stat*) amended Article 70 of the Moldovan SSR constitution to declare Moldovan the official language. Another 1989 law, the 'Law on the Functioning of Spoken Languages on the Territory of the Moldovan SSR' (*Legea Parlementului Republicii Moldova cu privire la funcţionarea limbilor vorbite pe teritoriul RSS Moldoveneşti*), stated that Moldovan was to be used in all political, economic, social, and cultural spheres. This law remained in force until it was officially declared obsolete by the Constitutional Court in 2018. Thus, the institutional status of Romanian (referred to as Moldovan until 2023) as the statutory national language is continuous from 1989 to 2014, and I code accordingly.

Both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue classify Russian as a *de facto*

national working language. I examine the 1989 Law on the Functioning of Spoken Languages to assess the institutional status of Russian during this period. Article 3 of that law provides that Russian, as 'the language of interethnic communication in the USSR,' shall be used alongside Moldovan:

> Articolul 3. [1989]
>
> Limba rusă, ca limbă de comunicare între naţiunile din Uniunea RSS, se foloseşte pe teritoriul republicii alături de limba moldovenească în calitate de limbă de comunicare între naţiuni, ceea ce asigură un bilingvizm naţional-rus şi rus-naţional real.

No law superseded these linguistic provisions until the 1994 constitution, which declared Romanian the sole official language of the new Republic and made no mention of Russian. Nevertheless, the 1989 legislation remained technically in effect until 2018. In 2020, a new law on language use reiterated Russian's role as a language of interethnic communication:

> Articolul 2. [2020]
>
> 1) Republica Moldova asigură condițiile necesare pentru utilizarea și dezvoltarea limbii ruse ca limbă de comunicare interetnică pe teritoriul țării.
>
> 2) Limba rusă, în calitate de limbă de comunicare interetnică, se folosește pe teritoriul Republicii Moldova alături de limba de stat.

This law was unilaterally declared unconstitutional in 2021 by the Constitutional Court, a ruling which, though outside the coding period, helps clarify the retrospective institutional standing of Russian. Based on the 1989 legal framework, I code Russian as a statutory national working language until 1993, even after the dissolution of the USSR, on the grounds that the Republic of Moldova succeeded the Moldovan SSR. From 1994 onward, the 1994 constitution declares Romanian as the only official language. In line with the Court's interpretation and the judgement of both the 2014 and 2024 Ethnologue editions, I code Russian as a *de facto* national working language from 1994 to 2014.

For further information on Soviet-era language policies, including the institutional status of Russian, see the entry for Correlates of War code 365.

References

[1] Michael Bruchis. 'The Language Policy of the CPSU and the Linguistic Situation in Soviet Moldavia'. In: *Soviet Studies* 36.1 (1984). Publisher: [Taylor & Francis, Ltd., University of Glasgow], pp. 108–126. ISSN: 0038-5859. URL: `https://www.jstor.org/stable/151859` (visited on 03/03/2025).

[2] *Moldova*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MD/` (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] L. A. Grenoble. *Language Policy in the Soviet Union*. 1st ed. 2003. Language Policy 3. Dordrecht: Imprint: Springer, 2003. 1 p. ISBN: 978-1-4020-1298-3 978-0-306-48083-6.

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Moldavie / 3) Politique relative à la langue officielle*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/moldavie-3Pol-lng-moldave.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Moldavie / 4) Politique concernant les minorités nationales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/moldavie-4Pol-minorites.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Moldavie / Arrêt de la Cour constitutionnelle n° 17 du 4 juin 2018 concernant la Loi sur le fonctionnement des langues parlées sur le territoire de la RSS de Moldavie de 1989*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/moldavie-arret-Cour-2018.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Moldavie / Constitution de 1994*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/moldavie-const-1994.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Moldavie / Loi sur le fonctionnement des langues parlées sur le territoire de la république de Moldavie (2020)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/moldavie-loi-2020_usage-langues.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Moldavie / Loi sur le fonctionnement des langues parlées sur le territoire de la RSS de Moldavie. Loi abrogée en 2018 (N° 3465 du 1er septembre 1989)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/moldavie-loi-1989_usage-langues.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Moldavie / Loi sur le statut de la langue officielle (Lege cu privire la statutul limbii de stat) (N° 3464 du 31 août 1989)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/moldavie-loi-1989_statut.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[11] *Moldova*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/MD/status/` (visited on 16/02/2025).

360: Romania

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Hungarian	1945-1951	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1952-1967	X	G: Statutory provincial
	1968-2000	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	2001-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Romanian	1945-1948	N	A: Statutory national
	1949-1990	N	D: *De facto* national
	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Romanian as the sole principal language and statutory national language of Romania, citing Article 13 of the 2003 constitution. However, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* correctly notes that the relevant provision was already present in the 1991 constitution:

> Articolul 13. Limba oficială [1991]
>
> În România, limba oficială este limba română.

Romanian was previously declared the official language by Law No. 86 of 6 February 1945 on the Status of National Minorities. While the law included provisions to accommodate minority languages in areas where they were prevalent, it clearly established Romanian as the official language of the state:

> Articolul 6. [1945]
>
> Limba oficială a Statului Roman este limba română. Totuşi, în acele teritorii administrative sau circumscripţii judecătoreşti, unde o mare parte a populaţiei este de alta limba decât cea română, se vor aplica cele arătate în art. 8 şi următoarele.

This law was repealed in 1949, two years after the establishment of the Romanian People's Republic. From that point until 1990, and particularly during the nationalist regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu (1965-1989), Romania pursued a rigorous *de facto* language policy that elevated Romanian above all others. Romanian was the sole language of education, administration, and public life. Minority languages, in particular Hungarian, were subject to restrictions and repression. On this basis, I code Romanian as a statutory national language from 1945 to 1948 and from 1991 to 2014. From 1949 to 1990, I code it as the *de facto* national language.

The Ethnologue also identifies Hungarian as a statutory provincial language in Harghita and Covasna, the two departments where ethnic Hungarians form ma-

jorities, and in several other departments with significant Hungarian populations. Historically, Transylvania was ruled by the Habsburg monarchy and, for long periods, as part of the Kingdom of Hungary. After the Second World War, under Soviet influence, the 1952 Romanian constitution established a Magyar Autonomous Region, granting Hungarian speakers the right to use their language freely in public administration, education, and cultural life.

These rights were sharply curtailed under Ceaușescu. Starting in 1968, the autonomous region, which had been reconstituted in 1960 as the Mureș-Magyar Autonomous Region, was dissolved and a campaign of Romanianisation began in earnest. The use of Hungarian in public life declined dramatically, and Hungarian cultural and linguistic institutions were systematically dismantled. Following Ceaușescu's fall in 1989, Hungary's ethnic minority in Transylvania renewed demands for language rights. These were eventually codified in legislation such as Article 40(7) of Local Public Administration Law No. 215 of 2001, which guarantees the use of minority languages that satisfy certain criteria in local government.

Based on this trajectory, I code Hungarian as a *de facto* provincial language from 1945 to 1951. From 1952 to 1967, I code it as a statutory provincial language under the constitutional provisions for regional autonomy. From 1968 to 2000, I code Hungarian as a *de facto* language of provincial identity, reflecting its symbolic but largely suppressed role under Ceaușescu. From 2001 to 2014, in line with the Ethnologue and the relevant legislation, I code Hungarian as a statutory provincial language.

References

[1] *Romania*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/RO/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[2] István Horváth and Tibor Toró. 'Language Use, Language Policy, and Language Rights'. In: *Unequal Accommodation of Minority Rights: Hungarians in Transylvania*. Ed. by Tamás Kiss et al. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2018, pp. 167–223. ISBN: 978-3-319-78893-7. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-78893-7_4 (visited on 03/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Roumanie / 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/roumanie-2Hst.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Roumanie / 3) Politique linguistique du roumain*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/roumanie-3Pol_roumain.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Roumanie / 4) Politique linguistique des minorités*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/roumanie-4Pol_minorites.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Roumanie / Constitution de 1991 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/roumanie-const-1991-2003.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Roumanie / Loi n° 86 du 6 février 1945 sur le statut des nationalités minoritaires*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/roumanie-loi-86-1945.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[8] William B. Simons. 'The Constitutions of the Communist World'. In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Brill Nijhoff, 2024. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollbook/title/9877 (visited on 20/03/2025).

365: Russia / Soviet Union

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Finnish	1945-1955	`X`	`I`: Statutory provincial (identity)
Romanian	1945-1988	`X`	`K`: *De facto* provincial
	1989-1991	`X`	`G`: Statutory provincial
Russian	1945-1989	`N`	`D`: *De facto* national
	1990-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Russian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Russia, citing Article 68(1) of the 1993 constitution. This provision declares Russian to be the official language across the entire territory of the Russian Federation. However, this text builds directly upon a 1991 piece of legislation titled 'Law no. 1807-1 on the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation,' which already established the same principle:

> Article 3. The juridical position of the languages [1991]
>
> 1. The state language of the Russian Federation on all its territory is the Russian language.

In addition to the 1991 law and the 1993 constitution, Russia's 2005 'Law on the Official Language of the Russian Federation' reaffirmed these provisions and codified the use of Russian across various domains of public life. It also introduced mechanisms to protect and promote Russian. As a result, Russian has maintained uninterrupted status as a statutory national language status throughout the post-Soviet period. I code it accordingly from 1991 to 2014.

Turning to the Soviet period, the USSR never officially proclaimed a national language until 1990. Under Lenin, Soviet policy was relatively multilingual and inclusive, allowing for mother-tongue education and local language use. Stalin reversed this approach, initiating wide-scale Russification in all Soviet republics through a variety of methods, including population movement. Russian was mandated in schools and became the dominant language in all domains of governance and public life. The USSR's Cyrillicisation campaign and promotion of Russian loanwords further entrenched the dominance of Russian.

It was not until October 1990 that the USSR formally declared Russian as its official language with the passage of the Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union. Given the history above, I code Russian as the *de facto* national language of the Soviet Union from 1945 to 1989, and as the statutory national

language from 1990 to 1991. Following the dissolution of the USSR, I continue to code Russian as the statutory national language of Russia from 1991 to 2014.

The Ethnologue does not identify any additional languages used within Russia that hold national-level institutional status elsewhere. I therefore turn to the languages of the union republics of the former Soviet Union, which are not catalogued in the Ethnologue as historical political units. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the Soviet Union embarked on a policy of 'national delimitation' to fashion well-defined, territorially-based national identities out of the diverse peoples inhabiting its territory. By the 1950s, the USSR consisted of 15 federal union republics, each with a titular nationality and corresponding language: Armenian, Azerbaijani, Belarusian, Estonian, Georgian, Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Latvian, Lithuanian, Moldovan, Tajik, Turkmen, Ukrainian, and Uzbek.

Of these, only Moldovan (Romanian) had institutional status in another sovereign state, Romania, during the Soviet period. The Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic included parts of Bessarabia previously under Romanian control. Soviet planners, beginning in 1944, sought to forge a distinct Moldovan identity by ' creating a distinct Moldovan language,' a process which involved imposing a Cyrillic script and introducing Russian loanwords (Grenoble 2003: 91). Despite this effort, the language remained Romanian in all but name. During Perestroika, the Moldovan SSR passed legislation in 1989 declaring Moldovan (Romanian) the official language of the republic. Based on this history, I code Romanian as a *de facto* provincial language from 1945 to 1988, and a statutory provincial language from 1989 to 1991, after which point coding ceases due to the dissolution of the Soviet Union.

Finally, Finnish warrants special mention due to its historical presence in the Karelo-Finnish Soviet Socialist Republic, which existed as a Union Republic until 1956. Though Finnish had been virtually eliminated from use in 1938, it was reestablished as an official language in 1940. Nonetheless, actual Finnish-language use was minimal compared to the 1920s and early 1930s, as the region's Finnish population had been largely deported, and the local Karelian dialect was targeted for separate development as a new language. Given this history, I code Finnish as a statutory language of provincial identity from 1945 to 1955. Following the abolition of the Karelo-Finnish SSR in 1956, I do not code Finnish at all.

References

[1] Rachel Applebaum. 'The Rise of Russian in the Cold War: How Three Worlds Made a World Language'. In: *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 21.2 (2020). Publisher: Slavica Publishers, pp. 347–370. ISSN: 1538-5000. URL: `https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/28/article/753848` (visited on 03/03/2025).

[2] Elena Aronova. 'Russian and the Making of World Languages during the Cold War'. In: *Isis* 108.3 (2017). Publisher: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 643–650. ISSN: 0021-1753. URL: `https://www.journals.uchicago.edu/doi/full/10.1086/694163` (visited on 03/03/2025).

[3] Joan F. Chevalier. 'Russian as the National Language: An Overview of Language Planning in the Russian Federation'. In: *Russian Language Journal* 56.1 (2006). ISSN: 0036-0252. URL: https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/rlj/vol56/iss1/4 (visited on 03/03/2025).

[4] Dennis Deletant. 'Language Policy and Linguistic Trends in Soviet Moldavia'. In: *Language Planning in the Soviet Union*. Ed. by Michael Kirkwood. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1990, pp. 189–216. ISBN: 978-1-349-20301-7. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-349-20301-7_10 (visited on 03/03/2025).

[5] *Russian Federation*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/RU/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] L. A. Grenoble. *Language Policy in the Soviet Union*. 1st ed. 2003. Language Policy 3. Dordrecht: Imprint: Springer, 2003. 1 p. ISBN: 978-1-4020-1298-3 978-0-306-48083-6.

[7] Alex Krouglov. 'Language Planning and Policies in Russia Through a Historical Perspective'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 23.4 (2022), pp. 412–434. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2021.2005384 (visited on 03/03/2025).

[8] *Law No. 1807-1 on the Languages of the Peoples of the Russian Federation (as amended by the Federal Law, July 24 1998, No. 126-F3)*. Compiled by Südtiroler Volksgruppen-Institut (South Tyrolean Institute of Ethnic Groups). 1991. URL: https://www.svi-bz.org/uploads/tx_bh/221/law_on_the_languages_of_the_peoples_of_the_russian_federation.pdf (visited on 03/03/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Empire soviétique 1922-1991*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/Empire-sovietique.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Fédération de Russie | 3) Le statut du russe*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/russie-3statut-russe.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Fédération de Russie | 4) La politique linguistique à l'égard du russe*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/russie-4pol-lng.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc. *Fédération de Russie | 5) La politique linguistique à l'égard des nationalités*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/russie-5pol-lng.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[13] Jacques Leclerc. *Russie / Loi sur la langue officielle de la fédération de Russie (2005-2021)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/russie-loi2005.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[14] Jacques Leclerc. *Russie / Loi sur les langues des peuples de la fédération de Russie (Loi de 1991 telle que modifiée le 11 juin 2021)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/russie-loi1991.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[15] William B. Simons. 'Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics: Vedomosti SSSR 1977 No. 41 item 617.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 352–392. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s030.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

366: Estonia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Estonian	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Russian	1991-1994	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1995-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Estonian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Estonia, citing Article 52(1) of the 1992 constitution. This article clearly declares Estonian to be the language of public administration at both the state and local levels:

> Artikkel 52. [1992]
>
> 1) Riigiasutuste ja kohalike omavalitsuste asjaajamiskeel on eesti keel.

Post-Soviet state language policy, as demonstrated by this clause and by the creation of an Estonian Language Institute in 1993, has sought to support Estonian. These actions were reaffirmed by the 1995 Official Language Act and its 2011 successor, both of which codify Estonian as the language of state institutions while aiming to safeguard minority language rights. In practice, Estonian is spoken natively by nearly 70 percent of the population, and the Estonian state functions overwhelmingly in Estonian. Accordingly, I code Estonian as the statutory national language from 1992 to 2014.

The coding period for Estonia begins in 1991. For the majority of that year, Estonia was a Soviet republic, and Soviet-era legislation therefore remains in force. The 1989 Language Act of the Estonian SSR, which was not repealed until 1995, affirms the official status of Estonian:

> Article 1. [1989]
>
> — In accordance with Article 5 of the Constitution of the Estonian SSR, the official language of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic shall be Estonian.
>
> — The use of the official language, that of Russian, and other languages shall be regulated by the present Law.

Based on this law, I code Estonian as the statutory national language in 1991.

Regarding Russian, the 1989 Language Act also provided for a significant role for Russian in public life. It mandated that acts of public administration be translated into Russian and permitted communication between public authorities in Russian.

These provisions were eliminated in the 1995 Official Language Act. Thus, I code Russian as a statutory national working language from 1991 to 1994. From 1995 to 2014, I assign a placeholder code to Russian due to the absence of formal recognition of its public role.

References

[1] *Estonia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/EE/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[2] David D. Laitin. 'Language Planning in the Former Soviet Union: The Case of Estonia'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1996.118 (1996). Publisher: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 43–62. ISSN: 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1996.118.43/html (visited on 03/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *(2) La politique de valorisation de la langue officielle*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/estoniepolval.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Estonie*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/estonie.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Estonie / Constitution. Eesti Vabariigi põhiseadus (Constitution de la république d'Estonie) 1992*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/estonie-const-1992.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Estonie / Loi sur la langue 1989 (abrogée)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/estonie-loi89.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Estonie / Loi sur la langue de 1995 (abrogée) (version non modifiée de 1995)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/estonie-loi95.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[8] William B. Simons. 'Language Law of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic'. In: *Review of Central and East European Law* 18.2 (1992). Publisher: Brill Nijhoff, pp. 168–176. ISSN: 1573-0352, 0925-9880. URL: https://brill.com/view/journals/rela/18/2/article-p168_4.xml (visited on 14/04/2025).

[9] Anna Verschik. 'The Language Situation in Estonia'. In: *Journal of Baltic Studies* 36.3 (2005), pp. 283–316. ISSN: 0162-9778, 1751-7877. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01629770500000111 (visited on 20/03/2025).

367: Latvia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Latvian	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Russian	1991	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1992-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Latvian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Latvia, citing amendments made to the 1922 constitution in 1998. However, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* traces the development of Latvian language policy in greater detail. During the Soviet era, the status of Latvian was enshrined in various legal instruments, notably Article 73 of the 1978 Constitution of the Latvian SSR, which designated Latvian the official language of the republic.

Following the breakup of the Soviet Union, Latvia reinstated the 1922 constitution, which did not initially contain language provisions. In the absence of such provisions, Latvia continued to enforce the 1989 Language Law of the Latvian SSR, which had declared Latvian the official language. This law was amended in 1992 and subsequently replaced by a new Language Law in 2000, but the core provision affirming the official status of Latvian has remained unchanged. Additional legislation, spanning education, media, and public administration, has further institutionalised and promoted the use of Latvian. Consequently, I code Latvian as the statutory national language from 1991 to 2014.

For most of 1991, Latvia remained a constituent republic of the Soviet Union. During this transitional period, I consider the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union, which declared Russian the official language of the USSR, to have been in force in Latvia. For this reason, I code Russian as a statutory national working language in 1991. However, following Latvia's move to re-establish national sovereignty and promote de-Russification, the public role of Russian was rapidly diminished. From 1992 to 2014, I assign a placeholder code to Russian, reflecting both its loss of official status and its absence from the Ethnologue's records on institutionalised language use in Latvia, beginning with its earliest available online edition in the mid-1990s.

References

[1] *Latvia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL Inter-

national, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LV/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[2] *Latvia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by Barbara F. Grimes. 13th edition (online). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1996. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/13/countries/Latv.html (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Lettonie (Latvija) / (1) Généralités*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/lettonie-1gnrl.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Lettonie / (2) La politique de valorisation de la langue officielle (letton)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/lettonie-2polvalorisation.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Lettonie / (3) La politique linguistique à l'égard des minorités nationales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/lettonie-3polminor.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Lettonie / Loi sur la langue (Valodu likumā) (1989) Abrogée*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/lettonieloi-1989Lett.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Lettonie / Loi sur la langue officielle. Valsts valodas likums (2000)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/lettonieloi-1999.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[8] Baiba Metuzāle-Kangere and Uldis Ozolins. 'The Language Situation in Latvia 1850–2004'. In: *Journal of Baltic Studies* 36.3 (2005), pp. 317–344. ISSN: 0162-9778, 1751-7877. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01629770500000121 (visited on 20/03/2025).

368: Lithuania

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Lithuanian	1991-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national
Russian	1991	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)
	1992-2014	`X`	`-`: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Lithuanian as the sole principal language of Lithuania, where it is the statutory national language. Both *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* and the Ethnologue cite Article 14 of the 1992 Constitution, which succinctly declares that 'Lithuanian is the official language.' Article 117 further stipulates that all legal proceedings must take place in Lithuanian.

The 1995 Law on Official Language reinforces this constitutional provision and provides detailed regulatory frameworks to ensure the use of Lithuanian across state territory. Domain-specific laws further reinforce the language in fields including education, media, public administration, and signage. Lithuanian is dominant language in post-Soviet Lithuania, serving administrative functions and operating as a potent symbol of national identity. I therefore code Lithuanian as the statutory national language from 1992 to 2014.

For 1991, I also code Lithuanian as the statutory national language. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Lithuania did not immediately repeal the 1989 Ethnic Minorities Act, which had reaffirmed Lithuanian as the official language of the Lithuanian SSR (a status already enshrined in the 1978 constitution of the republic). Thus, legal continuity and the prevailing national discourse around language justify maintaining this designation for 1991.

As in its Baltic neighbours, a programme of de-Russification followed independence. For the year 1991, however, I consider the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union, which declared Russian the official language of the USSR, to apply to Lithuania as a constituent republic. Consequently, I code Russian as a statutory national working language for that year only. From 1992 to 2014, I employ a placeholder code for Russian to reflect its loss of official status and its rapid retreat from the public domain. This is consistent with the Ethnologue, which, from its earliest available online edition in 1996, does not record institutional status for Russian in Lithuania.

References

[1] Rasa Baločkaitė. 'On Ideology, Language, and Identity: Language Politics in the Soviet and Post-Soviet Lithuania'. In: *Language Policy* 13.1 (2014), pp. 41–61. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-013-9301-z (visited on 03/03/2025).

[2] *Lithuania*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LT/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] *Lithuania*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by Barbara F. Grimes. 13th edition (online). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1996. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/13/countries/Latv.html (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Gabrielle Hogan-Brun, Meilutė Ramonienė and Laima Grumadienė. 'The Language Situation in Lithuania'. In: *Journal of Baltic Studies* 36.3 (2005), pp. 345–370. ISSN: 0162-9778, 1751-7877. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01629770500000131 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Lituanie (Lietuva) / (1) Généralités*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/lituanie.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Lituanie / (2) La politique de valorisation du lituanien*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/lituanie_2polval.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Lituanie / Constitution de 1992: Dispositions linguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/lituanie-constitution.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Lituanie / Loi sur les minorités ethniques 1989-2010*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/lituanie-loi-min.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

369: Ukraine

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Russian	1991	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1992-1995	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1996-2005	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	2006-2014	X	H: Statutory provincial (working)
Ukrainian	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

Due to the rapidly changing situation in Ukraine as of this writing, I refer primarily to the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue as the basis for my coding. The Ethnologue identifies both Ukrainian and Russian as primary languages of Ukraine at this juncture. Ukrainian is classified as a statutory national language, with Article 10(1) of the 1996 Constitution stating simply: 'The official language of Ukraine is Ukrainian.' This provision is corroborated by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*.

Earlier, the 1989 Languages Act of the Ukrainian SSR declared that 'in accordance with the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, the official language of the Ukrainian SSR is Ukrainian.' This act also provided for the development and pedagogy of the Ukrainian language. It remained in force following the declaration of independence in 1991 until its eventual replacement by the Law on the Principles of State Language Policy in 2012, which was subsequently declared unconstitutional in 2018.

Throughout the coding period, national-level Ukrainian language policy sought to curtail the influence of Russian, particularly under the presidency of Viktor Yushchenko, albeit with only limited success. Although Ukrainian speakers formed a majority of the population, the high concentration of Russian speakers in the east constrained the full implementation of de-Russification measures. The status of Russian has remained a polarising and salient electoral issue since independence. I thus code Ukrainian as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1991 to 2014 in light of the continuous legal framework and institutional efforts to entrench Ukrainian in public life.

Russian, meanwhile, is classified by the Ethnologue (2014, 2024) as a statutory provincial working language in Crimea, based on the 2009 Constitution of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* acknowledges this legal provision and also details the so-called 'revolt' of 2006, during which numerous oblasts in southern and eastern Ukraine, as well as many major municipalities, adopted local legislation declaring Russian to be an official

language. Although court rulings later overturned such declarations in several oblasts, they remained formally in effect in Mykolaiv, Donetsk, and Kharkiv.

Based on this legislative and sociopolitical trajectory, I code Russian as a statutory national language in 1991, in line with the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union which applied to all constituent republics of the USSR. For the period from 1992 to 1995, I code Russian as a *de facto* national working language, reflecting the persistent dominance of Russian-language infrastructure and administrative norms in the early post-independence era. From 1996, which marks the adoption of the new Ukrainian constitution, until 2005, I code Russian as a *de facto* provincial language, representing its continued social and political relevance in the south and east of the country, particularly in Crimea. From 2006 to 2014, I code Russian as a statutory provincial working language, to align with both the 2014 Ethnologue classification and regional legislation enacted in this period. This coding decision also incorporates the 2009 Crimean constitution, which granted Russian official status within the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

References

[1] Ayşe Pamir Dietrich. 'Language Policy and the Status of Russian in the Soviet Union and the Successor States Outside the Russian Federation'. In: *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 19.1 (2005), pp. 1–27. URL: https://miskinhill.com.au/journals/asees/19:1-2/language-policy-status-of-russian.pdf (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Ukraine*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/UA/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Svitlana Melnyk. 'Language Policy Management in the Former Soviet Sphere'. In: *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Ed. by Bernard Spolsky. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 592–616. ISBN: 978-0-511-97902-6 978-0-521-19565-2. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9780511979026%23c19565-29-1/type/book_part (visited on 03/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Crimée (Sous occupation russe) | 3) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/crimee-3Pol-ling.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Ukraine | 1) Données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/ukraine-1demo.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Ukraine | 3) Politique relative à la langue ukrainienne*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/ukraine-3valorisation-ukrainien.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Ukraine | 4) Politique linguistique relative aux minorités nationales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/ukraine-4pol-minorites.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Ukraine | Constitution du 28 juin 1996 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/ukraine-constitution-1996.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Ukraine | Loi sur les langues de la RSS d'Ukraine, 1989 (abrogée)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2022. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/ukraine_loi-1989.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Ukraine | Loi sur les principes de la politique linguistique de l'État n° 5029-VI. Adoptée le 3 juillet 2012 (Invalidée en 2018 par la Cour constitutionnelle)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2022. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/ukraine-loi-lng-2012.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Crimée (Sous occupation russe) | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/crimee-2HSt.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[12] *Ukraine*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/UA/status/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

370: Belarus

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Belarusian	1991-2014	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
	1991	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Russian	1992-1995	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1996-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)

Coding Rationale

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue identifies only Russian as the principal language of Belarus. By contrast, the 2014 edition identifies both Russian and Belarusian as principal languages. While the earlier edition classifies Belarusian as a statutory national language, the 2024 edition designates it as a statutory language of national identity. Crucially, even the 2014 edition acknowledges that the majority of Belarusians speak Russian as their native language, and that the use of Belarusian is largely symbolic. I therefore rely on the 2024 edition of the Ethnologue as the basis for my coding, as it appears to more accurately reflect the linguistic realities of post-Soviet Belarus. Both editions cite Article 17(1) of the 1994 constitution as the source of Belarusian's statutory institutional status, which *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates.

> Article 17. [1994]
>
> 1) The official language of the Republic of Belarus is Belarusian.
> 2) The Republic of Belarus maintains the right to freely use the Russian language as the language of ethnic communication.

This language regime was preceded by the 1990 Language Act, which declared Belarusian the official language of the Byelorussian SSR. The Act was designed to gradually assert the primacy of Belarusian within state institutions and society more broadly. However, this policy of Belarusification was short-lived. In 1995, President Lukashenko called a referendum asking: 'Do you agree to give the Russian language equal status to the Belarusian language?' The referendum passed with 88.3 percent support, and the 1990 Language Act was subsequently repealed and replaced with the 1998 Language Act. In the interim, the constitution was amended in 1996 to reflect the results of the vote.

> Article 17. [1996]
>
> The Belarusian and Russian languages shall be the official languages of the Republic of Belarus.

Thus, although both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue classify Russian

as a statutory national working language based on Article 2(1) of the 1998 Languages Act, the officialisation of Russian in fact occurred earlier, through the 1996 constitutional revision.

Belarus is unique among post-Soviet states in its wholehearted embrace of Russian. Despite unilingual Belarusian signage on public buildings, Russian remains the dominant language in nearly all domains. A variety of legislation, particularly in jurisprudence and public administration, mandates proficiency in both official languages for civil servants and guarantees citizens the right to use either. In practice, parliamentary debate takes place primarily in Russian. At the turn of the century, 70 percent of students were educated in Russian; by 2019, this figure had risen to nearly 90 percent. In higher education, the near-totality of instruction is in Russian.

On the basis of this history, I code Russian as the statutory national working language in 1991, pursuant to the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union. From 1992 to 1995, during the brief Belarusification period, I code Russian as the *de facto* national working language. From 1996 to 2014, I code Russian as the statutory national working language in light of the 1996 constitutional amendment.

I code Belarusian as a statutory language of national identity for the entire period from 1991 to 2014. From 1991 to 1993, the relevant instrument is the 1990 Language Act, which remained in force until 1998. From 1994 onwards, the Belarusian constitution provides an additional source of *de jure* recognition. This classification aligns with the coding found in the most recent edition of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Ayşe Pamir Dietrich. 'Language Policy and the Status of Russian in the Soviet Union and the Successor States Outside the Russian Federation'. In: *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 19.1 (2005), pp. 1–27. URL: https://miskinhill.com.au/journals/asees/19:1-2/language-policy-status-of-russian.pdf (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Belarus*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BY/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Svitlana Melnyk. 'Language Policy Management in the Former Soviet Sphere'. In: *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Ed. by Bernard Spolsky. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 592–616. ISBN: 978-0-511-97902-6 978-0-521-19565-2. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9780511979026%23c19565-29-1/type/book_part (visited on 03/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Biélorussie | 3) La politique des langues officielles (ou libre choix)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.

cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bielorussie3-lng-officielles.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Biélorussie | Lois diverses (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bielorussie-lois-div.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Loi sur les langues nº 46, de la république de Biélorussie, 1990 (obsolète)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bielorussie-loi90.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Biélorussie | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/bielorussie2-HST.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[8] *Belarus*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/BY/status/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

371: Armenia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Armenian	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Russian	1991	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1992-1995	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Armenian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Armenia, citing Article 12 of the 1995 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* adds a Law on Language, adopted on 17 April 1993, that supposedly constitutes the first explicit declaration of Armenian as the official language of the post-Soviet Armenian state.

However, the uninterrupted *de jure* institutional status of Armenian actually predates independence. The 1978 constitution of the Armenian SSR also declared Armenian the official language, and this provision remained in force through the dissolution of the Soviet Union until the adoption of the new constitution in 1995. Legislation spanning the entire post-Soviet period mandates the use of Armenian in a wide array of domains. Armenian functions not only as the language of administration but also as a central marker of national identity. I therefore code Armenian as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1991 to 2014.

The most recent edition of the Ethnologue does not attribute institutional status to Russian in Armenia. Notably, even the 1996 edition, which is the earliest currently available online, takes the same position. Since independence, no legislation has been enacted to grant Russian official status. Accordingly, I code Russian as a statutory national working language for the year 1991, in line with the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union, which declared Russian the official language of the USSR. From 1992 to 1995, I employ a placeholder code to reflect both the lack of new legislation and the emigration of a substantial share of the Russian-speaking population. From 1996 to 2014, I do not code Russian, harmonising this decision with the Ethnologue and with the broader linguistic trajectory of post-Soviet Armenia.

References

[1] Ayşe Pamir Dietrich. 'Language Policy and the Status of Russian in the Soviet Union and the Successor States Outside the Russian Federation'. In: *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 19.1 (2005), pp. 1–27. URL: https://misk

inhill.com.au/journals/asees/19:1-2/language-policy-status-of-russian.pdf (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Armenia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AM/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] *Armenia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by Barbara F. Grimes. 13th edition (online). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1996. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/AM/status/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Svitlana Melnyk. 'Language Policy Management in the Former Soviet Sphere'. In: *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy*. Ed. by Bernard Spolsky. 1st ed. Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 592–616. ISBN: 978-0-511-97902-6 978-0-521-19565-2. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/9780511979026%23c19565-29-1/type/book_part (visited on 03/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Arménie | (1) Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/armenie1-genrl.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Arménie | (2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/armenie2-HST.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Arménie | (3) La politique linguistique à l'égard de la langue officielle*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/armenie3-politique-lng_off.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Arménie | (4) La question des minorités nationales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/armenie4-politique-min.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Arménie | Loi sur la langue (1993)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/armenie-loi-1993.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Arménie | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord

(CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/armenie-lois-div.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[11] *Armenia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/AM/status/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[12] Simon Payaslian. *The History of Armenia: From the Origins to the Present*. Macmillan Essential Histories Ser. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. 1 p. ISBN: 978-0-230-60858-0.

372: Georgia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Georgian	1991-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national
Russian	1991	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)
	1992-2014	`X`	`E`: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Georgian and Russian as the two principal languages of Georgia. It classifies Georgian as a statutory national language on the basis of Article 8 of the 1995 constitution. However, the 1978 constitution of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic had already enshrined Georgian as the state language, and it remained the basic law of the country until the promulgation of the new post-independence constitution.

> Article 75. [1978]
>
> — The State language of the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic shall be Georgian.
>
> — The Georgian SSR shall secure the comprehensive development of Georgian language and safeguards its application in the state and public organs, as well as in the cultural, educational and other institutions.
>
> — Free application of Russian and other languages, used by the population, shall be secured in the above-mentioned organs of the Georgian SSR. Any privileges for or restriction of any language is inadmissible.

The use of Georgian is widespread across the country and has remained so both before and after independence. Article 62 of the 1995 constitution mandates that judicial proceedings be conducted in Georgian, and legislation in a wide array of domains requires the use of the official language. While a comprehensive language law was enacted in 2015, this falls outside the coding period. Taken together, these provisions demonstrate that Georgian functions both as the language of administration and as a marker of national identity. I therefore code Georgian as a statutory national language for the entire period from 1991 to 2014.

The above notwithstanding, Russian has continued to occupy an important functional role in Georgia, and the Ethnologue classifies it as a *de facto* national working language. Outside of the 1994 constitution of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, which recognises Russian as a 'state language' alongside the official

language, Abkhaz, there is no legislation in Georgia that accords Russian *de jure* institutional status.

For the year 1991, I code Russian as a statutory national working language on the basis of the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union. Following independence, Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgia's first post-Soviet president, adopted a linguistically non-interventionist stance that allowed for the continued use of Russian during his tenure. It was only with the election of Mikheil Saakashvili in 2004 that a policy of Georgianisation began to take shape. I code Russian as a *de facto* national working language from 1992 to 2014. This coding aligns with the Ethnologue and reflects the enduring, though unofficial, role of Russian in Georgian public life.

References

[1] 'Constitution (Basic Law) of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Georgia'. In: *The Collection of the Constitutional Acts of the Georgian SSR. (1921-1978)*. Tbilisi: Regionalism Research Institute, 1983, pp. 249–293. URL: http://rrc.ge/law/Gkon_1978_04_15_e.htm (visited on 03/03/2025).

[2] *Georgia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GE/ (visited on 16/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Géorgie | (1) Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/georgie1-demo-hst.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Géorgie | (2) Politique de la langue officielle*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/georgie2-pol-lng.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Géorgie | Constitution du 17 octobre 1995 avec les modifications de 2018*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/georgie-const.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Géorgie | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/georgie-lois-div.htm (visited on 16/02/2025).

373: Azerbaijan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Azerbaijani	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Russian	1991	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1992-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Azerbaijani (Azeri) and Russian as the two principal languages of Azerbaijan. It classifies Azerbaijani as a statutory national language on the basis of Article 21(1) of the 1995 constitution. However, the *de jure* institutional status of Azerbaijani dates back to the 1978 constitution of the Azerbaijani Soviet Socialist Republic. At the time, only the Georgian and Armenian SSRs had likewise constitutionally enshrined the official status of their titular languages.

Following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Law of the Republic of Azerbaijan on the State Language in the Republic of Azerbaijan was adopted in 1992. This law declared 'Turkish,' used to refer to Azerbaijani despite Soviet efforts to cultivate a non-Turkic Azerbaijani identity, as the official language of the newly independent state.

The statutory institutional status of Azerbaijani thus remained unbroken throughout the post-Soviet period. I code Azerbaijani as the statutory national language for the entire duration from 1991 to 2014. This coding is further supported by a multitude of language laws and domain-specific legislation that mandate the use of Azerbaijani across a range of sectors. Additionally, the 2002 Official Language Act, a comprehensive language law introduced in response to the persistent presence of Russian, prohibited individuals from engaging in activity to 'secretly or openly propagate against the official language, to resist using this language and to try to limit its historically established rights.'

The foregoing illustrates that, in contrast to other post-Soviet states that have pursued aggressive de-Russification, the status of Russian in Azerbaijan has remained relatively stable. The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue classifies Russian as a *de facto* national working language. Although Azerbaijani is widely used in state institutions, Russian continues to play a significant role among the elite and in spheres of socioeconomic advancement. As Garibova (2019: 55) observes, 'The language ecology in the country is favourable for maintaining Russian and its social prestige.'

Accordingly, I code Russian as a statutory national working language for the year 1991 on the basis of the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet

Union. From 1992 to 2014, I code Russian as a *de facto* national working language. This coding aligns with the most recent edition of the Ethnologue and reflects the enduring, if unofficial, role of Russian in post-Soviet Azerbaijan.

References

[1] *Approval of the Azerbaijani language as the state language in the Constitution of the Azerbaijan SSR [Pages from History]*. Presidential Library, Administrative Department of the President of the Republic of Azerbaijan. 2023. URL: https://eres.preslib.az/site/historical/page/en/wrzhedn# (visited on 03/03/2025).

[2] *Azerbaijan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AZ/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jala Garibova. 'Language Policy in Post-Soviet Azerbaijan: Political Aspects'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2009.198 (2009). ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/IJSL.2009.024/html (visited on 03/03/2025).

[4] Jala Garibova. 'Russian in Azerbaijan: Changing Practices and Emerging Paradigms'. In: *The Soft Power of the Russian Language*. 1st. Num Pages: 16. Routledge, 2019, pp. 55–68. ISBN: 978-0-429-06111-0. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780429061110-6/russian-azerbaijan-jala-garibova.

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Azerbaïdjan | 1) Situation générale*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/azerbaidjan1.gnrl.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Azerbaïdjan | 2) La politique linguistique à l'égard de la langue officielle*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/azerbaidjan2.pol-off.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Azerbaïdjan | 3) La politique linguistique à l'égard des minorités nationales*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/azerbaidjan3.pol-min.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Azerbaïdjan | Constitution de 1995 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/azerbaidjan-const-1995.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Azerbaïdjan / Loi sur la langue officielle (abrogée) (1992)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/azerbaidjan-loi92.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Azerbaïdjan / Loi sur la langue officielle (Le 30 septembre 2002)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/azerbaidjan-loi2002.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

375: Finland

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Finnish	1945-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national
Swedish	1945-2014	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Finnish and Swedish as the two principal languages and statutory national languages of Finland, citing Articles 17(1) and (2) of the current constitution, which entered into force in 2000. In addition to recognising Finnish and Swedish as national languages, the constitution guarantees the right of individuals to interact with public authorities in either language.

> 17 Artikla: Oikeus omaan kieleen ja kulttuuriin [2000]
>
> 1) Suomen kansalliskielet ovat suomi ja ruotsi.
>
> 2) Jokaisen oikeus käyttää tuomioistuimessa ja muussa viranomaisessa asiassaan omaa kieltään, joko suomea tai ruotsia, sekä saada toimituskirjansa tällä kielellä turvataan lailla. Julkisen vallan on huolehdittava maan suomen- ja ruotsinkielisen väestön sivistyksellisistä ja yhteiskunnallisista tarpeista samanlaisten perusteiden mukaan.

Other sources, including *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* and the widely-cited monograph by Latomaa and Nuolijärvi (2002: 168–171), point to a considerably longer history of statutory bilingualism. The 1922 Language Act, which was later replaced by a revised Act in 2002, enshrined the equal status of Finnish and Swedish in law. Prior to the twentieth century, Swedish was the language of the elite, while Finnish was associated with the majority population. The passage of the 1922 Language Act followed a period of linguistic conflict during which Finnish gradually gained ground, unsettling the Swedish-speaking upper classes.

By the beginning of the coding period in 1945, however, the era of language conflict had largely subsided. Finnish-Swedish bilingualism has remained stable ever since, with Finnish serving as the dominant language and forming the basis of the Finnish national identity. Both languages continue to be widely used in the public sphere.

On the basis of this stable linguistic history and the legal continuity from the 1922 Language Act through to the 2000 constitution, I code Finnish as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014. I code Swedish as a statutory national working language for the same period, reflecting its recognised status in law and continued use in official domains.

References

[1] *Finland*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/FI/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Sirkku Latomaa and Pirkko Nuolijärvi. 'The Language Situation in Finland'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 3.2 (2002). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 95–202. ISSN: 1466-4208. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/14664200208668040 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Finlande | 4) La politique du bilinguisme officiel : finnois et suédois*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/finlande-4pol_bilinguisme_off.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Finlande | Constitution du 1er mars 2000 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/finlande-cnst2000.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Finlande | Loi sur les langues n° 423/2003*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/finlande_loi-2004.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Finlande | Loi sur les langues, no 1.6.1922/148 (Abrogée)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/finlande_loi-1922.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

380: Sweden

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Swedish	1945-2008	N	D: *De facto* national
	2009-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Swedish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Sweden, citing Articles 4, 5, and 6 of Language Act no. 600 of 2009. This legislation designates Swedish as the principal language of the country and places a special responsibility on public authorities to use and promote it. The law guarantees all residents of Sweden the right to use Swedish in all domains of public life.

> Svenska språket [2009]
>
> Artikel 4. Svenska är huvudspråk i Sverige.
>
> Artikel 5. Som huvudspråk är svenskan samhällets gemensamma språk, som alla som är bosatta i Sverige ska ha tillgång till och som ska kunna användas inom alla samhällsområden.
>
> Artikel 6. Det allmänna har ett särskilt ansvar för att svenskan används och utvecklas.

Other provisions of the same Act specify that Swedish is to be used in the judiciary and in public administration, although exemptions exist for the use of officially recognised minority languages under separate legislation. Ethnic Swedes make up over 80 percent of the population, and Swedish overwhelmingly dominates both public and private life in Sweden.

Although Sweden recognises several minority groups including Finnish speakers, the Ethnologue does not assign institutional status to Finnish or any other language at either the national or provincial level. Given this straightforward linguistic context, I code Swedish as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 2008, and as the statutory national language from 2009 to 2014.

References

[1] *Sweden*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SE/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Suède*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/suede.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Suède | Loi sur les langues (600/2009)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/suede-loi2009.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Birger Winsa. 'Language Planning in Sweden'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 20.4 (1999), pp. 376–473. ISSN: 0143-4632, 1747-7557. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01434639908666384 (visited on 20/03/2025).

385: Norway

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Norwegian	1945-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Norwegian as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Norway, noting that while the 1814 constitution refers generally to 'the language of the country,' it does not explicitly designate Norwegian as the state language. More recently, a comprehensive language law entered into force in 2022. Though this lies outside the scope of the coding period, its contents are nevertheless informative.

> Artikkel 4. Norsk sprak [2022]
>
> 1) Norsk er det nasjonale hovudspråket i Noreg.
>
> 2) Bokmål og nynorsk er likeverdige språk som skal kunne brukast i alle delar av samfunnet. I offentlege organ er bokmål og nynorsk jamstilte skriftspråk.

In addition to designating Norwegian as the national language, the text affirms the equal status of its two written standards: Bokmål and Nynorsk. Bokmål ('book language') is used by approximately 80 percent of the population and predominates in most public domains. Nynorsk ('new Norwegian') nevertheless enjoys formal equality. Prior to the 2022 Act, the 1980 Act on the Use of Languages in Public Services was the primary legislation enshrining this equality.

> Article 1 [1980]
>
> Bokmål and Nynorsk are language variants of equal value and have equal status in the written communications of all state agencies, counties and municipalities. Where a private corporation acts on behalf of the State, County or municipality, it will be considered a public body for that purpose.

For the purposes of the present research, the Bokmål-Nynorsk distinction is immaterial, as both are considered standard variants of Norwegian. In practice, Norwegian dominates all domains of public and private life in Norway. Proficiency in Norwegian is required for naturalisation, and language legislation broadly affirms its central status in society. The formal provisions guaranteeing the equality of Bokmål and Nynorsk are thus best understood as *prima facie* evidence of the privileged position of Norwegian as a whole.

Accordingly, I code Norwegian as the *de facto* national language for the entire

coding period from 1945 to 2014. Although Saami enjoys provincial-level institutional recognition, it lacks national-level institutional status in any country and is therefore not coded.

References

[1] *Norway*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/NO/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Norvège / 1) Situation géographique; 2) Données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/norvege-1_demo.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Norvège / 4) La politique de bilinguisme institutionnel*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/norvege-3_pol-biling.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Norvège /Loi sur l'emploi des langues dans les services publics. Abrogée en 2022*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/norvege-loi-80.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

390: Denmark

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Danish	1945-2014	N	D: *De facto* national
Faroese	1945-1947	N	K: *De facto* provincial
	1948-2014	N	G: Statutory provincial
German	1945-1954	X	-: Other notable usage
	1955-2014	X	I: Statutory provincial (identity)
Greenlandic	1945-1977	N	K: *De facto* provincial
	1978-2014	N	G: Statutory provincial

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Danish as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Denmark. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Denmark has traditionally followed a policy of linguistic non-intervention due to the widespread and unchallenged use of Danish. As a result, the legal status of Danish is not codified in the constitution or in any specific language legislation, and few statutory provisions regulate its use across different domains. Although the rising prominence of English and increased immigration have generated a heightened linguistic self-awareness in recent decades, this lies outside the scope of the coding period. I therefore code Danish as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 2014.

The current edition of the Ethnologue identifies no other languages with institutional status in Denmark proper, classifying Greenland and the Faroe Islands as separate polities. However, as the Correlates of War project includes these territories under Danish sovereignty, I turn to the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue, which considers their status within the Danish state.

Regarding the Faroe Islands, the 2014 Ethnologue classifies Faroese as a *de facto* provincial language. The 2024 edition, however, references Section 11 of the 1948 Home Rule Act for the Faroese polity, which recognises Faroese as the principal language while mandating that Danish be taught thoroughly. It also provides for the use of both languages in public affairs and requires Faroese legal documents to be translated into Danish.

> Artikel 11 [1948]
>
> 1) Færøsk anerkendes som Hovedsproget, men Dansk skal læres godt og omhyggeligt, og Dansk kan lige saa vel som Færøsk anvendes i offentlige Forhold.

> 2) Ved Forelæggelse af Appelsager skal der medfølge dansk Oversættelse af alle Akter paa Færøsk.

Based on this legal foundation, I code Faroese as a *de facto* provincial language from 1945 to 1947, and as a statutory provincial language from 1948 to 2014. In so doing, I amend the coding of the 2024 Ethnologue to reflect the status of the Faroe Islands as a non-sovereign member of the Kingdom of Denmark.

Greenlandic has followed a similar trajectory. The 2014 Ethnologue classifies it as a statutory provincial language, citing Article 9 of the Greenland Home Rule Act (no. 577 of 1978). The provision affirms Greenlandic as the principal language, while also mandating competent instruction in Danish and permitting the use of both languages for official purposes.

> Artikel 9 [1978]
>
> Det grønlandske sprog er hovedsproget. Der skal undervises grundigt i det danske sprog.
>
> Stk. 1. ···
>
> Stk. 2. Begge sprog kan anvendes i offentlige forhold.

This legislation was later superseded by the 2009 Self-Government Act, whose Article 20 simply states: 'Det grønlandske sprog er det officielle sprog i Grønland' (Greenlandic is the official language of Greenland). Though this suggests the symbolic demotion of Danish in Greenland, it does not affect the status of Danish in Denmark as a whole. Accordingly, I code Greenlandic as a *de facto* provincial language from 1945 to 1977 and as a statutory provincial language from 1978 to 2014, based on the provisions of the 1978 and 2009 legal frameworks.

Finally, the 2014 Ethnologue identifies German as a statutory language of provincial identity in the Syddanmark region, referencing the 1955 Danish-German Agreement. Signed by Prime Minister Hans Christian Hansen and Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, this bilateral accord laid the groundwork for the mutual protection of German and Danish minorities in the Schleswig borderlands.

While the 2024 edition of the Ethnologue classifies German more modestly as a 'recognised language,' I retain its earlier designation as a statutory language of provincial identity. This reflects the persistent symbolic value of German and maintains consistency with my coding for Germany, where I opt to code in accordance with the 2014 Ethnologue instead of the current 2024 edition. I code German as a placeholder from 1945 to 1954, and as a statutory provincial identity language from 1955 to 2014, in line with the 2014 Ethnologue classification.

References

[1] *Denmark*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/DK/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] *Faroe Islands*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/FO/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] *Greenland*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GL/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Danemark | 1) Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/danemark-1demo.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Danemark | 3) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/danemark-3Pol_lng.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Danemark | Déclaration du gouvernement du Danemark sur le statut de la minorité allemande, 1955*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/danemark-declaration1955.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Groenland*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/groenland.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Groenland | Loi sur l' autonomie du Groenland*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/amnord/groenland-stat-2009.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Îles Féroé (Pays constitutif du Royaume du Danemark)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/feroe.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Îles Féroé | Loi sur l'autonomie des îles Féroé, 1948*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/feroe-lois-1948.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[11] *Greenland*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GL/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

395: Iceland

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Icelandic	1945-2010	N	D: *De facto* national
	2011-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Icelandic as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Iceland. Both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* cite Law no. 61 of 2011 (the 'Act on the Status of the Icelandic Language and Icelandic Sign Language') as the legal basis for its *de jure* institutional status.

> Article 1. National language –official language. [2011]
>
> Icelandic is the national language of the Icelandic people and the official language in Iceland.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde further notes that the constitution of 1944 contains no provisions regarding the official status of Icelandic. Nevertheless, a range of sectoral laws requires its use across multiple domains. Following independence from Denmark in 1944 after successive occupations by German and then American forces, Iceland began implementing a proactive language policy aimed at modernising Icelandic for use in administrative, scientific, and technical domains.

Hilmarsson-Dunn and Kristinsson (2010: 227) confirm that 'Neither the Icelandic constitution, nor any specific language legislation, explicitly declares Icelandic as the only official language of Iceland,' at least prior to the passage of the 2011 Act. Their work also provides a comprehensive history of Iceland's language policy, tracing its roots to the eighteenth century. Since that time, Icelandic has undergone an extensive process of linguistic nativisation: rather than borrowing foreign terms, Icelandic linguists have consistently coined neologisms to express modern concepts. This policy continued through the twentieth century, supported by newly established institutions devoted to language planning and preservation.

Low levels of immigration during the coding period meant these policies were rarely challenged in practice. Iceland therefore remains one of the few states to approximate the Herderian ideal of a linguistically homogeneous nation-state. Accordingly, I code Icelandic as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 2010. From 2011 to 2014, I code it as the statutory national language, pursuant to Law no. 61 of 2011.

References

[1] *Iceland*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/IS/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Amanda Hilmarsson-Dunn and Ari Páll Kristinsson. 'The Language Situation in Iceland'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 11.3 (2010), pp. 207–276. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664208.2010.538008 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Islande*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/islande.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Islande | Loi sur le statut de la langue islandaise et de la langue des signes islandaise. Loi n° 61 de 2011*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/europe/islande-loi-2011.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

402: Cape Verde

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1975-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Kabuverdianu	1975-1998	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1999-2014	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
Portuguese	1975-1998	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1999-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Portuguese as the sole principal language and a statutory national working language of Cape Verde on the basis of Article 9(1) of the 1992 Constitution. This is, however, inaccurate: The relevant provision did not appear in the original 1992 text. It was only with the passage of Constitutional Law 1-V-99, enacted on 23 November 1999 as the second amendment to the 1992 Constitution, that the pertinent language provisions were added.

> Artigo 3° [1999]
>
> É criado um novo artigo 8°–A da Constituição sob a epígrafe "Línguas oficiais" com a seguinte redacção:
>
> > Artigo 8°–A (Línguas oficiais)
> >
> > 1. É língua oficial o Português.
> > 2. O Estado promove as condições para a oficialização da língua materna cabo-verdiana, em paridade com a língua portuguesa.
> > 3. Todos os cidadãos nacionais têm o dever de conhecer as línguas oficiais e o direito de usálas.
>
> ...

Portuguese had long served as the colonial language and continues to dominate public life. In 1996, Cabo Verde became a founding member of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP), underscoring its alignment with the Lusophone world. Nevertheless, due to its colonial origins, Portuguese has limited symbolic value as a marker of Cape Verdean national identity. I therefore code Portuguese as a *de facto* national working language from 1975 to 1998. From 1999 onward, I harmonise my coding with the current Ethnologue by identifying it as a statutory national working language, reflecting the constitutional amendment passed that year.

This amendment also raises the question of Kabuverdianu, or Cape Verdean Creole.

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue classifies it as a statutory language of national identity, while the 2014 edition goes further, identifying it as a principal language on top of this classification. Both editions incorrectly attribute its legal status to Article 9 of the 2010 Constitution, overlooking its original enshrinement in the 1999 amendment quoted above.

Although the text signals an aspiration for co-officiality, Kabuverdianu is not yet equal in practice. Portuguese remains the sole language of legislation and formal documentation, while Kabuverdianu is primarily used in informal and private domains, and occasionally in oral debate. The state has pursued a policy of non-intervention with respect to Portuguese, while actively supporting ongoing efforts to standardise and expand the administrative functions of Kabuverdianu. Accordingly, I code Kabuverdianu as a *de facto* language of national identity from 1975 to 1998, and from 1999 to 2014, as a statutory language of national identity, in alignment with both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *2ª Revisão da Constituição de 1992 - Lei Constitucional 1-V-99 de 23 de Novembro*. 1999. URL: https://www.tribunalconstitucional.cv/index.php/leis-constitucionais (visited on 04/03/2025).

[2] Abel Djassi Amado. 'Language Policy in Cabo Verde'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 197–218. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[3] *Cape Verde Islands*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CV/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Cap-Vert*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/Cap-Vert.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Cap-Vert / Constitution (2010) (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/Cap-Vert-const.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] *Cape Verde Islands*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/CV/status/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in Portuguese Colonies and Successor States'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.1 (2018), pp. 62–97. ISSN: 1466-4208,

1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2017.1316564 (visited on 10/03/2025).

403: Sao Tome and Principe

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1975-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Portuguese	1975-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Portuguese as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of São Tomé and Príncipe. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms that no linguistic provisions exist in the 1990 constitution. Since independence, Santomean policymakers have consistently maintained Portuguese as the dominant language of public life, citing the impracticality of replacing it in core institutions such as public administration, the judiciary, security forces, education, and the media. The country joined the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) as a founding member in 1996, further reinforcing its Lusophone orientation.

There is little formal legislation concerning language. Nevertheless, as *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes, Santomean Creole (Sãotomense) is commonly spoken in informal domains, including oral parliamentary debate and communication with the public, though all official documents are composed in Portuguese. The Ethnologue designates Sãotomense as a *de facto* language of *provincial* identity on the island of São Tomé. However, given that it is a Portuguese-lexified creole, it exists alongside Portuguese on a linguistic continuum that complicates the precise identification of the number of its speakers. More importantly, Sãotomense lacks national-level institutional recognition any other country, including São Tomé and Príncipe itself. I therefore do not code it.

Thus, in line with the judgement of the Ethnologue, I code only Portuguese as the *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1975 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Democratic Republic of São Tomé and Príncipe*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2003. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=203 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *São Tomé e Príncipe*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ST/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *São Tomé-et-Príncipe*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/Sao-Tome-Principe.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in Portuguese Colonies and Successor States'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.1 (2018), pp. 62–97. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2017.1316564 (visited on 10/03/2025).

404: Guinea-Bissau

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1974-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Guineau-Bissau Creole	1974-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)
Portuguese	1974-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists Portuguese as the only principal language and the *de facto* national language of Guinea-Bissau. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms that the 1996 constitution does not contain any linguistic provisions, and no comprehensive language legislation is in force.

Following independence, Guinea-Bissau, like São Tomé and Príncipe and Cape Verde, adopted a pragmatic, non-interventionist policy toward the colonial language. Portuguese continues to serve as the medium of education at all levels, although local pronunciation differs from the European variant. Very few legal texts make reference to language, though a 2007 law did require that 50 percent of radio and 80 percent of television broadcasting be conducted in Portuguese. The country was a founding member of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) in 1996. I therefore code Portuguese as the *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1974 to 2014.

At the same time, the Ethnologue identifies Guinea-Bissau Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity. While not used as a language of instruction, it functions as a lingua franca and is 'actively supported by all ethnic groups in the country and used in most domains of public life outside of education,' having become 'a marker of national identity and solidarity.' *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that further development of the language will require a more stable political climate, which has been elusive: Guinea-Bissau has experienced numerous military coups and attempted coups since 1980. Given its social function and widespread usage, I code Guinea-Bissau Creole as the *de facto* language of national identity from 1974 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Adopted in 1984, Amended in 1991, 1993, 1006*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1996. URL: `https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=258` (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *Guinea-Bissau*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GW/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Myrna Handem. 'Portuguese, Creole or Both: The Problematic of Language Choice in the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The Social, Political and Economic Implications of Language Choice'. PhD thesis. Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 2015. URL: https://www.proquest.com/openview/5e314783cd0d8cf96ab76775ad1a198a/1?cbl=18750&pq-origsite=gscholar (visited on 29/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Guinée-Bissau (Guinée portugaise)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/Guinee-Bissau.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in Portuguese Colonies and Successor States'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.1 (2018), pp. 62–97. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2017.1316564 (visited on 10/03/2025).

411: Equatorial Guinea

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1968-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Fang	1968-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
French	1998-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Portuguese	2010-2011	X	C: Statutory national (identity)
	2012-2014	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
Spanish	1968-1972	X	A: Statutory national
	1973-1981	X	D: *De facto* national
	1982-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Spanish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Equatorial Guinea, citing Article 4 of the 2011 constitution. However, *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that Spanish received *de jure* status far earlier, in the first post-independence constitution of 1968, under President Francisco Macías Nguema:

> Artículo 4. [1968)]
>
> 1) La lengua oficial de la República de Guinea Ecuatorial es el español. Se reconocen las lenguas aborígenes como integrantes de la cultura nacional.
>
> ...

This constitution was replaced in 1973 by a new charter that removed all mention of an official language. Despite this, Spanish remained the sole language of government and administration. Macías simultaneously sought to de-Hispanicise schools and media. Following his overthrow and execution in 1979 in a coup led by his nephew, Colonel Teodoro Obiang Nguema Mbasogo, the country adopted a new constitution in 1982 that restored the official status of Spanish:

> Artículo 1 [1982]
>
> ...
>
> 5) La lengua oficial de la República de Guinea Ecuatorial es el español. Se reconocen las lenguas aborígenes como integrantes de la cultuta nacional.

This provision has been preserved through all subsequent constitutional revisions. Spanish remains the language of education, government, and public life, and is spoken natively by much of the population. I thus code Spanish as a statutory

national language for the periods 1968 to 1972 and 1982 to 2014, in line with the present edition of the Ethnologue. For the interim period between 1973 and 1981, I code it as the *de facto* national language, since it remained in use despite the absence of formal constitutional recognition.

The Ethnologue classifies French as a 'recognized' language in 2024, while its 2014 edition identifies it more specifically as a statutory national working language. Both editions refer to the January 1998 constitutional amendment that added French alongside Spanish:

> Artículo 4 [1998]
>
> 1) Las Lenguas Oficiales de la República de Guinea Ecuatorial son el Español y el Francés. Se reconocen las lenguas aborígenes como integrantes de la cultura nacional (*Ley constitucional no 1/1998 del 21 de enero*).

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde traces the roots of this decision to a 1984 cooperation agreement with France whereby French cultural institutes in Malabo and Bata would provide technical assistance to the Equatoguinean Ministry of Culture and Education for teacher training and French instruction. Obiang's 1988 visit to France and his subsequent desire for Equatorial Guinea to join *la Francophonie* led to a 1989 decree declaring French an official language, formalised by the 1998 constitutional amendment. I therefore code French as a statutory national working language from 1998 to 2014.

Portuguese was later added as a third official language. The 2024 Ethnologue classifies it as a 'recognised language' based on Article 4(1) of the 2010 constitutional amendment titled *Decreto-Ley 1/2010 por la que se modifica el Artículo Único de la Ley Constitucional número 1/1998, de fecha 23 de Enero, por la que se modifica el Primer Párrafo del Artículo 4º de la Ley Fundamental de Guinea Ecuatorial*. As *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* expounds, President Obiang, whose presidency has continued uninterrupted since 1982, pursued Portuguese co-official status to facilitate Equatorial Guinea's accession to the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP). The amended constitution instituted a trilingual regime.

> Artículo 4 [2010]
>
> 1) Las Lenguas Oficiales de la República de Guinea Ecuatorial son el Español, el Francés y el Portugués. Se reconoce las lenguas aborígenes como integrantes de la cultura nacional. (*Decreto-Ley no. 1/2010*).

Equatorial Guinea formally joined the CPLP in 2014. However, a new constitution adopted in 2012 amended the language provision, replacing mention of 'Portuguese' with a general clause on any languages 'that the Law shall determine.'

> Artículo 4 [2012]
>
> 1) Las Lenguas Oficiales de la República de Guinea Ecuatorial son

> el Español, el Francés y las que la Ley determine. Se reconocen las lenguas autóctonas como integrantes de la cultura nacional.

Given this trajectory, I code Portuguese as a statutory language of national identity from 2010 to 2011. From 2012 to 2014, I code it as a *de facto* language of national identity, acknowledging its continued relevance in external relations, particularly the CPLP, despite its removal from the constitutional text.

Finally, the Ethnologue identifies Fang as the *de facto* language of national identity. A dominant local language since the nineteenth century, Fang is spoken by the majority Fang ethnic group and is widely used in religion, trade, oral traditions, and everyday life. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* reports that President Obiang has signalled intentions to institutionalise Fang as an official language, though this has not materialised to date. Accordingly, I code Fang as the *de facto* language of national identity throughout the entire period.

References

[1] *Constitución de Guinea Ecuatorial de 1968*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1968. URL: https://es.wikisource.org/wiki/Constituci%C3%B3n_de_Guinea_Ecuatorial_de_1968 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of The Republic of Equatorial Guinea, 1991 (as Amended to 1995)*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1995. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=166 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[3] Max Doppelbauer and Sandra Schlumpf. 'Política lingüística poscolonial en África: el caso de Guinea Ecuatorial'. In: *Signo y seña* 44 (2023). Number: 44. ISSN: 2314-2189. URL: http://revistascientificas.filo.uba.ar/index.php/sys/article/view/12697 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[4] *Equatorial Guinea*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GQ/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Accord entre le gouvernement de la République française et le gouvernement de la république de Guinée équatoriale relatif aux instituts culturels d'expression française de Malabo et de Bata (1984)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/guinee_equat-accord1984.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Guinée équatoriale (Guinée espagnole)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/guinee_equatoriale.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Guinée équatoriale / Lois à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/guinee_equat-lois.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] *Equatorial Guinea*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GQ/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[9] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in Portuguese Colonies and Successor States'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.1 (2018), pp. 62–97. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2017.1316564 (visited on 10/03/2025).

420: Gambia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1965-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1965-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Wolof	1965-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of the Gambia. I contest this judgement on the basis of explicit language provisions contained in the foundational legal texts of 1965, 1970, and 1997. The Gambia Independence Order of 1965, which granted the country its independence and served as its first constitutional document, includes a clear stipulation regarding the use of English in legislative proceedings:

> Article 53: Use of English in House of Representatives [1965]
>
> The business of the House of Representatives shall be conducted in English.

Although the term 'official language' is not used, Article 53 unambiguously designates English the sole language permitted for all legislative activity. In addition, Article 34(b) of the 1965 Order makes the ability to 'speak English well enough to take an active part in the proceedings of the House' a prerequisite for membership in the legislature.

Five years later, the 1970 Republican Constitution reaffirmed this linguistic policy. Article 78 reiterates, word for word, that 'The business of the House of Representatives shall be conducted in English,' while Article 58(b) maintains the English language competency requirement for parliamentarians. These provisions are again preserved in the 1997 Constitution as Articles 105 and 89(d), respectively. Jammeh (2001: 273-4) argues that these provisions collectively confer upon English the status of a *de jure* official language. Following over a century of British colonial administration, first as part of the Colony of Sierra Leone, and later as a separate colony, English has become entrenched in public life. No single indigenous language rivals its dominance; Mandinka, the language of the largest ethnic group, is spoken natively by fewer than 40 percent of the population. Whilst English is not a requirement for naturalisation, those entering civil service are legally obligated to demonstrate proficiency in the language. This has, in effect, created a linguistic barrier to participation in state structures for those without access to English-language education.

In sum, the Gambia has pursued a policy of institutional continuity, leaving intact

the colonial-era linguistic arrangements. Although there has been no active status planning for English, its continued and exclusive use in public administration, the courts, education, and formal discourse has entrenched its privileged position, particularly in written communications, a domain in which native Gambian languages cannot feasibly compete. Accordingly, I code English as the statutory national language for the entire coding period from 1965 to 2014, based on the language provisions embedded in successive constitutional texts.

No other languages are assigned national- or province-level institutional status in either the 2024 or 2014 editions of the Ethnologue. However, given that Wolof functions as a 'language of wider communication' both within the Gambia and in the surrounding Senegalese territory, I include a placeholder code for Wolof as a vehicular language for the entire relevant period.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Second Republic of the Gambia. Adopted on 8 August 1996, Entered into Force in January 1997, Last Amended in 2001.* Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2001. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=244 (visited on 27/03/2025).

[2] *Gambia.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GM/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Burama L. J. Jammeh. 'Language Policy of the Gambia'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa.* Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 263–284. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Gambie.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/gambie.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] *Gambia.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/GM/status/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] *Statutory Instruments. 1965 No. 135. Africa. the Gambia Independence Order 1965.* Publisher: Legislation UK. The National Archives. 1965. URL: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1965/135/made (visited on 26/03/2025).

[7] *The Constitution of the Republic of the Gambia, 1970.* Publisher: Legislation UK. The National Archives. 1970. URL: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a7c2ca18a02c7a46149331c/t/5a8302139140b7d1914cae58/1518535228662/gm_1970_1of1970_GovUK.pdf (visited on 26/03/2025).

432: Mali

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Dyula	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
French	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language of Mali. The 2024 edition classifies it as a statutory national working language based on Article 31 of the 2023 constitution. This classification reflects developments following the military coups of 2020 and 2021. In the wake of these events, Franco-Malian relations deteriorated significantly: the French ambassador was expelled in 2022, and all French troops subsequently withdrew.

While French no longer serves as a symbol of national identity, Mali has historically maintained strong ties with France and the broader Francophone world. This is reflected in the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue, which designates French as a statutory national language, rather than a statutory national *working* language. This classification cites Article 25 of the 1992 constitution, which stipulates, *inter alia*: 'Le français est la langue d'expression officielle.' This was slightly revised in the 2012 constitutional draft, which simplified the designation to 'official language.' The formulation of French as a language of official expression, however, has its origins in Article 1 of the 1960 constitution:

> Article premier. [1960]
>
> — La République du Mali est indivisible, démocratique, laïque et sociale.
>
> — Elle assure à tous l'égalité, devant la loi, sans distinction d'origine, de race, de sexe ou de religion.
>
> — La langue française est la langue d'expression officielle.
>
> — La devise est : « Un Peuple, Un But, Une Foi. »
>
> — Le drapeau est composé de trois bandes verticales et égales de couleur vert, or et rouge. Il porte en noir sur la bande or l'idéogramme de l'Homme les bras levés vers le ciel.
>
> — La loi détermine l'hymne et le sceau de la République.
>
> — Son principe est le gouvernement du peuple par le peuple et pour le peuple.

A similar linguistic clause is found in the constitutions of 1974 and 1992, as well

as in the transitional constitutional frameworks of 1968 and 1991. Throughout this period, French has functioned as both the national language in law and in practice. Law no. 92-001 of 23 July 1992, on the internal rules of the National Assembly, specifies that all parliamentary debates must be conducted in French. The 2001 Code of Criminal Procedure designates French as the language of the courts, and further statutes mandate the use of French in labour contracts, public tenders, and other official documentation. The education system is modelled on the French system, and although bilingual instruction in French and local languages is nominally mandated, French remains the dominant language of instruction due to better-developed curricula and educational materials.

Given the legal entrenchment of French and its institutional dominance, I code French as the statutory national language from 1960 to 2014. This aligns with the classification found in the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue, prior to the political realignments of the 2020s.

Neither edition of the Ethnologue identifies any other language in Mali as possessing institutional status. However, Dyula (Jula) is classified as a language of wider communication, as is Bamanankan, the form of Dyula officially recognised by the Malian government. Linguistically, Dyula and Bamanankan (also referred to as Bambara) are closely related and mutually intelligible dialects. As Barlow (2001: 363) observes: 'Basically the same language is spoken and understood by all of these peoples.' Accordingly, I treat Bamanankan (Bambara) and Dyula as a single linguistic entity under the name 'Dyula.'

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue estimates 14 million speakers of Dyula in Mali and states that it functions as a *lingua franca* throughout the country, with the exception of the northeast. Dyula is one of thirteen 'national languages' officially recognised by Decree no. 159 of 19 July 1982, but the Ethnologue continues to classify it as a 'recognised language' without institutional status. It warrants particular attention in this dataset, as it is the only Malian national language also classified as a language of wider communication in other countries, namely Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso. I therefore assign a placeholder code for Dyula as a *de facto* language of wider communication for the entire period from 1960 to 2014.

References

[1] Jessica A. Barlow. *Maninka-Bambara-Dyula.* In: *Facts About the World' s Languages: An Encyclopedia of the World' s Major Languages, Past and Present.* Ed. by Jane Garry and Carl Rubino. Indiana University ScholarWorks. New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 2001, pp. 463–465. ISBN: 0-8242-0970-2. URL: `https://scholarworks.iu.edu/iuswrrest/api/core/bitstreams/25ccd7bf-7c1f-4ebc-acca-5149a5680118/content` (visited on 05/03/2025).

[2] *Mali.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ML/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | M: Macédoine, Madagascar, Malaisie, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Malte, Maroc, Marshall, Maurice, Mauritanie, Mexique, Micronésie, Moldavie, Monaco, Mongolie, Monténégro, Mozambique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-M.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Mali*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/mali.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Mali | Décret n° 159 PG-RM (1982) fixant l'alphabet pour la transcription des langues nationales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/mali-decret1982.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Mali | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/mali-lois-div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] *Mali*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/ML/status/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] *Mali. Acte fondamental du 31 mars 1991*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1991. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ml1991.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[9] *Mali. Constitution du 2 juin 1974*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1974. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ml1974.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[10] *Mali. Constitution du 25 février 1992*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1992. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ml1992.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[11] *République du Mali. Ordonnance portant organisation des pouvoirs publics (28 novembre 1968)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1968. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ml1968.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[12] Amadou Beidy Sow. 'Language Policies in Mali'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 321–343. ISBN: 978-3-031-

57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[13] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

433: Senegal

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1960-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
Wolof	1960-2014	`N`	`-`: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Senegal, citing Article 1 of the 2001 constitution. Whilst *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* also refers to this document, both sources overlook the foundational 1960 constitution, the first to declare French an official language of the newly independent Republic.

> Article premier. [1960]
>
> — La République du Sénégal est laïque, démocratique et sociale. Elle assure l'égalité devant la loi de tous les citoyens, sans distinction d'origine, de race, de sexe, de religion. Elle respecte toutes les croyances.
>
> — La langue officielle de la République du Sénégal est le français.
>
> — Sa devise est : un Peuple, un But, une Foi.
>
> — Le drapeau de la République est composé de trois bandes verticales et égales, de couleur verte, or et rouge. Il porte en vert, au centre de la bande or, une étoile à cinq branches.
>
> — La loi détermine le sceau et l'hymne de la République.
>
> — Le principe de la République est : Gouvernement du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple.

An identical linguistic provision was retained in the constitution of 1963. In practice, Senegal has consistently upheld French as the language of governance, with the judiciary and civil service operating exclusively in French. This dominance is particularly pronounced in written communication, where French has historically played a central and unchallenged role. Accordingly, I code French as the statutory national language from 1960 to 2014, reflecting its consistent designation as the official language across all constitutional texts in modern Senegalese history.

French coexists alongside a number of widely spoken indigenous languages. The 2001 constitution identifies six of them as 'national languages:' Dyula, Malinka, Fulah, Serer-Sine, Soninke, and Wolof. These languages had, in fact, already been designated as such in amendments to the preceding constitutional framework.

As l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde notes, however, none of these languages has ever approached French in terms of institutional function or symbolic status. The early trajectory of Senegal's language policy was shaped significantly by President Léopold Sédar Senghor, a devoted Francophile. Though committed to cultural pluralism, Senghor viewed the maintenance of French as both pragmatic and necessary. In 1971, he remarked:

> 'Tout d'abord remplacer le français, comme langue officielle et comme langue d'enseignement, n'est ni souhaitable, ni possible. Si du moins nous ne voulons pas être en retard au rendez-vous de l'An 2000. En effet, il nous faudrait au moins deux générations pour faire d'une de nos langues nationales, un instrument efficace pour l'enseignement des sciences et des techniques. Et à condition que nous en eussions les moyens financiers et humains, c'est-à-dire des savants et des techniciens assez qualifiés. Or, en cette seconde moitié du XXe siècle, quarante à cinquante ans de retard, cela ne se rattrape pas'

Thus, while French dominates formal and written domains, indigenous languages are prevalent in oral communication and everyday life. Seck (2024: 249) summarises this arrangement as follows: 'French is the official language and that of international communications, while the main national languages serve as languages of culture and intra- and intergroup communication. Wolof is the *lingua franca* among non-French speakers.'

