ABSTRACT
              Papers presented at a symposium on Europe's less
commonly taught languages include the following: "The Necessity of
Dialogue" (Marcel de Greve); "Socio- and Psycholinguistic
Interference in Teaching Foreign Languages" (Penka Ilieva-Baltova);
"Satellite Television, National Television, and Video in
Teaching/Learning Less Widely Taught Languages" (Zofia Jancewicz);
"Can the Gap Between 'Lesser Used' and 'Less Widely Taught' Languages
Be Bridged? A Status Challenge for Irish" (Liam Mac Mathuna); "Dutch,
the Language of 20,000,000" (Jos Nivette); "Historical Overview of
the Position of Irish" (Mairtin O Murchu); "Lesser Used Languages of
the European Communities--Developments in the Recent Past and New
Hopes for the Future" (Donall O Riagain); State and Non-State
Supported Less Widely Taught Languages: Statutes Beat Numbers" (Yvo
J. D. Peeters); "Language Groups Among the Gypsies in Hungary and
Some Aspects of Their Oral Culture" (Zita Reger); The Language
Situation in the Ukrainian SSR and the Issue of Less Widely Taught
Languages" (Oleg E. Semenets); "Possibilities and limits of the
Processes of Linguistic Recuperation: The Case of Catalan" (Miguel
Siguan); "Some Aspects of Learning/Teaching Romanian as a Foreign
Language" (Tatiana Slama-Cazacu); "Language Policy, Language
Planning, Status Planning" (Gyorgy Szepe); and "The Variable
Macedonian Standard" (Olga Miseska Tomic). (MSE)

The least widely taught languages of Europe

Proceedings of the
UNESCO/ALA/IRAAL symposium
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Edited by
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IRAAL

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UNESCO AND LESS TAUGHT LANGUAGES IN EUROPE

FOREWORD BY VICTOR KOPTILOV

The preamble of the Constitution of the United
Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organi-
zation (Unesco) states that the State Parties to this
Constitution are "determined to develop and increase
the means of communication between their peoples and
to employ these means for the purposes of mutual under-
standing and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each
other's lives" Article 1 of the Constitution also
underlines at the end "the fruitful diversity of the
cultures ... of the State Members of the Organization".

On the basis of these concepts and from the
first years of its existence, Unesco has set up a
language programme devoted to the promotion of teaching
and learning mother, national and foreign languages as
a vehicle of education and a means of transmission to
future generations of cultural values inherent to each
country and to all mankind.

When speaking of Unesco's language policy, one
should stress that the shortest and most appropriate
expression in this respect is a policy of balance.
This balance is an absolutely vital element in today's
world, a world too unbalanced in many respects. This
lack of balance appears in languages: there is no
balance between mother and national languages of
developing countries, on the one hand, and the so-
called "world" languages, on the other; nor is there
any balance between prevailing and minority languages
in several countries of the world. Finally, one can
hardly find any balance between the lesser known and
the more widely spread languages. There are indeed

numerous reasons which might explain - and even justify - all these inequalities. However, Unesco's aim in this field is to pursue its efforts to arrive at a more stable situation and establish a "new linguistic order" so to speak (to use, as an example, the New Economic Order), which would ensure to such languages as Icelandic or Irish the possibility of being known and studied as much as English or French.

Since 1980, Unesco has devoted its time and efforts to establishing co-operation between European countries in this direction, in the spirit of the Helsinki Conference on security and co-operation in Europe. To this end, various activities have been organized.

The programme of the less-known languages in Europe was launched in 1980 in Budapest, as a follow-up to an expert meeting organized jointly by the Hungarian National Commission for Unesco and Unesco. Since then, several activities have been organized in order to sensitize public opinion and wor. out the best methods and best didactic materials to facilitate the acquisition of a deeper and more systematic knowledge of languages of little expansion but of great cultural, ethic and aesthetic value. Unesco has published a series of studies on the pedagogical and sociolinguistic problems of the languages concerned. An "Inventory of centers for training and learning less widely taught languages in Europe" by J.-P. Van Deth appeared in 1986.

The development of Unesco's programme for the promotion of less widely taught languages would have been difficult - and perhaps even impossible - without

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the collaboration of non-governmental organizations.

In 1984, the Greek Association for Applied
Linguistics organized in Thessaloniki, with Unesco's
support, a symposium mainly devoted to a discussion
of the experiences of various European countries in
the teaching of their languages to migrant populations
or in the teaching of "minority" languages within multi-
lingual countries.

In 1986, on the common initiative of Venice
University, AILA and Unesco, an expert meeting was
organized in Venice in order to study the possibility
of creating an Information Centre on less taught
languages and a network for information exchange
around this Centre. At the closing of this symposium,
and on an experimental basis, the permanent Secretariat
of the future Centre was established. Its first task
was to draw up and send to all European Member States
a questionnaire with a view to gaining increased
knowledge of the characteristics of European language
teaching within each country. We have now received the
first results of this survey. Technical cards on each
language and each institution are being prepared by
the International Network for Documentation and
Information on Less Taught Languages (REDILME) that
the Centre established. REDILME has published a
collection of data, "First data concerning the state
of teaching and diffusion of the target languages"
(Venice, 1987, 155pp.).

Finally, in 1987, IRAAL convoked a symposium in
Dublin, with Unesco's support, which discussed the
objectives of European language teaching, the
obstacles to the development of this activity and a

future strategy for improving the existing situation.
This will help Unesco to draw up guidelines for our
programme in the years to come and to better plan our
future activities.

It is to be hoped that - in view of the
present trends towards humanization of education and
revaluation of the tremendous wealth of the hundreds
of cultures which make up the one great culture of
mankind - the learning and teaching of less taught
languages will be able to gain a renewed impetus.
The establishment of a true balance in this important
field calls for Unesco's wholehearted support.

THE NECESSITY OF DIALOGUE

MARCEL DE GRÈVE
(International Association for
Cross-Cultural Communication)

We cannot but observe that conjunction and contact
of cultures normally lead to two different situations,
the first one resulting from a dominating and imperial-
istic standpoint of one of the cultures involved, the
second one based on dialogue and leading to creative
syncretism.

One can hardly deny that, as far as history is
concerned, it is, most of the time, the first model
which is realized. Certainly, nowadays very few, at
least in Europe, will admit that they recommend a
relationship between two cultures in terms of "dominat-
ing vs dominated", a relationship which generates one or
other kind of "apartheid". Nevertheless, more often
than not languages or cultures in contact are at the
origin of conflicts. This situation may degenerate into
a dysfunction of the society involved. Lebanon and the
Republic of South Africa are, maybe, the most tragic
examples of a confrontation of cultures.

When two different linguistic groups get in contact
with each other, the normal relationship leads to the
following situation: the less powerful group (especially
from an economic point of view) is forced to use the
language of the dominating group, whereas the use of the
language of the dominated group, considered as "inferior",
is not compulsory for the individuals belonging to the
economically, and thus politically, stronger group. It
is the Alsatian who is bilingual, but not the Parisian;
the Welshman, but not the Englishman; the Aymara people,

but not the Peruvians of European origin.

The evolution of the situation in Belgium is a
revealing example of the relationship between two
linguistic and cultural groups in the same area or
nation. As long as the economic weight was located in
the French-speaking part of the country, the Flemish-
speakers had to learn and to speak the French language,
if only for social promotion. Since, in fact rather
lately, the economic weight has, for all sorts of reas-
ons, moved from the Walloon part to the Flemish part
of the country, Walloon people are more and more forced
to learn the Dutch language, be it only for professional
reasons. This situation has brought the relationship
between the two communities to a certain equilibrium,
although the Flemish community is tending to become
dominant in its turn.

But the problem does not limit itself to countries
where the oppositions between cultures are acute. It
is now an accepted fact that amongst the countries all
over the world it is not monolingualism which is the
standard practice, but a most widely extended bilingual-
ism or multilingualism resulting from a diglossic
situation.

This symposium being centred on the situation in
Europe, I would like to quote what György Szépe wrote
in 1980, in a report to UNESCO:

> Contrary to the concept of the "melting pot", a
> historical established practice in the U.S.A. and
> other parts of the world, Europe flourishes as a
> multilingual region.(1)

Ricardo Petrella, in his, in my eyes, important
book on la Renaissance des cultures régionales en

Europe (2), puts it also quite clearly:

> Contrairoment à la logique monolinguistique,
> uniformisante et restrictive qui a inspiré
> jusqu'à une date récente la politique linguis-
> tique des États-nations, le point de départ
> d'une action européenne ne pourra être que la
> reconnaissance de la diversité et de la multi-
> plicité des faits linguistiques et culturels au
> sein de l'espace européen. Qu'il s'agisse des
> langues officielles "nationales", des langues
> dites "régionales" ou des langues des migrants,
> l'objectif devra être celui de la valorisation
> sans discrimination et sans "frontières" de ce
> capital humain considérable. (3)

As a matter of fact, the splitting up of the world
into different cultures has become a general phenomenon.
And it is beyond us to consider whether this diversity
is desirable, necessary, or deplorable. Anyway, and
notwithstanding the fact that there is often evidence
of a political will for standardization, a well assumed
multicultural or multilingual situation - for which I
have suggested the notions and the terms of "pluricul-
turality" and of "plurilingualism" (4) - seems to be the
only possibility to preserve a state from dysfunction.
In this case the domination of one or several social,
economic or cultural groups by another group, or one or
several regions by another region, is avoided (5). A
pluricultural society has, of course, its specific pro-
blems which have to be solved.

It has often been asserted that language is not
the only distinctive sign of a culture, and this is
most likely true. The fact remains nonetheless that
language is one of the favoured expressions of a cultural,
social and economic unity. Which means, to put it plainly,
that the use of one another's language is a pre-equisite
to real cooperation. The development of a pluricultural
society, which would not cause a dysfunction in the

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given society, could only be based on an active dia-
logue between the different cultural components of the
unit set up.

The 13th AIMAV Seminar, held in Brussels in 1981,
on "the structures of a pluricultural society" (6),
provided evidence that any culture, even a dominant
one, will benefit by opening itself in a selective way
to other cultures, even to those considered less
prestigious, and by assimilating foreign cultural
elements which suit its own. In other words, each
culture, like each individual, enriches itself through
"dialogue". But one should not only *declare* that
dialogue is a necessity. One has to put in order the
components which make dialogue possible.

We should point out that the notion of "dialogue"
cannot, to be authentic, be univocal. Obviously, one
cannot envisage a dialogue when there are not, at
least, two speakers who converse. Which means, two
speakers who are in an equivalent relationship to each
other. One does not, for instance, dialogue with the
Prince (King, Queen, or President): the latter asks
questions, and the interlocutor has to limit himself to
answering the questions. Consequently, the person the
Prince is talking to is supposed to acquire and to
practise the Prince's linguistic register.

As dialogue proceeds through language, it is out
of the question to exclude either partner's own
linguistic code, the more so since language is one of
the essential factors of cultural identity. Thus it is,
at least, desirable to leave each interlocutor the
possibility of using his own language. The use of each
partner's own language is essential if one is to benefit
from a real dialogue.

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It is also obvious that one has more opportunities
to converse, to speak with a neighbour than with an
interlocutor who lives far away. It is also impo. nt
for the coherence of a nation that the citizens keep
up real dialogues with each other. Thus, each citizen
should learn to use the language of the *nearest partner*.
This is certainly the best way to strengthen the con-
catenation of the different parts of the country, of
the nation (7).

It has to be pointed out that dialogue does not
impose the necessity of perfect practice of the inter-
locutor's language: the latter does not expect the
foreigner to speak the foreign language as if it was
his mother tongue. On the other hand, as we will see
later, one could conceive a dialogue based on receptive
competence, on either side, of the other's mother tongue
(8). The major requirement to obtain an authentic and
enriching dialogue consists in a relationship where the
interlocutors tend, at least, to a certain equality.

A so-called "bilingual situation" or "bilingual
context" is most of the time a swindle. In most, if
not all, cases the communication between the speakers
belonging to different cultural and thus linguistic,
communities is performed through the following model,
in which the speaker is represented by S, the speech by
E (Emission), the listening by R (Reception), and the two
languages by a and b:

(1) $Sx(a)$ < $E(La)$ $\rightarrow$ $R(La)$ > $Sy(b)$
         $Sy(b)$ < $E(La)$ $-\,\rightarrow$ $R(La)$ > $Sx(a)$
         $Sx(a)$ < $E(La)$ $\rightarrow$ $R(La)$ > $Sy(b)$
         $Sy(b)$ < $E(La)$ $\cdot\rightarrow$ $R(La)$ > $Sx(a)$

         . . . .

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It is easy to notice that the mother tongue of one of
the speakers, i.e. x, is used as the only medium for
the communication. Which means that only speaker y
practises bilingualism. But which also means that
asserting that this is a case of "bilingualism of
individuals " is rather deceptive, and even absolutely
false. This kind of "bilingualism" is leading straight
to politics of a colonial type. The problem is that
the kind of communication mentioned is exactly the one
which is usually practised in a so-called multilingual
context.

One could, of course, theoretically envisage the
following model:

(II)   Sx(a) < E(Lb)   --->   R(Lb) > Sy(b)
          Sy(b) < E(La)   >   R(La) > Sx(a)
          Sx(a) < E(Lb)   ---\   R(Lb) > Sy(b)
          Sy(b) < E(La)   - -\   R(La) > Sx(a)
          ....

In this case, we would have a real bilingual practice,
each speaker using the mother tongue of his interlocutor.
But it is also obvious that such bilingual conversation
would be but a game, or a joke.

On the other hand, the following model is quite
often practised, e.g. at international meetings:

(III)   Sx(a) < E(Lc)   >   R(Lc) > Sy(b)
          Sy(b) < E(Lc)   >   R(Lc) > Sx(a)
          Sx(a) < E(Lc)   - >   R(Lc) > Sy(b)
          Sy(b) < E(Lc)   >   R(Lc) > Sx(a)
          ....

In this case, a language foreign to each of the inter-
locutors is used as the medium of communication. But
one may doubt whether this is exactly what is meant when

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one speaks of a "bilingual" or a "plurilingual" context
...

    But model I and model II can be combined.   Which
gives:

(IV)   Sx(a) < E(La) — >   R(La) > Sy(b)
         Sy(b) < E(Lb) --->   R(Lb) > Sx(a)
         Sx(a) < E(La)   · >   R(La) > Sy(b)
         Sy(b) < E(Lb) -- >   R(Lb) > Sx(a)
         ....

In this case, and only in this case, one can speak of
a "bilingual context": each speaker, having at least a
receptive competence of his interlocutor's language,
uses his mother tongue, and thus both interlocutors
stand on the same level, are equal. This model, and
only this one, makes a real dialogue possible, by with-
drawing any domination of one of the speakers by the
other. This is the model I use myself at international
conferences where I switch from a foreign language to my
own mother tongue (French) each time I want to qualify
my thought or thinking. This is also the model my
colleague Frans van Passel and myself have introduced,
with convincing results, in certain Belgian military
and other circles.

    In countries where a dominant socio-economic or
political group or class has not prevented or has not
been able to prevent the development of "harmonious
bilingualism" (9), success is generally assured. This
can be observed in some Yugoslavian republics, in at
least seven of the twenty-three cantons of Switzerland,
in the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, in the Flemish part of
Belgium, in certain provinces of Canada, etc.

    Experience proves that the development of human

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beings requires plurality in unity. Numerous examples
illustrate the creative nature of hybridization and in-
breeding.

EACH CULTURE IS A MOSAIC (10). Each culture is
the result, the product of exchange, following a phen-
omenon of either osmosis or syncretism, which develops
the previous stage by enriching it.

An enrichment of that sort, however, is subordinate,
on the one hand, to the "open" character of the original
culture, on the other hand, and all the same, to its
selective reactions in absorbing extraneous elements.
The culture of the American Indians, for instance,
could not, in most cases, be preserved or enriched by
foreign elements (coming from Europe), because it
wanted or was obliged to remain "closed". In Western
Europe, the cultures of certain indigenous and immigrant
communities could not enrich themselves nor enrich the
dominant imported or original, cultures because of their
lack of selection in adopting and adapting foreign
cultural elements. This has been for a large part the
case of the Celts, and more particularly of the Bretons
in France, who have been intensively Francized. Needless
to stress, I suppose, that this kind of event corresponds
with a loss for both cultures involved, although perhaps
mainly for the host culture, or for the culture which
has dominated the other.

One has, of course, to admit that the osmosis which
realizes a sane pluricultural situation does not always
appear spontaneously: quite often psychological and/or
economic obstacles oppose themselves to such a
situation. In imposing bilingualism, one could fear a
certain danger for the correct use of the mother tongue.
This fear is understandable (11). But there is sufficient

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evidence that there are no grounds for that kind of
fear, as long as the foreign language is taught through
an endogenous teaching, i.e. a teaching in accordance
with the cultural identity and specificity of the learner
(12), and also as long as one takes the power struggle
between the mother tongue and the target language into
account to specify at which age the bilingual education
may start (13). ¯f these precautions are taken, one
cannot but consider as applicable the conclusion of
William F. Mackey, a researcher well-known for his
caution and circumspection:

> After more than a decade of observation, it has
> become evident that, in spite of all that immer-
> sion into the French language, the Anglophone
> children by becoming bilingual did not lose their
> native English. (14)

Pluriculturality is not an obvious notion. Citizens
belonging to countries supposed to be monolingual, e.g.
France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America,
Germany, can hardly understand or acknowledge a pluri-
cultural society. As for citizens belonging to countries
openly considered as being plurilingual and pluricultural,
they mostly regard this situation as an inconvenience, if
not as a scourge.

In this regard, one might point out that the inter-
penetration of different cultures quite often leads to a
conflictual situation. Among others, the most important
obstacles to a harmonious diglossia seem to find their
origin either in the fact that the dominant group or
class is itself monolingual - which is, for instance,
the case in France, in the United Kingdom, in the Soviet
Union, in the United States - or in the fact that the
dominant class wants to reserve for itself the advantages
of bilingualism - which is the case for certain so-

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called "elites", especially (but not only) in the former
colonies. In this connection, one should not forget
that it is never with impunity that one pushes somebody
into despair. And this is also true in linguistic-
political matters.