Despite this, the Ethnologue categorises all six national languages as 'recognised languages' without according them institutional status. For the sake of consistency, I adopt the Ethnologue's classification for all except Wolof. Given the widespread scholarly recognition of Wolof as *primus inter pares* among the national languages and its widespread use as a *lingua franca*, I assign it a placeholder code for the entire period from 1960 to 2014.

References

[1] *Senegal*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SN/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | S: Saint-Christophe-et-Niévès, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Marin, Saint-Vincent-et-les-Grenadines, Salomon, São-Tomé-et-Príncipe, Salvador, Samoa occidentales, Sénégal, Serbie, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Slovaquie, Slovénie, Somalie, Soudan, Soudan du Sud, Sri Lanka, Suède, Suisse, Surinam, Swaziland, Syrie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-S.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Sénégal*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/senegal.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Sénégal / Décret n° 71-566 du 21 mai 1971 relatif à la transcription des langues nationales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/senegal-decret1971.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Mamarame Seck. 'Language Policy in Senegal: History and Current Trends'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 243–261. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[6] *Sénégal. Constitution du 26 août 1960*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1960. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/sn1960.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] *Sénégal. Constitution du 7 mars 1963*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1963. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/sn1963.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[8] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

434: Benin

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Gen	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Hausa	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Tem	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Yoruba	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Benin, citing Article 1 of the 1990 constitution. While *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* also references this document, both sources overlook the earlier and more foundational declaration in the original 1960 constitution, issued shortly after independence.

> Article premier. [1960]
>
> — L'État du Dahomey est une République Indépendante et Souveraine.
>
> — L'emblème national est le drapeau tricolore : en partant de le hampe, une bande, verte sur toute sa hauteur et sur les deux cinquièmes de se longueur, deux bandes horizontales de même, hauteur, la supérieure jaune, l'autre rouge.
>
> — L'Hymne du la République est « L'Aube Nouvelle ».
>
> — La devise de la République est « Fraternité —Justice —Travail ».
>
> — La langue officielle de la République est le français.
>
> — Le sceau de l'État est déterminé par la Loi.

This provision was carried over into the constitutions of 1964 and 1968, the Charter of the Directorate in 1969, and the Charter of the Presidential Council in 1970. It was, however, absent from the minimalist governing documents produced under the military regimes of 1972, 1974, and 1975. In practice, French has long served as the language of Parliament, the courts, administration, justice, and education. This is confirmed by domain-specific legislation throughout the post-independence period. Official documents are almost exclusively drafted in French, and the 1965 Dahomean Nationality Code, still in force, requires applicants for citizenship to demonstrate proficiency in the language.

Given this legal and practical reality, I code French as the statutory national

language from 1960 to 2014, aligning with the judgement of the Ethnologue. I disregard the organisational texts of the military governments in the 1970s, as these were intended as provisional rather than constitutional documents.

Despite the prominence of French, vernacular languages remain central to daily life and to interactions with the state. Though the bureaucracy functions in French, public officials routinely use local languages when communicating with the population. Since the 1970s, Benin has at least nominally pursued a policy of linguistic pluralism through a dizzying array of legislation that seeks to promote indigenous languages. Article 11(2) of the 1990 constitution formalised this obligation to 'promote the development of national intercommunication languages.' Yet, as Baloubi (2024: 308) notes, 'all those policies, often described as "Linguistic Revolution," fell through because they were neither carefully thought out nor sufficiently funded and methodically assessed.'

Moreover, whilst various policies have been issued in support of this goal, few clarify which languages qualify as 'national.' The work of identifying and institutionalising indigenous languages has thus been largely ad hoc and inconsistent. The Ethnologue identifies several languages of wider communication within Benin. Among them, Fon has the largest number of speakers and a long historical presence in southern Benin and Togo. However, I code only those languages that the Ethnologue also recognises as a language of wider communication in at least one other country. These are Gen (in Togo), Hausa (in Niger, Nigeria, Chad, and Ghana), Tem (in Togo), and Yoruba (in Nigeria). I therefore assign placeholder codes to these four languages for the entire period from 1960 to 2014.

References

[1] Désiré Baloubi. 'Language Policy in Benin and Rights to Education in Local Mother Tongues'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 321–343. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[2] *Bénin (ex-Dahomey). Charte du Conseil présidentiel (7 mai 1970)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1970. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bj1970.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[3] *Bénin (ex-Dahomey). Charte du Directoire (26 décembre 1969)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1969. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bj1969.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[4] *Bénin (ex-Dahomey). Conseil militaire de la Révolution (ordonnance n° 72-47 du 11 novembre 1972)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1972. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bj1972.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[5] *Bénin (ex-Dahomey). Constitution de la République du Dahomey (11 janvier 1964)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1964. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bj1964.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[6] *Bénin (ex-Dahomey). Constitution de la République du Dahomey (25 novembre 1960)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1960. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bj1960.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] *Bénin (ex-Dahomey). Constitution de la République du Dahomey (8 avril 1968)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1968. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bj1968.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[8] *Bénin. Conseil national de la Révolution*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1975. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bj1974.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[9] *Benin*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BJ/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Bénin*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/benin.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | B: Bahamas, Bahreïn, Bangladesh, Barbade, Belgique, Belize, Bénin, Bhoutan, Biélorussie, Birmanie, Bolivie, Bosnie-Herzégovine, Botswana, Brésil, Brunei, Bulgarie, Burkina Faso, Burundi*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-B.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[12] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

435: Mauritania

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1960-1967	X	C: Statutory national (identity)
	1968-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1960-1979	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1980-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Fulah	1960-1990	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1991-2014	X	C: Statutory national (identity)
Wolof	1960-1990	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1991-2014	X	C: Statutory national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French and Arabic as the two principal languages of Mauritania. Of these, French is the *de facto* national working language.[8] Arabic, meanwhile, is classified as the statutory national language on the basis of Article 6 of the 1991 constitution. However, l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde notes that Mauritania's first constitutional language provision predates this, appearing in the constitution drafted in 1959.

> Article 3. [1959]
>
> La langue nationale de la Mauritanie est l'arabe. La langue officielle est le français.

Mauritania achieved independence from France in 1960 and declared itself an Islamic Republic. As the Pan-Arabist movement gained traction, President Moktar Ould Daddah initiated the Arabisation of the country, which had been administratively and culturally tethered to Francophone West Africa. In 1968, Law No. 68-065 amended Article 3 of the constitution, granting Arabic equal 'official' status alongside French in addition to its *de jure* role as the 'national language.' This amendment made no distinction between Standard Arabic and Hassaniya Arabic, the latter being the native spoken variety.

> Article 1ER [1968]
>
> Les dispositions de l'article 3 de la *Loi n° 61.095 du 20 mai 1961 portant constitution de la République islamique de Mauritanie*, sont abrogées et remplacées par les dispositions suivantes :

[8]The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue classifies its usage as 'educational,' whereas the 2014 edition designates it a 'language of wider communication.' This distinction is immaterial for the present coding as both agree on its institutional status as a *de facto* national working language.

> « Article 3. La langue nationale est l'arabe, les langues officielles sont le français et l'arabe. »

...

The Arabisation campaign accelerated thereafter. In 1973, Mauritania joined the Arab League and nationalised several foreign enterprises. Bilingual French-Arabic education increasingly gave way to fully Arabised instruction in the north, and Arabic-speaking teachers were recruited en masse from abroad. In 1978, Daddah was overthrown in a military coup, ushering in the era of the Military Committee for National Salvation (CMSN), which ruled until 1992.

The CMSN pursued Arabisation even more aggressively. In 1980, it declared Arabic the sole official language of the state. To assuage tensions between Arabic speakers and the Negro-Mauritanian minorities, the government created the Institute for National Languages to support the development and use of Pulaar, Soninke, and Wolof in education. These initiatives were short-lived, however, and largely abandoned amid the political instability of the 1980s.

A new constitution, adopted in 1991 to mark the formal end of military rule, introduced an updated linguistic provision:

> Article 6 [1991]
>
> Les langues nationales sont l'arabe, le poular, le soninké et le wolof; la langue officielle est l'arabe.

French, which had been officially eliminated in 1980, was not reinstated in 1991. By contrast, Pulaar, Soninke, and Wolof were officially recognised as national languages alongside Arabic. Despite several subsequent coups, later constitutional revisions have not altered this language provision. The Ethnologue in both its 2014 and 2024 editions classifies Pulaar, Soninke, and Wolof as statutory languages of national identity, though their usage is labelled as 'developing' rather than 'languages of wider communication' due to the limited success of efforts to introduce them into state functions.

Unlike many other African countries, French does not function as the only *lingua franca* for interethnic communication in Mauritania. Rather, it coexists, often uneasily, with Arabic, which was largely imposed on the country's non-Arabic-speaking minorities. In practice, most written documentation continues to be produced in French and Arabic.

On the basis of the above, I code as follows. From 1960 to 1979, French is a statutory national working language based on the 1959 constitution. From 1980 to 2014, following its formal removal by the CMSN and lack of reinstatement thereafter, I code French as the *de facto* national working language. This aligns with the Ethnologue's current classification.

Arabic is coded as a statutory language of national identity from 1960 to 1967, in accordance with the 1959 constitution and the early stages of Arabisation. From 1968 onward, it is coded as the statutory national language, reflecting the 1968

constitutional amendment and the subsequent ascendance of Arabic in state and educational institutions. This, too, harmonises with the Ethnologue's assessment.

Finally, I address Soninke, Pulaar, and Wolof. Although Soninke arguably functions as a *de facto* language of national identity, I do not code it: no edition of the Ethnologue identifies it as a language of wider communication in Mauritania, nor is it classified as such in any other country. Its omission has no bearing on the cross-national analysis. I code Pulaar under Fulah, the macrolanguage encompassing mutually intelligible dialects spoken by over 40 million people across the region. I classify both Fulah and Wolof as *de facto* languages of national identity until 1991, at which point they become statutory languages of national identity under the 1991 constitution.

References

[1] *Mauritania*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MR/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Mauritanie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/mauritanie.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Mauritanie / Constitution de 1991 modifiée en 2017*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/mauritanie-const-1991-2017.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Mauritanie / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/mauritanie-lois_div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] *Mauritania*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/MR/status/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] *Mauritanie. Constitution du 22 mars 1959*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1959. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/mr1959.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-

4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

436: Niger

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Hausa	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Niger, citing Article 3 of the 1999 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* likewise refers to this article as the basis for the *de jure* status of French, which has remained central to Nigerien public life since independence in 1960. Both sources, however, overlook constitutional declarations of French as the official language dating back to the first foundational document of the Republic, adopted in 1959:

> Article 2. [1959]
>
> — La République du Niger adopte la langue française comme langue officielle.
>
> — Une loi de la République déterminera le choix du drapeau , de l'hymne et de la devise du Niger.
>
> — Son principe est : Gouvernement du Peuple, par le Peuple et pour le Peuple.

Although numerous other languages are used in oral communication in both public and private domains, including in administration and judicial settings, French remains the formal language of state business. Domain-specific legislation requires that certain written documentation and judicial proceedings be conducted in French, with interpretation provided where other languages are used orally. While Niger experienced long periods of military rule during which explicit language legislation was often absent, French continued to function as the principal language of governance and interethnic elite communication. I code French as the statutory national language from 1960 to 2014, harmonising with the judgement of the Ethnologue.

Nonetheless, the Nigerien state has made efforts to elevate its national languages and reduce dependence on French and French institutions. The first Hausa-French bilingual school was opened as early as 1974. By the late 1980s, Niger had begun piloting mother-tongue-medium education in early schooling. Though setbacks followed in the 1990s, these reforms were revived in the 2000s. The *Loi n° 2001-037 du 31 décembre 2001 fixant les modalités de promotion et de développement des*

langues nationales formally defined the concept of a 'national language' and listed ten in particular:

> Chapitre I: [2001]
>
> De la reconnaissance du statut de langue nationale
>
> Article 1er
>
> Est reconnue comme langue nationale du Niger, la langue commune à un groupe établi de citoyens au sein du territoire du Niger à sa formation.
>
> Est considéré comme groupe établi de citoyens au sein du territoire du Niger à sa formation un groupe historiquement identifié à ce territoire par l'existence d'un village ou d'un campement au moment de l'établissement de la territorialité du Niger.
>
> Au sens de l'alinéa 2 du présent article, les groupes concernés sont les Arabes, les Buduma, les Fulbé, les Gulmance, les Hausawa, les lsawghan, les Kanuri, les Kel-tamajaq, les Sonay-Zarma et les Tubu.
>
> Article 2
>
> Sont proclamées langues nationales : l'arabe, le budurna, le fulfuldé, le guimancema, le hausa, le kanuri, le sonay-zarma, le tamajaq, le tassawaq et le tubu.
>
> ...

The Ethnologue classifies these as 'recognised languages' rather than languages with statutory institutional status, noting that many are used only to a limited degree despite legal commitments to their promotion. Here, I code only those which are identified as languages in use for the purposes of wider communication by the Ethnologue. Of these, only Hausa qualifies: it is described as the 'main trade language of Niger,' spoken by over 20 million people in Niger and more than 60 million in Nigeria. Though primarily an oral language, it plays a prominent role in interethnic communication, is used alongside French in parliamentary debate, and features in bilingual education. I apply a placeholder code for Hausa for the entire duration from 1960 to 2014.

References

[1] *Niger*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/NE/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | N: Namibie, Nauru, Népal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https:`

//www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-N.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Niger*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/niger.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Niger | Loi n° 2001-037 du 31 décembre 2001 fixant les modalités de promotion et de développement des langues nationales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/niger-loi-2001-037-LNG.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] *Niger. Proclamation de la République du Niger, 18 décembre 1958. Constitution du 12 mars 1959*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1959. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ne1959.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[6] Moussa Mohamed Sagayar. 'Linguistic Policy and Practices in Niger'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 369–383. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[7] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

437: Cote d'Ivoire

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Dyula	1960-2014	N	-: Other notable usage
French	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Côte d'Ivoire, citing Article 29 of the 2000 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* also references this provision, while noting that Article 1 of the 1963 constitution had already enshrined French as the official language. However, this is not the earliest instance. The first such provision can be traced to the constitution of 1959, adopted while Côte d'Ivoire was still a constituent member of the *Communauté française*, the successor to the French Union in the final stages of imperial restructuring, and retained following formal independence in 1960:

> Article premier. [1960]
>
> — L'État de Côte d'Ivoire est une République indépendante et souveraine.
>
> — L'emblème national est le drapeau tricolore orange, blanc, vert en bandes verticales.
>
> — L'hymne de la République est L'Abidjanaise.
>
> — La devise de la République est Union, Discipline, Travail.
>
> — La langue officielle est le français.

Since independence, French has remained the language of the judiciary, executive, legislature, public administration, education at all levels, the security services, and the media. All legal and administrative documents are written in French. Legislation from the 1960s onward, covering domains such as notarisation, public procurement, and criminal procedure, either mandates the use of French or stipulates its use through translation.

This linguistic continuity has been seen as a means of preserving national unity in a multi-ethnic society. Côte d'Ivoire remains an active member of the International Organisation of *la Francophonie*, and Ivorian political elites have frequently affirmed the country's commitment to French. As Lansana Kouyaté, Special Representative of Côte d'Ivoire to the Secretary General of la Francophonie, expressed:

> 'La langue française est une de nos langues maternelles. C'est l'histoire qui crée les communautés linguistiques. On y naît et on l'assume ! Je

> parle français, je parle bété. Je suis francophone, je suis bétéphone. Abandonnons les complexes et fixons la langue française comme une langue ivoirienne.'

Given the sustained dominance of French in every domain of public life, I code French as the statutory national language from 1960 to 2014, aligning this with the present classification of the Ethnologue.

The Ethnologue identifies no other languages with institutional status, either nationally or provincially. This likely reflects the fact that most are primarily oral languages with little or no official presence in written or administrative contexts. However, Dyula is recognised by the Ethnologue as in use for the purposes of wider communication, alongside Bamanankan, which is a closely related dialect. Barlow (2001: 363) observes: 'Basically the same language is spoken and understood by all of these peoples.' Accordingly, I treat Bamanankan as a dialect of Dyula and apply a placeholder code for Dyula for the entire period from 1960 to 2014. This enables my coding to reflect the Ethnologue's classification while also acknowledging the sociolinguistic significance of this widespread vehicular language.

References

[1] Jessica A. Barlow. *Maninka-Bambara-Dyula.* In: *Facts About the World' s Languages: An Encyclopedia of the World' s Major Languages, Past and Present.* Ed. by Jane Garry and Carl Rubino. Indiana University ScholarWorks. New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 2001, pp. 463–465. ISBN: 0-8242-0970-2. URL: https://scholarworks.iu.edu/iuswrrest/api/core/bitstreams/25ccd7bf-7c1f-4ebc-acca-5149a5680118/content (visited on 05/03/2025).

[2] *Côte d'Ivoire. Constitution du 26 mars 1959.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1959. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ne1959.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[3] *Côte d'Ivoire. Constitution du 3 novembre 1960.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1960. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ci1960.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[4] Jean-Claude Dodo and Jacques Denos N'ZI Yao. 'Language Policy and Plurilingualism in Côte d' Ivoire'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa.* Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 285–299. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[5] *Côte d' Ivoire.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CI/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | C: Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, Cap-Vert, Centrafrique, Chili,*

Chine, Chypre du Nord (grecque), Chypre du Sud (turque), Colombie, Comores, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Corée du Nord, Corée du Sud, Costa Rica, Côte d' Ivoire, Croatie, Cuba. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-C.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Côte d'Ivoire*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cotiv.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: `https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948` (visited on 10/03/2025).

438: Guinea

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1958-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1958-1989	X	D: *De facto* national
	1990-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Fulah	1958-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
Maninka	1958-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and statutory national language of Guinea, citing Article 1 of the 2010 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* concurs, describing this article as the first constitutional recognition of French's institutional status. However, both sources are mistaken. The first explicit constitutional declaration of French as the official language appears in the 1990 constitution.

> Article premier. [1990]
>
> — La Guinée est une République unitaire, indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale. Elle assure l'égalité devant la loi de tous les citoyens sans distinction d'origine, de race, d'ethnie, de sexe, de religion et d'opinion. Elle respecte toutes les croyances.
>
> — La langue officielle est le français. L'État assure la promotion des cultures et des langues du peuple de Guinée.
>
> — ...

As in many neighbouring former French colonies, French has remained the language of the courts, the presidency and legislature, and all public administration. Although Guinea lacks a comprehensive language law, a range of domain-specific legal instruments including the electoral code, procurement statutes, land regulations, and the criminal code require the use of French or mandate translation into it. French is dominant in all formal written domains, including state and private media.

Under the leadership of Ahmed Sékou Touré, Guinea briefly pursued a pan-Africanist policy aimed at complete de-Francisation, but this effort was ultimately unsuccessful. In practice, language policy has leant pragmatic. The state and education systems remain unilingual in French, while oral multilingualism continues in everyday life and informal public-private exchanges.

Because Guinean national languages have never supplanted French as the dominant language of administration or schooling, I code French as the *de facto* national

language from 1958 to 1989 due to the absence of language provisions in the constitutions of 1958 and 1982. From 1990 to 2014, I code French as the statutory national language in line with the Ethnologue's classification.

The Ethnologue also identifies several indigenous languages that are widely used in public life but not granted explicit legal protection. Of these, I code two: Maninka and Pular. They are the only ones identified by the Ethnologue as having national-level institutional status and as being languages of wider communication in neighbouring countries. Their inclusion captures both the sociolinguistic realities on the ground and Guinea's evolving but still francophone-dominant policy framework.

First is Maninka (Eastern Maninkakan), which had approximately 3 million speakers in Guinea as of 2012. It is often spoken as a second language by non-Maninka communities and carries significant cultural prestige. Historically used during the Mali empires and during French colonisation, it is still associated with cultural and regional identity. I code Maninka as a *de facto* language of national identity from 1958 to 2014.

Second is Pular, a variety of Fulah and the most widely spoken indigenous language in Guinea, with over 4 million speakers as of 2017. Representing more than half of the population, Pular plays a crucial role in everyday communication across ethnic boundaries. I code Pular under the macrolanguage Fulah as a *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period.

References

[1] *Guinea*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GN/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] *Mandingo*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/man/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Guinée-Conakry (Guinée française)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/guinee_franco.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Guinée-Conakry | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/guinee_fran-lois_div.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Cheick Félix Bobodo Ouédraogo. 'Linguistic Policy in Burkina Faso'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 405–

435. ISBN: 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8_20 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[6] *République de Guinée. Constitution du 10 novembre 1958*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1958. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/gn1958.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] *République de Guinée. Constitution du 14 mai 1982*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1982. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/gn1982.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[8] *République de Guinée. Constitution du 23 décembre 1990*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1990. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/gn1990.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[9] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

439: Burkina Faso

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Dyula	1960-2014	`X`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)
French	1960-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
Fulah	1960-2014	`X`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)
Mossi	1960-2014	`X`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the only principal language and the statutory national language of Burkina Faso, citing Article 35 of the 1991 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* erroneously attributes the earliest legal recognition of French to the 1997 constitution. In fact, both sources are incorrect. A review of constitutional texts shows that French has held official status in every constitution since independence. The original declaration appears in Article 1 of the 1960 constitution, adopted by referendum on 27 November 1960 and promulgated shortly thereafter:

> Article premier. [1960]
>
> L'Etat de Haute-Volta est une République indépendante et souveraine.
>
> L'emblème national est le drapeu tricolore : noir, blanc, rouge, en bandes horizontals d'égales dimensions.
>
> L'hymne de la République est: « La Volta ».
>
> La devise de la République est : Unité —Travail —Justice.
>
> La langue officielle est le français.

This provision was retained in the constitutions of 1970, 1977, and 1991, attesting to the continued primacy of French in state functions. Though acquired as a second language through the education system, French dominates public administration, legislation, the courts, and political discourse. Parliamentary debates and legal texts are exclusively in French, and although lower-level officials may use local languages in public interactions, all formal documentation is drafted in French.

Since independence, Burkina Faso has followed a largely non-interventionist policy with respect to French, lacking dedicated language legislation. Nonetheless, French is functionally entrenched through sector-specific legal codes, including the labour code, competition law, and advertising regulations, that mandate its use in some official documentation. In the education sector, laws passed in 1996 and 2007 required French instruction alongside national languages. I therefore code French

as the statutory national language from 1960 to 2014, in accordance with both constitutional and legal practice.

Despite limited institutional support for local languages, vernaculars remain vibrant in everyday communication. The Ethnologue identifies three indigenous languages with institutional status, classifying each as a de facto language of national identity: Dyula (Jula), Mossi (Moore), and Fulfulde (Fulani). Ouédraogo (2024) offers a helpful taxonomy of their role in Burkina Faso's linguistic landscape:

> '–Three dominant languages: Moore, Fulani, and French; –Fourteen minor languages (with the number of speakers exceeding 100,000 and less than one million); –Two languages with special status: French and Jula; –Forty-one "small minority languages" (with the number of speakers below 100,000).'

Dyula functions as a trade language, particularly in the western regions, while Mossi is the native language of the Mossi, the largest and most politically influential ethnic group comprising over half of the national population according to the 1985 census. Fulfulde, spoken by the Fulani, is the second most widely used indigenous language, representing just under 10 percent of the population. Based on their widespread use and sociopolitical significance, I code Dyula, Mossi, and Fulfulde (under the Fulah macrolanguage) as *de facto* languages of national identity for the entire period from 1960 to 2014, aligning with the Ethnologue's assessment.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Republic of Upper Volta'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 739–742. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s073.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of Burkina Faso - 1991*. Publisher: International Foundation for Electoral Systems, CON00027. 1991. URL: https://www.ifes.org/tools-resources/election-materials/constitution-burkina-faso-1991 (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] *Burkina Faso*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BF/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] *Haute Volta (Burkina Faso). Constitution de la IIIe République*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1977. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bf1977.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[5] 'La nouvelle constitution de la Haute-Volta (14 juin 1970)'. In: *Revue juridique et politique: indépendance et coopération* 25.1 (1971). Oxford Law Library, pp. 151–178.

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Burkina Faso*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/burkina.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Burkina Faso / Législation en matière d'éducation*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/burkina-lois_educ.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains / B: Bahamas, Bahreïn, Bangladesh, Barbade, Belgique, Belize, Bénin, Bhoutan, Biélorussie, Birmanie, Bolivie, Bosnie-Herzégovine, Botswana, Brésil, Brunei, Bulgarie, Burkina Faso, Burundi*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-B.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[9] Cheick Félix Bobodo Ouédraogo. 'Linguistic Policy in Burkina Faso'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 405–435. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[10] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[11] 'VIII. —République de Haute Volta: Constitution du 30 novembre 1960'. In: *Revue juridique et politique d'Outre-Mer: communauté, assistance, technique, coopération* 15.1961 (1961). Oxford Law Library, pp. 299–307.

450: Liberia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1945-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the only principal language and the *de facto* national language of Liberia. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* concurs, noting that there is no constitutional provision conferring *de jure* institutional status on English. Liberia's sociolinguistic history diverges notably from that of other anglophone West African states. Unlike its neighbours, modern Liberia was established by freed Black Americans under the auspices of the American Colonisation Society in the nineteenth century, making English a native language from the outset.

For more than a century, Liberia was governed by the Americo-Liberian elite, descendants of these settlers, whose sociolect of English was the most prestigious variety in the country. Even after the 1980 military coup, which ended their political monopoly, Americo-Liberians retained influential positions in government and administration, particularly due to their technical training and international connections.

While the coup and subsequent shifts in power led to increased use of local dialects in daily life and public discourse, the most significant linguistic shift was the rising visibility of non-elite English dialects, particularly in broadcast media and informal state communications (Breitborde 1988). However, this did not result in any substantive change to the status of English itself. English has remained unchallenged as the language of state affairs, law, education, media, and administration.

Due to decades of internal conflict, no comprehensive language policy has been formulated or implemented. To this day, there is no official recognition of indigenous languages in legislation, the constitution, or formal state practice. The Ethnologue reflects this, identifying no other languages with institutional status. Accordingly, I code English as the *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014, in alignment with the Ethnologue's classification and Liberia's unique historical trajectory.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Republic of Liberia'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 423–424. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https :

//brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s007.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] Lawrence B. Breitborde. 'The Persistence of English in Liberia: Sociolinguistic Factors'. In: *World Englishes* 7.1 (1988), pp. 15–23. ISSN: 1467-971X. URL: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1988.tb00211.x (visited on 05/03/2025).

[3] *Liberia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LR/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Ian F. Hancock. 'English in Liberia'. In: *American Speech* 49.3 (1974). Publisher: [Duke University Press, American Dialect Society], pp. 224–229. ISSN: 0003-1283. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3087801 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Liberia*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/liberia.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

451: Sierra Leone

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1961-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1961-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Maninka	1961-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the only principal language and the *de facto* national language of Sierra Leone. However, this understates the legal status of English in the country's constitutional framework. While no provision explicitly declares English the 'official language,' several constitutional clauses strongly imply its institutional dominance, which I deem sufficient to render it the statutory national language.

Most notably, Article 75 of the 1991 constitution requires proficiency in English for eligibility as a Member of Parliament. Article 90, titled *Use of English in Parliament*, stipulates that parliamentary business 'shall be conducted in the English language.' Nearly identical provisions appear in the 1971 and 1978 constitutions, and their origins can be traced to the Sierra Leone (Constitution) Order in Council of 1961, which served as the foundational legal document upon independence:

> 31. Qualifications for membership of House of Representatives. [1961]
>
> Subject to the provisions of section 32 of this constitution, any person who—
>
> ...
>
> (c) is able to speak and, unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read the English language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings of the House of Representatives,
>
> ...
>
> 48. Use of English in House of Representatives.
>
> The business of the House of Representatives shall be conducted in English.

Francis and Kamanda (2001: 236) cite these '[c]onsecutive national constitutions' as clearly 'clearly underlin[ing] the importance of English' as an official language. Although they claim that 1978 marks a turning point when indigenous languages, especially Limba, begin to gain symbolic prominence, no corresponding legal pro-

visions in the 1987 or 1991 constitutions elevate their institutional status. Articles requiring the use of English in national governance, however, remain unchanged.

In line with this, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes that Sierra Leone has essentially adopted a language policy of non-intervention, preserving the colonial-era status of English. Successive governments have operated without formal language legislation, even as post-independence instability and civil war hampered policy development. Nevertheless, numerous laws, including the Criminal Procedure Act (1965), the Local Authorities Act, the Public Procurement Act (2004), and the Companies Act (2009), require that relevant documents be written in English.

Accordingly, I contest the Ethnologue's classification and instead code English as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1961 to 2014, based on the succession of constitutional provisions mandating its use in Parliament. This also ensures coding consistency with other former British West African colonies, such as the Gambia and Nigeria, whose constitutions contain similarly-worded clauses.

Despite the centrality of English, many indigenous languages remain widely spoken. Article 41 of the Children's Rights Act (2007), titled *Obligation to instill cultural and national pride*, nominally grants every child 'the opportunity to learn at least one indigenous language of Sierra Leone from the primary level.' The Ethnologue identifies Limba (West Central Limba), Mende, and Themne as statutory provincial working languages, but I do not code them, as they lack national-level institutional status in Sierra Leone or any other country.

However, the Ethnologue also classifies Eastern Maninkakan as a language of wider communication. As this dialect (which I code under the name Maninka) is similarly recognized in Guinea, where it is a *de facto* language of national identity, I employ a placeholder code for the entire period from 1961 to 2014 to reflect its regional significance.

References

[1] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Sierra Leone*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/sierra-leone (visited on 27/03/2025).

[2] *Sierra Leone*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SL/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] David J. Francis and Mohamed C. Kamanda. 'Politics and Language Planning in Sierra Leone'. In: *African Studies* 60.2 (2001), pp. 225–244. ISSN: 0002-0184, 1469-2872. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/00020180120100320 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Sierra Leone*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2017. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/sierra_leone.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Sierra Leone | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2017. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/sierra_leone-lois_div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Joko Sengova. 'The National Languages of Sierra Leone: A Decade of Policy Experimentation'. In: *Africa* 57.4 (1987), pp. 519–530. ISSN: 0001-9720, 1750-0184. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/S0001972000083194/type/journal_article (visited on 05/03/2025).

[7] *Statutory Instruments 1961 No. 741. Africa. The Sierra Leone (Constitution) Order in Council, 1961*. Oxford Law Library. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1961. 60 pp.

[8] *The Constitution of Sierra Leone, 1978*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1978. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=285 (visited on 27/03/2025).

452: Ghana

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1957-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Akan	1957-2014	N	E: *De facto* national (working)
English	1957-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Ewe	1957-2014	N	-: Other notable usage
Hausa	1957-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Akan and English as the two principal languages of Ghana, with Akan functioning as the *de facto* national working language and English as the *de facto* national language. Although English is natively spoken by only a small minority, it remains the language of state institutions, law, education, and the media.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde notes that the 1992 constitution contains no provisions regarding English. The first constitution, the 1957 Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, mentions English solely as a qualification for parliamentary membership. This provision was removed in the subsequent constitutions of 1960 and 1992. Unlike the foundational constitutions of neighbouring anglophone countries such as Sierra Leone, the Gambia, and Nigeria, the 1957 Order did not mandate that parliamentary proceedings be conducted in English.

Nevertheless, English has remained firmly entrenched in administration, commerce, and broadcasting. Legislative instruments such as the Code of Criminal Procedure (1960), the Ghana Broadcasting Act (1968), the Patents Act (1992), and the Public Procurement Act (2003) all require English for official documentation and proceedings. In education, English becomes the medium of instruction from Grade 5 onwards. Given this continuity and depth of institutional use, I code English as the *de facto* national language throughout the entire period from 1957 to 2014.

The Ghanaian government has made some efforts to promote local languages, though with limited impact. The Bureau of Ghana Languages, established in 1951, was initially tasked with documenting and supporting the teaching of indigenous languages in the lead-up to independence. However, as Ofowi (2024: 448-9) observes, '[w]hereas the government has made some progress in its promotion of documentation of these selected community languages, the number is lean. There are several indigenous languages that have not received any institutional/government sponsorship, have been left to their own fate and on the verge of endangerment or death, and only at the mercy of few language practitioners who are without the necessary resources and support in their efforts to document them.'

Among Ghana's indigenous languages, Akan is by far the most widely spoken. Its various mutually intelligible dialects are used by over 40 percent of the population as of 1988, and today its speakers constitute more than half of the country's total population. The Ethnologue notes that Akan 'became widely spoken around the seventeenth century,' and it continues to expand its role as a vehicular language, particularly among non-elite populations. I therefore follow the assessment of the Ethnologue and code Akan as the *de facto* national working language for the whole period from 1957 to 2014.

The Ethnologue also lists Hausa and Ewe as languages in use for the purposes of wider communication. As both fulfil this role in several neighbouring countries as well, I assign placeholder codes to each for the entire duration.

References

[1] *1957 No. 277. The Ghana (Constitution) Order in Council, 1957*. Publisher: Legislation UK. The National Archives. 1957. URL: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/uksi/1957/277/pdfs/uksi_19570277_en.pdf (visited on 27/03/2025).

[2] Ayo Bamgbose. 'African language development and language planning'. In: *Social Dynamics* 25.1 (1999), pp. 13–30. ISSN: 0253-3952, 1940-7874. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02533959908458659 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[3] Adams B. Bodomo. 'On Language and Development in Africa: The Case of Ghana'. In: *Nordic Journal of African Studies* 5.2 (1996). Number: 2, pp. 21–21. ISSN: 1459-9465. URL: https://njas.fi/njas/article/view/665 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[4] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Ghana*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/ghana (visited on 27/03/2025).

[5] *Ghana*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GH/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] *Ghana Constitution 1960*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1960. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=247 (visited on 27/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Ghana*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/ghana.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] Seth Antwi Ofori. 'Languages in Ghana: On the Need and Search for a Policy'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024,

pp. 437–461. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

461: Togo

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Ewe	1960-1974	X	-: Other notable usage
	1975-1991	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1992-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
French	1960-1974	X	D: *De facto* national
	1975-1991	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1992-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Gen	1960-2014	N	-: Other notable usage
Tem	1975-1991	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1992-2014	N	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Togo, citing Article 3 of the 1992 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this interpretation, identifying the 1992 constitution as the first constitutional provision to establish French as the official language of the Togolese Republic:

> Article 3. [1992]
>
> — ...
>
> — La langue officielle de la République togolaise est le français.

Togo's complex linguistic legacy is the product of a layered colonial history. Colonised by Germany from 1884 to 1914, Togo was subsequently divided between Britain and France under a League of Nations mandate. In 1922, French Togoland was formally incorporated into the French empire. From this point on, France imposed strict monolingual policies in education: all languages other than French were banned from schools, a position reinforced by a 1928 decree forbidding teachers 'from using the languages of the country among themselves or with the students, in class or at recess.' Thus, despite the relatively short span of direct colonial rule, Togo inherited a deeply entrenched Francophone orientation.

Mouzou (2024: 392-8) distinguishes three broad phases in the evolution of Togolese language policy: an assimilationist period (1960-1974), a nationalist period (1975-1991), and an identity period (1992-present). The assimilationist period preserved the monolingual, colonial-era status quo. However, 1975 marked a departure from this Francophile orientation. Ordinance no. 16 of 6 May 1975 established

national language commissions for Ewe and Tem.[9] Although these languages were introduced as mediums of instruction until grade 3 and gradually gained broader use, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that the 1980 constitution did not include any provisions concerning national or official languages.

The third phase, the identity period, saw a backlash against the imposition of these two endoglossic *lingua-francas* and a resurgence in support for smaller indigenous languages. French was formally declared the official language in the 1992 constitution, inaugurating this new period. As Mouzou writes: 'In the meantime, the life of the national institutions is carried on mainly in French, with the national languages being used in areas where their exclusion is not pronounced, such as the church, the market, the media, etc.'

Accordingly, I code French as a *de facto* national language during the assimilationist period from 1960 to 1974, as a *de facto* national working language during the nationalist period from 1975 to 1991 to reflect its declining identity role, and as a statutory national language from 1992 to 2014 following the constitutional declaration, which saw French reprise its erstwhile role as the unifying *lingua franca* of the state.

The Ethnologue does not recognise either Ewe or Tem as languages with institutional status, though both are reportedly used for wider communication, alongside Gen. I code Ewe using a placeholder from 1960 to 1974 to reflect its role as a vernacular *lingua franca* among the ordinary population of Togo. As the most widely spoken indigenous language, its societal role during this period warrants recognition. From 1975 to 1991, I code Ewe as a *de facto* language of national identity, in line with state promotion efforts. From 1992 to 2014, I revert to a placeholder code to harmonise with the Ethnologue classification and to acknowledge the new linguistic ethos of the identity period.

In contrast to Ewe, the promotion of Tem (Kabiye) stemmed primarily from state intervention. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes that the choice to elevate Tem appeared 'almost arbitrary:' though native to the 'disfavoured North,' its selection was politically strategic rather than reflective of widespread vehicular use. Its subsequent prominence is largely attributable to the activist policy of President Eyadéma during the nationalist period. I therefore do not assign a placeholder to Tem prior to 1975. From 1975 to 1991, I code it as a *de facto* language of national identity to reflect its promotion by the state. As with Ewe, I apply a placeholder code from 1992 to 2014, both to mirror the Ethnologue and to acknowledge popular resistance to the linguistic policies of the prior period.

Finally, the Ethnologue identifies Gen as a language of wider communication. As the second-most-widely spoken native language in Togo, it 'became a major African language during the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries with the expansion of the European slave trade.' I therefore code Gen using a placeholder for the entire period from 1960 to 2014. French, Ewe, Tem, and Gen are the only four languages I

[9]'Kabiye' was employed in place of 'Tem' due to the latter term's negative connotations associated with German collaboration by members of the Tem ethnic group during the war.

code. The Ethnologue does not list any additional languages as having institutional status or in use for other notable purposes.

References

[1] *Togo*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TG/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | T: Tadjikistan, Taiwan, Tanzanie, Tchad, Thaïlande, Timor oriental, Togo, Tonga, Trinité-et-Tobago, Tunisie, Turkménistan, Turquie, Tuvalu*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-T.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Togo*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/togo.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Palakyem Mouzou. 'Diachronic View of the Language Policy in Togo'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 385–404. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[5] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[6] *Togo. Constitution du 5 mai 1963*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1963. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/tg1963.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] *Togo. Constitution du 9 avril 1961*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1961. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/tg1961.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[8] *Togo. Constitution du 9 janvier 1980*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1980. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/tg1980.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[9] *Togo. Statut de la République togolaise, 30 décembre 1958*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1958. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/tg1958-12.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

471: Cameroon

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
English	1961-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Fulah	1960-2014	N	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and French as the two principal languages and the statutory national languages of Cameroon. While both *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* and the Ethnologue cite Article 1(3) of the 1996 constitution as the foundational provision for bilingualism, this is mistaken: Cameroon's bilingual constitutional framework dates back over three decades earlier.

Like Togo, Cameroon was colonised by Germany (1884-1916), then divided between Britain and France. The British-administered Northern and Southern Cameroons were governed in conjunction with Nigeria. English served as the administrative language, but local languages were also taught in schools. In contrast, the French adopted a policy of assimilation in East Cameroon and prohibited instruction in indigenous languages. Upon independence in 1960, the former French Cameroon adopted a constitution that designated French as the official language:

> Article premier. [1960]
>
> — Le Cameroun est une République unie et indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale. Elle assure l'égalité devant la loi de tous les citoyens.
>
> — L'emblème national est le drapeau tricolore vert, rouge, et jaune, à trois bandes verticales d'égales dimensions.
>
> — L'hymne national est « O Cameroun, berceau de nos ancêtres ».
>
> — La devise de la République est « Paix —Travail —Patrie ».
>
> — La langue officielle est le français.

The British Cameroons took divergent paths at independence. Northern Cameroon opted to join Nigeria, while Southern Cameroon merged with its Francophone counterpart on 1 October 1961 to form a federal republic. Article 1 of the 1961 federal constitution enshrines the bilingual nature of the new state:

> Article 1. — [1961]

> The Federal Republic of Cameroon is formed, as from 1st October 1961, of the Territory of the Republic of Cameroon, henceforth called East Cameroon, and the Territory of the Southern Cameroons formerly under United Kingdom administration, henceforth called West Cameroon.
>
> The Federal Republic of Cameroon is democratic, secular, and social. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law. It affirms its adherence to the fundamental freedoms set out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations.
>
> The official languages of the Federal Republic of Cameroon shall be French and English.
> ...

Prime Minister Ahmadou Ahidjo gradually dismantled the federal structure. In 1972, a new constitution transformed the country into a unitary state, styled the United Republic of Cameroon, comprising two English-speaking and five French-speaking provinces. The demographic and territorial dominance of the Francophone provinces resulted in the gradual marginalisation of English. Nonetheless, the 1972 constitution preserved official bilingualism:

> Article 1. — [1972]
>
> (1) The Federal Republic of Cameroon, constituted from the state of East Cameroon, and the state of West Cameroon, shall become a unitary state to be styled the `United Republic of Cameroon` with effect from the date of entry into force of this constitution
>
> (2) The United Republic of Cameroon shall be one and indivisible.
>
> (3) It shall be democratic, secular, and dedicated to social service. It shall ensure the equality before the law of all its citizens.
>
> (4) The official languages of the United Republic of Cameroon shall be French and English.

In 1984, President Paul Biya removed the 'United' moniker and restructured the country's internal boundaries, resulting in eight Francophone and two Anglophone provinces. The erosion of Anglophone political autonomy and the broken promises of federalism fostered a secessionist movement. The Southern Cameroons National Council has sought union with Nigeria, and since 2017, violent conflict between separatists and the Cameroonian state has erupted in what is now known as the Anglophone Crisis, although this falls outside the coding period.

The predominance of French in administrative affairs is evident. Drawing on Adoum Aziber (2022), the following table illustrates the linguistic composition of personnel in Cameroonian administrative institutions:

Table III.3: Languages spoken by personnel in Cameroonian administrative institutions, 2022

Spoken languages	Percentage
French	62 percent
French and English	26 percent
English	12 percent

Despite the overwhelming dominance of French within state structures, I retain the Ethnologue classification of both French and English as statutory national languages. This is justified not only by repeated constitutional declarations of their official status in 1992, 1996, and 2008, but also by the central role that linguistic identity plays in Cameroonian politics. French and English have been enshrined as constitutionally protected official languages continuously since 1961, and remain integral to Cameroonian national identity, albeit in tension.

However, because the 1960 constitution of French Cameroon predated the union with British Southern Cameroon and recognised only French, I code French as a statutory national language from 1960 to 2014. English is not coded for 1960 but is coded as a statutory national language from 1961 to 2014, beginning with the accession of English-speaking British Southern Cameroon.

Although the Ethnologue does not identify any other languages with institutional status, I code two additional languages based on their recognised status as languages of wider communication. First, Arabic (specifically Shuwa Arabic) is widely spoken in the northern regions near the Chadian border, particularly among Muslim populations. I employ a placeholder code for Arabic from 1960 to 2014. Second, Adawama Fulfulde is a member of the Fulah macrolanguage with over five million speakers, used extensively across the north as a vehicular language. I likewise employ a placeholder code for this language under Fulah from 1960 to 2014.

In sum, I code four languages: French and English as statutory national languages from 1961 (with French also coded for 1960), and Arabic and Fulah under placeholder codes as languages used for wider communication for the full duration of the coding period from 1960 to 2014.

References

[1] Aziber Adoum Aziber. 'Du Tchad au Cameroun: un paysage sociolinguistique à l' épreuve des conflits entre langues officielles!' In: *Revue Akofena* 2.8 (2022), pp. 3–16.

[2] *Cameroun. Constitution du 4 mars 1960*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1960. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cm1960.htm` (visited on 10/03/2025).

[3] Mike Dike DeLancey, ed. *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Cameroon*. Publisher: DePaul University. Archived at "Small Small Catch Monkey". 1961. URL: https://condor.depaul.edu/mdelance/SmallSmall/Constitutional_Documents.html (visited on 03/03/2025).

[4] Mike Dike DeLancey, ed. *Constitution of the Republic of Cameroon*. Publisher: DePaul University. Archived at "Small Small Catch Monkey". 1992. URL: https://condor.depaul.edu/mdelance/SmallSmall/Constitutional_Documents.html (visited on 03/03/2025).

[5] Mike Dike DeLancey, ed. *Constitution of the United Republic of Cameroon/-Constitution de la République Unie du Cameroun*. Publisher: DePaul University. Archived at "Small Small Catch Monkey". 1972. URL: https://condor.depaul.edu/mdelance/SmallSmall/Constitutional_Documents.html (visited on 03/03/2025).

[6] *Cameroon*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CM/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jean-Paul Kouega. 'The Language Situation in Cameroon'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 8.1 (2007), pp. 3–93. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.2167/cilp110.0 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Cameroun | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cameroun.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Cameroun*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/cameroun.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[10] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[11] Lendzemo Constantine Yuka Yuka. 'Language Policy in a Quandary: The Case of Cameroon'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 219–241. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

475: Nigeria

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
English	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Fulah	1960-2014	N	-: Other notable usage
Hausa	1960-2014	N	K: *De facto* provincial
Igbo	1960-2014	N	K: *De facto* provincial
Yoruba	1960-2014	N	K: *De facto* provincial

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language of Nigeria. The 2024 edition classifies it as a statutory national language based on Article 55 of the 1999 constitution, though the 2014 edition refers to it as a *de facto* national language. This ambiguity is echoed by both *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* and Adeniyi and Ayodele (2024), who note that English holds an unclear constitutional status, citing the relevant constitutional provisions:

> Article 55 [1999]
>
> The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English, and in Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba when adequate arrangements have been made therefor.
>
> ...
>
> Article 97
>
> The business of a House of Assembly shall be conducted in English, but the House may in addition to English conduct the business of the House in one or more other languages spoken in the State as the House may by resolution approve.

English is thus not declared the official language of the state *per se*, but rather the default language of the federal legislature, with Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba permitted conditionally. Nevertheless, English is singled out and explicitly mentioned in two separate constitutional articles. In light of this ambiguity, I adopt the more recent judgement of the Ethnologue and treat English as a statutory national language. Given that the 1999 constitutional provision was available at the time of the 2014 edition, I consider the 2024 classification to reflect a more refined interpretation.

Importantly, Article 55 of the 1999 constitution is not without precedent. Nigeria

has promulgated several post-independence constitutions, in 1960, 1963, 1979, 1989, 1995, and 1999. The Independence Constitution of 1960 already included the following linguistic provision:

> Article 54: Use of English in Parliament [1960]
>
> The business of Parliament shall be conducted in English.

This provision was repeated verbatim in the 1963 Republican Constitution. Following the collapse of the First Republic in 1966, Nigeria was ruled by the military until 1976, when preparations for a return to civilian government culminated in the 1979 constitution and the advent of the Second Republic. The 1979 constitution expanded the scope for language use. Article 51 replicated what would become Article 55 in 1999, and Article 91 mirrored Article 97 with respect to state legislatures. These rules, first instituted in 1979, have thus governed federal and state legislative proceedings from 1979 through 2014.

Although 1979 marked the point at which other languages could legally be used in legislative sessions, this was contingent on prior arrangements being made. In practice, English remained dominant, especially in federal administration. Ministries and agencies may employ regional languages locally, but English has continued to serve as the only language capable of administratively unifying Nigeria's exceptionally large and linguistically diverse population. For these reasons, I code English as Nigeria's statutory national language for the entirety of the period from 1960 to 2014.

The Ethnologue also classifies Hausa, Igbo (Ibo), and Yoruba as *de facto* provincial languages. These three languages, each with tens of millions of speakers, are the most widely spoken in Nigeria and correspond to the northern, southeastern, and southwestern regions respectively. They are also the only languages besides English to be mentioned in the 1979 and 1999 constitutions. Adeniyi and Ayodele (2024: 355-6) refer to them as the 'large group languages.' Because they are not statutorily recognised as official languages despite being referenced in the constitution, I code them as *de facto* provincial languages from 1960 to 2014, in accordance with the Ethnologue.

I code two additional languages using placeholder codes, both of which are classified by the Ethnologue as languages of wider communication, although they do not enjoy institutional status. First, Shuwa Arabic is spoken by over 200,000 people in the north, particularly near the border with Cameroon and Chad. I code it under a placeholder for Arabic from 1960 to 2014. Second, Nigerian Fulfulde, part of the broader Fulah macrolanguage, is widely spoken by the Fulani people across northern Nigeria. With over 17 million speakers, Fulfulde is used in religious, literary, educational, and commercial contexts. Adeniyi and Ayodele note that it 'became dominant across West Africa during British colonial rule in the nineteenth century.' I employ a placeholder code for Fulfulde under the Fulah macrolanguage for the entire period from 1960 to 2014.

In summary, I code English as the statutory national language from 1960 to 2014.

Hausa, Igbo, and Yoruba are coded as *de facto* provincial languages for the entire coding duration, while Arabic and Fulah are both classified under placeholder codes as languages of wider communication from 1960 to 2014.

References

[1] Harrison Adeniyi and Ayo Ayodele. 'Language Policy in Nigeria'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 345–367. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (promulgation) Decree 1989*. Africa Gazettes Archive. 1989. URL: https://archive.gazettes.africa/archive/ng/1989/ng-government-gazette-supplement-dated-1989-05-03-no-29-part-a.pdf (visited on 27/03/2025).

[3] *Nigeria*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/NG/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Nigéria*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/nigeria.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Nigéria | Dispositions constitutionnelles de 1999*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/nigeria-const-lng.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] *The 1963 Constitution of Nigeria*. Publisher: European University Institute. Archived at the Global Citizenship Observatory (GLOBALCIT). 1963. URL: https://data.globalcit.eu/NationalDB/docs/1963%20Constitution%20of%20Nigeria.pdf (visited on 27/03/2025).

[7] *The Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979*. Archived at ConstitutionNet. 1979. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/nig_const_79.pdf (visited on 27/03/2025).

[8] *The Constitution of the Federation of Nigeria*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1960. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=279 (visited on 27/03/2025).

481: Gabon

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1960-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Gabon based on Article 2 of the 1991 constitution, which states: 'La République gabonaise adopte le français comme langue officielle de travail. En outre, elle œuvre pour la protection et la promotion des langues nationales.' Substantively similar language appears in the transitional constitution of 1990, as well as in the constitutions of 1960 and 1961. The 1960 constitution, the first following independence, contains the following provision:

> Article 2. [1960]
>
> — Le Gabon est une République indivisible, démocratique et sociale. Il affirme la séparation des religions et de l'État.
>
> — La République gabonaise assure l'égalité devant la loi de tous les citoyens sans distinction d'origine, de race ou de religion. Elle respecte toutes les croyances.
>
> — L'emblème national est le drapeau tricolore, vert, jaune, bleu, à trois bandes horizontales d'égale dimension.
>
> — L'hymne national est la « Concorde ».
>
> — La devise de la République est : « Union, Travail, Justice ».
>
> — Le sceau de la République est une « Maternité allaitant ».
>
> — Son principe est : Gouvernement du peuple, par le peuple et pour le peuple.
>
> — La République gabonaise adopte le français comme langue officielle.

Despite these formal provisions, Gabonese law contains very few statutes dealing explicitly with language policy. In practice, French is used almost exclusively across all formal domains: legislation, public administration, justice, and education. This dominance is especially pronounced in written communication. While local officials may employ indigenous languages in informal exchanges with the public, French remains hegemonic in state functions, a reality recognised by the general public. As *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes:

> 'Certains intellectuels dénoncent cette dominance du français, mais

> aucune langue nationale ne peut prendre la relève puisqu'aucune n'est majoritaire. En général, les Gabonais croient même que, sauf exception (p. ex., le fang), les langues locales vont finir par disparaître.'

This situation is reinforced by the country's demographic composition. Gabon does not only lack a majority ethnic group: the Fang constitute only a meagre plurality at just over one-third of the population, while no other group exceeds 15 percent. This fragmented ethnolinguistic landscape has hindered the emergence of a widely accepted endoglossic alternative to French.

The Ethnologue does not report any other languages as having institutional status either at the national or provincial level, nor does it identify any languages used for wider communication. Accordingly, I code French alone as a statutory national language for the full period from 1960 to 2014.

References

[1] *Gabon*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/GA/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] *Gabon. Constitution du 14 novembre 1960*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1960. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ga1960.htm` (visited on 10/03/2025).

[3] *Gabon. Constitution du 21 février 1961*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1961. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ga1961.htm` (visited on 10/03/2025).

[4] *Gabon. Constitution du 26 mars 1991*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1991. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ga1991i.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] *Gabon. Constitution transitoire du 28 mai 1990*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1990. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ga1990.htm` (visited on 10/03/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | G: Gabon, Gambie, Géorgie, Ghana, Grèce, Grenade, Guatemala, Guinée-Bissau, Guinée-Conakry, Guinée équatoriale, Guyana*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-G.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Gabon*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023.

URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/gabon.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

482: Central African Republic

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national
	1960-1963	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
Sango	1964-1985	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
	1986-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and statutory national language of the Central African Republic, citing Article 18 of the 2004 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* refers instead to Article 17 of the 1995 constitution. However, the earliest constitutional provision establishing French as the official language in fact dates back to 1959:

> Article premier. [1959]
>
> — La République centrafricaine indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale, est un État membre de la Communauté.
>
> — La langue officielle de la République est la langue française.
>
> — ...

According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, French continues to serve as the sole language of written state documents. Civil service recruitment evaluates only proficiency in French, and although Sango is widely spoken, French remains the exclusive official medium of education, at least formally. Constitutional revisions over the decades have preserved French's *de jure* status as the official state language. Accordingly, I code French as the statutory national language throughout the full coding period from 1960 to 2014.

Nevertheless, the Sango occupies an exceptional position in the Central African Republic. While the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue classify it as a statutory language of national identity, several intervening editions, including those from 2019 and 2022, elevate it to the level of statutory national language. I therefore undertake a brief historical review to justify a time-sensitive coding: Sango begins the period as a *de facto* language of national identity, becomes a statutory language of national identity, and ultimately attains statutory national language status, consistent with the judgment of the 2019 and 2022 Ethnologue.

Under colonial rule, only French was permitted in formal education. Upon independence, French continued to dominate official institutions. Sango, by contrast, was not yet used in administration but had begun to acquire symbolic national

significance. Linguist William Samarin, writing from fieldwork in the early 1960s, notes:

> 'Moreover, when I interviewed every individual in a Gbaya village about thirty-five km from Bossangoa in the early 1960s, I was told that whereas Gbeya, as the people call it, was the village (that is, ethnic) language, the language of the country was Sango, and French was the whites' language' (Samarin 2001: 357).

In 1964, President David Dacko amended the constitution to name Sango the 'national language' alongside French, the 'official language.' The following year, a National Commission for the Study of the Sango Language was established by decree. Though Dacko was soon overthrown by his nephew, Jean-Bedel Bokassa, the state continued to promote Sango. When Bokassa declared himself emperor of the newly-christened Central African Empire in 1976, the imperial constitution preserved the distinction between Sango as the national language and French as the official one:

> Article 3. [1976]
>
> L'emblème de l'Empire Centrafricain est le drapeau à quatre bandes horizontales (bleu-blanc-vert-jaune) barrées perpendiculairement en leur milieu, par une bande d'égale largeur de couleur rouge et frappé dans l'angle supérieur interne par une étoile à cinq branches de coureur jaune.
>
> — Sa devise est: « Unité —Dignité —Travail ».
>
> — Son Hymne est: « La Renaissance ».
>
> — Sa langue nationale est : le Sango et sa langue officielle le français.

In 1977, Bokassa formalised the Sango alphabet by decree. After his fall in 1979, Dacko briefly returned to power before being ousted by André Kolingba in 1981. Despite his authoritarianism, Kolingba advanced Sango's institutional development. He enacted Decree No. 84-025 on the official spelling of Sango and Decree No. 85-004 amending it. In 1986, the constitution was revised to make both Sango and French 'official languages' of the state:

> Art. premier. [1986]
>
> — La République Centrafricaine est une et indivisible.
>
> — L'Etat Centrafricain est un État de Droit, souverain, laïc et démocratique.
>
> — Le principe de son gouvernement est : « Le développement par le travail dans la démocratie ».
>
> — La devise de l'État est : « UNITÉ - DIGNITÉ - TRAVAIL »
>
> — L'emblème national est le drapeau à quatre bandes horizontales d'égale largeur, de couleurs bleue, blanche, verte et jaune, barrées en leur milieu par une bande rouge et frappé dans l'angle supérieur

interne gauche par une étoile à cinq branches de couleur jaune.

— L'hymne national est le chant « La Renaissance ».

— Les langues officielles sont le Sango et le Français.

— ...

This dual-language provision has been retained in all subsequent constitutional revisions. By the 1990s, Sango had become widely spoken across ethnic lines, and increasingly present in government and media. State radio broadcasts in both French and Sango. According to the Ethnologue, it is used as a second language by 95 percent of the country's language groups. Writing in 1996, Samarin observed a notable shift in prestige:

> 'Attitudes toward Sango have changed dramatically among Central Africans, even the educated ones, in the last twenty years. No longer do civil servants, for example, tout their competence in French; most of them, and some at rather high levels, are perfectly at ease in talking Sango with foreigners, such as myself.' (Samarin 1996: 391-2)

Thus, Sango stands out among African indigenous languages for having successfully acquired not only wide interethnic utility, but also formal institutional prestige, especially in writing. In light of this trajectory, I code Sango as a *de facto* language of national identity from 1960 to 1963; a statutory language of national identity from 1964 to 1985, reflecting its explicit constitutionally-sanctioned recognition as a 'national language;' and a statutory national language from 1986 to 2014, following its constitutional elevation to the status of 'official language' and its substantial functional expansion during this period.

References

[1] *Centrafrique : Empire centrafricain. Constitution du 4 décembre 1976*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1976. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cf1976.htm` (visited on 06/03/2025).

[2] *Centrafrique. Constitution du 28 novembre 1986*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1986. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cf1986.htm` (visited on 06/03/2025).

[3] *Central African Republic*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 22th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2019. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/22/country/CF/status/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] *Central African Republic*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 25th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2022. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/CF/status/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] *Central African Republic*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CF/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *République centrafricaine*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/centrafrique.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *République centrafricaine | Lois diverses à porté linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/centrafrique-lois_div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] *Central African Republic*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/CF/status/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[9] *République centrafricaine, Constitution du 14 janvier 1995*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1995. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ga1991i.htm (visited on 06/03/2025).

[10] *République centrafricaine, Constitution du 16 février 1959*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1959. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ga1991i.htm (visited on 06/03/2025).

[11] William J. Samarin. 'Explaining Shift to Sango in Bangui'. In: *Leçons d'Afrique : Filiations, ruptures et reconstitution de langues*. Ed. by Robert Nicolai. Collection Afrique et Langage 2. Publisher: Peeters. Louvain-Paris: Peeters, 2001. URL: http://hdl.handle.net/1807/67144 (visited on 06/03/2025).

[12] William J. Samarin. 'Review of Language Attitudes in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Sociolinguistic Overview'. In: *Anthropological Linguistics* 38.2 (1996). In collab. with Efurosibina Adegbija. Publisher: [Anthropological Linguistics, Trustees of Indiana University], pp. 389–395. ISSN: 0003-5483. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/30028944 (visited on 06/03/2025).

[13] William J. Samarin. 'Sango, An African Lingua Franca'. In: *WORD* 11.2 (1955), pp. 254–267. ISSN: 0043-7956, 2373-5112. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/00437956.1955.11659562 (visited on 06/03/2025).

[14] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

483: Chad

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1960-1963	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1964-1977	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1978-1981	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1982-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1960-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Hausa	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Sango	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French and Arabic as the two principal languages and statutory national languages of Chad, citing Article 9 of the 1996 constitution. However, substantively similar provisions can already be found in the first article of the country's first constitution, drafted in 1959, which declares French the sole official language of the newly independent republic, with no mention of Arabic:

> Article premier. [1959]
>
> Le Tchad est constitué en République une et indivisible, laïque, démocratique et sociale. La République est un État membre de la Communauté, dont la langue officielle est la langue française.

The omission of Arabic reflects the historical division between the French-dominant south and the Arabic-dominant north. This divide has shaped much of modern Chadian political life. Before French colonisation, Arabic was already used as an administrative and religious language in the northern kingdoms. Following the French conquest and unification of the territory in 1910, the colonial regime favoured the south, where French spread through mission schools and colonial infrastructure. In contrast, the north remained outside formal French influence, and local elites were educated in madrassas and Koranic schools.

Upon independence, French was firmly established as the language of state administration. It was relatively well-received in the south, where French colonial development policies had taken root, but in the north, Arabic persisted as a *lingua franca* and a medium of cultural and political resistance. Despite decades of cohabitation between the two languages, French has generally retained a dominant position over Arabic in state institutions. While both are used in national government, French remains more frequent. This is reflected in the following data from Tchaine (2024: 577):

Table III.4: Languages spoken by personnel in Chadian administrative institutions, 2022

Spoken languages	Percentage
French	75 percent
French and Arabic	20 percent
Arabic	5 percent

On this basis, I code French as the statutory national language of Chad for the entire period from 1960 to 2014.

According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, in the early 1960s, 'les populations du Nord se révoltèrent contre le pouvoir du Sud, alors que la question du statut de la langue arabe devint l'une des principales revendications des rebelles en raison de sa valeur symbolique identitaire.' Tensions escalated around 1964 when President François Tombalbaye launched a campaign of repression in the north, ushering in a quasi-civil war. Arabic, although widely spoken and culturally significant, was politically marginalised during this period. This changed in 1978, when a new constitution granted Arabic official status alongside French, reflecting concessions to northern demands.

Northern elites took control of the central government in 1979 and have retained power since. In 1982, under the regime of Hissène Habré, Arabic was redefined as the 'second official language,' behind French. Though the formulation was controversial, Arabic's official status was not revoked in subsequent revisions. In 1996, a new constitution, still in force today, reaffirmed both Arabic and French as official languages:

> Article 8 [1996]
>
> 1) Les langues officielles sont le français et l'arabe.
> 2) La loi fixe les conditions de promotion et de développement des langues nationales.

On the basis of this trajectory, I code Arabic as a *de facto* provincial language from 1960 to 1963, reflecting its use in local governance and religious education in the north despite its exclusion from national administration. From 1964 to 1977, I code it as a *de facto* language of provincial identity, acknowledging its persistent symbolic and cultural significance amidst declining usage due to growing repression. From 1978 to 1981, I code it as a statutory language of national identity, corresponding to its newly formalised status as an official language under the transitional constitution. Finally, from 1982 onward, I code Arabic as a statutory national language, as northern dominance in national politics, combined with sustained institutional usage, elevated Arabic's substantive role in governance. I retain this coding through 2014.

In addition to French and Arabic, the Ethnologue lists Hausa and Sango as languages of wider communication. However, neither language enjoys institutional

status within Chad itself despite holding provincial- and national-level institutional status in neighbouring Nigeria and the Central African Republic, respectively. The prominence of French and Arabic has limited the space for other languages to expand in official domains. Accordingly, I apply placeholder codes for Hausa and Sango for the entire coding period from 1960 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitution de la République du Tchad, du 31 mars 1959*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1959. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/td1959.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[2] *Chad*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TD/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | T: Tadjikistan, Taiwan, Tanzanie, Tchad, Thaïlande, Timor oriental, Togo, Tonga, Trinité-et-Tobago, Tunisie, Turkménistan, Turquie, Tuvalu*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-T.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Tchad*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/tchad.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Tchad | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/tchad-lois-div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] Dionnodji Tchaine. 'The Survival of Franco-Arab Colonization in Chad: The Gordian Knot of Linguistic Policies'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 575–591. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

484: Congo

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1960	X	D: *De facto* national
	1961-1962	X	A: Statutory national
	1963-1991	X	D: *De facto* national
	1992-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Kituba	1960-1991	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1992-2014	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
Lingala	1960-1991	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1992-2014	N	C: Statutory national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of the Republic of the Congo. While the Ethnologue cites Article 6 of the 2002 constitution as the basis for this classification, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that Article 3 of the 1992 constitution was the first to formally declare French as the official language. This, however, is also misleading. In fact, the very first Congolese constitution of 1961 established French as the official language in its opening article:

> Article premier. [1961]
>
> — Le Congo est une République indépendante et souveraine, indivisible, démocratique et sociale.
>
> — Elle assure l'égalité devant la loi de tous les citoyens, sans distinction d'origine, de race ou de religion. Elle respecte toutes les croyances.
>
> — Toute propagande particulariste à caractère racial ou ethnique, toute manifestation de discrimination raciale sont punies par la loi.
>
> — L'emblème national est le drapeau tricolore : vert, jaune et rouge. Le drapeau de la République du Congo, de forme rectangulaire, est composé de deux triangles rectangles de couleur verte et rouge, séparés par une bande jaune en diagonale, le vert étant du côté de la hampe.
>
> — L'hymne de la République est : « La Congolaise ».
>
> — La devise de la République est : « Unité - Travail - Progrès ».

— Son principe est : gouvernement du peuple par le peuple et pour le people.

— La langue officielle est le français.

This constitution was replaced in 1963. Notably, neither the 1963 constitution, nor those adopted during the era of the People's Republic of the Congo, including the constitutions of 1969, 1977 and the revisions of 1985 and 1990, contain any provision relating to the official language of the state. This omission is likewise unmentioned in Tsoumou's (2024) authoritative account of language policy in the Congo, which largely bypasses these intervening documents. It is not until the 1992 constitution that French is once again explicitly designated the official state language:

Article 3. [1992]

— L'hymne national est « La Congolaise ».

— La devise de la République est « Unité-Travail-Progrès ».

— Le sceau de l'État et les armoiries de la République sont définis par la loi.

— La langue officielle est le français.

— Les langues nationales véhiculaires sont le lingala et le munukutuba.

— La capitale de la République du Congo est Brazzaville.

The predominance of French in Congo dates back to the colonial period, during which the language was imposed through education and administration. In 1920, the governor-general of French Equatorial Africa, Victor Augagneur, issued a decree banning instruction in any language other than French.

French has retained, and in many respects expanded, its dominance throughout the coding period. It remains the primary language of instruction at all levels of education. Tsoumou (2024: 184) notes that French proficiency among the population from roughly 10 percent in 1960 to 60 percent by 2023. *L'Aménagement linguistique dans le monde* highlights that government, large-scale commerce, and nearly all formal domains of public life, particularly those requiring written communication, are conducted in French.

Although Lingala and Kituba are mentioned in the 1992 constitution as vehicular languages, their role is confined to informal and non-official contexts. Statutes governing civil and criminal procedure, contracts, and public procurement stipulate the use of French. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, French has even become increasingly dominant in private life, particularly in urban areas such as Brazzaville.

Based on these developments, I code French as a *de facto* national language in 1960, a statutory national language from 1961 to 1962, a *de facto* national language from 1963 to 1991, and a statutory national language once again from 1992 to 2014.

I now turn to Kituba and Lingala, which the Ethnologue classifies as statutory languages of national identity, based on Article 6 of the 2002 constitution. As shown above, however, this provision was already substantively in place in Article 3 of the 1992 constitution. Whilst the designation of Kituba and Lingala as 'vehicular languages' reinforces their institutionally subordinate position to French, the constitution nevertheless accords *de jure* recognition to their important cultural and communicative role.

Tsoumou notes that 'unlike other West African countries where virtually no indigenous language is numerically dominant (Myers-Scotton 1993), the dominance of Kituba and Lingala was numerically widespread in Congo-Brazzaville during the colonial era.' As *lingua-francas* of the south and north, respectively, these languages have served as essential tools for interethnic communication, trade, and everyday life long before the 1992 constitution declared them to be vehicular languages of the state.

In light of this, I code both Kituba and Lingala as *de facto* languages of national identity from 1960 to 1991. Following their constitutional recognition in 1992, I code them as statutory languages of national identity for the remainder of the coding period, in accordance with the classification provided by the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Congo*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CG/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Congo-Brazzaville*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/congo.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Congo-Brazzaville | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/congo-lois_div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] *Loi 001/90 du 20 février 1990, portant approbation de la révision de certaines dispositions de la Constitution du 8 juillet 1990*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1985. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cg1990.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[5] Carol Myers-Scotton and Carol Myers-Scotton. *Social Motivations for Codeswitching: Evidence from Africa*. Oxford Studies in Language Contact. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1993. 190 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-823923-9.

[6] *République du Congo. Constitution du 2 mars 1961*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan.

1961. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cg1961.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[7] *République du Congo. Constitution du 8 décembre 1963*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1963. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cg1963.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[8] *République populaire du Congo. Constitution du 24 juin 1973*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1973. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cg1973.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[9] *République populaire du Congo. Constitution du 30 décembre 1969*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1969. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cg1969.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[10] *République populaire du Congo. Constitution du 8 juillet 1979*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1979. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cg1979.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[11] *République populaire du Congo. Constitution du 8 juillet 1979 (version de 1985)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1985. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cg1985.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[12] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[13] Jean Mathieu Tsoumou. 'Language Policy in Congo-Brazzaville'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 179–194. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 04/03/2025).

490: Democratic Republic of the Congo

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1960-1966	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1967-1991	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1992-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Kituba	1960-1966	X	C: Statutory national (identity)
	1967-2002	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	2003-2014	X	C: Statutory national (identity)
Lingala	1960-1966	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
	1967-2002	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	2003-2014	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
Sango	1960-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Swahili	1960-1966	X	C: Statutory national (identity)
	1967-2002	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	2003-2014	X	C: Statutory national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French as the sole principal language of the Democratic Republic of the Congo and as a statutory national language, citing Article 1 of the 2006 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, however, claims that the state's first constitution, promulgated in 1960 while the country was still officially named the Belgian Congo, declared French the official language. Examination of the relevant document, titled *Loi fondamentale du 19 mai 1960 relative aux structures du Congo*, reveals such a declaration to be far from clear-cut.

> Section I (Chapitre III) [1960]
>
> Généralités du pouvoir législatif
>
> Article 77.
>
> Les chambres, réunies en assemblée commune aux termes de l'article 11, décident, lors de leur première séance, de leur langue de travail et de rédaction des documents officiels et des textes législatifs.
>
> Chaque Chambre fixe, par son règlement d'ordre intérieur, le mode suivant lequel la traduction dans la langue choisie des interventions faites en d'autres langues admises par elle, sera assurée.
>
> Jusqu'au moment où les chambres en auront ainsi décidé, la langue française sera provisoirement utilisée et la traduction en cette langue

> des interventions en swahili, lingala, kikongo, tshiluba sera assurée.
>
> ...
>
> Section I (Chapitre IV)
>
> Le législatif provincial
>
> Article 141.
>
> Les chambres réunies en assemblée commune aux termes de l'article 11, décident lors de leurs première séance, de la langue de travail et de rédaction des documents officiels et des textes législatifs des assemblées provinciales.
>
> Chaque assemblée provinciale fixe, par son règlement d'ordre intérieur, le mode suivant lequel la traduction dans la langue choisie, des interventions faites en d'autres langues admises par elle, sera assurée.
>
> Jusqu'au moment ou les chambres en auront ainsi décidé, la langue française sera provisoirement utilisée et la traduction en cette langue des interventions en swahili, lingala, kikongo, tshiluba sera assurée.

These provisions, notably limited to legislative contexts, do not apply to other branches of government. French is never explicitly designated as the 'official' language, but merely 'used,' and only on a provisional basis. Moreover, translation into French is guaranteed for utterances made in Swahili, Lingala, Kituba,[10] and Tshiluba, indicating early accommodation of indigenous languages.

Unlike in France's African colonies, French was not imposed with the same rigour under Belgian colonial rule. Belgium pursued a model of indirect rule, and the colonising power's own internal linguistic divisions meant that French was never fully institutionalised in the Congo. Missionary-led education policies, which were shaped by paternalist ideology, favoured the use of local languages. Only in 1948 did French begin to be taught as a subject in schools after sustained advocacy from Congolese elites. Consequently, the DRC emerged from colonialism with relatively strong indigenous languages and a comparatively weak colonial language.

The 1964 constitution introduced the first explicit reference to French as 'official,' stating:

> Article 89. [1964]
>
> Le Français est la langue officielle du Parlement, chacune des Chambres peut admettre également d'autres langues de travail.

This reiterated the spirit of the 1960 provisions with the addition of the term 'official language,' albeit applied solely to legislative activity. The 1967 constitution adopted under Mobutu Sese Seko removed all linguistic provisions, reflecting an effort to decolonise the state, which was renamed Zaire in 1971. The linguistic dimension of this Africanisation programme culminated in a 1974 policy devised

[10]Though Congolese legal texts refer to 'Kikongo,' the Ethnologue identifies the variant spoken in the DRC as 'Kituba,' a Kikongo-derived creole. I follow the Ethnologue.

by Zairian linguists that made Kituba, Lingala, Swahili, and Tshiluba the media of instruction through year eight. Bokamba (2024: 159) expands:

> 'It is important to note here that the proposed policy was aimed at the education sector, leaving French as the [official language], but not [national language], of administration and international affairs. This is a two-track language policy. As during the colonial era, there was no provision on the language policy in other public domains: postal services, transport system, marketplaces, and healthcare system. It was assumed instead that language use pragmatism, which applied to the use of sub-regional or national languages, would determine the appropriate language.'

With the return to multiparty rule in the early 1990s, a transitional constitution, the *Acte portant dispositions constitutionnelles relatives à la période de transition* dated 4 August 1992, reinstated an explicit linguistic provision. Its opening article states: 'Sans préjudice des langues nationales, sa langue officielle est le français.' This formula was retained in the 1994 constitution as well. As *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes:[11]

> 'No provision concerned the four national languages: Swahili, Lingala, Kikongo and Tshiluba. In fact, no law was passed to officially recognise these languages during the entire Mobutu regime. The "national" status of these languages was *de facto* rather than *de jure*, given that no legal text enshrined it.
>
> 'French has not only become the sole language of Parliament (when it functioned) and government, but also of the Administration, justice, education, the mainstream media, work, etc., to the detriment of national languages⋯'

It was not until the 2003 transitional constitution that Kituba, Lingala, Swahili, and Tshiluba were defined as national languages in Article 1. This provision was preserved verbatim in the 2006 constitution cited by the Ethnologue, and has remained unchanged since.

> Article premier. [2003, 2006]
>
> La République démocratique du Congo est, dans ses frontières du 30 juin 1960, un État de droit, indépendant, souverain, uni et indivisible, social, démocratique et laïc.
> ...
> Sa langue officielle est le français.
>
> Ses langues nationales sont le kikongo, le lingala, le swahili et le tshiluba. L'État en assure la promotion sans discrimination.
> ...

Today, French remains essential in national administration. It dominates the media,

[11]Translation is my own.

particularly the written press, and serves as the primary language of instruction beyond grade 3. Though some official procedures permit national language use, others explicitly require French. Ministerial Order no. 008/2007 mandates that all labelling on tobacco and alcoholic products be in French, while a 1978 law requires the same for driving licences and billboards. Nevertheless, national languages retain limited official recognition: for example, the presidential oath may be delivered in French or any national language, and the National Electoral Commission ensures translation of electoral texts into these languages.

Accordingly, I code French as a statutory national working language from 1960 to 1966, a *de facto* national working language from 1967 to 1991, and a statutory national language from 1992 to 2014. These periods align with the 1960, 1967, and 1992 constitutions, respectively.

Of the national languages, I code only Kituba, Lingala, and Swahili. Tshiluba is excluded, as it lacks national-level institutional status in any other state and is not used as a language of wider communication outside the DRC. I code Kituba, Lingala, and Swahili as statutory languages of national identity from 1960 to 1966, *de facto* languages of national identity from 1967 to 2002, and again as statutory languages of national identity from 2003 to 2014. These periods correspond to the 1960 constitution, the 1967 constitution, and the transitional constitution of 2003, respectively.

Finally, the Ethnologue classifies Sango as a language of wider communication. For the sake of completeness, I employ a placeholder code for Sango across the entire coding period, as it enjoys national-level institutional status in the neighbouring Central African Republic.

References

[1] Eyamba G. Bokamba. 'The Ideological Underpinnings of Language Policy in D.R. Congo'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 149–177. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[2] *Congo K. Constitution du 24 juin 1967. Loi n° 70-001 du 23 décembre 1970 portant révison de la Constitution.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1967. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cd1967.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[3] *Congo Zaïre. Acte portant dispositions constitutionnelles relatives à la période de transition, 4 août 1992.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1992. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cd1992.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[4] *Congo Zaïre. Constitution du 15 août 1974.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1974. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cd1974.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[5] *Democratic Republic of the Congo*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CD/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Congo-Kinshasa*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/czaire.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Congo-Kinshasa (RDC) | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/czaire-lois-div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] *Loi fondamentale du 19 mai 1960 relative aux structures du Congo*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1960. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cd1960.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[9] *République démocratique du Congo. Constitution de la transition du 4 avril 2003*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2003. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cd2003.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[10] *République démocratique du Congo. Constitution du 1er août 1964*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1964. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/cd1964.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[11] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

500: Uganda

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1962-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1962-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Ganda	1962-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
Swahili	1962-1994	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1995-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Uganda. Although it cites the 2005 Amendment Act as the basis for this status, English had already been established as the official language under Article 6 of the 1995 constitution, Uganda's fourth since independence. In fact, all three prior constitutions of Uganda also contain identical provisions to this effect: Article 122 of the 1962 constitution, Article 117 of the 1966 constitution, and Article 111 of the 1967 constitution each state: 'The official language of the Government of Uganda shall be English,' with the wording remaining unchanged across all three texts.

This amounts to an unbroken constitutional guarantee of the official status of English from independence onward. Its central role in national administration and public life has remained consistent, including in law, education, and governance. Several key statutes explicitly affirm this dominance. The Magistrates Courts Act (2007), the Arbitration and Conciliation Act (2000), and the Civil Procedure Act (1964), for instance, require the use of or translation into English. The same pattern holds across diverse legislative domains, even when the use of other languages is permitted in practice. In education, while local languages are used in early years, English becomes the sole medium of instruction in higher education. Given its entrenched and legally enshrined role, I code English as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1962 to 2014.

However, two other languages, Ganda[12] and Swahili, have played significant roles in Uganda. The 2014 edition of the Ethnologue also lists them as principal languages. While the current Ethnologue omits any institutional status for either, this is inaccurate. The 2014 edition correctly classifies Swahili as a statutory national working language, referencing the 2005 Amendment Act. But as seen earlier, this provision was already present in the 1995 constitution, which explicitly grants institutional status to both English and Swahili:

[12]Ganda is sometimes referred to in English as Luganda. As is common in Bantu languages, a prefix ('lu- 'in Ganda) is used to indicate the name of a language.

> Article 6. Official language [1995]
>
> 1) The official language of Uganda is English.
> 2) Swahili shall be the second official language in Uganda to be used in such circumstances as Parliament may by law prescribe.
> 3) Subject to this Article, any other language may be used as a medium of instruction in schools or other educational institutions or for legislative, administrative or judicial purposes as Parliament may by law prescribe.

The longstanding contest between Swahili and Ganda has shaped Uganda's linguistic politics. Under British colonial rule, Swahili was promoted as a medium of instruction and administration due to its role as a *lingua franca* across East Africa. This approach met resistance in Buganda, 'the kingdom of the Baganda people,' who preferred their native Luganda. Intense Baganda opposition led to the removal of Swahili from the national curriculum in 1952, creating a gap that English soon filled.

Nevertheless, Swahili retained influence after independence. It remained widely used in the military and police under Milton Obote's first presidency. In 1973, President Idi Amin declared Swahili the national language, following a referendum in which twelve districts supported Swahili and eight preferred Ganda. However, this decree lacked legislative support and funding, and was never implemented.

In 1995, following years of civil conflict, a Constituent Assembly drafted a new constitution. A majority of delegates voted to make Swahili the national language over Ganda, provoking strong opposition from the Baganda bloc, which had unanimously supported Ganda.

Reflecting this history, I code Swahili as a *de facto* national working language from 1962 to 1994, to capture its widespread administrative use despite political and cultural resistance. From 1995 onward, following its enshrinement in the constitution, I code Swahili as a statutory national working language, aligning with the Ethnologue interpretation from 2014.

As for Ganda, its sociocultural importance is significant. The 2014 Ethnologue classifies it as both a language of wider communication and a *de facto language* of national identity, owing to its centrality for the Baganda, Uganda's largest ethnic group and the source of the country's name. In line with this, I code Ganda as a *de facto* language of national identity for the entire period from 1962 to 2014.

References

[1] *Uganda*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/UG/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Ouganda*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/ouganda.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Ouganda | Constitution du 8 octobre 1995 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/ouganda.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] *Uganda*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/UG/status/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Ruth G. Mukama. 'Language Policy in Uganda'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 85–109. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[6] *The Constitution of the Republic of Uganda 1967. Revised Edition 1990*. HathiTrust. Kampala: Ministry of Constitutional Affairs, Government of the Republic of Uganda, 1990. 88 pp. (Visited on 07/03/2025).

[7] *The Constitution of Uganda*. Vol. 1. LLMC Digital. Entebbe: Government Printer, Uganda, 1966. 173 pp. (Visited on 07/03/2025).

[8] 'The Constitution of Uganda (excluding Schedules 1 to 6)'. In: *Uganda Constitutional Instruments*. Archived at WorldStatesmen.org. Entebbe: Government Printer, Uganda, 1964, pp. 21–95. URL: https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Uganda-const-1962.pdf (visited on 07/03/2025).

501: Kenya

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1963-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1963-1974	X	A: Statutory national
	1975-1978	X	D: *De facto* national
	1979-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Swahili	1963-1974	X	D: *De facto* national
	1975-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Swahili as the two principal languages and the statutory national languages of Kenya, citing Article 7(2) of the 2010 constitution. This provision unambiguously declares both English and Swahili as official languages of the Republic, with Swahili additionally designated the 'national language:'

> Article 7. National, official and other languages [2010]
>
> 1) The national language of the Republic is Kiswahili.
>
> 2) The official languages of the Republic are Kiswahili and English.
>
> ...

However, constitutional references to language in Kenya may be traced back to the country's first post-independence constitution of 1963. These provisions, while less explicit than those in the 2010 text, nonetheless carry institutional implications. Chapter IV, Section 2 concerns procedure in the National Assembly, and Article 55 specifies: 'The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English.' This formulation closely resembles Article 55 of Nigeria's 1999 constitution, which also governs legislative procedure without necessarily establishing a language policy for the country as a whole.

However, constitutional provisions concerning language use may be found as far back as the first Kenyan constitution of 1963, though such provisions are more ambiguous. Chapter IV, Section 2 of this text concerns procedure in the National Assembly. Article 55 reads: 'The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English.' Incidentally, this bears similarities to language used in successive constitutions of Nigeria, which concerns the business of the legislature but does not necessarily apply to the country as a whole. The relevant edition of the Ethnologue in that case considered constitutional provisions regulating the language of national legislative proceedings to be sufficient grounds for assigning statutory institutional status to that language.

Kenya's constitution was rewritten in its entirety in 1969 and again in 2010, with several amendments made to the 1969 text. The original 1969 constitution replicated the earlier provision verbatim, with Article 53 stating: 'The business of the National Assembly shall be conducted in English.' However, this provision was amended in 1975 to advance the government's Swahilisation agenda:

> Article 53. [1975]
>
> (1) Subject to the provisions of this section the proceedings of the National Assembly shall be conducted in Kiswahili.
>
> (2) Every Bill (including the memorandum accompanying a Bill), every act of Parliament whenever enacted, all other actual or proposed legislation under the authority of an Act of Parliament, all financial resolutions and documents relating thereto, and every actual or proposed amendment of any of the foregoing, shall be written in English.
>
> (3) In all proceedings of the National Assembly which involve the discussion of any of the following matters, that is to say, a Bill (including the memorandum accompanying a Bill), any Act of Parliament, any other legislation whether actual or proposed, any financial resolution or document relating thereto, or any actual or proposed amendment thereof, the wording of every such matter shall, as occasion requires, be quoted in English.

This linguistic shift was initiated by Jomo Kenyatta, Kenya's first president, in part as a corrective to the colonial-era ban on Swahili in the Legislative Council. The abrupt nature of the transition, however, led to practical difficulties. As Oduor and Kipsang (2024: 14) observe, the 1975 amendment 'plunged the House into humorous exchanges as lawmakers struggled with the language.'

In 1979, one year after Kenyatta's death, Article 53(1) was revised again. English was reintroduced into parliamentary proceedings, and both English and Swahili were now explicitly recognised as the 'official languages' of the National Assembly:

> Article 53. [1979]
>
> (1) Subject to the provisions of this section the official languages of the National Assembly shall be Kiswahili and English and the business of the National Assembly may be conducted in either or both such languages.
>
> (2) ···

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde notes that the Swahilisation efforts of the Kenyatta era have since faded, and from the late 1970s onward, the Kenyan state has generally adopted a non-interventionist stance toward language policy. This may explain why the 1979 provisions remained unchanged for the rest of that constitution's lifespan. Unlike in Tanzania, Swahili has not overtaken English in key domains of state and administration. English continues to dominate in

government and official functions. Oduor and Kipsang (2024: 15) summarise the current situation as follows:

> 'Though both Kiswahili and English are official languages, in reality, English is given more space than Kiswahili. English tends to be used more in official circles, yet both are official languages. In our assessment, however, beyond official circles, there are more people who use Kiswahili than English in Kenya.'

Based on the above, I code English as a statutory national language from 1963 to 1974, reflecting its exclusive constitutional role in legislative proceedings. From 1975 to 1978, I classify it as a *de facto* national language, as it remained essential in practice despite its formal exclusion from parliamentary speech. From 1979 to 2014, I code English once again as a statutory national language, reflecting the amended 1979 provision and the unambiguous designation in the 2010 constitution.

I code Swahili as a *de facto* national language from 1963 to 1974, and as a statutory national language from 1975 to 2014. This reflects its institutionalisation in the 1975 amendment, reaffirmed in the 1979 revision and later consolidated by Article 7 of the 2010 constitution.

References

[1] *Kenya*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KE/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Kenya*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/kenya.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Kenya | Dispositions constitutionnelles à portée linguistique, 2010*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/kenya-cst.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jane Akinyi Ngala Odour and Shadrack Kipsang. 'A Historical Perspective of the Language Policy in Kenya'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 7–35. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[5] 'The Constitution of Kenya'. In: *Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 105 (Legislative Supplement No. 69)*. Vol. 1963. Kenya Gazette. Kenya Law. Nairobi: Government Printer, Republic of Kenya, 1963, pp. 17–180. URL: http://kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/1963_Constitution.pdf (visited on 07/03/2025).

[6] 'The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act No 1 of 1975'. In: *Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 7 (Acts No. 1)*. Kenya Gazette. Kenya Law. Nairobi: Government Printer, Republic of Kenya, 1975, pp. 1–2. URL: http://www.kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Constitution/HistoryoftheConstitutionofKenya/Acts/1975/ActNo.1of1975.pdf (visited on 07/03/2025).

[7] 'The Constitution of Kenya (Amendment) Act No 1 of 1979'. In: *Kenya Gazette Supplement No. 23 (Acts No. 1)*. Kenya Gazette. Kenya Law. Nairobi: Government Printer, Republic of Kenya, 1979, pp. 1–2. URL: http://www.kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Constitution/HistoryoftheConstitutionofKenya/Acts/1979/ActNo.1of1979.pdf (visited on 07/03/2025).

[8] *The Constitution of Kenya Act 1969*. Publisher: Government Printer, Republic of Kenya. Kenya Law. 1969. URL: http://www.kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Constitution/HistoryoftheConstitutionofKenya/Acts/1969/ActNo.5of1969.pdf (visited on 07/03/2025).

[9] *The Constitution of Kenya. Revised Edition 2008 (2001)*. Publisher: National Council for Law Reporting. Kenya Law. 2008. URL: https://kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Constitution%20of%20Kenya%20(Repealed).pdf (visited on 07/03/2025).

510: Tanzania

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1961-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1961-1966	X	D: *De facto* national
	1967-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Swahili	1961-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Swahili as the two principal languages of Tanzania. Although it classifies English as a *de facto* national working language, it judges Swahili to be a statutory national language based on a piece of legislation enacted in 2021. As this lies outside the scope of the coding period, I rely instead on the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue, which identifies Swahili as a *de facto* national language in the absence of any such statutory recognition. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this institutional vacuum, noting that none of the constitutions of 1984, 1977, or earlier designate any official language:

> 'English has been an official language in fact (*de facto*) since British colonization; as for Kiswahili, it is another official language due to current linguistic practices. In other words, Tanzania is probably one of the few bilingual states in the world to have two official languages not legally recognized by the constitution or by any law: these are two official languages recognized simply in fact (*de facto*).'

The relative success of Tanzania's Swahilisation policy may be traced to the language's historical development. Swahili originated in coastal Tanzania,[13] where it spread through maritime trade along the East African littoral. Its early use as a neutral *lingua franca* facilitated broad adoption. European missionaries codified the language and its script, and during the colonial era, German administrators employed Swahili in Tanganyika, possibly to discourage Africans from learning German. Following the First World War, the British took control and generally disfavoured Swahili, but the first post-independence president, Julius Nyerere, viewed the language as a tool to unify Tanzania's numerous ethnic groups.

In 1967, three years after the merger with Zanzibar that formed the United Republic of Tanzania, Nyerere reaffirmed the role of Swahili in his landmark essay, *Education for Self-Reliance*. There, he articulated the ideological basis for rejecting English, which he associated with capitalist values inimical to the governing philosophy of *Ujamaa*, or African socialism. That same year, Vice-President Rashid Mkwawa

[13]The word 'Swahili' derives from the Arabic for 'coasts.'

declared Swahili the official language of Parliament. This policy remains in force today, with English reserved only for ceremonial occasions.

Swahili steadily gained ground over English throughout the following decades. Although the law permits legislation to be written in either language, a major initiative in the twenty-first century saw nearly all English-language laws translated into Swahili, and almost all new legislation is now drafted in Swahili.

Swahili dominates the print, audio, and visual media. Most signage in public and commercial spaces is either in Swahili or bilingual. English, however, remains the language of instruction beyond the primary level, though Swahili continues to be taught as a subject throughout secondary schooling. English is also retained in certain formal domains such as corporate documentation, patents, and intellectual property.

Despite this continued relevance of English, the extent to which Swahili has displaced it in legislative and judicial contexts is striking, particularly when compared to the enduring dominance of colonial languages in many other African states. In light of this trajectory, I code Swahili as the *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1963 to 2014.

Likewise, I code English as a *de facto* national language from 1963 to 1966. From 1967, the year of Nyerere's landmark essay and Mkwawa's declaration concerning the use of Swahili in Parliament, I code English as a *de facto* national working language. This aligns with the judgement of the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Tanzania*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TZ/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Tanzanie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/tanzanie.htm` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] *Tanzania*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/TZ/status/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Dainess Mashiku Maganda. 'Language Policy in Tanzania Mainland'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 37–70. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: `https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8` (visited on 05/03/2025).

[5] Julius K. Nyerere. 'Education for Self-Reliance'. In: *CrossCurrents* 18.4 (1968). Publisher: Wiley, pp. 415–434. ISSN: 0011-1953. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/24457417 (visited on 07/03/2025).

511: Zanzibar

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1963-1964.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1963-1964	`X`	`E`: *De facto* national (working)
English	1963-1964	`X`	`E`: *De facto* national (working)
Swahili	1963-1964	`N`	`D`: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

On 12 December 1963, Zanzibar gained independence from Great Britain and became an independent sultanate. One month later, the sultan was overthrown and went into exile, and a People's Republic of Zanzibar was proclaimed following the Zanzibar Revolution. On 26 April 1964, Zanzibar merged with Tanganyika to form the United Republic of Tanzania. As a result, Zanzibar appears as an independent entity in the Correlates of War dataset only for the years 1963 and 1964. The Ethnologue does not include a separate entry for Zanzibar.

During the nineteenth century, Swahili came to dominate the linguistic landscape of Zanzibar, as attested by the existence of Swahili-language newspapers from the period. Today, over 95 percent of Zanzibaris speak Swahili. The language itself originated on the island and spread along the East African littoral as a neutral *lingua franca* of trade.

In addition to Swahili, Arabic has deep historical roots in Zanzibar dating back to 1698, when the island came under the control of the Omani Empire. For roughly two decades in the mid-nineteenth century, the Omani court relocated from Muscat to Zanzibar before a succession crisis split the empire into two separate sultanates. In 1890, the Sultanate of Zanzibar became a British protectorate, a status it retained until independence in 1963.

I code Swahili as the *de facto* national language of Zanzibar, reflecting its broad societal dominance at the time of independence. I classify both English and Arabic as *de facto* national working languages, consistent with their respective roles in the British protectorate and the sultanate government. Owing to the brevity of Zanzibari statehood, I make no changes between 1963 and 1964, judging the duration too short to accommodate any substantive linguistic transition.

References

[1] *Tanzania*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TZ/` (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Zanzibar (Tanzanie)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/Zanzibar.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Haroun Ayoub Maalim. 'Persistent Struggle of Kiswahili Versus English in Zanzibar' s Language Policy'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 71–84. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

516: Burundi

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1962-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1962-1980	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1981-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Rundi	1962-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Swahili	1962-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French and Rundi[14] as the two principal languages of Burundi, classifying French as a *de facto* working language and Rundi as the statutory national language. Although the Ethnologue bases its judgement on Article 5 of the 2005 constitution, Burundi has in fact been governed by a dizzying succession of constitutions and transitional charters dating back to independence in 1962, each of which has included clear language provisions.

> Article 21. [1962]
>
> Les langues officielles du Burundi sont le Kirundi et le Français.

This constitution was suspended in 1966, following the deposition of the monarch by his son, Prince Ntare V, who was himself overthrown shortly thereafter. The 1974 constitution reproduces the same language in Article 3: 'Le Burundi a pour langues officielles, le Kirundi et le Français.' It too was suspended after a 1976 coup brought Jean-Baptiste Bagaza to power. The 1981 constitution, promulgated under Bagaza's rule, dropped the explicit mention of French as an official language and elevated Kirundi to the status of 'national language:'

> Article 7. [1981]
>
> La langue nationale est le Kirundi. Les langues officielles sont le Kirundi et d'autres langues déterminées par la loi.

Though this constitution was suspended with Bagaza's overthrow 1987, this wording was repeated almost verbatim in Article 8 of the 1992 constitution, which was again suspended in the wake of the Burundian genocide and civil war. The 1998 Transitional Constitutional Act retained the same language. A further transitional constitution in 2001 introduced an additional stipulation that Rundi versions of legislative texts would be authentic, a provision retained in the constitutions of 2005 and 2010:

[14]Bantu languages employ a prefix to denote language names. In Rundi, this prefix is 'ki-,' and English-language sources sometimes use the name Kirundi.'

> Article 13. [2001]
>
> La langue nationale est le kirundi.
>
> Les langues officielles sont le kirundi et les autres langues déterminées par la loi. Tous les textes législatifs doivent avoir leur version originale en kirundi.

Linguistically, Burundian society was monolingual in Rundi prior to European colonisation. Under German colonial rule, beginning in 1896, Swahili was introduced as a language of administration and the judiciary. After Belgium took control of the territory in 1916, French displaced Swahili. However, unlike French colonial policy, the Belgians governed through 'indirect rule' and generally discouraged widespread acquisition of French. Belgian educational policy therefore failed to propagate French to a significant degree among the population.

Following independence, French remained entrenched in colonial-era institutions, but educational reforms initiated in the 1970s rapidly reasserted Rundi as a working language. Today, Rundi is the medium of instruction for the first four years of primary education and remains a compulsory subject throughout schooling. It is also used alongside French in legal texts, public administration, and official events. As 95 percent Burundians speak Rundi natively, the language situation in Burundi constitutes what *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* characterises as a rare instance of African unilingualism, a result of pre-colonial linguistic unity, small territorial size, and a colonial history that failed to displace the indigenous language.

Accordingly, I code Rundi as a statutory national language for the entire period from 1962 to 2014. I code French as a statutory national working language from 1962 to 1980, reflecting its explicit constitutional status, and as a *de facto* national working language from 1981 to 2014, in line with its implicit but enduring institutional role and the judgement of the Ethnologue. Finally, the Ethnologue classifies Swahili as a language of wider communication. Given its role as an administrative language under German colonial rule and its ongoing function as a *lingua franca* of the East African Community, I employ a placeholder code for Swahili for the entire duration.

References

[1] *Burundi. Acte constitutionnel de Transition, du 6 juin 1998*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1998. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bi1998.htm` (visited on 07/03/2025).

[2] *Burundi. Constitution de Transition du 28 octobre 2001*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2001. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bi2001.htm` (visited on 07/03/2025).

[3] *Burundi. Constitution du 13 mars 1992*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1992. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bi1992.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[4] *Burundi. Constitution du 18 mars 2005*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2005. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bi2005.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[5] *Burundi*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BI/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Burundi*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/burundi.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Burundi | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/burundi-lois_div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] Leonard Muaka, Anitha Nduwamahoro and Dieudonné Butoyi. 'Language Policy in Burundi'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 113–130. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[9] *République du Burundi. Constitution du 11 juillet 1974*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1974. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bi1974.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[10] *République du Burundi. Constitution du 20 novembre 1981*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1981. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bi1981.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[11] *Royaume du Burundi. Constitution du 16 octobre 1962*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1962. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bi1962.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[12] *Royaume du Burundi. Constitution provisoire du 23 novembre 1961*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1961. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/bi1961.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

517: Rwanda

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1962-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	2003-2014	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)
French	1962-2014	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)
Kinyarwanda	1962-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue identifies English, French, Kinyarwanda, and Swahili as the four principal languages of Rwanda. However, its coding of Swahili as a statutory national working language rests on a 2017 law, which falls outside the scope of this coding period. Moreover, it reports just 19,000 Swahili users as of 2022. I therefore refer instead to the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue, which identifies only English, French, and Kinyarwanda as principal languages. Of these, English and French are deemed to be statutory national working languages, and Kinyarwanda the statutory national language, all on the basis of Article 5 of the 2003 constitution. However, the statutory institutional status of French and Kinyarwanda in fact dates back to Article 5 of Rwanda's first post-independence constitution from 1962:

> Article 5. [1962]
>
> La langue nationale de la République rwandaise est le kinyarwanda.
>
> Ses langues officielles sont le kinyarwanda et le français.

This formulation is repeated, nearly verbatim, in the constitutions of 1978 and 1991. Upon independence in 1962, both Kinyarwanda and French held prominent positions in the Rwandan state. The precolonial Kingdom of Rwanda had been highly centralised and comparatively isolated, making it one of the last regions in East Africa to come under colonial rule. Until 1897, when Rwanda was incorporated into German East Africa and Swahili was introduced as a language of colonial administration, Kinyarwanda had been the sole medium of governance, education, and identity under the Nyiginya dynasty. Rwanda passed into Belgian hands barely two decades later.

As elsewhere in the Belgian colonial empire, French was employed for administrative and educational purposes, though not at the expense of local languages. Belgian authorities, unlike their French counterparts, generally refrained from policies of linguistic assimilation. As a result, Rwanda gained independence with a deeply entrenched indigenous language, spoken by a largely monolingual population, a legacy of both centralised precolonial governance and a relatively short-lived, non-assimilative colonial regime. Thus, while French was retained after independence as

the official language of education and administration, Kinyarwanda's dominance was undisputed, and it 'tended to supplant French even in the areas which had hitherto been reserved for it' (Gahutu 2024: 135).

After independence, Rwanda's foreign policy increasingly pivoted towards France, and French continued to serve as the principal language of the state. Under Rwandan President Habyarimana, this relationship deepened, particularly during the presidency of François Mitterrand. Habyarimana, an ethnic Hutu, received diplomatic and military backing from France, which sought to extend its influence in what it considered its '*pré carré*.' This patronage relationship was justified under the apolitical guise of linguistic and cultural cooperation. Under Mitterrand, the idea of the *francophonie* 'became the rhetorical basis for post-colonial association between France, its former colonies, and the former Belgian colonies,' with French promoted through language institutes and various forms of cultural aid (Spowage 2024).

This context helps explain France's intervention during the Rwandan Civil War, often interpreted as an attempt to 'prevent an anglophone takeover of Rwanda' (Spowage 2024: 7). This framing implicitly recasts the belligerents as not only 'social, ethnic, or political groups, but also linguistic ones: the Habyarimana government, representing the Rwandan Bahutu, are seen as "francophone," and the RPF, having grown up in Uganda, are viewed as "anglophone"'. In the aftermath of the Rwandan Genocide, relations with France rapidly deteriorated, and Rwanda pivoted decisively toward the anglophone world. In 2003, English was declared an official language alongside Kinyarwanda and French.

> Article 5 [2003]
>
> La langue nationale est le kinyarwanda. Les langues officielles sont le kinyarwanda, le français et l'anglais.

Six year later, Rwanda joined the Commonwealth despite lacking both a British colonial history and any longstanding tradition of English instruction. On the ground, this linguistic realignment has unsurprisingly proven difficult to implement. Gahutu (2024: 144) argues that Rwanda lacked the institutional capacity to effectively execute the transition from French to English, and that the pivot reflects 'the symbolic value of English, as part of the official statement of a modern community which identifies itself with the Anglophone world.' The 2002 census indicated that fewer than 4 percent of Rwandans spoke French and fewer than 1 percent spoke English, while over 99 percent spoke Kinyarwanda.

On the basis of the above, I code Kinyarwanda as a statutory national language for the full period from 1962 to 2014. I code French as a statutory national working language for the same duration. English is coded as a statutory national working language from 2003, in accordance with the new post-genocide constitution, and is unassigned before this year. I do not code Swahili, as the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue neither attributes it any institutional status nor deems it to be in use as a language of wider communication.

References

[1] Jonathan R. Beloff. 'French-Rwandan Foreign Relations: Depth and Rebirth of Diplomatic Relations'. In: *The African Review* 50.4 (2023). Publisher: Brill, pp. 441–466. ISSN: 1821-889X, 0856-0056. URL: https://brill.com/view/journals/tare/50/4/article-p441_1.xml (visited on 08/03/2025).

[2] *Rwanda*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/RW/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Pascal Gahutu. 'Rwanda' s Language Policy from the Past to the Present Day'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 131–148. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[4] Michiel de Haas. 'Moving Beyond Colonial Control? Economic Forces and Shifting Migration from Ruanda-Urundi to Buganda, 1920–60'. In: *The Journal of African History* 60.3 (2019), pp. 379–406. ISSN: 0021-8537, 1469-5138. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-african-history/article/abs/moving-beyond-colonial-control-economic-forces-and-shifting-migration-from-ruandaurundi-to-buganda-192060/413B421C5117385DC4566D86936AFD81 (visited on 08/03/2025).

[5] Céline A. Jacquemin. 'French Foreign Policy in Rwanda: Language, Personal Networks, and Changing Contexts'. In: *The Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment in Africa*. Num Pages: 24. Routledge, 2013. ISBN: 978-0-203-38774-0.

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Rwanda*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/rwanda.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Rwanda | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/rwanda-lois_div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] *Rwanda*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/RW/status/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[9] *Rwanda. Constitution du 10 juin 1991*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1991. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/rw1991.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[10] *Rwanda. Constitution du 20 décembre 1978*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan.

1978. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/rw1978.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[11] *Rwanda. Constitution du 24 novembre 1962*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1962. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/rw1962.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[12] *Rwanda. Constitution du 4 juin 2003*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2003. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/rw2003.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[13] Kate Spowage. 'Beyond "Fashoda Syndrome" : The Rwandan Civil War and the Politics of La Francophonie in Africa'. In: *Language Matters* 50.3 (2019). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 4–25. ISSN: 1022-8195. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/10228195.2019.1684978 (visited on 08/03/2025).

520: Somalia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1960-1968	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1969-1978	X	-: Other notable usage
	1979-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1960-1968	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1969-1978	X	-: Other notable usage
	2004-2011	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Italian	1960-1968	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1969-1978	X	-: Other notable usage
	2004-2011	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Somali	1960-1968	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1969-1978	N	D: *De facto* national
	1979-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue identifies Somali as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Somalia, based on the 2012 constitution. Article 5 of that document also defines Arabic as the 'second language' of Somalia, a formulation the Ethnologue interprets as granting Arabic the status of statutory language of national identity.

> Article 5. Official Languages [2012]
>
> The official language of the Federal Republic of Somalia is Somali (Maay and Maxaa-tiri), and Arabic is the second language.

Whilst this is the most recent constitutional provision specifying the institutional status of Somali and Arabic, it appears relatively late within the coding period. I therefore turn to the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue, which had not yet incorporated this constitution. It identifies Somali, Arabic, English, and Italian as principal languages. On the basis of Article 7 of the 2004 Transitional Federal Charter, the Ethnologue classifies Somali and Arabic as statutory national languages, and English and Italian as statutory national working languages:

> Article 7. Languages [2004]
>
> 1: The official languages of the Somali Republic shall be Somali (*Maay* and *Maxaatiri*) and Arabic.
>
> 2: The second languages of the Transitional Federal Government shall be English and Italian.

This, however, is still not the earliest relevant constitutional provision. Somalia's second post-independence constitution, promulgated under the Somali Democratic Republic in 1979, was in force until the collapse of the Siad Barre regime in 1991. It contains the first formal constitutional recognition of languages in postcolonial Somalia. While both Arabic and Somali are declared official languages, the provision outlines distinct roles for each:

> Article 3. Religion and Language [1979]
>
> 1. Islam shall be the state religion.
> 2. Somali is the language which all Somali speak and through which they recognise each other; Arabic is the language of the Somali people which links them with the Arab nation, of whom they are an integral Part, and both shall constitute the official languages of the constitute the official languages of the Somali Democratic Republic.

The modern Somali state emerged in 1960 from the union of British Somaliland and Italian Somaliland. During the colonial period, English spread widely, even within the Italian-administered south, while Arabic remained influential due to Islamic education and trade with the Arabian Peninsula. Somali, then an unwritten vernacular, was universally spoken but had no official standing. To avoid privileging one colonial legacy over another, the newly unified Somali Republic adopted English, Italian, and Arabic as administrative languages in the post-independence period.

Following the 1969 coup by Major General Mohamed Siad Barre, the newly-declared, Soviet-aligned Somali Democratic Republic embarked on an ambitious programme of linguistic reform. Somali was declared the state language, and its orthography was standardised using the Latin script by a newly-established language commission. Under Barre's revolutionary socialist government, Somali became the exclusive medium of primary education. Schooling was made free and compulsory, colonial-era pedagogical materials were destroyed, and Somali-language textbooks were mass-produced.

These reforms were accompanied by a flourishing of Somali-language literature and cultural expression. Administratively, the government undertook the considerable task of 'Somalising' the bureaucracy, translating laws, training staff, and developing new terminology suited to modern governance. Nonetheless, Arabic retained considerable prestige as a religious and cultural language in the overwhelmingly Islamic state. In 1974, Somalia joined the League of Arab States, a move partly motivated by the desire to secure aid in the aftermath of a severe famine. At the same time, English and Italian remained languages of higher education and international engagement for a small segment of the elite. By 1979, Somalisation had been successful enough to rehabilitate Arabic to co-official status under the new constitution.

The outbreak of civil war in 1991 precipitated the collapse of central authority,

and the country fragmented. Somaliland and Puntland in the north unilaterally declared autonomy or independence. The Federal Government of Somalia is internationally recognised as the legitimate national government. As noted above, the 2004 Transitional Federal Charter reinstated English and Italian as statutory working languages. However, this recognition was not retained in the 2012 Provisional Constitution, which limited official status to Somali and Arabic.

Due to the fragmented nature of governance and the relative scarcity of accessible legal texts for much of the period, I rely on the constitutional and historical evidence detailed above to structure my coding. I code Somali as a *de facto* language of national identity from 1960 to 1968. From 1969 to 1978, it is coded as the *de facto* national language, in recognition of the orthographic standardisation and state-led language reforms of the Barre government. From 1979 to 2014, Somali is coded as a statutory national language, based on the 1979 constitution and its symbolic and functional centrality within Somali society.

I code Arabic as a *de facto* national working language from 1960 to 1968. From 1969 to 1978, I apply a placeholder code to reflect its marginalisation under the early years of Barre's Somali linguistic nationalist regime. From 1979 onward, I code it as a statutory national language, in accordance with the 1979, 2004, and 2012 constitutional provisions and its continued importance as a language of Islamic identity. This interpretation is consistent with the classification found in the 2014 Ethnologue.

Finally, I code English and Italian as de facto national working languages from 1960 to 1968. From 1969 to 1978, I apply placeholder codes to reflect their exclusion from formal institutional use under Barre's linguistic reforms. I do not code them at all from 1979 to 2003, reflecting their loss of statutory status during the intervening years of conflict and constitutional silence. I reintroduce both as statutory national working languages from 2004 to 2011, in line with the provisions of the Transitional Federal Charter. From 2012 onward, I do not code them, in alignment with the 2012 constitution and the updated judgement of the 2024 edition of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Maryan Ali. 'Language Policy in Somaliland and Somalia'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 511–524. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[2] *Decree of the President of the S.D.R. No. 46 of 16 September 1979: The Constitution of The Somali Democratic Republic*. Publisher: People's Assembly, Somali Democratic Republic. Marxists Internet Archive. 1979. URL: https://www.marxists.org/subject/somalia/somalia-constitution1979.pdf (visited on 08/03/2025).

[3] *Somalia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SO/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Somalie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/somalie.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Somalie | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/somalie-lois-diverses.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] *SOM-2004-C-72421. The Transitional Federal Charter of the Somali Republic (Axdiga Jamhuuriyadda Federaalka)*. 2004. URL: https://natlex.ilo.org/dyn/natlex2/natlex2/files/download/72421/SOM72421.pdf (visited on 08/03/2025).

[7] *The Constitution of the Somali Republic, 1960, as amended up to 31 December 1963*. Official Bulletin of the Somali Republic. Citizenship Rights Africa. 1979. URL: http://citizenshiprightsafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/Somalia-Constitution-1960.pdf (visited on 08/03/2025).

522: Djibouti

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1977-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1977-1991	X	D: *De facto* national
	1992-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1977-1991	X	D: *De facto* national
	1992-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French and Arabic as the two principal languages and statutory national languages of Djibouti, based on Article 1 of the 1992 constitution and corroborated by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Upon independence in 1977, Djibouti was governed under the *Loi constitutionnelle n° LR /77-002 du 27 juin 1977 dite Loi constitutionnelle n° 02*, which provided only a provisional outline of state authority. This foundational document made no reference to language. For much of the period between independence and the outbreak of civil war in 1991, Djibouti was governed by decree. Djibouti's first formal constitution also marks 1992 as the first constitutional specification of the country's official languages:

> Article 1er [1992]
>
> 1) L'État de Djibouti est une république démocratique souveraine une et indivisible.
>
> 2) Il assure à tous l'égalité devant la loi sans distinction de langue d'origine de race de sexe ou de religion. Il respecte toutes les croyances.
>
> ...
>
> 5) Ses langues officielles sont l'arabe et le français.

Djibouti's language policy is one of formal bilingualism. French continues to dominate in administrative and legal contexts as a legacy of colonial rule, while Arabic holds parallel importance as the language of Islam, the religion professed by nearly the entire population. Since independence, the state has intervened minimally in favour of either language. A 1992 electoral law requires fluency in either French or Arabic to serve in the National Assembly; subsequent domain-specific laws on labour (2005), consumer protection (2008), and commerce (2011) reinforce this parity, offering a choice between the two languages for legal and procedural purposes. Both Arabic and French are used prominently in education and official documentation.

Accordingly, I code both French and Arabic as *de facto* national languages from 1977 to 1991, and as statutory national languages from 1992 to 2014. While the 1992 constitution provides the legal basis for their status, evidence from earlier periods, including their continued use in governance, education, and law, supports their classification as *de facto* national languages prior to constitutional codification.

Additionally, Djibouti is home to two major ethnolinguistic groups: the Afar, who speak Afar, and the Issa, who speak Somali. Tensions between these groups have shaped the country's political history, including the civil war of the early 1990s. Since the late 1990s, the state has increasingly emphasised the role of Afar and Somali as so-called 'national languages,' particularly in the context of early childhood education.

Nevertheless, French and Arabic remain dominant in public life, and are often employed as interethnic *lingua-francas*. No relevant edition of the Ethnologue classifies either Afar or Somali as possessing either national- or provincial-level institutional status, nor are they identified as languages of wider communication in the Djiboutian context. For this reason, I do not code them.

References

[1] *Djibouti*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/DJ/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | D: Danemark (danois), Djibouti (français-arabe), Dominique (anglais)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2014. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-D.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Djibouti*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/djibouti.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Djibouti | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/djibouti-lois-div.htm (visited on 08/03/2025).

[5] *République de Djibouti. Constitution du 4 septembre 1992*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1992. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/dj1992i.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[6] *République de Djibouti. Loi constitutionnelle n° LR /77-002 du 27 juin 1977 dite Loi constitutionnelle n° 02*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1977. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/dj1977-2.htm (visited on 07/03/2025).

[7] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

530: Ethiopia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Amharic	1945-1954	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1955-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Arabic	1945-1954	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1955-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
English	1945-1954	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1955-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Somali	1945-2014	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
Tigrinya	1945-1954	N	B: Statutory national (working)
	1955-2014	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Amharic as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Ethiopia, citing Article 5 of the 1994 constitution. Prior to this, modern Ethiopia saw two constitutions issued, first in 1931 and then in 1955. The 1931 constitution made no mention of language, making the 1955 Constitution of the Ethiopian Empire the first to formally define Amharic as the official language of the state:

> Article 125 [1955]
>
> The official language of the Empire is Amharic.

Ethiopia is arguably the only polity in Africa to have avoided long-term European colonial domination. Its imperial administrative tradition extends back centuries, as does the use of Amharic, the language of the Amhara. By the reign of Emperor Tewodros in the nineteenth century, Amharic had become the administrative language of the Ethiopian state, both in speech and writing (Smith 2008: 216). However, due to widespread illiteracy and the absence of a standardised orthography, access to the written form of the language remained limited.

Following the brief Italian occupation from 1936 to 1941, the British military occupied Ogaden, and later only Haud, from 1941 to 1955. During this period, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that Arabic and Tigrinya became official languages, and that English gained co-official status *de facto*, much to the frustration of Amharic-speaking Ethiopians. In the territories under his control, Emperor Haile Selassie launched an ambitious state- and nation-building campaign, centred on the consolidation of Amharic as the sole language of administration, education, and national identity. According to Imperial Decree 3 of 1944, missionaries

were required to learn and teach in Amharic. The 1955 constitution formalized this policy, as Britain withdrew from Ethiopian territory.

The elevation of Amharic, however, came at the cost of suppressing other regional languages, including Oromo, Tigrinya, Somali, and Afar. Smith (2008: 220) writes, 'The close association of language with religious, ethnic and regional identities made the preservation of local languages a critical component of the political and social movements which eventually toppled the imperial regime.' The monarchy was abolished in 1974, but the new socialist government (the Dergue) retained a centralised administrative structure and perpetuated the dominance of Amharic, despite public commitments to linguistic equality.

After the fall of the Dergue, the Transitional Government of 1991 allowed other national languages to be used in early primary education, while English became the medium of instruction at the secondary level. The 1994 constitution formalised a more decentralised approach to language governance, while still according Amharic a privileged position:

> Article 5. Languages [1994]
>
> (1) All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition.
>
> (2) Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal government.
>
> (3) Members of the Federation may by law determine their respective working languages.

Smith (2008: 219) summarises: 'The attachment to Amharic among fluent Amharic-speakers today, particularly those who are also Amhara, is closely linked with their sense of Ethiopian citizenship and identity. However, language identity among non-Amharic MT speakers is similarly deeply felt, and represents their unequal inclusion into the Ethiopian state.' Administratively, some legislation continues to require the use of Amharic or translation into it, including laws on civil procedure (1965) and parliamentary debates (1999). English remains the language of secondary and higher education (1994), and may be used in place of Amharic on consumer labels (2013). For naturalisation purposes, knowledge of any national language is sufficient (2003). Amharic thus retains its dominance at the national level, while local languages receive recognition in their respective regions and English is essential in specialised domains.

I code as follows. From 1945 to 1954, Amharic is the *de facto* language of national identity under British occupation. From 1955 to 2014, it is the statutory national language, first under the 1955 constitution and later as the 'working language of the Federal government' in the 1994 constitution. This matches the classification provided in the Ethnologue.

I code English as a *de facto* national working language from 1945 to 1954, based on its status under British administration. From 1955 to 2014, I employ a placeholder code. Although the Ethnologue does not assign it national institutional status, the 2014 edition classifies it as a language of wider communication. The placeholder code thus aligns with this judgement at the end of the relevant period.

Tigrinya was a *de jure* official language during the British occupation, and I code it as a statutory national working language from 1945 to 1954. There is no indication that it served as a symbol of national identity. Although it was also declared official in the UN-drafted constitution of autonomous Eritrea, this is superseded by the national-level classification. As Bereketab (2010) notes, 'The era of the second Chief Executive (Mr. Asfaha Woldemichael) –1955–1962 –witnessed systematic dismantling of the provisions of the federation of which one dealt with the issue of languages.' During this time, Tigrinya publications were suppressed and many books were destroyed as part of the Amaharisation campaign. From 1955 to 2014, I therefore code Tigrinya as a *de facto* language of provincial identity, consistent with its present-day classification by the Ethnologue based on use in the Tigray region.

Arabic, which was a *de jure* official language under the British, is coded as a statutory national working language from 1945 to 1954. From 1955 to 2014, I employ a placeholder code, as the Ethnologue recognises its use as a language of wider communication but does not currently identify it as having institutional status.

Finally, Somali is identified by the Ethnologue as the *de facto* language of provincial identity in the Somali region, and I extend this coding across the entire period. I do not code Oromo, which is similarly identified as the *de facto* language of provincial identity in Oromia, as it lacks national-level institutional status in any country.

References

[1] Belay Worku Alem. 'Language Policy, Politics, and Ethnic Federalism in Ethiopia: Looking Beyond Pedagogical and Linguistic Objectives'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 489–509. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[2] Redie Bereketeab. 'The Politics of Language in Eritrea : Equality of languages vs. bilingual official language policy'. In: *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 9.1 (2010), pp. 149–190. URL: https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:nai:diva-1065 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[3] *Ethiopia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ET/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] *Éthiopie. Constitution du 16 juillet 1931*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1931. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/et1931.htm (visited on 08/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Ethiopie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024.

URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/ethiopie.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Ethiopie | Constitution du 21 août 1995*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/ethiopie-const-1995.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Ethiopie | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/ethiopie-lois-div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] *République fédérale démocratique d'Éthiopie. Constitution du 8 décembre 1994*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1994. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/et.htm (visited on 08/03/2025).

[9] Lahra Smith. 'The Politics of Contemporary Language Policy in Ethiopia'. In: *Journal of Developing Societies* 24.2 (2008), pp. 207–243. ISSN: 0169-796X, 1745-2546. URL: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0169796X0802400206 (visited on 08/03/2025).

[10] *The 1955 Ethiopian Constitution*. Compiled by Abysinnia Law. 1955. URL: https://www.abyssinialaw.com/laws/constitutions/the-1955-ethiopian-constitution-english-version (visited on 08/03/2025).

531: Eritrea

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1993-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1993-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
English	1993-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Tigrinya	1993-2014	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

Both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue identify English, Arabic, and Tigrinya as the three principal languages of Eritrea. The country's 1997 constitution affirms that 'the equality of all languages is guaranteed,' but refrains from naming any particular language. Both cited editions of the Ethnologue classify Arabic as the *de facto* national language and English as a *de facto* national working language, yet they diverge on the status of Tigrinya. The 2014 edition designates it as a *de facto* language of national identity, whereas the 2024 edition reclassifies it as a *de facto* national working language.

Tigrinya-speakers comprise more than half of the population and are particularly concentrated in the central highlands. Arabic, while not widely spoken natively in its standard literary form, enjoys considerable prestige and utility among political and religious elites, and is widely accepted within the Muslim community as a language of cultural and religious significance. English, by contrast, is officially designated as the medium of instruction from middle school onwards, and is used in higher education as well as in the domains of international trade and commerce. Asfaha and Kroon (2024: 479) note: 'In the legal domain, there is a multilingual body of legal texts currently in use in the country. All the legal notices, regulations, and laws are promulgated in the three main languages of formal communication in the country: English, Tigrinya, and Arabic.'

In practice, national administration predominantly relies on Arabic and Tigrinya, while English is not spoken natively. The bilingual use of Arabic and Tigrinya reflects a deeper ethnolinguistic and ethnoreligious cleavage between Eritrea's Christian-Tigrinya and Muslim-Arabic communities. While the Tigrinya constitute a demographic majority, Arabic has a longstanding tradition of use as both a *lingua franca* and a language of administration. It is precisely this enduring historical and symbolic role that underpins its continued importance, despite not being spoken as a mother tongue by the majority.

For coding purposes, I rely on the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue in assigning Tigrinya the status of a *de facto* language of national identity, rather than adopting its 2024 designation as a *de facto* national working language. Among the plausible

classifications, the 2014 edition best captures the symbolic centrality of Tigrinya to Eritrean national identity, particularly during the period concerned. Accordingly, I extend this coding across the entire timeframe, alongside Arabic as a *de facto* national language and English as a *de facto* national working language.

References

[1] Yonas Mesfun Asfaha and Sjaak Kroon. 'Language Policies and Practices in Eritrea'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 465–488. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[2] Redie Bereketeab. 'The Politics of Language in Eritrea : Equality of languages vs. bilingual official language policy'. In: *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 9.1 (2010), pp. 149–190. URL: https://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:nai:diva-1065 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[3] *Eritrea*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ER/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Érythrée*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/erythree.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] *Eritrea*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/ER/status/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

540: Angola

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1975-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Chokwe	1975-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
Kongo	1975-2014	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
Kwanyama	1975-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
Portuguese	1975-2009	X	D: *De facto* national
	2010-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Portuguese as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Angola, citing Article 19(1) of the 2010 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this reading, emphasising that the same article also commits the Angolan state to valuing and promoting the study and use of the 'other languages of Angola' alongside the principal languages of international communication, a category that encompasses a relatively broad spectrum.

> Artigo 19. Línguas [2010]
>
> 1) A língua oficial da República de Angola é o português.
>
> 2) O Estado valoriza e promove o estudo, o ensino e a utilização das demais línguas de Angola, bem como das principais línguas de comunicação internacional.

Neither the 1975 constitution under the People's Republic of Angola nor the 1992 constitution contain any provisions concerning language, making the 2010 text the first to accord Portuguese *de jure* institutional status. In practice, however, Portuguese had already been deeply embedded in Angolan society since the colonial period, during which indigenous languages were actively suppressed, most notably under the *Decreto de Norton de Matos* in 1921, which explicitly banned their use.

Following independence, President Agostinho Neto encouraged the continued use of Portuguese, portraying it as a linguistically neutral medium capable of bridging ethnic divisions in a multi-ethnic state. Despite limited efforts in the 1980s to promote local languages, these initiatives were ultimately marginalised by the imperatives of civil conflict and post-war reconstruction. Portuguese remained the unchallenged language of education, legislation, and public administration. Domain-specific legislation frequently mandates the use of Portuguese, reinforcing its primacy in the public sphere, particularly in education and media.

In effect, Angola has pursued a language policy of deliberate non-intervention in the

dominance of Portuguese. This approach culminated in Angola's role as a founding member of the Community of Portuguese Language Countries in 1996, symbolising its cultural and linguistic alignment with other Lusophone states. Accordingly, I code Portuguese as the *de facto* national language from 1975 to 2009, and as the statutory national language from 2010 to 2014.

In addition, the Ethnologue classifies Chokwe, Kongo, and Kwanyama (Oshiwambo) as *de facto* languages of national identity. Despite their exclusion from official domains, these languages retain deep symbolic significance for their respective ethnolinguistic communities. I therefore code all three as *de facto* languages of national identity throughout the entire period.

References

[1] Alan N. Baxter. 'Portuguese as a Pluricentric Language'. In: *Pluricentric Languages*. Ed. by Michael Clyne. De Gruyter Mouton, 1991, pp. 11–44. ISBN: 978-3-11-012855-0. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110888140.11/html (visited on 09/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the People's Republic of Angola: November 11, 1975 (as Amended to August 11, 1980) (Angola [ao])*. In: *Oxford Constitutions of the World*. Online. OCW CD 708 (AO) H 1980. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-ocw-cd708-H1980.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd708-H1980?prd=OCW (visited on 09/03/2025).

[3] *Angola*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AO/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Angola*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2021. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/Angola.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Angola / Constitution de 2010 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2021. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/Angola-const-2010.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] *SI 1979/1600. Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe: December 21, 1979 (as Amended to December 6, 1996) (United Kingdom [gb])*. In: *Oxford Constitutional Law*. Online. OCW CD 958 (ZW) H 1996. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-ocw-cd958-H1996.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd958-H1996 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[7] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in Portuguese Colonies and Successor States'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.1 (2018), pp. 62–97. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2017.1316564 (visited on 10/03/2025).

541: Mozambique

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1975-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Portuguese	1975-1989	X	D: *De facto* national
	1990-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Swahili	1975-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Portuguese as the sole principal language of Mozambique. Whilst both the Ethnologue and *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* assert that the 2004 constitution was the first to proclaim Portuguese as the official language, this interpretation is mistaken. Though the earliest 1975 constitution of the People's Republic of Mozambique made no mention of language, Article 5 of the 1990 multi-party constitution unambiguously declares Portuguese as the official language, and explicitly acknowledges the importance of Mozambique's national languages, at least rhetorically.

> Article 5 [1990]
>
> 1. In the Republic of Mozambique, Portuguese is the official language.
> 2. The State recognizes the value of the national languages and shall promote their development and increased role as languages which are used in the daily life and in the education of citizens.

Following independence, the Mozambique Liberation Front (FRELIMO) instituted a one-party Marxist-Leninist government, proclaiming the People's Republic of Mozambique. The leadership made a conscious decision to reclaim Portuguese as a language of national unity, with the intention of developing a distinctively Mozambican Portuguese for use in administration and education. As the first president, Samora Machel, reasoned: 'We have to use the language of the enemy to deter the enemy. Make the language of our enemy into an instrument of combat' (Stroud 1999: 347).

Much of the country's post-independence history has been shaped by protracted civil conflict. Though the 1992 peace accord marked a significant political shift, little substantive progress has been made in institutionalising Mozambique's indigenous languages. Whilst their cultural and educational significance has been nominally recognised, especially in the post-socialist constitutional texts, practical efforts to expand their use remain limited. Portuguese, spoken by an estimated 50 percent of the population, particularly in urban centres, continues to dominate across all spheres as the sole language of education, governance, and national media.

Mozambique was a founding member of the Community of Portuguese-Language Countries in 1996, further cementing its Lusophone orientation.

The current 2004 constitution preserves the spirit of the 1990 text, reiterating the privileged status of Portuguese while acknowledging the symbolic importance of national languages.

> Artigo 9. Línguas nacionais [2004]
>
> O Estado valoriza as línguas nacionais como património cultural e educacional e promove o seu desenvolvimento e utilização crescente como línguas veiculares da nossa identidade.
>
> Artigo 10. Língua oficial
>
> Na República de Moçambique a língua portuguesa é a língua oficial.

Additionally, Article 21 affirms that the Republic 'maintains special ties of friendship and cooperation with the countries of the region, with Portuguese-speaking countries and with the host countries of Mozambican emigrants,' reinforcing its commitment to the Lusophone world.

Accordingly, I code Portuguese as the *de facto* national language from 1975 to 1989. From 1990 to 2014, in light of the constitutional provisions introduced in both 1990 and 2004, I code Portuguese as the statutory national language. The Ethnologue identifies no other languages with institutional status, reflecting the enduring hegemony of Portuguese across both the socialist and post-socialist eras. As Swahili is listed only as a language of wider communication, I apply a placeholder code for it across the entire period in question.

References

[1] 'Constituciao da Republica Popular de Mocambique'. In: *Boletim da República, Official Gazette of the People's Republic of Mozambique* 1.1 (1975). Africa Gazettes Archive, pp. 1–6. URL: https://archive.gazettes.africa/archive/mz/1975/mz-government-gazette-series-i-dated-1975-06-25-no-1.pdf (visited on 09/03/2025).

[2] *Mozambique*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MZ/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] M. Hall and T. Young. 'Recent Constitutional Developments in Mozambique'. In: *Journal of African Law* 35.1 (1991), pp. 102–115. ISSN: 1464-3731, 0021-8553. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-african-law/article/abs/recent-constitutional-developments-in-mozambique/AB6E667CB0C95D7E5A9891899BC4ACCB (visited on 09/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Mozambique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023.

URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/mozambique.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Mozambique / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/mozambique-lois.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in Portuguese Colonies and Successor States'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.1 (2018), pp. 62–97. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2017.1316564 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] Christopher Stroud. 'Portuguese as Ideology and Politics in Mozambique: Semiotic (re)constructions of a Postcolony'. In: *Language Ideological Debates*. Ed. by Jan Blommaert. De Gruyter Mouton, 1999, pp. 343–380. ISBN: 978-3-11-016350-6. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110808049.343/html (visited on 09/03/2025).

551: Zambia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1964-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1964-1990	X	D: *De facto* national
	1991-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Swahili	1964-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and statutory national language of Zambia, citing Article 1(3) of the 1991 constitution. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* incorrectly dates the introduction of this provision to 2016, but it is in fact the 1991 constitution that first establishes English as the state language. Zambia's foundational legal document at independence, the 1964 constitution, contains no such clause.

> Article 1. [1991]
>
> Declaration of Republic, sovereignty of people, supreme law and official language
>
> (1) Zambia is a unitary, indivisible, multi-party and democratic sovereign State.
>
> (2) All power resides in the people who shall exercise their sovereignty through the democratic institutions of the State in accordance with The constitution.
>
> (3) This constitution is the supreme law of Zambia and if any other law is inconsistent with this constitution that other law shall, to the extent of the inconsistency, be void.
>
> (4) This constitution shall bind all persons in the Republic of Zambia and all Legislative, Executive and Judicial organs of the State at all levels.
>
> (5) The official language of Zambia shall be English.

Upon independence from the British Empire in 1964, Northern Rhodesia was reborn as the Republic of Zambia under the leadership of President Kenneth Kaunda. Lacking a singular dominant indigenous language, Kaunda selected English as the unifying language of the state. The Education Act 1966, alongside Bill No. 312 of 2 November 1966, entrenched this decision by making English the sole medium of instruction nationwide, while seven Zambian languages were relegated to use in primary education within their respective regions. This arrangement constituted

a policy of *de facto* non-intervention in the status of English, an orientation which has endured for much of Zambia's postcolonial history.

Various domain-specific legislative acts reinforce the pre-eminence of English. Statutes governing criminal procedure (1932), High Court procedure (1960), and the operations of the National Assembly (in the constitution) require English for certain proceedings or documents. At the same time, other texts such as the Prisons Act (1966) and the Zambian Citizenship Act (1994) permit or even require local languages in contexts involving public communication. In the commercial sphere, laws governing business transactions stipulate relevant documents must be prepared in English. From year five of formal education onwards, and in some locales earlier, English serves as the primary language of instruction.

Given the persistent institutional and symbolic dominance of English across the five decades in question, I code English as the *de facto* national language from 1964 to 1990. From 1991 to 2014, in light of the constitutional provision introduced in that year, I code English as the statutory national language. The Ethnologue identifies no other languages with institutional status. Swahili, while not used in official domains, is classified as a language of wider communication and is employed at an equivalent level of intensity in at least one other country. Accordingly, I apply a placeholder code for Swahili for the whole duration from 1964 to 2014.

References

[1] *Zambia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ZM/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Zambie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/zambie.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Gabriel Simungala. 'Critical Insights into Language Policy and Planning in Zambia'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 665–682. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[4] John Simwinga. 'From Languages in Competition to Languages in Complementation: Accounting for Language-in-Education Policy Formulation and Implementation in Zambia 1964-2014'. In: *Journal of Law and Social Sciences* 2.1 (2014), pp. 1–20. ISSN: 2226-6402. URL: https://journals.unza.zm/index.php/JLSS/article/view/436 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[5] *The Constitution of Zambia*. Laws of Zambia I. Archived at WorldStatesmen.org. Lusaka: Government Printer, Zambia, 1964. 1-96. URL: https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Constitution-Zambia1964.pdf (visited on 09/03/2025).

[6] *The Constitution of Zambia Act, 1991 (No.1 of 1991)*. Publisher: International Labour Organization. NATLEX, ZMB-1991-C-26620. 1991. URL: https://natlex.ilo.org/dyn/natlex2/natlex2/files/download/26620/ZMB26620.pdf (visited on 09/03/2025).

552: Zimbabwe

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1965-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Afrikaans	1965-1979	`X`	`-`: Other notable usage
English	1965-1979	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
	1980-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Zimbabwe. Although no current legislation declares English the official language, this was not always the case. Between 1965 and 1979, the country existed as Rhodesia, an unrecognised settler regime governed by a white minority. The 1965 constitution of Rhodesia explicitly established English as the sole official language:

> CHAPTER XI. [1965]
>
> Miscellaneous provisions
>
> Part 1. —General
>
> ...
>
> 118. The English language shall be the only official language of Rhodesia.
>
> ...

This period was marked by the systematic exclusion of African languages from political, economic, and legal domains. Rhodesia's capital, 'Salisbury' (now Harare), was reserved for the white settler elite, and the regime's policies ensured that English alone functioned as the language of governance and administration. Although white settlers accounted for only around 220,000 of the population, they ruled over more than 4 million Black Africans without recognition from the international community.

After years of civil strife, the country re-emerged as Zimbabwe in 1980 under the leadership of Robert Mugabe, whose government adopted a policy of national reconciliation. The 1980 constitution did not retain the language provision from the Rhodesian period, but in practice, English continued to function as the sole language of legislation, administration, and higher education for decades. The Education Act (1984) permits the use of Shona and Ndebele (Northern Ndebele) as media of instruction in early primary education; however, English is the dominant language of instruction from grade 4 onwards and is the sole language of most secondary and tertiary institutions.

Legal and administrative practice also perpetuates the centrality of English. All laws and judicial rulings are delivered in English. Civil servants operate exclusively in English, and official documentation, including driving licences, must be issued in the colonial language, as per legislation dating back to 1976. Although some use of African languages is permitted in limited domains (e.g., local courts, early schooling), these languages do not enjoy official recognition at the national level.

For these reasons, I code English as the statutory national language from 1965 to 1979, and as the *de facto* national language from 1980 to 2014. Despite increasing visibility of Shona and Ndebele in education and media, the Ethnologue classifies neither as enjoying institutional status. Whilst the 2013 constitution lists 16 'recognised languages,' the label is symbolic rather than functional; it does not assign legal or administrative authority to these languages.

Lastly, I apply a placeholder code for Afrikaans from 1965 to 1979. This reflects the presence of a significant Afrikaner minority in Rhodesia, many of whom departed for South Africa following democratisation and the transition to majority rule.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Rhodesia'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 583–587. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s042.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Zimbabwe*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ZW/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Gustav Hendrich. 'Die Geskiedenis Van Die Afrikaner in Rhodesië (1890 –1980)'. SUNScholar. PhD thesis. Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University, 2010. 1-319. URL: https://scholar.sun.ac.za/items/cf303313-e9e0-4790-acdc-50543351479c.

[4] Maxwell Kadenge and Dion Nkomo. 'The Politics of the English Language in Zimbabwe'. In: *Language Matters* 42.2 (2011), pp. 248–263. ISSN: 1022-8195, 1753-5395. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/10228195.2011.581679 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Zimbabwe*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/zimbabwe.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Phillip Mpofu and Davie E. Mutasa. 'Language Policy, Linguistic Hegemony and Exclusion in the Zimbabwean Print and Broadcasting Media'. In: *South African Journal of African Languages* 34.2 (2014), pp. 225–233. ISSN: 0257-2117, 2305-1159. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02572117.2014.997059 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[7] Eventhough Ndlovu. 'Language Planning and Policy in Zimbabwe: Past and Present'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 595–623. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[8] *SI 1979/1600. Constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe: December 21, 1979 (as Amended to December 6, 1996) (United Kingdom [gb])*. In: *Oxford Constitutional Law*. Online. OCW CD 958 (ZW) H 1996. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-ocw-cd958-H1996.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd958-H1996 (visited on 09/03/2025).

553: Malawi

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1964-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Chewa	1964-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)
English	1964-1993	`X`	`E`: *De facto* national (working)
	1994-2014	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as Malawi's sole principal language and its statutory national working language. This classification draws on Articles 51(1)(b), 56(6), and 94(2)(b) of the 1994 constitution, which together establish English as a formal requirement for participation in core branches of government:

> Article 51 [1994]
>
> 1) A person shall not be qualified to be nominated or elected as a Member of the Parliament unless that person –
>
> a) is a citizen of the Republic who at the time of nomination has attained –
>
> i. the age of twenty-one years, in the case of the National Assembly; and
>
> ii. the age of thirty-five years, in the case of the Senate.
>
> b) is able to speak and to read the English language well enough to take an active part in the proceedings of Parliament; and
>
> ...
>
> ...
>
> Article 56
>
> ...
>
> 6) The proceedings of Parliament shall be conducted in the English language and such other languages as each Chamber may prescribe in respect of its own proceedings.
>
> ...
>
> Article 94
>
> ...
>
> 2) A person shall not be qualified to be appointed as a Minister or Deputy Minister unless that person –

a) is a citizen of the Republic who upon taking office, has attained the age of twenty-one years;

b) is able to speak and [to] read the English language; and

c) is registered as a voter in a constituency.

While none of these clauses outright declares English the official state language, together they make fluency in English a constitutional prerequisite for high political office, formal parliamentary participation, and ministerial appointment. In practice, they establish English as the sole working language of the state.

This entrenchment has roots in Malawi's postcolonial history. Upon independence in 1964, President Hastings Kamuzu Banda preserved English for government administration and elite discourse. He also implemented policies to reshape linguistic hierarchies: besides banned the northern language Tumbuka from schools and national radio, he imposed Chewa[15] as a compulsory subject nationwide. The policy aimed to promote national unity through the president's own ethnic language. Ironically, Banda himself, who had spent decades abroad, spoke only English fluently and required an interpreter to communicate with most Malawians.

Following the 1994 transition to multi-party democracy and Banda's electoral defeat, English retained its dominant institutional role. Parliament continued to enforce English as the language of debate (as reaffirmed in 2003), and schools used it as the primary medium of instruction from upper primary levels onward. The symbolic status of Chewa grew, and it emerged as a national identity marker, but it never gained formal standing as a national or working language.

Kayambazinthu (1998: 369) offers a succinct overview of the linguistic hierarchy that has persisted: 'The language situation in Malawi, like that in most other African countries, is characterised by the asymmetrical coexistence of English, the official language; Chichewa, the national language, and 12 other indigenous languages and their varieties.' This asymmetry remains largely unchallenged.

Based on this trajectory, I code English as a *de facto* national working language from 1964 to 1993, and as a statutory national working language from 1994 to 2014, reflecting the constitutional entrenchment of its use. I additionally code Chewa as the *de facto* language of national identity throughout the entire period from 1964 to 2014, in recognition of its enduring symbolic prominence despite lacking formal institutional authority.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Republic of Malawi (as amended up to Act No. 38 of 1998).* Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, MW002. 1998. URL: `https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/text/218796` (visited on 09/03/2025).

[15] Bantu languages denote the names of languages using prefixes. In the case of Chewa, this prefix is 'chi-,' and English-language sources sometimes employ the term 'Chichewa.'

[2] *Malawi*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MW/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Edrinnie Kayambazinthu. 'The Language Planning Situation in Malawi'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 19.5 (1998), pp. 369–439. ISSN: 0143-4632, 1747-7557. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01434639808666363 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Malawi*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/malawi.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Themba Moyo. 'Language Politics and National Identity in Malawi'. In: *South African Journal of African Languages* 22.4 (2002), pp. 262–272. ISSN: 0257-2117, 2305-1159. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02572117.2002.10587515 (visited on 09/03/2025).

560: South Africa

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Afrikaans	1945-2014	N	A: Statutory national
English	1945-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Ndebele	1953-1976	N	-: Other notable usage
	1977-1995	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1996-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Sepedi	1953-1961	N	-: Other notable usage
	1962-1995	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1996-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Sotho	1953-1968	X	-: Other notable usage
	1969-1995	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1996-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Swati	1953-1975	X	-: Other notable usage
	1976-1995	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1996-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Tsonga	1953-1961	N	-: Other notable usage
	1962-1995	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1996-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Tswana	1953-1960	X	-: Other notable usage
	1961-1976	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1977-1995	X	G: Statutory provincial
	1996-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Venda	1953-1961	N	-: Other notable usage
	1962-1978	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1979-1995	N	G: Statutory provincial
	1996-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Xhosa	1953-1958	N	-: Other notable usage
	1959-1975	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1976-1995	N	G: Statutory provincial
	1996-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Zulu	1953-1969	N	-: Other notable usage
	1970-1995	N	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1996-2014	N	A: Statutory national
	1996-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Sepedi (Northern Sotho), Setswana, Sotho (Southern Sotho),[16] Swati, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu as the eleven principal languages of South Africa. All are statutory national languages under Article 6(1) of the 1996 constitution. This clause goes beyond symbolic recognition, and mandates active state support for elevating historically marginalised indigenous languages, which were systematically repressed under apartheid.

> 6. Languages [1996]
>
> (1) The official languages of the Republic are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu.
>
> (2) Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these languages.
>
> (3) (a) The national government and provincial governments may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practicality, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government must use at least two official languages.
>
> (b) Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.
>
> (4) The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsection (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.
>
> (5) A Pan South African Language Board established by national legislation must—
>
> (a) promote, and create conditions for, the development and use of—
>
> (i) all official languages;
>
> (ii) the Khoi, Nama and San languages; and
>
> (iii) sign language; and
>
> (b) promote and ensure respect for—
>
> (i) all languages commonly used by communities in South

[16] Also known as 'Sesotho sa Leboa.'

> Africa, including German, Greek, Gujarati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu and Urdu; and
>
> (ii) Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa.

This 1996 text marks the first constitutional recognition of Ndebele, Sepedi, Setswana, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu as official languages. Afrikaans and English, by contrast, have enjoyed statutory status since the founding of the Union of South Africa in 1910. The Union of South Africa Act 1909, which unified the former British colonies into a single dominion, granted English and Dutch co-official status:

> Article 137. Equality of English and Dutch languages. [1910]
>
> Both the English and Dutch languages shall be official languages of the Union, and shall be treated on a footing of equality, and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights, and privileges; all records, journals, and proceedings of Parliament shall be kept in both languages, and all Bills, Acts, and notices of general public importance or interest issued by the Government of the Union shall be in both languages.

This provision used the term 'Dutch,' though Afrikaners no longer spoke Dutch in daily life. Afrikaans, linguistically descended from Dutch, was pushed by Afrikaner nationalists eager to distinguish themselves from their British counterparts in the aftermath of the First World War. Their efforts culminated in Act No. 8 of 1925, which declared: 'The word 'Dutch' in section one hundred and thirty-seven of the South Africa Act, 1909, and wheresoever else that word occurs in the said Act, is hereby declared to include Afrikaans.'

In the years following, the Afrikaners vigorously developed their language and pushed for its institutional entrenchment. The 1961 constitution, marking South Africa's transition to a republic, maintained English and Afrikaans, 'including Dutch,' as official languages. The 1983 constitution went a step further, removing all mention of Dutch and reaffirming English and Afrikaans on equal footing. The 1993 Interim Constitution preserved this arrangement but still excluded the nine indigenous languages. Only with the 1996 Constitution did Ndebele, Sepedi, Setswana, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu gain full statutory equality with Afrikaans and English.[17]

Throughout the twentieth century, these African languages were systematically excluded from public life. In 1931, the Statute of Westminster granted South Africa full sovereignty, enabling the white-dominated government to suppress native languages with impunity. The rise to power of the National Party in 1948 marked the beginning of formal apartheid, a policy of racial segregation designed to entrench white dominance via ethnic cleansing. Language played a central role in this system,

[17] See Skovsholm (2000) for a comprehensive diachronic overview of South African constitutional language policy.

wherein Black South Africans would gradually be forcibly removed from South Africa Proper to so-called tribal homelands on the basis of ethnolinguistic identity.

In 1953, the Bantu Education Act was passed, enforcing linguistic segregation in education. Under this law, Black South Africans were taught in their 'mother tongues' with a curriculum tailored to reinforce socioeconomic subordination to the white minority: boys studied agriculture, girls studied sewing, and mathematics and science were excluded. At the same time, the government created 'language boards' within the ethnically delineated territories, or 'Bantustans,' to institutionalise linguistic divisions among Black South Africans and prevent national unity. As Brenzinger (2017: 42) notes, this was meant to prevent organised opposition: 'Language was the device for splitting and dividing the black people of the Union and to establish barriers so they would not be able to engage politically and intellectually on a national level. The Bantu Education Act 1953 had legalised the enforcement of racially separated educational infrastructures in the "homelands"'.

The regime's ultimate objective was the removal of Black South Africans from South Africa altogether. Under Prime Minister Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, nicknamed the 'father of apartheid,'the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act 1959 laid the groundwork for the so-called 'separate development' of the South African peoples. The act created ten 'Territorial Authorities,' each meant to evolve into an 'independent' puppet state under the *de facto* control of South Africa.

The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act 1970 was the legal instrument to execute the final stage of Verwoerd's plan to strip Blacks of their South African citizenship, regardless of residence, and forcibly displace them to their respective 'homelands.' The Bantustans were to be given 'independence' under the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act 1971 to complete the ethnic cleansing of South Africa Proper. The process transpired the quickest in Xhosa-speaking Transkei, which served as a sort of testing ground for apartheid policies. In all, ten Territorial Authorities representing nine tribes were formed, with four Bantustans eventually attaining 'independence.'

Table III.5: Institutionalisation of Bantustans under the Apartheid Regime

Homeland	Tribe/Language	Territorial Authority	'Independence'
Transkei	Xhosa	1959	1976
Bophuthatswana	Tswana	1961	1977
Venda	Venda	1962	1979
Ciskei	Xhosa	1961	1981
Gazankulu	Tsonga	1962	–
Lebowa	Northern Soto	1962	–
Qwaqua	Southern Soto	1969	–
KwaZulu	Zulu	1970	–
KwaNdebele	Ndebele	1977	–
KaNgwane	Swazi	1976	–

Though South Africa lobbied for international recognition of the Bantustans, international society refused to legitimate the ethnic cleansing project. In any case, the 'independent' republics had only partial sovereignty, and relied almost completely on transfer payments from the South African government. The 'independence' of each Bantustan implied the publication a separate constitution in which local languages were declared official, albeit within a framework of segregation and repression. For instance, the 1976 Transkei Constitution declared Xhosa its official language:[18]

> 16. Languages. [1976]
>
> Xhosa shall be the official language of the Republic of Transkei and, except as provided in section 41, Sesotho, English, and Afrikaans may also be used for legislative, judicial, and administrative purposes.

Bophutatswana declared Tswana an official language alongside English and Afrikaans in its 1977 constitution.

> Article 5. Languages. [1977]
>
> Tswana, English, and Afrikaans shall be the official languages of Bophutatswana.

Finally, Venda was the third African language to be declared an official language of an independent Black homeland in the Republic of Venda Constitution Act 1979.

> Article 6. Languages. [1979]
>
> Luvenda, English and Afrikaans shall be the official languages of the Republic of Venda.

The ethnic cleansing programme drew significant backlash both domestically and internationally. In 1985, President P. W. Botha reversed the decision to deprive Blacks living outside the Bantustans of South African citizenship, and his successor announced in 1990 that no more Bantustans would be granted 'independence.' Finally, in 1994, the apartheid regime was liquidated, and an interim constitution came into force in 1993 until it was replaced in 1996. This final document contains the linguistic provisions that remain in force until the present.