As a matter of fact, a diglossic situation able
to lead to an authentic bilingualism or plurilingualism
corresponds to national resources for the whole society
as well as for the individuals who compose it. But only
provided that the plurilingual situation takes advantage
of it with proper judgment.

Among the necessary prerequisites to benefits
accruing from the contact of cultures, one could point
out the following:

1.   It is high time to consider that, if certain
      cultures have benefited more than others from
      historical circumstances, that does not mean
      that there are superior cultures and inferior
      cultures; such a dichotomy is a result of a
      reductionist point of view.
2.   It is high time to dismiss the temptation to
      require the total assimilation of immigrant or
      colonized cultures or peoples.
3.   One should abandon the conception of culture as
      a set of unchanging "models" which should be the
      privilege of "elites" which indefinitely repro-
      duce themselves. Progress is only possible by
      preparing the ways for creative work, for the
      working out of new knowledge.
4   All nations should become aware of the advantages
      of the interaction of different cultures. In
      other words, pluriculturality should be envisaged
      as "national resources".

5.   It is also high time for us to reach the frame of
      mind which allows us to take into consideration
      that conflicts resulting from the contact of
      cultures are practically inevitable, but that,
      on the other hand, these conflicts can not only
      be smoothed away, but can be at the origin of
      creative dynamics. Indeed, creativity does not
      easily appear in monolithic systems, while
      typical examples of progress exist in pluricultural
      societies, e.g. Brazil, U.S.A....

These presuppositions could be considered as mere wish-
ful thinking. They are certainly not, insofar as one
decides to take into account the lessons of history,
namely that the development of mankind is not simply the
result of reproducing pre-existing "models".

     Of course, this option requires a political will
capable of expressing itself in a set of coherent
strategies. In this regard - but without going into
details, which would bring us out-of-the-way - I would
like to emphasize the fact that mass media have an
important role to play, be it only because the less
privileged part of the population, the "mass", has less
access to the various resources offered by a pluricul-
tural society.

     The free circulation of individuals and ideas,
which the Commission of the European Communities as well
as the Council of Europe are striving to realize and which
is supposed to be the aim of any state or nation, can-
not be envisaged unless the possibility of dialogue
between groups of citizens is realized. Those who signed
the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security
and Cooperation in Europe (15) were quite aware of the
importance of mutual contacts and of the necessary

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variety of languages taught (16). To promote a pluri-
cultural society, based on dialogue, one has of course
to insist on the teaching of the less taught languages.

For my conclusion, I would like to suggest a
theoretical framework, which means that I don't want
to present it as definite recommendations, but rather
as a pilot-study open for discussion.

One currently distinguishes "second language"
from "foreign language". This distinction corresponds
to my own definition of the "language of the nearest
partner" as opposed to the language of other people.
One should also consider that the method for teaching
a second language is supposed to be different from
the way to teach an absolute foreign language (17).
This having been said, one could consider one of the
languages spoken by citizens of the same country or of
a neighbouring country as a "second language" for the
others. My suggestion is that all pupils should first
be well introduced to, i.e. have cognitive skills in,
their mother tongue. As "second language" should be
compulsory: (a) for those whose mother tongue is the
official language of the state or nation: another
language of the country; (b) for those whose mother
tongue is not the official language: this official
language itself; (c) for those whose mother tongue is
the language of a large group of immigrants (18): the
official language of the host country. The choice for
the third language could be left totally free (19). In
brief:

                  1.1:   Mother tongue.
                  1.2:   Official language or other
                         language of the country.
                  1.3:   Free choice.

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Example: in Spain, all children should first have
their education in their mother tongue (Castilian,
Catalan, Basque or Galician). For the non-Castilians,
the second compulsory language should be Castilian, as
this language is, known as Spanish, the official language
of Spain. For the Castilians themselves, the second
compulsory language should be one of the other languages
of the country (Catalan, Basque or Galician).

Another example: in the Soviet Union, all citizens
of the different republics would have to learn Russian -
which, of course, is the case already. But all the
citizens of the Russian Soviet Republic should have to
learn at least one of the languages of the other
republics - which is not the case as things stand.

A third example: in the United Kingdom, the Welsh,
the Scots or other minorities or members of large groups
of immigrants shoul< have English as a second (!) lan-
guage, whereas the English should have to learn one of
those languages as a compulsory second language.

A fourth example: the two and a half million in-
habitants of Togo are divided into forty-five ethnic.
groups. Amongst the almost as many languages, the most
common are Ewé and its "mina" variety, Kabyé and Kotokoli.
The solution for language teaching could be to teach the
mother tongue as first language to the pupils of each
ethnic group. The second compulsory language should be
the official language of the country, French. Consider-
ing that Ghana and Nigeria are neighbouring countries
("nearest partners") of Togo, English could be firmly
suggested as third language.

A final example: in Belgium, where there are three
official languages (Dutch, French and German), the com-

pulsory second language for the French-speaking children
should be Dutch or German; for the German-speaking
children; French or Dutch; for the Flemings: French or
German. Thus English should only be taught as a poss-
ible third language.

All these examples prove that the theoretical
framework can be applied to multilingual countries.
But what about really monolingual countries or
countries considered as such? The Federal Republic of
Germany could be an example of that kind. In this
case, the language of the "nearest partner" could be
the language of the neighbouring country or of the
people living at the other side of the border (as I
already pointed out for Togo). As a matter of fact,
an interesting experiment has been carried out along
the border with the Netherlands. In this region, the
Dutch language has been "offered" to the pupils of
the secondary schools ("Gymnasium"): the success of
this experiment exceeded expectations (20).

Some problems could arise in certain countries.
In the Netherlands, for instance, there is only one
other national language besides Dutch, namely Frisian,
spoken in a rather small part in the North of the
country. One could hardly require that all Dutchmen
should speak Frisian... In that case, the idea of
considering the language of a large group of immigrants
as compulsory in terms of a second language, e.g.
Arabic, Spanish, Portuguese, Turkish, Indonesian,
could be an excellent method of integrating the immi-
grants in the host country and of enriching the Dutch
people itself.

It seems to me that the proposed theoretical
framework, of course open for discussion and dispute,

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could help the political authorities of any nation to
avoid disadvantaging minorities, to introduce the so
necessary dialogue between the different components of
the nation and, thus, to strengthen national unity,
which is generally considered a necessity for survival.

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(1) *Less Taught Languages in Europe: Their Place in
     Education and Their Role*, Paris, UNESCO, s.d.
     (1980), p. 42. This Report gives also an
     excellent list of languages spoken in Europe
     (in the large sense adopted by UNESCO).
(2) Paris, Éditions Rencontre, 1978
(3) Pp. 56-7. My own, imperfect, translation:
     "Contrary to the monolinguistic, standardizing
     and restrictive logic, which has, until recently,
     inspired the linguistic politics of the nations
     or States, the starting point of a European action
     could not be but the acknowledgement of the variety
     and the multiplicity of linguistic and cultural
     occurrences within the European space. Be they
     official 'national' languages, so-called
     'regional' languages or languages of migrant
     workers, the objective should be the valorisation,
     without discrimination and without 'boundaries',
     of this considerable human capital".
(4) "Du multilinguisme au plurilinguisme", in JEAN-
     PIERRE VAN DETH and JEAN PUYO, *Statut et gestion
     des langues*. Actes du 2e colloque international
     "Langues et coopération européenne" (Paris,
     CIREEL, 1982), pp. 29-40.
(5) In a "multicultural" set, the cultures evolve next
     to each other:
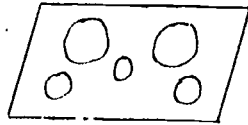
     In a "pluricultural" set, the cultures have mutual
     intersections:
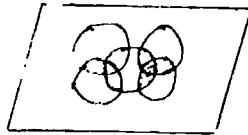
(6) Proceedings published in *Recherches sociologiques*,
     (Catholic University of Louvain, Louvain-la-Neuve,
     vol. XIV (1983), No. 1.
(7) French-speaking Belgian television and radio
     provide Dutch language courses under the title
     "Spreek met ons mee", which means "Talk with us".

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This title is assonantal with "Speel met ons mee", or "Play with us". In other words, "Let's work together".

(8) Cf. MARCEL DE GRÈVE, *La compétence réceptive: une solution éventuelle?* in *Recherches sociologiques*, Catholic University of Louvain, vol. XIV (1983), No. 1, pp. 59-73.

(9) Cf. MARCEL DE GRÈVE and FRANS VAN PASSEL, *Linguistique et enseignement des langues étrangères* (2nd edit., Paris, Nathan and Brussels, Labor, 1973), pp. 121-7.

(10) I borrow the phrase from the Acadian author Antonine Maillet.

(11) The 10th AIMAV Seminar has proved that knowledge (cognitive) of the mother tongue is necessary to acquire a foreign language. Cf. MARCEL DE GRÈVE and EDDY ROSSEEL (eds.), *Problèmes linguistiques des enfants de travailleurs migrants*. Brussels, AIMAV, 1977.

(12) Cf. my Report, for UNESCO, of my mission at the "Village du Benin" in Lomé (Togo). Ghent, AIMAV, 1985. Cf. also RAJA T. NASR, SEGUN ODUNUGA, EDDY ROSSEEL and CATHERINE YOUNG SILVA (eds.), *Language Learning and Cultural Identity*. Brussels & Sao Paulo, AIMAV, 1982.

(13) The following diagrams show the (rare but important) situations in which the learning of a second language is unfavourable (1L = mother tongue; 2L = second or foreign language; D = dominant (or "prestigious"); d = dominates; + = favourable learning; - = unfavourable learning; v = non exclusive disjunction):

```
a    1LD vs 2LD : +    e  1LD vs (2LD v 2L'D) : +
b    1LD vs 2Ld : +    f  1LD vs (2LD v 2L'd) : +
c    1Ld vs 2Ld : +    g  1LD vs (2Ld v 2L'D) : +
d    1Ld vs 2LD : -    h  1Ld vs (2Ld v 2L'd) : +
                       i  1Ld vs (2LD v 2L'D) : -
                       j  1Ld vs (2LD v 2L'd) : -
```

a : e.g. 1LD: French and 2LD: English in France.
b : e.g. French (1LD) and Arabic (2Ld) in France.
c : e.g. Spanish (1Ld) and Portuguese (2Ld) in U.S.A.
d : e.g. Basque (1Ld) and Spanish (2LD) in Spain.
e : e.g. .....

The fact that Francophone Canadians, especially in Quebec, react less well to the immersion technique than Anglophone Canadians (Cf. STAN SHAPSON, DAVID KAUFMAN and ELAINE DAY, *Evaluation Study of a Summer Immersion Programme for Secondary Students*, in *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural*

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Development, vol. 2 (1981), No. 1, pp. 65-81) is a
perfect illustration of the above mentioned diagrams.

(14) *Safeguarding Language in Schools, in Language and
Society,* No. 4 (1981) pp. 10-14; p.13.

(15) Helsinki, U.N.O., 1975.

(16) Cf. Section 4, item (d), § 1.

(17) I think that I should add here that I distinguish
Methodology, which I would define as the set of
theoretical knowledge necessary for the apprehen-
sion and the understanding of the processes of
learning, *Didactics,* deriving from the former, i.e.
the (epistemological) application of the theory to
the strategy of the teaching and learning of a certain
object, and *Pedagogy,* which refers directly to the
relationship between the teacher and the learner in
the learning process.

(18) The percentage corresponding to a "large group" of
immigrants has still to be made clear on the basis
of sociolinguistic parameters.

(19) Although I observe that English has become a necessary
international language for everybody, I do not think
one should impose the learning of English. The scale
of the spreading of this language through songs,
advertising, television, radio, etc. is such that one
does not have to worry about the dissemination of
the English language.

(20) Cf. PETER HUGO NELDE, "Language 'Contact Universals'
along the Germanic-Romanic Linguistic Border", in
*Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Develop-
ment,* vol. 2 (1981), No. 2, pp. 117-26.

SOCIO- AND PSYCHOLINGUISTIC INTERFERENCE
˙N TEACHING FOREIGN LANGUAGES

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Speech communication, conceived of as a community
of verbal and non-verbal components, of linguistic and
extralinguistic characteristics, carries abundant in-
formation about the participants in the act of speaking,
namely, age, education, professional and social status,
appurtenance to the male or female sex, national affil-
iation, etc. This explains the great interest shown in
the process of speech communication and in the investi-
gation of the various factors characterizing speech
communion as a complex and dynamic process. The develop-
ment of psycholinguistics, of sociolinguistics and of
pragmatics in recent decades has made it possible to
discover new parameters and levels of knowledge about
language, about its perception and functioning as a
means of communication. This fact points also to the
need of a new and complex approach in the investigation
of the factors accompanying and determining the character
of perception in foreign-language training. It is not
only the phonetic, the lexical-semantic and the syntactic
specificities which are significant in the process of
foreign-language training, but also the national and
cultural specificities of the language studied, the
social, cultural and professional competence of those
studying it, and a number of other factors. A number of
achievements from the field of psychology[1,2] may serve
as a theoretical basis in investigating and analysing
these factors.

Mankind has been developing its mental powers and
capacities throughout the millennia of its history,

and this fact is related to the problem of how the
individual accepts and assimilates the achievements
of the historical development of society. The human
psyche is formed not through the impact of "verbal
stimuli", but is the result of the process of assimilat-
ing the culture. Actual reality is cognized only in
the process of human activity directed toward that
reality, whereby "... language is the basic system of
auxiliary means of the psychic activity. The mastery
of the language reveals most clearly how the external
forms of the speech communication, transferred into
the internal place, become forms of speech behaviour".[3]
Consequently, the structure of the mental operations
is erected under the influence of external reality,
while the role of the language in this process is
reduced to the following: by replacing the individual
fragments of the internal operations, speech becomes a
symbolic activity, i.e. linguistic thinking. In this
manner language fixes specimens of external reality,
transformed into mental operations. Analysing the
interrelations between language and thinking, the
psychic development of the individual may be viewed as
"social development conditioned by the environment"[4],
while the psychic functions are interiorized relations
of a social order, a foundation for the social structure
of speech.

     The problem of the adequate perception, under-
standing and reproduction of linguistic models in the
process of speech communication (at its different levels
of realization) is one of the principal aspects of the
contemporary linguistic, sociolinguistic and psycho-
linguistic studies whose elucidation determines to a
large extent the most expedient functioning of the
various kinds of mass communications and the effective
teaching of the humanities.

The investigations into the different factors, which have a bearing and influence on the process of foreign-language teaching, are directly linked to the theoretical formulations already commented upon, while from the viewpoint of practical requirements they have been repeatedly the object of discussion and of experimental observations by a number of authors. Establishing the parameters of the national-culture specificities of the native language and their influence on the learning of the foreign language has been the object of numerous studies, among them the work done by Robert Chatel[5] on certain elements of speech etiquette in the Greek and English languages. In the words of the author,

> "Please" and "thank you" pose a problem for Greek
> learners of English because the words are often
> taught as "equivalent" to "στ παρακαλώ".
> In English it is quite difficult to be polite or
> to be considered polite if one does not say
> "thank you" in most situations in which a service
> is performed, or something is given or done for
> one ... In Greek politeness seems to be accomplished
> in many requests by intonation and paralinguistic
> features of the utterance ...

The problem of being acquainted with the country whose language is studied by a particular foreigner has been treated by Edgar Joycey:[6]

> How many teachers have had the opportunity to live
> in, not just visit, England? A quick look through
> the text will reveal that in many cases not only
> is a contact with the culture provided; it is
> necessary to know about the culture and way of
> life in order to understand the text. After all,
> much reading is to do with relating the text to
> the real world: the English world. Explanations
> are necessary, explanations which the teacher
> can't give.

In the context of the two publications mentioned above I would like to mention also the investigation by

Raija Markkanen[7], which makes an interesting contrast-
ive observation and comparison of the use of generally
accepted expressions in oriented speech in English and
Finnish; in the second place, the author quoted compares
how inserted phrases of the kind "I believe / you know"
are conveyed in Finnish - phrases that are frequent in
English and vary rare in Finnish. Markkanen defines
these inserted phrases as cases when the same pragmatic
functions can be grammaticized in different ways in the
different languages, and this signifies that the trad-
itional semantico-syntactic analysis is not sufficient.
In the publication quoted Markkanen compares also the
demonstrative pronouns 'this", "that" and "it" in
English with the Finnish "tämä", "tuo" and "se",
through which various aspects of the statement can be
decoded.   Demonstrative pronouns belong to the words
by means of which it is possible to establish connect-
ion between what has been said by the speaker and the
basic orientation centre of the statement, and the
comparative investigation undertaken points to the
broad amplitude of their functioning, the explanation
of which leaves the framework of grammar and pragmatics
and is closer to sociolinguistics and psycholinguistics.
This is particularly true of the cases when the demon-
strative pronouns carry a significant social and
emotional charge. In the last chapter of her monograph
R. Markkanen compares the use of "please" in the English
language to the "ole hyvä" which is sometimes accepted
as lexically grammatical equivalent in Finnish:

         Languages contain elements, words and phrases
         that do not render themselves to normal semantic
         and grammatical analysis but can be adequately
         described only through reference to their contexts
         of use, i.e. items such as "thank you", "all right",
         "OK" and "please". That this is the case is seen
         for example in the way dictionaries treat these

items: often they do not even attempt to des-
cribe their meanings but give examples of the
contexts in which they are used. Bilingual
dictionaries, however, sometimes also give
equivalents in the other language even when
there is only a partial functional correspond-
ence between the items, e.g. they might give
"ole hyvä" as the Finnish equivalent for
"please", although this information is partly
misleading. Yet, it is obvious that these items
play an important part in social interaction,...
Consequently, learning to use them correctly is
not insignificant for the foreign-language
learners, particularly since they might be mis-
led by the partial pragmatic equivalence between
the foreign expression and one in their mother
tongue.

The considerations adduced thus far, both from a
theoretical aspect and on a practical plane, indicate
that the process of mastering a foreign language is a
rather complex and multiplanar one, connected as it is
not only with the specificities - phonetic, lexical,
morphological and syntactic - of the language studied,
but also with the sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic
specificities of the native language of the learner,
which influence the process of assimilating the new
language. The interference of these specificities can
be examined and analysed at all levels of the linguistic
structure where it is possible to have impact and in-
fluence at which two types of interference[8] - real and
potential - can sometimes be determined. The real
interference leads to errors which largely depend on
the degree of mastery of the new language, on the in-
dividual feeling for the language, on the concrete
situation, etc. The potential interference could be
viewed as a system of errors which could be predicted
and prognosticated after comparative analysis at the
particular levels of the two linguistic systems - that
of the native language of the learner and the system of
the foreign language taught.