Today, Afrikaans continues to carry associations with apartheid, yet remains widely spoken. English and Afrikaans have both been deeply entrenched in the institutions of the South African state for over a century, and accordingly, I code both as statutory national languages throughout the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

For Ndebele, Sepedi, Setswana, Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu, I code as follows. From 1945 to 1952, I do not code anything to reflect the wholesale exclusion of Black South Africans and thus, native African languages, from the governing apparatus of the South African state. Beginning in 1953, I employ a placeholder code for each of these languages to reflect their use within education on the basis of the Bantu Education Act. Next, I code them as *de facto* languages of

[18] Ciskei, a second Xhosa homeland, was the last Bantustan to receive 'independence,' and it declared Xhosa an official language in 1981.

provincial identity beginning in the year the Territorial Authority for the homeland for the tribe of each language is formed. I code three languages, Xhosa, Tswana, and Venda, as statutory provincial languages beginning in the years that Transkei, Bophuthatswana, and Venda received their 'independence,' respectively. Finally, to reflect state efforts to develop them under the post-apartheid constitution, I code the nine native languages as statutory national languages from 1996 to 2014, bringing my classification into alignment with the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Act no. 15 of 1976 to Constitute the Republic of Transkei and to Provide for Incidental Matters*. Publisher: Government Printing Works, South Africa. Archived at WorldStatesmen.org. 1976. URL: https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Transkei_Constitution.pdf (visited on 09/03/2025).

[2] Matthia Brenzinger. 'Eleven Official Languages and More: Legislation and Language Policies in South Africa'. In: *Revista de Llengua i Dret, Journal of Language and Law* 67 (2017), pp. 38–54. ISSN: 2013-1453. URL: https://doi.org/10.2436/rld.i67.2017.2945 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[3] Ben Cahoon. *Former Black Homelands (Bantustans)*. WorldStatesmen. 2024. URL: https://www.worldstatesmen.org/South_African_homelands.html#Transkei (visited on 09/03/2025).

[4] *Constitution of the Republic of Bophutatswana*. Archived at WorldStatesmen.org. Babelegi: Craft Press, 1984. 1-60. URL: https://www.worldstatesmen.org/Bophuthatswana_Constitution.pdf (visited on 09/03/2025).

[5] *South Africa*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ZA/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Bongeka BuhlebaMashasha Hlengwa-Selepe. 'Language Policy and the Struggle for Linguistic Equality in South Africa'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 701–732. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Afrique du Sud | (1) Généralités*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/afriquesud-1demo.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Afrique du Sud | (2) Données historiques et apartheid*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/afriquesud-2Hst.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Afrique du Sud | (3) Dispositions constitutionnelles de 1996*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/afriquesud-3constitution96.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Afrique du Sud | (4) La politique linguistique du multilinguisme*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/afriquesud-4pol-linguistique.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Afrique du Sud | Constitution nationale de 1996*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/afriquesud-constitution-1996.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[12] *Republic of Venda Contitution Act, 1979*. Publisher: Government Printing Works, South Africa. Archived at WorldStatesmen.org. 1979. URL: https://www.worldstatesmen.org/venda_constitution.pdf (visited on 09/03/2025).

[13] Stanley G. M. Ridge. '2 Language Policy in a Democratic South Africa'. In: *Language Policies in English-dominant Countries: Six Case Studies*. Ed. by Michael Herriman and Barbara Burnaby. Multilingual Matters, 1996, pp. 15–34. ISBN: 978-1-80041-802-8. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781800418028-004/html (visited on 26/03/2025).

[14] Klavs Skovsholm. 'South Africa's System of Official Languages'. In: *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee / Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America* 33.1 (2000). Publisher: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, pp. 5–25. ISSN: 0506-7286. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/43238816 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[15] *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: as adopted on 8 May 1996 and amended on 11 October 1996 by the Constituent Assembly*. Pretoria: Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, South Africa, 2024. 1-178. ISBN: 978-0-621-39063-6. URL: https://www.justice.gov.za/constitution/SAConstitution-web-eng.pdf (visited on 09/03/2025).

565: Namibia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1990-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Afrikaans	1990-2014	`X`	`-`: Other notable usage
English	1990-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
Kwanyama	1990-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole statutory national language of Namibia, citing Article 3 of the 1990 constitution. Formerly a German colony, the territory of modern-day Namibia was assigned to South Africa in 1920 as a League of Nations Class C Mandate. South Africa continued to occupy the territory after the mandate formally ended in 1966, maintaining its rule through illegal annexation and the extension of apartheid laws. Known as South West Africa under South African control, the country gained independence in 1990 following the South African Border War. The 1990 constitution is therefore Namibia's founding constitutional text.

> Article 3. Language [1990]
>
> 1) The official language of Namibia shall be English.
>
> 2) Nothing contained in this constitution shall prohibit the use of any other language as a medium of instruction in private schools or in schools financed or subsidised by the State, subject to compliance with such requirements as may be imposed by law, to ensure proficiency in the official language, or for pedagogic reasons.
>
> 3) Nothing contained in Sub-Article (1) hereof shall preclude legislation by Parliament which permits the use of a language other than English for legislative, administrative and judicial purposes in regions or areas where such other language or languages are spoken by a substantial component of the population.

Under South African rule, both Afrikaans and English were official languages of the territory, and both were compulsory in education. By the time of independence, Afrikaans had become deeply entrenched in South West Africa's public institutions and daily life. Nevertheless, the post-independence government took a sharply different linguistic direction. The South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), Namibia's leading liberation movement and ruling party since 1990, had long espoused an English-only language policy. This stance was most clearly articulated in a 1981 policy document co-published with the United Nations Institute for

Namibia, titled *Toward a Language Policy for Namibia: English as the Official Language.*

Afrikaans, widely seen as the language of the oppressor, was intentionally excluded from the 1990 constitution. The choice of English signalled a decisive break with apartheid-era linguistic structures and reflected SWAPO's alignment with Pan-Africanist and internationalist ideals. It also functioned as a neutral *lingua franca* among Namibia's many ethnolinguistic groups, none of which spoke English natively.

Based on the above, I code English alone as the statutory national language throughout the entire period. The Ethnologue describes Afrikaans as a language of wider communication but does not accord it institutional status. I therefore assign it a placeholder code for the full duration.

Finally, the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue classifies Kwanyama (a dialect of Oshiwambo) as a *de facto* language of national identity, reflecting the political dominance of the Ovambo ethnic group, who have been central to SWAPO and to Namibian governance more broadly. Although this classification was removed in the 2024 edition, I follow the judgement of the 2014 edition, as it is closer in time to the coding period and thus likely more accurate. Accordingly, I code Kwanyama as the *de facto* national identity language from 1990 to 2014.

References

[1] Beausetha J. Bruwer. 'Language Policy in Namibia: An Outlook from a Pre-colonial to Post-independence Era'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 645–663. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[2] *Namibia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/NA/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Namibie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/namibie.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Namibie | Lois diverses (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/namibie-lois-diverses.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] *Namibia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International,

2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/NA/status/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

570: Lesotho

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1966-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1966-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
Sotho	1966-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Sotho (Southern Sotho) as the two principal languages and the statutory national languages of Lesotho, citing Article 3(1) of the constitution of 1993. The text clearly and unambiguously institutes *de jure* bilingualism.

> 3. Official languages, National Seal, etc. [1993]
>
> (1) The official languages of Lesotho shall be Sesotho and English and, accordingly, no instrument or transaction shall be invalid by reason only that it is expressed or conducted in one of those languages.
>
> ...

This, however, is not the first such law. The Lesotho Laws, promulgated the year Lesotho received its independence from the United Kingdom, state: 'The national language [of Lesotho] is seSotho and the official languages are seSotho and English.'[19] This is repeated in the Official Language Act 1966: 'The languages of the Kingdom of Lesotho are seSotho and English, and accordingly no instrument or transaction shall be held invalid by reason only that it is expressed or conducted in one or the other of those languages.'[20]

Before the colonial era, Sotho was the sole language employed for all purposes, public and private, within the Kingdom of Lesotho. Under the British protectorate established in 1868, Sotho was excluded from higher functions, and English was used as the language of administration. The *de jure* bilingualism instituted in 1966 was helped in practice by the relative ethnic homogeneity of Lesotho, where Sotho is spoken natively by the vast majority of the Sotho people, who constitute over 95 percent of the population of the Kingdom. Bilingualism is a practical necessity, for Lesotho is surrounded on all sides by South Africa, upon which it is economically dependent.

Domain-specific legislation generally allows a choice between English and Sotho;

[19] 1966, Vol. II, Act 21, quoted in Matsela, 1995, p. 63. Cited in Kamwangamalu (2012).

[20] *The Laws of Lesotho*, Vol. XI, 1996, quoted in Khati, 1995, p. 33. Cited in Kamwangamalu (2012).

this is the case for naturalising as a citizen (1967), accounting and tax records for business operations (1982), and drafting a company prospectus (2011). English is the medium of instruction for secondary and tertiary education. Overall, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* concludes that bilingualism in Lesotho seeks to promote Sotho without abandoning the colonial language for practical reasons. Sotho, however, has yet to achieve true parity with English. Though the independence constitution was suspended and Lesotho was ruled by decree between 1970 and 1991, I still code Sotho and English as statutory national languages for the entire coding period, as Lesotho did not officially repeal the 1966 language laws until issuance of the 1993 constitution.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Kingdom of Lesotho'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 421–422. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s006.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Lesotho*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LS/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu. 'Language-in-Education Policy and Planning in Africa's Monolingual Kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland'. In: *Language Policies in Education*. Ed. by James W. Tollefson. 2nd ed. Num Pages: 16. New York: Routledge, 2012, pp. 156–171. ISBN: 978-0-203-81311-9. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780203813119-12/language-education-policy-planning-africa-monolingual-kingdoms-lesotho-swaziland-nkonko-kamwangamalu (visited on 09/03/2025).

[4] T. G. Khati. 'A Language Profile of Lesotho'. In: *Empowerment Through Language: A Survey of the Language Situation in Lesotho and Selected Papers Presented at the Second International LiCCA Conference*. Ed. by Victor N. Webb. Pretoria: LiCCA Research and Development Programme, 1995, pp. 29–42.

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Lesotho*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/lesotho.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Lesotho | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/lesotho-lois_div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[7] *Lesotho - Constitution 1993 EN*. Cooperation and Judicial Assistance Database, University of Nottingham. 1993. URL: https://cjad.nottingham.ac.uk/en/legislation/310/ (visited on 09/03/2025).

[8] Z. A. Matsela. 'Policy Formulation for Language Use in Lesotho'. In: *Empowerment Through Language: A Survey of the Language Situation in Lesotho and Selected Papers Presented at the Second International LiCCA Conference*. Ed. by Victor N. Webb. Pretoria: LiCCA Research and Development Programme, 1995, pp. 15–27.

[9] Kelello Alicia Rakolobe. 'The Impact of the Lesotho Language Policies on Indigenous and Former Colonial Languages Usage in Public Domains in Lesotho'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 625–644. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: `https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8` (visited on 05/03/2025).

571: Botswana

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1966-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1966-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Tswana	1966-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Tswana as the two principal languages of Botswana. English is classified as a *de facto* national working language, whilst Tswana is identified as the *de facto* national language. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates the absence of any provision on official languages in the 1966 independence constitution, and successive amendments have not altered this silence. The post-colonial linguistic settlement thus remains unwritten but widely understood.

During the colonial era, administrative activities were disproportionately concentrated in the Tswana-speaking South, where colonial governance relied upon Tswana chiefs as intermediaries. This laid the groundwork for a post-independence linguistic hierarchy, in which Tswana emerged as politically and socially pre-eminent. Chebanne and Monaka characterise this enduring arrangement as a deliberate project: 'the pervasive influence of one ethnic language was and is deliberately assimilationist and imperialistic in post-independent Botswana' (2024: 683).

The primacy of Tswana in public life is mirrored by the systemic marginalisation of other languages, particularly those of the Kalanga, Wayeyi, and Herero communities. Speakers of these languages have, over the decades, repeatedly raised concerns of linguistic discrimination, but the legal and policy frameworks remain unaltered. Botswana is, for this reason, frequently described as a unilingual state in practice, notwithstanding its ethnic and linguistic diversity.

The legal architecture offers only minimal guidance. The Interpretation Act 2010 is the sole statute to define the term 'official languages,' providing in Article 49 that: 'In a legislative document: "official languages" means Tswana and English.' A handful of laws reinforce this *de facto* arrangement. Road traffic regulations (1975), national road traffic legislation (1996), the Distance and Open Learning Act (1998), and the Health Professions Act (2001) all reference the 'official languages,' implicitly privileging Tswana and English. Other regulations stipulate the use of either or both languages explicitly for signage in prisons (1979), food labelling (1993), and taxation notices (2001, 2006).

These instruments do not, however, constitute a comprehensive language regime, and they tend to affirm an already entrenched linguistic status quo. In practice,

English has always dominated the judiciary, the legislature, and most domains of the civil service; all official documents, court records, and parliamentary proceedings are conducted in English. Tswana, though widely spoken and understood, is primarily employed in oral communication and public broadcasting. In education, Tswana serves as the language of instruction in the first three years of schooling, with a transition to English thereafter. English also retains a privileged position in higher education, the private sector, and international affairs. In this dual arrangement, English continues to serve as the language of social mobility and global engagement, while Tswana consolidates national identity.

In light of the foregoing, I code Tswana as the *de facto* national language and English as the *de facto* national working language for the entire period from 1966 to 2014.

References

[1] Anderson Chebanne and Kemmonye Collete Monaka. 'Languages and Policy in Botswana'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 683–700. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of Botswana 1966*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1966. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=204 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of Botswana 2006*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2006. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=205 (visited on 29/03/2025).

[4] *Botswana*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BW/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Botswana*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/botswana.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

572: Swaziland

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1968-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1968-2004	X	D: *De facto* national
	2005-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Swati	1968-2004	N	D: *De facto* national
	2005-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Swati[21] as the two principal languages of Swaziland, a country now known as Eswatini. I refer to the polity as Swaziland in order to reflect the fact that the renaming post-dates the close of the coding period. The Ethnologue designates English and Swati as statutory national languages on the basis of Article 3(2) of the 2005 constitution. This interpretation is affirmed by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, which likewise treats the 2005 constitution as conferring full *de jure* institutional status on both languages.

> Article 3. The Anthem, Flag and Languages [2005]
>
> (1) The National Anthem and Flag of Swaziland shall be the Anthem or Flag lawfully in use at the time of commencement of this constitution or such other Anthem or Flag as may from time to time be prescribed.
>
> (2) The official languages of Swaziland are siSwati and English.
>
> (3) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (2), the authoritative text of any law or document shall be the text in which that law or document was originally passed or produced.

Although the 1968 independence constitution includes a linguistic stipulation in Article 24(1)(c), which renders adequate knowledge of English or Swati a requirement for naturalisation, it does not explicitly confer official status on either language. In any case, this document was suspended in the early 1970s and never reinstated, leaving Swaziland without a constitutional text for over three decades. The 2005 constitution thus constitutes the state's first comprehensive legal settlement since the suspension of the earlier order.

In practice, both English and Swati have enjoyed a long history of functional use on the territory. The Swazi kingdom was consolidated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and Swati was firmly established as the language

[21] As in other Bantu languages, a prefix is used to denote the name of a language. In Swati this prefix is 'si-,' and the name 'siSwati' is common in English-language sources.

of administration, culture, and collective identity. Following the Second Anglo-Boer War, Swaziland became a British 'High Commission Territory' administered alongside Basutoland and Bechuanaland. Post-independence, Swaziland retained both the British institutional framework and the use of English within it. The transition to bilingualism at independence was therefore both historically grounded and socio-linguistically uncontroversial: Swati, spoken natively by nearly the entire population, remained dominant in the cultural sphere, while English became embedded in governance, law, and education.

Sectoral legislation reflects this distribution. Legal instruments pertaining to the legislature, judiciary, and civil service generally allow the use of either English or Swati, though the trend favours English in formal documentation. For instance, laws concerning public procurement (2008) and corporate registration (2009) explicitly require English-language records. In education, Swati is the medium of instruction during the first four years of primary schooling, with English taking over at the secondary level and beyond. A similar pattern holds in the media: written media is predominantly in English, while Swati prevails in radio and oral broadcasting. English remains the language of the elite, and Swati, the language of the masses. Kamwangamalu (2012) also observes this diglossia in neighbouring Lesotho, where language similarly preserves hierarchies of political and economic power.

Based on the above exposition, I code English and Swati as *de facto* national languages from 1968 to 2004. For the remainder of the coding period from 2005 to 2014, I code them as statutory national languages in light of the explicit constitutional designation. The Ethnologue identifies no other languages with either institutional status or a recognised role as a language of wider communication.

References

[1] Hlengiwe Portia Dlamini. *A Constitutional History of the Kingdom of Eswatini (Swaziland), 1960-1982*. 1st ed. African Histories and Modernities. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019. i-xx, 1-366. ISBN: 978-3-030-24776-8. URL: https://link-springer-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/book/10.1007/978-3-030-24777-5 (visited on 09/03/2025).

[2] *Eswatini*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SZ/ (visited on 17/02/2025).

[3] Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu. 'Language-in-Education Policy and Planning in Africa's Monolingual Kingdoms of Lesotho and Swaziland'. In: *Language Policies in Education*. Ed. by James W. Tollefson. 2nd ed. Num Pages: 16. New York: Routledge, 2012, pp. 156–171. ISBN: 978-0-203-81311-9. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780203813119-12/language-education-policy-planning-africa-monolingual-kingdoms-lesotho-swaziland-nkonko-kamwangamalu (visited on 09/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Eswatini (ex-Swaziland)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/swaziland.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Swaziland | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/swaziland-lois-div.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] *SI 1968/1377. Swaziland Independence Order (S.I. 1968 No. 1377): August 26, 1968 (United Kingdom [gb])*. In: *Oxford Constitutions of the World*. Online. OCW CD 19 (SZ). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-ocw-cd19.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd19 (visited on 10/03/2025).

580: Madagascar

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1960-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	2007-2009	X	C: Statutory national (identity)
	2010-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
French	1960-1974	X	A: Statutory national
	1975-1991	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1992-2006	X	D: *De facto* national
	2007-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Malagasy	1960-1974	N	A: Statutory national
	1975-1991	N	D: *De facto* national
	1992-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French and Malagasy (specifically Merina Malagasy) as the two principal and statutory national languages of Madagascar, citing the 2010 constitution as its basis. Overlooked by both the Ethnologue and l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde, however, is the 1960 constitution, the founding document of the Malagasy Republic, which clearly designated Malagasy and French as official languages of the state.

> Article 2. [1960]
>
> La République Malgache est Une, Indivisible, Démocratique et Sociale. Elle affirme sa neutralité à l'égard des différentes religions. L'Etat et les églises jouissent de leur autonomie dans leur domaine respectif. Ils s'interdisent toute immixtion dans le domaine qui n'est pas le leur.
> ...
> Le malgache et le français sont les langues officielles de la République malgache.

Merina, the dialect of the eponymous highland kingdom, had become the dominant variety of Malagasy prior to colonisation. When France formally annexed Madagascar in 1896, it overthrew the Merina monarchy and installed a colonial system in which French served as the language of governance and elite education. Although a dual-track system permitted Malagasy-medium education for some, French remained the language of power and prestige. By the time of independence, French was firmly entrenched in administration, but Merina Malagasy had become the most widely spoken native language on the island.

The bilingual policy articulated in the 1960 constitution thus institutionalised a form of linguistic neo-colonialism. French firms continued to operate with relative

impunity, the education system remained modelled on the French prototype, and a Franco-Malagasy elite dominated state institutions. Malagasy functioned largely as a second language among the educated classes. The 'elite closure' imposed by the dual-track educational system led to widespread discontent. Rabenoro and Rajaonarivo (1997) note that 'un des slogans mobilisateurs pendant les événements de mai 1972 était que le français constituait un facteur d'inégalité de chances de réussite pour les élèves malgaches.' That movement ultimately precipitated the end of the First Republic.

A referendum in 1975 ushered in a new constitution and the Second Republic, led by Didier Ratsiraka. Unlike its 1960 predecessor, the 1975 constitution contained no language provisions. The Ratsiraka regime launched a vigorous campaign to standardise Malagasy and nativise the education system. French institutions were shuttered, French companies nationalised, and beginning in 1978, French was officially classified as a foreign language. Yet the policy failed to produce the intended transformation. The choice of Merina as the standard dialect alienated coastal populations, teachers were unprepared for the pedagogical shift, and from the mid-1980s, Malagasy-educated youth began facing significant barriers to employment.

By 1985, the pendulum had swung back toward French. French-medium education was gradually reinstated, and in 1989, Madagascar formally sought re-admittance to the International Organisation of *la Francophonie*. The Second Republic ended in 1992 with the promulgation of a new constitution and the establishment of the Third Republic. This new foundational text removed any reference to 'official languages' and instead identified only Malagasy as the national language.

> Article 4. [1992]
>
> La République de Madagascar a pour devise : « Tanindrazana - Fahafahana - Fahamarinana » [Patrie- Liberté - Justice].
> ...
> Le malgache est la langue nationale.

Subsequent constitutional amendments in 1995 and 1998 did not alter Article 4. At the societal level, little had changed since the Second Republic: Malagasy remained dominant in everyday life, while French continued to hold institutional sway. Political language policy, however, evolved in the 2000s. President Marc Ravalomanana, elected in 2002 and re-elected in 2006, was a fluent speaker of Malagasy and English, but not French. During his second term, he pushed for constitutional reform to expand presidential powers and to position Madagascar as an anglophone country. The 2007 constitutional revision reflected this ambition.

> Article 4. [2007]
>
> La République de Madagascar a pour devise : « Tanindrazana - Fahafahana - Fandrosoana ».
> ...
> Le malagasy est la langue nationale.
>
> Le malagasy, le français et l'anglais sont les langues officielles.

This trilingual designation did not translate into substantive English use. The primary goal of adding English was geopolitical: to attract anglophone investment and align more closely with the English-speaking world. However, political turmoil soon followed. In 2009, Ravalomanana was ousted, and a transitional regime led by Andry Rajoelina inaugurated the Fourth Republic in 2010. The new constitution omitted English entirely from its linguistic provisions, restoring a bilingual framework.

> Article 4. [2010]
>
> La République de Madagascar a pour devise : « *Fitiavana-Tanindrazana-Fandrosoana* ».
>
> Son emblème national est le drapeau tricolore, blanc, rouge, vert, composé de trois bandes rectangulaires d'égales dimensions, la première verticale de couleur blanche du côté de la hampe, les deux autres horizontales, la supérieure rouge et l'inférieure verte.
>
> La langue nationale est le malagasy.
> ...
> Les langues officielles sont le malagasy et le français.

Across all four republics, both French and Malagasy have been consistently used in parliamentary debate and the promulgation of laws. Judicial proceedings have occurred in either language, and certain records have been required in both. Public administration has followed a similar bilingual pattern. In education, Malagasy is used exclusively in primary and lower secondary schooling, with French taught as a subject and gradually becoming the primary medium of instruction at the upper secondary level. Higher education remains predominantly francophone, though Malagasy has made modest inroads. While Malagasy dominates the media landscape in both print and broadcast formats, French retains a central role in commerce and international business.

In light of this trajectory, I code French as a statutory national language from 1960 to 1974 under the First Republic. From 1975 to 1991, it is coded as a *de facto* national working language, reflecting its continued use despite constitutional non-recognition and official hostility. From 1992 to 2006, it is coded as a *de facto* national language, recognising its persistent institutional role amid a less hostile policy climate. From 2007 to 2014, it returns to statutory national language status under the 2007 and 2010 constitutions, consistent with the Ethnologue's classification.

I classify Malagasy as a statutory national language from 1960 to 1974 and then as a *de facto* national language during the Second Republic from 1975 to 1991, due to its institutional centrality despite the absence of formal constitutional backing. From 1992 to 2014, it reverts to being a statutory national language in light of its designation as both a national and official language in the 1992, 2007, and 2010 constitutions.

Finally, I code English as a statutory language of national identity from 2007 to

2009, reflecting its symbolic inclusion in the 2007 constitution. From 2010 to 2014, I assign a placeholder code to reflect its usage as a language of wider communication without institutional status code, harmonising with the classification provided by the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Democratic Republic of Madagascar'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 441–442. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s011.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Madagascar*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MG/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] David D. Laitin. *Language Repertoires and State Construction in Africa*. 1st ed. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. i-xii, 1-206. ISBN: 0-521-41343-5.

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | M: Macédoine, Madagascar, Malaisie, Malawi, Maldives, Mali, Malte, Maroc, Marshall, Maurice, Mauritanie, Mexique, Micronésie, Moldavie, Monaco, Mongolie, Monténégro, Mozambique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-M.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Madagascar*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/madagas.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] *Madagascar. Constitution de la IVe République (11 décembre 2010)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2010. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/mg2010.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] *Madagascar. Constitution de la Première République. (Version du 2 juillet 1960)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1960. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/mg1960.htm (visited on 08/03/2025).

[8] *Madagascar. Constitution de la République démocratique malgache.(promulguée le 31 décembre 1975)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1975. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/mg1975.htm (visited on 08/03/2025).

[9] *Madagascar. Constitution du 19 août 1992.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1992. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/mg1992.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[10] *Madagascar. Constitution du 19 août 1992 (version de 1998).* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1998. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/mg1992.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[11] *Madagascar. Constitution du 19 août 1992 (version de 2007).* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2007. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/mg2007.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[12] Irène Rabenoro and Suzy Rajaonarivo. 'A l'aube du 21e siècle, quelle politique linguistique pour Madagascar ?' In: *Mots. Les langages du politique* 52.1 (1997). Company: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS Distributor: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS Institution: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS Label: Persée - Portail des revues scientifiques en SHS Publisher: ENS Editions, pp. 105–119. URL: https://www.persee.fr/doc/mots_0243-6450_1997_num_52_1_2469 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[13] Ursula Reutner, Philipp Heidepeter and Marc Chalier. '32 Madagascar and Comoros'. In: *Manual of Romance Languages in Africa.* Ed. by Ursula Reutner. De Gruyter, 2023, pp. 717–752. ISBN: 978-3-11-062886-9. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110628869-032/html (visited on 10/03/2025).

[14] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

581: Comoros

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1975-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1975-1977	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1978-2014	X	C: Statutory national (identity)
French	1975-1977	X	D: *De facto* national
	1978-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

Though the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue lists both French and Arabic as principal languages in Comoros, the 2024 edition lists only French, on the grounds that Arabic fulfils a largely symbolic function. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* offers a similar assessment. Accordingly, I follow the judgement of the 2024 edition of the Ethnologue, which classifies French as a statutory national language and Arabic as a statutory language of national identity.

Whilst the Ethnologue references Article 1 of the 2001 constitution as the legal basis for this classification, the constitutional recognition of French and Arabic in fact dates to 1978. That year saw the promulgation of the first full-fledged Comorian constitution, replacing the *Loi fondamentale du 23 avril 1977*, which contained no language provisions.

> Article 2. [1978]
>
> L'emblème national est le drapeau vert, frappé au centre d'un croissant et de quatre étoiles de couleur blanche.
>
> L'hymne national est « Ouzima wa Massiwa ».
>
> La devise de la République est « Unité - Justice - Progrès ».
>
> Les langues officielles sont le français et l'arabe.

This constitution proclaimed the Comoros an Islamic Federal Republic. The Islamisation of the archipelago dates to the twelfth century, long predating the arrival of the French in 1848. Prior to colonial rule, Arabic served as the liturgical language and the administrative language of the sultans. Under the French protectorate and subsequent colonial regime, governance and formal education were conducted exclusively in French, while Comorian was confined to the oral sphere. Yet Arabic retained symbolic prestige as a language linking the islands to the broader Arab and Muslim world, leading to its designation alongside French as an official language in 1978.

The history of Comorian constitutionalism is marked by instability, punctuated by

nearly twenty successful and attempted coups. The 1978 constitution was replaced in 1992 by a new text which elevated Comorian to the status of an official language alongside French and Arabic in addition to its designation as the national language.

> Article 2. [1992]
>
> L'emblème national est le drapeau vert frappé au centre d'un croissant tourné vers le heut et de quatre étoiles de couleur blanche alignées à l'intérieur d'un bout à l'autre du croissant. L'hymne national est « Udzima Wa Masiwa ».
>
> La devise de la République est « Unité - Justice - Progrès ».
>
> Les langues officielles sont le comorien, langue nationale, le français et l'arabe.

This recognition of Comorian reflected longstanding efforts to resist linguistic marginalisation. Following the unilateral declaration of independence in 1975, President Ali Soilihi undertook to promote Comorian as a language of national unity. In 1976, his administration standardised the Comorian orthography and launched a literacy campaign. Parliamentary debates, official meetings, political speeches, and campaign events were to be conducted in Comorian, and all legislation drafted in French was to be translated accordingly. Yet this policy was abruptly reversed following the 1978 coup led by Ahmed Abdallah, which reinstalled French as the sole language of education. This linguistic repression persisted until the early 1990s, when authorities belatedly recognised that the promotion of Comorian was essential to reversing chronic illiteracy.

Nevertheless, the constitutional recognition of Comorian in 1992 and its retention in the 1996 revision were not matched by sustained institutional commitment. Political instability again overwhelmed state capacity: in 1997, two islands unilaterally declared independence, precipitating a brief civil conflict. In 1998, the sitting president died; the following year, his successor was overthrown and the constitution suspended. The interim 1999 constitutional charter made no mention of language. It was only with yet another change in regime that the 2001 constitution was adopted.

> Article premier [2001]
>
> L'Union des Comores est une République, composée des îles autonomes de Mwali (Mohéli), Maoré (Mayotte), Ndzuwani (Anjouan), N'gazidja (Grande Comore).
>
> L'emblème national est jaune, blanc, rouge, bleu, un croissant blanc tourné vers la droite et 4 étoiles blanches alignées d'un bout à l'autre du croissant dans un triangle isocèle en fond vert. L'hymne national est : *Umodja Wa Massiwa.*
>
> La devise de l'Union est : Unité - Solidarité - Développement. La loi de l'Union détermine le sceau de l'Union.
>
> Les langues officielles sont le Shikomor, langue nationale, le Français et

l'Arabe.

Here, the indigenous term 'Shikomor' replaced 'Comorian' in the official designation of the national language. The language clause of the 2001 constitution has remained unchanged in both the 2009 and 2018 constitutional revisions. Yet in practice, French continues to dominate in parliament. Several electoral laws require candidates to demonstrate proficiency in both Comorian and either French or Arabic. In the education system, Comorian is used for early instruction, while French predominates in the upper grades; Arabic is taught as a subject but also used as a medium in Koranic schools. In business and formal administration, French remains preeminent. The resulting language policy closely mirrors the colonial linguistic hierarchy. As *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* puts it:

> 'French occupies the place it has always occupied since the second half of the nineteenth century: the official functions of the State and business. Comorian (Shikomor), for his part, occupies the functions that have been assigned it for several centuries: domestic life and informal communications. As for Arabic, its role remains strictly symbolic: it is learnt at school to be able to read the Koran.'

In light of the constitutional developments and sociolinguistic trajectories discussed above, I code as follows. From 1975 to 1977, I classify French as a *de facto* national language and Arabic as a *de facto* language of national identity, owing to the absence of constitutional language provisions during this interregnum. From 1978 to 2014, I code French as a statutory national language and Arabic as a statutory language of national identity, reflecting their enduring *de jure* status in constitutional texts.

As for Comorian, the Ethnologue treats it not as a single language but as a cluster of island-specific varieties, each of which it classifies as a *de facto* language of provincial identity. These varieties are not identified as languages of wider communication, either domestically or internationally, and lack institutional recognition beyond Comoros. On these grounds, I do not code Comorian.

References

[1] *Comores. Charte constitutionnelle du 6 mai 1999*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1999. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/km1999.htm` (visited on 10/03/2025).

[2] *Comores. Constitution du 1er octobre 1978*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1978. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/km1978.htm` (visited on 10/03/2025).

[3] *Comores. Constitution du 23 décembre 2001*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2001. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/km2001.htm` (visited on 10/03/2025).

[4] *Comores. Constitution du 23 décembre 2001 (version modifiée, 23 mai 2009).* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2009. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/km2009.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[5] *Comores. Constitution du 7 juin 1992.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1992. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/km1992.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[6] *Comores. Loi constitutionnelle du 20 octobre 1996.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1996. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/km1996.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] *Comores. Loi fondamentale du 23 avril 1977.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1977. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/km1977.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[8] *Comoros.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KM/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Hamdy A. Hassan. 'The Comoros and the Crisis of Building a National State'. In: *Contemporary Arab Affairs* 2.2 (2009), pp. 229–239. ISSN: 1755-0912, 1755-0920. URL: https://brill.com/view/journals/jcaa/2/2/article-p229_4.xml (visited on 10/03/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Comores.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/comores.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | C: Cambodge, Cameroun, Canada, Cap-Vert, Centrafrique, Chili, Chine, Chypre du Nord (grecque), Chypre du Sud (turque), Colombie, Comores, Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Kinshasa, Corée du Nord, Corée du Sud, Costa Rica, Côte d' Ivoire, Croatie, Cuba.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-C.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[12] *Comoros.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/KM/status/ (visited on 10/03/2025).

[13] Michael M. Kretzer and Russell H. Kaschula. 'Chapter 4: ShiKomori, the Bantu Language of the Comoros: Status and Perspectives'. In: *Handbook of Language Policy and Education in Countries of the Southern African Development Community (SADC).* Handbooks of Language Policies in Africa 3. Leiden: Brill, 2022,

pp. 79–98. ISBN: 978-90-04-50805-7 978-90-04-51672-4. URL: https://brill.com/view/title/61732 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[14] Ursula Reutner, Philipp Heidepeter and Marc Chalier. '32 Madagascar and Comoros'. In: *Manual of Romance Languages in Africa*. Ed. by Ursula Reutner. De Gruyter, 2023, pp. 717–752. ISBN: 978-3-11-062886-9. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110628869-032/html (visited on 10/03/2025).

[15] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

590: Mauritius

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1968-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1968-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1968-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Mauritian Creole	1968-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists English and French as the two principal languages of Mauritius. It classifies French as a *de facto* national working language and English as a statutory national language based on a cluster of provisions in the constitution as of 1992. Though the amendments of that year mark the state's transformation into a republic, the relevant constitutional provisions were not introduced at that point but rather had already appeared in the 1968 independence constitution.

> Section 33. Qualifications for membership [1968]
>
> Subject to section 34, a person shall be qualified to be elected as a member of the Assembly if, and shall not be so qualified unless, he
> ...
>
> (d) is able to speak and, unless incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, to read the English language with a degree of proficiency sufficient to enable him to take an active part in the proceedings of the Assembly.
>
> ...
>
> Section 49. Official language
>
> The official language of the Assembly shall be English but any member may address the chair in French.

It is true that Section 49 refers specifically to the legislature, and not to the state apparatus in its entirety. However, similar provisions exist in other constitutions of former British African colonies, such as Article 55 of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria, which stipulates that the 'business of the National Assembly' shall be conducted in English, and Article 53(1) of Kenya's 1979 constitution, which declares Swahili and English the official languages of parliament. Clauses thus worded are commonly interpreted as establishing the official languages of the state as a whole. In each case, constitutional text combined with broader historical context has sufficed to confer statutory national status.

Mauritius, formerly uninhabited, was colonised first by the French from 1767 to 1810 and subsequently by the British. Under both regimes, it operated as a plantation economy, reliant first on enslaved Africans and later on indentured labourers from the Indian subcontinent, with a smaller influx of Chinese workers. Out of this ethnolinguistically diverse society emerged Mauritian Creole (Kreol), which gradually established itself as the dominant medium of everyday intergroup communication. Miles (2000: 217) describes this emergent system as 'a four-part harmony of Mauritian languages: Kreol as the uncontested *lingua franca*; French as the inherited language of social and cultural prestige; English as the language of education, law, public administration, and to a certain degree commerce; and the panoply of Indian and Asian tongues.'

These functional distinctions remain visible in the institutional configuration of the state. Legislation enacted prior to 1814 remains in French, while laws enacted thereafter are drafted in English. Mauritian Creole, although widely spoken, is rarely used in writing within the legislature, judiciary, or civil service. Nonetheless, civil servants routinely employ Creole orally alongside French in public-facing roles. In education, English becomes the medium of instruction from the fifth year onward. Meanwhile, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes a tripartite division in public advertising: French dominates overall, especially in domains of culture, religion, luxury consumerism, and entertainment; Creole is used for political discourse, basic goods, and public health messaging; English, used less frequently, appears primarily in high-tech advertising, nightlife, and tourism.

Successive governments have largely abstained from direct intervention in language policy. Despite Mauritian Creole's function as a *lingua franca*, it is almost entirely absent from legal texts. As *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* summarises: 'Mauritian Creole is the language understood by almost the entire population; English is the official written language of legislation, justice, administration and secondary and higher education; French is the official oral language and a prestigious language in formal communications and the majority language in all media. In fact, fifty-five years after independence, French still predominates in the daily life of the islanders.'

On the basis of this enduring sociolinguistic configuration, I code English as the statutory national language throughout the period from 1968 to 2014. I code French as the *de facto* national working language and Mauritian Creole is the *de facto* language of national identity for the same period, according with the classification offered in the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Mauritius*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MU/` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Île Maurice*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/maurice.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] William F. S. Miles. 'The Politics of Language Equilibrium in a Multilingual Society: Mauritius'. In: *Comparative Politics* 32.2 (2000). Publisher: Comparative Politics, Ph.D. Programs in Political Science, City University of New York, pp. 215–230. ISSN: 0010-4159. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/422398 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[4] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[5] *The Constitution of 1968, Mauritius*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, MU009. 1968. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/legislation/details/7253 (visited on 10/03/2025).

591: Seychelles

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1976-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1976-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1976-1978	X	D: *De facto* national
	1979-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Seychellois Creole	1976-1978	N	D: *De facto* national
	1979-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English, French, and Seychellois Creole as the three principal languages and the statutory national languages of the Seychelles. For English, this classification is anchored in Article 4(1) of the 1993 Constitution, a citation corroborated by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. For French and Creole, the Ethnologue similarly refers to Article 4(1) of the 2003 consolidated version of the Constitution. However, both sources overlook the earliest constitutional linguistic provision, Article 82 of the 1976 Independence Constitution,

> 82. Language [1976]
>
> The official language of the National Assembly shall be English but a member of the National Assembly may address the chair in French or in Creole.

As in the cases of Mauritius and Kenya, the status of English as the 'official language of the National Assembly'does not extend to the state apparatus as a whole *per se*. Nevertheless, as it stood as the only language recognised as 'official' in any constitutional capacity at the point of independence, 'English was thus the main language of administration, and the economy' (Bollée 1993: 86). French, by contrast, remained primarily the language of the white bourgeoisie and the Catholic Church, to which 90 percent of the population belonged. Seychellois Creole, spoken by 97.4 percent of the population according to the 1971 census, was confined largely to the domestic sphere.

This sociolinguistic configuration was disrupted following the 1977 coup d'état. A new constitution was promulgated in 1979, establishing Creole, French, and English as co-equal national languages of the state.

> 4. National languages of Seychelles [1979]
>
> The national languages of Seychelles are English, French, and Creole, but the President may, by regulations made under this section, prescribe the occasions when one, or more than one, of those languages

> shall be used and, if he does so, the other languages, or language, shall not be used on the prescribed occasions.

This marked a significant reorientation in language policy. Seychellois Creole was elevated from the status of informal vernacular to a fully recognised national language. In 1981, it was further designated as the 'national language' in a symbolic sense, and a formal orthography was devised. For the first time, Creole became the medium of instruction in the early years of primary education. This made it one of only two creole languages worldwide alongside Haitian Creole to be constitutionally recognised as an official language of state.

Despite its elevation, Seychellois Creole is often perceived as a debased form of French, a common attitude toward creole languages with European lexifiers. Nonetheless, Creole has become a powerful symbol of cultural pride. The 1993 constitution reaffirming the trilingual regime listed Seychellois Creole first, followed by English and French. The current Rules of Procedure of the National Assembly designate Creole as the principal language of debate, while permitting the use of English and French. In the judiciary, English retains its position as the language of official record, though Creole and French are permissible in certain contexts. In administration, documents are typically issued in English, occasionally translated into French, and rarely into Creole. English and French continue to dominate the written media landscape.

According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, the government has generally sought to promote English, both for functional reasons and to reduce dependence on French. At the same time, it has supported Seychellois Creole as a symbolic assertion of national identity.

These historical and institutional developments inform the following classification. I code English as a statutory national language for the entire period from 1976 to 2014. French and Seychellois Creole are coded as *de facto* national languages from 1976 to 1978, and as statutory national languages from 1979 to 2014, reflecting their formal recognition in the 1979 and 1993 constitutions. This scheme aligns with the current Ethnologue designation and captures the evolution of language policy in Seychelles with greater historical precision.

References

[1] Annegret Bollée. 'Language Policy in the Seychelles and Its Consequences'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1993.102 (1993). ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1993.102.85/html (visited on 10/03/2025).

[2] Griffin Cahill. 'Nation-Building and State Support for Creole Languages: The Cases of Haiti and the Seychelles'. In: *Working papers in Applied Linguistics and Linguistics at York* 2 (2022), pp. 21–28. ISSN: 2564-2855. URL: https://wally.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/default/article/view/16 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of the Republic of Seychelles Decree, 1979*. Supplement to the Official Gazette. Stanford University Libraries, JQ3185 .A3 1979 A5. Victoria: Government of Seychelles, 1979. 75-139. URL: https://searchworks.stanford.edu/view/1866521 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[4] *Seychelles*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SC/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Les Seychelles*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/seychel.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Les Seychelles | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/seychelles-lois_div.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] *S.I. 1976/894. The Seychelles Independence Order 1976*. 1976. URL: http://citizenshiprightsafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/Seychelles-Independence-Constitution-1976.pdf (visited on 10/03/2025).

[8] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

600: Morocco

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1956-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Amazigh	1956-2000	N	-: Other notable usage
	2001-2010	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	2011-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Arabic	1956-1961	X	D: *De facto* national
	1962-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1956-1961	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1962-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard and Moroccan Arabic)[22] and Amazigh as the two principal languages and statutory national languages of Morocco, citing Article 5 of the 2011 constitution. However, this interpretation overlooks a succession of earlier constitutional preambles, specifically those of 1962, 1970, 1972, 1992, and 1996, that each assert the official status of Arabic as a defining characteristic of the state.

> Préambule [1962, 1970, 1972, 1992, 1996]
>
> Le Royaume du Maroc, État musulman souverain, dont la langue officielle est l'arabe, constitue une partie du Grand Maghreb.
> ...

No other language is accorded statutory or constitutional status in these foundational texts. Following independence in 1956, Morocco launched an ambitious Arabisation programme aimed at displacing French, the former language of colonial governance, in all domains of public life. Arabisation was pursued not merely as a linguistic policy but as an emblem of cultural sovereignty, alongside political autonomy and economic self-sufficiency. By the end of the 1980s, most sectors of administration and education had been Arabised (Marley 2004). Arabic is today the primary language of instruction through secondary school, although French continues to be used in some technical subjects.

The Arabisation campaign was not without difficulties. Hampered by a lack of qualified personnel, it was widely criticised for its precipitous pace and its adverse effect on educational outcomes. Higher education, in particular, remains heavily reliant on French, despite Decree No. 2-78-452 of 1978, which prescribes Arabic as

[22] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

the language of university instruction, while permitting French as a 'transitional measure.' In the spheres of commerce and professional life, French continues to dominate. This persistence is attributable in part to Morocco's close economic ties with France and a broader regional pattern of French usage in North Africa. By the late 1970s, the rigid Arabisation policies of the immediate post-independence period had begun to soften, and a practical consensus favouring Arabic–French bilingualism emerged (Ennaji 1988).

In this light, it is striking that the Ethnologue fails to recognise French as having institutional status, designating it merely as a language of wider communication. This omission has been consistent across editions, including the 1996 edition, which, though not tracking institutional status, nevertheless excluded French altogether from its listing for Morocco.

Accordingly, I code French as a *de facto* national working language from 1956 to 1961, capturing its functional predominance during the transitional period after independence. From 1962 to 2014, I employ a placeholder code that preserves consistency with the Ethnologue's classification. Arabic is coded as a *de facto* national language from 1956 to 1961 and as a statutory national language from 1962 onward. This reflects both the Arabisation policies undertaken by the Moroccan state, the succession of declarative constitutional preambles dating back to 1962, and Article 5 of the 2011 constitution.

Finally, I consider the case of Amazigh. Although Berbers comprise an estimated 40 percent of the population, the Arabisation policies of the post-independence period systematically marginalised Amazigh from public life. The Berber-speaking population, concentrated in the mountainous and inland regions of the country, long campaigned for linguistic and cultural recognition. However, it was only after the death of King Hassan II in 1999 that substantive policy change occurred. In 2001, King Mohammed VI established the Royal Institute of Amazigh Culture (IRCAM), signalling a renewed commitment to linguistic pluralism. Amazigh-language instruction was introduced into the public education system in 2003.

The 2011 constitution marked a turning point by elevating Amazigh to the status of an official language of the state, alongside Arabic:

> Article 5. [2011]
>
> 1) L'arabe demeure la langue officielle de l'État. L'État œuvre à la protection et au développement de la langue arabe, ainsi qu'à la promotion de son utilisation. De même, l'amazighe constitue une langue officielle de l'État, en tant que patrimoine commun à tous les Marocains sans exception.
>
> ...

On this basis, I employ a placeholder code for Amazigh from 1956 to 2000 to reflect its effective exclusion from state recognition. From 2001 to 2010, I code it as a *de facto* language of national identity, acknowledging the symbolic and pedagogical reforms initiated during this period. From 2011 to 2014, I code Amazigh as a

statutory national language, in line with the provisions of the 2011 constitution and the classification adopted by both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Ali Alalou. 'Language Policy During Both Colonial and Post-colonial Eras in Morocco: Aspects of a Double Marginalization of Imazighen'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 527–551. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[2] *Morocco*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MA/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] Moha Ennaji. 'Language Contact, Arabization Policy and Education in Morocco'. In: *Language Contact and Language Conflict in Arabic*. Num Pages: 19. Routledge, 2002, pp. 70–88. ISBN: 978-0-203-03721-8.

[4] Moha Ennaji. 'Language Planning in Morocco and Changes in Arabic'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1988.74 (1988), pp. 9–40. ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1988.74.9/html (visited on 11/03/2025).

[5] Mohammed Errihani. 'Language policy in Morocco: Problems and prospects of teaching Tamazight'. In: *The Journal of North African Studies* 11.2 (2006), pp. 143–154. ISSN: 1362-9387, 1743-9345. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13629380600704803 (visited on 11/03/2025).

[6] *Morocco*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by Barbara F. Grimes. 13th edition (online). Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics, 1996. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/13/countries/Moro.html (visited on 11/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Maroc | (1) Situation démolinguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/maroc-1demo.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Maroc | (2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/maroc-2Histoire.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Maroc | (3) La politique d'arabisation*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/maroc-3Politique_arabe.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Maroc / (4) La politique linguistique à l'égard des berbérophones*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/maroc-4Berberes_ling.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Maroc / Constitution de 2011*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/maroc-cnst-2011.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc. *Maroc / Dahir n° 1-01-299 portant création de l'Institut royal de la culture amazighe (IRCAM) 2001*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/maroc-dahir2001.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[13] *Morocco*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/MA/status/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[14] Dawn Marley. 'Language Attitudes in Morocco Following Recent Changes in Language Policy'. In: *Language Policy* 3.1 (2004), pp. 25–46. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1023/B:LPOL.0000017724.16833.66 (visited on 11/03/2025).

[15] *Maroc. Constitution du 13 septembre 1996*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1996. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ma1996.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[16] *Maroc. Constitution du 15 mars 1972*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1972. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ma1972.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[17] *Maroc. Constitution du 1er juillet 2011*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2011. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ma2011.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[18] *Maroc. Constitution du 24 juillet 1970*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1970. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ma1970.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[19] *Maroc. Constitution du 4 septembre 1992*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1992. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ma1992.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[20] *Maroc. Constitution du 7 décembre 1962*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1962.

URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ma1962.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[21] Craig A. Sirles. 'Politics and Arabization: The Evolution of Postindependence North Africa'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 137.1 (1999), pp. 115–129. ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1999.137.115/html (visited on 11/03/2025).

[22] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

[23] Abderrahman Zouhir. 'Language Policy and State in Morocco: The Status of Berber'. In: *Digest of Middle East Studies* 23.1 (2014), pp. 37–53. ISSN: 1060-4367, 1949-3606. URL: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/dome.12039 (visited on 11/03/2025).

615: Algeria

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1962-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1962	X	D: *De facto* national
	1963-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1962-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Kabyle	1962-1994	N	-: Other notable usage
	1995-2001	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	2002-2014	N	C: Statutory national (identity)

Coding Rationale

Though the 2024 edition of the Ethnologue lists only Arabic and Kabyle as the primary languages of Algeria, the 2014 edition recognises Arabic (Standard Arabic and Algerian Arabic),[23] Kabyle, and French. In the latter edition, French is classified as a *de facto* national working language used for wider communication, whereas the most recent edition attributes to it no institutional status. I follow the 2014 edition, as its classification better corresponds to the information contained in the sources consulted.

Whilst the Ethnologue cites Article 3 of the 1996 constitution as the basis for Arabic's statutory status, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes that this provision was already present in Algeria's inaugural constitution of 1963. Examination of the original text reveals additional clauses that articulate a relatively coherent post-colonial linguistic policy in a nation emerging from a brutal war of liberation from France, which had governed Algeria as an integral part of its national territory since the nineteenth century.

Préambule. [1963]

> ...
>
> L'Islam et la langue arabe ont été des forces de résistance efficaces contre la tentative de dépersonnalisation des Algériens menée par le régime colonial.
>
> L'Algérie se doit d'affirmer que la langue arabe est la langue nationale et officielle et qu'elle tient sa force spirituelle essentielle de l'Islam ; toutefois, la République garantit à chacun le respect de ses opinions, de ses croyances et le libre exercice des cultes.
>
> ...

[23] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

> Article 5
>
> La langue arabe est la langue nationale et officielle de l'État.
>
> ...
>
> Article 76.
>
> La réalisation effective de l'arabisation doit avoir lieu dans les meilleurs délais sur le territoire de la République. Toutefois, par dérogation aux dispositions de la présente loi, la langue française pourra être utilisée provisoirement avec la langue arabe.

Three points are worth underscoring. First, Article 5 unambiguously declares Arabic as both the national and official language. Second, the preamble grounds this designation in the language's role in resisting colonial depersonalisation, alongside the Islamic faith. Third, Article 76 pragmatically acknowledges the need for a transitional phase in which French may continue to be used, highlighting the gap between constitutional ideals and administrative reality.

Algeria pursued Arabisation more vigorously than Morocco or Tunisia. Following the 1965 coup, Colonel Houari Boumediene accelerated Arabisation across numerous domains, including education, in parallel with ideological commitments to Islamism and pan-Arabism. The succession of Chadli Bendjedid in 1979 extended Arabisation to the judiciary and university instruction in the humanities and social sciences, and the Permanent Commission for Arabisation was established in 1980. Significantly, the transitional provision allowing for the use of French was dropped in the 1976 constitution:

> Article 3. [1976]
>
> L'Arabe est la langue nationale et officielle. L'État oeuvre à généraliser l'utilisation de la langue nationale au plan officiel.

The pace of Arabisation continued into the 1990s. Act No. 91-05 of 16 January 1991 required the exclusive use of Arabic in education and administration. It also imposed restrictions on the import of foreign-language materials. Nevertheless, the chaotic political climate following the fall of Bendjedid in 1991 delayed the implementation of these measures. Over the next decade, Algeria underwent a turbulent succession of presidents until the election of Abdelaziz Bouteflika in 1999. Bouteflika's tenure marked a subtle shift: unlike his predecessors, he acknowledged Algeria's linguistic complexity. He gave public speeches in both Arabic and French, drawing criticism from Arabisation hardliners. Benrabah (2005: 381-4) interprets this as a tacit concession of the failure of full Arabisation and an implicit endorsement of the functional utility of French for Algeria's integration into the global economy.

Despite a raft of laws prescribing Arabic as the sole language of the state, and despite Algeria's refusal to join the International Organisation of *la Francophonie*, French remains omnipresent in Algerian life. As summarised by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*: 'all laws are translated into French; it is known to

all that most of the work in public administration structures is carried out in French; university education is largely provided in French, especially for medical and technical disciplines. The French language remains in Algeria a vehicle for the transmission of knowledge and continues to shape the collective imagination. French is also a means of cultural enrichment that conveys a certain idea of prestige.'

On this basis, I code French as a *de facto* national working language for the entire period from 1962 to 2014. This reflects the pragmatic and persistent use of French in the public and private sectors, in accordance with the classification adopted by the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue. I code Arabic as a *de facto* national language for 1962 and as a statutory national language from 1963 to 2014, in line with successive constitutions and legal frameworks mandating Arabisation.

Lastly, I examine the status of Kabyle. The 2014 edition of the Ethnologue designates it as a statutory language of national identity based on Law No. 02-03 of 2002, which amended the 1996 constitution to include Tamazight (Kabyle) as a national language:[24]

> Article 1er [2002] Il est ajouté un article 3 bis ainsi conçu :
>
> «Art. 3 bis.
>
> — Le tamazight est également langue nationale.
>
> — L'État œuvre à sa promotion et à son développement dans toutes ses variétés linguistiques en usage sur le territoire national.»

As in Morocco, Arabisation policies in Algeria marginalised the Berber minority. Kabyle, the most widely spoken Amazigh language in Algeria, was systematically excluded from public life. Legalisation of Berber cultural associations did not occur until the late 1980s. In response to the 1991 Arabisation law, Berber communities initiated mass protests, including the 'school year boycott' of 1994. Government reaction came in 1995 with Presidential Decree No. 95-147, which established a High Commission for the Promotion of Berber Culture and the Kabyle language. That same year, instruction in Kabyle was finally permitted, reversing a long-standing prohibition.

Following the 2002 constitutional amendment, additional reforms in 2003 and 2008 introduced Kabyle as an optional subject in schools. A further amendment in 2016 elevated it to the status of an official language. However, these reforms have remained largely symbolic. Kabyle continues to occupy a marginal position in national life, and official support has often failed to materialise in practice.

Accordingly, I employ a placeholder code for Kabyle from 1962 to 1994 to reflect its marginalisation during the early post-independence period. From 1995 to 2001, I code it as a *de facto* language of national identity, acknowledging increasing governmental recognition. From 2002 to 2014, I code it as a statutory language

[24]This reform did not impinge on Arabic's privileged position: Article 178 of the same constitution forbids any amendment that would alter its status.

of national identity in light of the 2002 constitutional amendment. This coding accords with the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Algérie. Constitution du 10 septembre 1963*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1963. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/dz1963.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[2] *Algérie. Constitution du 22 novembre 1976*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1976. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/dz1976.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[3] *Algérie. Constitution du 23 février 1989*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1989. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/dz1989.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[4] *Algérie. Constitution du 28 novembre 1996*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1996. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/dz1996.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[5] Mohamed Benrabah. 'The Language Planning Situation in Algeria'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 6.4 (2005), pp. 379–502. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664208.2005.10807312 (visited on 11/03/2025).

[6] *Algeria*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/DZ/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Souheila Hedid. 'Linguistic Policies in Algeria: Historical Landmarks and Sociolinguistic Implications'. In: *The Palgrave Handbook of Language Policies in Africa*. Ed. by Esther Mukewa Lisanza and Leonard Muaka. Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2024, pp. 553–573. ISBN: 978-3-031-57307-1 978-3-031-57308-8. URL: https://link.springer.com/10.1007/978-3-031-57308-8 (visited on 05/03/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Algérie | (1) Situation géographique et démolinguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie-1demo.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Algérie | (2) Données historiques et conséquences linguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https:

//www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie-2Histoire.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Algérie | (3) La politique linguistique d'arabisation*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie-3Politique_ling.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Algérie | (4) Les droits linguistiques des berbérophones*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie-4Berberes_ling.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Algérie | Décret présidentiel n° 95-147 du 27 Dhou El Hidja 1415 correspondant au 27 mai 1995, portant création du Haut Commissariat chargé de la réhabilitation de l'amazighité et de la promotion de la langue amazighe*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie_decret-95-147-1995.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[13] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Algérie | Loi n° 02-03 du 27 Moharram 1423 correspondant au 10 avril 2002 portant révision constitutionnelle*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/algerie_loi-02-03-2002.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[14] *Algeria*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/DZ/status/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[15] Craig A. Sirles. 'Politics and Arabization: The Evolution of Postindependence North Africa'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 137.1 (1999), pp. 115–129. ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1999.137.115/html (visited on 11/03/2025).

[16] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Policy in French Colonies and After Independence'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 19.3 (2018), pp. 231–315. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/14664208.2018.1444948 (visited on 10/03/2025).

616: Tunisia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1956-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1956-1958	X	D: *De facto* national
	1959-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1956-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

Both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue identify Arabic (Standard Arabic and Tunisian Arabic)[25] as the principal language and the statutory national language of Tunisia, citing Article 1 of the 1959 constitution. This foundational legal text, promulgated after Tunisia's independence, unequivocally designates Arabic as the language of the Republic.

> Article premier. [1959]
>
> La Tunisie est un État libre, indépendant et souverain ; sa religion est l'Islam, sa langue l'arabe et son régime la république.

Sirles (1999: 121) observes that 'Arabization was never the politically charged issue in Tunisia that it was in Algeria,' and indeed, the process advanced at a markedly more cautious pace. The political leadership in Tunis, wary of ceding cultural authority to Islamist or pan-Arabist ideologies outside of their control, married Arabisation to 'Tunisianisation' under the stewardship of the liberal *Destour* party. Daoud (1991, 2001, 2011) contends that although the education system was fully Arabised by the close of the 1990s, the process was dogged by administrative inefficiency and inconsistent planning, undermining its intended effects.

The 2014 edition of the reports French as being in 'dispersed' use without institutional status, relying on a 1993 estimate of merely 11,000 French speakers. This estimate, however, stands in stark contradiction to robust national data. According to the 2014 Tunisian census, 5,729,600 individuals aged ten and above (roughly 78 percent of the population) were literate in both Arabic and French (*Statistiques Tunisie* 2017: 15). Further, historical census data demonstrates that since 1975, monolingual Arabic literacy has never exceeded 23 percent, while bilingual Arabic-French literacy has consistently hovered around 75 percent. Between 1994 and 2014, the share of literate Tunisians trilingual in Arabic, French, and English more than doubled.

[25] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

Table III.6: Literate population over 10 years of age by written and spoken languages, 1975–2014 (*Statistiques Tunisie* 2017: 17)

Spoken and written languages	1975	1984	1994	2014
Arabic	10.6	22.3	20.1	21.1
Arabic + French	80.5	67.8	63.8	44.4
Arabic + French + English	7.5	8.2	15.0	30.9
Other	1.4	1.7	1.1	3.6

Scholarly consensus aligns with these statistics. Sirles (1999: 122) remarks: 'Competence in French continues to be a source of social privilege, and no group or party has stepped forward to challenge this situation.' Drawing from ethnographic observation, Daoud (2001: 9) noted that 'French is so rooted in the socioeconomic fabric of Tunisia that it is considered necessary for having the simplest office job or running a neighbourhood grocery store.' By 2011, Daoud concluded that ' [Standard] Arabic seems to be losing ground not only to French and English, given their privileged ancillary role, but also to [Tunisian Spoken Arabic]. It is no wonder that the supporters of [Standard] Arabic feel slighted' (Daoud 2011: 27).

Further evidence of French's institutional weight includes Tunisia's long-standing participation in the International Organisation of *la Francophonie*, in contrast to Algeria's resolute abstention. Tunisia's reformist Arabisation policy has been modest in scope and pace, which reinforces the continued centrality of French, particularly in the domains of science, administration, and commerce. The 2014 edition of the Ethnologue ultimately designates French a *de facto* national working language.

Given this overwhelming array of statistical, scholarly, and institutional evidence, I reject the classification of French as lacking institutional status. Instead, I code French as a *de facto* national working language for the entire period from 1956 to 2014. I further code Arabic as a *de facto* national language from 1956 from 1958, and from 1959 to 2014 as a statutory national language, consistent with the constitutional declaration and the ongoing, if uneven, Arabisation programme.

References

[1] Mohamed Daoud. 'Arabization in Tunisia: The Tug of War'. In: *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 2.1 (1991), pp. 7–29. ISSN: 1050-4273. URL: `https://escholarship.org/uc/item/3v1089k4` (visited on 11/03/2025).

[2] Mohamed Daoud. 'The Language Situation in Tunisia'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 2.1 (2001), pp. 1–52. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: `http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200108668018` (visited on 11/03/2025).

[3] Mohamed Daoud. 'The Sociolinguistic Situation in Tunisia: Language Rivalry or Accommodation?' In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*

2011.211 (2011). ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.2011.036/html (visited on 11/03/2025).

[4] *Tunisia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TN/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Tunisie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/tunisie.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Tunisie | Constitution du 26 janvier 2014 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/tunisie-const2014.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] *Tunisia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/TN/status/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Craig A. Sirles. 'Politics and Arabization: The Evolution of Postindependence North Africa'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 137.1 (1999), pp. 115–129. ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1999.137.115/html (visited on 11/03/2025).

[9] Statistiques Tunisie. *Recensement Général de la Population et de l'Habitat 2014: Volume 4*. 1st ed. Vol. 4. 9 vols. Tunis: Statistiques Tunisie, 2017. URL: https://www.ins.tn/publication/recensement-general-de-la-population-et-de-lhabitat-2014-volume-4.

[10] *Tunisie. Constitution du 1er juin 1959*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1959. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/tn1959i.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[11] *Tunisie. Conventions générales entre la France et la Tunisie*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1955. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/tn1956.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[12] Keith Walters. 'Fergie's Prescience: The Changing Nature of Diglossia in Tunisia'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 2003.163 (2003), pp. 77–109. ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.2003.048/html (visited on 11/03/2025).

620: Libya

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1951-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1951-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Italian	1951-1969	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard Arabic and Libyan Arabic)[26] as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Libya based on the 2011 constitution. This, however, overlooks Article 186 of the 1951 constitution, which with the subsequent article concerning foreign language use, merits reproduction here in unofficial English translation:

> Article 186. Arabic is the official language of the State.
>
> Article 187. Federal law shall determine the exceptional cases in which a foreign language may be used in official relations.

Libya's colonial history begins with the Italian occupation in 1911. After a period of brutal ethnic cleansing, Italy ruled Libya as a unified colony from 1934 to 1943, during which settler colonialism was encouraged and Italian was imposed in an attempt to assimilate the remaining population. From 1943, Libya was administered by France and Britain until 1951, whereupon it gained independence as a federated kingdom uniting the three historical regions of Tripolitania, Cyrenaica, and Fezzan. The short-lived federal arrangements were formally dismantled in the late 1950s to facilitate the centralised management of the country's emergent oil economy.

In 1969, Muammar Gaddafi overthrew the monarchy in a bloodless coup and launched an uncompromising and wholesale Arabisation policy, which began by systematically eradicating the public presence of non-Arabic languages. By 1970, Gaddafi had expelled the remaining 25,000 Italians, and all Italian signage was removed. The Arabisation campaign was inextricable from Libya's self-conception as a pan-Arab and anti-imperialist vanguard. In keeping with this ideology, Berber identity and language were not merely neglected but actively suppressed. A 1995 government circular expressly forbade the use of any language other than Arabic in local administrative functions.

Libya thus presents a unique case within the Maghreb, distinguished by the unambiguous dominance of a single language. Unlike Algeria and Tunisia, where bilingualism or multilingualism persisted despite policy attempts to the contrary,

[26] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

Libya's linguistic regime was one of categorical unilingualism. The internal diglossia between Libyan Arabic and Standard Arabic, though linguistically salient, is immaterial for the present purpose, as both varieties fall under the classification 'Arabic.' In both written and spoken domains of public and private life, Arabic is the exclusive medium.

Although Gaddafi's rule ended in 2011, the final three years of the coding period were insufficient to generate meaningful linguistic reform. In the absence of institutional change, the *status quo ante* persisted through 2014. Accordingly, I code Arabic as a statutory national language for the entire period from 1951 to 2014. For the sake of completeness and historical continuity, I assign a placeholder code to Italian from 1951 to 1969, which I terminate following the mass expulsion of the Italian population in 1970.

References

[1] Anna Baldinetti. 'Languages in Libya: Building Blocks of National Identity and Soft Power Tools'. In: *The Journal of North African Studies* 23.3 (2018), pp. 418–439. ISSN: 1362-9387, 1743-9345. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13629387.2017.1391947 (visited on 11/03/2025).

[2] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Libyan Arab Republic'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 425–432. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s008.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[3] *Libya*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LY/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | L: Laos, Lesotho, Lettonie, Liban, Liberia, Libye, Liechtenstein, Lituanie, Luxembourg*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-L.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Libye*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/libye.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] *Libye. Constitution du Royaume de Libye (version amendée en 1963)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1963. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ly1963.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] *Libye. Constitution du Royaume-Uni de Libye (7 octobre 1951)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1951. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ly1951.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[8] *Libye. Proclamation constitutionnelle de 1969 (11 décembre 1969)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1969. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/ly1951.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[9] Mattia Toaldo. 'The Italo-Libyan Relationship between 1969 and 1976'. In: *Libyan Studies* 44 (2013), pp. 85–94. ISSN: 0263-7189, 2052-6148. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/S0263718900009675/type/journal_article (visited on 11/03/2025).

625: Sudan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1956-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1956-1971	X	D: *De facto* national
	1972-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1956-1971	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1972-2004	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	2005-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Arabic (Standard Arabic) as the two principal languages and the statutory national working languages of Sudan, citing Article 8(3) of the Interim Constitution of 2005. Sudanese Arabic, used exclusively in spoken domains, is classified as the *de facto* language of national identity within the typical diglossic arrangement of the Arabic-speaking world. For the purposes of classification here, I combine the administrative and symbolic functions of both Standard Arabic and Sudanese Arabic under the single heading 'Arabic' and consider it a statutory national language.

The earliest linguistic provision in Sudanese legal instruments appears in Article 48 of the 1953 Statute on Self-Government for the Sudan:

> 48. Language of Parliament [1953, repealed in 1956]
>
> Subject to the provisions of their respective Standing Orders, proceedings in each House shall be conducted in the Arabic language, but without prejudice to such use of the English language as may be convenient.

Though framed in permissive terms and never using the designation 'official,' this provision recognises Arabic as the primary language of the legislature, with English as a supplementary medium. The statute was repealed in 1956, and its replacement, the 1956 Transitional Constitution, contains no provision concerning language.

During the colonial era, Sudan was governed by English-speaking institutions, particularly under the Anglo-Egyptian condominium in which Egypt played a minimal role. Yet this model of governance permitted the persistence of Arabic and Islam in much of Northern Sudan. Long-standing historical ties to Ottoman Egypt and centuries of Arabisation reinforced the position of Arabic in the North.

Following independence in 1956, the politically dominant and culturally Arabised Northern elite pursued Arabisation and Islamisation nationwide. The Christian and non-Arab Southern population resisted these policies and advocated for a

federal and multilingual Sudan. Under the military regime of General Ibrahim Abboud (1958-64), Arabisation intensified and Arabic replaced English in education, provoking deep resentment and armed conflict in the South. A 1969 coup reversed the trajectory towards Islamisation, and paved the way for a peace process culminating in the 1972 Addis Ababa Agreement. This agreement established a Southern Autonomous Region with the power to determine its own language policy:

> Article 6. [1972]
>
> Arabic shall be official language for the Sudan and English the main language for the Southern Region without prejudice to the use of any language or languages, which may serve a practical necessity for the efficient and expeditious discharge of executive and administrative functions of the Region.

This article marks a pivotal moment in which Arabic received statutory national recognition, while English acquired a statutory provincial status in the Southern Region. This arrangement was reaffirmed in the 1973 Constitution of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, where Article 38 stipulates: 'The Arabic language shall be the official language of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan,' and Article 189 specifies Arabic for parliamentary proceedings with allowances for other languages subject to internal approval.

Subsequent constitutions preserved and expanded these provisions under federalism, which saw successful Arabisation in the North and particularly in Khartoum. Under Omar al-Bashir, who came to power in 1989, the 1998 Constitution reasserted Arabic's status in Article 3: 'Arabic is the Official language in the Republic of Sudan.' This was received unenthusiastically in the South, where English persisted as the primary vehicular language and remained institutionally embedded since the 1970s, even in the face of legal parity granted to Arabic. The culmination of these developments appears in the 2005 Transitional Constitution, adopted in the aftermath of the Nairobi Agreements and in preparation for Southern autonomy:

> Section 8. Language. [2005]
>
> 1) All indigenous languages of the Sudan are national languages and shall be respected, developed and promoted.
> 2) Arabic is a widely spoken national language in the Sudan.
> 3) Arabic, as a major language at the national level and English shall be the official working languages of the national government and the languages of instruction for higher education.
> 4) In addition to Arabic and English, the legislature of any subnational level of government may adopt any other national language as an additional official working language at its level.
> 5) There shall be no discrimination against the use of either Arabic or English at any level of government or stage of education.

Despite the secession of South Sudan in 2011, this provision remains legally binding

through the end of the coding period in 2014. It forms the foundation of the Ethnologue's identification of both English and Arabic as statutory national working languages.

Accordingly, I code English as a *de facto* provincial language of identity from 1956 to 1971, reflecting its marginalisation during this period despite its continued informal use in the South. From 1972 to 2004, English is a statutory provincial language on the basis of the Addis Ababa Agreement and the resulting autonomy under federalism. From 2005 to 2014, English attains statutory national working status under Article 8 of the 2005 Transitional Constitution.

I code Arabic as a *de facto* national language from 1956 to 1971, in the absence of a formal constitutional designation for its dominance of the Northern-based state apparatus. From 1972 to 2014, I classify it as a statutory national language, legislatively affirmed successively by the Addis Ababa Agreement, the 1973 constitution, the 1998 constitution, and the 2005 Transitional Constitution.

References

[1] Ashraf Kamal Abdelhay, Busi Makoni and Sinfree Bullock Makoni. 'The Naivasha Language Policy: The Language of Politics and the Politics of Language in the Sudan'. In: *Language Policy* 10.1 (2011), pp. 1–18. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-011-9192-9 (visited on 11/03/2025).

[2] *Sudan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SD/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | S: Saint-Christophe-et-Niévès, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Marin, Saint-Vincent-et-les-Grenadines, Salomon, São-Tomé-et-Príncipe, Salvador, Samoa occidentales, Sénégal, Serbie, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Slovaquie, Slovénie, Somalie, Soudan, Soudan du Sud, Sri Lanka, Suède, Suisse, Surinam, Swaziland, Syrie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-S.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Soudan*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/soudan.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] *The Permanent Constitution of the Sudan*. Vol. 1. LLMC Digital. Khartoum: Democratic Republic of the Sudan, 1973. 1-40. URL: https://llmc-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/docDisplay5.aspx?set=68866&volume=0001&part=001.

[6] 'The transitional Constitution of Sudan (January 1, 1956)'. In: *Constitutional and Parliamentary Information*. 3rd Series (Seventh Year) 28. Nuffield College Library. Paris: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1956, pp. 220–246. (Visited on 12/03/2025).

[7] Eluzai M. Yokwe. 'Arabicization and Language Policy in the Sudan'. In: *Studies in the Linguistic Sciences* 14.2 (1984), pp. 149–170. URL: `https://www.ideals.illinois.edu/items/9359/bitstreams/34925/data.pdf#page=163` (visited on 10/03/2025).

626: South Sudan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 2011-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	2011-2014	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
English	2011-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)

Coding Rationale

Both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue identify English as the sole principal language and a statutory national working language of South Sudan, citing Article 6(2) of the Transitional Constitution of 2011. The relevant constitutional provision is reproduced below:

> 6. Language. [2011]
>
> (1) All indigenous languages of South Sudan are national languages and shall be respected, developed and promoted.
>
> (2) English shall be the official working language in the Republic of South Sudan, as well as the language of instruction at all levels of education.
>
> (3) The State shall promote the development of a sign language for the benefit of people with special needs.

This provision formally designates English as the official working language of South Sudan and the language of education, while recognising all indigenous languages as 'national languages' without granting them statutory administrative functions. Notably, the Transitional Constitution had not been translated into any indigenous language by the end of the coding period, underscoring the symbolic nature of their recognition.

During the colonial period, South Sudan was largely neglected by the British, who nonetheless imposed English as an official language partly to insulate the South from Northern Islamic and Arabic influence. However, the lack of educational infrastructure meant that neither English nor Arabic achieved mass literacy among the Southern population. In this vacuum, Juba Arabic, a pidginised variant of Sudanese Arabic, emerged as a spoken *lingua franca* and remained dominant in informal communication. Despite its broad usage, Juba Arabic was neither standardised nor granted official status.

Following the Addis Ababa Agreement of 1972, English once again became the primary administrative language of the Southern Region under federalism, even though Arabic maintained nominal official status. This arrangement persisted through the decades leading up to independence. After South Sudan seceded from

Sudan in 2011, English replaced Arabic as the designated language of instruction, administration, and governance, a shift motivated by both symbolic distancing from Khartoum and the practical legacy of English in the Southern elite's education and bureaucracy.

Despite the constitutional designation of English, Sudanese Arabic, particularly its pidginised form, Juba Arabic, continued to be widely spoken, especially following the mass return of South Sudanese displaced from the North after independence. Reflecting the rapidly-changing sociolinguistic reality at the time, the 2014 edition of the Ethnologue refrains from granting Sudanese Arabic any institutional role but identifies it as a widely used vernacular. The 2024 edition repeats this assessment, additionally classifying Sudanese Arabic as a *de facto* language of national identity.

Based on the above, I code English as a statutory national working language from 2011 to 2014, as stipulated in the Transitional Constitution. I also code Arabic as a *de facto* language of national identity over the same period, acknowledging its widespread oral use despite the absence of official recognition.

References

[1] *South Sudan.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SS/` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | S: Saint-Christophe-et-Niévès, Sainte-Lucie, Saint-Marin, Saint-Vincent-et-les-Grenadines, Salomon, São-Tomé-et-Príncipe, Salvador, Samoa occidentales, Sénégal, Serbie, Seychelles, Sierra Leone, Singapour, Slovaquie, Slovénie, Somalie, Soudan, Soudan du Sud, Sri Lanka, Suède, Suisse, Surinam, Swaziland, Syrie.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-S.htm` (visited on 15/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Soudan du Sud.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/soudan-Sud.htm` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] *South Sudan.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/SS/status/` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] *The Transitional Constitution of the Republic of South Sudan, 2011.* Publisher: Government of Southern Sudan. FAO Lex Database. 2011. URL: `https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/ssd127441.pdf` (visited on 12/03/2025).

630: Iran

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Kurdish	1945-2014	`X`	`L`: *De facto* provincial (working)
Persian	1945-1978	`N`	`D`: *De facto* national
	1979-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Persian (Iranian Persian) as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Iran, citing Article 15 of the 1979 constitution. The relevant provision reads:

> Article 15 [1979]
>
> Persian is the official and common language and script of the people of Iran. The documents, correspondence, official texts, and schoolbooks must all be in this language and script. However, use of regional and ethnic languages in the press, the mass media, and the teaching of their literature at schools, alongside the Persian language, is freely permitted.

As noted in *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, this article was slightly amended in the 1989 constitutional revisions, though its affirmation of Persian as the official language of state was left intact. The subsequent article in both versions grants Arabic a special status as the language of the Koran and mandates its instruction for religious purposes. Nevertheless, Ethnologue identifies Arabic merely as a 'recognised language' used for educational ends, without institutional status.

The linguistic landscape of modern Iran is marked by relative homogeneity. Persian, with its deep roots in the bureaucratic and literary traditions of the Iranian plateau, has long served as the principal medium of administration and elite culture. Following the ascension of Mohammed Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1925, an assertive state-building campaign ensued, premised upon centralisation, modernisation, and Persianisation. This process continued uninterrupted under his son, Mohammed Reza Shah, particularly in the post-war era, when the consolidation of national identity was pursued through linguistic standardisation, the suppression of minority languages, and the expansion of Persian-medium education.

Far from altering this trajectory, the Islamic Revolution of 1979 entrenched it further. The revolutionary state promoted a stringent vision of cultural unity, in which Persian became the sole language of government, education, media, and religious dissemination. English, previously studied as a foreign language, was sidelined following Iran's geopolitical realignment. The use of minority languages

remained confined to the private or semi-private sphere, despite the constitution's perfunctory gestures towards regional linguistic expression. Persian has effectively come to dominate all domains of public and institutional life.

Considering the above, I code Persian as a *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1978, and as a statutory national language from 1979 to 2014, reflecting the provision of Article 15 of the 1979 constitution and its later revisions.

The Ethnologue additionally identifies Kurdish (Central Kurdish) as a *de facto* provincial working language in the northwest. This assessment accords with the historical and political marginalisation of Iran's Kurdish population, who have persistently resisted assimilation into the Persian-speaking mainstream. In 1945, the Kurdish Republic of Mahabad was briefly established with Soviet support, only to be dismantled the following year under US pressure.

From 1981 onwards, Tehran launched military campaigns against Kurdish insurgents, and to this day, Kurdish remains excluded from public administration and education. Nonetheless, it continues to serve as a vernacular *lingua franca* in Kurdish-majority areas. In light of this enduring unofficial presence, I follow the Ethnologue and code Kurdish as a *de facto* provincial working language throughout the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran 1979*. Publisher: World Intellectual Property Organization. WIPO Lex Database, IR001. 1979. URL: https://www.wipo.int/wipolex/en/legislation/details/7697 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Iran*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/IR/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] A. Majid Hayati and Amir Mashhadi. 'Language Planning and Language-in-Education Policy in Iran'. In: *Language Problems and Language Planning* 34.1 (2010), pp. 24–42. ISSN: 0272-2690, 1569-9889. URL: http://www.jbe-platform.com/content/journals/10.1075/lplp.34.1.02hay (visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | Inde, Indonésie, Irak, Iran, Irlande, Islande, Israël, Italie*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-I.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Iran*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/iran.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] *Iran*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International,

2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/IR/status/ (visited on 12/03/2025).

[7] Abdolmehdi Riazi. '6. The Four Language Stages in the History of Iran'. In: *Decolonisation, Globalisation*. Ed. by Angel Lin and Peter Martin. Multilingual Matters, 2005, pp. 98–114. ISBN: 978-1-85359-826-5. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781853598265-008/html (visited on 12/03/2025).

640: Turkey

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Turkish	1945-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Turkish as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Turkey, citing Article 3 of the 1982 constitution. Yet the legal declaration of Turkish as the language of state predates the 1982 constitution, originating as early as Article 2 of the 1924 constitution, which reads:

> Madde 2 [1924]
>
> Türkiye Devleti Cumhuriyetçi, Milliyetçi, Halkçı, Devletçi Layk ve Devrimcidir. Devlet dili Türkçedir. Başkent Ankara 'dır.

This provision remained intact in the constitutional revisions of 1937 and found parallel expression in the 1961 and 1982 constitutions, thus confirming the long-standing and uninterrupted statutory status of Turkish as the sole language of state. Turkish, much like Persian, has a centuries-long administrative pedigree; its Ottoman variant was the written and bureaucratic medium of the empire, though rendered largely inaccessible to the masses by its dense borrowings from Arabic and Persian and its distinct script.

Following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Treaty of Lausanne both dismembered the imperial polity and paved the way for an aggressively homogenised successor republic. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's nation-building project was both secular and nationalist, and language reform constituted a cornerstone of this modernist vision. The so-called *Dil Devrimi*, or 'linguistic revolution,' reoriented the Turkish language toward an ethnically Turkic and linguistically purged idiom, stripped of Arabic elements and written in the Latin script. In both symbolic and practical terms, Turkish became a vessel for the modern, Western-facing Turkish identity promoted by the early republican elite.

This agenda was reinforced by both ethnic engineering and cultural repression. The population exchange with Greece and the marginalisation of the Armenians contributed to a narrowing of the country's ethnic composition. Kurdish uprisings were violently suppressed, with state discourse denying the very existence of Kurds as a distinct people. 'Law no. 2932 of 1983 on publications in languages other than Turkish' codified this erasure in statute. It not only banned the public use and dissemination of non-Turkish languages not officially recognised by the Turkish state, but went so far as to declare Turkish the exclusive mother tongue of all Turkish citizens.

Madde 2 [1983]

Düşüncelerin açiklanmasi ve yayilmasinda kullanilamayacak diller

1) Türk Devleti tarafından tanınmış bulunan devletlerin birinci resmî dilleri dışındaki herhangi bir dille düşüncelerin açıklanması, yayılması ve yayınlanması yasaktır.

2) Türkiye Devletinin taraf olduğu milletlerarası andlaşma hükümleriyle eğitim, öğretim, bilimsel araştırma ve kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının yayınlarına ilişkin mevzuat hükümleri saklıdır.

Madde 3. Türk vatandaşlarının anadili Türk Vatandaşlarının anadili Türkeedir.

a) Türkçeden başka dillerin anadili olarak kullanılmasına ve yayılmasına yönelik her türlü faaliyette bulunulması,

b) Toplantı ve gösteri yürüyüşlerinde, mahallin en büyük mülkî amirinden izin alınmadıkça bu Kanunla yasaklanmamış olsa bile Türkçeden başka dille yazılmış afiş, pankart, döviz, levha ve benzerlerinin taşınması, plak, ses ve görüntü bantları ve diğer anlatım araç ve gereçleriyle yayım yapılması,

Yasaktır.

[Article 2 [1983]

Languages that can be used to express and disseminate opinions

1) It is prohibited to broadcast and disclose opinions in a language other than the first official language of the States recognized by the Turkish State.

2) The provisions relating to international treaties to which Turkey is a party, education, teaching, scientific research and publications of public institutions are reserved.

Article 3: The mother tongue of Turkish citizens

The mother tongue of Turkish citizens is Turkish.

a) To use languages other than Turkish as a mother tongue and to engage in activities aimed at the dissemination of these languages,

b) To carry in meetings and events posters, signs, calicots, signs, etc., written in a language other than Turkish, even in languages not prohibited by this law, and to broadcast by records, sound and tape recordings and other devices and tools used to disseminate opinions in a language other than Turkish, without prior approval of the competent administrative authorities,

is forbidden.]

Though Law no. 2932 was repealed in 1991, the monolingual ethos of the Turkish Republic remains resilient. Turkish remains the sole language of Parliament, the judiciary, the administration, and all levels of public education. A 1983 law continues to forbid political parties from acknowledging linguistic minorities, thereby foreclosing any legal recognition of Kurdish or other minority languages in the public or political domain. While Kurdish persists as a vernacular among the sizeable Kurdish population, it has no formal recognition or institutional presence in education or governance.

In light of the constitutional entrenchment of Turkish from 1924 onward, and given its total institutional dominance and ideological centrality within the Turkish state, I code Turkish as a statutory national language for the full period from 1945 to 2014.

The Ethnologue does not identify Kurdish as possessing institutional status at any level within Turkey, whether provincial or national, in either its 2014 or 2024 editions. In light of this consistent assessment and the enduring repression of Kurdish language rights in Turkey, I do not code Kurdish for any period. This recognises the empirical absence of Kurdish from the domains of formal recognition or public function.

References

[1] '1924 ANAYASASI. Kanun No 4695. Kanun Tarihi 10/1/1945'. In: *Resmi Gazete 15/1/1945-5905*. Vol. T. Düstur Cilt 26. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. Ankara: The All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company, 1945, p. 170. URL: `https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1155` (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the Turkish Republic, Ankara*. Trans. by Sadik Balkan, Ahmet E. Uysal and Kemal H. Karpat. Publisher: Committee of National Unity. Archived by Kemal Gözler at Türk Anavasa Hukuku Sitesil [Website of Turkish Constitutional Law]. 1961. URL: `https://www.anayasa.gen.tr/1961constitution-text.pdf` (visited on 12/03/2025).

[3] *Turkey*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TR/` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Turquie / Constitution du 3 octobre 2001 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turtxconst.htm` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Turquie / La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN),

Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turquie_3politique_ling.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Turquie / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turquie-lois-diverses.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Turquie / Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turquie_1general.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Turquie / Histoire sociolinguistique de l'Empire ottoman et de la Turquie moderne*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turquie_2HISt.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

645: Iraq

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1945-1957	X	A: Statutory national
	1958-1963	X	D: *De facto* national
	1964-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Kurdish	1945-1967	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1968-1989	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1990-2003	X	I: Statutory provincial (identity)
	2004-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Standard Arabic, Mesopotamian Arabic, Central Kurdish, and Northern Kurdish as the principal languages of Iraq. For the purposes of classification, I subsume these under the umbrella categories of 'Arabic' and Kurdish.' Both Arabic and Kurdish are recognised as statutory national languages under Article 4(1) of the 2005 Iraqi constitution:

> Article 4. [2005]
>
> 1. Arabic and Kurdish are the two official languages of Iraq. The right of Iraqis to educate their children in their mother tongue, such as Turkmen, Syriac, and Armenian, is guaranteed in public educational institutions, in accordance with educational guidelines, or in any other language in private educational institutions.
>
> ...

This provision affirms the elevation of Kurdish to equal footing with Arabic, formally recognised for the first time at the national level in the transitional constitution styled the *Law on the Administration of the State of Iraq during the Transition Period* and issued a year prior:

> Article 9. Official Languages [2004]
>
> The Arabic language and the Kurdish language are the two official languages of Iraq. The right of Iraqis to educate their children in their mother tongue, such as Turcoman, Syriac, or Armenian, in government educational institutions in accordance with educational guidelines, or in any other language in private educational institutions, shall be guaranteed. The scope of the term "official language"" and the means of applying the provisions of this Article shall be defined by law and shall include:

(1) Publication of the official gazette, in the two languages;

(2) Speech and expression in official settings, such as the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers, courts, and official conferences, in either of the two languages;

(3) Recognition and publication of official documents and correspondence in the two languages;

(4) Opening schools that teach in the two languages, in accordance with educational guidelines;

(5) Use of both languages in any other settings enjoined by the principle of equality (such as bank notes, passports, and stamps);

(6) Use of both languages in the federal institutions and agencies in the Kurdistan region.

Despite the post-2003 inclusion of Kurdish, the earlier linguistic history of Iraq was shaped predominantly by Arabic unilingualism and the suppression of Kurdish. Arabic's status as the sole official language was first codified in Article 17 of the 1925 constitution, retained following independence in 1932 and not formally repealed until the fall of the monarchy in 1958:

> Article 17. [1925]
>
> Arabic shall be the official language, except as may be prescribed by special law.

The overthrow of the Hashemite monarchy ushered in the Republican era under Prime Minister General Abdul-Karim Qasim, whose 1958 provisional constitution made no mention of language. Arabic nonetheless remained dominant in state institutions and was thus effectively the *de facto* national language until the provisional constitution of 1964, issued following two successive coups the previous year:

> Article 3. [1964]
>
> Islam shall be the State religion and it is the fundamental basis for her constitution. Arabic is her official language.

This wording was preserved in the 1968 transitional constitution, the year Saddam Hussein seized power. Under his rule, language policy took an overtly assimilationist and authoritarian turn. Law No. 64 of 1977, 'on the preservation of the integrity of the Arabic language,' mandated Arabic as the exclusive language for all state institutions, unions, public bodies, cultural organisations, and all levels of education. A sweeping set of requirements extended to signage, patents, trademarks, and other public inscriptions including seals and bas-reliefs, underpinned by penalties for non-compliance.

Hussein's regime oversaw brutal repression of Iraq's Kurdish population, culminating in atrocities during the Iran-Iraq War. This repression extended to language: Kurdish was driven from public use, and Law No. 64 was amended in 1987 to impose more stringent penalties for non-use of Arabic. Despite this, the 1990

constitution introduced an apparent anomaly:

> Article 7. Languages [1990]
>
> (a) Arabic is the official language.
>
> (b) The Kurdish language is official, besides Arabic, in the Kurdish Region.

Although the 1990 constitution ostensibly granted formal rights to political association and freedom of opinion, these were largely illusory under Hussein's continued rule. Nonetheless, the article on Kurdish marked a rhetorical shift on language. The overthrow of the Ba'athist regime in 2003 and subsequent American occupation brought a new political order, culminating in the formalisation of Kurdish's status as a co-equal national language in the 2004 Interim constitution and its confirmation in the permanent constitution of 2005. These documents also established the Kurdistan region as a recognised constituent entity within a federal Iraq, further solidifying the institutional presence of Kurdish.

Based on this exposition, I code Arabic as a statutory national language from 1945 to 1957, based on Article 17 of the 1925 constitution. From 1958 to 1963, during which the 1958 provisional constitution was in force without linguistic provisions, I code Arabic as a *de facto* national language. From 1964 to 2014, Arabic reprises its role as the statutory national language via successive constitutions that reaffirm its *de jure* centrality.

From 1945 to 1967, I code Kurdish as a *de facto* provincial language, reflecting its cultural and demographic significance for Iraqi Kurds despite a lack of official recognition. From 1968 to 1989, under Saddam Hussein's policies of Arabisation and repression, I code it as a *de facto* language of provincial identity to reflect the symbolic and ethnonational role it continued to play among the Kurdish population. From 1990 to 2003, I code it as a statutory language of provincial identity, pursuant to Article 7(b) of the 1990 constitution. Finally, from 2004 to 2014, I code Kurdish as a statutory national language, in line with the provisions of the 2004 Interim Constitution and the permanent 2005 constitution, which fully institutionalise its equal status with Arabic in the federal Iraqi state.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Kingdom of Iraq. March 21, 1925, as amended July 29, 1925.* Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1925. URL: `https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=647` (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] *Iraq.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/IQ/` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] *Interim Constitution of Iraq (English).* Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1970.

URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=648 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] *Irak. Constitution provisoire du 21 septembre 1968*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1968. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/iq1968.htm (visited on 12/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Irak | 1) Généralités*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/irak-1general.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Irak | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/irak-2Hst.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Irak | 3) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/irak-3Pol-lng.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Irak | Constitution de 2005*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/irak-constitution2005.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Irak | Constitutions provisoires de l'Irak*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/irak-constitutions-div.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Irak | Loi n° 64 sur la préservation de l'intégrité de la langue arabe, 1977*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/irak-1general.htm (visited on 12/03/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Kurdistan irakien*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/kurdistan-irak.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc. *Kurdistan irakien | Constitution de 2009*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CE-

FAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/EtatsNsouverains/kurdistan-constitution.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[13] *The Interim Constitution of Iraq (1958)*. Publisher: Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. 1958. URL: https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP09T00207R001000100002-2.pdf (visited on 12/03/2025).

[14] *The Interim Constitution of Iraq (1964)*. Publisher: Central Intelligence Agency of the United States. 2011. URL: https://www.cia.gov/readingroom/docs/CIA-RDP09T00207R001000100008-6.pdf (visited on 12/03/2025).

651: Egypt

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1945-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1945-1955	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard Arabic and Egyptian Arabic)[27] as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Egypt, citing Article 2 of the 2014 constitution. The 2014 edition of the Ethnologue relies on the 1971 constitution for the same designation. *L'Aménagement linguistique dans le monde* likewise identifies Article 2 as the relevant provision from 1971 to 2014:

> Article 2. [1971]
>
> Islam is the religion of the State, whose official language is Arabic; the principles of Islamic law constitute a primary source of legislation.

The constitutional framework prior to 1971 was highly fluid, with the Revolutionary Command Council, which assumed power after the monarchy's overthrow in 1952, issuing and revoking a succession of provisional constitutions. In 1958, Egypt entered a short-lived political union with Syria, styled the 'United Arab Republic.' The provisional constitution of this union made no reference to language. Following Syria's withdrawal in 1961, Egypt retained the UAR moniker until 1971. During this period, the operative constitutional text, the 1964 constitution, provided the following:

> Article 5. [1964]
>
> Islam is the religion of the State and Arabic its official language.

This modern constitutional history stands against a backdrop of protracted foreign domination. From 1516 until 1882, Egypt functioned as an Ottoman province. In 1882, Britain established military occupation and declared a formal protectorate in 1914. Although nominal independence was proclaimed in 1922, British troops remained until the mid-1950s. Seeking to limit the influence of English, King Farouk I promulgated a 1942 royal decree mandating the use of Arabic in official communication:

> Article 1 [1942]

[27] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

> Correspondence, offers and other documents submitted to ministries, departments, boards of directors and municipal bodies as well as the documents attached to them must be written in Arabic, and if these documents are written in a foreign language, their Arabic translation must be attached; failure to comply with this provision will result in the nullity of these documents.
>
> ...
>
> Article 2
>
> All registers, books and documents that government representatives, boards of directors or municipal agencies have the right to inspect and examine under laws, regulations, concession contracts, monopolies or licenses must be written in Arabic.
>
> Similarly, signs placed by companies and commercial or industrial stores on the facades of their buildings must be written in Arabic, provided that this does not prevent them from being written in a language other than Arabic, but that they are neither larger in size nor more important than those in Arabic.

Although limited state capacity impaired full enforcement, the 1952 revolution marked a decisive shift. British forces withdrew in 1956, the same year Gamal Abdel Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal. Under Nasser, linguistic Arabisation proceeded steadily and comparatively peacefully. Schools, which had relied extensively on English in the late 1940s, transitioned to Arabic as a medium of instruction. By the mid-1950s, Literary Arabic had become a symbol of pan-Arab unity. Law No. 115 of 1958 further entrenched this shift by requiring all official correspondence and public signage to be rendered in Arabic.

Upon assuming power in 1970, Anwar Sadat distanced himself from the already waning pan-Arab ideal and further slowed the pace of Arabisation. Nonetheless, by the time of his assassination in 1981, Arabic had become the language of government, education and public life. Relatively few legal provisions address language specifically. The 1975 Egyptian Nationality Act requires fluency in Arabic as a condition for naturalisation; the 2006 Consumer Protection Act stipulates the use of Arabic on product labels. Nevertheless, Arabic prevails overwhelmingly by convention. The judiciary, legislature and executive function exclusively in Arabic, as does the education system. English remains widely used in commerce and international affairs, but not in domestic institutional contexts.

On the basis of the foregoing, I code Arabic as a statutory national language for the entire period. This coding draws upon the 1942 and 1958 language laws, as well as the constitutions of 1964, 1971, 2012 and 2014. It accords with the classification provided by the Ethnologue. Additionally, I apply a placeholder code for English from 1945 to 1955 to reflect the lingering institutional presence of British administration. From 1956 onwards, I cease coding English, as that year marked the final withdrawal of British troops and a corresponding acceleration of

Arabisation under Nasser.

References

[1] *Constitution of the United Arab Republic, March 25, 1964*. Publisher: Information Department of the United Arab Republic, Cairo. Archived at WorldStatesmen.org. 1964. URL: https://www.worldstatesmen.org/UAR-1964-Constitution.pdf (visited on 12/03/2025).

[2] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Egypt*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/egypt (visited on 13/03/2025).

[3] *Egypt*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/EG/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] *Égypte. Constitution de la Seconde République (2012)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2012. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/eg2012.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[5] *Égypte. Constitution du 11 septembre 1971*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1971. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/eg1971i.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[6] *Égypte. Constitution du 19 avril 1923*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1923. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/eg1923.htm (visited on 10/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Égypte*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/egypte.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Égypte | Constitutions de 1971, 2012 et 2014 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/egypte-const-div.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Égypte | Loi affirmant l' usage de la langue arabe dans les relations des individus et des organismes avec le gouvernement et ses intérêts. 1942 (abrogée)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/egypte-loi-arabe-1942.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Égypte-Syrie | Loi concernant la modification de certaines dispositions de la loi n° 115 de 1958 obligeant l'emploi de la langue arabe dans la correspondance et l'affichage. Loi n° 102 de 1976*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/egypte-loi-arabe-1976.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Égypte-Syrie | Loi n° 115 de 1958 sur la correspondance et l'affichage*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/afrique/egypte-loi-arabe-1958.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] *Egypt*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/EG/status/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[13] *Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1958. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=15 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[14] Shlomit Shraybom Shivtiel. 'Language and Political Change in Modern Egypt'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 137.1 (1999), pp. 131–140. ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1999.137.131/html (visited on 13/03/2025).

[15] Susanne Stadlbauer. *Language Ideologies in the Arabic Diglossia of Egypt*. Medium: PDF. 2010. URL: https://journals.colorado.edu/index.php/cril/article/view/301 (visited on 13/03/2025).

[16] Yasir Suleiman. 'Language and Identity in Egyptian Nationalism'. In: *Language and Identity in the Middle East and North Africa*. 1st Edition. Num Pages: 13. Routledge, 1996, pp. 25–37. ISBN: 978-1-315-02649-7. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315026497-3/language-identity-egyptian-nationalism-yasir-suleiman (visited on 12/03/2025).

652: Syria

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1946-1958, 1961-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1946-2014	X	A: Statutory national
French	1946-1949	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard Arabic and Levantine Arabic)[28] as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Syria, citing Article 4 of the 1973 constitution. However, the official status of Arabic can be traced back to the 1930 constitution.

Following the First World War, the British and French partitioned the Levantine provinces of the Ottoman Empire under the Sykes-Picot Agreement. France assumed military occupation and later secured a League of Nations mandate over Syria. The constitution of 1930, promulgated by the French High Commissioner, marked the earliest statutory recognition of Arabic as an official language, while allowing for the use of other languages in certain contexts:

> Article 24. [1930]
>
> La langue arabe est la langue officielle dans tous les services de l'Etat, sauf dans les cas où d'autres langues lui sont adjointes en cette qualité par la loi ou par un accord international.

This text remained in force until the promulgation of a new constitution in 1950, following a military coup led by Sami al-Hinnawi. The 1950 constitution affirmed Arabic as the official language, a provision which was retained in the short-lived 1953 constitution and reinstated when the 1950 constitution was restored in 1954:

> Article 4. [1950, 1953, 1954, 1961]
>
> 1. Arabic is the official language of the State.
>
> ...

In 1958, Syria and Egypt merged to form the United Arab Republic. Although the UAR's provisional constitution lacked linguistic provisions, Law No. 115 of 1958 mandated the use of Arabic for official correspondence and public display across both states. It also imposed penalties for non-compliance:

> Article 1 [1958]

[28] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

The following must be written in Arabic:

1. Correspondence, offers and other documents and documents attached to them and given to the administration and public bodies. If these documents are written in a foreign language, their translation into Arabic must be attached.
2. Registers, books, minutes and other documents that representatives of the government and public bodies have the right to inspect or consult in accordance with laws, regulations, concession contracts, monopolies or licenses.
3. Contracts, receipts and correspondence exchanged between institutions, associations or organizations, or between them and individuals, but translations into a foreign language may be attached to them.
4. Signs placed by companies and commercial or industrial premises on the facades of their buildings, provided that this does not prevent these signs from being written in a foreign language other than Arabic, provided that it is larger than the other.

...

Article 3

Names that take a distinctive form, names, signatures, words, letters, numbers, business addresses, seals and apparent inscriptions must be written in Arabic. It is not permitted to apply for the registration of a trademark that takes one of these forms and characteristics unless it is written in Arabic. However, this does not exclude the request for registration of a name written in a foreign language next to the Arabic language, provided that the Arabic language is of a larger size. ···

Article 4

Commercial data relating to any goods produced in the United Arab Republic must be written in Arabic. As for products and goods imported from abroad, they must be affixed a label in Arabic, specifying in particular the commercial data that participates in the estimation of their value. An order of the Minister of Economy and Trade must determine the data. A foreign language may be added to the Arabic language for goods intended for export abroad.

Article 5

Anyone who violates the provisions of sections 1, 3 and 4 of this Act shall be liable to a fine of at least 10 pounds and not more than 200 pounds···

...

Syria seceded from the UAR in 1961 and reinstated the 1950 constitution. A series

of short-lived constitutions followed, culminating in the 1973 constitution under Hafez al-Assad, which endured until the adoption of a new constitution in 2012. Both the 1973 and 2012 constitutions affirm Arabic as the official language, and are cited respectively by the Ethnologue and by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*.

Despite the frequent turnover of constitutional texts, Syria's language regime has remained relatively consistent. The Arabic language had already emerged as a potent symbol of Arab nationalism in the early twentieth century, in reaction to Ottoman Turkification (Suleiman 1994). Arabic was used as a language of instruction before independence, and has remained dominant ever since. All official documentation and legal proceedings occur in Arabic. Although vestiges of the French mandate endure in the form of laws drafted in French, French itself has lost institutional traction.

On the basis of this history, I code Arabic as the statutory national language for the whole period from 1946 to 2014. This designation rests on the constitutions of 1930, 1950, 1973 and 2012, as well as Law No. 115 of 1958, aligning with the Ethnologue. I apply a placeholder code for French from 1946 to 1949 to reflect its institutional presence during the early post-independence period, truncated by the new constitution of 1950. The Ethnologue records no present-day status for French.

Kurdish has borne the brunt of Syria's official unilingualism. While not subject to repression during the mandate, Kurdish became marginalised following independence, especially after the Baathist coup of the 1960s. Baathist pan-Arabism excluded the recognition of minorities, and rendered the Kurdish population effectively stateless. In keeping with the Ethnologue, which provides no status designation for it, I do not code Kurdish to reflect this history of repression.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Syrian Arab Republic'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 673–682. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: `https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s061.xml` (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution de l'Etat de Syrie promulguee par arrete du haut commissaire de la republique francaise, no. 3111, du 14 May 1930*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1930. URL: `https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1183` (visited on 13/03/2025).

[3] 'Constitution fo the Republic of Syria (June 21, 1953.)' In: *Constitutional and Parliamentary Information*. 3rd Series (Fourth Year) 17. Paris: Inter-Parliamentary Union, 1954, pp. 22–56. (Visited on 12/03/2025).

[4] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Egypt*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for

Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/egypt (visited on 13/03/2025).

[5] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Syria*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2021. URL: http://constitutionnet.org/country/syria (visited on 13/03/2025).

[6] *Syria*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SY/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Syrie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/syrie.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Syrie / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/syrie-lois_div.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] *Provisional Constitution of the United Arab Republic*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1958. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=15 (visited on 12/03/2025).

[10] Yasir Suleiman. 'Nationalism and the Arabic Language: An Historical Overview'. In: *Arabic Sociolinguistics*. Num Pages: 22. London: Routledge, 1994, pp. 3–24. ISBN: 978-1-315-02619-0. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315026190-2/nationalism-arabic-language-historical-overview-yasir-suleiman (visited on 13/03/2025).

[11] *Syrian Arab Republic: Constitution, 1973*. Refworld: Global Law and Policy Database, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 1973. URL: https://www.refworld.org/legal/legislation/natlegbod/1973/en/38517 (visited on 18/02/2025).

660: Lebanon

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1946-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1946-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1946-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
French	1946-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies French and Arabic (Standard Arabic and Levantine Arabic)[29] as the two principal languages of Lebanon. While French functions as a *de facto* national working language, Arabic is recognised as the statutory national language based on Article 11 of the constitution as amended in 1943. The relevant provision was introduced by the *Loi constitutionnelle du 9/11/1943*, which revised the 1926 constitution.

> Article 11 [1943]
>
> L'arabe est la langue nationale officielle. Une loi déterminera les cas où il sera fait usage de la langue française.

That constitution, promulgated under the French mandate, has remained in force, albeit with significant amendments. These include the National Pact of 1943 and the Taif Agreement of 1989, which respectively underpinned Lebanon's post-independence and post-civil war political orders. Like Syria, Lebanon became a French mandate territory following the Sykes-Picot Agreement and the subsequent allocation of the mandate by the League of Nations. However, in contrast to Syria, Lebanon's large French-speaking Christian population played a pivotal role in shaping the country's linguistic order. Their political influence was reflected in the text of Article 11 of the original 1926 constitution:

> Article 11 [1926]
>
> L'arabe est la langue nationale officielle dans toutes les administrations de l'État. Le français est également langue officielle, une loi spéciale déterminera les cas où il en sera fait usage.

Although this article was formally amended in 1943 to designate Arabic as the sole statutory national language, the practical effects of the amendment were limited. French-Arabic bilingualism remained entrenched in Lebanese society decades into the post-independence period (Sayigh 1965). Successive wars, an influx of

[29] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

Palestinian refugees, and the weakening of state institutions during the civil war (1975-1989) did little to eliminate French from the linguistic landscape.

Atypically for the region, French continues to occupy a unique position in Lebanese public life and retains an enduring presence in the legal system. While the legislature and judiciary function in Arabic, many laws inherited from the mandate era remain in French. The judicial system itself is grounded in the French civil law tradition, and certain domains of public administration allow, or at times even favour, the use of French or English. One illustrative example is the Consumer Protection Act of 2004, which permits the use of either French or English as a substitute for Arabic in certain contexts. Arabic is the language of instruction in primary and secondary education, yet French retains a notable presence in higher education, particularly outside of English-medium institutions.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde observes that, since independence, Lebanon has generally refrained from intervening forcefully in the linguistic sphere. This non-interventionism is partly attributable to the fact that Lebanon's primary societal cleavages are confessional rather than ethnolinguistic. French, as a result, has endured not merely as a relic of colonial rule but as a marker of socio-political identity. Moreover, more than 90 percent of Lebanon's population speaks Arabic as a mother tongue. Arabisation, already well advanced by the time of independence, meant that Lebanon did not need to undertake the sort of aggressive postcolonial language planning pursued elsewhere in the Arab world.

In light of the above, I code Arabic as the statutory national language from 1946 to 2014, anchored in the 1943 constitutional amendment and consistent with the judgement of the Ethnologue. French is a *de facto* national language over the same period, reflecting its enduring functional role in administration, education and public life. To capture the presence of English, which has gained prominence both as a residual colonial language and as a vehicle of globalisation, I assign a placeholder code for English for the entire period, aligning with the Ethnologue and reflecting Lebanon's distinctive linguistic profile.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Republic of Lebanon'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 409–420. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s005.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] John J. Donohue. 'Changing the Lebanese Constitution: A Postmodern History'. In: *Cardozo Law Review* 30 (2008), p. 2509. URL: https://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/cdozo30&id=2527&div=&collection=.

[3] *Lebanon*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LB/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] *Lebanon 1947 (Constitution / French)*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1947. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=682 (visited on 13/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Liban*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/liban.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Liban | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/liban-lois_div.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Idir Ouahes. *Syria and Lebanon Under the French Mandate: Cultural Imperialism and the Workings of Empire*. Library of Middle East History 76. London: I.B. Tauris, 2018. 328 pp. ISBN: 978-1-78831-097-0.

[8] Rosemary Sayigh. 'The Bilingualism Controversy in Lebanon'. In: *The World Today* 21.3 (1965). Publisher: Royal Institute of International Affairs, pp. 120–130. ISSN: 0043-9134. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/40393712 (visited on 13/03/2025).

[9] *The Lebanese Constitution, Promulgated May 23, 1926 with Its Amendments, 1995*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1995. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=683 (visited on 13/03/2025).

663: Jordan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1946-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1946-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1946-1949	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard Arabic and Levantine Arabic)[30] as both the principal language and the statutory national language of Jordan. This classification is based on Article 2 of the 1952 constitution, which follows a formula common to many Arab constitutions of the mid-twentieth century:

> Article 2. [1952]
>
> L'Islam est la religion de l'État et l'arabe sa langue officielle.

As noted by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, this constitutional provision has remained in force without amendment into the present era. Yet the formal recognition of Arabic as the official language predates this constitution. Under British mandatory rule, the 1928 constitution, provisionally published in 1926, granted limited autonomy to the Emirate of Transjordan and already codified Arabic as the official language:

> Article 15. [1928]
>
> L'arabe est la langue officielle.

Transjordan obtained independence in 1946, and shortly thereafter was transformed into the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The promulgation of the 1952 constitution occurred in this context of postcolonial consolidation. In the years that followed, particularly during the late 1950s and throughout the 1960s, King Hussein bin Talal pursued a deliberate policy of Arabisation. Whereas English had been the dominant language of governance during the mandate period, its influence gradually receded under the new regime.

One of the most emblematic initiatives of this Arabisation campaign was the creation of the Jordanian Academy of the Arabic Language in 1976, established by royal decree. This institution was charged with overseeing the development and standardisation of Arabic in Jordan. The shift towards Arabic was not revolutionary but rather gradual and institutionalised. Unlike in other states where abrupt linguistic reforms disrupted public life, the Jordanian approach was measured and continuous.

[30] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

Functionally, Arabic dominates all spheres of public life. It is the language of instruction at all educational levels and the working language of the courts, the parliament and the civil service. While formal legislation on language was sparse during much of the coding period, Law no. 35 of 2015 on the protection of the Arabic Language formalised existing practices. This legislation serves more as an affirmation of the status quo than as a vehicle for substantial change.

Given this background, I code Arabic as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1946 to 2014. To reflect the residual influence of English during the transitional years immediately following independence, I apply a placeholder code for English from 1946 to 1949. This placeholder is discontinued from 1950, following the proclamation of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan. The coding thereby reflects linguistic Arabisation policies post-independence and aligns with the assessment of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Fawwaz Mohammad Al-Abed Al-Haq. 'A Case Study of Language Planning in Jordan (Arabicization, Linguistic Variation, Attitudes, Language Academy, Diglossia)'. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses. PhD thesis. Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1985. 1-311. URL: https://www.proquest.com/docview/303437233?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true&sourcetype=Dissertations%20&%20Theses (visited on 13/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution de Transjordanie. (16 avril 1928)*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1928. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1190 (visited on 13/03/2025).

[3] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Jordan*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/jordan (visited on 13/03/2025).

[4] *Jordan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/JO/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] *Jordanie. Constitution du 23 mai 1926*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1926. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/lb.htm (visited on 13/03/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | J: Jamaïque, Japon, Jordanie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-J.htm (visited on 13/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Jordanie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture

d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/jordanie.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Jordanie / Loi sur la protection de la langue arabe, 2015*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/jordanie-loi-2015-arabe.htm (visited on 14/03/2025).

666: Israel

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1948-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1948-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1948-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Hebrew	1948-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Hebrew and Arabic (Standard Arabic and Levantine Arabic)[31] as the two principal languages and the statutory national languages of Israel, drawing on Article 82 of the Palestine Order-in-Council of 10 October 1922, issued under British administration during the League of Nations mandate. The article provided for trilingualism in government and law:

> Article 82. Official languages [1922]
>
> All Ordinances, official notices and official forms of the Government and all official notices of local authorities and municipalities in areas to be prescribed by order of the Cabinet, shall be published in English, Arabic and Hebrew. The three languages may be used, subject to any regulations to be made by the Cabinet from time to time, in the Government offices and the Law Courts.
>
> In case of a Conflict between the English version of an Ordinance, official notice or official form and the Arabic or Hebrew version thereof, the English Version Shall Prevail.

This legal framework remains the foundation for the status of Hebrew and Arabic in Israel to this day. English, the language of the British administration, initially acted as a neutral *lingua franca* between the Jewish and Arab communities, which operated parallel education systems. Spolsky and Shohamy note that '[n]ew Jewish immigrants who wished to integrate needed, however, to acquire Hebrew, the language of work and education and public cultural life,' and that '[b]y 1948 when the state of Israel was established, Hebrew was the principal language of the bulk of the Jewish population (Spolsky and Shohamy 1999a: 98-9).

The creation of the State of Israel that year marked a decisive shift toward Hebrew unilingualism, a feature of Zionist ideology. The Law and Administration Ordinance no. 1 of 5708-1948 repealed all legal provisions requiring English:

> Article 15. Further adaptations of law. [1948]

[31] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

a) "Palestine"", wherever appearing in the law, shall henceforth be read as "Israel"".

b) Any provision in the law requiring the use of the English language is repealed.

Without a formal constitution, Israel lacks a constitutional article establishing language status. In practice, however, Hebrew is the dominant and promoted language across nearly every domain of public life. Courts operate in Hebrew, as does the Jewish education system from kindergarten through university. In the Arab sector, Arabic serves as the language of instruction, but that system remains underfunded and less institutionally supported. Arabic is technically mandatory for Jewish students through secondary school, but can be replaced with French, reflecting its marginal status.

Although Hebrew and Arabic are both officially recognised, real usage in the Knesset, courts, and public administration reflects a steep asymmetry. Arabic-language speeches in parliament are translated into Hebrew, but the reverse is not true. Hebrew dominates all government documentation, with Arabic translations often delayed. Hebrew is also required by law in many domains. The 1952 Nationality Act requires Hebrew for naturalisation; the 1967 Patent Act requires mastery of Hebrew to be listed as a patent expert. While Arabic appears on street signs and government buildings, its functional use remains limited.

Despite this imbalance, the original 1922 legal framework remains technically in place. As Spolsky and Shohamy put it, Israel presents a rare case: the successful revitalisation of a previously dormant language into a fully modern one capable of functioning in all state domains, albeit at considerable social cost (1999a: 100).

Given this legal and historical background, I code both Hebrew and Arabic as statutory national languages for the entire period from 1946 to 2014. In addition, I apply a placeholder code for English throughout the period. Although formally stripped of official status in 1948, English continues to function as a language of wider communication and maintains a strong presence in higher education, business, and international affairs. This treatment aligns with both the Ethnologue and the analysis of *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, which argues that English 'is really the "second official language"" of the Hebrew state, far before Arabic.'

References

[1] Yocheved Deutch. 'Language Law in Israel'. In: *Language Policy* 4.3 (2005), pp. 261–285. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-005-7555-9 (visited on 13/03/2025).

[2] *Israel*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/IL/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *1) Données factuelles*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/israel-1demo.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/israel-2histoire.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *3) La politique linguistique israélienne*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/israel-3pol-lng.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Ordonnance en Conseil sur la Palestine de 1922 | Ordonnance sur le droit et l'administration, n° 1, 5708-1948*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/israel-ordonnance-1922-1948.htm (visited on 15/03/2025).

[7] Bernard Spolsky and Elana Shohamy. 'Language in Israeli Society and Education'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 137.1 (1999), pp. 93–114. ISSN: 0165-2516, 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1999.137.93/html (visited on 13/03/2025).

[8] Bernard Spolsky and Elana Goldberg Shohamy. *The Languages of Israel: Policy, Ideology, and Practice*. Bilingual Education and Bilingualism 17. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1999. 316 pp. ISBN: 978-1-85359-451-9.

670: Saudi Arabia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1945-1991	N	D: *De facto* national
	1992-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard Arabic and Najdi Arabic)[32] as the sole principal language of Saudi Arabia. This classification is reflected in the country's legal and historical trajectory, which has maintained Arabic at the centre of public life. Saudia Arabia's first formal constitution, the 1992 Basic Law of Governance, codified long-standing customs and Islamic principles (Al-Mehaimeed 1993) and was the first official declaration of Arabic as the state language.

> Article 1. [1992]
>
> The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is a fully sovereign Arab Islamic State. Its religion shall be Islam and its constitution shall be the Book of God and the Sunnah (Traditions) of His Messenger, may God's blessings and peace be upon him (PBUH). Its language shall be Arabic and its capital shall be the city of Riyadh.

The Arabisation of the Arabian Peninsula predates the modern Saudi state by over a millennium. Following the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632, the region was incorporated into the earliest Islamic conquests, where Arabic rapidly spread as the language of religion, culture, and administration. Ottoman rule, which began in 1517, covered the coastal regions but did not fully penetrate the interior. The House of Saud, emerging from central Arabia, created two earlier states before establishing the modern Kingdom in 1932 under Ibn Saud. This dynasty continues to rule today.

Although no comprehensive written language policy existed before 1992, Arabic had long functioned as the sole language of state. Saudi society is characterised by classic Arabic diglossia: Standard Arabic dominates all written and formal functions, while spoken varieties like Najdi and Hijazi Arabic are used in everyday life. The state's institutions overwhelmingly function in Arabic. For instance, a 1954 legal provision requires mastery of Arabic to naturalise as a Saudi citizen; courts have officially operated in Arabic since 1975. Other laws, such as those regulating commercial records (1989) and the commercial register (2005), similarly mandate Arabic as the language of record.

[32] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

Given this long-standing linguistic reality, I code Arabic as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1991. From 1992 onward, with the promulgation of the Basic Law, I code Arabic as a statutory national language. The language landscape in Saudi Arabia has remained highly stable across the period in question, with no competing languages enjoying comparable institutional support.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Kingdom of Saudi Arabia'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 599–601. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s046.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Saudi Arabia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SA/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Arabie Saoudite*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/arabie-saoudite.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Arabie Saoudite | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/arabie-saoudite-lois.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Ali M. Al-Mehaimeed. 'The Constitutional System of Saudi Arabia: A Conspectus'. In: *Arab Law Quarterly* 8.1 (1993). Publisher: Brill, pp. 30–36. ISSN: 0268-0556. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/3381491 (visited on 13/03/2025).

678: North Yemen

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-1989.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1945-1969	X	D: *De facto* national
	1970-1989	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

Correlates of War code 678 corresponds to the historical state known retrospectively as North Yemen. From 1918 to 1962, this territory was governed as the Mutawakkilite Kingdom of Yemen. The 1962 revolution, backed by Nasser's Egypt, ushered in a republican government and sparked a civil war that lasted until 1970. Upon its conclusion, the Yemen Arab Republic became the sole government of North Yemen. In 1990, the state ceased to exist as a distinct entity when it unified with South Yemen to form the Republic of Yemen (Correlates of War code 679).

The Ethnologue does not provide a separate entry for North Yemen, but available legal and historical records leave little ambiguity regarding language policy. The 1970 constitution, the foundational legal document of the Yemen Arab Republic issued after the civil war, made the following declaration:

> Article 2. [1970]
>
> Islam is the religion of the State, and Arabic is its official language.

Arabic had been the dominant language in North Yemen well before this provision was enacted. The region's political history stretches back to the rule of the Zaidi imamate, established in 897. Although the North Yemeni coast experienced periods of Ottoman occupation, the Zaidis retained control over the highlands, where Arabic and Islamic traditions shaped both governance and culture. The 1905 British-Ottoman agreement formally divided Yemen into two spheres, and the Ottomans granted the Zaidi imams self-rule in the north.

The Kingdom of Yemen achieved full independence in 1918 with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. Despite the limited reach of Ottoman direct rule, Turkish influence persisted into the twentieth century. Military training remained in Turkish until the 1930s, and Turkish loanwords survive in the local dialect. Nonetheless, Arabic had long been entrenched as the language of governance, religion, and education. By the start of the coding period in 1945, Arabic was already firmly established across the political and social institutions of North Yemen.

The revolution of 1962, supported by the pan-Arab nationalist forces of Gamal Abdel Nasser, only further solidified the role of Arabic. The 1970 constitution did not introduce a linguistic shift but rather formalised existing practice. The continued

dominance of Arabic is consistent with the Ethnologue's current categorisation of Arabic as the sole principal language of modern Yemen.

Based on this history, I code Arabic as the *de facto* national language of North Yemen from 1945 to 1969. From 1970 to 1989, I code Arabic as the statutory national language, based on Article 2 of the 1970 constitution, which remained in force until the dissolution of North Yemen in 1990.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Yemen Arab Republic, 1970*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1970. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=709 (visited on 14/03/2025).

[2] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Yemen*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/yemen (visited on 13/03/2025).

[3] Paul Dresch. *A History of Modern Yemen*. Cambridge University Press, 2000. 312 pp. ISBN: 978-0-521-79482-4.

[4] *Yemen*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/YE/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Yémen*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/yemen.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

679: Yemen

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1990-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1990	X	D: *De facto* national
	1991-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard Arabic) as both the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Yemen. This status is formalised in Article 2 of Yemen's 1991 constitution, which was adopted following a referendum in 1991, although the document itself was agreed upon the year prior. Article 2 of the constitution reads:

> Article 2. [1991]
>
> Islam is the religion of the State, and Arabic is its official language.

This constitution represents the first formal legal framework for Yemen since the unification of North and South Yemen in 1990, an event that also marked the beginning of Yemen's membership in the Correlates of War dataset under code 579. Notably, Article 2 of the constitution has remained unchanged in subsequent amendments, further solidifying Arabic's role as the official language.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde notes that Yemen has struggled to develop a detailed and consistent language policy as a result of decades of internal conflict. Despite this, Arabic has remained the dominant language of Yemen's state institutions. Arabic is the language of the legislature, the judiciary, and the administration. Furthermore, it is the sole language of instruction at all educational levels, including higher education, where Article 56 of Decree-Law no. 18 of 1995 mandates Arabic as the medium of instruction.

While legal texts directly addressing language policy are rare, these examples demonstrate that Arabic has held an exclusive position in Yemen's national institutions. Based on these facts, I code Arabic as the *de facto* national language for the year 1990 and as the statutory national language from 1991 to 2014, reflecting the adoption of the 1991 constitution.

References

[1] 'Aden: Accession of Aden to the Federation of South Arabia (Draft Treaty and Constitutional Documents)'. In: *International Legal Materials* 1.2 (1962). Publisher: American Society of International Law, pp. 197–213. ISSN: 0020-7829. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/20689577 (visited on 14/03/2025).

[2] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Yemen*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/yemen (visited on 13/03/2025).

[3] *Yemen*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/YE/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | Y: Yémen*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-Y.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Yémen*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/yemen.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

680: South Yemen

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1967-1989.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1967-1969	X	D: *De facto* national
	1970-1989	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

Correlates of War code 678 corresponds to the historical state known as South Yemen, which it identifies as an interstate system member between 1967 and 1989. It emerged following the withdrawal of British colonial authorities and the collapse of the Federation of South Arabia and the Protectorate of South Arabia, established by the British from the former Aden Colony and adjacent protectorates. In 1967, nationalist movements, chiefly the National Liberation Front and the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen, took power. The new state was initially named the People's Republic of South Yemen and was renamed the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen in 1970. On 30 November of that year, a new constitution went into effect, whose Article 6 declared:

> Article 6. [1970]
>
> The official language is the Arabic language.

Arabic had a strong institutional presence even under British rule. As early as the 1940s, it had been introduced as a compulsory subject in colonial schools. This coincided with what Muheirez (1985: 206-8) describes as a cultural renaissance in which intellectuals sought to revive interest in Arabic language and literature. The preface to the literary journal Aqlam declared its goal to be 'to encourage the learning of the Arabic language and its use, and the revival of Arabic literature.' During this period, English remained the primary medium of instruction, but Arabic was taught across the educational system and became increasingly central into the 1960s.

The new revolutionary government in 1967 maintained and expanded the use of Arabic. Despite brief civil wars, North and South Yemen maintained relatively friendly relations, and both adhered to broadly pan-Arab nationalist language policies. Arabic remained the official language under the revised 1978 constitution, and its use continued to expand across state functions. Military service, made compulsory in 1980, was carried out exclusively in Arabic (Lonnet 1985). While South Yemen undertook some linguistic research into local languages, Arabic was the language of government, education, military, and public life by this time, and its role was only growing with the spread of mass communication and technology.

Based on this evidence, I code Arabic as the *de facto* national language from 1967

to 1969, and as the statutory national language from 1970 to 1989, reflecting the provisions of successive constitutions of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'People' s Democratic Republic of Yemen'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 773–775. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s078.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. 1971 as amended October 31, 1978*. Archived at WorldStatesmen.org. Aden: 14 October Corporation and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1981. 1786-1810. URL: https://www.worldstatesmen.org/YemenPDR1978.pdf (visited on 15/03/2025).

[3] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Yemen*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/yemen (visited on 13/03/2025).

[4] *Constituzione della Republica Democratica Popolare dello Yemen*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1970. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1078 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[5] *Yemen*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/YE/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Yémen*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/yemen.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Yémen | Décret-loi n° 18 de 1995 sur les universités yéménites*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/yemen-loi-div.htm (visited on 14/03/2025).

[8] Antoine Lonnet. 'The Modern South Arabian Languages in the P. D. R. of Yemen'. In: *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 15 (1985). Publisher: Archaeopress, pp. 49–55. ISSN: 0308-8421. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/41223029 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[9] Abdullah Ahmed Muheirez. 'Cultural Development in the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen'. In: *Economy, Society & Culture in Contemporary Yemen*. Num Pages: 15. Routledge, 1985. ISBN: 978-1-00-316515-6.

690: Kuwait

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1961-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1961	X	D: *De facto* national
	1962-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic)[33] as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Kuwait, citing the country's 1962 constitution. Article 3 reads:

> Article 3. Official Language. [1962]
>
> The official language of the State is Arabic.

Even before independence, Kuwait underwent a concerted process of Arabisation. Talal (2017) documents the creation of a council for education in 1911 by leading Kuwaiti intellectuals, which later evolved into the Education Department. This body facilitated the Arabisation of public life, drawing on expertise from the broader Arab world and laying the groundwork for a modern education system. These developments were supported by the country's modest oil wealth, which began to be tapped in the early twentieth century.

Kuwait gained independence from the British Empire in 1961. The constitution came into force in 1962, and codified the role of Arabic as the official language of the state. Although Iraq laid claim to Kuwaiti territory shortly after independence, this was forestalled by British military intervention. Relations between Kuwait and Iraq improved during the Iran-Iraq war but deteriorated again, culminating in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. An American-led coalition repelled the invasion in early 1991; throughout this turbulent period, Arabic remained the language of national identity and governance.

Arabic remains in use across all domains of Kuwaiti public life. Article 82 of the constitution requires members of the National Assembly to be literate in Arabic. The language of the judiciary, parliament, and civil service is Standard Arabic, while Gulf Arabic is commonly used in speech. Education is conducted entirely in Arabic from primary to tertiary levels. English is taught as a second language in schools, but it plays no official role. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* characterises Kuwait as a case of strict Arabic unilingualism. Although a large portion of the population is composed of expatriates, they are largely excluded from national institutions, and the citizenry is overwhelmingly Arabic-speaking.

[33] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

Based on this evidence, I code Arabic as the *de facto* national language for 1961, and as the statutory national language from 1962 to 2014 following the promulgation of Kuwait's constitution.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'State of Kuwait'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 401–403. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s003.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Kuwait*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KW/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] *Kuwait 1962 (Constitution / English)*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1962. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=680 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Koweït*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Koweit.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Koweït / Lois à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/koweit-lois_div.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Talal Al-Rashoud. 'Modern Education and Arab Nationalism in Kuwait, 1911-1961'. SOAS Research Online. PhD thesis. SOAS University of London. URL: https://eprints.soas.ac.uk/24384/1/Al-Rashoud_4381.pdf (visited on 15/03/2025).

692: Bahrain

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1971-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1971-1972	X	D: *De facto* national
	1973-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1971-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

Both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue list English and Arabic (Standard Arabic and Baharna Arabic)[34] as the two principal languages of Bahrain. English is identified as a *de facto* national working language, with an estimated 300,000 speakers in 1995 and 25,200 speakers in 2020. The Ethnologue also classifies Arabic as a statutory national language, citing Article 2 of the 2002 constitution. However, the constitutional recognition of Arabic as the official language dates back to the first constitution of independent Bahrain, promulgated on 26 November 1973:

> Article (2) [1973]
>
> Islam shall be the religion of the State; Islamic Sharia (Islamic Law) a main source of legislation; and Arabic the official language.

Bahrain achieved independence from the United Kingdom in 1971, one of the last Gulf states to do so. Alongside the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain represents a case where oil-driven globalisation has led to increasing sociolinguistic complexity. In particular, English has taken on a significant role in economic and international domains, without displacing Arabic in state institutions. Accordingly, the Ethnologue lists English as a principal language and a *de facto* national working language in both Bahrain and the UAE.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde describes Bahrain's public sector as overwhelmingly Arabophone. Arabic is the language of the courts, the legislature, public administration, and education for Bahraini nationals. Legislative Decree no. 25 of 1998 mandates that Arabic be taught as a second language in foreign schools where another language is the primary medium of instruction. Arabic is also the default language of public signage and official communication.

Nevertheless, Bahrain's language policies accommodate the large expatriate population, and English is widely used in commerce, private education, and higher education. The university sector is functionally bilingual in Arabic and English,

[34] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

and English is the dominant language of the private sector. The result is a form of institutional bilingualism, with Arabic occupying a privileged place in state functions and English dominant in global-facing domains.

Based on the above, I code Arabic as a *de facto* national language from 1971 to 1972, and as a statutory national language from 1973 to 2014 to reflect its formal designation in both the 1973 and 2002 constitutions. I code English as a *de facto* national working language for the entire period from 1971 to 2014 to capture its consistent and substantial presence in Bahraini society.

References

[1] *Constitution of the State of Bahrain*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1973. URL: `https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=631` (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Bahrain*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: `https://constitutionnet.org/country/bahrain` (visited on 13/03/2025).

[3] *Bahrain*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BH/` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Andrzej Kapiszewski. 'De-Arabization in the Gulf: Foreign Labor and the Struggle for Local Culture Culture & Society'. In: *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* 8.2 (2007), pp. 81–88. URL: `https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/geojaf8&i=245` (visited on 15/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Bahreïn*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Bahrein.htm` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Bahreïn | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Bahrein-lois.htm` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] *Bahrain*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/BH/status/` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Gita Ponnuchamy. 'History of English-as-a-Second-Language Teaching in the Middle East and the Current Scenario in Bahrain'. In: *Arab World English Journal* 8.4 (2017), pp. 444–450. ISSN: 22299327. URL: `https://awej.org/history-of-`

`english-as-a-second-language-teaching-in-the-middle-east-and-the-current-scenario-in-bahrain/` (visited on 15/03/2025).

694: Qatar

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1971-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1971-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard Arabic and Gulf Arabic)[35] as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Qatar, citing Article 1 of the 2003 constitution. However, a substantively identical provision was already present in the 1970 Provisional Constitution, predating Qatari independence. This article, which remained unchanged through the 1972 amendments, reads:

> Article 1 [1970]
>
> Qatar is an independent sovereign Arab state and a member of the Union of Arab Emirates. Its religion is Islam, and Islamic Shari'a Law shall be a fundamental source of its legislation. Its regime is democratic and its official language is Arabic.
>
> The people of Qatar are part of the Arab Nation.

This article was retained verbatim in the 2003 constitution, reinforcing the long-standing official status of Arabic. Qatar gained full independence from the British Empire in 1971, having declined to join the planned federation of the Trucial States that ultimately formed the United Arab Emirates.

According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Qatari language policy has consistently prioritised Arabic while permitting the widespread use of English in the private sector. Public life, including the courts, legislature, public administration, and education, remains firmly Arabophone. The expatriate population, largely employed in private enterprise, lies outside the ambit of the state's Arabic language policy.

The education system exemplifies the state's fluctuating attitude toward English. Prior to the 1990s, education emphasised Islamic and Arab values. Following the 2001 attacks on the United States, Qatar undertook a broad reform of the education system in 2003, using English as the medium of instruction for mathematics and science (Barnawi 2018). However, as Mustafawi and Shaaban (2019) report, this policy led to declines in student performance. Arabic was eventually reinstated as the language of instruction at all levels of school education, and in the social sciences at Qatar University.

[35] As I focus on written language, I classify all varieties of Arabic together and concentrate on Standard Arabic.

The Ethnologue does not recognise English as having any institutional status or widespread communicative role in Qatar, either in its 2014 or 2024 editions. Accordingly, I do not code English either as a national language or using a placeholder code.

Arabic, by contrast, is entrenched in law and public life. The 2004 Labour Code requires Arabic for all contracts and official written documents. A 2009 decree by the Ministry of Justice mandates that Arabic be used in all verbal and written proceedings in Qatari courts, with translation required when parties are not Arabic-speaking. In 2019, Qatar passed a comprehensive Arabic Protection Law, which mandates the use of Arabic in all ministries, public agencies, and educational institutions.

On the basis of this evidence, I code Arabic as the statutory national language of Qatar from 1971 to 2014, reflecting the continuity of its legal and institutional status across both pre- and post-independence constitutions and a broad set of legislative instruments.

References

[1] Osman Z. Barnawi. *Neoliberalism and English Language Education Policies in the Arabian Gulf*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 2017. 1-222. ISBN: 978-1-315-27671-7. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781351997195 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'State of Qatar'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 579–581. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s041.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of Qatar*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2004. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=692 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[4] *Qatar*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/QA/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | Q: Qatar*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-Q.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Qatar*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/qatar.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] *Qatar*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/QA/status/ (visited on 15/03/2025).

[8] Eiman Mustafawi and Kassim Shaaban. 'Language Policies in Education in Qatar between 2003 and 2012: From Local to Global Then Back to Local'. In: *Language Policy* 18.2 (2019), pp. 209–242. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-018-9483-5 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[9] *Provisional Constitution for Qatar: 1970 (Qatar [qa])*. In: *Oxford Constitutional Law*. Online. OCW CD 780 (QA) H 1970. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-ocw-cd780-H1970.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd780-H1970 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[10] *The Amended Provisional Constitution of 1972 (Repealed)*. Al Meezan (Qatar Legal Portal), Ministry of Justice, State of Qatar. 1972. URL: https://www.almeezan.qa/LawPage.aspx?id=4360&language=en (visited on 15/03/2025).

[11] Kun Wu. 'Study on the Linguistic Situation and Language Policy in Qatar'. In: *International Journal of Frontiers in Sociology* 5.14 (2023), pp. 49–54. ISSN: 27066827. URL: https://francis-press.com/papers/13671 (visited on 15/03/2025).

696: United Arab Emirates

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1971-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1971-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1971-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

The 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue identify English and Arabic (Standard Arabic) as the principal languages of the United Arab Emirates. English as a *de facto* national working language and Arabic is classified as a statutory national language, with the latter assessment based on Article 7 of the constitution of 1996. However, as *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes, this text was already in force in 1971 as a provisional basic law, the year in which the United Arab Emirates achieved independence from the British Empire.

> Article (7) [1971]
>
> Islam is the official religion of the UAE. The Islamic Shari'a is a main source of legislation in the UAE. The official language of the UAE is Arabic.

Alongside neighbouring Qatar, the Emirates were incorporated within the British protectorate of the Trucial States, which dissolved in 1971. With the advent of independence, the newly unified federation pursued an Arabisation agenda, made possible by its substantial oil wealth. Arabic was installed as the medium of instruction at all levels of public education, and it became dominant in both governmental institutions and public media. The near-absence of ethnic minorities among native citizens only facilitated this monolingual policy.

Yet, demographically, the native population of the Emirates comprises a minority. Oil was discovered in the region some two decades prior to independence, cementing the presence of Western powers in both economic and administrative spheres. As a result, the United Arab Emirates integrated rapidly into the global economy at the end of the twentieth century. English emerged as the principal medium in dealings between authorities and expatriates. It continues to dominate not only the business sector but also much of private education, which caters primarily to foreign residents.

This bifurcation has given rise to a pragmatic policy of functional bilingualism: while the state maintains an official policy of Arabisation among Emirati nationals, it permits, and indeed relies upon, the widespread use of English in spheres critical to its global economic engagement. The result is a linguistic compromise reflective of the UAE's social structure and international orientation.

Accordingly, I code Arabic as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1971 to 2014, based on Article 7 of the 1971 constitution. I likewise code English as a *de facto* national working language over the same interval, in accordance with the classifications offered by both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Osman Z. Barnawi. *Neoliberalism and English Language Education Policies in the Arabian Gulf*. 1st ed. London: Routledge, 2017. 1-222. ISBN: 978-1-315-27671-7. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/books/9781351997195 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] Amani Batakji-Chazy. 'The Fall and Rise of the Arabic Language: A Discursive Analysis of the Impact of Arabic Language Initiatives of the United Arab Emirates'. Doctor of Education. Bath: University of Bath, 2020. 1-206. URL: https://purehost.bath.ac.uk/ws/portalfiles/portal/205698624/BATAKJI_CHAZY_Amani_29_05_20.pdf (visited on 15/03/2025).

[3] William Robert Amilan Cook. 'More Vision Than Renaissance: Arabic as a Language of Science in the Uae'. In: *Language Policy* 16.4 (2017), pp. 385–406. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-016-9413-3 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[4] *United Arab Emirates*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AE/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Ahmad Al-Issa and Laila S. Dahan. 'Global English and Endangered Arabic in the United Arab Emirates'. In: *Global English and Arabic*. Contemporary Studies in Descriptive Linguistics 31. Oxford, Bern, Berlin, Bruxelles, Frankfurt am Main, New York, Wien: Peter Lang, 2011, pp. 1–22. ISBN: 978-3-0353-0120-5 978-3-0343-0293-7. URL: https://www.peterlang.com/document/1052083 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | E: Égypte, Émirats arabes unis, Équateur, Érythrée, Espagne, Estonie, États-Unis, Éthiopie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-E.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Émirats arabes unis*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Emirats_arabes.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] *United Arab Emirates*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL

International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/AE/status/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

698: Oman

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1971-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Arabic	1971-1995	X	D: *De facto* national
	1996-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1971-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Arabic (Standard Arabic) as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Oman, citing the constitution of 1996. *L'Aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this assessment, noting that this foundational text, which serves as Oman's first formal constitutional document, codified longstanding legal and administrative practice by explicitly designating Arabic the official language of state.

> Article 3 [1996]
>
> The State's official language is Arabic.

The Sultanate of Oman stands among the oldest sovereign polities on the Arabian Peninsula. At the zenith of its maritime empire, the Sultanate exercised control over parts of the East African coast as well as southern Arabia. Following the partition of the empire in 1856 between Zanzibar and Muscat, the Muscat-based Sultanate entered a prolonged period of British tutelage. Though Oman retained nominal sovereignty, it functioned as a *de facto* protectorate for almost a century beginning in 1872.

In 1970, Sultan Qaboos bin Said deposed his father with covert British backing and initiated a sweeping programme of modernisation. At the time, Oman was the most underdeveloped country in the region, with a single hospital and no secondary schools. Nevertheless, as *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes, the Omani path to modernity was marked by gradualism and eschewed the 'excessive Westernisation' adopted by several of its neighbours.

Language policy followed a similarly measured trajectory. *L'Aménagement linguistique dans le monde* characterises the state's approach as one of non-intervention, noting that Arabic has served as the medium of governance for centuries. It remains the language of legislation, adjudication, and administration. While the 2003 labour code, for example, requires employment contracts to be drafted in Arabic, this stands as one of the few statutory texts regulating language use in particular domains. Arabic is the exclusive language of instruction at the primary and secondary levels, although higher education is offered in both Arabic and English.

Given the continuous use of Arabic in state functions prior to 1996, I code it as the *de facto* national language from 1971 to 1995, and as the statutory national language from 1996 to 2014, in line with the constitutional provision cited above. Furthermore, as the Ethnologue recognises English as a language of wider communication, I apply a placeholder code to reflect its functional presence from 1971 to 2014.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Sultanate of Oman'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 535–538. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s032.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Oman*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/OM/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Oman*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/oman.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Oman | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/oman-lois.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

700: Afghanistan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Dari	1945-1963	N	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1964-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Pashto	1945-1963	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
	1964-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Turkmen	1945-2003	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	2004-2014	X	I: Statutory provincial (identity)
Uzbek	1945-2003	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	2004-2014	X	I: Statutory provincial (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Dari and Pashto (Southern Pashto) as the two principal languages and the statutory national languages of Afghanistan, citing Article 16(1) of the 2004 constitution. *L'Aménagement linguistique dans le monde* asserts that the 1931 constitution was the first to declare these languages as national languages; however, close scrutiny of the constitutional text reveals this to be inaccurate. The earliest formal mention of official languages does not appear until the 1964 constitution, where Article 3 designates Pashto and Dari as official languages, and Article 35 identifies Pashto as the 'national language.'

> Article 3 [1964]
>
> From amongst the languages of Afghanistan, Pushtu and Dari shall be the official languages.
>
> ...
>
> Article 35
>
> It is the duty of the state to prepare and implement an effective programme for the development and strengthening of the national language, Pushtu.

In her 2023 article, 'Constitutions and Modernity in Post-Colonial Afghanistan: Ethnolinguistic Nationalism and the Making of an Afghan Nation-State,' the historian Elisabeth Leake offers a comprehensive examination of constitutional language provisions concerning Pashto and Dari, linking them to broader projects of Afghan state-building. Dari, with deep historical roots as the language of administration, maintained its central role in state governance. Afghanistan, never formally colonised by European empires, nonetheless saw its court elites in the 1930s embrace

ethnolinguistic nationalism. Pashto, long entwined with Afghan identity across South Asia, was promoted through a state-supported Pashto language academy.

Drawing inspiration from Republican Turkey's language-modernisation campaigns and Pashtun nationalist movements in British India, the Afghan monarchy sought to elevate Pashto. In 1936, it was proclaimed an official language, and an effort was launched to impose Pashto-medium instruction nationwide. Yet these 'Pashtunisation' initiatives foundered. By the 1950s and 1960s, it had become evident that the ruling elite could not effectively implement these policies, not the least due to their own limited proficiency in Pashto. Under Prime Minister Mohammad Daoud Khan (1952-63), Afghanistan reverted to a policy of pragmatic bilingualism.

The drafting of the 1964 constitution was marked by contentious debate over language. Proposals favouring Pashto provoked opposition from other ethnic groups, prompting the drafters to include the phrase 'from amongst the languages of Afghanistan' to mitigate perceptions of exclusivity. Nonetheless, Article 35 conferred upon Pashto the status of the sole national language. Leake contends that this provision embodied an elite aspiration to forge Afghan nationalism upon an ethnolinguistic foundation perceived as consonant with modern statehood. Yet policy implementation remained uneven: by 1971, schools were largely Pashto-speaking, while the judiciary continued to operate in Dari.

Following Daoud Khan's return to power in 1973, the 1964 constitution was suspended. The 1977 constitution retained the formulation of Article 3, but the 1978 rise of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) introduced a more pluralistic ethos. Article 40 of the 1980 provisional constitution reaffirmed the primacy of Pashto and Dari in legal texts and decrees, while allowing for their publication in the 'other languages of the peoples of Afghanistan.' Article 57 further provided that courts might use Pashto, Dari, or 'the local majority language,' preserving a hierarchical linguistic order.

With the new permanent constitution issued in 1987, Article 8 declared that 'Pashtu and Dari are official languages among the national languages of the country,' formally demoting Pashto from its former status as the singular national language. Though this formulation maintained in the 1990 constitution, the constitutional framework was suspended during the Taliban's first period of rule. In 2001, the Bonn Agreement reasserted Pashto and Dari as the languages of official documentation, a provision carried forward into the 2004 constitution of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan with further specificity:

> Article 16 [2004]
>
> From amongst Pashto, Dari, Uzbeki, Turkmani, Baluchi, Pachaie, Nuristani, Pamiri, and other current languages in the country, Pashto and Dari shall be the official languages of the state.
>
> In areas where the majority of the people speak in any one of Uzbeki, Turkmani, Pachaie, Nuristani, Baluchi or Pamiri languages, any of the aforementioned language, in addition to Pashto and Dari, shall be the

> third official language, the usage of which shall be regulated by law.
>
> ...

On the basis of the foregoing, I code as follows. From 1945 to 1963, I classify Pashto as a statutory language of national identity to reflect the 1936 decree declaring it an official language, while acknowledging the limited success of efforts to supplant Dari in administrative domains. From 1964 to 2014, I code it as a statutory national language, in recognition of the reversion to bilingualism from the 1960s and its consistent designation as an official language in the constitutions of 1964, 1977, 1980, 1987, and 1990. I do not treat the suspension of constitutional texts as interrupting this coding.

Dari, conversely, is coded as a *de facto* national working language from 1945 to 1963, owing to its uninterrupted use in governance despite lacking *de jure* status, particularly in the judiciary, despite Pashtunisation initiatives. From 1964 to 2014, I classify it as a statutory national language, given its joint official status with Pashto in every subsequent constitutional text.

Finally, among the languages enumerated in Article 16 of the 2004 constituion, only Turkmen and Uzbek possess national-level institutional recognition in other states. As the Ethnologue classifies them as statutory languages of provincial identity, I code them as such from 2004 to 2014. For the preceding period from 1945 to 2003, I designate both as *de facto* languages of provincial identity, acknowledging their longstanding regional use in the absence of formal constitutional status.

References

[1] *Afghanistan. Accord sur l'Afghanistan signé à Bonn, le 5 Décembre 2001.* Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2001. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/af2001.htm` (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] 'Constitution of Afghanistan'. In: *Middle East Journal* 19.2 (1965). Publisher: Middle East Institute, pp. 215–229. ISSN: 0026-3141. URL: `https://www.jstor.org/stable/4323852` (visited on 15/03/2025).

[3] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Afghanistan.* In: *ConstitutionNet.* The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: `https://constitutionnet.org/country/afghanistan` (visited on 13/03/2025).

[4] *Afghanistan.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AF/` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Elisabeth Leake. 'Constitutions and Modernity in Post-Colonial Afghanistan: Ethnolinguistic Nationalism and the Making of an Afghan Nation-State'. In: *Law and History Review* 41.2 (2023), pp. 295–315. ISSN: 0738-2480, 1939-9022. URL: `https://www.cambridge.org/core/product/identifier/S0738248022000530/type/journal_article` (visited on 15/03/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Afghanistan*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/afghanistan.htm` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Afghanistan / Constitution de 2004*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/afghanistan-cst2004.htm` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] *République islamique d'Afghanistan. Constitution du 3 janvier 2004*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2004. URL: `https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/af2004.htm` (visited on 15/03/2025).

[9] *The Constitution of Afghanistan: April 3, 1923*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1923. URL: `https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=587` (visited on 15/03/2025).

701: Turkmenistan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
	1991	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Russian	1992-1996	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1997-2005	X	-: Other notable usage
Turkmen	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Turkmen as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Turkmenistan, citing Article 13 of the 1992 constitution.

> Article 13. [1992]
>
> Turkmen is the state language of Turkmenistan.

By 2008, this provision had been revised to include an additional sentence: 'All citizens of Turkmenistan are guaranteed the right to use their native language.' A formal articulation of language policy in Turkmenistan predates independence by one year. The 1990 Law on Language of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic declared Turkmen the state language and outlined an expansive vision for its promotion across nearly all domains of public life.

> Article 1.
>
> The state language of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic is the Turkmen language.
>
> The Turkmen SSR carries out state protection of the Turkmen language and takes care of its comprehensive development and active use in state bodies and public organizations, in the economy, public education, culture, technology, in the spheres of services, mass media and other spheres of public life.
>
> Securing the status of the state language for the Turkmen language does not infringe on the constitutional rights of citizens of other nationalities living in the Turkmen SSR to use the language of their nationality.
>
> Article 2.
>
> The languages of interethnic communication in the Turkmen SSR are the state and Russian languages.
>
> ...

At the beginning of the coding period, Russian was the statutory national language

of the Soviet Union under the 1990 Union-wide language law, the Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union (Grenoble 2003). Following the adoption of the 1992 constitution, however, Russian lost its official status in the newly independent Turkmen state, becoming instead a language of 'interethnic communication.'

Turkmen linguistic identity was shaped and consolidated during the Soviet period through policies that promoted titular nationalities, and consciously reappropriated after independence. The country's first two presidents, Saparmurat Niyazov (1991-2006) and Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov (2006-2022), both pursued an intensive programme of Turkmenisation. Niyazov shifted Turkmen orthography from Cyrillic to Latin, declared Turkmen the sole language of instruction at all levels of education, and shuttered all non-Turkmen-medium schools. Although Berdimuhamedov reintroduced Russian and English as foreign languages in schools, the overriding thrust of state policy remained the expansion of Turkmen's role in every sphere of public life.

In legal affairs, Article 104 of the constitution mandates that judicial proceedings be conducted in Turkmen, though non-Turkmen speakers retain the right to interpretation. This provision is echoed in the Courts Act (1991), the Code on Arbitration Procedure (2001), the Code on Criminal Procedure (2009), and the Code on Civil Procedure (2015). Legislative drafting is similarly conducted in Turkmen. The 1990 language law, which remained in effect after independence, initially required official documents to be drafted in Turkmen and translated into Russian. However, by the mid-1990s, Niyazov had discontinued translation into Russian and ordered that all cabinet meetings be held exclusively in Turkmen. In the civil service, Turkmen gained dominance during the late 1990s, with Russian-speaking bureaucrats subject to widespread dismissal.

Overall, Turkmenistan's post-independence language policy has been characterised by intense Turkmenisation, rooted in a vision of Turkmenistani identity based on the ability to speak Turkmen rather than Turkmen ethnicity. The country's closed foreign relations have facilitated this policy's success, and Russian use declined sharply by the decade's end. Minority languages, meanwhile, have experienced systematic marginalisation, while English and Turkish have gained limited traction through globalisation. Yet Turkmen remains the dominant language by far.

On the basis of the foregoing, I code Turkmen as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1991 to 2014. This reflects both the 1990 language law of the Turkmen SSR and Article 13 of the 1992 constitution, which remained in force throughout the coding period.