In our opinion, the cases of real and potential

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interference can be examined as linguistic, socio- and
psycholinguistic degrees on a scale of interference.
What do we mean by linguistic, socio- and psycholinguis-
tic interference?   We may examine as linguistic those
cases of influence which originate from the native lan-
guage and are apparent in the phonetics, morphology,
word-formation, syntax, punctuation, graphics, spelling
and stress or accent.   It should be expected that the
cases of linguistic interference are more extensive in
languages that are more akin to one another, i.e. when
the new language has essential similarities in its
linguistic structure with the native language of the
learner.   The socio- and psycholinguistic interference
could be interpreted as the influence of the following
factors:[9]

a.   Factors connected with the cultural tradition of
     the country of the foreign students (in terms of
     origin and relation to native language);
b.   Factors connected with the social status of the
     trainees;
c.   Factors originating from ethno-psycholinguistic
     specificities inherent in the various nationalities;
d.   Factors conditioned by the presence in the
     thesaurus of a given community of certain specific
     reactions, concepts, traditional images, compari-
     sons and symbols; and
e.   Factors originating from the system of kinetic
     means (facial expression, gestures) typical of
     each nationality.

     A study of these factors which give rise to a number
of influences in the process of assimilating the new lan-
guage, and later upon its use as a means of communication,
would make it possible to form a comprehensive idea
about the real and potential interferences.   This may

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turn out to be a major future task of pragmatics whose
place is still being sought somewhere between linguistics,
sociolinguistics, and psycholinguistics. In its capacity
as a continuation of hermeneutics and rhetoric, prag-
matics could be in a position to summarize - specially
for the purposes of foreign-language teaching - all
basic factors, particularly those of a socio- and psycho-
linguistic nature, which are extremely important stages
on a scale of the real and potential interferences. At
this juncture I would like to make a specific mention
of the views formulated by Geoffrey Leech[10], and shared
by the author, that the nature of a given language may
be understood only if we treat pragmatics as a study of
language in the process of its functioning as a means of
communication, and that the difference between pragmatics
and semantics lies in the different definitions by which
these two linguistic trends define meaning; in pragmatics
it is connected with the bearer of the language, whereas
in semantics meaning is defined only as a quality belong-
ing to a given expression, detached from the situation,
from the speaker and from the listener.

When pragmatics is examined from such an aspect,
the possibility is created of very close "cooperation"
with psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics for optim-
ization of the process of foreign-language teaching,
by clarifying the socio- and psycholinguistic factors of
interference in the perception of a foreign language.

With the exceptional facilities existing nowadays,
and by using various kinds of audio-visual and tele-
vision equipment, videotexts and computers, matched by
the achievements of the century-old philological and
linguistic investigations interpreted also in socio-
linguistic and psycholinguistic aspects, we could really

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speak of and implement a complex approach to the teach-
ing of language and culture in the process of foreign-
language teaching.

[1] Выготский Л.С. История развития высших психических функций. "Развитие высших психических функций", Москва, 1960, стр. 198. (L.S. Vygotskiy, *History of Development of Higher Psychic Functions*).

[2] Леонтьев А.Н. Об историческом подходе в изучении психики человека. "Психологическая наука в СССР", Москва, 1959, стр. 9–44. (A.N. Leontiev, *On the Historical Approach of Studying the Human Psyche*).

[3] Гальперин П.Я. К исследованию развития ребенка. Вопросы психологии, No.1, Москва, 1969, стр. 15–26 (P.Y. Galperin, *On the Study of Child Development*).

[4] L.S. Vygotskiy. op.cit.

[5] R. Chatel "Language Functions and Politeness in Greek and English", *Foreign Language Learning and Inter-Personal Tolerance and Understanding*. vol. 4. Thessaloniki, 1986. p.470

[6] E. Joycey "Reading the English Language or Reading the English People". *Foreign Language Learning and Inter-Personal Tolerance and Understanding*, vol. 4, *Thessaloniki* 1986. p.360

[7] R. Markkanen. "Cross-Language Studies in Pragmatics", *Juvaskyla Cross-Language Studies* No. 11 Juvaskyla 1985. p.87.

[8] Михневич А.Е. /ред./ Русский язык б Белоруссии. Минск, 1985, стр. 60–121. (A.E. Mihnevich (ed.) *Russian Language in Byelorussia*).

[9] Леонтьев А.А. Национальные особенности коммуникации как междисциплинарная проблема. Объем, задачи и методы этнопсихолингвистики. "Национально-культурная специфика речевого поведения". Москва, 1977, стр. 5 (A.A. Leontiev, "National Specificities of Communication as an Interdisciplinary Problem". Volume, *Objectives and Methods of Ethnopsycholinguistics*).

[10] G.H. Leech, *Principles of Pragmatics*, London, Longman, 1983.

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SATELLITE TELEVISION, NATIONAL TELEVISION AND VIDEO IN TEACHING/LEARNING LESS WIDELY TAUGHT LANGUAGES

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This paper analyses the need to teach/learn less widely taught languages and cultures in the world today and points out some ways of accomplishing the task. Special attention is given to satellite television, national television and video in the implementation of the teaching/learning process. The following theses are proposed:

1. Culturally-embedded relevant information generates motivation to teach/learn less widely taught languages, promotes growth of the individual and releases cross-cultural understanding.

2. Under *in vitro* conditions, the potential of television and video makes it possible to convey authentic culture-saturated information to supervised audiences, non-supervised audiences and to individual learners.

Recent decades witnessed the emergence of a positive phenomenon, i.e. a growing concern about the teaching and learning of foreign languages. However, this interest - mainly instrumental in character - was rarely associated with the development of cross-cultural awareness, let alone understanding. Pertinent to the subject of our consideration is the emergence of interest in the teaching and learning of the less widely taught languages of Europe. This new concern and the new development may prove to make a significant impact upon the peoples of Europe and of other continents.

First, let us take a close look at man's situation in the modern world. Man today does not seem to be

able to find his place in the world; he often does
not know where to drop his anchor. Living in a con-
stant stream of stimuli from the outside world of a
very high frequency and speed, man finds it more and
more difficult to adapt and to function meaningfuliy in
multiple, ever-changing life-contexts. Eventually, he
becomes alienated from society, is prone to stress and
comes to the point where he can no longer control him-
self or his activities.

A great deal is being said and written nowadays
about the rights of the individual, the child, the
learner. In the area of education, the teachers no
longer dwell on the top of the traditional pyramid;
the learner has taken over. It is a matter of general
observation and/or experience that the learner becomes
more and more sophisticated day by day. On the one
hand, he
- demands of the teacher a reasoned argument for
  his programme,
- expects the fulfilment of his cognitive needs,
- wants his affective requirements and aspirations
  to be satisfied,
- seeks self-actualisation and realisation of his
  unique personality.
On the other hand, the learner is not always aware of
the fact that he is not a helpless victim of the stimuli,
but a rational human being able to control processes of
the mind and to develop strategies which may influence
and change these processes.

As a consequence of the tremendous acceleration
and very high tempo of living, the learner does not
have enough time to think of and to develop his self-
concept, to realise or actualise it. Gradually, he

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arrives at this dangerous corner of present-day civil-
isation where individuals - even those moulded by the
same culture - find it difficult to communicate with
understanding. Not at all isolated are the cases where
there is a lack of willingness and receptiveness on
the part of the partners in the exchange. In some
cases, an emotional fog sets in, leading to the form-
ation of a psychic barrier; the partners become sus-
ceptible to the misinterpretation of their utterances
and to misunderstanding. There seem to be grounds to
hypothesise that many of the phenomena discussed above
are the result of the fact that man today, more often
than not, is rootless: either he does not know, or
does not want to know, or is not aware of his roots
and his cultural heritage.

There are many countries where, for various reasons,
historical, economic or others, languages other than the
official one are used by large or small communities. It
is a general observation that children in such communities
lack motivation to learn their parents' language and
refrain from using it even at home. By growing up with
the subconscious feeling that the language and culture
of their parents are something worse than the ones they
are submerged in, they become liable to developing
feelings of inferiority and an oppressed consciousness
which are a roadblock to the formation of one's self-
concept and personality.

Learners should find motivation to study the language
and the culture, both at home and at school. One might
expect that the old users of the language would motivate
the young to study and use it. But this is rarely the
case. In fact, the old do not always have the necessary
motivation. School teachers should constantly be aware
of the fact that by teaching the language, they, in
reality, teach the culture which the language conveys

and creates. At home, the learner should grow up in
the atmosphere of looking at the language as a means
of getting access to the cultural wealth of the com-
munity, of widening his horizon, of gaining an accurate
and broad perspective of life, of enriching his exper-
ience and acquiring a more profound understanding of
other cultures and peoples. Furthermore, the learner
needs to grow up to the awareness that knowing new
cultural values gives him an additional dimension to
perceive and co-create reality.

Each culture has produced certain values which
have unique significance for a given society. But,
there are also values generated by a given culture
which can enrich and contribute to the development of
other cultures and other communities. To mention but
a few, the unique love of wisdom and the intellectual
modesty of the Greek culture enriched us all, so did
the affirmation of life we owe to the Irish culture.
Thus, by inculcating into the learner's mind the idea
that he is not so much a language and culture taker as
a language and culture sharer and giver, we will pro-
tect the learner from developing feelings of inferior-
ity and we will contribute to his authentic growth as
an individual and as a social person. Awareness
and appreciation of his own culture will help the
learner in the formation of self-concept and, at the
same time, will help him find his place in the community
and in the world.

And now, how can we translate this speculative
message into "down-to-earth" pragmatics? In the
teaching/learning circuit, we need to consider the
learner, the teacher, the material, and the method. So
far, we have analysed the needs of the learner. The

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teacher's responsibility is quite "simple": among many
other things, he needs linguistic competence and fluency
in the respective cultures. And now, what about
materials? Observation of and visits to classrooms
tell us that languages are often taught/learned in a
cultural vacuum. Paradoxically, much is being said and
written about the significance of the cultural element
in the process of language acquisition. One is tempted
to say that not only an element, but a complex molecule
of culture with multiple ramifications, is needed to make
the process more efficient. Naturally, it is not possible
to expose the learner to the entire culture of the
community whose language he is studying. A judicious
selection needs to be made of the areas of culture that
should be given priority. In the designing and prepara-
tion of the teaching/learning materials it seems justified
to conduct the selection along the following lines:
-    phenomena which are unique to a given culture;
-    those which are universal to all cultures;
-    those which are similar in the respective cultures;
-    and those differing in the respective cultures.

    Thus, in the preparation of teaching/learning
materials and in the teaching of a less widely used
language and culture, it seems justified to start off
and give priority to phenomena which are unique to a
given culture. By doing so, we may hope to satisfy the
affective requirements of learners, to reduce the
affective filter and to strengthen their motivation.
Next, priority should be given to phenomena generated
by a given culture which are universal in character.
This, it can be assumed, will also contribute to the
development of the learner's motivation, interest and
affective-set for learning. The third priority should
be given to converging phenomena, i.e. to cultural
similarities. By making the learner aware of mutual

problems and sets of experiences shared by both cul-
tures, we may hope to reduce the barrier of strangeness,
improve motivation and receptiveness. Finally, the
points of cultural divergence should be considered.
With the knowledge of the phenomena and values dis-
cussed above, it will be easier for the learner to
develop cross-cultural awareness, understanding and
tolerance. He will learn to appreciate cultural and
linguistic diversity at home and elsewhere and will
achieve his full potential as a citizen of his country
and of the world.

An encouraging phenomenon about our present-day
civilization is that it does not only generate more
information and pose new problems, but it also creates
new possibilities to solve them. In education, we are
constantly being offered new media and new possibilities
to create authentic materials to implement the teaching/
learning process and make it more efficient. However,
in spite of what has been written and said in recent
decades about the modern, powerful media and materials,
their potential has not been adequately tapped so far.
What seems to be lacking is an overall philosophy and
motivation so that we all perform our tasks in a res-
ponsible way. By "us" I mean the learner, the teacher,
the curriculum planner, the designer, the producer and
the manufacturer of the teaching/learning material, the
research team, the educational authorities, and - last,
but not least - the general public. We all need a new
philosophy that would affect our rethinking, reorient-
ation and re-education; a new philosophy that would,
among other things, make us aware of the fact that
through knowing languages and cultures, we begin to
comprehend human experience and its significance.
Thus, our number one task is to work out such a philo-

osophy and to disseminate it across lands and cultures.

As far as the problem of disseminating information
and ideas is concerned, there are potential media to do
the job for us. Keeping in mind what Richard Sherrington
(1973) said,"Each technological resource will be used
only when it has a unique contribution to make to the
learning process", we reach for television. Because of
its potential, television is the most powerful and most
efficient means of communication. For the purpose of
disseminating information and ideas which concern us
all, i.e. emitting a kind of "common denominator"
programmes, satellite television should be employed.
National television could be called upon to perform the
job it can do best. First of all, it can reflect the
problems of a given society and play an integrative
role. It can provide language and culture teaching/
learning materials to teach as many languages and
cultures as there is a need for in a given society.
The programmes prepared for national television can be
used by supervised audiences, non-supervised audiences
as well as individual spectators. The potential of
television can be used to illustrate, diachronically
and synchronically, significant human experience and
how the language has been functioning and used for
understanding and communication. Care should be taken
to make linguistic and cultural television courses
available in properly organized conditions; first of all,
they should be accompanied by ramified, integrated
support materials.

Television is a tele-video technique which can
reach and satisfy the needs of wide circles of viewers.
However, for teaching/learning purposes, we need a medium
which can provide easy access and short distance inter-

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action. As we know, such media have been with us for some time now, for example, personal access computers and video discs. The potential and the capacity of both are immense. Among other things, e disc can remember hundreds and hundreds of programmes and lessons and the release of its potential is at the learner's finger tips. At the same time, a video disc 'lows for greater flexibility: it can be used with large audiences and by individual learners; it can be used to learn material previously acquired, to review material already discussed, to provide interactive practice, to expand vocabulary and structures, and to develop various language skills. Material requiring volumes of print can be recorded on a single video disc.

A task which calls for urgent solution in the context of teaching/learning less widely taught languages is the model of the T/L process. Various approaches, methods and techniques and many proposals have been put forward in recent decades. The best or the most efficient has not been found yet. Much theoretical and applied effort is needed in order to work out an approximation of an optimum model. Taking into consideration the needs of the learner, his aspirations and requirements as an individual and as a social person, it seems justified to suggest a humanistic/communicative model of teaching and learning less widely taught languages: the former would provide for the growth of the learner, the formation of his self-concept, his mind and personality; the latter would help the learner to relate to the outside world.

In this paper, we have touched upon the immersion of modern man and the learner in the contemporary world

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and analysed the need to learn less widely taught
languages and cultures in the light of the learners'
vital requirements. We placed satellite television,
national television and video at the centre of atten-
tion, pointing to the potential of these media as
vehicles for conveying the necessary philosophy and
authentic, relevant, culturally-significant materials;
the materials to teach/learn other languages and cul-
tures in order to achieve full potential as citizens
of our respective societies and of the world. This
symposium and its organizers who were able to get to-
gether a number of scholars from various European
countries will, let us hope, take steps which will be
instrumental in setting up working groups to initiate,
assist and co-ordinate the endeavours of many nations
and organizations in the area of teaching/learning the
less widely taught languages of Europe. The following
research areas should be considered:
-    working out a new philosophy leading to rethinking
     and re-education for the future;
-    designing and preparing an integrated use of
     materials, methods and techniques to be applied
     via satellite television, national television net-
     works and video;
-    setting up electronic and retrieval systems and
     making them available to handle information con-
     cerning FLT materials, methods, media and
     techniques;
-    initiating cross-cultural research projects into
     the teaching/learning of the less widely used
     languages of Europe.

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CAN THE GAP BETWEEN "LESSER USED" AND "LESS WIDELY TAUGHT" LANGUAGES BE BRIDGED? A STATUS CHALLENGE FOR IRISH

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Introduction and Background

Should the title of this paper, "Can the gap between "lesser used" and "less widely taught" languages be bridged? A status challenge for Irish", be considered somewhat unwieldy and its focus rather obscure, part of the reason lies in the circumspect phraseology which has been chosen by international bodies to refer to two kinds of languages, or more accurately, to two kinds of language communities to which Irish and Irish speakers are assigned. Irish seems to be alone among the tongues of Europe in being at once a "minority" language and a "national" language, in having a foot in both camps or categories, as it were. This paper aims to examine the special position of Irish from both perspectives, with a view to clarifying its national and international standing, and with a view to identifying shared concerns of language communities, big and small.

The term "lesser used language" has gained currency in the European Communities where it is employed as a more or less neutral circumlocution for "minority language", cf. the following comments on "Terminological Definitions" in a Communities' Document (European Communities - Commission 1986, p. 23):

> There is a very lively debate on the terms "minority", "minority language", etc. These terms are generally rejected by the minorities themselves: they consider them as evaluative terms, laden with disrespectful and negative connotations.... Uncertainties regarding these terms sometimes produce strange variations: the Bureau for Lesser Used Languages uses the expression

"lesser used language", in order to avoid any
negative impression.

The evolution of the term "less widely taught
languages of Europe" is somewhat convoluted. Essentially,
it refers in the first instance to all the national
languages of Europe, with the exception of what might
be called "the big four", i.e. English, French, German,
and Russian. Current UNESCO interest in these languages
derives from the concern of the Final Act of the 1975
Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in
Europe about

> encouraging the study of foreign languages and
> civilizations as an important means of expanding
> communication among peoples for their better
> acquaintance with the culture of each country,
> as well as for the strengthening of international
> co-operation

which led it to advocate

> the diversification of choice of languages taught
> at various levels, paying due attention to less
> widely-spread or studied languages.

However, the terminology employed in this general con-
text cannot be said to have yet become clearly formulated,
reference being made on different occasions to "the
teaching of less widely-spread European languages", to
"less widely used languages", to "teachers of languages
that are less widely used or studied in that region",
to "little taught or studied European languages", to
"the teaching and study of less-used European languages,
according to the list prepared by the participants at
the meeting". This latter meeting, organized by UNESCO
in Venice in May 1986, identified "the creation of an
international information and documentation centre on

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the teaching and didactics of European languages" as
"a pertinent objective". With regard to the list of
national languages enumerated at this conference the
following was said:

> A preliminary list was drawn up ..., and is
> attached as an annex, to the present recommend-
> ations. This work could later include other
> languages, as no European language either can
> or should be a-priori excluded from the fields
> to be covered.

This paper's concern with "minority" or "lesser used
languages" as well as national languages is accordingly
quite in keeping with the central areas of interest of
the UNESCO-backed movement which has given rise to our
own Dublin symposium on what is here being styled "the
less widely taught languages of Europe".

In an attempt to achieve clarity and to save time
I shall regularly refer to the four "widely used
languages" - English, French, German and Russian - as
"international languages", and use "national languages"
and "minority languages" as shorthand for "less widely
taught" national languages and "lesser used languages",
respectively.

Restricted National Languages

The Venice Consultation adverted primarily to the
fact that the national languages do not have facilities
for disseminating useful information to researchers and
teachers, and that this lack "hinders considerably the
diffusion of these languages, whatever their cultural
or political status may be". But practical inter-
national circumstances impose other restrictions on
these non-international languages, even where they are
afforded recognition. For example, the current position

in the European Communities is that there are nine
"official languages" and "working languages"
(*Official Journal of the European Communities*
15.11.1985, p. 242):

> 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.
>
> Regulations and other documents of general
> application shall be drafted in the nine official
> languages.
>
> The *Official Journal of the European Communities*
> shall be published in the nine official languages.

(We shall address the question of the international
status of Irish later.) While these articles imply that
all nine languages are equal, in practice it seems that
some are more equal than others. One suspects that
debate and discussion take place mostly in English and
French, that it is in these languages that decisions are
first formulated and agreed. The equal validity of the
other seven languages is essentially then that the
practice is to translate into them, although even here
it may well be that German and Italian have been enjoy-
ing a precedence over the other five languages. The
point I wish to make is that it seems that the recog-
nition accorded national languages other than the big
four international ones in international organizations
and at international gatherings is likely to become
increasingly passive and secondary, to be merely the
right to have end decisions translated into various
national languages.

At this stage it is relevant to cite as a case-
study the practice of the United Nations Secretariat
as investigated by Marie-Josée Jastrab (1984), of.

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In 1946, the original members adopted Resolution
2 (1) which established that two languages,
English and French, were to be used by the
Secretariat in servicing the principal organs
of the United Nations and in administering the
programs and policies laid down by them....
Subsequently four other languages were added as
the working languages of the General Assembly,
the Security Council and the Economic and Social
Council: Arabic, Chinese, Russian and Spanish.
The policy establishing bilingualism for the
Secretariat never changed. (p.7)

The actual position obtaining within the Secretariat
is summarized by Jastrab and worth quoting here:

English is predominant in all fields of activity.
The number of documents published at United Nations
Headquarters originating in English represents
abou⁺ 80% of the total amount of documents. However,
this percentage in itself does not give us a clear
picture of the state of bilingualism in the
Secretariat since it includes not only reports
written by Secretariat staff members but also
papers submitted to the Secretariat by govern-
ments. What this percentage indicates however
is the visible vitality of English. Fishman's
notion of *visible vitality* (1971:230) is a useful
measure to determine the extent to which languages
are actually employed natively for one or more
vital functions. French is in this respect some-
times referred to as a translation language with
approximately 10% of all United Nations documents
originating in French. The other four official
languages share the remaining 10%, with Spanish
being the most-used language within this group.
Documents published in French are often documents
translated from English into French. (p.21)

International organisations and gatherings therefore
clearly form one sociolinguistic domain in which the
international languages seem likely to consolidate their
position. Thus, representatives of language groups X,
Y and Z will employ English or Russian, or whatever, while
participating in the decision-making process, but the
end results will be available in languages X, Y and Z,

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as well as English or Russian. Perhaps even more
significantly - and ominously, bilateral communication
between language groups X and Y and Z will also usually
be via English or Russian. And this, it seems to me,
is the kind of tendency which the movement on behalf of
the less widely taught/used languages of Europe should
not merely implicitly, but also explicitly, set its
face against. In the absence of considered appraisal
of the problem by the affected restricted national
language communities, and more particularly, in the
absence of identified, relevant, realistic and struct-
ured roles for these second-tier languages, the big
four international languages seem set (i) to extend
the scope of their employment in international
communication and (ii) to impinge increasingly on the
national languages within their own borders - in fact
to expose them to pressures similar to those which
reduced Irish to the position of an insecure nat_ional
minority language and which now militate against its
rehabilitation. Examples in Western Europe come readily
to mind. Not only are the mass media of films and
television programmes dominated by Anglo-American
imports purchased by national stations, but the advent
of satellite transmission has seen the beaming of
English-language channels (Super and Sky) into homes
in something like 20 countries. Airline pilots have
long been priding themselves on their command of English
in commun'cating with passengers and airport control.
But the use of English at airports is steadily increas-
ing: it is used bilingually along with the "local"
national language on signs and in loud-speaker announce-
ments to travellers, while I have just recently noticed
its use - to the exclusion of the local national language
- on television screen monitors in Scandinavia at least,
where directions such as "Go to Gate 23" appear in

English only. Again, international business trans-
actions and, in particular, the affairs of Western
multinational corporations seem to be facilitating
and spreading the use of English especially, be it
by way of correspondence or telex messages, by
direct inter-personal conversation or by telephone.
This constant dealing with English for the inter-
national aspects of business is reinforced locally
by English-speaking computer technology and the
adoption of English as a lingua franca by the branches
of multinational companies, which have a work-force
of mixed nationalities. The net result of this type
of environment is the extension of the international
languages, mainly English, into domestic business,
where it is not really essential. It is essential
for a company's international dealings, which are
then facilitated by its being optionally used in
internal, domestic preparations for the international
dealings. This can lead to incongruous situations,
such as Dutch citizens being taken aback in their
own city of Amsterdam, when, on entering an office,
they are addressed by their compatriots in English
rather than in Dutch.

Linguistic Minorities
     The Document of the Commission of the European
Communities already referred to (European Communities -
Commission 1986) sets out on p.22 "'objective' and
'subjective' parameters" for characterizing linguistic
minorities. Among the objective parameters outlined

     the fact that a language is spoken which is
     genetically and structurally different from
     the language (or languages) used on an official
     level in the country to which the minority
     belongs;

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...

the fact that a minority has cultural, religious
or other traditions which are different from
those which are more widespread in the host
country;

...

the fact that a minority collectively claims
recognition for its linguistic, cultural,
administrative and political autonomy, to
various degrees and extent, in relation to
those of the majority of the host country.

...

While the subjective parameters include

the perception of a strong feeling of loyalty in
relation to one's own mother tongue, and to the
cultural, religious and other traditions which
this expresses;

the fact that one's own language and culture are
perceived as "other", that is to say, autonomous
and independent, in relation to the culture of
the majority of the country in which the minority
resides;

Of course, the Document concedes that "Each minority
will present these parameters in more or less complex
mixtures" (pp. 22-3). We shall see shortly just how
much the position of Irish diverges from the general
typology.

Time constraints and the focus of this symposium
preclude any detailed consideration of the particular
problems of minority languages. But, in general, one
may observe that these consist of languages, which
are relatively weak numerically within their State
boundaries and whose use is adversely affected by the
lack or inadequacy of State recognition. These dis-
advantages are in turn counterbalanced only by the
linguistic minority's sense of group solidarity. I

think it would not be rash to transfer this analysis
to the position of the restricted national languages
vis-à-vis the supra-national big four. These restricted
national languages are weak numerically when viewed
within the overall Continent of Europe perspective, and
more so within the shrinking global village context.
Indeed, it is certainly the global importance of
English, French and Russian (Spanish is - as yet - an
exception) which largely accounts for their predominance.
within Europe itself. The national language also lack
practical recognition; in their case this manifests
itself in the linguistic practices of international
organizations. But unlike most linguistic minorities
at risk, the national communities are either unaware
of the insidious threat to their linguistic stability
which confronts them or have hitherto failed to respond
meaningfully - at least prior to the UNESCO series of
gatherings of which we are part.

Community Use of Irish
    Turning now to the particular case of the Irish
language, we shall see that although the level of
actual community use of Irish places it in the minority
or lesser used category. the attitudes and aspirations
of a majority of the citizens of the Republic of Ireland,
cknowledging it as a national language, confer on Irish
a status to which most other minority languages can
scarcely asp re - although there may be some exceptions,
such as Welsh and Catalan. Importantly, official policy
affirms this majority attitudinal position in Ireland.
However, it will also be seen that this latter recog-
nition may have the weaknesses of being ambivalent and
not being pursued consequentially at an international
level.

    The latest available Census returns (for 1981) show

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that there were 58,026 speakers of the language in the
traditionally Irish-speaking or *Gaeltacht* areas,
mostly situated on the western sea-board. Whereas
these comprise only about 1.5% of the population of
the Republic of Ireland, a total of 1,018,413 persons
aged three years or over, that is 31.6% of the
population, were returned as "Irish speakers", with a
further 268,957 persons or 8.3% of the population
being recorded as able to read but not to speak Irish.
As Census statistics were the only general source of
information on competence in Irish available until
the 1970s, there were persistent doubts as to the
reliability of the picture which they conveyed. But
since the early 1970s the comprehensive application
of the empirical methodology of the social sciences to
sociolinguistic research has transformed our picture
of Ireland's bilingual state. Two country-wide surveys
allow a plausible correlation to be made with the
Census figures, so that it is possible to define more
closely the standard of language ability in Irish
being claimed by Census respondents. CLAR (1975, p.
129) employed a 16-level Guttman scale of conversat-
ional ability and found that the top 30% of its sample
included some 3% with "Native speaker ability", 10%
capable of "Most conversations" and 17% capable of
"Parts of conversations". CLAR (1975, p.129)
elaborates with respect to the 30% in question,
which is close to the 1971 Census figure of 28.3%
"Irish speakers":

> This would include some (10%-12%) people with
> only partial conversation skills, with some
> difficulty finding the right word, thinking
> quickly enough to keep pace with conversations,
> and some to much difficulty using the correct
> grammar etc.

For most people Irish is a second language, acquired
via the school system. With regard to public attitudes

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to Irish, CLAR (1975, p.28) amalgamated a large number
of questions in order to determine the "expressed
favourability (of Respondents) towards the Irish
language as a symbol of Ethnic or National Identity
and towards public efforts to guarantee its trans-
mission" and found that some 44% held positive attitudes,
21% held negative attitudes, while 35% were in more or
less neutral intermediate categories. The evidence of
Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1984, pp.4-15, 23-30) suggests
that the negative group may have since dwindled to
perhaps 15% or less. Both the 1973 and 1983 country-
wide surveys offered respondents the opportunity to
choose an ideal language situation by asking: "If
everyone in Ireland could speak English and Irish
equally well, which would you prefer: to speak English
only, Irish only or both?". In 1973 25% opted for
English only, 9% for Irish only and an overwhelming
majority of 66% for some form of bilingualism. By
1983 those opting for English only had declined to 18%,
while those favouring Irish only rose to 12%. Support
for the various bilingual preferences also rose, giving
a combined total of 70%. Finally, we may note that the
1983 survey indicates public support in the region of
75% for Irish language broadcasting on television, for
official use of Irish and for Government assistance for
voluntary organizations promoting the use of the Irish
language.

    One of the most useful services rendered by these
sociological surveys has been to complement their
information on Irish language ability and attitudes
with a profile of actual societal use of the language.
Of course, it has to be borne in mind that the inform-
ation as to use is also of the self-report type, and
not the result of objective observation and measure-
ment of linguistic interaction. Outside the traditionally

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Irish-speaking districts the levels of use of Irish
are actually quite low. In 1983 18% of respondents
reported that they had used Irish "Often" or "Several
times" in conversation since leaving school, with only
5% saying that they had written Irish. Home use of
Irish "Often/Always" was reported by 5% in 1983, while
6% spoke Irish at work "At least weekly/Less than
weekly" in 1983.

Statements of Official Policy

The 1937 Constitution had stated in Article 8:

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.

The 1956 legislation establishing a separate Govern-
ment department for the Irish-speaking districts gave
expression to the State's dual objectives of preserving
Irish where it was still spoken as the vernacular and of
extending its use to other parts of the country, as well
as stating explicitly the State's overall linguistic aim:

It shall be the function of the Department of the
Gaeltacht to promote the cultural, social and
economic welfare of the Gaeltacht; to encourage
the preservation and extension of the use of Irish
as a vernacular language; and, to such extent as
may be necessary or appropriate to consult and
advise with other Departments of State in respect
of services administered by such Departments of
State which affect the cultural, social or
economic welfare of the Gaeltacht or which concern
the national aim of restoring the national language.

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Section 17 of The Broadcasting Authority Act of 1960
contained similar wording:

> In performing its functions, the Authority shall
> bear constantly in mind the national aims of
> restoring the Irish language and preserving and
> developing the national culture ...

Although this official language policy of "restor-
ation" was often popularly interpreted as entailing
the replacement of English by Irish, it is ironic that
no less a body than the Government constituted Commiss-
ion on the Revival of Irish which sat from 1958 to 1963,
should itself have felt impelled to comment on the term
"Revival" in its Introduction to its Final Report:

> Our terms of reference did not give any explan-
> ation of the extent or meaning of the Revival,
> that is, they did not set out the position which
> it is thought Irish will have when the Revival
> has been accomplished.

The Commission proceeded:

> What we understand by the Revival is that the people
> of Ireland shall again have the language as a normal
> medium of communication and intercourse. That is
> the aim which the Irish Language Movement has had
> since its inception and which the political move-
> ment which sprang from it has had, and that is the
> aim with regard to the language had by every
> native Government there has been since the found-
> ation of the State.

The fact that the Commission felt it incumbent on itself
to restate in 1964 what had until then been received
Government language policy is probably indicative of a
certain underlying disquiet on their part as to the
steadfastness of official thinking on the language quest-
ion. Nevertheless, the Government White Paper on *The
Restoration of the Irish Language*, presented to both
Houses of the Oireachtas or Irish Parliament in 1965 did

in fact re-affirm State policy in this regard:

> The national aim is to restore the Irish language
> as a general medium of communication.

But whereas the 1964 Report of The Commission on the
Revival of Irish had sought to subordinate the consid-
erable effort involved in restoring the language to the
ultimate general goal, the 1965 White Paper gives the
first tentative indication of official rethinking on
the matter. For no sooner has it stated the national
language aim than it proceeds to stress that it is a
longer term objective:

> This aim will necessarily take much time and effort
> to achieve ...

and that a practical plan of action is required:

> Objectives will be set which are reasonable and
> realisable but which fix no boundary to progress.

One may note in passing that The White Paper on the
Restoration of the Irish Language also devotes attention
to the importance of English in Ireland. By 1971 a
later official advisory council, Comhairle na Gaeilge,
was stressing this secondary aspect of objectives in
Towards a Language Policy, saying

> it is appropriate at this stage to direct all
> available effort and resources towards a bi-
> lingual objective

while acknowledging that

> An Chomhairle's main task is to advise the
> Government on how the Irish language can be
> restored as a general medium of communication.

By the following year, when Comhairle na Gaeilge pro-
duced another volume with the firmer title of
Implementing a Language Policy, the actual aim,
ironically enough, had become rather nebulous. It
was felt that Irish people, on the one hand

> would recognise the use of and continuing develop-
> ment of the Irish language to be one of the
> essential elements in preserving their individ-
> uality and distinctiveness as a people

but at the same time

> the great majority of Irish people of today value,
> and would not wish to lose, proficiency in the use
> of the English language.

And so Comhairle na Gaeilge concludes:

> We, therefore, take it to be the aim of language
> policy in Ireland to attain a situation which
> would harmonise these two sets of values. Of
> necessity, this must be a bilingual situation,
> the form and extent of which will change with
> time.

What in retrospect may be seen as a significant
pointer to Governmental attitudes to the theoretical
and actual position of the Irish language is the
status sought for it – and none too openly accorded it
– on the Republic of Ireland's accession to the
European Economic Community in 1973. In the continued
absence of detailed public documentation on the matter,
the fullest information available is apparently that
contained in a letter dated 29.5.1973 from the
Department of the Taoiseach (Prime Minister) to the
leading Irish language organisation, Conradh na
Gaeilge (The Gaelic League). This letter, published
and discussed by S. MacMathúna (1979) in *Feasta*,

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explains that the Irish Government wished that the pre-
eminent position accorded Irish in the national constit-
ution be appropriately and positively acknowledged in
the language provisions being then drawn up for the
extended Communities. The Irish Government thought
that the appropriate way to achieve this would be for
Irish to become an official language of the Communities.
However, in view of the "great difficulties" pertaining
to the translation of all the EEC's instruments into
Irish, the Government only intended that Irish be used
to provide an authoritative translation of the Treaty
of Accession and to prepare official texts of the
treaties already in existence. This request of the
Irish Department of External Affairs was agreed to by
the Community Delegation at a meeting held on 15.10.1972.
But in fact Irish is not referred to at all in the
various amendments to Regulation No. 1 of 15.4.1958,
under Article 217 of the Treaty of Rome, which sets
out the official and working languages of the EEC.
The Government letter to the Gaelic League already
quoted goes on to make it clear that certain Member
States of the Community were unwilling to risk any
diminution in the status of their own languages vis-à-
vis others by the explicit creation of a new, clearly
second-level category of "official, but not working
language". Finally, the letter stated that it was
known that the Community intended to employ staff to
reply to correspondence in Irish. On the other hand,
it is to be noted that Irish has equal status with the
EEC's official and working languages as a procedural
language in the European Court of Justice. It would
seem that the reason Irish received this recognition
was simply that it was officially requested - and that
it did not necessarily entail any immediate, practical
commitment! Nonetheless, it is worth remarking that
all references to this court emanating from Ireland have

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been in English and that the Court lacks both trans-
lators and interpreters competent in the Irish
language. So the main Brussels arrangement which
the Irish Government sought was one which would have
replicated many a Dublin formulation, whereby Irish
is accorded apparent status, but effectively circum-
scribed in its use. In the event not even this
symbolic recognition was forthcoming. Ironically
enough, no attempt has been made to avail of the full
validity which Irish enjoys in the European Court. In
sum then, the exceedingly restricted recognition sought
for and accorded Irish within the broader, international
framework of Western Europe may justifiably be inter-
preted as tacit official acceptance by the authorities
in Ireland of the linguistic status quo obtaining in
the country, that is to say, by 1973 the bilingual
situation in which Irish is very much the minority
language was accepted as being likely to persist into
the foreseeable future: the highest official circles
had evidently reconciled themselves to the prospect of
no great extension in the use of the Irish language.