I code Russian as follows. For 1991, I classify it as a statutory national working language, in accordance with the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union. From 1992 to 1996, I code Russian as a *de facto* national working language to reflect its continued use despite the 1992 constitution's omission of Russian as an official language. From 1997 to 2005, I assign a placeholder code to capture the accelerating decline in Russian's functional role, evidenced by the

exclusion of Russian from legislative proceedings and the 1997 educational reforms curtailing Russian language instruction. Finally, from 2006 to 2014, I cease to code Russian at all, aligning with the Ethnologue's assessment and acknowledging the effective end of Russian's institutional relevance under Berdimuhamedov.

References

[1] *Constitution of Turkmenistan*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1992. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=490 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of Turkmenistan*. Trans. by Khalk Maslahaty. Publisher: News Central Asia. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2008. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=491 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[3] Ayşe Pamir Dietrich. 'Language Policy and the Status of Russian in the Soviet Union and the Successor States Outside the Russian Federation'. In: *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 19.1 (2005), pp. 1–27. URL: https://miskinhill.com.au/journals/asees/19:1-2/language-policy-status-of-russian.pdf (visited on 15/03/2025).

[4] *Turkmenistan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TM/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] L. A. Grenoble. *Language Policy in the Soviet Union*. 1st ed. 2003. Language Policy 3. Dordrecht: Imprint: Springer, 2003. 1 p. ISBN: 978-1-4020-1298-3 978-0-306-48083-6.

[6] Ahmet T Kuru. 'Between the state and cultural zones: Nation building in Turkmenistan'. In: *Central Asian Survey* 21.1 (2002), pp. 71–90. ISSN: 0263-4937, 1465-3354. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02634930220127955 (visited on 15/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Turkménistan | 1) Situation générale et données démolinguistiques*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turkmenistan-1General.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Turkménistan | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turkmenistan-2HST.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Turkménistan | 3) Politiques linguistique*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turkmenistan-3Politik-lng.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Turkménistan / Loi de la République socialiste soviétique turkmène sur la langue (version russe) (1990)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2020. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turkmenistan-loi-90-russe.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Turkménistan / Lois diverses portant sur la langue en matière de justice*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2020. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/turkmenistan-loi-div_justice.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] Anthony J. Liddicoat. 'Language-in-Education Policy in the Central Asian Republics of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan'. In: *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 10. London: Routledge, 2019, pp. 452–470. ISBN: 978-1-315-66623-5. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315666235-31/language-planning-language-policy-kazakhstan-timothy-reagan (visited on 15/03/2025).

702: Tajikistan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Russian	1991	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)
	1992-2014	`X`	`E`: *De facto* national (working)
Tajik	1991-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Russian and Tajik as the two principal languages of Tajikistan. Russian functions as a *de facto* national working language, while Tajik is a statutory national language based on Article 2 of Tajikistan's first post-independence constitution, promulgated in 1994.

> *Moddai 2.* [1994]
>
> 1) *Zaboni davlatii Toçikiston zaboni toçikī ast. Zaboni rusī hamcun zaboni muoşirati bajni millatho amal mekunad.*
> 2) *Hamai millatho va xalkijathoe, ki dar hududi çumhurī zindagi mekunand, haq dorand az zaboni modariaşon ozodona istifoda kunand.*
>
> [Article 2. [1964]
>
> 1) The state language of Tajikistan is Tajik. Russian serves as a language of interethnic communication.
> 2) All nations and nationalities living on the territory of the republic have the right to freely use their native language.]

These constitutional provisions trace back to the 1989 Language Law of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic. This law declared Tajik the official language of the republic, required citizens to master it, and mandated its use across nearly all public domains. At the same time, it reserved a role for Russian as a language of interethnic communication. The law remained in force following the dissolution of the Soviet Union and was only replaced in 2009. By contrast, the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union, which designating Russian the Union-wide official language, lapsed with the USSR's collapse in 1991.

Post-independence Tajikistani language policy has been characterised by an assertive push for the expansion of Tajik in legislative, judicial, and administrative domains, often at the expense of minority languages. Russian is the notable exception: the state has deliberately preserved its role in select areas. In addition to the 1989 and 2009 language laws, multiple sector-specific laws, such as those

governing criminal procedure (2010), civil procedure (2008), and others, require the use of Tajik or 'the language of the majority of the population.' Some legislation permits greater flexibility: for example, the customs code (2004) allows customs clearance to be conducted 'in the official language or in the language of interethnic communication,' while a procurement law (2006) mandates Tajik as the default but allows Russian and English if necessary.

In education, Tajik, Russian, and Uzbek were the only languages guaranteed instruction prior to 2014, with no provision for other minority tongues. However, Tajikisation proceeded rapidly in the wake of the civil war, leading to a noticeable decline in Russian language competency. In response, the government reintroduced Russian as a compulsory subject in 2004, a requirement reiterated in the 2014 Education Act, which simultaneously mandated Tajik as the primary medium of instruction.

In light of this trajectory, I code Tajik as a statutory national language for the entire period from 1991 to 2014. This classification reflects the combined authority of the 1989 Language Law of the Tajik SSR, not replaced until 2009, and Article 2 of the 1994 constitution. Russian, by contrast, is coded as a statutory national working language for 1991 based on the 1990 Soviet language law. From 1992 to 2014, I classify it as a *de facto* national working language, consistent with its designation as a language of interethnic communication and in alignment with the Ethnologue's assessment.

References

[1] *Tajikistan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TJ/` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[2] L. A. Grenoble. *Language Policy in the Soviet Union*. 1st ed. 2003. Language Policy 3. Dordrecht: Imprint: Springer, 2003. 1 p. ISBN: 978-1-4020-1298-3 978-0-306-48083-6.

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Tadjikistan / 1) Situation générale et données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/tadjikistan-1general.htm` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Tadjikistan / 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/tadjikistan-2HIST.htm` (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Tadjikistan / 3) La politique linguistique actuelle*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du

Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/tadjikistan-3politk-lng.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Tadjikistan / Constitution du 6 novembre 1994*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/tadjikistan-const-1994.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Tadjikistan / Loi sur la langue (Le 22 juillet 1989)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/tadjikistan-loi-1989.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Tadjikistan / Loi sur la langue officielle (2009)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/tadjikistan-loi-2009.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Anthony J. Liddicoat. 'Language-in-Education Policy in the Central Asian Republics of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan'. In: *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 10. London: Routledge, 2019, pp. 452–470. ISBN: 978-1-315-66623-5. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315666235-31/language-planning-language-policy-kazakhstan-timothy-reagan (visited on 15/03/2025).

703: Kyrgyzstan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Kyrgyz	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national
	1991	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Russian	1992-1999	X	D: *De facto* national
	2000-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Russian and Kyrgyz as the two principal and statutory national languages of Kyrgyzstan, citing Article 5(1) of the 2010 constitution. Although the article number incorrectly refers to an earlier constitutional text, the 2010 constitution indeed preserves substantively identical provisions.

> Article 10 [2010]
>
> 1. The state language of the Kyrgyz Republic shall be the Kyrgyz language.
> 2. In the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian language shall be used in the capacity of an official language.
> 3. The Kyrgyz Republic shall ensure that the representatives of all ethnicities which form the population of Kyrgyzstan have the right to preserve their native language as well as creation of conditions for its learning and development

The 2010 constitution is the final constitutional document in the coding period. The first constitution of independent Kyrgyzstan was adopted in 1993 and amended in 2003. Further changes following the 2005 Tulip Revolution were ultimately annulled by the Constitutional Court. A new constitution was ratified in 2007, and replaced in turn by the 2010 constitution, which remained in force until superseded by a new document in 2021.

Among the post-Soviet states of Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan is distinctive in granting Russian a *de jure* 'official' status alongside the 'state' language, Kyrgyz. The differentiation between 'state' and 'official' languages first appears in the constitutional amendments of 2003 and is maintained in the 2010 constitution.

> Article 5 [2003]
>
> 1. The state language of the Kyrgyz Republic is the Kyrgyz language.
> 2. In the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian language is used as an official language.

3. The Kyrgyz Republic guarantees to representatives of all the nationalities that constitute the people of Kyrgyzstan the right of preservation of their native language, creation of conditions for learning and development [of the language].
4. It is not permitted to infringe on citizens' rights and freedoms because of their ignorance of the state or official language.

The original 1993 constitution, by contrast, did not distinguish between 'state' and 'official' languages. Kyrgyz was described as the 'official' language, while Russian was grouped with 'all other languages' of the nationalities of republic and afforded protection in that broader context. It was thus stripped of its earlier *de jure* status and deprived of the more modest designation of 'language of interethnic communication.'

Article 5 [1993]

1. The official language of the Kyrgyz Republic is the Kyrgyz language.
2. The Kyrgyz Republic guarantees the preservation, equal and free development and functioning of the Russian language and all other languages which are used by the population of the Republic.
3. It is not allowed to infringe on citizens' rights and freedoms because of their lack of knowledge and command of the official language.

The 1993 document should be contextualised within the broader sociolinguistic history of the republic. Huskey (1995) observes that Kyrgyz was 'one of the least robust Union-republic titular languages in the USSR,' a condition traceable to its underdeveloped literary tradition and late standardisation. The language did not acquire an alphabet until the late nineteenth century and cycled through two alphabets in 14 years in the early twentieth.

Demographics further complicated language politics. Following the Second World War, Slavic migration to urban areas led to Kyrgyz being spoken primarily in rural settings. Ethnic Kyrgyz constituted only a plurality of the Kirghiz SSR's population for much of the Soviet period. In 1989, ethnic Russians formed 56 percent of Bishkek's population, and another 20 percent of the capital's residents were Kyrgyz fluent in Russian. Elite loyalty to Moscow, a phenomenon Huskey describes as 'sycophantism,' further promoted Russian in official domains.

Against this backdrop, the 1989 Language Law of the Kirghiz SSR was adopted in an effort to elevate Kyrgyz while retaining protections for Russian. Although opposed by many urban constituencies, the law ultimately passed and may be seen as establishing a regime of *de facto* Kyrgyz-Russian bilingualism.

Article 1: As proclaimed in the constitution of the Kyrgyz SSR, Kyrgyz is the state language of the Kyrgyz SSR.

Article 2: As the state language, Kyrgyz is a symbol of the national

> sovereignty of the Kyrgyz SSR. It is used in all spheres of public activity of the State: in the economy, science, technology, public education, culture and communications between the citizens of the Kyrgyz SSR.
>
> Article 3: The Kyrgyz SSR guarantees the full development of the state language and adopts and finances a national program for its use and study.
>
> Article 4: In the Kyrgyz SSR, Russian acts as the language of interethnic communication for the peoples of the USSR. The free development of the languages of other nationalities living in the Republic is protected in the Kyrgyz SSR.
>
> ...

This law remained in force following independence, but was superseded by subsequent language legislation. Russian's return to institutional status began with Law no. 52 of 29 May 2000 on the Official Language of the Kyrgyz Republic, which formally conferred 'official' status on Russian.

> Article 1: The official language of the Kyrgyz Republic [2000]
>
> 1) The official language of the Kyrgyz Republic is the language used alongside the State language in the field of public administration, legislation and judicial procedure of the Kyrgyz Republic, as well as in other areas of the public life of the Kyrgyz Republic under the conditions and measures provided for in this Act and the legislation of the Kyrgyz Republic.
> 2) The official language of the Kyrgyz Republic is the language that serves as a language of interethnic communication and contributes to the integration of the republic into the world community.
> 3) The official language of the Kyrgyz Republic is Russian.

This formulation, distinguishing between the 'state' (*mamlekettik/gosudarstvennyy*) and 'official' (*rasmiy/ofitsial'nyy*) languages, was retained in the 2003, 2007, and 2010 constitutions. The 2004 Law on the State Language repealed the 1989 Language Law and reaffirmed the statuses of Kyrgyz and Russian as laid out in the 2000 law. This statute also stipulated that judicial, legislative, and administrative processes could occur in Kyrgyz, Russian, or both. In practice, for instance, the parliamentary rules adopted in 2012 allow for operations in Kyrgyz with translation provided to and from Russian.

In specific domains, the language regime remains officially bilingual. Civil status documentation (2005) and corporate registrations (2009) must be issued in both Kyrgyz and Russian, while customs declarations (2005) may be submitted in either language. Russian remains the language of business, and ties with the Russian Federation continue to reinforce its dominance. In education, the 2004 state language law requires Kyrgyz to be the primary language of instruction, while the 2000 law

on the official language mandates that Russian be taught as a compulsory subject. Higher education is formally bilingual, though in practice Russian dominates in urban centres, particularly Bishkek.

Despite formal efforts to promote Kyrgyz, the state has effectively preserved the Soviet model of bilingualism. As concluded by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Kyrgyz may be the 'first' official language in law, but in social reality Russian retains a dominant position as the language of power and prestige. Moreover, the relatively weaker position of the Kyrgyz majority has facilitated the retention of Russian as an interethnic *lingua franca*, with state language policy disproportionately displacing minority languages rather than Russian.

Based on the foregoing, I code Kyrgyz as a statutory national language for the entire period from 1991 to 2014. This coding reflects successive legislation and constitutional texts designating Kyrgyz as the 'state' language, in agreement with the judgement of the Ethnologue.

Russian is coded as a statutory national working language in 1991, pursuant to the 1990 Soviet language law which declared Russian the official language of the Union. From 1992 to 1999, I classify Russian as a *de facto* national language. Although not recognised as such in the 1993 constitution, its designation in the 1989 Language Law as a language of interethnic communication remained legally valid, and its widespread use by a large segment of the population elevated it to comprehensive national rather than merely national working status. From 2000 to 2014, I code Russian as a statutory national language, reflecting its designation in the 2000 Law on the Official Language and in all subsequent constitutional texts. The designation 'national language' rather than 'national working language' is warranted by its sociocultural centrality and identity function in Kyrgyzstan, paralleling its role in Kazakhstan (Pavlenko 2008: 283), and consistent with the classification by the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Chronology for Russians in Kyrgyzstan*. Publisher: Minorities at Risk Project. UNHCR Refworld. 2004. URL: https://webarchive.archive.unhcr.org/20230520124930/https://www.refworld.org/docid/469f38b01e.html (visited on 19/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic: May 5, 1993 (as Amended to February 18, 2003) (Kyrgyzstan [kg])*. In: *Oxford Constitutions of the World*. Trans. by Karin Hermanska. Online. OCW CD 755 (KG) H 2003. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-ocw-cd755-H2003.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd755-H2003?rskey=Z7rPNm&result=861&prd=OCW&print (visited on 19/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic: May 5, 1993 (as Amended to October 21, 1998) (Kyrgyzstan [kg])*. In: *Oxford Constitutions of the World*. Trans. by Karin Hermanska. Online. OCW CD 755 (KG) H 1998. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-

ocw-cd755-H1998.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd755-H1998?p=emailAKLK7bD93qAwo (visited on 19/03/2025).

[4] *Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic: October 21, 2007 (Reworded Version) (Kyrgyzstan [kg])*. In: *Oxford Constitutions of the World*. Trans. by "Max Planck Institute". OCW CD 755 (KG) H 2007. Oxford University Press, 2007. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/law-ocw-cd755-H2007.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd755-H2007?prd=OXCON (visited on 19/03/2025).

[5] *Kyrgyzstan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KG/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] L. A. Grenoble. *Language Policy in the Soviet Union*. 1st ed. 2003. Language Policy 3. Dordrecht: Imprint: Springer, 2003. 1 p. ISBN: 978-1-4020-1298-3 978-0-306-48083-6.

[7] Eugene Huskey. 'The Politics of Language in Kyrgyzstan'. In: *Nationalities Papers* 23.3 (1995), pp. 549–572. ISSN: 0090-5992, 1465-3923. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/nationalities-papers/article/abs/politics-of-language-in-kyrgyzstan/CFD771330E03E48AACC07DB9CE4A6B84 (visited on 19/03/2025).

[8] Gulnara Jamasheva. 'Language Policy in the Kyrgyz Republic: Gains and Losses'. In: *Heritage and Identity in the Turkic World: Contemporary Scholarship in Memory of Ilse Laude-Cirtautas (1926–2019)*. Ed. by Alva Robinson et al. De Gruyter, 2023, pp. 195–216. ISBN: 978-3-11-072022-8. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783110720228-013/html (visited on 19/03/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Kirghizistan | 1) Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kirghizistan-1General.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Kirghizistan | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kirghizistan-2HST.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Kirghizistan | 3) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kirghizistan-3Politik-lng.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc. *Kirghizistan | Loi sur la langue d'État (nationale). 2004-2015*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kirghizistan-loi-lng-2004.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[13] Jacques Leclerc. *Kirghizistan / Loi sur la langue officielle. 1989 - abrogée*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kirghizistan-loi-lng-1989.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[14] Jacques Leclerc. *Kirghizistan / Loi sur la langue officielle. N° 52, 2000-2013*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kirghizistan-loi-lng-2000.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[15] Jacques Leclerc. *Kirghizistan / Lois diverses sur les textes juridiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kirghizistan-lois_actes.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[16] Anthony J. Liddicoat. 'Language-in-Education Policy in the Central Asian Republics of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan'. In: *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 10. London: Routledge, 2019, pp. 452–470. ISBN: 978-1-315-66623-5. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315666235-31/language-planning-language-policy-kazakhstan-timothy-reagan (visited on 15/03/2025).

[17] Aneta Pavlenko. 'Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries: Language Revival, Language Removal, and Sociolinguistic Theory'. In: *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 11.3 (2008). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 275–314. ISSN: 1367-0050. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050802271517 (visited on 19/03/2025).

[18] *The Constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic, 2010*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2010. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=480 (visited on 19/03/2025).

704: Uzbekistan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Russian	1991	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1992-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Uzbek	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Russian and Uzbek (Northern Uzbek) as the primary languages of Uzbekistan. Whilst Russian is a *de facto* national working language, the Ethnologue classifies Uzbek as the statutory national language based on the 1995 Law on the State Language. In substance, however, the 1995 law is a revised version of the 1989 State Language Law, passed in the waning years of the USSR and closely resembling similar legislative efforts in other Soviet republics of the time. Both the 1989 and 1995 laws designate Uzbek as the official language of the republic.

In respect of Russian, Birgit Schlyter, a leading authority on Central Asian language policy, observes (2012: 194):

> 'Within the state borders of Uzbekistan, Russian has no other formal status than that of a minority language. In the 1989 State Language Law it was given the role of a language for interethnic, or "cross-national" (Uzb. *millatlararo*) communication and was referred to as such in several articles of the law. This epithet was not repeated in the 1995 revised version of the language law, where Russian was mentioned only once—and merely as one of a number of available languages.'

The terminological downgrade noted here reflects the broader ideological shift under President Islam Karimov towards a more assertively Uzbek national identity. This was formally enshrined in the country's first post-Soviet constitution, adopted in 1992, which, like the language laws, foregrounds Uzbek to the exclusion of any explicit mention of Russian.

> Article 4. [1992]
>
> The state language of the Republic of Uzbekistan shall be Uzbek.
>
> The Republic of Uzbekistan shall ensure a respectful attitude toward the languages, customs and traditions of all nationalities and ethnic groups living on its territory, and create the conditions necessary for their development.

This provision has remained unamended throughout the coding period. Karimov's

policy of linguistic indigenisation, however, was riddled with inconsistencies. One key symbolic gesture was the replacement of the Cyrillic alphabet with a Latin one. The initial reform was legislated in 1993, only to be replaced by an updated Latin alphabet in 1995. Despite successive deadlines for full Latinisation, implementation was halting, and Cyrillic remains in parallel use across various sectors of public life.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde judges that 'Uzbek does not seem to have modernised enough to become a national language adapted to today's world.' The challenges of language modernisation were especially pronounced in the administrative and legal domains. Though legislation is now formally issued in Uzbek, it is often drafted in Russian and later translated, with the Uzbek version carrying legal force. Russian, despite its lack of *de jure* status, remains the working language of much of the bureaucracy, reflecting both institutional inertia and the fact that many civil servants remain more fluent in Russian.

In the educational domain, the language laws stipulate a preference for Uzbek, but Article 6 of the 1995 law also guarantees the right to choose the language of instruction. While most schools operate in Uzbek, Russian continues to occupy an important space. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, approximately 10 percent of schools offered Russian-medium instruction in the 2013-4 academic year. At the tertiary level, around half of universities conducted courses in Russian, with the remainder operating in Uzbek.

Russian similarly dominates the economic sphere. It retains prestige and is a language of economic opportunity and mobility, serving as a vital conduit in commercial interactions and higher-level business affairs. Despite efforts at de-Russification, Uzbekistan continues to rely on Russian as a *lingua franca* across many domains of public life, albeit less so than in neighbouring Kyrgyzstan.

On the basis of the above, I code Russian as a statutory national working language in 1991 due to the 1990 Law on the Languages of the Peoples of the Soviet Union, which designated Russian as the official language of interethnic communication across all republics. After this law lapses with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, I code Russian as a *de facto* national working language from 1992 to 2014. Although Russian lacks codified constitutional or legislative status after Uzbekistani independence, its continued use across government, commerce, and education substantiates its role as a national working language in practice.

I code Uzbek as the statutory national language for the entire duration from 1991 to 2014, grounded in the provisions of the 1989 and 1995 language laws and in the 1992 constitution, all of which designate Uzbek as the 'state' language. This aligns with the judgement of the Ethnologue.

Though the Ethnologue additionally identifies Karakalpak as a statutory provincial language within the Autonomous Republic of Karakalpakstan under the 1992 constitution, I do not code it. The language is neither widely spoken at the national level, nor does it have institutional status anywhere outside of Uzbekistan.

References

[1] Shahram Akbarzadeh. 'Nation-building in Uzbekistan'. In: *Central Asian Survey* 15.1 (1996), pp. 23–32. ISSN: 0263-4937, 1465-3354. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02634939608400931 (visited on 19/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Adopted at Eleventh Session of Twentieth Supreme Council of the Republic of Uzbekistan on December 8, 1992.* Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1992. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=485 (visited on 19/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Amended in accordance with the Law of RU No. 989-XII dtd 28/12/1993, the Law of the RUz dtd 24.04.2003 Law of the RUz No. ZRU-89 dtd 11.04.2007.* Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2007. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=486 (visited on 19/03/2025).

[4] *Karakalpak.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/kaa/ (visited on 20/03/2025).

[5] *Uzbekistan.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/UZ/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] L. A. Grenoble. *Language Policy in the Soviet Union.* 1st ed. 2003. Language Policy 3. Dordrecht: Imprint: Springer, 2003. 1 p. ISBN: 978-1-4020-1298-3 978-0-306-48083-6.

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Ouzbékistan | 1) Situation générale et données démolinguistiques.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/ouzbekistan-1general.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Ouzbékistan | 2) Données historiques.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/ouzbekistan-2HST.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Ouzbékistan | 3) La politique linguistique.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/ouzbekistan-3Politik-lng.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Ouzbékistan | Loi sur la langue officielle, 1989-1995.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique

du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/ouzbekistan-loi1989-1995.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Ouzbékistan / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2020. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/ouzbekistan-lois-div.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] Anthony J. Liddicoat. 'Language-in-Education Policy in the Central Asian Republics of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan'. In: *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 10. London: Routledge, 2019, pp. 452–470. ISBN: 978-1-315-66623-5. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315666235-31/language-planning-language-policy-kazakhstan-timothy-reagan (visited on 15/03/2025).

[13] Birgit Schlyter. '6. Language Policy and Language Development in Multilingual Uzbekistan'. In: *Language Policy and Language Conflict in Afghanistan and Its Neighbors*. Section: Language Policy and Language Conflict in Afghanistan and Its Neighbors. Brill, 2012, pp. 176–207. ISBN: 978-90-04-21765-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/edcoll/9789004217652/B9789004217652_007.xml (visited on 19/03/2025).

705: Kazakhstan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Kazakh	1991-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national
Russian	1991-1996	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)
	1997-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Kazakh and Russian as the two principal languages and the statutory national languages of Kazakhstan, referencing Article 7 of the 1995 constitution. A comparison of the 2014 and 2024 Ethnologue reveals a subtle reclassification: while the earlier version lists Russian as a statutory national language, the later edition refers to it as a statutory national *working* language. Given the gradual erosion of national identification with Russian over the intervening decade, I adopt the 2014 classification for coding purposes. Both editions consistently treat Kazakh as a statutory national language throughout.

> Article 7 [1995]
>
> 1. The state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan shall be the Kazakh language.
> 2. In state institutions and local self-administrative bodies the Russian language shall be officially used on equal grounds along with the Kazakh language.
> 3. The state shall promote conditions for the study and development of the languages of the people of Kazakhstan.

This provision affirms the primacy of Kazakh as the state language while functionally enshrining Russian as a language of government without technically naming it an 'official language.' This implicit recognition was later clarified in the 1997 Law on Languages (*Zakon o yazykakh v Respublike Kazakhstan*), which provided greater specificity regarding the constitutional language policy. Article 4(1) reaffirms Kazakh as the state language, detailing its function as the language of administration, legislation, the judiciary, and document management. Article 5 addresses the role of Russian:

> Article 5: The use of the Russian language [1997]
>
> 1) The Russian language is officially used on an equal footing with the Kazakh language in state agencies and local authorities.
> 2) According to Decree of the constitutional Council of the Republic

> of Kazakhstan of 8 May 1997 No. 10/2: "This constitutional rule clearly states that Kazakh and Russian are used equally and similarly in government administrations and local authorities, regardless of the circumstances.""

These provisions remain unchanged despite amendments to the law in 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2011, 2012, and 2013. The 1997 law superseded the 1989 Soviet-era Language Law, which also accorded Russian a unique level of recognition relative to other Central Asian republics. In the Kazakh SSR, Russian was more than a language of interethnic communication; it was granted a quasi-official status, albeit circuitously, as evident in the following articles:

> Article 1 [1989]
>
> Kazakh is the official language of the Kazakh SSR.
>
> The Kazakh SSR achieves the official protection of Kazakhstan and shows attention to its active use in government agencies and social organizations, in institutions of national education, culture, science, in services, media, etc.
>
> Article 2
>
> In the Kazakh SSR, the Russian language is the language of interethnic relations. The Kazakh SSR guarantees the free operation of the Russian language in the same way as that of the official language.
>
> The knowledge of the Russian language by the representatives of all nationalities of the Republic meets their fundamental interests.
>
> Article 3
>
> The status of Kazakhstan as an official language and the status of Russian as the language of interethnic relations do not prevent the use and development of the languages of national groups living in the territory of the Republic.

A comparative analysis shows that the 1989 Language Law of the Kazakh SSR in fact bestows a higher status on Russian than the 1989 Language Laws in the Tajik, Turkmen, Kirghiz, and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics.

In contrast to the analogous 1989 Language Laws in the Tajik, Turkmen, Kirghiz, and Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics, only the 1989 Language Law of the Kazakh SSR accorded Russian an official function equivalent to the titular language on top of its role as the 'language of interethnic communication.' Accordingly, Kazakhstan stands out as the sole Central Asian republic that retained Russian as a functional co-official language at the point of independence. Even in Kyrgyzstan, where Russian was also comparatively dominant, Russian was only reintroduced *de jure* as an official language in 2000 through Law No. 52 on the Official Language of the Kyrgyz Republic.

Despite symbolic efforts to promote Kazakh, Kazakhstan's post-Soviet language

policy has largely prioritised functional bilingualism. Aksholakova and Ismailova (2013) note that in practice, 'the Russian language dominates in Kazakhstan,' with 94 percent of the population demonstrating proficiency in Russian compared to just 64 percent for Kazakh. While extensive resources were allocated to 'Kazakhisation' under President Nursultan Nazarbayev, this policy aimed not at marginalising Russian, but rather at achieving a form of bilingual parity.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde observes that the 1997 Law on Languages imposed new administrative obligations, such as the requirement for document management to be carried out in both Kazakh and Russian. This bilingualism extended to other domains, including the armed forces, law enforcement, and commercial transactions. In some legal contexts, Kazakh is specified as the default language, but Russian and other languages may be used 'if necessary.' Domain-specific laws such as the Customs Act (1995) and Banking Act (1995) permit the use of either Kazakh or Russian for official procedures.

In education, no law regulates the medium of teaching, though the state provides Kazakh-medium pre-primary education and both Kazakh- and Russian-medium instruction at higher levels. Article 17 of the 1997 Language Law guarantees these provisions, while Article 10 of the Higher Education Act, in force from 1993 to 1999, further institutionalises bilingualism:

> Article 10: Language of Instruction [1993]
>
> 1) In public higher education institutions, training is offered in Kazakh and Russian, which is ensured by the creation of the necessary number of teaching units concerned, as well as the conditions for their operation. The training of specialists in other languages is done in accordance with the needs of the Republic.
>
> 2) In all higher education institutions, the study of Kazakh as the official language of the Republic of Kazakhstan and Russian, the official language of use, is determined by national standards of higher education.
>
> 3) The language or languages of instruction in private higher education institutions are determined by their founders in agreement with the Ministry of Education.

Despite these formal commitments, Kazakh has struggled to displace Russian as the dominant language of instruction, due in part to the lack of adequate teaching materials and institutional infrastructure in Kazakh. Since the mid-2010s, language policy has expanded to include English as a strategic third language under the framework of what Nazarbayev termed the 'Trinity of Languages,' but this falls outside the scope of the coding period.

Throughout the period under review, Russian remained dominant in the business sector, a trend reinforced by Kazakhstan's close economic ties with Russia. The persistence of Russian reflects not only the demographic presence of a large and influential Russian-speaking minority (around a quarter of the population at inde-

pendence) but also the enduring prestige and instrumental value associated with the language.

In light of the above, I code Kazakh as the statutory national language for the entire duration from 1991 to 2014 based on the 1989 Language Law, the 1995 Constitution, and the 1997 Law on Languages. This aligns with both versions of the Ethnologue. I code Russian as the statutory national working language from 1991 to 1996, based on its defined role under the 1989 Law. From 1997 onward, I code it as a statutory national language, given the strengthened and formalised provisions in the 1997 Law on Languages, harmonising this interpretation with the 2014 Ethnologue classification.

References

[1] Assem Aksholakova and Nurgul Ismailova. 'The Language Policy of Kazakhstan and the State Language in Government Service'. In: *Procedia - Social and Behavioral Sciences* 93 (2013), pp. 1580–1586. ISSN: 18770428. URL: https://linkinghub.elsevier.com/retrieve/pii/S1877042813035301 (visited on 19/03/2025).

[2] M. M. Arenov and S. K. Kalmykov. 'The Present Language Situation in Kazakhstan'. In: *Russian Education & Society* 39.1 (1997), pp. 73–83. ISSN: 1060-9393, 1558-0423. URL: https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.2753/RES1060-9393390173 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan: August 30, 1995 (as Amended to May 21, 2007) (Kazakhstan [kz])*. In: *Oxford Constitutions of the World*. Trans. by Zhenis Kembayev. Online. OCW CD 752 (KZ). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/law:ocw/cd752.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd752 (visited on 19/03/2025).

[4] *Kazakhstan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KZ/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] L. A. Grenoble. *Language Policy in the Soviet Union*. 1st ed. 2003. Language Policy 3. Dordrecht: Imprint: Springer, 2003. 1 p. ISBN: 978-1-4020-1298-3 978-0-306-48083-6.

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Kazakhstan | 1) Situation générale et données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kazakhstan-1General.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Kazakhstan | 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kazakhstan-2HST.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Kazakhstan / 3) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kazakhstan-3Politik-lng.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Kazakhstan / Loi de la RSS du Kazakhstan sur les langues, 1989 (abrogée)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kazakhstan-loi-lng1989.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Kazakhstan / Loi sur les langues (1997-2013)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kazakhstan-loi-lng1997.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Kazakhstan / Lois constitutionnelles (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/kazakhstan-const.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] *Kazakhstan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/KZ/status/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[13] Aneta Pavlenko. 'Multilingualism in Post-Soviet Countries: Language Revival, Language Removal, and Sociolinguistic Theory'. In: *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 11.3 (2008). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 275–314. ISSN: 1367-0050. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050802271517 (visited on 19/03/2025).

[14] Timothy Reagan. 'Language Planning and Language Policy in Kazakhstan'. In: *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 10. London: Routledge, 2019, pp. 442–451. ISBN: 978-1-315-66623-5. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315666235-31/language-planning-language-policy-kazakhstan-timothy-reagan (visited on 15/03/2025).

710: China

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Chinese	1945-2014	N	D: *De facto* national
Kazakh	1945-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Kyrgyz	1945-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Tibetan	1945-2014	N	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Chinese (Mandarin Chinese) as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of China. In accordance with the Correlates of War classification, code 710 refers to the Republic of China for the period from 1945 to 1948. From 1949 to 2014, the same code applies to the People's Republic of China, while code 713 designates the Republic of China on Taiwan for the latter period.

Five successive constitutions have been promulgated in China after the Second World War in 1946, 1954, 1975, 1978, and 1982. The current document, adopted in 1982, remains in force, albeit with numerous amendments. Notably, none of these constitutional texts formally declare an official language. However, Article 19 of the 1982 constitution articulates the state's commitment to the nationwide promotion of Standard Mandarin, a provision that, while indicative of intent, does not amount to a legal designation of Chinese as the official language.

> 第十九条 [1982]
> ...
> 国家推广全国通用的普通话
> [Article 19 [1982]
> ...
> The state promotes the nationwide use of Standard Mandarin.]

Since the Republican period, state language policy has consistently aimed to consolidate the primacy of Standard Mandarin and the simplified script, to the detriment of both regional dialects and the traditional orthography (see Spolsky 2014; Wáng and Yuán 2013). For the present analysis, however, I collapse this internal variation under the unified label 'Chinese.'

More significant for the purposes of coding is the Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language (中华人民共和国国家通用语言文字法), in force since 2001. While this statute introduces detailed prescriptions for the use of a standardised linguistic form in all official domains, most notably within education,

administration, and media, it does not define the legal status of Chinese in relation to non-Chinese languages. Article 9 articulates the central provision:

> 第九条：[2001]
>
> 国家机关以普通话和规范汉字为公务用语用字。法律另有规定的除外。
>
> [Article 9: [2001]
>
> Putonghua and the standardised Chinese characters shall be used by State organs as the language and script for official affairs, except where otherwise provided for in laws.]

As Rohsenow (2004) documents, the intent of the 2001 law was not to define a hierarchical relationship between Chinese and minority languages, but to formalise the exclusive use of a particular standard form of Chinese within public and bureaucratic settings. Consequently, the legislation consolidates an already extant sociolinguistic reality: the unchallenged predominance of Chinese across all spheres of public life. In light of this, and in accordance with the judgement of the Ethnologue, I code Chinese as the *de facto* national language for the entire duration from 1945 to 2014.

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue does not identify any languages with provincial-level institutional status in China, though it does list the languages of the 55 state-recognised ethnic minorities as 'recognised languages.' The 2014 edition, being temporally proximate to the coding period, offers greater utility. It classifies Lü, Kyrgyz, Mongolian (Peripheral Mongolian), Tibetan, and Uyghur as possessing provincial-level institutional status, citing Articles 10 and 21 of the 1984 Ethnic Regional Autonomy Act.

Of these, only Mongolian and Kyrgyz are in wide use beyond China's borders. Mongolian is designated a statutory provincial *working* language in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, though the linguistic situation is complicated by significant internal divergence. Caodaobateer (2004) observes that Mongolian varieties in China, Mongolia, and Russia have diverged to a degree that impedes mutual intelligibility. Inner Mongolian, also referred to as Peripheral Mongolian, is distinct from Halh Mongolian, the national language of Mongolia, both in speech and script. The former is written vertically in the Classical script, while the latter employs the Cyrillic script in left-to-right orientation. Although both are subsumed under the 'Mongolian' macrolanguage in the Ethnologue, so great is the divergence between them that Peripheral Mongolian cannot be said to possess institutional status in another country. Accordingly, I do not code Mongolian as a provincial-level language of China.

With respect to Kyrgyz, its classification as a statutory provincial language warrants rejection. Although spoken in Xinjiang, Kyrgyz is used by a numerically minor community and is not associated with the titular ethnicity of the region. Moreover, the legal basis cited, the 1984 Ethnic Regional Autonomy Act, contains no reference to any specific language. Rather, the Act provides only general

enabling provisions concerning language use in autonomous regions:

> Article 10 [1984]
>
> Autonomous agencies in ethnic autonomous areas guarantee the freedom of the nationalities in these areas to use and develop their own spoken and written languages and their freedom to preserve or reform their own folkways and customs.
>
> ...
>
> Article 21
>
> While performing its functions, the autonomous agencies of an ethnic autonomous area, in accordance with the regulations on the exercise of autonomy of the area, use the language or languages commonly used in the locality; where several commonly used languages are used for the performance of such functions, the language of the nationality exercising regional autonomy may be used as the main language.

This legislative framework does not establish statutory rights for any particular language, but instead enables regional authorities to enact their own language policies. In practice, even this autonomy is often more nominal than substantive. As *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes, the use of minority languages is largely confined to rural areas and to local-level administration, with Mandarin dominating in urban centres and provincial government.

> 'Dans l'ensemble, les langues (parlées et écrites) des différentes minorités sont plus couramment utilisées dans les départements et les cantons autonomes que dans les provinces et les régions autonomes. De façon générale, ces langues sont davantage en usage dans les zones rurales que dans les centres urbains, et elles ne sont jamais employées au sein du gouvernement central. Même l'administration locale d'une région autonome peine à employer une langue autochtone dans une ville moindrement importante⋯Autrement dit, le bilinguisme officiel en vigueur dans les régions autonomes⋯n'est qu'une façade commode pour camoufler l'unilinguisme chinois de plus en plus répandu.'

On the basis of the foregoing, I adopt the following coding decisions for the entire period from 1945 to 2014. First, I reject the classification of Kyrgyz as a statutory provincial language, and assign it a placeholder code throughout. Second, I exclude Inner Mongolian, owing to its lack of institutional status abroad and the substantive divergence from Halh Mongolian. Third, I apply a placeholder to Tibetan which, despite lacking national-level institutional recognition in any country, is nevertheless used as a language of wider communication in Nepal. Fourth, I do not code Uyghur, as it lacks institutional status or widespread communicative function beyond China's borders. Fifth and finally, I assign a placeholder to Kazakh, which, though classified by the Ethnologue as a language of wider communication within Xinjiang, enjoys no institutional recognition within the People's Republic.

References

[1] Caodaobateer. 'The Use and Development of Mongol and its Writing Systems in China'. In: *Language Policy in the People' s Republic of China: Theory and Practice Since 1949*. Ed. by Minglang Zhou and Hongkai Sun. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2004, pp. 289–302. ISBN: 978-1-4020-8039-5. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-8039-5_16 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[2] June Teufel Dreyer. 'The Evolution of Language Policies in China'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 353–384. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52569/The-Evolution-of-Language-Policies-in-China (visited on 22/03/2025).

[3] *China*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/CN/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] *Mongolian*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/language/mon/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] *Law on the Standard Spoken and Written Chinese Language of the People' s Republic of China (Adopted at the 18th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Ninth National People' s Congress of the People' s Republic of China on October 31, 2000, promulgated by Order No. 37 of the President of the People' s Republic of China on October 31, 2000, and effective as of January 1, 2001)*. Publisher: Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China. 2009. URL: http://en.moe.gov.cn/documents/laws_policies/201506/t20150626_191388.html (visited on 20/03/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *1. Situation géopolitique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/chine-1general.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *2. Données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/chine-2langues.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *3. Histoire de la Chine et ses conséquences linguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/chine-3histoire.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *4. La politique à l'égard du chinois officiel*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/chine-4pol-chinois.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *5. La politique à l'égard des minorités nationales*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/chine-5pol-minorites.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitution de la République populaire de Chine*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/chine-const-1982.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] *China*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/CN/status/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[13] *Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law of the People' s Republic of China. Issued by the Second Session of the Sixth National People' s Congress on May 31, 1984 (effective October 1, 1984) and amended in accordance with the "Decision on Revising the People' s Republic of China Regional Ethnic Autonomy Law" made at the 12th Meeting of the Standing Committee of the Ninth National People' s Congress on February 28, 2001.* University of Minnesota Human Rights Library. 2001. URL: http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/research/china-autonomy_law.html (visited on 20/03/2025).

[14] John S. Rohsenow. 'Fifty Years of Script and Written Language Reform in the P.R.C.' In: *Language Policy in the People' s Republic of China: Theory and Practice Since 1949*. Ed. by Minglang Zhou and Hongkai Sun. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2004, pp. 21–43. ISBN: 978-1-4020-8039-5. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-8039-5_2 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[15] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of the People' s Republic of China: Adopted on 5 March 1978 by the Fifth National People' s Congress of the People' s Republic of China at its first session.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 76–92. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s010.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

[16] Bernard Spolsky. 'Language Management in the People' s Republic of China'. In: *Language* 90.4 (2014), pp. 165–179. ISSN: 1535-0665. URL: https://muse.jhu.edu/article/563093 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[17] Huī Wán and Zhōn ruì Yuán. '2 the Promotion of Putonghua (mandarin Chinese): An Overview'. In: *The Language Situation in China, Volume 1*. Ed. by Yuming Li and Wei Li. Vol. 1. 7 vols. Language Policies and Practices in China. De Gruyter, 2013, pp. 27–40. ISBN: 978-1-61451-311-7 978-1-61451-253-0. URL: http

s://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9781614512530.27/html (visited on 20/03/2025).

[18] Jeffrey Weng. 'What Is Mandarin? The Social Project of Language Standardization in Early Republican China'. In: *The Journal of Asian Studies* 77.3 (2018), pp. 611–633. ISSN: 0021-9118, 1752-0401. URL: https://read.dukeupress.edu/journal-of-asian-studies/article/77/3/611/323130 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[19] Maocao Zhou. 'The Use and Development of Tibetan in China'. In: *Language Policy in the People's Republic of China: Theory and Practice Since 1949*. Ed. by Minglang Zhou and Hongkai Sun. Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2004, pp. 221–237. ISBN: 978-1-4020-8039-5. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/1-4020-8039-5_12 (visited on 20/03/2025).

712: Mongolia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Mongolian	1945-1991	N	D: *De facto* national
	1992-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Russian	1945-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Mongolian (Halh Mongolian) as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Mongolia, citing Article 8 of the 1992 constitution. The relevant provision is reproduced below:

> Article 8. Language [1992]
>
> (1) The Mongolian language is the official language of the State.
>
> (2) Paragraph (1) does not affect the right of national minorities of other tongues to use their native languages in education and communication and in the pursuit of cultural, artistic, and scientific activities.
>
> ...

The 1992 constitution represents the first of Mongolia's four constitutional texts (1924, 1940, 1960, and 1992) to explicitly designate Mongolian as the official state language. Articles 54 and 77 of the 1940 constitution, later reiterated in Articles 69 and 83 of the 1960 constitution, mandate the use of Mongolian in judicial and educational contexts, respectively, but stop short of declaring it the official language.

> Article 54 [1940]
>
> Judicial proceedings are conducted in the Mongol language, persons unfamiliar with the language being ensured an opportunity to become fully acquainted with the proceedings through an interpreter, and likewise the right to use their own language in court.
>
> ...
>
> Article 77
>
> Citizens of the Mongol People's Republic have the right to education. This right is ensured by education free of charge, by the development of a network of schools, technical schools, and by instruction in schools in the native language.

As Marzluf and Saruul-Erdene (2019) observe, the Mongolian language has long served as an administrative medium, having been institutionalised in the state apparatus as early as the thirteenth century at the zenith of the Mongol Empire. Under Qing rule, limited efforts were made to develop and formalise the language. Following the collapse of the Qing Dynasty, semi-independent Outer Mongolia initiated a rudimentary system of elite education, with instruction primarily in Mongolian and Russian.

The establishment of the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924 marked the beginning of a series of radical language reforms. Chief among these was the adoption of the Cyrillic script in 1941, part of a broader Soviet-inspired modernisation agenda (Arai 2006). Throughout the second half of the twentieth century, Mongolian functioned as the dominant language in nearly all spheres of public life. However, within elite and bureaucratic circles, Russian acquired prestige status and was viewed as essential for access to Soviet educational, scientific, and diplomatic networks. Thousands of Mongolian students pursued studies in the Soviet Union, and the Education Law of 1982 mandated the teaching of Russian from kindergarten onward, though it strictly remained a foreign language.

In the aftermath of the democratic reforms of 1990, Mongolia embarked on a deliberate project of linguistic nationalism, mirroring broader post-Soviet trends. The 1992 Constitution enshrined Mongolian as the official language, while English rapidly supplanted Russian as the primary second language. This shift was further reinforced by the enactment of the Law on the Official State Language in 2003, which imposes the use of Mongolian in all state functions, including education, administration, and legal communication. Notably, the law also requires foreign nationals to engage with state authorities in Mongolian, and mandates that international treaties, conventions, and agreements be translated into the national language.

As a result, Mongolian is the dominant language in all domains of public life, with the notable exception of international business, where English enjoys significant visibility. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, post-1990 language policy in Mongolia reflects a defensive nationalism aimed not at suppressing minority languages, given the country's relatively homogenous ethnolinguistic makeup, but at protecting Mongolian from external pressures, particularly the growing global influence of English, alongside Russian and Chinese.

On the basis of the foregoing, I code Mongolian as a *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1991, reflecting its dominant role in state and society during the socialist era despite absence of formal constitutional recognition. From 1992 to 2014, I code Mongolian as a statutory national language based on the 1992 constitution and the 2003 Language Law as well as the judgement of the Ethnologue.

Additionally, while Russian played a significant role during the socialist period and remains an important second language, the Ethnologue only classifies Russian as a language of wider communication without institutional status. Accordingly, I assign Russian a placeholder code throughout the entire period to reflect its

functional importance without implying official recognition.

References

[1] Yukiyasu Arai. ‘ “Integration and Separation of ‘Language’ : Language Policies of Mongolian Peoples in the USSR and Mongolia, 1920–1940’. In: *Reconstruction and Interaction of Slavic Eurasia and Its Neighboring Worlds*. Vol. 10. Slavic Eurasian Studies. Sapporo: Slavic Research Center (Hokkaido University), 2006, pp. 309–34. URL: https://src-h.slav.hokudai.ac.jp/coe21/publish/no10_ses/11_arai.pdf.

[2] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. ‘Mongolian People’ s Republic’. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 481–483. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s021.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[3] ‘Constitution of the Mongol People’s Republic. Ulan-Bator, June 30, 1940’. In: *Washington Law Review and State Bar Journal* 23.2 (1948), pp. 181–204. URL: https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/washlr23&i=187 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[4] *Mongolia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MN/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Mongolie*. In: *L’ aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d’expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Mongolie.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Mongolie | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L’ aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d’expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/mongolie-lois_div.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Phillip Marzluf and Myagmar Saruul-Erdene. ‘Mongolia: Language Education Policy’. In: *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 14. London: Routledge, 2019, pp. 137–150. ISBN: 978-1-315-66623-5. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315666235-10/mongolia-phillip-marzluf-myagmar-saruul-erdene (visited on 20/03/2025).

[8] William B. Simons. ‘Constitution of the Mongolian People’ s Republic: Adopted on 6 July 1960 by the Fourth Convocation of the Great People’ s Khural of the Mongolian People’ s Republic at its first session (as amended to 1 October 1979).’ In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 262–281. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s024.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

713: Taiwan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1949-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Chinese	1949-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Chinese (Mandarin Chinese) as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Taiwan. It additionally classifies Min Nan Chinese as a '*de facto* language of provincial identity' for the entire island as 'Taiwan, Province of China.' However, given that I code both Mandarin and Min Nan under 'Chinese' for the present analysis, the distinction is immaterial. Notably, the 1947 constitution of the Republic of China, Taiwan's governing basic document, contains no explicit designation of an official language.

Tsao (1999) offers a comprehensive account of language policy in Taiwan, both before and after the relevant period. During the Japanese colonial era, the imperial administration suppressed Chinese in an effort to assimilate Taiwan into the Japanese Empire. This approach was decisively reversed following Taiwan's return to Chinese governance after the Second World War: Japanese was banned in 1946, a move that provoked resistance among Japanised elites.

After the Nationalist government's retreat to Taiwan in the aftermath of the Chinese Civil War, it imported a language policy developed on the mainland in the early twentieth century, rooted in the mass promotion of Mandarin Chinese. This was pursued at the expense of Japanese, Hakka, and aboriginal languages. Despite its widespread use among the local population, largely descended from Fujianese migrants, Min Nan Chinese failed to secure a role in official domains, which remained dominated by Mandarin-speaking elites from northern China.

This *de facto* privileging of Mandarin Chinese has persisted to the present. Tsao (1999: 368) remarks that "all languages except Mandarin are either quickly diminishing in use or are on the verge of extinction." Dupré (2016) further notes that Taiwan's electoral structure disincentivises pro-independence actors from advocating for the *de jure* institutionalisation of Min Nan, despite its cultural resonance. Whilst language revitalisation initiatives have gained some traction, Min Nan continues to be viewed as a dialect and has yet to challenge the predominance of Mandarin in state functions. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, though domain-specific language legislation containing reference to language only became common in the 1990s, all branches of government have long operated in Mandarin.

Recent legislation of this variety largely codifies longstanding linguistic practice.

For instance, laws governing judicial procedure provide for interpretation when non-Mandarin dialects are spoken. Knowledge of Mandarin is a legal prerequisite for naturalisation (2016, 2017), and statutes across a broad range of sectors including consumer protection (2015), public procurement (2016), food labelling (2014, 2017), and patent registration (2017) all mandate the use of Chinese in the domains they regulate. Mandarin remains the primary medium of instruction at all levels of education, though this is not formally legislated.

In light of this sociolinguistic history, I code Chinese as the *de facto* national language for the entirety of the period in question from 1949 to 2014.

References

[1] June Teufel Dreyer. 'The Evolution of Language Policies and National Identity in Taiwan'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 385–409. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52570/The-Evolution-of-Language-Policies-and-National (visited on 22/03/2025).

[2] Jean-François Dupré. 'Legislating Language in Taiwan: From Equality to Development to Status Quo'. In: *Language Policy* 15.4 (2016), pp. 415–432. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-015-9376-9 (visited on 22/03/2025).

[3] *China-Taiwan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TW/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Taïwan | (1) Situation générale*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/taiwan-1general.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Taïwan | (2) Données historiques*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/taiwan-2HST.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Taïwan | (3) La politique à l'égard de la langue officielle*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/taiwan-3Pol-lng-off.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Taiwan | Constitution de 1947 avec les modifications de 2005*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression

française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/taiwan-const-1947.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[8] Feng-Fu Tsao. 'The Language Planning Situation in Taiwan'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 20.4 (1999), pp. 328–375. ISSN: 0143-4632, 1747-7557. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01434639908666383 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[9] Guilin Yu. '25. Language situation in China Taiwan'. In: *The Language Situation in China*. Ed. by Yuming Li and Wei Li. De Gruyter, 2019, pp. 257–266. ISBN: 978-1-5015-1159-2. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9781501511592-025/html (visited on 20/03/2025).

731: North Korea

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1948-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Korean	1948-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists Korean as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of North Korea. No constitutional article formally designates Korean as the official language, though its status is uncontested in practice. Article 18 of the original 1948 constitution states only that education is conducted in the 'national language,' a term left undefined in the remainder of the text. It is not until the 1972 constitution that Korean is explicitly identified as the language of judicial procedure, though not of the state as a whole:

> Article 139 [1972]
>
> Judicial proceedings are conducted in the Korean language. Foreign citizens may use their own language during court proceedings.

Subsequent amendments introduced a clause concerning linguistic protection, though this too omits a specific definition of the national language:

> Article 54
>
> The State shall safeguard our language from all attempts to obliterate it and shall develop it to meet present-day needs.

Korean has long served as a language of state and administration on the peninsula. The indigenous script, *Hangul*, was promulgated in the fifteenth century by King Sejong to enhance literacy among commoners, while the literate elite continued to use *Hanja*, or Chinese characters, well into the modern era. Japanese colonial authorities sought to eliminate Korean linguistic and cultural identity, but their assimilationist policies were curtailed by the defeat of Japan in 1945.

Following liberation and partition, Kim Il Sung identified illiteracy as a primary obstacle to national development. He rejected the use of *Hanja* as reactionary and promoted mass literacy in *Hangul*, with reported success by 1948. Song (2019) highlights the deep entwinement of language policy and national ideology in North Korea, particularly the principle of *Juche* or self-reliance:

> 'In his 1964 directive, Kim Il Sung alluded to the ineradicable connection between the Korean language and Koreanness, highlighting the language as one of the most important defining properties of being Korean. This was subsequently pursued further in the [North] Korean Workers' Party's 1973 document on language policy, which stipulated

> that all language issues should be dealt with by connecting them closely with North Korea's independence and class struggle. Not surprisingly, Korean language education is thought to lay the foundation for ideological education.' (Song 2019: 128).

Kim's successors have largely preserved this ideological orientation. The Korean language remains deeply embedded in the state's symbolic and administrative apparatus. In 2023, the Pyongyang Cultural Language Protection Act was enacted to 'contribute to the protection and active revival of the cultural language of Pyongyang by completely eliminating the use of puppet language, denouncing non-normative linguistic elements and establishing a mode of socialist linguistic practice for society as a whole.' Article 2 defines the key concepts of the legislation:

> Article 2. Definitions [2023]
>
> The definitions of the terminology used in this Act are as follows:
>
> 1. The cultural language of Pyongyang is the purest and best language that has developed our unique national language to meet the needs of the present era; it is the standard of Korean, our national language.
> 2. The puppet language is a mixed language that has completely lost most of the Korean language due to the Westernization, Japanization and Sinicization of its vocabulary, grammar and intonations. It is a trash, rude and disgusting language that does not exist anywhere else in the world.
> 3. Non-normative linguistic elements are elements of the language that do not comply with Pyongyang culture standards, including foreign words that are not nationally approved, as well as discards from Japanese words and difficult-to-understand Chinese characters.

This Act does not promote Korean over an existing linguistic rival, but rather promotes a politically and ideologically curated form of the language. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Korean requires no formal legal reinforcement in North Korea: the country is ethnolinguistically homogenous, and the Japanese language was eradicated decades ago through both state repression and popular disavowal. Korean, in practice, functions as the sole language across all domains of public and private life.

Accordingly, I code Korean as the *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1948 to 2014, aligning with the classification by the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Sydney Christley. 'Language Policies and Planning in North Korea'. In: *Schwa: Language and Linguistics* 30 (2024), pp. 51–59. URL: https://schwa.byu.edu/files/2024/09/Winter-2024_final2.pdf#page=59.

[2] *Constitution of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Adopted by the Supreme People's Assembly at Its First Session September 8, 1948, with Amendments Adopted at the Seventh, Eighth and Ninth Sessions.* Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1948. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=547 (visited on 22/03/2025).

[3] *North Korea.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KP/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Corée du Nord.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/coree-nord.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] William B. Simons. 'Socialist Constitution of the Democratic People' s Republic of Korea: Adopted on 27 December 1972 by the Fifth Supreme People' s Assembly of the Democratic People' s Republic of Korea at its first session.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World.* Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 232–254. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s022.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

[6] *Socialist Constitution of the Democratic People' s Republic of Korea. Adopted on 27 December Juche 61(1972) at the 1st Session of the 5th Supreme People' s Assembly, amended and supplemented at the 3rd Session of the 9th Supreme People' s Assembly on 9 April Juche 81(1992), amended and supplemented at the 1st Session of the 10th Supreme People' s Assembly on 5 September Juche 87 (1998) and amended and supplemented at the 1st Session of the 12th Supreme People' s Assembly on 9 April Juche 98 (2009).* Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2009. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=544 (visited on 22/03/2025).

[7] Jae Jung Song. 'Language Education Policy in North Korea'. In: *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia.* Num Pages: 13. Routledge, 2019. ISBN: 978-1-315-66623-5.

[8] Jae Jung Song. 'South Korea: Language Policy and Planning in the Making'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 13.1 (2012). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 1–68. ISSN: 1466-4208. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2012.650322 (visited on 22/03/2025).

732: South Korea

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1949-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Korean	1949-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists Korean as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of South Korea. The original 1948 constitution contains no reference to language, and this silence persists across the various constitutional amendments leading up to the current 1987 version. No formal declaration of an official language has ever been introduced.

Korean has long served as a language of state and administration on the peninsula. The indigenous script, *Hangul*, was promulgated in the fifteenth century by King Sejong to enhance literacy among commoners, while the literate elite continued to use *Hanja*, or Chinese characters, well into the modern era. Japanese colonial authorities sought to eliminate Korean linguistic and cultural identity, but their assimilationist policies were curtailed by the defeat of Japan in 1945.

Following liberation and the peninsula's partition, South Korea, like its northern counterpart, pursued a policy of linguistic purification. In 1947, the Ministry of Education established a committee to replace Japanese and Sino-Korean lexicon with native terms and to limit the use of *Hanja* in favour of *Hangul* (Song 2012). Yet this project soon lost momentum, and South Korea's progress in linguistic purification was notably slower than that of the North. To this day, *Hanja* retains value in legal and academic contexts and is seen as a marker of erudition. Furthermore, efforts to eliminate Chinese and Japanese loanwords have coincided with a steady influx of English-derived vocabulary.

As *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes, Korean language policy in South Korea has never entailed efforts to elevate the language above a competitor, rendering 'status planning' redundant in the ethnolinguistically homogenous context of the Republic. Instead, language policy has been directed primarily toward 'corpus planning' for orthography, grammar, and vocabulary. The 2005 Framework Act on Korean Language typifies this focus, reinforcing linguistic norms without questioning the primacy of Korean itself.

Korean is used universally in government, law, business, education, media, and private life. Legal provisions across a range of domains require either the use of Korean or translation into it, particularly in judicial proceedings. While English is widely taught and occupies a privileged place in educational policy and professional life, it remains clearly a second language and lacks institutional parity with Korean.

In view of the above and in alignment with the classification by the Ethnologue, I code Korean as the *de facto* national language for the entire relevant duration from 1949 to 2014.

References

[1] *South Korea*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KR/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Corée du Sud*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/coree-sud.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Corée du Sud / Loi-cadre sur la langue coréenne, 2005*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/coree-sud-lois-lng-2005.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jae Jung Song. 'South Korea: Language Policy and Planning in the Making'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 13.1 (2012). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 1–68. ISSN: 1466-4208. URL: https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2012.650322 (visited on 22/03/2025).

[5] *The Constitution of the Republic of Korea*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1987. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=548 (visited on 22/03/2025).

740: Japan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945, 1952-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Japanese	1945-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Japanese as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Japan. The 1947 constitution, drafted under American occupation, contains no article designating an official language. The language situation in Japan has remained strikingly simple for the purposes of the present endeavour: the country is effectively unilingual in Japanese.

Gottlieb's extensive study of language policy in Japan highlights the continuity of this unilingual identity. Since the advent of the modern era, marked by the Meiji Reformation of 1868, 'Japan has consistently represented itself in both internal and external discourse as a monolingual nation' (2008: 1). Indeed, Japanese has long served as the language of administration and culture, and Japan entered the modern period with both a rich literary tradition and comparatively high rates of literacy. 'Japan began its modern period with both a venerable literary tradition and a relatively high literacy rate already in place. It has, moreover, never been colonised by another power' (Gottlieb 2008: 4).

Following 1868, the state undertook an ambitious programme of terminological innovation to adapt the Japanese lexicon to the exigencies of industrial modernity and imperial expansion. It concurrently sought to marginalise competing languages and dialects in annexed and peripheral regions including Hokkaido, the Ryukyu Islands, Taiwan, and Korea.

Post-war Japanese language policy has largely been characterised by pragmatic non-intervention. No comprehensive language law exists, nor has one been deemed necessary. Nevertheless, domain-specific legislation routinely mandates the use of Japanese, for instance, in judicial proceedings (1947), criminal procedure (1948), and civil procedure (1996). Japanese functions as the language of instruction at all levels of education, although no law explicitly requires this during the coding period. In 2019, however, the National Diet enacted a statute acknowledging the government's responsibility to support Japanese-language education, prompted by the growing population of foreign residents.

Given the historical depth of Japanese as the language of governance and national identity, and its exclusive role in virtually all domains of public life, I code Japanese as the *de facto* national language for the entire duration of Japan's relevant membership in the Correlates of War interstate system in 1945 and from 1952 to

2014.

References

[1] *Japan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/JP/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[2] Nanette Gottlieb. 'Japan: Language Policy and Planning in Transition'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 9.1 (2008). Publisher: Routledge, pp. 1–68. ISSN: 1466-4208. URL: https://doi.org/10.2167/cilp116.0 (visited on 22/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Japon | (1) Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/japon-1general.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Japon | (3) Données historiques sur la langue*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/japon-3historique.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Japon | (4) La politique relative au japonais*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/japon-4pol-lng.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

750: India

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1947-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bengali	1947-1949	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1950-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
English	1947-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
French	1954-1961	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1962-2014	X	I: Statutory provincial (identity)
Hindi	1947-1949	N	D: *De facto* national
	1950-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Nepali	1975-1991	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1992-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial
Tamil	1947-1949	N	K: *De facto* provincial
	1950-2014	N	G: Statutory provincial
Urdu	1947-1949	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1950-2014	X	G: Statutory provincial

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Hindi as the two principal languages of India. Citing the 1950 constitution, it classifies English as a statutory national working language and Hindi as a statutory national language. Before turning to the provisions of that document, it is instructive to note the linguistic regime that prevailed under the Government of India Act 1935, which provided the constitutional framework for British India prior to independence. This statute contained several provisions stipulating the use of English in both federal and provincial legislatures, as well as in the courts:

> Article 39. [1935]
>
> All proceedings in the Federal Legislature shall be conducted in the English language:
>
> Provided that the rules of procedure of each Chamber, and the rules with respect to joint sittings shall provide for enabling persons unacquainted, or not sufficiently acquainted, with the English language to use another language.
>
> ...
>
> Article 85. All proceedings in the Legislature of a Province shall be conducted in the English language:

> Provided that the rules of procedure of the Chamber or Chambers, and the rules, if any, with respect, to joint sittings, shall provide for enabling persons unacquainted, or not sufficiently acquainted, with the English language to use another language.
>
> ...
>
> Article 214.
>
> ...
>
> (5) All proceedings in the Federal Court shall be in the English language.

No other languages are mentioned. Although full implementation was disrupted by the Second World War and met with staunch resistance from elements of the Indian elite advocating for self-rule, it technically remained in force until superseded by the 1950 constitution.

From 1835 onwards, the British colonial authorities explicitly supported English-medium instruction. Annamalai (2010) observes that the objective was to cultivate an English-educated local elite who would serve as transmitters of European knowledge to the broader populace. In reality, access to English and the privileges it conferred remained the preserve of a narrow upper-caste social stratum. Simultaneously, the colonial state undertook efforts to demarcate, categorise, and engineer the languages of the subcontinent under its control.

Lelyveld (1993) traces the evolution of colonial philological practice in India, showing how British scholars drew and re-drew the boundaries between languages in ways that were often arbitrary and ideologically charged. While the term 'Hindustani' was commonly used in the late nineteenth century to denote the Urdu-based *lingua franca* of northern India, 'Hindi' had at times been grouped together with other northern vernaculars. By 1921, however, the terms 'Hindi' and 'Urdu' had become more widely accepted.

Mahatma Gandhi, who viewed English with suspicion due to its colonial associations, championed 'Hindustani' as a unifying linguistic standard that transcended communal divisions. Yet by the time linguists set out to compile a comprehensive 'Hindustani' lexicon, partition loomed large. After independence, both Pakistan and India pursued programmes of linguistic purification: Urdu was reshaped through greater incorporation of Perso-Arabic elements, while Hindi was recast with increased reference to Sanskrit. Though mutually intelligible, Hindi and Urdu came to be distinguished by script, register, and national identity.

The 1950 Indian constitution provides the foundation for language policy at both union and state levels. It is important to observe that the Ethnologue's use of the term 'national language' to denote languages used at the central government level does not reflect the constitutional terminology of India, which explicitly employs the term 'official language.' Article 343 is the cornerstone of Indian linguistic policy at the Union level. It designates Hindi as the official language while simultaneously permitting the continued official use of English for a transitional period.

ARTICLE 343. [1950]

(1) The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script. The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement:

Provided that the President may, during the said period, by order authorise the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of—

(a) the English language, or

(b) the Devanagari form of numerals,

for such purposes as may be specified in the law.

The transitional period was a political compromise: during the colonial era, power was concentrated among upper-caste Hindus of northern India. The fifteen-year transition period for English use was meant to placate resistance in the South, where the Dravidian languages, with centuries-long literary traditions, bear little relation to Hindi. Opposition to Hindi as a national standard was especially pronounced in Tamil Nadu, where many viewed it as a northern imposition. The constitution thus sought to balance unity with plurality by defining Hindi to be an 'official' and not a 'national' language, to be developed 'as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India' without impinging upon other languages.

ARTICLE 351. [1950]

It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

Despite these constitutional assurances, linguistic tensions persisted. The Official Languages Act 1963 extended the use of English beyond the original 1965 deadline. When a 1964 proposal was floated to set a final deadline for phasing out English, it

provoked widespread protests and was eventually abandoned. In 1976, the Official Languages Rules further specified the domains and procedures for the use of Hindi and English, adding complexity to an already intricate regime.

Since then, the positions of English and Hindi within India's linguistic ecosystem have remained largely unchanged. Hindi is spoken as a mother tongue by a substantial plurality, primarily within the northern 'Hindi belt.' Yet in the South, English has often been preferred as a neutral medium. At the federal level and in interstate communication, both Hindi and English are used in accordance with the constitutional provisions and subsequent legislation. In education, media, and business, these two languages dominate over all others.

I code English and Hindi as follows. English is a statutory national working language throughout the period 1947 to 2014. From 1947 to 1949, this relies on the basis of the linguistic provisions of the Government of India Act 1935 (Articles 39, 85, and 214), which, though not an explicit official language designation, clearly establish English as the sole language of administration. From 1950 onward, the 1950 constitution, the Official Languages Act 1963, and the Official Languages Rules 1976 collectively support the continued use of English in an official capacity.

I classify Hindi as the *de facto* national language from 1947 to 1949, during which it functioned symbolically and practically as the *lingua franca* of a nascent, Hindu-majority Indian nation. From 1950 to 2014, Hindi is coded as a statutory national language, as per the constitution and subsequent legislative instruments. This approach mirrors that of the Ethnologue.

The 1950 constitution also provides institutional recognition to languages listed in the original Eighth Schedule: Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Hindi, Kannada, Kashmiri, Malayalam, Marathi, Oriya, Punjabi, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, and Urdu. Article 344(1) establishes their representation in the Official Languages Commission. Subsequent amendments in 1967, 1992, and 2003 increased the number of scheduled languages to 22. I consider only those languages that enjoy national-level institutional status in another country: Bengali, Nepali, Tamil, and Urdu.

As Bengali is identified by the Ethnologue as a statutory provincial language based on the original 1950 Eighth Schedule, I code it as such from 1950 to 2014. I code it as a *de facto* provincial language in the preceding years from 1947 to 1949, reflecting its widespread use in West Bengal despite the absence of constitutionally-sanctioned official recognition before 1950.

Nepali, widely used in Sikkim, an independent kingdom annexed by India in 1975, was added via constitutional amendment to the growing list of languages in the Eighth Schedule in 1992. In concordance with the Ethnologue, I code it as a statutory provincial language from 1992 to 2014, and extrapolate its status as a *de facto* provincial language from 1975 to 1991.

Similarly, I judge Tamil to be a *de facto* provincial language from 1947 to 1949, and I code it as a statutory provincial language from 1950 to 2014 in alignment

with the Ethnologue and on the basis of the original 1950 Eighth Schedule.

Urdu, also included in the 1950 Eighth Schedule, is identified by the Ethnologue as a statutory provincial working language in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, where is used for official correspondence and communication. In 1957, the Jammu and Kashmir state constitution designated it a statutory language of provincial identity. In 2017, it was formally recognised in Telangana via amendment of the Telangana Official Languages Act 1966. Based on the earliest of these provisions, I code Urdu as a statutory provincial language from 1950 to 2014 and judge it to be a *de facto* provincial language from 1947 to 1949.

Finally, the Ethnologue classifies French as a statutory language of provincial identity in Pondicherry. The territory came under *de facto* Indian control in 1954, with *de jure* transfer of sovereignty occurring in 1962. The *Traité de Cession* guaranteed the continued official use of French unless and until the local population decided otherwise:

> Article 28. [1962]
>
> Le français restera langue officielle des Établissements aussi longtemps que les répresentants élus de la population n'auront pas pris une décision différente.

In 1963, the local Representative Assembly chose to preserve French's official status, a position reaffirmed in 1963 and 1965. Though largely symbolic today, French retains its official status. I therefore code French as a *de facto* provincial language of identity during the years after *de facto* annexation but before the *de jure* handover from 1954 to 1961, and as a statutory language of provincial identity from 1962 to 2014, in concordance with the Ethnologue and the history presented above.

References

[1] R. K. Agnihotri. 'Identity and Multilinguality: The Case of India'. In: *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 20. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 185–204. ISBN: 978-1-315-09203-4.

[2] E. Annamalai. 'Politics of Language in India'. In: *Routledge Handbook of South Asian Politics*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 19. London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 213–231. ISBN: 978-0-203-87818-7. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9780203878187-19/politics-language-india-annamalai (visited on 22/03/2025).

[3] Jyotirindra Dasgupta. 'Language Policy and National Development in India'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 22–50. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter/52556/Language-Policy-and-National-Development-in-India (visited on 23/03/2025).

[4] Hans Raj Dua. 'The Spread of English in India: Politics of Language Conflict and Language Power'. In: *Post-Imperial English: Status Change in Former British and American Colonies, 1940-1990*. Ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, Andrew

W. Conrad and Alma Rubal-Lopez. Contributions to the sociology of language 72. Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996, pp. 557–588. ISBN: 978-3-11-014754-4.

[5] *India*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/IN/ (visited on 18/02/2025).

[6] *Government of India Act*. Legislation UK. 1935. URL: https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1935/2/pdfs/ukpga_19350002_en.pdf (visited on 20/03/2025).

[7] David D. Laitin. 'Language Policy and Political Strategy in India'. In: *Policy Sciences* 22.3 (1989), pp. 415–436. ISSN: 1573-0891. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00136326 (visited on 22/03/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *(1) Union indienne*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/inde-1Union.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *(2) Bref aperçu historique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/inde-2historique.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *(3) La politique linguistique du gouvernement central*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/inde-3pol-union.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *(4) Les politiques linguistiques des États indiens*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/inde-4pol-etats.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc. *Union indienne | Constitution du 26 janvier 1950. Dispositions linguistiques en vigueur*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/inde_const1.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[13] Jacques Leclerc. *Union indienne | Department of Official Languages (Département des langues officielles). The Official Languages Act (Loi sur les langues officielles)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https:

//axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Inde-Union-loi_lng.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[14] Jacques Leclerc. *Union indienne / Ordonnance présidentielle de 1960 (Presidential Order of 1960)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Inde-Union-ordonnance1960.htm (visited on 18/02/2025).

[15] David Lelyveld. 'Colonial Knowledge and the Fate of Hindustani'. In: *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35.4 (1993), pp. 665–682. ISSN: 1475-2999, 0010-4175. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/comparative-studies-in-society-and-history/article/colonial-knowledge-and-the-fate-of-hindustani/664041BD0B8BF8595B3FD2AD4CA02886 (visited on 22/03/2025).

[16] Gyanendra Pandey. *The Construction of Communalism in Colonial North India*. Third edition. Oxford India Perennials. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2012. 318 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-807730-5.

[17] Tariq Rahman. *From Hindi to Urdu: A Social and Political History*. OCLC: on1065308482. Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2016. 456 pp. ISBN: 978-0-19-940342-4.

[18] Animesh Rai. *The Legacy of French Rule in India (1674-1954): An Investigation of a Process of Creolization*. Erscheinungsort nicht ermittelbar: Institut Français de Pondichéry, 2008. 1 p. ISBN: 979-10-365-4989-2.

[19] Harold F. Schiffman. '6 Indian Linguistic Culture and the Genesis of Language Policy in the Subcontinent'. In: *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 25. London: Routledge, 1996, pp. 148–172. ISBN: 978-0-203-02156-9. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/mono/10.4324/9780203021569-6/6-indian-linguistic-culture-genesis-language-policy-subcontinent-harold-schiffman?context=ubx&refId=2c548844-7ad6-445b-8bdb-989d8ac8287e (visited on 22/03/2025).

[20] Selma K. Sonntag. 'Ideology and Policy in the Politics of the English Language in North India'. In: *IMPACT: Studies in Language, Culture and Society*. Ed. by Thomas Ricento. Vol. 6. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2000, pp. 133–149. ISBN: 978-90-272-1836-0 978-1-55619-669-0 978-90-272-1837-7 978-1-55619-670-6 978-90-272-9931-4. URL: https://benjamins.com/catalog/impact.6.11son (visited on 22/03/2025).

[21] S. J. Tambiah. 'The Politics of Language in India and Ceylon'. In: *Modern Asian Studies* 1.3 (1967), pp. 215–240. ISSN: 1469-8099, 0026-749X. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/modern-asian-studies/article/politics-of-language-in-india-and-ceylon/49DE6377FF738725ED66FB406A3BE2A0 (visited on 22/03/2025).

760: Bhutan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1971-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bhutanese	1971-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national
English	1971-2014	`X`	`E`: *De facto* national (working)
Nepali	1971-2014	`X`	`M`: *De facto* provincial (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Bhutanese (Dzhongka) as the principal languages of Bhutan, classifying the latter as a statutory national language on the basis of Article 1(8) of the 2008 constitution.

> Article 1 [2008]
>
> Kingdom of Bhutan
>
> 1. Bhutan is a Sovereign Kingdom and the Sovereign power belongs to the people of Bhutan.
> 2. The form of Government shall be that of a Democratic Constitutional Monarchy.
>
> ...
>
> 8. Dzhongka is the National Language of Bhutan.
>
> ...

This formal constitutional declaration, however, is not the first instance of Bhutanese being granted *de jure* status. As van Driem (1994: 93) documents, a royal decree of 1961 marked a significant moment in Bhutanese language policy:

> 'In 1961 His Late Majesty King Jimi Doji Wangchu decreed Dzongkha the national language of the Kingdom of Bhutan, thereby conferring official status to the role which Dzongkha had acquired in the course of Bhutanese history. Dzongkha has traditionally served as the spoken vernacular of the royal courts, the military elite, educated nobility, government and administration at least as far back as the twelfth century. Because of the role of Dzongkha in the emergence of Bhutan as a modern state and because of the common Choke literary tradition of the country, modern Dzongkha was a natural and obvious choice for the national language. This choice is generally felt to be appropriate throughout Bhutan, and Dzongkha constitutes a component of the national identity.