However, the marginalisation of the role of Irish
in the overall context of official thinking on contem-
porary Irish life is perhaps most obvious when the
language provision of the 1960 Broadcasting Authority
Act, already quoted, is set against its successor in
the 1976 Broadcasting Authority (Amendment) Act, Section
13:

> In performing its functions the Authority shall
> in its programming (a) be responsive to the
> interests and concerns of the whole community,
> be mindful of the need for understanding and
> peace within the whole island of Ireland, ensure
> that the programmes reflect the varied elements
> which make up the culture of the people of the
> whole island of Ireland, and have special regard
> for the elements which distinguish that culture
> and in particular for the Irish language.

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The State's own constitutional assertion of the primacy of the Irish language as "the first official language" has remained almost entirely without practical effect for want of specific enabling legal enactments. Current State objectives are probably best ascertained from the Parliamentary Bills which established two important new semi-State institutions, Bord na Gaeilge and Údarás na Gaeltachta. Bord na Gaeilge (The Board for Irish) on which specific responsibility for promoting the extended use of Irish throughout the State has been devolved, was constituted by a 1978 Act to undertake the following:

> The Board shall promote the Irish language and, in particular, its use as a living 'anguage and as an ordinary means of communication.

Údarás na Gaeltachta (The Gaeltacht Authority), charged primarily with furthering the economic and social development of the traditionally Irish-speaking districts, and thus with preserving the language, has the following enjoined on it by its 1979 establishing Act:

> An tÚdarás shall encourage the preservation and extension of the use of the Irish language as the principal medium of communication in the Gaeltacht and shall ensure that Irish is used to the greatest extent possible in the performance by it and on its behalf of its functions.

A new interpretation of the general aim with regard to Irish was expressed in the 1980 *White Paper on Educational Development*:

> The national aim is to restore Irish as a means of communication so that the population of the country will be truly bilingual.

It will be noted too that the schools were envisaged
in this document as having a disarmingly modest role
in relation to even this diluted objective:

> Although the educational system alone cannot
> achieve this aim, it obviously has an important
> role to play in the preservation of the language.

One of the latest official publications dealing with
general language policy is the 1985 *Language in the
Curriculum* discussion paper of the Curriculum and
Examinations Board. It summarizes the position of
Irish as follows:

> Irish has a unique position in the nation and in
> our schools. It is enshrined in our constitution
> as the first official language of the State, it
> is the mother-tongue of some Irish citizens,
> including school pupils, and an important aspect
> of the cultural identity of all Irish citizens.

Despite the comprehensive and sympathetic treatment of
the Irish language in the portions of the discussion
paper specifically devoted to its consideration, it
must be stated that the question of Irish, previously
of central concern in the Irish education system, seems
rather extraneous to the main thrust both of this document
on language and that of the other discussion papers which
have emanated from the Curriculum and Examinations
Board. For instance, the Chairman of this body, in
his foreword to *Language in the Curriculum*, makes just
one reference to Irish and that as a mother-tongue,
which of course is not her strong point. Instead, Dr.
Walsh places his emphasis on mother-tongue education in
general and on the acquisition of various foreign
languages, such as the modern Continental languages,
as well as Russian and Japanese, in the interests of
career opportunities.

Finally, in this section of the paper on Government language policy, we may note the setting up in 1984 by the two houses of Parliament of a Joint Committee on the Irish Language, to

> review and make recommendations in relation to:
> (a) the extension of the use of Irish in the
> proceedings of the Dáil (Lower House of Parliament) and Seanad (Upper House of Parliament)
> and in the environs of both Houses, and (b) the
> promotion of the Irish language in general.

This latter formulation would seem to mark the culmination of the passage of the State language policy from the specific aim of re-establishing Irish as the country's main spoken language, through a stage of identifying intermediate objectives of bilingualism, to an acceptance of bilingualism as a sufficient aim in itself, to this 1984 reversion to a less clearly defined aim of general promotion of the Irish language. However, the aspiration of the Gaelic League's constitution may be taken as a contemporary statement of the traditional aim of the voluntary language movement in Ireland: it speaks of fostering a free and Gaelic National Community, especially by bringing about the establishment of Irish as the usual language of the people of all of Ireland.

The analysis of the position of Irish in the European Economic Community which I have outlined here is essentially one which I have been carrying out over the past six months. However, in preparation for this address to the Symposium on the Less Widely Taught Languages of Europe, I entered into correspondence with the Dublin Office, Commission of the European Communities, seeking clarification of the current status of Irish. As it turns out, the Dublin Office communicated little which would require modification of the fore-

going: in point of fact they actually referred me to the
same *Feasta* article, already extensively quoted from!
The communications I have received from the Dublin Office
state:

> The Irish language has a special status.... It
> is recognised as the official language of a
> Member State and all primary legislation is
> translated into Irish. It may also be used as
> a working language in the Court of Justice.
> (2.2.87)

and:

> ... the inference to be drawn from the documents
> we have already sent you is that Irish is an
> official language of a member state and that it
> has special status. (23.3.87)

But in fact this correspondence and the documents re-
ferred to, which detail the Communities' official and
working languages, do not include Irish as either an
official or a working language. The only explicit recog-
nition accorded Irish in EEC documentation is the right
to have Irish used to draw up the texts of the Treaties
establishing the various Communities and the Treaties
amending or supplementing them, and the fact that these
Irish-language texts enjoy equal validity with the
texts in the official and working languages.

The elusive - if not illusory - nature of this
"special status" of Irish is tellingly apparent from
the complete absence of any explicit mention of it in
the Resolution (No. C 292/96) on the multilingualism
of the European Community, adopted by the European
Parliament and published in the *Official Journal of
the European Communities*, 8.11.82 (= *Multilingua* 3-1
(1984) 37-8):

*Resolution on the multilingualism of the
European Community*

The European Parliament
- having regard to Article 217 of the EEC Treaty,
- having regard to Articles 1 and 6 of Council
Regulation No. 1 of 15 April 1958 as amended by
the 1972 and 1979 Acts of Accession,
- having regard to Rule 61 of its Rules of
Procedure,
- having regard to the report of the Committee
on the Rules of Procedure and Petitions and the
opinions of the Political Affairs Committee and
the Committee on Youth, Culture, Education, In-
formation and Sport (Doc. 1-306/82),
A.   whereas any limitation of the number of
languages used by the European Parliament would
interfere with the democratic nature of
Parliament,
B.   whereas discrimination against certain
languages in favour of others in the European
Parliament would be an infringement of the
democratic voting rights of Community citizens
as they should be able to elect their represent-
atives exclusively on the basis of political
criteria and of who will best represent their
interests, without any additional linguistic
criteria being laid down,
C.   whereas all Members of Parliament are
entitled to equal treatment irrespective of their
active or passive knowledge of languages,
D.   whereas, although the costs entailed by the
multilingualism of the Community are considerable,
they nevertheless represent only about 2% of the
Community's total budget,
1.   Unequivocally affirms that the official
languages and the working languages of the
Community institutions are Danish, Dutch, English,
French, German, Greek and Italian;
2.   Confirms the rule that there is to be absolute
equality between the Community languages, whether
used actively or passively, in writing or orally,
at all meetings of Parliament and its bodies;
3.   Supports any measure to speed up its work and
to effect savings in connection with the Community's
language arrangements, provided such measures are
compatible with the principle that all the languages
have equal status;
4.   Urges, in particular, continued research into
machine translation systems and other technological
possibilities which may reduce costs;

5. Instructs its President to forward this
resolution to the Commission and the Council.

Failure to secure Irish, at once a minority and a
national language, meaningful international recognition
may have been facilitated by (i) the internal and exter-
nal perception of Irish usage as being numerically weak
and operating in limited spheres, with consequent clear
differentiation between it and all other languages
accorded "official and working" status in the EEC, and
(ii) the want of international institutionalizing of
multi-tier language recognition. At present it is a
case of "all" or "nothing". But the desire for the
prestige of apparent "absolute equality" between the
languages in the "all" category is such that the
essentially translation function of the majority of
these national languages is seldom adverted to openly.

Irish then has so far failed to bridge the gap
between "lesser used" and "less widely taught" lan-
guages. It has failed to achieve official and working
status in the European Communities, although it does
have the tce-hold of being used in the provision of
valid translation texts of Accession Treaties. It has
also failed to achieve explicit recognition from the
European Parliament. Although it has achieved equal
status with the EEC's official and working languages
as a procedural language in the European Court of
Justice at a theoretical level, it has failed to
achieve any practical implementati n of this status.

The case-history of Irish therefore offers little
by way of encouragement to other minority or lesser
used language communities aspiring to some international
recognition of their existence. However, the UNESCO
movement in which we are participating may well provide a

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new opening out of the cul-de-sac in which such languages
find themselves. Information pooling is obviously a
basic prerequisite of any progress. But above all, what
seem to be needed are new perceptions and new definings
of meaningful cultural and administrative roles for the
less widely used national languages. In the absence of
appropriate insights and initiatives their passive
translation function is obscuring the actual active
domination of a few tongues in international communi-
cation. More alarmingly, the present situation allows
the erosion of national language functions even within
national boundaries. Most discouraging of all, it
allows the same few dominant languages to act as con-
duits, in the linking of the national peoples, one to
another. The status challenge for Irish and all the
restricted national languages is to self-confidently
identify cultural and administrative spheres appro-
priate to each language community. These communities
should work together and establish the national and
international frameworks and networks which they
require, giving particular attention to bilateral and
multilateral programmes of exchange and translation.
The political and cultural importance of the supra-
national languages is not to be denied them. But
neither should a complacent laissez-faire attitude
allow them to adversely affect weaker linguistic
communities. The cultural well-being of the individ-
ual citizens and manifold communities of Europe demands
otherwise. It demands that the challenge to provide
them with linguistic opportunities to function to
their optimal ability be acknowledged, met, and over-
come.

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DUTCH, THE LANGUAGE OF 20,000,000

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Every attempt to stress and strengthen the multi-
lingual aspect of our European continent, every attempt
to increase our young people's awareness of the great
cultural wealth which knowledge of important less wide-
ly taught languages can bring, seems pointless against
economic and political power. For he who has this
power will always impose his language on the others.
Language policy is a policy of rulers. All arguments
about "rich" languages, "beautiful" languages, "logical"
languages, "highly cultural" languages, etc., are com-
pletely meaningless: the language of the powerful will
also be the richest language, the most logical, the most
cultural; and the subdued and the subordinate should be
glad to be compelled to learn it. The language of the
powerful can be either a minority or a majority langu-
age. It will never be a less widely taught language.
People are attracted to the powerful and they try to
identify with them as much as they can. This explains
why certain languages are so successful the world over.

So what arguments are there that may incite us to
learn languages, apart from the fact that some langu-
ages are part of the curriculum? First and foremost,
we learn languages for communicative purposes, to be
able to talk to and exchange ideas with people who
speak a different language. Then, for economic pur-
poses, to be able to negotiate with foreigners, and
because we hope to improve our economic position.
Finally, for social purposes too: knowledge of for-
eign languages is proof that we belong to an intell-
ectual elite, a bit like playing the piano, as long as

it does not sound too professional.

If it is demand on the part of the students that
determines which languages will be taught, then, when
we are dealing with a language which we describe as a
LWTL, I cannot but wonder why this particular language
is less widely taught. Those who call for greater and
better teaching of LWTL do have very good arguments,
mainly moral arguments, concerning European cooperat-
ion and understanding through increased knowledge of
European languages and culture, cultural arguments re-
lated to the rich past and the promising future of the
old continent, even exotic arguments which bring the
attraction of foreign countries in line with the lan-
guages spoken there. There may also be less praise-
worthy arguments, such as the need to bluff in society,
to show that one is special by virtue of speaking a
few words of Dutch in Poland, or a few words of Turk-
ish in Holland, or maybe by deciphering a Greek in-
scription, for example. Let's hope that the mission-
aries of LWTL will be able to convert language
heathens. And let's be careful about providing them
with sufficient support whenever it is needed to in-
crease awareness.

Every missionary will obviously preach for his
own mission and I am expected to do so for Dutch. The
title of my paper is borrowed from a publication of the
Flemish-Dutch Foundation, *Ons Erfdeel*, which provides
excellent information on the history of the Dutch lan-
guage. I chose this title because it reflects in my
opinion some of the feelings that many native speakers
of LWTL have in common, i.e. feelings of impotence and
frustration: we feel that we are not getting our due
share, that we are being deprived of the position we
are entitled to at international level; we feel that

our language is more important than others may think;
we explain that by what we call a lack of information
concerning our language and the people who speak it;
and we desperately want to increase this information.

Twenty million Dutch speakers is a lot of people
(compared with languages such as Luxemburgian, Danish
or Swedish) and twenty million people is not a lot at
all (compared with German, English and French). So,
Dutch is situated somewhere in between two groups of
languages, one which brings you in contact with a large
number of Europeans, and the other which is no strong
currency beyond its own borders. Within the family of
Indo-Europer· languages, Dutch constitutes, together
with English and German, the group of West-Germanic
dialects. The place of Dutch is half-way between Ger-
man and English. This can be demonstrated through a
number of linguistic features:

the ending of the infinitive:
     German   :   hören
     Dutch   :   hore(n)
     English   :   hear

the present tense:
     German   :   höre, hörst, h..rt, hören (4 forms)
     Dutch   :   hoor, hoort, hore(n) (3 forms)
     English   :   hear, hears (2 forms)

the definite artic'e:
     German   :   der, die, das
     Dutch   :   de, het
     English   ·   the

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the inflection of the adjective:

    German   :   -e, -en, -er, ...
    Dutch   :   -e
    English :   -

Dutch can be geolinguistically defined as the
usual language in the Netherlands (with 14 million in-
habitants) and in the northern half of Belgium (6 mill-
ion inhabitants), with two exceptions: in the north,
Frisian is spoken as the official language, and in the
south, in Brussels, there is a majority of French speak-
ers. Outside Europe, Dutch is spoken in the Antilles
and traces of the language remain in Indonesia. Final-
ly, Dutch also gave rise to the only Germanic language
which is exclusively spoken outside Europe, namely Afri-
kaans, which 50 years ago replaced Dutch as one of the
official languages of the Republic of South Africa.

The geographical spread of the Dutch language over
mainly two countries, the Netherlands and Belgium, has
given rise over the years to a number of misunderstand-
ings and difficulties. To mention but a few:

a.   the idea that there are two different languages,
     one spoken north of the political border between
     the Netherlands and Belgium, and the other spoken
     south of the border;

b.   the use of the word "Holland" meaning the whole
     country (whereas in fact Holland is only one
     province of the Netherlands) and the use of the
     word "Flanders" for the Dutch-speaking part of
     Belgium (whereas Flanders is in fact only two
     provinces of that region);

c.   the use of two different spelling systems (until
     1946) in the Netherlands and in Belgium, which
     reinforced previous misunderstandings.

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Since 1946 the cultural integration of the Neth-
erlands and Belgium has been actively promoted by
various official and private initiatives. The latest
initiative in that respect has been the creation in
1980 of the "Dutch Language Union" by the two govern-
ments. The Dutch Language Union is founded on the
unity of the language spoken and written in the Neth-
erlands and in the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium.
The Dutch language is recognised as an element crucial
to the life of both countries, and to cooperation be-
tween them. Therefore, the aim of the Language Union
centres on cooperation for the development of the
Dutch language, its prestige, its influence abroad, its
general dissemination. Work concentrates on a common
terminology for legislation and official publications,
and on the practical organization of courses in the
Dutch language, literature and culture abroad.

The Dutch language is part of the curriculum in
about 200 universities abroad, in 30 different count-
ries. In Europe alone there are about 100 universities
concerned, of which 25 are in Germany, 13 in the UK, 10
in Italy, 6 in Poland. Furthermore, almost all Europ-
ean countries are represented in the list of Dutch
Chairs abroad (among these countries are Bulgaria,
Denmark, Finland, Hungary, Norway, Austria, Portugal,
Rumania, Spain, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and Switzer-
land).

On the part of those concerned wi   the teaching
of Dutch abroad, there has in the past een consider-
able demand for an officially recognised Dutch examin-
ation for non-native Dutch speakers. This proposal
was supported ten years ago by the Belgian and Neth-
erlandic governments and a "Certificate of Dutch as a
Foreign Language" was officially introduced in 1977.

The Language Union Treaty in 1980 confirmed and streng-
thened the official status of the certificate: the
Treaty states that "both governments agree upon common
norms of testing for the common awarding of the cert-
ificate". This "Certificate of Dutch as a Foreign
Language" is a unit-credit certificate scheme which
enables learners of Dutch to acquire separate certif-
icates on three different levels for the four skills.
The examinations of the Certificate of Dutch are long-
distance examinations in that they are prepared and
corrected by a central examiners' board and adminis-
tered by local examiners. The scientific and organ-
izational aspects of the project have been entrusted
to a Dutch-Belgian team, based in the Université Cath-
olique de Louvain in Louvain-la-Neuve. From Louvain-
la-Neuve the exam papers are sent to the examiners. As
a rule, the examiners are Professors of Dutch abroad.
The examiners all receive the same assignments and send
the candidates' copies back to Louvain-la-Neuve where
the decision as to the awarding of certificates is
taken. In this way, an international unity for the a-
warding of the certificate can be reached, and it does
not matter therefore whether the applicant takes the
examination in Paris, Berlin or Pennsylvania.