...

> 'Dzongkha has many avid supporters amongst speakers of other languages of the kingdom, and native Dzongkha speakers in fact constitute a minority of the staff of the Dzongkha Development Commission, the organ of the Royal Government of Bhutan dedicated to the advancement of the national language. Dzongkha is spoken as a *lingua franca* throughout Bhutan, although in the east and in the south it shares this function with Tshangla and Nepali respectively, and Dzongkha is simultaneously the official language of the kingdom. Together Dzongkha and English are the administrative languages and media of formal education in Bhutan.'

As regards Bhutanese, this affirms the judgement of the Ethnologue and substantiates the claim that the language has served national administrative functions for centuries, symbolically and operationally embedded within the state apparatus long before 1961. Given the explicit 1961 royal decree and the subsequent constitutional reiteration in 2008, Bhutanese is coded as a statutory national language for the entire period under consideration from 1971 to 2014.

English, by contrast, owes its prominence to Bhutan's history as a British protectorate. Though Bhutan was never formally colonised, it ceded control over its foreign affairs to the United Kingdom until 1949. English thus entered Bhutanese public life through educational institutions reserved for the elite and gradually came to be used in administrative and educational contexts.

According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, Bhutanese language policy reflects a formal bilingualism in state operations: 'In public administration, the government uses Dzongkha in principle and English for current affairs, but oral communications take place only in Dzongkha; only written documents are in English and in the national language⋯In the official written documentation, the state is practically bilingual, while there are no Anglophones in the country. This is the result of a neo-colonial policy that persists in this former British protectorate.'

This observation is significant, for it highlights the lack of native English speakers in Bhutan whilst acknowledging the language's prominence in written administrative affairs. I thus classify English as a *de facto* national working language for the entire period from Bhutan's accession to the United Nations in 1971 to 2014.

Nepali, too, holds institutional significance. The Ethnologue classifies it as a *de facto* language of provincial identity, particularly in the southern foothills where ethnic Nepalese populations are concentrated. Van Driem (1994: 99) observes that Nepali is even used in Parliament alongside Bhutanese:

> 'Dzongkha and Nepali are the two languages used in the Tshodu, or National Assembly, in the same way as Dutch and French are currently both used in the Belgian parliament. In governmental committees, the language spoken is generally Dzongkha, whereas both English and Dzongkha are used in correspondence. In the southern belt of Bhutan,

> Dzongkha, English and Nepali are all three used as the language of administration, both as spoken languages in committee and in official correspondence. The fact that Nepali, an allochthonous language by origin, enjoys the status of language of administration in the predominantly Nepali-speaking southern belt and even of spoken language in the National Assembly is indicative of the accommodating and hospitable attitude of the Royal Government vis-a-vis the Indo-Aryan immigrant population.'

This portrayal of the Bhutanese state as benevolently accommodating is, however, not universally shared. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* paints a contrasting picture, wherein the Nepalese minority has faced 'draconian oppression,' including restrictions on the public and educational use of Nepali. Nevertheless, both sources agree that the language is spoken widely in the south and that it enjoys some functional administrative use, even if contested.

Given its demographic weight and occasional appearance in national deliberation, there is no contradiction in coding Nepali as a *de facto* language of provincial identity, which I do from 1971 to 2014 in alignment with the Ethnologue.

References

[1] George van Driem. 'Language Policy in Bhutan'. In: *Bhutan: Aspects of Culture and Development*. Ed. by Michael Aris and Michael Hutt. Kiscadale Asia Research Series No. 5. Gartmore: Kiscadale Publications, 1994, pp. 87–106. ISBN: 1-870838-17-3. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/George-Van-Driem/publication/316659138_Language_policy_in_Bhutan/links/590a277eaca272f6580b5ace/Language-policy-in-Bhutan.pdf (visited on 23/03/2025).

[2] *Bhutan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BT/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Venkat Iyer. 'Constitution-Making in Bhutan: A Complex and Sui Generis Experience'. In: *The Chinese Journal of Comparative Law* 7.2 (2019), pp. 359–385. ISSN: 2050-4810. URL: https://doi.org/10.1093/cjcl/cxz013 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Bhoutan*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/bhoutan.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Bhoutan | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/bhoutan-lois_div.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Bhutan*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. Thimphu: Supreme Court of Bhutan, 2011. 120 pp. ISBN: 978-99936-754-0-2. URL: `https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=596` (visited on 23/03/2025).

770: Pakistan

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1947-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bengali	1947-1955	N	K: *De facto* provincial
	1956-1970	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
English	1947-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Urdu	1947-1955	N	D: *De facto* national
	1956-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Urdu as the two principal languages of Pakistan, with English serving as a statutory national working language and Urdu as the statutory national language under Article 251 of the 1973 constitution. As the first constitution promulgated following the secession of Bangladesh, the 1973 text succeeded two earlier post-independence constitutions, issued in 1956 and 1962 respectively. The Government of India Act 1935, which contained linguistic provisions regarding the use of English in the federal and provincial legislatures of British India as well as in the courts, served as the basic law of Pakistan in the relevant period before 1956.

> Article 39. [1935]
>
> All proceedings in the Federal Legislature shall be conducted in the English language:
>
> Provided that the rules of procedure of each Chamber, and the rules with respect to joint sittings shall provide for enabling persons unacquainted, or not sufficiently acquainted, with the English language to use another language.
>
> ...
>
> Article 85. All proceedings in the Legislature of a Province shall be conducted in the English language:
>
> Provided that the rules of procedure of the Chamber or Chambers, and the rules, if any, with respect, to joint sittings, shall provide for enabling persons unacquainted, or not sufficiently acquainted, with the English language to use another language.
>
> ...
>
> Article 214.
>
> ...

(5) All proceedings in the Federal Court shall be in the English language.

No other languages received mention. By the mid-1940s, it was evident that British India would undergo partition upon independence, with India emerging as a Hindu-majority state and non-contiguous West and East Pakistan forming a Muslim polity. Bengali was the native language of more than 98 percent of East Pakistan's population, accounting for approximately 56 percent of Pakistan's total demographic composition. In contrast, Punjabi was the mother tongue of nearly two-thirds of West Pakistan's inhabitants (Musa 1996: 67), while Urdu was spoken natively by a comparatively small segment.

In her comprehensive treatment of Pakistan's linguistic politics, Ayres (2003) observes that Urdu, despite its limited native speaker base, came to occupy a position of symbolic prominence as the *lingua franca* of Muslims in the Indian heartland. The Muslim League, particularly in the early twentieth century, established strong historical and political associations between Urdu and earlier eras of Muslim rule on the subcontinent. In contrast to the Hindi movement, which linked that language to an ethno-religious claim to majority status and sovereignty, Urdu was advanced as a marker of Muslim minority identity and distinctiveness. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Pakistan's founder, famously advocated in 1948 for 'Urdu, and only Urdu' to serve as the national language of the new state.

This policy met with deep resistance in East Pakistan, where the Bengali-speaking majority repeatedly raised the language issue in the post-independence years. These demands, however, were met with indifference or hostility from the West Pakistani leadership. The Bengali Language Movement began in 1948 and culminated in the killing of student demonstrators at Dhaka University on 21 February 1952. This incident, which galvanised Bengali nationalism, became a formative episode in the decades-long struggle for autonomy and is commemorated as Language Movement Day in present-day Bangladesh.

In the wake of this agitation, the pro-Urdu Muslim League suffered a decisive defeat in the 1954 elections. Responding to the political fallout, the 1956 constitution formally designated Bengali a 'state language' alongside Urdu.

Article 214. [1956]

(1) The State languages of Pakistan shall be Urdu and Bengali:

Provided that for the period of twenty years from the constitution Day, English shall continue to be used for all official purposes for which it was used in Pakistan immediately before the constitution Day, and Parliament may by Act provide for the use of English after the expiration of the said period of twenty years, for such purposes as may be specified in that Act.

(2) On the expiration of ten years from the constitution Day, the President shall appoint a Commission to make recommendations for the replacement of English.

> (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent a Provincial Government from replacing English by either of the State languages for use in that Province before the expiration of the said period of twenty years.

This recognition proved largely ceremonial. Bengali was not adopted in state signage, currency, or official documentation in East Pakistan, which continued to be issued exclusively in English and Urdu. The 1962 constitution, issued under the military regime of Mohammad Ayub Khan, repeated the bilingual designation by identifying Bengali and Urdu as the 'national languages of Pakistan.' Nevertheless, like its predecessor, it was not accompanied by meaningful implementation.

Ayub Khan's authoritarian rule further alienated the Bengali population. In the general election of 1970, the opposition Awami League, campaigning in favour of Bengali autonomy, achieved a landslide victory in East Pakistan. The political impasse with West Pakistan eventually triggered a brutal civil war under General Yahya Khan, leading to the emergence of an independent Bangladesh in 1971.

Two years later, Pakistan promulgated a new constitution. Article 251 of the 1973 document declared Urdu the sole national language of Pakistan. At the same time, it acknowledged the ongoing administrative reliance on English and provided a fifteen-year window for Urdu to be fully phased in as the language of governance.

> Section 251. National language. [1973]
>
> 1) The National language of Pakistan is Urdu, and arrangements shall be made for its being used for official and other purposes within fifteen years from the commencing day.
>
> 2) Subject to clause (1), the English language may be used for official purposes until arrangements are made for its replacement by Urdu.
>
> 3) Without prejudice to the status of the National Language, a Provincial Assembly may by law prescribe measure for the teaching, promotion and use of a provincial language in addition to the national language.

Urdu remains Pakistan's legally-defined national language. Though each constitution since 1956 has envisaged the gradual replacement of English with Urdu as a means of Islamicising state functions and mitigating the socio-economic privilege of English-speaking elites, these initiatives have consistently faltered. As Ayres (2003: 76) succinctly puts it: 'Despite the proclamation of every government since 1988 to establish Urdu as Pakistan's official language, with the eventual goal of replacing English, none has taken any actions to achieve this goal. English continues to be the first language of Pakistan's elite.' *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* likewise notes the scarcity of legislation concerning language in Pakistan, and English and Urdu continue to dominate the federal sphere.

In light of the above, I code English as a statutory national working language from 1947 to 2014. Urdu is coded as a *de facto* national language from 1947 to 1955, reflecting its privileged political status during the formative years of the state, and as a statutory national language from 1956 to 2014, pursuant to its constitutional

enshrinement. Bengali is coded as a *de facto* provincial language from 1947 to 1955, owing to its dominant use in East Pakistan, and as a statutory language of national identity from 1956 to 1970, based on its largely-symbolic *de jure* recognition in the 1956 and 1962 constitutions. After the secession of Bangladesh in 1971, I cease to code Bengali. This interpretation accords with the Ethnologue, which identifies only English and Urdu as having national- or provincial-level institutional status in Pakistan.

References

[1] Alyssa Ayres. 'The Politics of Language Policy in Pakistan'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 51–80. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52557/The-Politics-of-Language-Policy-in-Pakistan (visited on 22/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of Pakistan 1956*. Publisher: Secretariat of the Council of Common Interests (CCI), Government of Pakistan. 1956. URL: https://cci.gov.pk/SiteImage/Misc/files/Constitutions%20of%20Pakistan/Constitution_of_Pakistan_1956.pdf (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] *Constitution of Pakistan 1962*. Publisher: Secretariat of the Council of Common Interests (CCI), Government of Pakistan. 1962. URL: https://cci.gov.pk/SiteImage/Misc/files/Constitutions%20of%20Pakistan/Constitution_of_Pakistan_1962.pdf (visited on 23/03/2025).

[4] *Pakistan*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/PK/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Bangladesh*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Bangladesh.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Pakistan*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/pakistan.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Pakistan | Constitution de 1973 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/pakistan-const.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[8] Monsur Musa. 'Politics of Language Planning in Pakistan and the Birth of a New State'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1996.118 (1996). Publisher: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 63–80. ISSN: 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1996.118.63/html (visited on 23/03/2025).

[9] Tariq Rahman. 'Language Policy, Multilingualism and Language Vitality in Pakistan'. In: *Lesser-Known Languages of South Asia: Status and Policies, Case Studies and Applications of Information Technology*. Ed. by Anju Saxena and Lars Borin. Trends in Linguistics 175. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2006, pp. 73–107. ISBN: 978-3-11-018976-6.

771: Bangladesh

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1971-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bengali	1971	N	D: *De facto* national
	1972-2014	N	A: Statutory national
English	1971-1986	X	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Bengali as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Bangladesh, referencing Article 3 of the 1972 constitution. An additional provision also requires the state to preserve and promote the Bengali language.

> Article 3. The State Language. [1972]
>
> The state language of the Republic is Bengali.
>
> ...
>
> Article 23. National Culture.
>
> The State shall adopt measures to conserve the cultural traditions and heritage of the people, and so to foster and improve the national language, literature and the arts that all sections of the people are afforded the opportunity to contribute towards and to participate in the enrichment of the national culture.

The Ethnologue further observes that this constitutional framework has been reinforced by the Bengali Language Introduction Act 1987, which aimed to fully enact Article 3, and made the use of Bengali mandatory at all levels of state activity except in foreign affairs.

As discussed in the entry for Pakistan, the independence movement in Bangladesh was deeply tied to the Bengali language, which became a central symbol of Bangladeshi national identity. The tragic 1952 shooting of student protesters at Dhaka University by Pakistani authorities is commemorated every year on 21 February as Language Movement Day or Language Martyrs' Day. Mohsin (2003) argues that by elevating language as the central symbol of Bangladeshi statehood, the government has marginalized the country's non-Bengali populations, subsuming them into the narrative of a homogeneous Bangladeshi nation.

A small but influential minority of native English speakers in Bangladesh, however, remains far from marginalized. Hossain and Tollefson (2007) provide a detailed review of English's role in education policy, noting that although English is an

important language for government, education, and media, it is spoken by only about 3 percent of the population, almost exclusively in the capital. Due to disagreements over the place of Bengali and English in education, 'Bengali has not been adopted as the universal medium of instruction' despite its fundamental role in shaping the nation's identity. English-medium teaching was initially banned in 1972 but reintroduced in 1992. Hossain and Tollefson (2007: 255) further note that 'the urban middle and upper classes depend upon their exclusive, high-quality English-medium education in order to sustain their privileged access to higher education and employment.'

Banu and Sussex (2001: 126) point out that for 'at least for a decade or so after Independence, there is no doubt that a dual-language policy was *de facto* in practice,' with English remaining 'deep-rooted and ubiquitous' in all areas of government. Laws and documents were still written in English, as the bureaucracy and judiciary were largely composed of English-trained elites. The stubborn persistence of English prompted passage of the Bengali Language Introduction Act in 1987. This law mandated the use of Bengali for all government purposes and required the judiciary to translate all laws into Bengali. Though results accrued slowly, 'the process of Bengalisation of the bureaucracy made much greater headway,' with an estimated 80 percent of government activities conducted in Bengali after the Act.

Based on the above, I code Bengali as a *de facto* national language for the year 1971, during which the civil war was still unfolding, and as a statutory national language from 1972 to 2014 according to the 1972 constitution. I code English as a *de facto* national working language from 1971 to 1986 to reflect its continued use in government post-independence. From 1987 to 2014, I do not code English. This aligns with the Ethnologue's assessment, which presently identifies no language other than Bengali as having institutional status in Bangladesh.

References

[1] Rahela Banu and Roland Sussex. 'English in Bangladesh After Independence: Dynamics of Policy and Practice'. In: *Who's centric now? the present state of post-colonial Englishes*. Ed. by Bruce Moore. 1st ed. South Melbourne: Oxford Univ. Press, 2001, pp. 122–147. ISBN: 978-0-19-551450-6. URL: `https://espace.library.uq.edu.au/view/UQ:68356` (visited on 23/03/2025).

[2] *Bangladesh*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BD/` (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Tania Hossain and James W. Tollefson. 'Language Policy in Education in Bangladesh'. In: *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 19. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 241–258. ISBN: 978-1-315-09203-4.

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Bangladesh*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023.

URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Bangladesh.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Bangladesh / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Bangladesh-lois.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] Amena Mohsin. 'Language, Identity, and the State in Bangladesh'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 82–103. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52558/Language-Identity-and-the-State-in-Bangladesh (visited on 22/03/2025).

[7] Monsur Musa. 'Politics of Language Planning in Pakistan and the Birth of a New State'. In: *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 1996.118 (1996). Publisher: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 63–80. ISSN: 1613-3668. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/ijsl.1996.118.63/html (visited on 23/03/2025).

775: Myanmar

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1948-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Burmese	1948-2014	N	A: Statutory national
English	1948-1961	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1962-1987	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists Burmese as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Myanmar, citing Article 450 of the 2008 constitution, which declares that 'Myanmar is the official language.' However, the first such declaration may, in fact, be found in the 1947 constitution.

> Article 216. [1947]
>
> The official language of the Union shall be Burmese, provided that the use of the English language may be permitted.
>
> Article 217.
>
> Two copies of the constitution shall be made, one in the Burmese language and the other in the English language, both copies to be signed by the President of the Constituent Assembly and enrolled for record in the office of the Registrar of the Supreme Court. Such copies shall be conclusive evidence of the provisions of this constitution.

Thus, whilst Burmese was declared the sole official language at the moment of independence from the United Kingdom, the use of English was 'permitted,' and the constitution was produced in both English and Burmese, a legacy of the colonial era.

Callahan's (2003) overview of Burmese language policy traces the origins of this situation. Under British rule, Burma was divided into 'Ministerial Burma' or 'Burma Proper,' where ethnic Burmans formed the majority alongside Indian and Chinese migrants, and the Frontier Areas,' where ethnic Burmans were a minority. These frontier regions, largely neglected by the colonial administration, remained underdeveloped. By the 1930s, political dynamics in Burma Proper became increasingly fraught as the ethnic Burmans clashed with the Indian and Chinese populations. Consequently, '[t]he Burmese language campaign became a major rallying point for the nationalist movement' (Callahan 2003: 153).

Following independence, U Nu's government sought to consolidate power by promoting Burmese as a unifying national language, aimed at outmanoeuvring the country's ethnic minorities. Callahan (2003: 155) observes that '[t]hese programs

were not really continuations of anticolonial campaigns against English; indeed, most of the AFPFL leaders were fluent in English and no doubt considered it to be a more "modern" language. Instead, the pro-Burmese campaigns were aimed at undermining the positions of Chinese- and Hindi-speaking merchants in central Burma.' Thus, throughout the 1950s, English continued to occupy a prominent position in the nation's elite circles.

The military coup of 1962, led by Ne Win, marked a pivotal moment in the country's political and linguistic landscape. The 1947 constitution was suspended, and the former Frontier Areas became a focal point for extending central government control. The Revolutionary Council, which took power following the coup, championed Burmese and sought to diminish the role of English. Educational reforms were introduced, initially focusing on the central plains, but gradually expanded into the Frontier Areas by the 1970s. Over time, Burmese became the sole language of instruction amidst growing restrictions on the use of minority languages. By the late 1970s, the country faced a severe decline in English proficiency, prompting the government to launch retraining programmes for teachers of English (Allott 1985: 140).

Mass protests in 1988 eventually destabilised the rule of the Burmese Socialist Programme Party, which governed Burma from the 1960s. In response, the junta reorganised itself as the State Law and Order Restoration Council. Callahan contends that this new government embarked upon a policy of 'cultural homogenization,' which marked the most systematic attempt in the twentieth century to assimilate Burma's ethnic minorities and diminish their power (2003: 167). *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that while several laws, such as the Commercial Tax Act of 1990, required the use of both Burmese and English in official documentation, such legislation had little practical effect since the junta operated extrajudicially. In practice, Burmese became the singular language of the state.

In light of these developments, I code Burmese as the statutory national language from 1948 to 2014, in line with the determination of the Ethnologue. The historical trajectory outlined above reveals that the Burmese government has consistently worked to enforce Burman ethnolinguistic dominance. All three constitutions of 1947, 1974, and 2008 explicitly provide for the official use of Burmese in state organs. From 1948 to 1961, I code English as a *de facto* national working language, capturing its continued prevalence among the elite during the early years of independence. From 1962 to 1987, I adopt a placeholder code to reflect the declining use of English under Ne Win's government. Finally, from 1988 to 2014, I do not code English to account for the new nationalism of the reconstituted junta government.

References

[1] Anna J. Allott. 'Language Policy and Language Planning in Burma'. In: *Papers in South-East Asian Linguistics No. 9: Language Policy, Language Planning, and Sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*. Ed. by David Bradley. A No. 67. Canberra:

Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985, pp. 131–154. URL: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/160608324.pdf#page=137 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[2] Mary P. Callahan. 'Language Policy in Modern Burma'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 143–175. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52561/Language-Policy-in-Modern-Burma (visited on 22/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of the Republic of the Union of Myanmar*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2008. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=568 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[4] *Myanmar*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MM/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Birmanie (Myanmar)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/birmanie.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Birmanie | Constitution de 2008*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/birmanie-cnst-2008.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Birmanie | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/birmanie-lois_div.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[8] *The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1974. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=571 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[9] *The Constitution of the Union of Burma, 24 September 1947, Effective 4 January 1948*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1947. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=570 (visited on 23/03/2025).

780: Sri Lanka

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1948-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1948-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Sinhala	1948-1955	N	D: *De facto* national
	1956-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Tamil	1948-1957	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1958-1977	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1978-1986	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1987-2014	X	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English, Sinhala, and Tamil as the principal languages of Sri Lanka. Whilst English functions as a *de facto* national working language within government and education, Sinhala and Tamil are classified as statutory national working languages under the amended 1987 constitution. However, this was neither Sri Lanka's first constitution nor the first legal framework to define official languages.

Upon declaring independence from the British Empire in 1947, Sri Lanka adopted the Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council 1946 as its foundational legal document; notably, it contained no provisions regarding the use of language.

Devotta (2003) provides an exhaustive examination of language conflict and policy in Sri Lanka since the colonial era. The country's two principal ethnic groups are the Sinhalese majority, concentrated in the South, and the Tamil minority, largely in the North. Under British rule, English was imposed as the language of education and administration. Tamils, who were disproportionately represented in colonial English-medium schools, subsequently entered careers in the bureaucracy and civil service. The colonial administration also actively disadvantaged the Buddhist Sinhalese through a policy of divide-and-rule.

Before 1947, a *Swabhasha* or 'own-language' movement, aimed at replacing English with Sinhalese and Tamil, had gained considerable traction among non-English-speaking Sinhalese and Tamils. However, upper-caste and upper-class Tamils, who benefited from their disproportionate access to English, were less enthusiastic about the movement. As Tamil enthusiasm waned and Sinhalese dissatisfaction grew, the *Swabhasha* movement fractured into two factions: a populist, ethnonationalist Sinhala-only wing, and an elite-led, gradualist wing advocating for both Sinhala and Tamil.

Sinhala emerged as a unifying symbol for the Sinhalese, who comprised 70 percent

of the population. This shift propelled Solomon West Ridgeway Dias Bandaranaike to power in the April 1956 elections. Bandaranaike's campaign, which revolved around the slogan 'Sinhala only, and in twenty-four hours,' culminated in the passage of the Official Language Act in June 1956, which declared that 'the Sinhala language shall be the one official language of Ceylon.'

This measure provoked unprecedented protests and riots. The fear of a linguistic apartheid under Sinhalese majority rule ignited Tamil linguistic counter-nationalism, further exacerbating tensions. The Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act No. 28 of 1958 offered only limited concessions, permitting Tamil-medium education and administrative use of Tamil in the North and East, but stopping short of making Tamil an official language. The same restrictive provisions were maintained by the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Regulations 1966.

Meanwhile, the Sinhala-only agenda proceeded unabated. Officials and bureaucrats lacking proficiency in Sinhala were dismissed or denied promotion. The Language of the Courts Act No. 3 of 1961 mandated that Sinhala replace English in all courts. The same year, under Sirimavo Bandaranaike, most schools were nationalised and forced to phase out English-only instruction. In 1969, the merit-based university entrance exam, which had historically favoured Tamil students, was replaced with an affirmative-action programme.

The Tamil population faced further repression throughout the 1970s. In 1972, Buddhism was given special constitutional protection, and Ceylon was renamed 'Sri Lanka.' The 1972 constitution reaffirmed Sinhala as the sole official language and relegated the Tamil Language Act 1958 to the status of 'subordinate legislation.'

> Section 7. [1958]
>
> The Official Language of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala as provided by the *Official Language Act, No. 33 of 1956.*
>
> Section 8.
>
> 1) The use of the Tamil language shall be in accordance with the *Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act. No. 23 of 1958.*
>
> 2) Any regulation for the use of the Tamil language made under the *Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act, No. 28 of 1958*, and in force immediately before the commencement of the constitution shall not in any manner be interpreted as being a provision of the constitution but shall be deemed to be subordinate legislation continuing in force as existing written law under the provisions of section 12.

By the mid-1970s, Tamil agitation had escalated into militancy and evolved into a separatist movement. The new 1978 constitution sought to offer linguistic accommodation by designating Tamil as a 'national language,' while maintaining Sinhala as the 'official language' in a comprehensive chapter of the document.

> Chapter IV [1978]

LANGUAGE

18: The Official Language of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala.

19: The National Languages of Sri Lanka shall be Sinhala and Tamil.

20: A Member of Parliament shall be entitled to perform his duties and discharge his functions in Parliament or in such local authority in either of the National Languages.

...

22: (1) The Official Language shall be the language of administration throughout Sri Lanka:

Provided that the Tamil Language shall also be used as the language of administration for the maintenance of public records and the transaction of all business by public institutions in the Northern and Eastern Provinces.

...

24: (1) The Official Language shall be the language of the courts throughout Sri Lanka and accordingly their records and proceedings shall be in the Official Language:

Provided that the language of the courts exercising original jurisdiction in the Northern and Eastern Provinces shall also be in Tamil and their records and proceedings shall be in the Tamil language···

...

25: The State shall provide adequate facilities for the use of languages provided for in this Chapter.

However, these accommodations were insufficient and came too late. The Sri Lankan Civil War erupted in 1983, prompting an Indian intervention in 1987 that marked the end of both the dictatorship and the first phase of the civil conflict. In a further concession, the constitution was amended to include the statement 'Tamil is also an official language' following the declaration of Sinhala as the official language. Despite these modifications, the civil war raged on for several more years. Writing prior to the war's conclusion, Devotta (2003: 133-4) lamented:

> 'The thirteenth amendment to the constitution made Tamil an official language in November 1987, while the sixteenth amendment solidified this position by declaring both Sinhala and Tamil as national languages for administrative purposes. To compensate for the desultory status of the Department of Official Languages that was created under the ministry of finance in 1955, the UNP government re-created an Official Language Department in 1978. Under the Official Language Commission Act No. 18 of 1991, another UNP government further created the Official Languages Commission to implement language policy. Yet

> more than a decade later, the commission has hardly succeeded in fulfilling its mandate. Some government institutions demand interactions in Sinhala only; certain courts conduct proceedings in Sinhala to prosecute Tamils not conversant in Sinhala; destination boards on buses and signs at hospitals, police stations, and post offices rarely include Tamil; Tamil students in rural areas are deprived of equal educational opportunities (mainly because thousands of Tamil teaching positions go unfilled); government-produced Tamil textbooks are replete with mistakes; and Sinhalese and Buddhist history dominates schoolbooks while the minority's religious and cultural heritage is disregarded.'

The Civil War concluded in 2009 with the total defeat of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that, on paper, Sinhala, Tamil, and English are permitted for parliamentary debates according to the constitution. Furthermore, laws are meant to be drafted in Sinhala and Tamil, with translations into English. However, this legislation is not rigorously enforced, and even toward the end of the coding period, Tamil monolinguals continued to experience discrimination at the hands of the state. Despite notable linguistic accommodations for Tamil when compared to the pre-civil-war era, Sinhala and English still dominate administration, education, media, and business.

Based on these developments, I code English as the *de facto* national working language throughout the entire period, as it has consistently served a crucial bridging role in Sri Lanka's post-colonial governmental and societal functions. I code Sinhala as a *de facto* national language from 1948 to 1955, in recognition of the demographic dominance of Sinhalese Buddhists and their successful *Swabhasha* agitation during this period. From 1956 to 2014, I classify Sinhala as a statutory national language, pursuant to the Official Language Act and the relevant provisions of the 1972 and 1978 constitutions.

I code Tamil as a *de facto* provincial language from 1948 to 1957, reflecting its significant yet juridically unrecognised role in the North and East in the immediate post-independence years. From 1958 to 1977, I classify Tamil as a statutory language of provincial identity with reference the Tamil Language (Special Provisions) Act, which nominally permitted the use of Tamil in administration in the North and East. This period was also characterised by heightened anti-Tamil sentiment and a marked decline in the status of Tamil in practice, warranting its classification as an identity language only. From 1978 to 1986, I elevate Tamil to a statutory language of national identity, recognising the symbolic accommodation of its designation as a 'national language' in the 1978 constitution. Finally, from 1987 to 2014, I code Tamil as a statutory national language, reflecting the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord and the end of the first phase of the civil war.

References

[1] *1978 Constitution Without Amendments*. Publisher: Sri Lankan Parlament. 1978. URL: `https://www.parliament.lk/files/pdf/constitution/1978ConstitutionWithoutAmendments.pdf` (visited on 23/03/2025).

[2] *Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council [as Amended by the Ceylon Constitution (Amendment) Order in Council, 1947, the Ceylon Constitution (Amendment No. 2) Order in Council, 1947, the Ceylon Constitution (Amendment No. 3) Order in Council, 1947, the Ceylon Independence Order in Council, 1047, and Acts Nos. 29 of 1954, 35 of 1954, and 36 of 1954.]* LawNet Sri Lanka. 1954. URL: https://www.lawnet.gov.lk/wp-content/uploads/Legislative_html/1956Y11V379C.html (visited on 23/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of Ceylon. Ceylon (State council) Order in Council, 1931. Ceylon (State council elections) Order in Council, 1931. Letters patent constituting the office of governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Ceylon and its dependencies, dated the 22nd of April, 1931. Instructions passed under the Royal sign manual and signet to the governor and commander-in-chief of the island of Ceylon and its dependencies, dated the 22nd of April, 1931.* HathiTrust. London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1931. 102 pp. URL: https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=umn.31951001034448n&seq=1 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[4] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Sri Lanka.* In: *ConstitutionNet.* The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/sri-lanka (visited on 13/03/2025).

[5] Sandagomi Coperahewa. 'The Language Planning Situation in Sri Lanka'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 10.1 (2009), pp. 69–150. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200902894660 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[6] Neil Devotta. 'Ethnolinguistic Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia.* Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 105–139. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52559/Ethnolinguistic-Nationalism-and-Ethnic-Conflict-in (visited on 22/03/2025).

[7] *Sri Lanka.* In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World.* Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LK/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitution de 1972 (Dispositions linguistiques) Abrogée en 1978.* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/srilanka-cst-1972.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitution de 1978 (Dispositions linguistiques).* In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde.* Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/srilanka-cst-1978.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitution de 2000 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/srilanka-cst-2000.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitution de 2022 (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/srilanka-cst-2022.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc. *Loi sur la langue tamoule. Tamil Language Act (Dispositions particulières) 1958*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/srilanka-loi-1958.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[13] Jacques Leclerc. *Lois sur la langue officielle. Official Language Act (abrogée) 1956*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/srilanka-loi-1956.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[14] Jacques Leclerc. *Sri Lanka*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2025. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/srila.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[15] *SI 1946/5010. Ceylon (Constitution) Order in Council, 1946*. Archived by VLex United Kingdom. 1946. URL: https://vlex.co.uk/vid/ceylon-constitution-order-in-812179525 (visited on 23/03/2025).

781: Maldives

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1965-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Dhivehi	1965-1967	N	D: *De facto* national
	1968-2014	N	A: Statutory national
English	1965-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Dhivehi as the two principal languages of the Maldives. English is classified as a *de facto* national working language, while Dhivehi holds the status of a statutory national language pursuant to Article 11 of the 2008 constitution. This designation, however, obscures a relevant clause in the first post-independence constitution issued in 1968:

> Article 3. [1968]
>
> Maldives shall be a Republic, its Religion shall be Islam, the Official language shall be Divehi, and the Capital shall be Malé.

The relative geographic isolation of the Maldivian archipelago has fostered relative ethnolinguistic homogeneity: Dhivehi is the mother tongue of approximately 99 percent of the population. The Maldives' deep Islamic heritage dates to the twelfth century, and its unique script, *Thaana*, is derived from Arabic. Though the islands experienced the intermittent presence of Portuguese and Dutch forces, the Maldivian sultanate entered into a protectorate relationship with the British Crown in 1887 without ever being formally colonised.

It was only in the mid-twentieth century that English began to make inroads into the educational system. Following the expansion of basic schooling in Malé during the 1950s and early 1960s, English was adopted as a medium of instruction. In 1968, three years after independence from Britain, a popular referendum abolished the sultanate and established a republic, ushering in the new constitutional order that codified Dhivehi as the official language. Subsequent constitutions, promulgated in 1998 and 2008, reaffirmed this status in Articles 8 and 11, respectively, preserving Dhivehi's formal standing as 'the national language.'

Nonetheless, Mohamed (2019: 419) observes that 'Dhivehi has always been taught as a subject in schools, [but] it has in the past played second fiddle to English,' a dynamic attributable to a chronic scarcity of qualified teachers and pedagogical materials. Even in the absence of a formal language-of-instruction policy, English-medium education proliferated beyond the capital beginning in the 1980s. By the 1990s, English had become the default medium for higher education. Yet English

remains a second language for most Maldivians, and teachers rely on Dhivehi to explain academic concepts in classroom settings.

Legal provisions mandating the use of Dhivehi have historically been minimal. The 2006 Rules of Procedure of the People's Council stipulate that requests submitted to parliament must be in Dhivehi. In practice, spoken governmental communication is conducted in Dhivehi, while written materials frequently default to English. Signage throughout the country tends to be bilingual. Only in 2011 was the first comprehensive language law enacted to promote the use of Dhivehi in official settings. This National Language (Priority) Act requires state communications and correspondences to be conducted in Dhivehi, requires its compulsory instruction in schools, and provides for the establishment of a Dhivehi Language Academy.

In sum, the linguistic ecology of the Maldives is functionally bilingual. English serves as a vital conduit for higher education, administration, and international engagement, while Dhivehi remains the dominant language of cultural identity and daily life. Based on these dynamics, I code English as a *de facto* national working language for the entirety of the post-independence period. I code Dhivehi as a *de facto* national language from 1965 to 1967, reflecting its societal dominance in the immediate post-colonial years before republican governance was instituted. From 1968 to 2014, I classify Dhivehi as a statutory national language, in line with constitutional provisions and consistent with the assessment offered by the Ethnologue.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Republic of Maldives'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 453–455. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s014.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the Republic of Maldives 1998*. Compiled by the Asian Legal Information Institute. 1998. URL: https://www.asianlii.org/mv/legis/const/1998/1.html (visited on 23/03/2025).

[3] *Constitution of the Republic of Maldives: August 7, 2008 (as Amended to July 23, 2015) (Maldives [mv])*. In: *Oxford Constitutions of the World*. Trans. by "Max Planck Institute". Online. OCW CD 1119 (MV). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. URL: https://oxcon.ouplaw.com/display/10.1093/ocw/law-ocw-cd1119.regGroup.1/law-ocw-cd1119 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[4] *Maldives*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MV/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Amalia E.Hg Gnanadesikan. '2. The Dhivehi Language'. In: *Dhivehi*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016, pp. 11–20. ISBN: 978-1-61451-234-9. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9781614512349-005/html (visited on 23/03/2025).

[6] Hellmuth Hecker. 'Die Verfassung Der Malediven Vom 11. 11. 1968'. In: *Verfassung und Recht in Übersee / Law and Politics in Africa, Asia and Latin America* 5.1 (1972). Publisher: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft mbH, pp. 77–91. ISSN: 0506-7286. URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/43108187 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Maldives*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/maldives.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Maldives | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/maldives-lois_div.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[9] Naashia Mohamed. 'From a Monolingual to a Multilingual Nation: Analysing the Language Education Policy in the Maldives'. In: *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 13. London: Routledge, 2019, pp. 414–426. ISBN: 978-1-315-66623-5. URL: https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315666235-29/monolingual-multilingual-nation-naashia-mohamed?context=ubx&refId=32764002-c23c-4195-9e97-7d4aa25f1434 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[10] *Press Release 2011-360: President Ratifies National Language (Priority) Bill*. The President's Office. 2011. URL: https://presidency.gov.mv/Press/Article/5304 (visited on 23/03/2025).

790: Nepal

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Hindi	1945-1956	X	K: *De facto* provincial
	1957-1970	X	M: *De facto* provincial (identity)
	1971-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Nepali	1945-1958	N	D: *De facto* national
	1959-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Tibetan	1945-2014	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Nepali as both the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Nepal, referencing the 1990 constitution. This attribution, however, overlooks both antecedent and subsequent constitutions within the coding period that also designate Nepali the official language.

Nepal saw six constitutional regimes between 1945 and 2014. Prior to this, from 1854 to 1948, the Kingdom was governed under the *Muluki Ain*, a codified body of traditional laws. Though never formally colonised, Nepal operated as a buffer state between Imperial China and British India. As British influence receded, Nepal promulgated its first written constitution in 1948. Neither this document nor its 1951 interim successor contained any provisions regarding language. It was the Royal Constitution of 1959 that first declared Nepali the national language:

> Article 70. National Language [1959]
>
> The National Language of Nepal shall be Nepali in the Devanagari script.

Although this constitution was suspended after a year, its successor, the 1962 *Panchayat* Constitution, retained the same provision verbatim in Article 4. Amendments in 1969 and 1975 did not modify the language clause. The 1990 Constitution, cited by the Ethnologue and enacted following democratic elections, affirmed Nepali as 'the official language' while recognising all other mother tongues as 'the national languages.'

> Article 6. Language of the Nation [1990]
>
> (1) The Nepali language in the Devanagari script is the language of the nation of Nepal. The Nepali language shall be the official language.
>
> (2) All the languages spoken as the mother tongue in the various parts

of Nepal are the national languages of Nepal.

The democratic peace envisaged by this constitution proved short-lived. From 1996 to 2006, raging civil conflict culminated in the abolition of the Hindu monarchy and the proclamation of a republic. In the aftermath, an interim constitution was promulgated in 2007. This document introduced nuanced changes to the language regime, granting greater rhetorical prominence to the other national languages and reframing Nepali as 'the language of official business' rather than as 'the official language.'

Article 5. Language of the Nation [2007]

(1) All the languages spoken as mother tongues in Nepal are the national languages of Nepal.

(2) The Nepali language in the Devanagari script shall be the language of official business.

(3) Notwithstanding whatever is written in clause (2), the use of one's mother tongue in a local body or office shall not be barred. The state shall translate the language used for such purposes into the language of official business for the record.

In her seminal overview of language policy in Nepal, Eagle (1999) observes that although Nepali is the most widely spoken mother tongue, it has often been spoken by only a plurality of the population. Despite its enduring role as the *lingua franca* of state administration, its imposition as the exclusive instructional medium in government-run schools during the late 1950s provoked enduring dissent, which persisted well into the 1990s. While written education policy remains vague, in practice, Nepali is the default medium of instruction at all educational levels, with the exception of select technical subjects taught in English.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde corroborates this account, noting that Nepali's ascendancy has come at the expense of minority languages. In 1999, the Supreme Court ruled the use of 'ethnic languages' in state administrative offices 'unconstitutional and illegal,' intensifying resentment during the latter part of the coding period. Despite intermittent concessions, the dominance of Nepali in the corridors of power has remained largely unchallenged, assisted by the autocratic character of the monarchic state. On this basis, I code Nepali as the *de facto* national language from 1945 to 1958, and as the statutory national language from 1959 to 2014. This coding reflects the constitutional provisions of 1959, 1962, 1990, and 2007 and aligns with the judgement of the Ethnologue.

The Ethnologue additionally classifies Tibetan and Hindi as languages of wider communication without institutional status. I assign a placeholder code to Tibetan for the entire period under review, as it lacks national-level institutional recognition in any other sovereign state. Hindi, by contrast, has held significant sway in Nepal's southern plains (the Terai). It functioned as the medium of education at all levels until 1957, owing to the accessibility and quality of Hindi-language pedagogical materials (Eagle 1999: 292). Following a ban on Hindi-language instruction in

1957, a nascent 'Save Hindi' movement was swiftly dismantled under government repression.

Hindi has nevertheless retained its cultural foothold in the mass media, bolstered by the popularity of Indian cinema and its high degree of mutual intelligibility with Nepali. I code Hindi as a *de facto* provincial language from 1945 to 1956. From 1957 to 1970, I code it as a *de facto* language of provincial identity, reflecting its symbolic survival in the Terai following the instructional ban. Finally, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes that a new curriculum introduced in 1971 further entrenched the Nepalisation of education. From 1971 to 2014, I align my coding with the Ethnologue and employ a placeholder code to reflect Hindi's loss of institutional status alongside its continued use as a language of wider communication.

References

[1] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Nepal*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/nepal (visited on 24/03/2025).

[2] Sonia Eagle. 'The Language Situation in Nepal'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 20.4 (1999), pp. 272–327. ISSN: 0143-4632, 1747-7557. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01434639908666382 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[3] *Nepal*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/NP/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] Bhim Lal Gautam. 'Language Politics in Nepal: A Socio-Historical Overview'. In: *Journal of World Languages* 7.2 (2021). Publisher: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 355–374. ISSN: 2169-8260. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/jwl-2021-0010/html?lang=en&srsltid=AfmBOopvkKTJNBe3qxPQjmA1rxgMAWlxV9bpseVfoGWWkZV2Ow3psxQ6 (visited on 24/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | N: Namibie, Nauru, Népal, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norvège, Nouvelle-Zélande*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-N.htm (visited on 15/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Népal*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/nepal.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Népal | Constitution provisoire de 2007*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de

la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/nepal-cst2007prov.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[8] Selma K. Sonntag. 'Change and Permanence in Language Politics in Nepal'. In: *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 14. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 205–218. ISBN: 978-1-315-09203-4.

[9] *The Constitution of Nepal 1990*. Publisher: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. 1990. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/1990_constitution_english.pdf (visited on 24/03/2025).

[10] *The Constitution of Nepal, 1962*. Publisher: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. 1962. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/constitution_1962.pdf (visited on 24/03/2025).

[11] *The Constitution of Nepal. Effective April 1, 1948*. Publisher: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. 1948. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/1948%20Constitution%20English.pdf (visited on 24/03/2025).

[12] *The Constitution of the Kindom of Nepal, 1959*. Publisher: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. 1959. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/1959_constitution_english.pdf (visited on 24/03/2025).

[13] *The Interim Constitution of Nepal 2063 (2007)*. Publisher: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. 2007. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/interim_constitution_of_nepal_2007_as_amended_by_first_second_and_third_amendments.pdf (visited on 24/03/2025).

[14] *The Interim Government of Nepal Act, 1951*. Publisher: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. 1951. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/1951%20Constitution%20English.pdf (visited on 24/03/2025).

800: Thailand

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Thai	1945-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue designates Thai as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Thailand. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* corroborates this designation, noting that none of the twenty constitutions adopted since the 1932 coup has declared any official state language. Throughout the period under investigation, Thai state policy may be characterised as unambiguously geared towards assimilative unilingualism.

By 1945, the consolidation of a standardised Thai language and the absorption of linguistic minorities had already been largely achieved. Though the Siamese Empire had been partially divided among colonial powers by 1909, the central plains remained uncolonised. In the early twentieth century, successive monarchs sought to codify and standardise Thai grammar and orthography. Following the 1932 coup, which curtailed monarchical absolutism, the new regime turned its attention to constructing a modern Thai national identity disentangled from royalist tradition.

Keyes (2003) contends that the elevation of Thai as the sole national language was central to this project. Upon assuming power, Field Marshal Phibul Songgram launched an ultranationalist campaign, which included renaming the country from 'Siam' to 'Thailand.' His government forcibly assimilated the economically prominent Chinese population, mandating their children's attendance in government-run Thai-medium schools. The regime's stance on language is exemplified in the ninth *Ratthaniyom* or state directive dedicated to the national language.

> 'The ninth *Ratthaniyom* concerned the national language: "The Government deems that the continuity and progress of Thailand depends on the usage of the national language and alphabet as important elements." The proclamation went on to emphasize that it was the duty of Thai[s] to gain literacy in the national language: "Thais must not regard the place of birth, domicile, residence or local dialects which varies from locality to locality as marks of differences⋯Everyone must consider that being born as a Thai means that he has Thai blood and speaks the same Thai language. There is no (inherent) conflict in being born in different localities or speaking the Thai language in different dialects".' (Keyes 2003: 191)

Notwithstanding Thailand's political vicissitudes throughout the latter half of the

twentieth century, state language policy has remained largely unchanged. Thai, the language of the dominant supermajority ethnic group, monopolises all branches of government, education, media, and business. Several laws make reference to Thai language requirements, such as the Nationality Act (1965), the Consumer Protection Act (1979), the Trademarks Act (1991), the codes on civil (1968) and criminal procedure (2002), and the National Education Act (1999). Though English is often used in international affairs, it is not sufficiently prevalent to warrant classification by the Ethnologue. Accordingly, I code only Thai as the *de facto* national language for the entire duration from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Thailand*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2021. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/thailand (visited on 24/03/2025).

[2] *Thailand*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TH/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Charles F. Keyes. 'The Politics of Language in Thailand and Laos'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 177–210. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52562/The-Politics-of-Language-in-Thailand-and-Laos (visited on 22/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Thaïlande*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/thailande.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

811: Cambodia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1953-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Chinese	1953-1974	X	-: Other notable usage
English	1993-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
French	1953-1954	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1955-1969	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1970-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Khmer	1953-1974	N	A: Statutory national
	1975-1980	N	D: *De facto* national
	1981-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Vietnamese	1953-1974	X	-: Other notable usage
	1979-1988	X	-: Other notable usage

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Khmer as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Cambodia, citing Article 5 of the 1993 constitution. Under the post-war reorganisation of the French Empire into the so-called 'French Union,' however, a Cambodian constitution was promulgated in 1947 that addressed language policy with exceptional prominence, immediately following the declaration of the state as a monarchy in Article 1.

ចំពូក ១

ធម្មជាតិនិងសណ្ឋានរបស់រដ្ឋ

មាត្រា ១- ប្រទេសកម្ពុជា ជាប្រជាជាតិមួយមានព្រះមហាក្សត្រិយ៍សោយរាជ្យ ។

មាត្រា ២- ភាសាដែលប្រើជាផ្លូវការ គឺភាសាខ្មែរ ។

ភាសាបារាំង ជាភាសាផ្លូវការ សំរាប់ប្រើក្នុងការដែលទាក់ទងនឹងសហភាពបារាំង ហើយនឹងយកមកប្រើក្នុងការក្រៅពីនោះផងក៏បានដែរ ទំរាំភាសាខ្មែរមានពាក្យបរិបូណ៌ គ្រប់គ្រាន់នឹងប្រើការសំរាប់ប្រជាជាតិសម័យថ្មី ។

[CHAPTER I [1947]

Nature and Form of the State

Article 1. Cambodia is a Monarchy.

Article 2. The official language is Cambodian.

> French is the official language for proceedings concerning the French Union and its use is admitted in other cases until the Cambodian language is sufficiently enriched and adapted to the needs of a modern nation.]

Thong (1985) offers a comprehensive historical account of language planning in Cambodia, which became a French protectorate in 1863 and was subsequently incorporated into French Indochina. The colonial administration introduced a modern educational system designed to train a class of French-speaking bureaucrats. Yet, long before the advent of French rule, Khmer had enjoyed a venerable history as an administrative and literary language. Although Khmer was not formally included in the colonial curriculum until the 1930s, the French educational system coexisted with traditional monastery schools until independence in 1953.

These monastery schools, which proliferated in the early twentieth century, promoted a unified Khmer-language curriculum, often with the support of the colonial government. During this period, Buddhist monks and French linguists collaborated in the standardisation of Khmer spelling, grammar, and pronunciation. At the same time, members of the monastic elite reimagined the Khmer language as a potent symbol of anti-colonial resistance.

Thong (1985: 111) observes that until 1955, French retained its dominance as the language of instruction, law, administration, and commerce. After Cambodia achieved independence in 1953 and formally withdrew from the French Union in 1955, Article 2 of the 1947 constitution was amended to eliminate all references to French, thereby establishing Khmer as the sole official language of the state.

The policy of Khmerisation initiated in the early years of independence intensified throughout the 1960s. By the end of the decade, Khmer had become the medium of instruction at all levels of education, including university teaching. The US-backed coup of 1970 overthrew Prince Norodom Sihanouk and inaugurated the Khmer Republic under Lon Nol, who retained this language policy. The constitution of 1972 reiterated the monolingual character of the state, stating succinctly in Article 2: 'The Official Language is Khmer.'

From 1975 to 1978, Cambodia fell under the rule of the Khmer Rouge. In terms of corpus planning, the regime implemented a radical and largely dysfunctional language policy that sought to excise 'bourgeois' or 'capitalist' elements from the Khmer lexicon. However, this experiment in revolutionary purification lacked corresponding *de jure* status planning. The 1975 Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea made no mention of language whatsoever. Amid the ensuing terror, genocide, and administrative collapse, coherent language policy was rendered not only irrelevant but impossible.

Following the Vietnamese invasion of 1979, Cambodia was transformed into a client state of Hanoi as the People's Republic of Kampuchea. This polity, renamed the 'State of Cambodia' in 1989, produced two constitutions in 1981 and 1989, both of which affirmed Khmer as the official language in identical terms:

Article 5. [1989]

The official language and script is Khmer.

After the signing of the Paris Peace Accords and a brief period of UN transitional administration, the country was reconstituted as the Kingdom of Cambodia. The 1993 constitution, which remains in force, retained the language provision of its immediate predecessors.

Throughout this long and turbulent period, Cambodia's relative ethnic homogeneity expedited the Khmerisation of public life. Prolonged stretches of authoritarian rule discouraged the use of indigenous minority languages, often through violent or extralegal means. While *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that a patchwork of laws mandate the use of Khmer in specific domains, no single comprehensive language law has ever been enacted. Nonetheless, Khmer clearly functions as both the administrative and symbolic language of the Cambodian nation-state. Accordingly, I code Khmer as the statutory national language from 1953 to 1974 and from 1981 to 2014, reflecting its inclusion in the constitutions of 1947 (as amended), 1972, 1981, and 1993. From 1975 to 1980, I code Khmer as the *de facto* national language, given the absence of any legal codification during the Khmer Rouge period.

Additionally, the Ethnologue lists French and English as languages of wider communication without formal institutional status. I code French as the statutory national working language from 1953 to 1954, in reference to Article 2 of the 1947 constitution, which recognised its official function in matters relating to the French Union. From Cambodia's exit from the French Union in 1955 to the onset of Lon Nol's regime in 1970, I code French as a *de facto* national working language, acknowledging its diminishing yet persistent role amid a growing policy of Khmerisation. From 1970 to 2014, I assign a placeholder code to French to denote its residual presence, aligning with the Ethnologue's classification.

The rise of English is relatively recent. Clayton (2002) notes that English was not widely used until after the restoration of the monarchy in 1993. Since then, English has supplanted French as the dominant language in international diplomacy and commerce. Accordingly, I assign a placeholder code to English from 1993 to 2014 to reflect its non-institutional yet influential status.

Finally, attention must be given to Chinese and Vietnamese. In the years following independence, Cambodia's ethnic Chinese community operated Chinese-medium schools in major urban centres. Concurrently, Vietnamese remained the mother tongue of Cambodia's largest minority group. These languages, however, suffered a catastrophic reversal of fortunes under the succession of totalitarian regimes that gripped the country during the 1970s. The Khmer Rouge launched genocidal campaigns against both populations, killing over half of the ethnic Chinese and virtually exterminating the Vietnamese minority.

I therefore assign a placeholder code to Chinese from 1953 to 1974, reflecting its limited institutional presence. For Vietnamese, I apply the placeholder code from

1953 to 1974 and again from 1979 to 1988, acknowledging both its early minority presence and its reintroduction during the Vietnamese occupation.

References

[1] Victoria Amann-Lasnier and Nicole Fleury. *Overview of the Cambodian History, Governance and Legal Sources*. In: *GlobaLex*. 2nd ed. New York: New York University School of Law, 2019. URL: https://www.nyulawglobal.org/globalex/cambodia1.html (visited on 24/03/2025).

[2] *Cambodge. Constitution du 21 septembre 1993*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1993. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/kh1993.htm (visited on 23/03/2025).

[3] *Cambodge. Constitution du 6 mai 1947*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1947. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/kh1947.htm (visited on 23/03/2025).

[4] *Cambodia Constitution 1947*. Compiled by Advocatetanmoy Law Library: Legal Research & Database. 1947. URL: https://advocatetanmoy.com/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/cambodia-constitution-1947.pdf (visited on 24/03/2025).

[5] 'CAMBODIA SEVERS TIES WITH FRANCE; Declares Her Independence – Prince Norodom Takes the Post of Premier'. In: *The New York Times* (1955). ISSN: 0362-4331. URL: https://www.nytimes.com/1955/09/26/archives/cambodia-severs-ties-with-france-declares-her-independence-prince.html (visited on 24/03/2025).

[6] Thomas Clayton. 'Language Choice in a Nation Under Transition: The Struggle Between English and French in Cambodia'. In: *Language Policy* 1.1 (2002), pp. 3–25. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1014563027881 (visited on 24/03/2025).

[7] Thomas Clayton. 'Transition, Culture, and Language in Cambodia'. In: *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 24. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 95–119. ISBN: 978-1-315-09203-4.

[8] *Cambodia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KH/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Cambodge | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/cambodge-lois-div.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Cambodge*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Uni-

versité Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/cambodge.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[11] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea: Fundamental and Sacred Aspirations of the Industrial Workers, Peasants, and other Workers, and the Soldiers and Officers of the Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 220–225. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https://brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s020.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

[12] *The Constitution of Cambodia (1947) [in Khmer]*. Compiled by Open Development Cambodia. 1947. URL: https://data.opendevelopmentcambodia.net/laws_record/constitutions-of-cambodia (visited on 24/03/2025).

[13] *The Constitution of Cambodia (1970) [in Khmer]*. Compiled by Open Development Cambodia. 1959. URL: https://data.opendevelopmentcambodia.net/laws_record/constitutions-of-cambodia-2 (visited on 24/03/2025).

[14] *The Constitution of Cambodia [in Khmer]*. Compiled by Open Development Cambodia. 1989. URL: https://data.opendevelopmentcambodia.net/laws_record/constitutions-of-cambodia-3 (visited on 24/03/2025).

[15] *The Constitution of Democratic of Cambodia [in Khmer]*. Compiled by Open Development Cambodia. 1976. URL: https://data.opendevelopmentcambodia.net/laws_record/constitution-of-democratic-of-cambodia (visited on 24/03/2025).

[16] *The Constitution of Khmer Republic [in Khmer]*. Compiled by Open Development Cambodia. 1971. URL: https://data.opendevelopmentcambodia.net/laws_record/constitution-of-khmer-republic (visited on 24/03/2025).

[17] *The Constitution of People's Republic of Cambodia [in Khmer]*. Compiled by Open Development Cambodia. 1981. URL: https://data.opendevelopmentcambodia.net/laws_record/constitution-of-peoples-republic-of-camboida (visited on 24/03/2025).

[18] *The Constitution of the Kingdom of Cambodia (2008)*. Compiled by Open Development Cambodia. 1993. URL: https://data.opendevelopmentcambodia.net/laws_record/the-constitution-of-united-kingdom-of-cambodia (visited on 24/03/2025).

[19] Thel Thong. 'Language Planning and Language Policy of Cambodia'. In: *Papers in South-East Asian Linguistics No. 9: Language Policy, Language Planning, and Sociolinguistics in South-East Asia*. Ed. by David Bradley. A No. 67. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics, The Australian National University, 1985, pp. 103–118. URL: https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/160608324.pdf#page=109 (visited on 23/03/2025).

812: Laos

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1953-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1953-1956	X	B: Statutory national (working)
	1957-1974	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1975-1990	X	-: Other notable usage
Lao	1953-1974	N	A: Statutory national
	1975-1990	N	D: *De facto* national
	1991-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Lao as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Laos based on Article 89 of the 2003 constitution.

> Article 89. [2003]
>
> La langue et l'écriture Lao sont la langue et l'écriture officielles.

This, however, is not the first constitutional provision concerning language. Under the Fourth French Republic, proclaimed after the Second World War, the French Empire was reorganised as the 'French Union.' Within this framework, a Laoian was drafted in 1947 and entered into effect in 1949. Article 6 of this document established 'Laotian' as the official language and affirmed the concurrent official use of French.

> Article 6. [1947]
>
> La langue officielle est le laotien. La langue française sera concurremment employée comme langue officielle.

Keyes (2003) offers a detailed account of language policy in Laos during the colonial and postcolonial periods. Between 1893 and 1907, the Lao kingdom of Luang Prabang was gradually absorbed into French Indochina, governed from Hanoi. French colonial policy sought to cultivate an 'Indochinese' identity by linking Laos with Cambodia and Vietnam, while simultaneously resisting the influence of Siam (Thailand). Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, French linguists worked to standardise a Lao language that was intentionally differentiated from the closely related Thai.

During the joint Thai-Japanese occupation of Laos, the growth of Lao nationalism heightened the prestige of the emerging standard language. Following the war, Laos was restored to French administration, despite strong opposition from anticolonial nationalists. The 1953 treaty that granted Laos full independence reaffirmed its voluntary participation in the 'French Union.' Whereas Cambodia and South Viet-

nam severed ties with this institution in 1955, Laos remained nominally affiliated until the constitutional amendments of 1957 formally terminated its membership. These same amendments also eliminated all reference to French in Article 6.

> Article 6. [1957]
>
> La langue officielle est la langue lao.

Despite this revision, 'language policy was not a pressing issue during the long war between 1954 and 1975' (Keyes 2003: 202). *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* notes that the pre-revolutionary linguistic equilibrium persisted during this era: 'le français restait la langue seconde des élites et de l'aristocratie laotienne. Une partie de l'enseignement se faisait en français et l'administration était rigoureusement bilingue (lao-français).' This arrangement was brought to an end by the revolutionary Pathet Lao regime, which came to power in 1975 and declared the Lao People's Democratic Republic. The existing constitution was suspended, and no replacement was promulgated until 1991.

Also in 1975, Laos broke off diplomatic relations with France. French, which had hitherto functioned as a second language, was henceforth classified as a foreign language. The new regime confronted the challenge of consolidating national unity in a country where, according to the 1985 census, ethnic Lao constituted only half the population. The government pursued a policy of linguistic homogenisation by simplifying the Lao writing system and expanding its use in education. However, limited state capacity and difficult geography hampered the programme, and spoken Lao has emerged as a *lingua franca* only in the capital (Keyes 2003).

Article 75 of 1991 constitution, which ushered in a new era of market-oriented reforms, retained Lao as the solve official language. Since then, legislation has required the use of Lao in a variety of domains, including insurance policies (1990), judicial proceedings (2003 and 2004), naturalisation (2004), the circulation of petitions (2005), product labelling (2010), and patent applications (2011), *inter alia*. The Education Act of 2007 mandates Lao as the medium of instruction nationwide. Although English is increasingly used in business and international affairs, such activity remains marginal in the Lao context.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde observes that Laos has long pursued a policy of Lao unilingualism despite extensive ethnolinguistic diversity. Accordingly, I code Lao as the statutory national language from 1953 to 1974 and from 1991 to 2014, in accordance with the constitutions of 1947 and 1991. For the intervening period from 1975 to 1990, I classify Lao as the *de facto* national language, in recognition of the Pathet Lao's extended rule in the absence of a formal constitution.

I code French as a statutory national working language from 1953 to 1956, based on the provisions of the 1947 constitution and Laos' participation in the French Union. From 1957 to 1974, I assign it the status of a *de facto* national working language, given its continued prominence among the elite and within government despite the constitutional excision of its official status. For the period 1975 to 1990, I employ a placeholder code for French to represent its suppression under the Pathet Lao

regime. From 1991 to 2014, I refrain from coding French at all, in alignment with the assessment of the Ethnologue, which neither accords it institutional status nor classifies it as a widely-used language.

References

[1] Albert P. Blaustein, Jay Sigler and Benjamin R. Beede. 'Lao People' s Democratic Republic'. In: *Independence Documents of the World*. Section: Independence Documents of the World. Brill Nijhoff, 1977, pp. 405–407. ISBN: 978-90-04-54039-2. URL: https://brill.com/display/book/9789004540392/B9789004540392_s004.xml (visited on 15/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of the Lao Democratic People's Republic*. Publisher: World Trade Organisation. WTO Documents Online, WTACCLAO3A1_LEG_26. 1991. URL: https://www.wto.org/english/thewto_e/acc_e/lao_e/wtacclao3a1_leg_26.pdf (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] *Laos*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/LA/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] Charles F. Keyes. 'The Politics of Language in Thailand and Laos'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 177–210. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52562/The-Politics-of-Language-in-Thailand-and-Laos (visited on 22/03/2025).

[5] *Laos. Constitution de la République démocratique populaire Lao (version amendée du 28 mai 2003)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 2003. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/la2003.htm (visited on 23/03/2025).

[6] *Laos. Constitution de la République démocratique populaire Lao, du 15 août 1991*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1991. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/la1991.htm (visited on 23/03/2025).

[7] *Laos. Constitution du 11 mai 1947 (Version consolidée 1961)*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1961. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/la1961.htm (visited on 23/03/2025).

[8] *Laos. Constitution du 14 septembre 1949*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1949. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/la1949.htm (visited on 23/03/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Laos*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture

d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Laos.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Laos / Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/Laos-lois-div.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[11] *Revised Constitution of the Kingdom of Laos (1957)*. Publisher: Royal Lao Government (RLG). University of Wisconsin-Madison Libraries, Indochina War Refugees in Laos, 1954–1975—Documents And Reports. 1957. URL: https://search.library.wisc.edu/digital/ALBAPFGQ6HF4KI8V/pages/AKGM6HUI2SS6ZM8X (visited on 23/03/2025).

816: Vietnam / North Vietnam

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1954-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Vietnamese	1954-2012	N	D: *De facto* national
	2013-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

Correlates of War code 816 refers to the polity known as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam from 1945 to 1975 and as the Socialist Republic of Vietnam following the unification of the country in 1976. The Ethnologue identifies Vietnamese as its sole principal language and as the *de facto* national language. This assessment, however, overlooks the significance of the 2013 constitutional amendments, which revised the 1992 constitution to include an explicit declaration of Vietnamese as the national language in Article 5, concerning interethnic relations.

Điều 5 [2013]

1) Nước Cộng hoà xã hội chủ nghĩa Việt Nam là quốc gia thống nhất của các dân tộc cùng sinh sống trên đất nước Việt Nam.
2) Các dân tộc bình đẳng, đoàn kết, tôn trọng và giúp nhau cùng phát triển; nghiêm cấm mọi hành vi kỳ thị, chia rẽ dân tộc.
3) Ngôn ngữ quốc gia là tiếng Việt. Các dân tộc có quyền dùng tiếng nói, chữ viết, giữ gìn bản sắc dân tộc, phát huy phong tục, tập quán, truyền thống và văn hoá tốt đẹp của mình.
4) Nhà nước thực hiện chính sách phát triển toàn diện và tạo điều kiện để các dân tộc thiểu số phát huy nội lực, cùng phát triển với đất nước.

[Article 5 [2013]

1. The Socialist Republic of Vietnam is the unified State of all nationalities living together in the country of Vietnam.
2. All the ethnicities are equal, unified and respect and assist one another for mutual development; all acts of national discrimination and division are strictly forbidden.
3. The national language is Vietnamese. Every ethnic group has the right to use its own language and system of writing, to preserve its national identity, to promote its fine customs, habits, traditions and culture.
4. The State implements a policy of comprehensive development,

> and provides conditions for the ethnic minorities to promote their physical and spiritual abilities and to develop together with the nation.]

The sentence 'The national language is Vietnamese' is not present in the 1992 constitution as originally adopted, nor does any of Vietnam's three preceding constitutions from 1946, 1959, and 1980 contain any article designating a state language. The 1946 constitution includes a reference in Article 18(2), relating to electoral eligibility: 'Candidates for election must be persons who have the right to vote, are at least 21 years of age, and know how to read and write the national language.' Although it is implied that the national language is Vietnamese, the constitution does not specify this explicitly.

The French Empire commenced its conquest of southern Vietnam in the 1860s, and by the 1880s had extended its control over the north. In 1887, it unified its protectorates in the region as the Indochinese Union. DeFrancis (1977: 226), in his detailed study of language policy under colonial rule, observes that French authorities consistently pursued two overarching goals: 'using language as an instrument of colonial control and elevating French over Vietnamese.' This also involved undermining Classical Chinese, the elite administrative language for well over a millennium, to eventually establish French as the dominant medium.

DeFrancis provocatively contends (1977: 229) that bilingual education was not designed to produce parity between Vietnamese and French, constituting instead a deliberate strategy of 'transitional bilingualism' aimed at eventually at replacing Vietnamese altogether in a 'linguistic genocide' which he likens to American westward expansion. The spread of French faced determined resistance. In 1945, in the immediate aftermath of Japanese surrender, Ho Chi Minh proclaimed the independence of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. Though the 1946 constitution did not include a language clause, the government in Hanoi simultaneously waged a literacy campaign and a war of independence against the French.

The fusion of patriotic sentiment with literacy efforts yielded remarkable results. Between 1945 and 1953, illiteracy dropped from 80 percent to 30 percent (DeFrancis 1977: 240). This achievement was facilitated by an intensive effort to create and standardise Vietnamese terminology across all domains. Thus, by the start of the coding period in 1954, Vietnamese had effectively displaced French in education, administration, and even the sciences.

Though the constitutions of 1980 and 1992 omit any mention of language policy, it is evident that Vietnamese functioned as the sole *de facto* national language both before and after reunification. It is the language of the ethnic Kinh majority, who constitute over 80 percent of the population. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* documents no fewer than sixty laws concerning language use, most enacted after 1999. These span numerous domains, including legislative drafting, judicial proceedings, the civil service, all levels of education, signage and labelling, advertising, broadcasting, cinema, the Internet, and the press.

Accordingly, I code Vietnamese as the *de facto* national language from 1954 to

2012. From 2013 to 2014, I code it as the statutory national language, following the constitutional amendments of 2013.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1946. Adopted by the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1st Legislature, on November 9, 1946*. Archived at WikiSource. 1946. URL: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Vietnam_(1946) (visited on 24/03/2025).

[2] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Vietnam*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/vietnam (visited on 24/03/2025).

[3] John DeFrancis. *Colonialism and Language Policy in Viet Nam*. Contributions to the Sociology of Language No. 19. The Hague: Mouton, 1977. 293 pp. ISBN: 978-90-279-7643-7.

[4] *Vietnam*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/VN/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Vietnam | (1) Situation générale*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/vietnam-1general.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Vietnam | (2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/vietnam-2HST.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Vietnam | (3) La politique linguistique à l'égard de la langue officielle*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/vietnam-3Pol-lng-off.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Vietnam | Constitution, 1992 - 2013*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/vietnam-const-1992-2013.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[9] William B. Simons. 'Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam: Adopted on 31 December 1959 by the Ninth Session of the National Assembly of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam at its first convocation.' In: *The Constitutions of the Communist World*. Section: The Constitutions of the Communist World. Brill Nijhoff, 1980, pp. 400–421. ISBN: 978-90-04-63997-3. URL: https:

//brill.com/edcollchap/book/9789004639973/B9789004639973_s032.xml (visited on 20/03/2025).

[10] *The Constitution of the Republic of Vietnam*. Social Science Library, University of Oxford. Saigon: Secretariat of State for Information, Republic of Vietnam, 1956. 40 pp. (Visited on 25/03/2025).

[11] *The Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (2013). Unofficial Translation from Vietnamese by International IDEA*. Publisher: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance. 2013. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/sites/default/files/tranlation_of_vietnams_new_constitution_enuk_2.pdf (visited on 24/03/2025).

[12] Thaveeporn Vasavakul. 'Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Vietnam'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 211–238. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52563/Language-Policy-and-Ethnic-Relations-in-Vietnam (visited on 22/03/2025).

[13] *Vietnam. Constitution du 15 avril 1992*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1992. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/vn1992.htm (visited on 24/03/2025).

[14] *Vietnam. Constitution du 18 décembre 1980*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1980. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/vn1980.htm (visited on 24/03/2025).

817: South Vietnam

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1954-1975.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
French	1954-1967	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1968-1975	X	-: Other notable usage
Vietnamese	1954-1975	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

Correlates of War code 817 is assigned the Republic of Vietnam, the historical polity commonly known as South Vietnam. It is recognised as a member of the interstate system in the Correlates of War dataset from 1954 until 1975, after which it is subsumed into Correlates of War code 816 as part of the unified Socialist Republic of Vietnam. For a detailed account of language policy under French colonial rule prior to 1945, the reader is referred to the entry for Correlates of War code 816.

In response to the intensifying conflict with the Viet Minh, the French reorganised their colonial holdings in Indochina and, in 1949, established the State of Vietnam within the 'French Union.' This involved merging Cochinchina, the southernmost region centred around the Mekong Delta, with the remainder of French-controlled Vietnam. With French and American support, the State of Vietnam engaged in armed conflict with the Democratic Republic of Vietnam until the Geneva Accords of 1954 formalised the division of the country at the seventeenth parallel, ending the First Indochina War.

Unlike the North, which successfully expelled the French following Japanese capitulation, the South was reoccupied by French forces in 1946, preserving the status of the colonial language for a longer period. Moreover, American involvement contributed to an emergent role for English. As DeFrancis notes, 'while French was quickly replaced by Vietnamese as the language of instruction at all levels in the north, things proceeded more slowly in the south. There Vietnamese was used through the secondary level but was initially limited to only some parts of the university program. The use of French, and later of English, as the medium of instruction long characterised the area of the sciences' (DeFrancis 1977: 238).

Neither the 1956 nor the 1967 constitution of South Vietnam included any provision declaring Vietnamese an official language. According to Do (1996: 35), the debate over whether Vietnamese should replace French as the sole national language was not resolved until 1968, when the government enacted legislation mandating that Vietnamese become the language of instruction at all levels. Thus, whereas North Vietnam had undergone a linguistic transition between 1945 and 1954, South Vietnam took until 1968 to complete this shift. Following that point, Vietnamese

clearly functioned as the sole dominant language.

Accordingly, I code Vietnamese as the *de facto* national language throughout the entire period from 1954 to 1975. I further code French as a *de facto* national working language from 1954 to 1967. Thereafter, I assign a placeholder code to represent its residual role among segments of the South Vietnamese elite. Regarding English, a US Army report from 1963 indicates that even individuals in direct contact with American military advisors relied predominantly on translators and non-verbal communication. I do not find sufficient evidence of institutional use to merit coding English during the period.

References

[1] Joseph Lo Bianco. 'Viet Nam: Quoc Ngu, Colonialism and Language Policy'. In: *Language Planning and Language Policy*. Num Pages: 48. London: Routledge, 2001, pp. 159–206. ISBN: 978-1-315-02887-3. URL: https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315028873-8/viet-nam-quoc-ngu-colonialism-language-policy-joseph-lo-bianco (visited on 24/03/2025).

[2] *Constitution of South Vietnam (1967)*. Trans. by "Vietnam Newsletter". Archived at Wikisource. 1967. URL: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Constitution_of_South_Vietnam_(1967) (visited on 24/03/2025).

[3] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Vietnam*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/vietnam (visited on 24/03/2025).

[4] John DeFrancis. *Colonialism and Language Policy in Viet Nam*. Contributions to the Sociology of Language No. 19. The Hague: Mouton, 1977. 293 pp. ISBN: 978-90-279-7643-7.

[5] Thinh Huy Do. 'Foreign Language Education Policy in Vietnam: The Reemergence of English and Its Impact on Higher Education - Proquest'. ProQuest Dissertations & Theses. PhD thesis. Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1996. 156 pp. URL: https://www.proquest.com/docview/304292577?pq-origsite=gscholar&fromopenview=true&sourcetype=Dissertations%20&%20Theses (visited on 24/03/2025).

[6] *Vietnam*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/VN/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] Alfred I. Fiks and John W. Mccrary. *Some Language Aspects of the U.S. Advisory Role in South Vietnam*. ERIC Number: ED011105. Alexandra: The George Washington University Human Resources Research Office, 1963, p. 26. URL: https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED011105 (visited on 24/03/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Vietnam | (2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN),

Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/vietnam-2HST.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[9] Dinh Duyen Ngo. 'Education in the Republic of Vietnam'. SDSU Electronic Theses and Dissertations. Master of Education. Brookings: South Dakota State University, 1962. 74 pp. URL: https://openprairie.sdstate.edu/etd/2812 (visited on 24/03/2025).

[10] Thaveeporn Vasavakul. 'Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Vietnam'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 211–238. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52563/Language-Policy-and-Ethnic-Relations-in-Vietnam (visited on 22/03/2025).

[11] *Vietnam. Gouvernement révolutionnaire provisoire du Sud-Vietnam*. Compiled by the Digithèque de matériaux juridiques et politiques (Digithèque MJP), University of Perpignan. 1969. URL: https://mjp.univ-perp.fr/constit/vn1969.htm (visited on 23/03/2025).

820: Malaysia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1957-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Chinese	1957-1995	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
	1996-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
English	1957-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Malay	1957-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Tamil	1957-1995	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1996-2014	X	C: Statutory national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue identifies English and Malay (Standard Malay) as the principal languages of Malaysia. The 2014 edition of the Ethnologue additionally includes Chinese (Mandarin Chinese). Given the sociolinguistic significance of Chinese in Malaysia in the twentieth century, I adopt the classification provided by the 2014 edition, which is closer to the relevant coding period.

The 2014 Ethnologue designates all three languages as possessing *de jure* institutional status. English is a statutory national working language, based on Article 152 of the 1957 constitution; Malay is the statutory national language, following constitutional amendments adopted in 1963; and Chinese is a statutory national working language, pursuant to the 1996 Education Act. The Ethnologue additionally interprets the 1996 Act as making Tamil a statutory language of national identity. Each language is considered in turn below.