Belgium and the Netherlands being members of the
European Community, in the Institutions of that Comm-
unity (the European Parliament, the Council of Minis-
ters, the European Commission and the Court of Justice),
Dutch is considered an official language and is used
as a working language. Recognition as an official lan-
guage implies that all documents addressed to Dutch
speakers by the European Institutions are in Dutch. Re-
cognition as a working language implies that Dutch can
be used within the European Institutions and also in all

contacts with the outside. Government representatives
and experts may therefore, if they choose to, use Dutch
in meetings, and official reports will also be in Dutch.

Anyone who tries to assess the number of people
involved in one way or another in translating and in-
terpreting will arrive at the conclusion that many of
the people employed by the European Institutions earn
their living through European multilingualism. Some
will therefore be found to devote a lot of time and
effort trying to limit in one way or another the number
of languages used. The aim of all this time and effort
is perhaps to save the taxpayers' money; it may, however,
also be inspired by nationalist considerations, since whoever
can use his mother tongue in negotiations most certainly
has a distinct advantage over those who can't; it may
even be inspired by sombre political motivations. To
quote European Member of Parliament, Pol Marck, on that
subject (in *Europa van Morgen*, 28.1.1987):

> I too realize what translating and interpreting
> represent in terms of cost for the European Parl-
> iament, but I consider this as unavoidable. A
> representative in the European Parliament is not
> chosen for his knowledge of languages, but for
> other reasons. Should a European M.P. only know
> one language, then he should be able to carry
> out his work in the only language he knows. Ob-
> viously someone like that would be at a disadvan-
> tage, but I should like to point out that those
> who present the most shortcomings in this respect
> are the representatives of the major language
> groups. Multilingualism is a feature most en-
> countered in the less important language groups.
> If the attitude is: anyone who speaks a world
> language does not need to speak any other, then
> what we are doing is discriminating.

In my opinion the money spent on translating and
interpreting in Europe is probably the best spent money

in the whole European Community. It is the only way
of avoiding linguistic discrimination, frustration,
hostility and hatred, which could certainly cause
Europe to crack very quickly, notwithstanding any
economic advantage the Community might offer. Europe
has no use for a Council, a Commission and a Parlia-
ment that discriminate between European groups. Our
European ministers are well aware of this. No one
can impose one or two languages on the whole of Europe,
without at the same time lighting the fuse that in a
very short time would cause the whole of Europe to ex-
plode. We must prepare all Europeans to live in a
larger community where all are respected, where many
different languages are spoken, and where feelings of
superiority with respect to other Europeans have no
place.

But then a serious European language policy must
be set up.

> Foreign Language teaching at present fails to
> meet the requirements it is appropriate for, in
> probably every country of the European Commun-
> ity. The constantly increasing bias towards and
> concentration on English is prejudicial to Euro-
> pean unity, as most young people learn only of
> English-speaking society as a counterweight to
> that of their native language community, thus
> misunderstanding the diversity of Europe within
> these limited experiences. The objectives of
> foreign language teaching must be set in such a
> way that the material taught promotes mutual
> understanding and enables the student to exper-
> ience the cultural unity and diversity of
> Europe. (Franz Josef Zapp, President of the
> Modern Language Association of the FRG in 1979).

Therefore, I would suggest the following princi-
ples for a language policy in and for Europe:
a. Language for *Educational Purposes* (LEP) must be
   the mother tongue of the young Europeans;

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b. One Language for *Communicative Purposes* (LCP)
    for international communication, to choose from
    a group including German, English, French ...
    and why not Esperanto;

c. An initiation in many different European lan-
    guages (LMU), Language for *Mutual Understanding*,
    of which the aim would be to provide insight in-
    to the diversity of the component parts of Euro-
    pean culture, fostering mutual understanding and
    more sympathy for speakers of other languages.

This proposal might create the impression that I
am trying to conjure up the old image of "le gentil-
homme". The impression is correct. The concept of
"cultural initiation" should, however, be seen in a
much broader context than mere introduction to the
history of the people and its literature. It is the
present that is important, not how speakers of Dutch
thought in the sixteenth century, but how they think
and react to-day. To illustrate this concept let me
quote a statement which I found in a newspaper article
in the *Gazet van Antwerpen*. The statement was made by
Stanislav Prendota, Professor of Dutch in Wroclav,
Poland:

> Newspapers and magazines are what my students
> really like. The visit of our Polish Pope in
> the Netherlands for instance was followed very
> closely. One thing astonished and shocked the
> students: the abusive tone of the criticism,
> which appeared even in the advertisements in the
> newspapers. They thought the Netherlands was
> tolerant. Again you see that learning a langua-
> ge is also a way of understanding a different
> mentality.

In this paper I first tried to dream up answers to
a number of fundamental questions: why do people learn
foreign languages, why should people learn LWTL? Next, I

presented a number of elements in connection with the
Dutch language: the linguistic position of the lan-
guage, the geographical spread, and the policy of
standardization and international planning. I tried
to keep this part of my exposé free of passion and
emotion. Finally, I put forward a suggestion to shed
a simplified light on FLT in Europe and to contribute
to European awareness of unity in diversity. But above
all, I would like to stress that FLT must give up this
servile aspect which it assumed 25 years ago: the myth
of the language as a tool and having only communicative
competence. The way in which modern languages have
been degraded to the status of mere tools opens up a
sinister perspective in which languages, stripped of
true human life, would lead an existence of vampires
and zombies. Languages are not only instruments of
communication. They reflect the most intimate essence
of a human being. This is the reason why FLT - but
only when placed in a cultural context - can lead us
to a better understanding, broaden the mind and help
fight chauvinism.

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HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE POSITION OF IRISH
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1. The definition of the status of a language on a
major/minor scale is as difficult and elusive as the
distinction between language and dialect. More than
twenty years ago, Charles A. Ferguson (1966) attempted
to establish algebraic formulae in which the socio-
linguistic profile of States might be succinctly
presented. His formula for Spain, for example, was:

$$5L = 2Lmaj(So,Sg) + 1Lmin(Vg) + 2Lspec(Crs,Ss)$$

Of five languages present in the State, two are major
languages, i.e. Castilian and Catalan; Castilian has a
standardized form and is the language of officialdom
(thus So); Catalan also has a standardized form, but is
used primarily for communication within a particular
speech community or group (thus Sg). There is one
minor language, i.e. Basque, deemed to be a non-
standardized vernacular of a particular speech
community or group (thus Vg). There are two special
status languages: Latin, a classical standard widely
used for religious purposes and widely studied in
schools (thus Crs); and French which, in its
standardized form, is widely studied in schools (thus
Ss). The status of Latin has, I presume, much changed
since Ferguson wrote and, no doubt, other assumptions
in his account might be queried. However, since the
object is to demonstrate the nature of his proposed
formulae, questions of detail need not detain us.

The corresponding formula for the Republic of
Ireland would at present, I think, be as follows:

$$2L = 2Lmaj(Soweris, So[w]e[r]s)$$

There are, by Ferguson's criteria, two major languages:
English by virtue of the number of its speakers, and

Irish by virtue of its being an official language of
the State. English has, of course, a standardized
form; is used for official purposes, in wider communi-
cation, in education (textbooks etc.), in religion, in
international communication, and is universally a
school subject (thus Soweris). Irish also has a
standardized form, more or less; has official status;
may be used for wider communication within the State;
is used in education (textbooks etc.), in religion,
and is widely studied at school (thus So/w/e/r/s).
The only function, according to this formula. in which
Irish is clearly distinguishable from English is
international communication. One must ei hasize that
the attempt here is to state the relationship of Irish
and English within the sociolinguistic pro..._ of the
Republic of Ireland. The object is not some more general
commensuration of Irish and English. All the same, a
formula which so minimally differentiates between the
status of Irish and the status of English might be
regarded as suffering from a certain inadequacy. That
inadequacy lies in the criteria used by Ferguson in
defining major status, since they equate a measure
based on numbers of speakers with a measure based on
official recognition. While both obviously are
important, it is questionable whether they are inter-
changeable. By the same token, in the EEC both Catalan
and Irish are accepted as properly coming within the
purview of the European Bureau for Lesser Used
Langu s; Catalan, with its 5,000,000+ speakers (some
say it,000,000), on the basis of its lack of full
official status; Irish, because of its small number of
habitual speakers. Here, too, it is not clear that
so indiscriminate a collocation is helpful.

    2. Yet, it is perhaps not surprising that the
contemporary status of irish 'ould be so difficult
of summary definition because, seen in the longer

historical perspective, it must undoubtedly be regarded
as a major language, not a minor one. Unlike, on the
one hand, Basque which s·nce Roman times has been
confined more or less to its present territory
(Stephens 1976), or, on the other hand, Faroese, or
Friuli, or Sardinian, which have evolved distinctively
only in the relatively small areas which they now
occupy, Irish was once a widely used language. At the
beginning of the historical period, speakers of this
branch of Celtic, which had evolved distinct'vely in
prehistoric Ireland, were the confident bearers of an
expanding christianized and literate culture. In the
5th and 6th centuries they were a dominant ethnic
element in Wales and were extending across the Severn
into Devon and as far as the English Channel. More
importantly, they were establishing in Northern Britain
a vigorous community which, between the 6th century and
the 11th, gained supremacy over other ethnic groups in
the region and established the predominantly Irish-
speaking kingdom of Scotland, a kingdom whose
boundaries have been defined by their efforts and which
is named after them. By the mid 11th century, Irish was
the primary language of Ireland and Scotland; both
regions shared a common tradition of literacy and
learning which was already of more than 500 years
standing. Though the language area in Scotland began
to contract 'rom the end of the 11th century, and had
receded to the Highlands and to Ga'loway in the South-
west by the 14th century, the Irish-speaking areas of
Ireland and Scotland continued to share a unified
literary culture until the 17th.

   The vigour of this Common Gaelic culture received
its first weakening in the 11th and 12th centuries as
a result of intervention by the Anglo-Normans in

Scotland first, and later in Ireland. Anglo-Norman
intervention led directly to the retreat of Gaelic
culture in Scotland. In Ireland, though the Anglo-
Norman impact was at first absorbed and a
predominantly Irish-speaking Early Modern Ireland
emerged, the Irish-speaking tradition was never again
the language of a fully autonomous polity, either in
Ireland or Scotland. Even so, its associated cultural
tradition remained distinctive and viable until the
Elizabethan conquest of Ireland, completed in 1603,
led to the destruction of native institutions and
undered the cultural cohesion which had existed
  tween Ireland and Gaelic Scotland for a thousand
  ars. It is from that period that the final decline
.f Irish to minority status must be traced:
 · almost immediately came the loss of the native
a.istocracy and of the institutions which they
main .ined;
b. there followed the gradual anglicization of the
 ·   sh-speaking middle cla ses, completed largely by
 ·e end of the 18th c atury;
 , finally, there was the recurring economic collapse
wnich reduced the Irish-speaking masses by emigration
and, indeed, by death from famine.
The result was, in the late 18th and throughout the
19th cenuries, a very rapid abandonment of the language
by the remaining po rer classes in rural areas. These
classes were the remnants of a disintegrating society
who saw no hope 'or the future in a continuation of
their ancestral loyalties. The rapidity of the shift
to English is demonstrated by Garret FitzGerald's
analysis (1984) of census data, which since 1851 have
included information on language. Projecting back from
the census data of 1851-1851, Dr FitzGerald has shown
that the percentage of children acquiring Irish as their

first language was, for example, in the barony of
Kilmallock, Co. Limerick, as follows:

                    1811-1821 : 100
                    1821-1831 : 74
                    1831-1841 : 59
                    1841-1851 : 25
                    1851-1861 :   7
                    1861-1871 :   3

We observe that the decline was well under way before
the decade of the Great Famine (1841-1851) and, in this
instance, the abandonment of Irish was particularly
rapid. Six decades rather than five seem to have been
the more usual period for the kind of language shift
illustrated in the Kilmallock data. For example, in
the barony of Pubblebrien, also in Co. Limerick, the
pattern is as follows:

                    1791-1801 : 100
                    1801-1811 : 97
                    1811-1821 : 71
                    1821-1831 : 46
                    1831-1841 : 25
                    1841-1851 : 11
                    1851-1861 :   3

Between 1851 and 1891 the statistics of Irish speakers
in the under ten age group was for Ireland as a whole
as follows:

        1851   166,839   12.66%
        1861   96,568   8.44%
        1871   60,783   5.28%
        1881   58,269   5.33%
        1891   30,785   3.47%

The size which the Irish-speaking community was to have
in the 20th century, and its retreat to a scattering of
separate areas around the western seaboard, were
already determined in these figures. When the position

stabilized in the first decades of this century,
what remained was the modern *Gaeltacht* area.

3. While the 19th century thus saw this rapid
decline in the number of its speakers, the status of
Irish was gradually being restored, and its signifi-
cance as a venerable strand of the European
linguistic and cultural tradition increasingly
appreciated. Its position within the Indo-European
family of languages was being determined by inter-
national linguistic scholarship; its manuscript
records were being rescued by the great libraries of
Ireland and Britain; its literature was becoming
available in printed form. Towards the end of the
19th century, these developments partially merged
with a growing language maintenance movement and, in
1893, the Gaelic League was founded by Douglas Hyde,
Eoin Mac Néill, and Eugene O'Growney, all of whom,
significantly, were scholars of Irish language and
literature. The Gaelic League became a most
effective force for the maintenance and promotion of
the Irish language and it was primarily responsible
for the definition and popularization of the ideal of
Irish revival which became a central element in the
political separatist movement which led to the
establishment of the Irish Free State, later to become
the Republic of Ireland. As a direct consequence of
the League's ideology, Irish was designated "the
national language" in the constitution of the new
State, and competence in it became compulsory for
admission to the Civil Service, Police, and Army; it
was given a more secure place in the Primary School
curriculum, and was universally introduced as a subject
into Secondary Schools where, however, it had been
widely taught since 1913 when it had been made compulsory
for matriculation to the National University. In the

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Constitution of 1937, which is still in force, the
status of Irish is reaffirmed as "the national
language" and "the first official language".

By 1922, though, the position of Irish had been
greatly reduced; its speakers had represented little
more than 13% of the total population in 1911.
However the leaders of the successful se:· .tist
movement not only accepted the view that Irish was the
ancestral language of the majority of the people and,
thus, the most distinctive mark of their ethnicity,
but perhaps more significantly, belonged predominantly
to parts of rural Ireland which still during their youth
had substantial numbers of Irish speakers. For them,
the language was a tangible reality and it was natural
for them, and for their generation, to accept that
Irish was the national language whose well-being was
properly the concern of the State. This view has in
fact survived the rapid urbanization and fundamental
social and political change which the Republic of
Ireland in recent decades has undergone. It has, for
example, been shown by Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1984)
that 97% of respondents to their survey favoured
provision for teaching Irish in Primary Schools; 96%
favoured provision for it in Secondary Schools; 82%
felt they would like to use at least some Irish in
their daily activities; 76% supported the use of Irish
on television; 75% supported the use of Irish in Public
Administration; 66% regarded Irish as essential to the
maintenance of a distinctive cultural identity; and so
on.

One should explain that competence in the language,
or use of the language, is not confined to Gaeltacht
areas. In the 1981 Census of Population, over one

million people, representing over 30% of the total
population, were returned as being able to speak
Irish. The actual competence possessed by many of
this million can hardly be of a high order, and it is
certain that the language is used by a very much
smaller number, but Irish is spoken throughout the
country and not just in the *Gaeltacht*   areas.

4. In the 1920s, the State was concerned to establish
fully in Education and to promote throughout the State
system a language which was by then spoken only by a
minority. Admittedly, as we have seen, it was a
language which had had a much more elaborate past and
possessed a long literary tradition. A very
substantial record had survived in it. There were works
of history, law, literature, religion, and science.
There was, however, the practical problem that, not
only was much of this record of a medieval character
and culturally somewhat remote from the circumstances
of the 20th century, but a great part of it was as yet
unexamined. Indeed, a large portion of it has still
not been edited. There was also the problem that the
classical written norm was now being abandoned, because
it was felt to be too remote from the contemporary spoken
usage, and no substitute had as yet been devised. In this
situation, many of the provisions made were understandably
less than perfect, and there was much vacillation and
inconsistency. Professor R.A. Breatnach (1956), in a
controversial article, expresses the frustrations felt
by many:

> ... there were only the rudiments of an
> apparatus paedagogicus available and
> there was only a meagre supply of reading
> matter in print

And terminology was, he felt, being provided for by:

> ... nameless committees with neither the

> necessary direction nor the systematic
> thoroughness and regard for the
> resources of Early Modern and dialectal
> Irish that one might have expected

The lexical resources were indeed being developed
without adequate awareness of the riches in the
literary tradition but there was, to complicate the
matter, a purist tendency to prefer new formations
derived from native roots to more obviously borrowed
forms which were often long established in the written
language, or were in everyday use in speech. Thus we
now have *rúnaí* "secretary" where the classical written
tradition had *seicreatáir*, though this form had
probably not been rediscovered at the beginning of the
century despite its appearance in a text published in
1893. Professor de Bhaldraithe (1959) has instanced
common words which were fully assimilated in the spoken
language but which there was some reluctance to accept,
e.g. *custaiméir* "customer", *geansaí* "pull-over",
léas "lease", the latter being also well attested in
the literary record. For want of central guidance,
there was also a lot of divergent "private enterprise
in inventing technical terms" (Breatnach 1956);
Professor de Bhaldraithe has, for example, traced
eighteen expressions for "telescope".

Though perfection has not been attained, and we have
certainly been backward compared with Central European
scholars in dealing with similar problems, I believe
that very substantial progress has been made:
1. A new written norm has been established on the basis
of guidelines published in final form in 1958.
2. Good bilingual dictionaries have appeared: de
Bhaldraithe's English-Irish dictionary in 1959, and Ó
Dónaill's Irish-English dictionary in 1978; more
recently, a well produced pocket dictionary giving
pronunciations has been published.

3. The Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of the Irish Language,* covering the earlier language, was completed in 1976, and the Academy's dictionary of the modern language is effectively in hand.

4. There is a better provision of textbooks and the constant supervision of bodies such as the Department of Education's Syllabus Committees, Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (the Linguistics Institute of Ireland) and Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge ensures against obsolescence. In regard to terminology, the Department of Education has established a special committee with permanent staff to maintain a co-ordinated provision.

5. The work of Bord na Gaeilge and of Raidió na Gaeltachta and Irish-medium programmes on television help to sustain the societal position of the language. In the wider European setting, we have the valuable support of the Bureau for Lesser Used Languages.

6. Of course, a continually changing environment gives rise to evernew problems in need of solution. The main task just now is perhaps to ensure that Irish is not downgraded, or entirely overlooked, as the State and public bodies generally move towards a full computerization of their administration and activities. Still, given the extent of the task in a sma'l country with limited resources, we have done reasonably well; maintenance of the same rate of progress for the future would, I believe, be a respectable ambition.

5. The Irish language in the past has attracted the attention of scholars internationally because of its significance for Indo-European inguistics, or because of the uniqueness of its early literary record, or because of the wealth of folk-tradition which has been preserved in it. I am sure that it is also worthy of the attention of scholars who are interested in aspects

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cf language planning, or in the problems of pedagogy
which confront small languages. For that reason
particularly, it has been a great satisfaction for me
to have been invited to talk about it today to this
illustrious gathering of scholars.

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LESSER USED LANGUAGES OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES
- DEVELOPMENTS IN THE RECENT
PAST AND NEW HOPES FOR THE FUTURE

DÓNALL Ó RIAGÁIN
(European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages)

For the past two days you have been considering
the position of the "less widely taught" languages of
Europe. Forgive me for complicating matters by speak-
ing about "lesser used" languages. "Lesser used" is
the term chosen by my organisation to describe the lan-
guages which others might call "minority", "regional"
or even "minoritised". Our choice of terminology may
at first seem cumbersome, but at least it avoids the
pejorative overtones associated with some of the other
adjectives. Your list of less widely taught languages
includes some major European languages such as Italian,
Dutch and Greek - languages which are under severe
pressure because of the ever-growing importance of a
small number of major international languages, espec-
ially English. The languages of which I am going to
speak are in an even more precarious position.

Let us for a moment look at the European Community.
The European Community is, essentially, a community of
nation states i.e. independent states considered by
their governments to be nations, in the 19th century
meaning of that term. State and nation are not however
synonymous and in every member-state of the European
Community, with the exception of Portugal, there exists
at least one autochthonous national or ethnic community
which differs from the majority in that state in so far
as they possess their own language and their own part-
icular identity.

The European Community recognises nine official
working languages - French, English, German, Italian,
Dutch, Danish, Greek, Spanish and Portuguese. Irish
is a "treaty language". That is to say the text of the
treaties in Irish carries equal authority with the same
text in the nine working languages. Irish is also an
official working language of the European Court of
Justice.

It is interesting to note that in our Community
of 320.4 million citizens, all languages - even French
and English - are in a minority position. There are up
to 40 million citizens in the European Community whose
mother tongue is a language other than the main offic-
ial language of the member-state in which they live. In
reality, this means that there exists a large number of
people within the Community who do not enjoy the same
linguistic status as do majority language speakers in
their state.

The communities who use these less widely spoken
languages can be categorised as follows:

1.   Small independent nation states whose languages
      are not widely used by European standards and
      which are not official, working languages of the
      European Community, e.g. the Irish and the Letze-
      burgers.

2.   Small nations without their own state (e.g. the
      Welsh, the Bretons and the West Frisians) who re-
      side in one or other member-state.

3.   Peoples such as those in (2) who reside in more
      than one member-state (e.g. the Catalans, the
      Occitans who can be found in France, Spain and
      Italy).

4.   Trans-frontier minorities i.e. communities with-
in one country who speak the majority language
of another, be that country a member-state of
the EC or not, e.g. th. Danish-speakers of South
Schleswig, the Slovenes of Trieste, the Franco-
phones of the Vallée d'Aoste.

It is evident that these communities of lesser
used languages are not without their problems. In-
deed one might well ask whether they can possibly
have a future in the modern world. There is, however,
strong evidence to suggest that they do indeed have a
future, and a most viable one, once certain basic
facts and rights are acknowledged.

These languages are an integral part of the cul-
tural heritage of Europe. They include some of the
oldest languages of Europe with a rich literature and
folk tradition. If they have been ignored in the past
by the institutions of the European Community, this is
no longer the case. In 1979, John Hume, MEP (Socialist,
Northern Ireland), put forward in the European Parlia-
ment a motion demanding certain basic rights for speak-
ers of such languages as well as supportive measures
from Community institutions. In the following year,
four other separate motions were tabled, all centering
on the same area of concern. These motions were dis-
cussed in detail at Parliamentary Committee level, and
as a result, Gaetano Arfé (an Italian member of the
Committee) was requested to draw up a document encom-
passing the points made in the various motions tabled.
Signor Arfé performed this function so efficiently
that the outcome was the adoption by the European Parl-
iament of the Document now known as the Arfé Report on
the 16th October 1981. The Arfé Report can truthfully

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be described as being the Magna Carta of European aut-
ochthonous minorities.

In May 1982 a colloquy was convened in Brussels,
under the aegis of the Socialist Group in the European
Parliament, to consider how best the provisions of the
Arfé resolution might be implemented. The colloquy was
attended by MEPs, senior officials of the EC Commission,
sociolinguists and representatives of most of the min-
ority language communities. One of the things that
came out of the colloquy was that those representing
minorities felt that there was a need to set up an ass-
ociation which could speak and act on their behalf at
EC level. Thus, the European Bureau for Lesser Used
Languages came into being, I being its first President
and subsequently its Secretary General. (I was follow-
ed by two Catalan Presidents: Joan Dorandeu from the
French side of the frontier and Aureli Argemi i Roca
from Barcelona). Jack Macarthur, a Gaelic-speaker from
Scotland, was elected in March of this year. Our gen-
eral aim is defined as follows: "to preserve and pro-
mote the lesser used autochthonous languages of the
member-states of the European Communities, together
with their associated cultures".

A constitution was adopted in January 1983 follow-
ing meetings of the provisional Council in Brussels and
Dublin. The Bureau functioned on a purely voluntary
basis in its first year, depending on Bórd na Gaeilge,
the state board for promoting Irish, to provide mini-
mal secretarial services.

In 1983 the EC, for the first time ever, included
in its budget a provision of 100,000 ECU to promote
minority languages and cultures. The Commission agreed
to spend some of this money on approved projects, ad-

ministered by the Bureau. The following year, the
Irish government approved a small grant-in-aid to
partially fund an office in Dublin. In the middle of
1984, the Bureau opened its one-room Dublin office.

The structure of the Bureau is that of a committ-
ee in each member-state with a Council, comprising re-
presentatives of those committees, at European Commun-
ity level. Council meetings are usually held three
times a year at different venues. The Bureau is prim-
arily concerned with the pursuance of its general aim
and in other respects it is independent of, and as such
is not partisan in, matters of race, class, religion,
politics or ideologies. The Bureau welcomes support
from all political groupings, but shall not become al-
igned with any.

So far the Bureau has pursued three broad strat-
egies:

1.   To press for the bringing into being of legal and
      political structures which would promote lesser
      used language communities;

2.   To engage in and promote work programmes which
      would be of practical assistance to those it is
      endeavouring to serve; and

3.   To facilitate an exchange of information and ex-
      periences between the various lesser used language
      communities and thus help bring about a greater
      sense of collective awareness.

In March 1983 members of the European Parliament,
with a particular interest in the problems of lesser
used languages set up an Inter-Group Committee for Min-
ority Languages. A similar committee came into being
in the new Parliament and its meetings are attended b;

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MEPs from seven different political groupings. The chairmanship of the committee rotates - its current Chairman being T.J. Maher (Liberal and Democratic Group, Ireland). He was preceded by Giorgio Rossetti (Communist, Trieste), Beata Brookes (Conservative, North Wales), Alfeo Mizzau (European People's Party, Friuli) and John Hume (Socialist, Northern Ireland). The Committee has kept issues concerning lesser used languages consistently to the fore in the European Parliament. In October of last year the new Commissioner for Social Affairs, Senor Manuel Marin, addressed the committee and pledged his commitment to its work. The Bureau, of course, works in close liaison with this committee.

At present, other important developments are taking place in the European Parliament in that two reports (with corresponding resolutions) are being prepared on lesser used languages. One report, which is being prepared by a German EPP member, F.L.S.G. von Stauffenberg, approaches the issue from a legal/institutional aspect in that it responds to a motion tabled by Süd Tirolian EPP member, Joachim Dalsass, who called for a European Law on ethnic groups - a law which would enshrine the principle that every ethnic group has the right to make restricted use of its own language. The other report is being prepared by Willy Kuijper, MEP (Volkunie, Flanders) in response to a motion tabled by Giorgio Rossetti, MEP (Communist, Trieste). This report follows a more linguistic/cultural approach and is being regarded by many observers as a kind of "second Arfé Report". It is due for discussion at a plenary session of the European Parliament later this year.

Suffice to say that the Bureau welcomes both initiatives and has been assisting both rapporteurs to the

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best of its ability. A similar but totally separate
initiative was taken by the Standing Conference of
Local and Regional Authorities of Europe (a body which
comes under the aegis of the Council of Europe), when
it decided to prepare a Charter of European Regional
and Minority Languages. A public hearing was held in
Strasbourg on 15th/16th May 1984. The hearing was
attended by over 250 delegates and representatives of
the European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages made im-
portant contributions to the debate. A small working
group was subsequently set up by the Standing Confer-
ence and two members of the Bureau's Council, Sig.
Ardizzone and Dr. Peeters, are now members of this
working group. It is hoped that the Council of Europe
will, in 1988, adopt a Convention for Regional and
Minority Languages, which the governments of its mem-
ber-states will then be invited to sign.

It is worth mentioning that another area in which in-
teresting developments are taking place is the U.N.
Commission for Human Rights, where work is being done
on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic,
religious and linguistic minorities. This U.N. Commis-
sion is notoriously slow in its work but the ultimate
result of its endeavours in this field could be of en-
during importance to minorities throughout the world.

Since its inception the European Bureau for Lesser Used
Languages has held the view that international bodies,
and indeed the lesser used language communities them-
selves, will not take the Bureau seriously if it is not
seen to engage in practical work programmes. A body
which has a background of solid achievement is more like-
ly to be heard than one which is primarily a talking
shop. Since 1984 the Bureau, in conjunction with the
Commission of the EC, has organised a programme of study

visits for lesser used language activists. Thia
programme facilitates a cross-fertilization of ideas
and enables people involved in domains such as educat-
ion, the media and public administration to gain valua-
ble insights into what is being done for lesser used
languages in other parts ⌐f the EC. In the current
year over sixty people are receiving bursaries and these,
in seven different groups,are visiting Catalonia, Gal-
icia, the Süd Tirol, the Vallée d'Aoste, Northern Ire-
land, Provence and the Republic of Ireland. The reports
that the participants prepare on completing their visita
form an interesting and useful source of information for
the Bureau.

     Arfé, in his report and resolution in the European
Parliament, specifically identified three domains where
lesser used languages should be accorded special recog-
nition, i.e. education, public administration and the
media. It was therefore only fitting that one of the
Bureau's first projects should be directed at one of
these areas - education. Pre-school movements have
sprung up in lesser used languag. communities throughout
Europe over the past 10-15 years and it seemed timely to
carry out a study of these movements, to compare their
structures, their different pedagogical approaches,
their sources of income etc. Above all, it seemed app-
ropriate to enable them to pool their experiences and
see how they might engage in joint ventures in the fut-
ure. Thus ensued a major study, followed by a confer-
ence in Leeuwarden in April 1985. A number of concrete
proposals emanated from this conference, some of which
are already being acted upon e.g. pilot projects in
Friuli and among the Slovenes of the Province of Tri-
este. The pre-school report has been enlarged and up-
dated by its author, Helen Ó Murchú, and will be pub-

lished by the Bureau in a few months' time. The pre-
school study is being followed by a study of lesser us-
ed languages in the area of primary school education,
this being carried out by the Fryske Akademy. It is
known as the EMU Project.

Time constraints prevent me from describing in any
detail the various educational projects which have re-
ceived funding from the EC as a result of the Bureau's
intervention. Suffice it to say that they include the
production of educational computer software in Scottish
Gaelic, the production of pedagogical materials for use
in schools by the Greeks and Albanians of Calabria,
similar materials for the tiny Walser Germanophone comm-
unity in the Vallée d'Aoste and for the Occitans in both
France and Italy, a conference on teaching lesser used
languages to adult learners using the communicative
approach (Dublin, March 1985), a European conference on
children's publishing in lesser used languages (Stornoway,
May 1987), the publication of an Irish-Breton dictionary
and the preparation of bilingual videos for children,
which can be dubbed in any major/minor language combin-
ation.

A conference of young lesser used language activists
was organised by the Bureau in Brittany to mark Inter-
national Youth Year. With characteristic enthusiasm,
the young delegates identified two areas where joint
action was possible. The first idea, an exchange pro-
gramme for young lesser used language activists, is be-
ing undertaken by AFRI, a Friulan youth exchange assoc-
iation, while their Slovene neighbours from Trieste are
proposing a gathering entitled "Our Cultural Challenge
- Today and Tomorrow". This is envisaged as a hosting
of young Europeans, who speak minority and regional

languages, to discuss the adaptation and development
of their autochthonous cultures to meet the demands
of young people today and tomorrow. It is scheduled
to be held in Trieste in the summer of 1988.

The Bureau publishes three editions of a news-
letter each year, *Contact-Bulletin*. This appears in
French, English and Italian and is one of the Bureau's
main instruments for promoting an exchange of inform-
ation and views among speakers of lesser used languages.

Member-state committees of the Bureau are function-
ing in France, Spain, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands,
the United Kingdom, Denmark, Ireland and Germany. In-
itial contacts have been established with some of the
minorities in Greece and it is hoped that a Greek comm-
ittee will be established during 1987 or 1988.

Perhaps the greatest challenge facing the Bureau is
that of convincing the minorities of the importance of
working together. Centuries of suppression and discrim-
ination have taken their toll. All too often, propon-
ents of lesser used languages vent their anger and
frustration, not on their real opponents, but on those
who should be their allies, e.g. members of rival assoc-
iations working for the same minority, members of another
minority group who seem to be getting preferential treat-
ment from the member-state government or from Brussels.
The Bureau claims no panacea for these ills. It contin-
ually preaches and practises a policy of co-operation
and unity. Co-operation, however, is not something that
can be wished into existence; it is a skill that has to
be learned with much patience and understanding.

The European Community's small budget line for
minority and regional languages increased over the

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years since its modest beginning at 100,000 ECU in
1983. In 1986 it amounted to 680,000 ECU and in
1987 there is a provision for 714,0CO ECU. Of course,
only a proportion of this money is spent by the Comm-
ission *through* the Bureau. The EC Commission pays
subventions only in respect of specific projects.
Such subventions have to be spent directly on the
projects themselves and cannot be regarded as being
disposable income. The main source of finance to
cover establishment costs comes from grants-in-aid
made available by the Irish and Luxembourg govern-
ments.

The challenges and the work-load facing the
Bureau are formidable. Members of the Council and the
member-state committees can engage in the Bureau's
work only on a voluntary part-time basis. Indeed many
of them have heavy organisational commitments in their
own lesser used language communities. This means in
effect that practically all of the day-to-day work de-
volves on the Bureau's staff of three persons. Lack
of resources prohibits the recruitment of additional
personnel.

It has been estimated that there are up to 40
million citizens of the European Community who speak
lesser used languages. The idea of linguistic and cul-
tural conformity has been effectively rejected by the
Community. The vision of Europe now being sought is
one of unity in diversity. The development of region-
alism could contribute much to realising this dream.
The minorities have a great deal to contribute to this
kind of Europe. The purpose of the European Bureau
for Lesser Used Languages is to ensure that they will
be able to make this contribution. The challenge is
great, but surely it is worthwhile.

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STATE AND NON-STATE SUPPORTED LESS WIDELY TAUGHT
LANGUAGES: STATUTES BEAT NUMBERS

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The Helsinki Final Act has rightly included the
promotion of less widely taught and less widely used
languages as a means of understanding and cooperation
between the peoples of Europe. This commitment by 35
states is, however, far more complicated than it may
seem.   Indeed the problem tackled here is not only a
matter of inter-state relations but has also for the
great majority of the signatory states an "internal"
dimension.   In these 35 states more than 50 languages
are used, all of them widely varying in size, status
and legal recognition.   It is ou: aim in this paper to
relate the concepts of "lesser used" and "less widely
taught" to the legal position of the languages concerned.

1. *Europe's Language Families*

The 50 or so European languages can be grouped in
some 6 major families, the three most important
ones being
The Germance Languages : Icelandic, Norwegian,
Swedish, Faroese, Danish, English, Dutch, Frisian,
German.
The Romance Languages: French, Rumanian, Italian,
Sardinian, Friulian, Ladin, Romansch, Portuguese,
Catalan, Castilian.
The Slavic Languages: Polish, Czech, Slovak, Serbo-
Croat, Slovene, Sorbian, Bulgaro-Macedonian, Ukrain-
ian, Byelorussian, Russian.

Following those main families, we further must

acknowledge:

The Celtic Group :   Irish, Scots Gaelic, Welsh, Manx, Breton, Cornish

The Ugric Group :   Sami, Finno-Estonian, Hungarian.

The Caucasian Group :   Armenian, Georgian, Circass-ian.

Finally some independent languages : Lithuanian, Lettish, Basque, Greek, Maltese, Turkish, Kurdish, Albanian, Inuktitut.

Although this may seem to be a great diversity, one must think of the 800 or so languages spoken in a country like India alone and also put those 50 Euro-pean languages into the world perspective of some 3000 languages (Décsy 1986).

2.   Speaking of Numbers

As previously stated all these languages vary widely in number of speakers. Without forgetting that cer-tain European languages have also a worldwide dimen-sion, we will take into consideration for this paper only their European distribution.

A tentative classification of the European languages according to the number of speakers would give us the following table:

Russian (in Europe)	± 100 million
German	92m.
Italian	63m.
English	60m.
French	55m.
Turkish	50m.

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Ukrainian	42m.
Polish	40m.
Castilian	35m.
Rumanian (incl. Molda-vian)	22m.
Dutch	20m.
Serbo-Croat	18m.
Hungarian	14m.
Portuguese (incl. Galician)	13m.
Czech	12m.
Greek	11m.
Bulgarian	11m.