With respect to Malay, the Ethnologue is in error. Article 152 of the 1957 constitution, the first of the newly independent Federation of Malaya, not only permits a transitional ten-year period for the official use of English, but also unequivocally designates Malay as the national language.

> Article 152 [1957]
>
> (1) The national language shall be the Malay language and shall be in such script as Parliament may by law provide: Provided that-
>
> (a) no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using (otherwise than for official purposes), or from teaching or learning, any other language; and
>
> (b) nothing in this Clause shall prejudice the right of the Federal Government or of any State Government to preserve and sustain the use and study of the language of any other community in the Federation.

> (2) Notwithstanding the provisions of Clause (1), for a period of ten years after Merdeka Day, and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides, the English language may be used in both Houses of Parliament, in the Legislative Assembly of every State, and for all other official purposes.
>
> (3) Notwithstanding the provisions of Clause (1), for a period of ten years after Merdeka Day, and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides, the authoritative texts-
>
> (a) of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of Parliament, and
>
> (b) of all Acts of Parliament and all subsidiary legislation issued by the Federal Government, shall be in the English language.
>
> (4) Notwithstanding the provisions of Clause (1), for a period of ten years after Merdeka Day, and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides, all proceedings in the Supreme Court or a High Court shall be in the English language:
> Provided that, it the Court and counsel on both sides agree, evidence taken in language spoken by the witness need not be translated into or recorded in English.
>
> (5) Notwithstanding the provisions of Clause (1), until Parliament otherwise provides, all proceedings in subordinate courts, other than the taking of evidence, shall be in the English language.
>
> (6) In this Article, "official purpose"" means any purpose of the Government, whether Federal or State, and includes any purpose of a public authority.

The 1963 National Language Act repealed the transitional ten-year clause, while simultaneously allowing for the continued use of English for official purposes and formally declaring Malay an 'official' language in addition to its constitutional designation as a 'national' language. This legislation, subsequently amended in 1967, 1983, 1990, and 1994, remains in force.

At independence in 1957, Malaysia was approximately 60 percent Malay, 30 percent Chinese, and 10 percent Indian. Liu (2015) interprets the resulting domestic language policy as the product of interethnic bargaining during state formation. Faced with a sizeable and economically-dominant Chinese minority, the politically-dominant Malays offered citizenship in return for support in recognising Malay as the national language. In 1963, the Federation of Malaya was reconstituted as 'Malaysia' with the addition of Singapore, Sarawak, and Sabah. The inclusion of Singapore made the Chinese the majority population of the union. In part owing to this demographic shift, ethnonationalist Malay legislators voted to expel Singapore in 1965.

Ethnic tensions culminated in the 1969 race riots, in which ethnic Chinese were the majority of casualties. This event marked the conclusion of what Liu (2015) terms

the democratic period. Once the formation of the Malaysian state had been secured, Malay politicians initiated a nation-building project aimed at reducing the influence of minority groups. The New Economic Policy, launched in 1971, introduced affirmative action policies favouring Malays in higher education, government, and state-owned enterprises. Although Chinese-medium private schools were permitted to continue operating, all state-run education had transitioned to Malay-medium instruction by the early 1980s (Gill 2005).

The New Economic Policy, however, did not result in accelerated growth and is widely regarded as a contributing factor to brain drain. In 1996, as part of an effort to appease the Chinese and Indian communities, the Education Act reauthorised instruction in Chinese and Tamil. The 2014 Ethnologue identifies this legislation as making Chinese a statutory national working language and Tamil, a statutory language of national identity. Reinforcing this shift, the Prime Minister in 2002 announced that science and mathematics would revert to English-medium instruction to enhance Malaysia's global competitiveness.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde characterises contemporary Malaysian language policy as two-pronged: it privileges Malay while simultaneously granting significant institutional space to the inter-ethnic vehicular language, English. In the legislature, judiciary, and civil administration, laws give primacy to Malay but also provide for the use of English. In the business domain, English and Chinese predominate, and Chinese-language signage is common due to the prominent role of the ethnic Chinese in commerce and retail.

The historical trajectory outlined above corroborates the 2014 Ethnologue's assessment that Malay, English, Chinese, and Tamil are the four institutional languages of Malaysia during the period under consideration.

Accordingly, I code as follows. Malay is coded as the statutory national language, and English as a statutory national working language, for the whole period from 1957 to 2014. Both were accorded institutional status in perpetuity by the 1957 constitution and the 1963 National Language Act. I code Chinese as a *de facto* national working language from 1957 to 1995, reflecting the persistent role of the Chinese-speaking minority despite unfavourable state policy. From 1996 to 2014, I code Chinese as a statutory national working language in line with the 1996 Education Act identified by the Ethnologue. Tamil is coded as a *de facto* language of national identity from 1957 to 1995, and as a statutory language of national identity from 1996 to 2014, again aligning with the classification provided by the 2014 Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Constitution of Malaysia 1957*. Compiled by the Commonwealth Legal Information Institute. 1957. URL: `https://www.commonlii.org/my/legis/const/1957/12.html` (visited on 25/03/2025).

[2] Maya Khemlani David and Subramaniam Govindasamy. 'The Construction of National Identity and Globalization in Multilingual Malaysia'. In: *Language*

Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts. Num Pages: 18. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 55–72. ISBN: 978-1-315-09203-4.

[3] *Malaysia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MY/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] Sumit Ganguly. 'The Politics of Language Policies in Malaysia and Singapore'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 239–261. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52564/The-Politics-of-Language-Policies-in-Malaysia-and (visited on 22/03/2025).

[5] Saran Kaur Gill. 'Language Policy in Malaysia: Reversing Direction'. In: *Language Policy* 4.3 (2005), pp. 241–260. ISSN: 1573-1863. URL: https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-005-7859-9 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[6] Saran Kaur Gill. 'Shift in Language Policy in Malaysia: Unravelling Reasons for Change, Conflict and Compromise in Mother-Tongue Education'. In: *AILA Review* 20.1 (2007), pp. 106–122. ISSN: 1461-0213, 1570-5595. URL: http://www.jbe-platform.com/content/journals/10.1075/aila.20.09gil (visited on 23/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitution de la Malaisie du 16 septembre 1963. Dispositions linguistiques en version bilingue*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2016. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/malaysiatxconst.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Malaisie*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2016. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/malaysia.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Malaisie | Loi sur la langue nationale (National Language Acts) 1963/1967*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2016. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/malaysia-loi-lng1963.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[10] *Malaysia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/MY/status/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[11] Amy H. Liu. *Standardizing Diversity: The Political Economy of Language Regimes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. 256 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8122-4672-8.

830: Singapore

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1965-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Chinese	1965-2014	X	A: Statutory national
English	1965-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Malay	1965-2014	X	A: Statutory national
Tamil	1965-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English, Chinese (Mandarin Chinese), Malay (Standard Malay), and Tamil as the four principal languages and statutory national languages of Singapore, citing the 1963 constitution, which was promulgated while Singapore was still a constituent state within the Federation of Malaysia.

However, the legal framework that governs language policy in post-independence Singapore originates with the Republic of Singapore Independence Act 1965, which repealed the provisions of the 1963 constitution pertaining to Federation. As such, it constitutes the constitution closest to the start of the coding period. Article 7 of the Act, incorporated in the 1965 constitutional amendments as Article 153A(1), declares the following with regard to official and national languages in the newly sovereign state:

> 7. Official languages and national language [1965]
>
> (1) Malay, Mandarin, Tamil and English shall be the 4 official languages in Singapore.
>
> (2) The national language shall be the Malay language and shall be in the Roman script:
>
> Provided that—
>
> (a) no person shall be prohibited or prevented from using or from teaching or learning any other language; and
>
> (b) nothing in this section shall prejudice the right of the Government to preserve and sustain the use and study of the language of any other community in Singapore.

Singapore's founding prime minister, Lee Kuan Yew, articulated the rationale for enshrining a delicate linguistic equilibrium among the four official languages:

> 'When we formed the government in 1959 we decided on Malay as the national language, to prepare the way for merger with Malaya.

> We realized English had to be the language of the workplace and the common language. As an international trading community, we would not make a living if we used Malay, Chinese, or Tamil. With English, no race would have an advantage. But it was too sensitive an issue for us to make immediate changes. To announce that all had to learn English when each race was intensely and passionately committed to its own mother tongue would have been disastrous. So we left the position as it was, with four official languages—Malay, Chinese (Mandarin Chinese), Tamil, and English.' (Lee 2000: 146)

Following Singapore's expulsion from Malaysia in 1965, its leadership remained keenly aware of ethnic tensions between its Chinese majority and neighbouring Malay-majority Malaysia and Indonesia. Compounding this precarity, the Chinese-educated population leaned communist, a geopolitical liability that endangered British and American support at the height of the Cold War. Both Lee (2000) and Liu (2015) underscore that the English-speaking Chinese elite deliberately designed language policy in the 1960s and 1970s to curtail the political influence of the Chinese-educated majority. During this period, Chinese-medium schools were required to switch to English instruction, and the community-funded, Mandarin-medium Nanyang University, long viewed as a stronghold of leftist agitation, was forcibly shuttered.

It was not until the 1980s, as Cold War tensions receded, that the government undertook a campaign to promote Mandarin instruction more positively. This marked a shift from earlier policies of suppression to one of guided linguistic unification within the Chinese community.

According to *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, the cumulative effect of Singapore's language policy over the last five decades has been to elevate English above all other languages. By 2014, Singapore's population was approximately 74 percent Chinese, 13 percent Malay, and 9 percent Indian. While proficiency in the designated 'mother tongues' of each ethnic group has steadily declined since independence, the constitutional language provisions remain unchanged.

In light of this, I code Malay and Chinese as statutory national languages for the full duration. These languages serve both symbolic identity and administrative functions, with Malay as the constitutionally designated national language and Chinese due to the demographic predominance of the ethnic Chinese population. English and Tamil are coded as statutory national working languages for the full duration. Both are used in state administration, but neither is associated symbolically with the majority ethnic group. This coding aligns with both the historical record and the assessment of the 2014 Ethnologue.

References

[1] Phyllis Ghim-Lian Chew. 'Remaking Singapore: Language, Culture, and Identity in a Globalized World'. In: *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian*

Contexts. 1st ed. Num Pages: 22. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 73–94. ISBN: 978-1-315-09203-4.

[2] *Singapore*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SG/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Sumit Ganguly. 'The Politics of Language Policies in Malaysia and Singapore'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 239–261. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52564/The-Politics-of-Language-Policies-in-Malaysia-and (visited on 22/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Singapour | Constitution (1995) (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/singapour-cnst.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Singapour | Lois diverses (Dispositions linguistiques)*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/singapour-lois.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc and Lionel Jean. *Singapour*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/singa.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] Kuan Yew Lee. *From Third World to First: The Singapore Story: 1965-2000*. New York: HarperCollins, 2000. 776 pp. ISBN: 978-0-06-019776-6.

[8] Amy H. Liu. *Standardizing Diversity: The Political Economy of Language Regimes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. 256 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8122-4672-8.

[9] *Republic of Singapore Independence Act 1965. Informal Consolidation–version in force from 30/3/1987*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1987. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=572 (visited on 25/03/2025).

835: Brunei

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1984-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bruneian Malay	1984-2014	`N`	`E`: *De facto* national (working)
English	1984-2014	`X`	`B`: Statutory national (working)
Malay	1984-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English, Malay (Standard Malay), and Bruneian Malay as the three principal languages of Brunei. Whilst Bruneian Malay functions as a *de facto* national working language, the Ethnologue interprets Article 82 of the constitution, as amended in 1984, to render Standard Malay a statutory national language and English a statutory national working language.

The original 1959 constitution established Brunei as a self-governing state, although responsibility for foreign affairs and defence remained with the United Kingdom. Article 82 of this constitution stated that 'the official language of the State is Malay,' and provided for a five-year grace period for the continued use of English for all official purposes, pending legislative revision. When Brunei attained full independence in 1984, Amendment S 65/04 removed the qualifying phrase 'all official purposes.' However, the revised article continued to afford English significant constitutional recognition:

> Article 82. Official language [1984]
>
> 1) The official language of Brunei Darussalam shall be the Malay language.
>
> 2) An official version in the English language shall be provided of anything which, by this constitution or by any written law or by the Standing Orders, is required to be printed or in writing, and such version shall, in addition to the official Malay version, be accepted as an authentic text.
>
> 3) In the case of any doubt, conflict or discrepancy between the Malay and the English texts of this constitution, or anything printed or written in accordance with Clause (2), the Malay text shall prevail.

The Islamic sultanate of Brunei, under British protection since 1888, lacked a formal education system until the resumption of British rule following the Japanese occupation in 1945. Haji-Othman et al. (2019) observe that burgeoning oil revenues enabled the expansion of Malay-medium education in the post-war period up to the mid-1980s. A limited number of government schools offered instruction in English.

Upon independence in 1984, Brunei adopted a *Dwibahasa* or bilingual policy in education, whereby some subjects were taught in Malay and others in English. This approach diverged sharply from the trajectories of neighbouring Malaysia and Indonesia, which sought to replace English entirely as a language of instruction. The *Dwibahasa* system persisted until 2009.

Despite Brunei's linguistic diversity, 'Brunei Malay has become the default *lingua franca* of Bruneians of all ethnic and linguistic backgrounds' (Haji-Othman et al. 2019: 321), extending beyond the Brunei Malay ethnic group. Saxena (2007: 151) attributes this development in part to state policy. In 1961, the Nationality Act reclassified several inland ethnic groups as members of a unified 'Malay race' alongside the coastal Brunei Malays, in an effort to assimilate minorities into the dominant Malay cultural paradigm. However, the linguistic label 'Malay' in Brunei encompasses at least four distinct dialects: Kampong Ayer, Kedayan, Brunei Malay, and Standard Malay. Of the latter two, Saxena (2007: 153) remarks:

> 'Brunei Malay and Standard Malay exist in a complex relationship. Although Standard Malay is the official language and one of the languages of education, the common perception is that it is Brunei Malay that symbolizes Bruneians' national identity.'

Accordingly, the Ethnologue designates Brunei Malay as a *de facto* national working language and Standard Malay as a statutory national language. In formal legal contexts, this distinction is elided, with both varieties referred to together as 'Malay.' In practice, diglossia prevails, with Standard Malay reserved for written communication and Brunei Malay used in speech. Within the government, the use of Malay has been promoted through a series of administrative circulars issued during the pre-independence period (8/1960, 52/1963, 38/1964, 26/1965, and 22/1981), all seeking to give effect to the constitutional mandate. The Brunei Citizenship Act (1962) requires competence in Malay for naturalisation. The courts, for their part, do not stipulate an official language; Malay is employed in proceedings involving Bruneians, and English is used when addressing foreigners.

Brunei thus operates as a functionally bilingual polity in English and Malay, with Standard Malay used in formal written domains and Bruneian Malay in informal and spoken contexts. This linguistic arrangement, rooted in legal precedent and reinforced through policy, has remained both juridically and practically stable over the relevant period. Accordingly, I code English as a statutory national working language, Malay (Standard Malay) as a statutory national language, and Bruneian Malay as a *de facto* national working language for the entire duration from 1984 to 2014, in concordance with the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Constitutional Matters I. Constitution of Brunei Darussalam. Revised Edition 2011*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 2011. URL: `https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=550` (visited on 25/03/2025).

[2] *Brunei*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/BN/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Noor Azam Haji-Othman, James McLellan and Gary M. Jones. 'Language Policy and Practice in Brunei Darussalam'. In: *The Routledge International Handbook of Language Education Policy in Asia*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 12. London: Routledge, 2019, pp. 314–325. ISBN: 978-1-315-66623-5. URL: https://www-taylorfrancis-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315666235-22/language-policy-practice-brunei-darussalam-noor-azam-haji-othman-james-mclellan-gary-jones?context=ubx&refId=322eec99-124b-4af3-972a-2b082b342a18 (visited on 23/03/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Brunei*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/brunei.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Constitutions du monde: Dispositions linguistiques des États souverains | B: Bahamas, Bahreïn, Bangladesh, Barbade, Belgique, Belize, Bénin, Bhoutan, Biélorussie, Birmanie, Bolivie, Bosnie-Herzégovine, Botswana, Brésil, Brunei, Bulgarie, Burkina Faso, Burundi*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/Langues/CONSTITUTIONS-pays-B.htm (visited on 17/02/2025).

[6] Mukul Saxena. 'Multilingual and Multicultural Identities in Brunei Darussalam'. In: *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 20. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 143–162. ISBN: 978-1-315-09203-4.

840: Philippines

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1946-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1946-2014	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Filipino	1946-1972	N	A: Statutory national
	1973-1986	N	D: *De facto* national
	1987-2014	N	A: Statutory national
Spanish	1946-1986	X	B: Statutory national (working)
Tagalog	1946-1972	N	D: *De facto* national
	1973-1986	N	A: Statutory national
	1987-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists English, Filipino, and Tagalog as the principal languages of the Philippines. Whilst Tagalog is classified as a *de facto* national working language, Filipino and English are respectively designated the statutory national language and the statutory national working language under Article XIV of the 1987 constitution. Although Spanish is no longer in widespread use, it has played a formative role in Filipino linguistic history. Indeed, it was an official language at the beginning of the coding period, alongside English, under Article XIII, Section 3 of the 1935 constitution, reinstated in 1946 upon the country's independence from the United States.

> Section 3. [1935, 1946]
>
> The National Assembly shall take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages. Until otherwise provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official languages.

Prior to its annexation by the United States following the Spanish-American War of 1898, the Philippines had been under Spanish rule for over three centuries, beginning in 1565. Despite legislative efforts to promote the use of Spanish, the language never gained widespread traction among the masses, unlike in Latin America. By the end of Spanish rule, Spanish functioned as the language of government, but proficiency remained confined to a small urban elite.

In contrast, the American colonial period saw a more concerted and effective linguistic campaign: as Smolicz (1986: 99) notes, 'Filipino school children were subjected to massive language indoctrination campaigns,' which succeeded in elevating the status of English at the expense of Spanish and indigenous languages. By

1939, more than a quarter of the population reported proficiency in English (Hau and Tinio 2003).

The 1935 constitution, in addition to retaining English and Spanish as official languages, initiated a project for the selection of a 'common national language based on one of the existing native languages.' In 1937, President Manuel Quezon of the Philippine Commonwealth issued an executive order selecting Tagalog as the basis for this language, given its status as the mother tongue of the country's most politically and demographically influential ethnic group. Commonwealth Act No. 570 of 1940 then stipulated that this 'Filipino' language would become an official language upon independence. Thus, upon reinstatement of the 1935 constitution in 1946, the Philippines recognised English, Spanish, and Filipino as official languages.

Following independence, the government pursued a bilingual policy in education, with instruction provided in both English and Filipino. In non-Tagalog regions, however, this policy often amounted to the imposition of two foreign languages, particularly given the underdeveloped nature of 'Filipino' at the time. Meanwhile, Tagalog, centred in Manila, continued to spread via the mass media and internal migration. By 1970, 56 percent of the country claimed proficiency in Tagalog, up from 39 percent in 1948 (Hau and Tinio 2003).

In 1959, Tagalog was officially rechristened 'Pilipino' in an effort to dissociate it from the ethnic Tagalog and render it more inclusive. Gonzalez (1998) refers to the ensuing decade as the era of the 'language wars,' which culminated in intense debates during the 1971 constitutional convention. The resulting 1973 constitution retained English and 'Pilipino' as official languages, while inaugurating another formal search for a new national language under the name 'Filipino,' as originally employed in 1940 Commonwealth Act No. 570. Notably, the term 'Tagalog' was altogether omitted.

> Section 3. [1973]
>
> 1) This constitution shall be officially promulgated in English and in Pilipino, and translated into each dialect spoken by over fifty thousand people, and into Spanish and Arabic. In case of conflict, the English text shall prevail.
>
> 2) The Batasang Pambansa shall take steps towards the development and formal adoption of a common national language to be known as Filipino.
>
> 3) Until otherwise provided by law, English and Pilipino shall be the official languages.

Although Spanish was similarly absent from the 1973 constitution, President Ferdinand Marcos issued Presidential Decree No. 155 in the same year, declaring 'that the Spanish language shall continue to be recognized as an official language in the Philippines while important documents in government files are in the Spanish language and not translated into either English or Pilipino language.' This introduced a degree of continuity in the linguistic regime. Following the overthrow of

the Marcos regime, a renewed national consensus coalesced around the language question, and the 1987 constitution affirmed Filipino as the national language, with Filipino and English as the official languages.

> ARTICLE XIV [1987]
>
> EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, ARTS, CULTURE, AND SPORTS
>
> SECTION 6. The national language of the Philippines is Filipino. As it evolves, it shall be further developed and enriched on the basis of existing Philippine and other languages.
>
> Subject to provisions of law and as the Congress may deem appropriate, the Government shall take steps to initiate and sustain the use of Filipino as a medium of official communication and as language of instruction in the educational system.
>
> SECTION 7. For purposes of communication and instruction, the official languages of the Philippines are Filipino and, until otherwise provided by law, English.
>
> The regional languages are the auxiliary official languages in the regions and shall serve as auxiliary media of instruction therein.
>
> Spanish and Arabic shall be promoted on a voluntary and optional basis.
>
> SECTION 8. This constitution shall be promulgated in Filipino and English and shall be translated into major regional languages, Arabic, and Spanish.
>
> SECTION 9. The Congress shall establish a national language commission composed of representatives of various regions and disciplines which shall undertake, coordinate, and promote researches for the development, propagation, and preservation of Filipino and other languages.

All reference to 'Pilipino' was excised. Concerning the reinstatement of 'Filipino', Gonzalez (1998: 488) observes: 'What was still supposed to be in the process of formation as an amalgamated language in the 1973 constitution was now accepted as an existing language to be enriched further and to be developed as a language of science and scholarly discourse.' This situation persists today, with persistent confusion among external observers as to whether Tagalog and Filipino are distinct. Linguistically, they are dialects of one another; for present purposes, the distinction is one of politics and nomenclature.

Accordingly, I code English as a statutory national working language for the entire period from 1946 to 2014, in line with the constitutions of 1935, 1973, and 1987, and consistent with the Ethnologue. I code Spanish as a statutory national working language from 1946 to 1986, on the basis of the 1935 constitution and Presidential Decree No. 155 of 1973. From 1987 to 2014, the current constitution demotes Spanish to a language to be 'promoted on a voluntary and optional basis.' As it

no longer enjoyed widespread usage, I do not code Spanish for this latter period, in accordance with the judgement of the Ethnologue.

I code Filipino as a statutory national language from 1946 to 1972 based on the 1940 Commonwealth Act No. 570 (entitled *An Act Making the Filipino National Language an Official Language from the Fourth of July, Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Six*). From 1973 to 1982, Filipino becomes the *de facto* national language, since the 1973 constitution envisioned it as a future common national language rather than conferring official status. From 1987 to 2014, Filipino is again coded as the statutory national language, as explicitly affirmed by the 1987 constitution.

Conversely, I code Tagalog a *de facto* national language from 1946 to 1972. Though not named in the 1935 constitution, its official selection as the linguistic base of the national language in 1937 and its increasing use in the post-independence period warrant this classification. From 1973 to 1982, it is coded as a statutory national language, as the 1973 constitution designated 'Pilipino,' synonymous with 'Tagalog' since 1959, as an official language. Finally, I code Tagalog as a *de facto* national language from 1987 to 2014, in alignment with the Ethnologue, given that the 1987 constitution neither names 'Pilipino' nor Tagalog.

References

[1] *An Act Making the Filipino National Language an Official Language from the Fourth of July, Nineteen Hundred and Forty-Six. [Commonwealth Act No. 570, June 07, 1940]*. Supreme Court E-Library, Republic of the Philippines. 1940. URL: https://elibrary.judiciary.gov.ph/thebookshelf/showdocs/2/19697#:~:text=June%2007%2C%201940%20%5D-,AN%20ACT%20MAKING%20THE%20FILIPINO%20NATIONAL%20LANGUAGE%20AN%20OFFICIAL%20LANGUAGE,SECTION%201. (visited on 25/03/2025).

[2] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Philippines*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: https://constitutionnet.org/country/philippines (visited on 24/03/2025).

[3] *Philippines*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/PH/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] María Dolores Elizade. 'El Español En Filipinas'. In: *La Influencia Económica y Comercial de los Idiomas de Base Española*. Primera edición. Madrid: Ministerio de Economía y Empresa, 2018, pp. 97–114. ISBN: 978-84-92546-45-9. URL: https://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/270999/1/Espa%C3%B1ol_Filipinas.pdf (visited on 24/03/2025).

[5] Andrew Gonzalez. 'The Language Planning Situation in the Philippines'. In: *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 19.5 (1998), pp. 487–525. ISSN: 0143-4632, 1747-7557. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01434639808666365 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[6] Caroline S. Hau and Victoria L. Tinio. 'Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in the Philippines'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 319–349. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52567/Language-Policy-and-Ethnic-Relations-in-the (visited on 22/03/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Philippines / 1. Situation générale*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/philippines-1-general.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[8] Jacques Leclerc. *Philippines / 2. Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/philippines-2-histoire.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[9] Jacques Leclerc. *Philippines / 3. La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/philippines-3-politique_lng.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[10] Jacques Leclerc. *Philippines / Anciens textes constitutionnels*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/philippines-const-txt.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[11] Jacques Leclerc. *Philippines / Constitution de 1987*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/philippines-const-1987.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[12] Jacques Leclerc. *Philippines / Loi proclamant la langue nationale filipino comme langue officielle à partir du 4 juillet 1946, 1940*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/philippines-loi-1940.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[13] *Presidential Decree No. 155 - Recognizing the Spanish Language as an Official Language in the Philippines for Certain Purposes*. Archived by the Chan Robles Virtual Law Library. 1973. URL: https://www.chanrobles.com/presidentialdecrees/presidentialdecreeno155.html (visited on 25/03/2025).

[14] J. J. Smolicz. 'National Language Policy in the Philippines'. In: *Language and Education in Multilingual Settings*. Ed. by Bernard Spolsky. Paperback. Multilingual Matters. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 1986, pp. 96–116. ISBN:

978-0-88744-286-5. URL: https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/65751422/Language_and_Education_in_Multilingual_Settings.pdf?1738408542=&response-content-disposition=inline%3B+filename%3DLanguage_and_cation_in_eC.pdf&Expires=1742936503&Signature=aBZ85i2WcyIKYr~~Jj0Jy6yZ8xe4Y~Yy41bcAPheVKs337tg144i9S2zHT-UGzSHH46d4k18z0F4Nr9h8lVPRuOqBJqQiO2TzQoKFuFjoBrvEPJFarhFHYijr0RB3c3jEqZ-isXGuzaMDz4lM8ELW0ZY5qthxuDvR8PbF~OxLmC1j5eGLrgOYRHZCpf8kOhCvta2~vM7peM5qUfgrnKJwH~SF4mToHhSZIkussxDtAdCcudOw6WPjuPSLwVOqJ2Cr8pCs0yEljohXYaaJvBfEhSuCibj6LJCjGOYMHTHKtewJnaqG5X82foHWMt9vcIOoXzaKNZ2aIb4asRVPxpd2Q__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA#page=106 (visited on 25/03/2025).

850: Indonesia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1949-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Chinese	1949-1964	X	-: Other notable usage
	1998-2014	X	-: Other notable usage
Indonesian	1949-2014	N	A: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Indonesian as the sole principal language and the statutory national language of Indonesia, citing the 1945 constitution. Article 36 of this document, which remains in force and untouched by subsequent amendments, declares Indonesian the national language.

> Article 36 [1945]
>
> The national language of Indonesia shall be the Bahasa Indonesia or the Indonesian language.

The Dutch language never penetrated deeply into Indonesian society under colonial rule, as the Dutch authorities enforced a rigid racial hierarchy and severely restricted access to education. Bazaar Malay, the *lingua franca* of trade, rose to prominence in the 1920s as the preferred language of the Indonesian nationalist movement, in part because Dutch had become emblematic of colonial oppression and elite collaborationism. In 1928, the Second Indonesian Youth Congress rechristened Bazaar Malay as 'Indonesian' and proclaimed it the language of the nascent Indonesian nation.

Liu (2015) contends that the deliberate selection of Indonesian over Javanese, spoken natively by the country's largest and most dominant ethnic group, played a pivotal role in post-independence nation-building, as it signalled ethnic Javanese willingness to share power and build inclusive institutions. Following the defeat of the Japanese in 1945 and the Dutch in 1949, the Indonesian government undertook efforts to modernise the language, drawing lexical material from sources as diverse as the Koran, Javanese, and other local tongues. Dutch-language schools were shuttered in the 1950s, and the University of Indonesia transitioned its medium of instruction from Dutch to Indonesian. Thus, as it was no longer in widespread use by 1949, I do not code Dutch for any portion of the period under consideration.

Bertrand (2003) observes that language policy concerning Indonesian remained strikingly stable throughout the Sukarno and Suharto regimes, with minimal need for new legislative interventions. As noted by *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, only a handful of domain-specific laws mandated the use of or translation into Indonesian, including the 1989 and 2003 national education laws, legislation

concerning penal procedure (1989), the constitutional court (2003), and notarial documentation (2004).

A broader legal mandate did not emerge until 2009, when the Law on the State Flag, Language, Symbols, and National Anthem formally enshrined Indonesian as the sole language of public administration, a situation that had long prevailed *de facto*. The country's first comprehensive language law, Presidential Decree no. 63 of 2019 concerning the use of the Indonesian language, falls outside the coding period. Given the extent to which Indonesian permeated all societal domains, I code it as the statutory national language for the entire period from 1949 to 2014.

The Ethnologue further identifies Chinese as a language of wider communication. Under Dutch rule, the ethnic Chinese formed a substantial minority and were disproportionately represented in commerce. The colonial regime permitted the operation of Chinese-language schools, but after independence, language policy turned sharply against Chinese linguistic expression (Bertrand 2003). Repression reached its apex during the Suharto regime, which saw repeated pogroms and a comprehensive ban on the Chinese language. Chinese instruction did not return to the curriculum until Suharto's fall in 1998. Accordingly, I assign a placeholder code for Chinese from 1949 to 1964 and again from 1998 to 2014, omitting it entirely from 1965 to 1997 to reflect its suppression during the Suharto years.

References

[1] Jacques Bertrand. 'Language Policy and the Promotion of National Identity in Indonesia'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 263–290. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52565/Language-Policy-and-the-Promotion-of-National (visited on 22/03/2025).

[2] *Indonesia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/ID/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Indonésie | (1) Situation géographique et données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2022. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/indonesie-1_langues.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Indonésie | (2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/indonesie-2_Hst.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Indonésie | (3) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de

la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2022. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/indonesie-3_Pol_ling.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Indonésie / Loi n° 24 sur le drapeau, la langue, les symboles de l'État et l'hymne national (Loi linguistique en vigueur depuis 2009)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2022. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/indonesie-loi-lng-2009.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] Jacques Leclerc. *Indonésie / Lois diverses en matière de langue*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2022. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/indonesie-lois-lng-diverses.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[8] Amy H. Liu. *Standardizing Diversity: The Political Economy of Language Regimes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015. 256 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8122-4672-8.

[9] *The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia*. Publisher: Department of Information, Republic of Indonesia. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1989. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=560 (visited on 25/03/2025).

860: East Timor

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 2002-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Portuguese	2002-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
Tetum	2002-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies Portuguese and Tetum as the two principal languages of East Timor, classifying Portuguese as a statutory national working language and Tetum as a statutory national language on the basis of Article 13 of the 2002 constitution. Article 8(3) further stipulates that East Timor is to maintain privileged links with other Lusophone countries:

> Artigo 8.º Relações internacionais [2002]
>
> ...
>
> 3) A República Democrática de Timor-Leste mantém laços privilegiados com os países de língua oficial portuguesa.
>
> ...
>
> Artigo 13.º Línguas oficiais e línguas nacionais
>
> 1) O tétum e o português são as línguas oficiais da República Democrática de Timor Leste.
>
> 2) O tétum e as outras línguas nacionais são valorizadas e desenvolvidas pelo Estado.

Although Portuguese presence in East Timor dates back to the seventeenth century, the colony remained comparatively neglected until the late nineteenth century. Substantial investment did not materialise until after the Japanese occupation and the conclusion of the Second World War. However, Portugal's Carnation Revolution in 1974 led to the effective abandonment of its colonies. From 1975 to 1999, East Timor was occupied by Indonesia, which sought to integrate the territory through a campaign of brutal repression. Following a UN-sponsored referendum in 1999, East Timor entered a transitional period and eventually attaining full independence in 2002.

Cravo and Friere (2014) argue that, as a consequence, East Timor has cultivated an unusually close relationship with its former colonial power, which has played a critical role in supporting its development after the Indonesian occupation. This dynamic helps to explain East Timor's accession to the Community of Portuguese Language Countries (CPLP) immediately upon independence in 2002, and the

constitutional enshrinement of its association with the Lusophone world in the constitution.

Da Silva Sarmento (2013) observes that, while both Portuguese and Tetum hold official status on paper, in practice Portuguese instruction suffers from a lack of adequately trained teachers. On the other hand, Tetum, the language of the Welulik Kingdom that governed Eastern Timor prior to colonisation, remains lexically underdeveloped, hindered by limited state investment, scant learning resources, and fragile institutional support.

Taylor-Leech (2009) offers a detailed overview of the corpus-planning efforts to modernise Tetum and promote the use of both official languages. These include the 2004 Language Decree, the Language Directive, and the Official Tetum Orthography. Yet, in practical terms, Portuguese receives greater prioritisation, particularly owing to its significance in international affairs, while Indonesian and English continue to vie with the official languages for influence within certain domains.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde concludes that the linguistic configuration mirrors that of other former Portuguese colonies: the colonial language serves as a 'prestige language' granting access to power and advancement, whereas the majority of the population continues to speak an indigenous language as a mother tongue. Accordingly, I follow the Ethnologue in coding Portuguese as a statutory national working language and Tetum as a statutory national language throughout the entire period from 2002 to 2014.

References

[1] Teresa Almeida Cravo and Maria Raquel Freire. 'Portugal and East Timor: Managing Distance and Proximity in Post-Colonial Relations'. In: *European Review of International Studies* 1.3 (2014). Publisher: Brill Nijhoff, pp. 39–59. ISSN: 2196-7415, 2196-6923. URL: https://brill.com/view/journals/eris/1/3/article-p39_4.xml (visited on 26/03/2025).

[2] *East Timor*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TL/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Timor oriental (Timor Leste) | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/timor_est-lois_div.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Timor oriental | 1) Situation et données démolinguistiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/timor-1_situation.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Timor oriental / 2) Données historiques*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/timor-2_HST.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Timor oriental / 3) La politique linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/asie/timor-3_pol-lng.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] João da Silva Sarmento. 'Lusophonization Returns? The Condition of Language Policy and Planning in a Post-Colonial Plurilingual Timor-Leste'. Master of Arts in Applied Linguistics. Hamilton: The University of Waikato, 2013. 167 pp. URL: https://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/server/api/core/bitstreams/1278f9ee-c298-4686-9382-795b1981837b/content.

[8] Kerry Taylor-Leech. 'The Language Situation in Timor-Leste'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 10.1 (2009), pp. 1–68. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200802339840 (visited on 20/03/2025).

900: Australia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1945-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Australia. No constitutional provision defines the legal status of English, and although Australia is a linguistically diverse nation, 'English has been the main language of Australian civil life for more than 200 years' (Herriman 1996: 37). No other major language is recognisably present at the national level in Australia.

Historically, Australia adopted an assimilationist posture towards its Aboriginal populations and sought to curtail immigration from Asia, in accordance with the white supremacist 'white Australia' ideology that prevailed until the 1970s. Although the country shifted towards a more multicultural policy orientation during the 1980s, accompanied by an increase in immigration, English has remained dominant across all spheres of public and private life, without serious challenge from any other language. The Ethnologue reports no additional languages with institutional status. Accordingly, I code English as the sole *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1945 to 2014.

References

[1] *Australia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/AU/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[2] Michael Herriman. '3 Language Policy in Australia'. In: *Language Policies in English-dominant Countries: Six Case Studies*. Ed. by Barbara Burnaby. Multilingual Matters, 1996, pp. 35–61. ISBN: 978-1-80041-802-8. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781800418028-005/html (visited on 26/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Australie*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/australie.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

910: Papua New Guinea

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1975-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1975-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Tok Pisin	1975-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists English and Tok Pisin as the two principal languages and the *de facto* national languages of Papua New Guinea. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms that the constitution contains no provisions defining the status of official languages. Following the conclusion of the First World War, German-ruled New Guinea was amalgamated with British- and Australian-administered Papua under a unified League of Nations mandate, placed under Australian control. Efforts by both German and Australian colonial governments to impose their respective colonial languages met with limited success.

Two pidgins emerged as widespread *lingua-francas* during the colonial era in what remains the most linguistically diverse country in the world: Hiri Motu and Tok Pisin ('Talk Pidgin'). Hiri Motu, however, declined sharply in usage following the Second World War. May (2003) notes that, by 1964, 89 percent of members of the Legislative Council spoke Tok Pisin, in contrast to 63 percent for English and only 20 percent for Hiri Motu. As nationalist movements gathered momentum 'in the late 1960s, there was evidence of growing support for Tokpisin as a national language' (2003: 303). The broad contours of this situation appear to have remained constant across the subsequent decades. May (2003: 308) summarises the situation as follows:

> 'The situation has changed little since independence: Papua New Guinea still has no explicit national-language policy. English remains the principal language of government, education, and commerce, and it is becoming widely spoken. Tokpisin and Hiri Motu are the popular *lingua-francas*. As observed and predicted by some of the contributors to the national-language debate in 1976, however, there appears to have been a steady decline in the use of Hiri Motu, even among coastal Papuans, and a corresponding—and uncontested—rise in the use of Tokpisin, which has become by far the most commonly spoken language.'

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde identifies some domain-specific legislation that reflects the linguistic arrangements described by May, although no comprehensive language law has ever been enacted. English is primarily employed

in written official communication, whereas Tok Pisin serves as the dominant spoken medium. In light of these findings, I extend the classification provided by the Ethnologue across the full period and code English and Tok Pisin as *de facto* national languages from 1975 to 2014.

References

[1] *Papua New Guinea*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/PG/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/papoung.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Papouasie-Nouvelle-Guinée | Constitution, 1975*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/papoung_const.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] R. J. May. 'Harmonizing Linguistic Diversity in Papua New Guinea'. In: *Fighting Words: Language Policy and Ethnic Relations in Asia*. Ed. by Michael E. Brown and Sumit Ganguly. Belfer Center Studies in International Security. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2003, pp. 219–317. ISBN: 978-0-262-26935-3 978-0-585-48175-3. URL: https://direct.mit.edu/books/edited-volume/1911/chapter-abstract/52566/Harmonizing-Linguistic-Diversity-in-Papua-New (visited on 22/03/2025).

[5] James Oladejo. 'English in Papua New Guinea'. In: *Post-Imperial English: Status Change in Former British and American Colonies, 1940-1990*. Ed. by Joshua A. Fishman, Andrew W. Conrad and Alma Rubal-Lopez. Contributions to the sociology of language 72. Berlin ; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996, pp. 589–622. ISBN: 978-3-11-014754-4.

920: New Zealand

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1945-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1945-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Maori	1972-1986	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1987-2014	N	C: Statutory national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of New Zealand. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* affirms that no legal text, constitutional or otherwise, assigns English any official status. In practice, however, English holds an unchallenged position in the domains of government, commerce, and daily life. Several domain-specific laws further require English for the performance of particular civic duties, including naturalisation (1977) and jury service (1981).

Nonetheless, despite being an 'almost exclusively English-speaking country,' New Zealand 'has another language, Māori, as the only official language so designated by statute' Benton (1996: 62). This refers to the Māori Language Act 1987, which proclaims:

> Section 3 [1987]
>
> Māori language to be an official language of New Zealand
>
> The Māori language is hereby declared to be an official language of New Zealand.

Unlike in Australia, the indigenous Māori constitute a large and relatively cohesive linguistic group, at over 13 percent of the population in 2013. British colonial authorities sought to marginalise the Māori language in the late nineteenth century, particularly through restrictions on its use in education. Though Māori remained the first language of most ethnic Māori until the Second World War, the expansion of compulsory English-medium schooling led to a precipitous decline in intergenerational transmission.

A broader movement for Māori revitalisation took root in the 1970s, accompanying wider agitation for Māori political and cultural rights. In 1972, activists presented the Te Reo Māori petition to Parliament, resulting in the recognition of Māori Language Day. The Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975, in addition to establishing a tribunal to investigate historical land claims, permitted the use of Māori in legal proceedings. The Māori Language Act 1987 expanded these protections and

granted Māori statutory recognition as an official language of New Zealand.

While considerable strides were made to promote Māori, particularly in comparison with other indigenous languages in British settler states, English remains overwhelmingly dominant. The Ethnologue deems Māori to be a 'threatened' language, and fewer than 4 percent of New Zealanders report being able to conduct a conversation in Māori. In practice, its value within New Zealand society remains more symbolic than instrumental.

Accordingly, I code English as the *de facto* national language for the entirety of the period from 1945 to 2014. I code Māori as a *de facto* language of national identity, from 1972 to 1986, marking the year the Te Reo Māori petition was submitted and the inaugural observance of Māori Language Day. From 1987 to 2014, I code it as a statutory language of national identity on the basis of the Māori Language Act.

References

[1] Richard A. Benton. '4 Language Policy in New Zealand: Defining the Ineffable'. In: *Language Policies in English-dominant Countries: Six Case Studies*. Ed. by Michael Herriman and Barbara Burnaby. Multilingual Matters, 1996, pp. 62–98. ISBN: 978-1-80041-802-8. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781800418028-006/html (visited on 26/03/2025).

[2] Richard A. Benton. 'Mauri or Mirage? The Status of the Māori Language in Aotearoa New Zealand in the Third Millennium'. In: *Language Policy, Culture, and Identity in Asian Contexts*. 1st ed. Num Pages: 20. London: Routledge, 2007, pp. 163–183. ISBN: 978-1-315-09203-4.

[3] *New Zealand*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/NZ/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Nouvelle-Zélande*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/nlle-zelande.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Nouvelle-Zélande | Loi modifiant la Loi sur la langue maorie de 1991*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/nlle-zelande-loi-1991.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Nouvelle-Zélande | Loi sur la langue maorie de 1987*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/nlle-zelande-loi-1987.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] Leigh-Marama McLachlan. 'I Have Lost Much of My Childhood Fluency in Te Reo Māori –We Must Fight for Its Survival'. In: *The Guardian* (2020). ISSN: 0261-3077. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/sep/15/i-have-lost-much-of-my-childhood-fluency-in-te-reo-maori-we-must-fight-for-its-survival (visited on 26/03/2025).

[8] Joseph Selwyn Te Rito. 'Struggles for the Māori language: He whawhai mo te reo Māori | MAI Journal'. In: *MAI Review* 2008.2 (2008), pp. 1–8. URL: https://www.journal.mai.ac.nz/maireview/article/725 (visited on 26/03/2025).

935: Vanuatu

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1981-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
Bislama	1981-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national
English	1981-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
French	1981-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists English, French, and Bislama as the principal languages and the statutory national languages of Vanuatu, citing the 1980 constitution. Article 3 unequivocally designates them as official languages:

> Article 3. National and Official Languages [1980]
>
> 1. The national language of the Republic of Vanuatu is Bislama. The official languages are Bislama, English and French. The principal languages of education are English and French.
> 2. The Republic of Vanuatu shall protect the different local languages which are part of the national heritage, and may declare one of them as a national language.

From 1906 until independence in 1980, Vanuatu was governed under an unusual condominium arrangement by Britain and France. This system of dual sovereignty produced two distinct and parallel administrative structures, one Anglophone and one Francophone, each with its own schools, courts, and civil services. At independence, Vanuatu thus inherited linguistic institutions in both English and French.

The national language, Bislama,[36] is an English-based creole that emerged in the mid-nineteenth century among Vanuatuan labourers recruited from across the archipelago and forced to work on plantations abroad. (Crowley 2000). As Bislama spread through the South Pacific in the late-nineteenth century, it became a crucial *lingua franca* among Vanuatuans from diverse linguistic backgrounds.

Crowley (2000: 97) observes that '[a]part from the constitutional clauses relating to language⋯there is no legal reference to language planning of any kind in place in Vanuatu.' English and French, as stipulated in the constitution, are the principal languages of education, and Bislama, though designated the national language, remains insufficiently developed for technical or formal domains. A strictly oral language for most of its history, the first Bislama dictionary was not published until 1977.

[36]The French term *biche-de-mer* for a species of sea cucumber processed by these labourers lent its name to the creole: *Bislama*.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde notes that Vanuatu's largely *laissez-faire* approach to language policy has contributed to the *de facto* dominance of English, the marginalisation of French, and the persistently low prestige of Bislama, which remains infrequently spoken as a mother tongue. The resulting triglossia sees Bislama used chiefly in oral communication, while written functions are typically carried out in either English or French.

As the linguistic situation has changed little since independence, I follow the Ethnologue and code English, French, and Bislama as statutory national languages for the full period from 1980 to 2014.

References

[1] Terry Crowley. 'The Language Situation in Vanuatu'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 1.1 (2000), pp. 47–132. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200008668005 (visited on 20/03/2025).

[2] *Vanuatu*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/VU/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Vanuatu*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/vanuatu.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Vanuatu | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/vanuatu-lois-diverses-lng.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

940: Solomon Islands

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1978-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1978-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language of the Solomon Islands, where it functions as the *de facto* national language. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms that the 1978 constitution contains no provisions designating an official language. Nevertheless, the use of English in judicial and certain administrative contexts is entrenched in legislative texts dating from the 1960s, when the territory was still administered jointly by Australia and the United Kingdom. English predominates in written domains, while a locally developed creole, Pijin, is widely spoken.

Pijin emerged alongside Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea and Bislama in Vanuatu as an English-based *lingua franca* formed among labourers of diverse linguistic backgrounds. However, Pijin came under pronounced American influence during and after the Second World War, distinguishing it from its regional counterparts. As a result, it is today more closely aligned with English in its linguistic features than either Tok Pisin or Bislama. Unlike them, Pijin remains almost exclusively a spoken language with no widely accepted standard orthography. English, by contrast, retains high prestige and is strongly associated with formal education and advancement.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde characterises the Solomon Islands' language policy as one of non-intervention, reflecting the lack of comprehensive planning or formal recognition for indigenous or creole languages. Given these conditions, I align with the Ethnologue and code English as the sole *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1978 to 2014. I do not code Pijin, as it is not classified by the Ethnologue as enjoying institutional status either in the Solomon Islands or elsewhere.

References

[1] *Solomon Islands*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/SB/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Îles Salomon*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/salomon.htm` (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Îles Salomon / Lois à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/salomon-lois_div.htm` (visited on 19/02/2025).

946: Kiribati

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1999-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1999-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Kiribati	1999-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue lists English and Kiribati (also known as Gilbertese) as the principal languages and *de facto* national languages of Kiribati. The only constitutional provision concerning language affirms the primacy of the English version of the 1979 constitution over its Kiribati-language counterpart:

> Article 27: Kiribati text of constitution [1979]
>
> The provisions of this constitution shall be published in a Kiribati language text as well as this English text, but in the event of any inconsistency between the two texts this English text shall prevail.

L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde characterises Kiribati as a 'resolutely bilingual' state. While Kiribati predominates in oral communication and remains the language of everyday life, English retains significant prestige as a legacy of the colonial period. This stratification is institutionalised in certain legal texts: for instance, Section 181 of the criminal procedure code designates Kiribati as the default language in magistrates' courts, yet mandates English as the working language of the High Court.

Though possessing a standardised orthography, Kiribati remains relatively underdeveloped as a written medium. Dictionaries and other reference materials are scarce and often ill-suited to the needs of native Kiribati-speakers. The result is a persistent diglossic dynamic in which English serves 'high' functions (such as in law, education, and commerce) while Kiribati is relegated to 'low' domains such as domestic life and informal communication. In the education system, early instruction involves a mixture of Kiribati and English, but English becomes the principal medium of instruction from the fourth grade onwards. Radio broadcasts, newsletters, and church services are primarily conducted in Kiribati, yet business and government communication continue to rely heavily on English.

This bilingual arrangement has remained largely unchanged since the beginning of the coding period in 1999, two decades after independence. On this basis, I follow the classification of the Ethnologue and code both English and Kiribati as *de facto* national languages from 1999 to 2014.

References

[1] *Kiribati*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/KI/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Kiribati*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/kiribati.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Tobias Leonhardt. *Kiribati-English Dictionary Project (KEDP): June 2023 Project Report*. ResearchGate. Bern: Center for the Study of Language and Society, University of Bern, 2023, p. 12. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Tobias-Leonhardt/publication/372366131_Kiribati-English_Dictionary_Project_KEDP_June_2023_Project_Report/links/64b199ea95bbbe0c6e33b128/Kiribati-English-Dictionary-Project-KEDP-June-2023-Project-Report.pdf (visited on 25/03/2025).

947: Tuvalu

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 2000-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	2000-2014	`X`	`D`: *De facto* national
Tuvaluan	2000-2014	`N`	`F`: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Tuvalu. Additionally, Tuvaluan is classified as the *de facto* language of national identity. As with other South Pacific nations bearing the imprint of British colonialism, Tuvalu's constitution contains no provisions explicitly designating an official language. English was inherited through more than a century of colonial rule under the British Western Pacific Territories, with Tuvalu attaining independence in 1978.

Tuvaluan is not a creole but a Polynesian language, closely related to the languages of neighbouring Samoa. In practice, the state functions bilingually. However, *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes that 'bilingualism practiced by the State of Tuvalu seems unequal, with English having a clear advantage over the national language,' a conclusion that accords with the assessment of the Ethnologue.

Within government, both English and Tuvaluan may be used during parliamentary sessions, yet legislation is drafted solely in English. The Criminal Procedure Code (1963) stipulates English as the exclusive language of both the High Court and the magistrates' courts. This imbalance extends to the private sphere and to media, both of which remain relatively undeveloped in Tuvalu, whose population has only recently surpassed 11,000. English is the predominant medium of instruction, particularly in the upper levels of the educational system.

Given this evidence, I follow the classification of the Ethnologue, coding English as the *de facto* national language and Tuvaluan as the *de facto* language of national identity for the full period from 2000 to 2014.

References

[1] *Tuvalu*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: `https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TV/` (visited on 19/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Tuvalu*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/tuvalu.htm` (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Tuvalu / Dispositions linguistiques diverses*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: `https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/tuvalu-lois-div.htm` (visited on 19/02/2025).

950: Fiji

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1970-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1970-2012	X	A: Statutory national
	2013-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Fijian	1970-1996	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1997-2012	N	C: Statutory national (identity)
	2013-2014	N	F: *De facto* national (identity)
Hindi	1970-1996	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)
	1997-2012	X	C: Statutory national (identity)
	2013-2014	X	F: *De facto* national (identity)

Coding Rationale

The 2024 edition of the Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of Fiji. Although the 2013 constitution is silent on the matter of official languages, this is a departure from its predecessors. The 2014 edition of the Ethnologue accordingly designates English, Hindi (specifically the local variety known as Fiji Hindi), and Fijian as principal languages. On the authority of the 1997 constitution, it classifies English as a statutory national language, and both Hindi and Fijian as statutory languages of national identity.

Yet this constitutional lineage reaches further back. Fiji, a former British colony since 1789, attained independence in 1970 and has since been governed under four successive constitutional instruments: those of 1970, 1990, 1997, and 2013. The first of these, while refraining from naming a state language *per se*, established English as the language of parliamentary business:

> 56. Official language [1970]
>
> The official language of Parliament shall be English, but any member of either House may address the chair in the House of which he is a member in Fijian or Hindustani

Mangubhai and Mugler (2003: 374) argue that 'The naming of English as the main language in Parliament reflects a continuation of practice in colonial times, and English still dominates in both Houses.' This provision finds close parallels in Article 49 of the 1968 constitution of Mauritius and Article 82 of the 1976 constitution of the Seychelles; island states that, like Fiji, secured independence from the United Kingdom in the same historical era. In each case, English was defined as the official language of parliamentary proceedings, though allowances were made for the use of other indigenous or heritage languages.

In Fiji, the roles of Fijian and Fiji Hindi (historically referred to as 'Hindustani') are tied directly to the country's two principal ethnolinguistic constituencies. As Mangubhai and Mugler (2003) document, British colonial policy facilitated the large-scale importation of indentured labourers from India to work the sugar plantations, thereby creating a demographic duality that endures. At independence, over 95 percent of the population spoke either Fijian or the localised form of Hindi as their first language, with ethnic Fijians constituting a slight majority.

This bifurcation bred chronic political tension, culminating in a series of coups that led to the promulgation of the 1990 constitution. Emerging from an ethnic Fijian-led seizure of power motivated by anxieties about Indo-Fijian ascendancy, this constitution reiterated verbatim the language provision of the 1970 constitution, restricting itself to the domain of parliamentary speech and eschewing any broader pronouncement on official state languages.

In response to continued instability, a special commission was convened, and the 1997 constitution was adopted. It maintained the prior provision concerning language use in Parliament while also introducing a new article, unprecedented in earlier texts, explicitly affirming the equal status of English, Fijian, and Hindustani within the state:

> Section 4. Languages [1997]
>
> 1) The English, Fijian and Hindustani languages have equal status in the State.
>
> 2) This constitution is to be adopted in English but translations in Fijian and Hindustani are to be available.
>
> 3) If, in the interpretation of a provision of this constitution, there is an apparent difference between the meaning of the English version of the provision and its meaning in Fijian or Hindustani, the English version prevails.
>
> 4) Every person who transacts business with:
>
> (a) a department;
>
> (b) an office in a state service; or
>
> (c) a local authority;
>
> has the right to do so in English, Fijian or Hindustani, either directly or through a competent interpreter.

While the provision does not elucidate the precise legal implications of 'equal status,' the implication is that Fijian and Hindustani attained a measure of official parity with English, at least within certain domains of state activity. This model, however, proved short-lived. A 2006 coup, compounded by a 2009 Court of Appeal ruling, plunged the country into another constitutional crisis. The subsequent 2013 constitution retained the clause stipulating the interpretive primacy of the English text, but conspicuously omitted any language provision akin to Section 4 of its

predecessor.

One minor concession remained. Section 31(3) of the 2013 constitution states: 'Conversational and contemporary iTaukei and Fiji Hindi languages shall be taught as compulsory subjects in all primary schools.' Yet this obligation appears largely symbolic. Since independence, English has functioned as the medium of instruction beyond Grade 4, a practice that remains in force. Numerous legislative enactments enshrine the primacy of English in specific institutional domains: it is the mandated language of both the Magistrate's Court and the Supreme Court (1978), and a demonstrated deficiency in English constitutes grounds for the rejection of a citizenship application (1998).

English, long the operational language of state administration, has served as the interethnic *lingua franca* since the 1930s (Mangubhai and Mugler 2003). It dominates commercial, educational, and media domains. Nonetheless, Fijian and Hindi are frequently used in conjunction with English in official pronouncements. In private domains, linguistic usage tends to follow ethnic lines, with each community employing its own vernacular for intra-group communication. The Institute of Fijian Language and Culture and the Department of Indian and Multiethnic Affairs serve as institutional custodians of the linguistic and cultural patrimony of their respective constituencies.

In light of the foregoing, I align my coding with the assessments of both the 2014 and 2024 editions of the Ethnologue. I code English as a statutory national language from 1970 to 2012, on the basis of its explicit recognition in the 1970, 1990, and 1997 constitutions. For the years 2013 and 2014, I code it as a *de facto* national language, reflecting the absence of explicit constitutional designation.

Hindi and Fijian are coded as the *de facto* languages of national identity from 1970 to 1996, given their widespread use yet lack of formal status. From 1997 to 2012, Section 4 of the 1997 constitution elevates them to statutory languages of national identity, consistent with the 2014 Ethnologue. Finally, for 2013 and 2014, I follow the 2024 Ethnologue and code Hindi and Fijian as the *de facto* languages of national identity.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Sovereign Democratic Republic of Fiji (Promulgation) Decree 1990*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1990. URL: `https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1002` (visited on 25/03/2025).

[2] Constitution-Building Programme of the International IDEA. *Constitutional History of Fiji*. In: *ConstitutionNet*. The Hague: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance, 2016. URL: `https://constitutionnet.org/country/fiji` (visited on 24/03/2025).

[3] *Fiji*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International,

2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/FJ/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] *Fiji Independence Order 1970 and Constitution of Fiji*. Compiled by the Pacific Islands Legal Information Institute. 1970. URL: https://www.paclii.org/fj/legis/consol_act/fio1970acof403/ (visited on 26/03/2025).

[5] Jacques Leclerc. *Îles Fidji*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/fidji.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[6] Jacques Leclerc. *Îles Fidji | Dispositions linguistiques de lois diverses*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/fidji-lois-diverses.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[7] *Fiji*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by M. Paul Lewis, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 17th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2014. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/17/country/FJ/status/ (visited on 26/03/2025).

[8] Francis Mangubhai and France Mugler. 'The Language Situation in Fiji'. In: *Current Issues in Language Planning* 4.3 (2003), pp. 367–459. ISSN: 1466-4208, 1747-7506. URL: http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/14664200308668058 (visited on 20/03/2025).

955: Tonga

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1999-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1999-2014	`X`	`E`: *De facto* national (working)
Tongan	1999-2014	`N`	`D`: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Tongan as the two principal languages of the Kingdom of Tonga, classifying English as the *de facto* national working language and Tongan as the *de facto* national language. Tongan, the mother tongue of virtually the entire population, was codified in written form during the nineteenth century by European Methodist missionaries intent on facilitating Christian evangelisation. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, no constitutional linguistic provisions exist.

Although the Kingdom of Tonga was never formally colonised, it was brought under a British protectorate from 1900 to 1970. This quasi-colonial relationship left a discernible linguistic imprint, particularly in the sphere of state administration, where English remains entrenched. A form of diglossia endures in governance: both languages are employed in parliamentary debate, yet legislation is drafted solely in English. A parallel process unfolds in the bureaucracy, with oral communication conducted in Tongan and official documentation issued in English. The judiciary exhibits the strongest institutional preference for English: legally, a Justice of the Peace must possess a 'reasonably adequate command' of the language.

In business and commerce, English predominates, though the media landscape is consistently bilingual. With approximately 100,000 speakers, Tongan is demographically more robust than many other Oceanic languages. Its uninterrupted use in royal administration over a span of more than a thousand years has conferred upon it a potent symbolic status as the linguistic emblem of Tongan national identity. Reflecting this role, a working knowledge of Tongan has been required for naturalisation since 2001. By contrast, English occupies a more functional role, and national identification with it is notably weaker than in most former British colonies in the South Pacific.

In light of the above, I follow the Ethnologue in coding English as a *de facto* national working language and Tongan as a *de facto* national language for the entire period from 1999 to 2014.

References

[1] *Tonga*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/TO/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[2] Jacques Leclerc. *Îles Tonga*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/tonga.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Yuko Otsuka. 'Making a Case for Tongan as an Endangered Language'. In: *The Contemporary Pacific* 19.2 (2007), pp. 446–473. ISSN: 1527-9464. URL: https://muse.jhu.edu/article/219242 (visited on 26/03/2025).

970: Nauru

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1999-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1999-2014	X	E: *De facto* national (working)
Nauruan	1999-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue designates English and Nauruan as the two principal languages of the Republic of Nauru, classifying English as the *de facto* national working language and Nauruan as the *de facto* national language. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, the constitution, in force since the country attained independence in 1968, contains no provisions concerning language status.

Nauru was annexed by Germany in 1888 and subsequently administered as a British League of Nations mandate following the First World War. After a period of Japanese occupation during the Second World War, the island was placed under joint American, British, Australian, and New Zealand administration as a United Nations trustee territory.

Since independence, English has remained firmly embedded in the legal infrastructure of Nauru. The Custom and Adopted Laws Act 1971 incorporated into Nauruan jurisprudence the customary and general legislation that had been operative in Britain as of 1968. The Courts Act 1972 designates English as the language of the Supreme Court, while allowing for the use of Nauruan in the magistrate's courts. Parliamentary debate is conducted bilingually, yet legislative texts are drafted in Nauruan. Within public administration, Nauruan is the primary language for oral interaction, both in intra-governmental discourse and in communication with the public; nonetheless, official documentation is prepared in English.

Barker (2012) notes mounting governmental concern over the insufficient presence of Nauruan in the national curriculum by the early 2000s. Though efforts were proposed to strengthen its instructional role, they were tepidly received and saw limited implementation. Despite its foreign origin, the pull of English remains strong, bolstered by its dominance across the region. Nauru's monetary reliance on the Australian dollar, as well as its economic dependence on aid from Australia and New Zealand, further solidify the instrumental role of English in national affairs.

In view of the foregoing, I follow the Ethnologue in coding English as a *de facto* national working language and Nauruan as a *de facto* national language for the full period spanning 1999 to 2014.

References

[1] Xavier Barker. '2. English Language as Bully in the Republic of Nauru'. In: *English Language as Hydra: Its Impacts on Non-English Language Cultures*. Ed. by Vaughan Rapatahana and Pauline Bunce. Multilingual Matters, 2012, pp. 18–36. ISBN: 978-1-84769-751-6. URL: https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.21832/9781847697516-008/html?lang=en&srsltid=AfmBOoqOExMN_LwcsRf5pdQjW-5-7lPssAVPf1TAH_63wNcH4BddsCP5 (visited on 26/03/2025).

[2] *Nauru*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/NR/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Nauru / Naoero*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/nauru.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

983: Marshall Islands

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1991-2014	X	D: *De facto* national
Marshallese	1991-2014	N	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Marshallese as the two principal languages of the Republic of the Marshall Islands, classifying both as *de facto* national languages. According to *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*, the constitution of the Republic contains no provisions concerning the languages of the state.

Historically, the Marshall Islands were first colonised by Spain, later ceded to Germany in 1899, and subsequently placed under Japanese administration through a League of Nations mandate. Following the Second World War, the islands came under American trusteeship as part of a United Nations agreement, after which the United States conducted fully sixty-six nuclear tests on the archipelago. The Republic formally achieved independence in 1990, though it continues to exist in a 'Compact of Free Association' with the United States, which retains control over its defence and foreign policy.

Prolonged American control has entrenched English deeply within state institutions. Governmental documents are predominantly drafted in English, while Marshallese, spoken natively by nearly the entire population, serves as the principal means of oral communication. Despite the overwhelming dominance of English in official spheres, legislative efforts have sought to elevate the role of Marshallese. The Judicial Act of 1983 stipulates that, '[t]o the extent possible, the case-law collection shall be published in both Marshall and English,' while the 2005 rules of criminal procedure permit the use of both languages in all courts. A dedicated Language Commission is tasked with preserving, promoting, and enriching Marshallese; in 2015, the Ministry of Education proposed a policy to make all official signage bilingual.

Nonetheless, the elevation of Marshallese faces considerable structural challenges. Although Marshallese is a subject in schools, English remains the language of instruction. The Republic lacks a daily newspaper, and the enduring American influence ensures English's continued preeminence in media, business, and public life. Moreover, Marshallese struggles to meet the lexical demands of modern administration and commerce, as it lacks terminology for numerous contemporary and non-indigenous concepts, further complicating aspirations for functional parity with English (Buchstaller and Alvanides (2017).

In light of the foregoing, I align my coding with the Ethnologue, designating both English and Marshallese as *de facto* national languages for the entire period from 1999 to 2014.

References

[1] Isabelle Buchstaller and Seraphim Alvanides. 'Mapping the Linguistic Landscapes of the Marshall Islands'. In: *Journal of Linguistic Geography* 5.2 (2017), pp. 67–85. ISSN: 2049-7547. URL: https://www.cambridge.org/core/journals/journal-of-linguistic-geography/article/mapping-the-linguistic-landscapes-of-the-marshall-islands/B6FDBEDCBCE7AF36C43308A6B7C47559 (visited on 26/03/2025).

[2] *Marshall Islands*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/MH/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Îles Marshall*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/marshall.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

986: Palau

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1994-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1994-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
Japanese	1994-2014	`X`	`I`: Statutory provincial (identity)
Palauan	1994-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Palauan as the two principal and statutory national languages of the Republic of Palau, citing Article XIII of the 1979 Constitution. This provision, which remains unamended, stipulates the following:

> Article XIII. General Provisions [1979]
>
> Section 1. The Palauan traditional languages shall be the national languages. Palauan and English shall be the official languages. The Olbiil Era Kelulau shall determine the appropriate use of each language.
>
> Section 2. The Palauan and English versions of this constitution shall be equally authoritative; in case of conflict, the English version shall prevail.
>
> ...

Like the neighbouring Marshall Islands, Palau was initially colonised by Spain, sold to the German Empire in 1899, and later transferred to Japan under a League of Nations Mandate. In practice, Japan had already forcibly assumed control at the outset of the First World War. Japan established military infrastructure and instituted Japanese as the *lingua franca*. Following Japan's defeat in the Second World War, Palau came under American control via a United Nations trusteeship agreement.

Though Palau formally attained independence following a 1994 referendum, it remains under a 'Compact of Free Association' with the United States, which retains responsibility for its defence and foreign affairs. Reflecting broader regional trends, English predominates in written governance. Legislation is drafted in English, though parliamentary debate is bilingual, conducted in both English and Palauan. Public administration similarly exhibits diglossic tendencies: Palauan is used for oral communication, whereas official documents are typically issued in English. Certain domains, however, explicitly require bilingual proficiency; for instance, to serve on a jury (2003) or to propose a constitutional amendment (1981).

The state has adopted several measures to bolster the position of Palauan relative

to English. A Palauan Language Commission is responsible for standardising orthography, developing neologisms, producing Palauan-language literature, and supporting the integration of Palauan into the national curriculum. The National Code mandates the teaching of both English and Palauan in schools, though in practice, the scarcity of Palauan educational materials often leads to a shift towards English-medium instruction in upper-primary education. According to the Higher Education Act (2001), English is the language of instruction at the Republic's sole tertiary institution, Palau Community College.

Consequently, only English and Palauan are in substantive national use. I therefore code both as statutory national languages for the entire period from 1994 to 2014, consistent with the Ethnologue.

Additionally, the legacy of Japanese colonial rule finds an unusual legal afterlife at the subnational level. Article XII of the 1982 Constitution of the State of Angaur declares Japanese to be an official language:

> ARTICLE XII: [1982]
>
> GENERAL PROVISIONS
>
> (A): Official Languages
>
> Section 1. The traditional Palauan language, particularly the dialect spoken by the people of Angaur State, shall be the language of the State of Angaur. Palauan, English and Japanese shall be the official languages.

Although none of the roughly 300 residents of Angaur is known to speak Japanese today, its enshrinement in the state constitution renders Angaur the only jurisdiction in the world where Japanese holds *de jure* official status –the language is only *de facto* official in Japan itself. In recognition of this legal oddity, I code Japanese as a statutory language of provincial identity throughout the period under review.

References

[1] *Constitution of the State of Angaur: Angaur, Republic of Palau*. Compiled by the Pacific Digital Library, Institute of Museum and Library Services. 1982. URL: https://pacificdigitallibrary.org/cgi-bin/pdl?e=d-000off-pdl--00-2--0--010-TE--4-------0-1l--10en-50---20-text-Japanese--00-3-1-00bySR-0-0-000utfZz-8-00&d=HASHa4b7077d472c4cdb9c8ddf.10&p=text (visited on 25/03/2025).

[2] *Palau*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/PW/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Palaos*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024.

URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/belau.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Palaos | Lois diverses à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2024. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/palaos-lois-diverses.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[5] Kazuko Matsumoto. 'The Politics of Language Choice Amongst Palauan, English and Japanese: Symbolic Domination in the Republic of Palau, Micronesia'. In: *Proceedings of the 6th Conference of the International Association for World Englishes* 6 (1999), pp. 91–95. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Kazuko-Matsumoto/publication/271198605_The_politics_of_language_choice_amongst_Palauan_English_and_Japanese_Symbolic_domination_in_the_Republic_of_Palau_Micronesia/links/5d5cd868a6fdcc55e81c1c4a/The-politics-of-language-choice-amongst-Palauan-English-and-Japanese-Symbolic-domination-in-the-Republic-of-Palau-Micronesia.pdf.

987: Micronesia

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1991-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1991-2014	X	D: *De facto* national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English as the sole principal language and the *de facto* national language of the Federated States of Micronesia. *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* confirms no constitutional provision establishing a state language. Article IX explicitly affirms that the inability to speak English cannot disqualify any individual from membership in Congress. The same article further stipulates that, although '[l]egislative proceedings shall be conducted in the English language,' '[a] member may use his own language if not fluent in English, and Congress shall provide translation.'

The territories now comprising the Federated States of Micronesia were initially colonised by Spain, sold to the German Empire in the late nineteenth century, and then transferred formally to Japanese authority under a League of Nations Mandate (though they had already been annexed *de facto* at the outbreak of the First World War). Following Japan's defeat in the Second World War, the islands came under American control as part of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. A new constitution, which was rejected by Palau and the Marshall Islands, united the four remaining districts of Chuuk, Kosrae, Pohnpei, and Yap into a single federation.

Micronesia remains in a 'Compact of Free Association' with the United States, which retains control over its defence and foreign policy. With a population of just over 100,000 spread out across 700 square kilometres of land and nearly 3 million square kilometres of open water, vast distances have inhibited the emergence of viable indigenous *lingua franca*. The four state constitutions recognise Chuukese, Kosraen, Pohnpeian, or Yapese alongside English as an official language within its jurisdiction. Nevertheless, English predominates in the federal administration, particularly in written documentation, while oral communication at the state level generally takes place in the local vernaculars.

Language-in-education policies vary by state, but the mother tongue is typically used in the earliest grades, with English gradually assuming dominance by secondary school. The College of Micronesia, the sole tertiary educational institution, uses English exclusively as the medium of instruction. English likewise prevails in business and the media. As *l'aménagement linguistique dans le monde* observes, 'the Federation's language policy is similar to many countries in a situation of post-colonialism. The language of the former colonizer continues to monopolize

prestigious roles, while national languages are relegated to situations of informal communication, with a limited place in primary education and in the electronic media.'

On this basis, I follow the Ethnologue in coding English as the *de facto* national language for the entire coding period from 1991 to 2014. Although Chuukese, Kosraen, Pohnpeian, and Yapese are recognised as statutory languages of provincial identity, they lack institutional status in any other country. I therefore do not code them in the present endeavour.

References

[1] *Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1975. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1016 (visited on 29/03/2015).

[2] *Micronesia*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/FM/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Micronésie (État non incorporé organisé des États-Unis)*. In: *L'aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/micronesie.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] *The Constitution of the Federated States of Micronesia*. Compiled by the All Constitutions Project, University Scuola Superiore Carolina Albasio/Benicom Company. 1978. URL: https://constitutions.albasio.eu/constitution/?id=1016 (visited on 29/03/2015).

990: Samoa

Correlates of War system membership after 1945 (inclusive): 1976-2014.

Relevant Domestic Languages

Language	Duration	Origin	Classification
English	1976-2014	`X`	`A`: Statutory national
Samoan	1976-2014	`N`	`A`: Statutory national

Coding Rationale

The Ethnologue identifies English and Samoan as the two principal languages and the statutory national languages of Samoa, citing Section 54 of the 1960 constitution.

> Section 54. Languages [1960]
>
> 1) All debates and discussions in the Legislative Assembly shall be conducted in the Samoan language and the English language.
>
> 2) The Minutes and the debates of the Legislative Assembly, every bill introduced therein, every paper presented thereto and all minutes of proceedings, minutes of evidence, and reports of committees of the Assembly shall be in the Samoan language and the English language.

Without explicitly using the phrase 'official language,' this clause mandates Samoan and English as written and spoken media of the legislature. Such phrasing recalls, for example, Article 55 of the 1963 Kenyan constitution, which imposes linguistic boundaries on the conduct of 'the business of the National Assembly.'

European missionaries developed a standardised writing system for the Samoan language by the mid-nineteenth century. Colonialism over the following decades divided the Samoan islands, which share the Samoan language, between foreign powers. While the eastern islands came under American occupation, the western islands now known as 'Samoa' became a German colony from 1899 until New Zealand seized them in 1914. The occupation was legitimised by a League of Nations mandate and later, a United Nations trusteeship, until independence in 1962.

A UN report from 1948 claims: 'Almost all Samoans know how to read and write in their own language⋯In striking contrast with the high percentage of literacy, however, very few Samoans enjoy more than a lower primary education' (1989: 68). To obtain political autonomy from New Zealand, Western Samoans in the post-war era sought to gain proficiency in English, believed this necessary to demonstrate their capacity for self-rule. English was thus prioritised in bilingual teaching, becoming the medium of instruction after the fourth grade. The school curriculum,

which follows the New Zealand education system, persists to this day, and the Ministry of Education requires literacy in Samoan before English is introduced.

This has resulted in *de facto* bilingualism in society more generally. The Magistrate's Courts (1969) and criminal procedure (1972) require the use of Samoan in most documents. A Samoan Language Commission, established in 2000, and the Samoa National University both endeavour to enrich and promote the Samoan language. In business, Samoan is used for most oral communications, but written transactions take place mostly in English; the media offers a bilingual selection of content.

In short, the Samoan state, which inherited an Anglophone colonial legacy, has maintained a policy of pragmatic bilingualism throughout the coding period. Owing to this trajectory, I code English and Samoan as the statutory national languages from 1976 to 2014, in line with the classification offered by the Ethnologue.

References

[1] *Samoa*. In: *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Ed. by David M. Eberhard, Gary F. Simons and Charles D. Fennig. 27th edition (online). Dallas: SIL International, 2024. URL: https://www-ethnologue-com.ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/country/WS/ (visited on 19/02/2025).

[2] Thom Huebner. 'Language and Schooling in Western and American Samoa'. In: *World Englishes* 8.1 (1989), pp. 59–72. ISSN: 0883-2919, 1467-971X. URL: https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-971X.1989.tb00435.x (visited on 27/03/2025).

[3] Jacques Leclerc. *Samoa*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/samoa.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).

[4] Jacques Leclerc. *Samoa | Lois à portée linguistique*. In: *L' aménagement linguistique dans le monde*. Online. Québec City: Chaire pour le développement de la recherche sur la culture d'expression française en Amérique du Nord (CEFAN), Université Laval, 2023. URL: https://axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/pacifique/samoa-lois_div.htm (visited on 19/02/2025).