All other languages have less than 10 million speak-
ers. One can immediately see that there is no auto-
matic correlation between the number of speakers of
a language and its international prestige.

3. *Language and State Recognition*

Just half of Europe's languages are official in one
or more states. Since world society is fundamental-
ly and almost exclusively organized along the model
of the sovereign state, this means that those lan-
guages have some kird of "diplomatic" status. The
importance of the state would then influence the
standing of that language.

On the other hand a number of languages are official
in more than one state, so that one can expect a cum-
ulative effect thereof. A classification according
to this criterion would give the following list:

German: FRG., GDR., Austria, Switzerland, Belgium,
Luxemburg, Liechtenstein

French: France, Belgium, Switzerland, Luxemburg,
Monaco

Italian: Italy, Switzerland, San Marino, Vatican
English: UK, Republic of Ireland, Malta
Dutch: Netherlands, Belgium
Greek: Greece, Cyprus
Swedish: Sweden, Finland
Turkish: Turkey, Cyprus

Moreover some languages have also an official status
in a part of a state, be it an autonomous region,
canton, land etc., or are spoken in an area without
formal recognition:

German: Denmark, Italy, Hungary, Poland, Rumania,
         Czechoslovakia, USSR, France
French: Italy
Italian: Yugoslavia
Greek: Albania, Turkey, Italy
Hungarian: Yugoslavia, Austria, Czechoslovakia,
             Rumania
Rumanian: Albania, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Greece
Albanian: Yugoslavia, Italy, Greece

In this respect it is quite obvious that the German
language precedes all others in official recognit-
ion. It is official language of 7 independent sta-
tes, and is recognised in 8 other states. Since we
have also established that it is the second most
widely spoken language in Europe, one could concl-
ude from this factual evidence that German is Euro-
pe's most important language and consequently the
most widely taught.

4.   *International Status*
Some languages have in recent times got a supplement-
ary sign of respectability or status. They are off-
icial or working languages of international organis-

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ations.   In that perspective the following table
can be made for European languages used in at
least one such organisation

	UNO	Council of Europe	OECD	EEC
German		(X)		X
Russian	X			
English	X	X	X	X
French	X	X	X	X
Italian		(X)		X
Castilian	X	(X)		X
Dutch				X
Portuguese				X
Greek				X
() = limited purpose only				

Here one immediately sees the outstanding position
of English and French and the very weak position
of German in respect of our previous considerations.

5. *Second Language Status*

The ever increasing internationalisation of our
society, the growing mobility of citizens and the
closer cooperation between European states have as
an effect that the future of a language community
is no longer only evaluated in terms of the number
of native speakers but equally in terms of its use
as a second language.

In Europe of the $^+$15 major languages, only three
are widely taught at secondary school level in al-
most all countries: French, English and German.
This is done, however, in variable degrees.   Russ-
ian is widely taught in only one half of Europe,
Italian and Spanish in some limited areas around

the nucleus state.

If we accept that at least all European languages
of more than 10 million speakers have sufficient
communicative functionality for second language
use, a first step towards a better balance in lan-
guage teaching would consist in promoting German
and Russian so as to bring them up to the level of
English and French, to give more encouragement to
Spanish and Italian, and to introduce opportunit-
ies for e.g. Dutch, Rumanian, Turkish, Polish and
Portuguese.

6. *Languages without State Support*

Up to now we have only dealt with one group of
languages as described in paragraph 3, the so-
called state languages. This for the simple rea-
son that of the non-state languages none reaches
the 10 million level. Of all those languages only
two have a sufficient number of speakers, are
spoken in more than two states and could appeal to
a larger communicative function. These are the
Catalan and Kurdish languages.

Kurdish	Turkey, USSR*, Syria, Iraq, Iran
Catalan	Spain*, Andorra*, France, Italy
* recognised and taught	

In view of the particular location and political
situation of Kurdistan, we will not take Kurdish
into account in this paper. It is, moreover,
questionable if Kurdish can be regarded as a Euro-
pean language. Catalan thus seems to be the only
non-state language appropriate for inclusion in a
European language policy.

A fundamental aspect of the situation of almost all
non-state languages is their lack of standardisation
and their struggle to be recognised as first langu-
ages of their respective populations. This, of
course, impedes a forceful policy for international
recognition or second language teaching. A lot of
these languages have to be attended to continuous-
ly merely to survive. Many of them of course have
small or even very small numbers of speakers. In
this category we still have to distinguish those
languages which have some kind of recognition on
an infra-state level, e.g. Faroese, Inuktitut,
Welsh, Euskara, Frisian, Slovene, Sorbian on the
one hand and those which are merely acknowledged
if not repressed, e.g. Sami, Scots Gaelic, Manx,
Cornish, Breton, Sardinian, Friulian, Ladin, Occi-
tan, Aromun. One notices immediately the very
weak position of the Celtic group, which has no
fewer than 5 of 6 languages in the non-state sup-
ported category.

7. *Less Widely Used Versus Less Widely Taught*
As previously pointed out the Helsinki Act includ-
es both terms. If some European languages are
less used than others, this is evidently related
to the number of mother tongue speakers. Most of
these languages are consequently also less widely
taught, whilst they are rarely taught at all out-
side the nucleus country. Nevertheless, they have
the potential of expanding their use through a
planned government policy.

The non-state supported languages, as already in-
dicated, all belong to the less used group, with
the possible exception of Catalan, and do not dis-

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pose of the instruments to initiate an external
language policy. These languages thus suffer from
a double discrimination.

The limited use of these languages for a consider-
able number of years has, moreover, put some of
them in a state of lexical impoverishment, which
in turn affects their functionality and increases
their handicap (cf. Peeters 1987a and b). A non-
state supported language must first ensure that it
is sufficiently taught to its own native speakers
(or potential native speakers in the case of a
severely alienated group) and only after this has
been established can one think of the wider use of
that language as a L2 for others.

8. *Some Concluding Remarks*
A European policy aiming at a better balanced sit-
uation in the use and teaching of languages should
at least take account of the following two princi-
ples:

1. The inalienable right of every citizen to speak,
    use, learn and teach his own language. (L1
    principle)
2. The right to a free and motivated choice of a
    second and further languages. (L2 principle)

The first principle can, in our opinion, best be
attained through statutory (constitutional, legal)
recognition of each language in its own territory.
The second principle can only be pursued through
an integrated policy programme at national and Eur-
opean level. E.g. in multilingual states one could
expect citizens to learn the other language(s) of
their state; in border-regions give priority to the

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neighbouring language; in the Germanic area (Nor-
thern Europe) foster Romance and Slavic languages,
whilst in the Romance area (Southern Europe) the
Germanic and Slavic languages and in the Slavic
area (Eastern Europe) either a Romance or a Germanic
language, maybe promoting the language of the most
important trading partner or of the greatest tourist
movements.

Combining these two principles shows us that if all
"lesser used languages" are also less widely taught,
all less widely taught languages do not necessarily
fall into the "lesser used" category. So we come
to the title of this contribution: statutes beat
numbers. Before a lesser used language can be pro-
moted so that it is more *widely* taught, it must
first attain official status.

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LANGUAGE GROUPS AMONG THE GYPSIES IN HUNGARY
AND SOME ASPECTS OF THEIR ORAL CULTURE

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In the present paper the following topics will be
briefly discussed: Firstly, general data concerning
the Gypsy population in Hungary and its linguistic
situation are presented. Secondly, some of the first
results of an ongoing research project dealing with the
linguistic socialization of Gypsy children in tradit-
ional communities will be discussed, including some
educational implications. Finally, some recent pract-
ical developments in the linguistic and cultural pol-
icies concerning Gypsies are briefly surveyed.

i)   *Gypsies in Hungary and their linguistic situation*
The latest sociological survey of Gypsies in Hun-
gary, carried out in 1970, put the number of the coun-
try's Gypsy inhabitants at 320 thousand (Kemény, 1974).
According to some recent estimates their number must
presently be somewhere between 350 and 400 thousand,
that is, nearly 4 per cent of the population in Hungary
belong to this ethnic group.

According to linguists' estimates, roughly one
third of Gypsies in Hungary maintained their original
mother tongue, Romãni, a language of Indian origin:
that is, Romãni is the mother tongue of more than one
hundred thousand people in this country.[1] Thus, Romãni-
Hungarian bilinguals represent one of the greatest, if
not the greatest, bilingual group among the different
ethnic minorities in Hungary.

As to the other linguistic groups within the Gypsy
population in Hungary, an addition.l 8 per cent - about

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30 thousand people, the so called Boyash Gypsies -
speak certain dialects of the Rumanian language as
mother tongue. This is the consequence of a language
shift which ᵒccurred in the Rumanian area. The re-
maining group of Gypsies, about half of the Gypsy
population living in this country, is at present lin-
guistically assimilated to the Hungarian population.

The linguistic group we are mainly concerned with,
that of the Romāni-speaking Gypsies, is itself split
up into different dialect groups. The overwhelming
majority of Romāni-speaking Gypsies belong to the
Vlach dialect group. Speakers of this dialect immig-
rated into Hungary from Moldavia in the second half of
the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. Sub-
dialectal groups within this dialect, e.g. Māšāri,
Drizāri, Colāri and the most widespread and most pres-
tigious, Lovāri, can be traced back to former tribal
and/or occupational uni s. (There are only minor lin-
guistic differences among these subdialects). The
rest of the Romāni-speaking population belongs to three
unevenly represented dialects, Gurvāri, Romungro and
Sinto.

The essential grammatical features and a great
part of the lexicon are common in each of the Romāni
dialects spoken in Hungary. Dialectal differences are
limited to certain phonemic-phonetic traits and
especially to the stock of loanwords, the latter de-
pending on the immigration history (that is to say,
on its period and former contacts with other peoples).
Accordingly, the Vlach dialect is marked by a great
amount of loanwords from Rumanian, while for example,
the Romungro dialect is characterized by a significant
lexical stock of older Hungarian and Serbo-Croatian
loans, Sinto by strong German influence in its lexicon,

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etc.

Linguistic contacts among at least some of these
dialectal groups are rather widespread: diglossic use
of two dialects (e.g. the use of Vlach, especially its
most prestigious variant, Lovāri, by speakers of Gur-
vāri when performing particular genres of folklore (cf.
Vekerdi, 1977) can be found, just as the trend to shift
from one dialect to another (e.g. in certain communit-
ies, the gradual penetration of Vlach dialect features
into the much less prestigious Gurvāri has recently
been observed).

As to their present social situation, in the last
several decades the majority of Gypsies have had to
give up their original occupations, e.g. making adobes,
horse-dealing, smithery, working as wandering merchants,
or have preserved them as a complementary job, and at
present work as unskilled workers in industry or as
occasional day-workers in agriculture.

As to the type of their bilingualism, it belongs
to the category labelled "bilingualism with diglossia"
(Fishman, 1967). That is, the use of the two languages
is functionally separated: Romāni (or in the case of
Boyash Gypsies, Rumanian) is used for the purposes of
intra-group, informal communication, while Hungarian
is the language used for public purposes and for com-
municating with the members of the other linguistic
community. (Intra-group use of Hungarian also frequen-
tly occurs when topics belonging to official, instit-
utional domains - school, work, public authorities -
are discussed).

As to their political status, Gypsies in Hungary

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so far are not considered as a nationality, but as a
separate ethnic group, having their own cultural val-
ues. Their acceptance as an ethnic group itself is
a recent, positive development in Hungarian political
life: formerly, the so-called "Gypsy question" was con-
sidered to be primarily a social problem, the cultural
and linguistic sides having been completely neglected.

The research 1 shall speak about, just like some
other research projects undertaken in different bran-
ches of the social sciences, has been made possible
owing to this change in cultural policy, - to the in-
sufficient but growing recognition of the importance of
cultural and linguistic factors in social conflicts,
difficulties of adaptation, under-achievement and fail-
ure in education experienced even today by a great part,
if not the majority, of the Gypsy population in Hungary.

ii)   *Research on linguistic socialization in traditional
      Gypsy communities: Some of the first results*
      In coping with educational problems, one of the
greatest sources of difficulties is that we hardly know
anything about what happens to Gypsy children until they
get to institutions - kindergartens, schools: every as-
pect of family socialization lacks reliable information
and specialized knowledge. Earlier educational re-
search, relying mostly on guesswork and partly on cas-
ual observations, characterized the education and fam-
ily socialization of children in traditional Gypsy
communities as a negative process from all possible
points of view: all the children's failures at school
were attributed to their supposed severe educational
and linguistic deprivation (e.g. Várnagy and Vekerdi,
1979; Lomai, 1979). The lack of adequate linguistic
input and conversation with the child is particularly
stressed in these studies.

11.

The present study is primarily concerned with this
latter, controversial aspect of Gypsy children's family
education: the functions, features, and peculiarities
of adult-child linguistic interaction, and children's
linguistic socialization in traditional Gypsy communit-
ies. The research, relying to a great extent on inter-
national work in this field, was directed at the follow-
ing questions: What are the main characteristics of
child-directed speech in traditional Gypsy communities?
What kinds of language use are Gypsy children sucialized
for? How much and in what way do caretakers stimulate
the child to speak? Do the ethnographic traditions of
the given community influence child-directed speech?
What are the expectations as to the child's linguistic
development, and how does the child develop his/her
linguistic competence?

A further part of the present investigation was
concerned with certain aspects of the communication
within Gypsy children's communities. The research tried
to explore what Gypsy children use their native language
for (beyond the trivial communicational purposes of
their everyday life). Do the equivalents of the oral
genres of adult Gypsy folklore (tale, anecdote, joke,
etc.) exist within children's communities, i.e. does
a kind of autonomous Gypsy children's folklore exist?
(We know as little about this last issue as about
adult-child interaction in traditional Gypsy communit-
: s).

Data were collected from 13 settlements of the
country. Only such bilingual Gypsy communities as had
previously been proved to preserve some kind of ethno-
graphic traditions were selected for research.

The data of our investigation shed light on a

situation radically contradicting the assumptions
about the serious linguistic deprivation mentioned
in the introduction: in our material we can detect
the outlines of a peculiar, very rich, oral Gypsy
culture, which, from the moment of his birth, sur-
rounds the Gypsy child, and of which he is a parti-
cipant from his first consciousness. Salient peculi-
arities of child-directed speech could be classed in-
to two groups. Some of these peculiarities are to
be found in other cultures as well. The presence of
these phenomena, e.g. the simplification of the
phonological form of the words - following universal
rules -, the use of baby-talk lexicon, the great re-
dundancy induced by the frequent repetition, the
chanting, the expressive prosody of the speech direct-
ed to the child, all these clearly show that, similarly
to members of other language communities, Gypsy speak-
ers involuntarily modify their language use when talk-
ing to a child (cf. Snow-Ferguson, 1977).

The other group of phenomena explored in Gypsy
child-directed speech is in our view closely related
to the peculiarities of Gypsy folk culture, just as
the characteristics of children's plays and narratives
are. Such determining features of oral Gypsy tradit-
ions are, for example, the following:

Improvisational presentation: Researchers of
ethnography and folk music (e.g. Nagy, 1978; Kovalcsik,
1985) share the opinion that pieces of folklore coll-
ected in Gypsy communities - folk-songs, tales - are
usually of looser construction and of more improvised
nature than the equivalent pieces of European folklore.
That is to say, in the pieces of Gypsy folk literature,
as opposed to the more bound and more impersonal nature
of European folklore, the events that are well-known

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to the whole community, or the personal emotions and
life of the tale-teller, or the particular events of
his life very frequently appear. Olga Nagy, a Tran-
sylvanian researcher of folk-tales, expressed the view
that this type of tale-telling represents the most
archaic phase of the development of tales, where tales
are part of the everyda· life of the given community,
interwoven with the episodes of this life, and tale-
telling is a natural, self-evident activity practised
by every member of the community (cf. op. cit.)

   Dialogical character: A further important feature
of the pieces of Gypsy folklore is their strongly dial-
ogical character, which is characteristic not only of
the epic genres (folk-tale, ballad) but, unusually en-
ough, of lyrical songs, of the genre of the so-called
"slow song" ("lōki djīli", cf. Hajdú, 1962; Kovalcsik,
1985) as well. (In Hungarian folk poetry the conver-
sational character is unique to the epic genres, cf.
the entry "dialogue" of the *Encyclopaedia of Hungarian
Ethnography* Vol. 4, 1981).

   The data presented below illustrate the importance
of these features in the fields investigated.

a)   *Dialogue-improvisation in the language spoken to
     the child*
   A well-known phenomenon for the researchers of
child-directed speech, of the "input language", is dia-
logue-modelling. This means that the mother answers
her own questions for the child who is in the preverbal
stage or does not answer for some other reason. (e.g.
Mother: *"Where is the ball? - Here is the ball!"*). The
importance of this communicational strategy used in the
preverbal stage or in the initial stage of learning to
speak is that it provides the child with patterns of

adequate behaviour in the question situation. The des-
criptions at hand about this phenomenon (and my inves-
tigations in non-Gypsy families) show that in the case
of dialogue-modelling the question-answer pairs pro-
duced by the mother are very narrow both in content
and in length: these kinds of one-person dialogues,
like child-directed speech in general, borrow their
topic from the events going on in the present or in
the very near or immediate past or future, or, from
events directly relevant for the child; and their length
is usually not more than two, or some more, turns.

The equivalents of this involuntary language
teaching strategy are instanced in the case of Gypsy
speakers as well. In our investigation, however, we
found quite an unusual, in our view, unique alternat-
ive to dialogue-modelling: long, colourful dialogues
built up of numerous turns, improvized by the mother,
whose topic is not a directly experienced event, but
the future life of the child, his future tasks, act-
ivities, possible conflicts of his adult life, smaller
or greater events of his future life, and all this
very often in a very minute, tale-like or dramatic
presentation. An example of this in the following
dialogue-improvisation describing a scene of the fair,
the main hero of which is the addressee, Déneshke, who
is all of 6 months old at the time of the recording:

Jakab Mihályné (29)
Jakab Dávid (Dénesh) (6 months)
Gyöngyös, 1985
by Szegő Judit

Gelèm tār vārekāj,   We went somewhere on a long
dūr drom,   trip,

udjè, muřo šav?	didn't we, my son?
O Děněšo trádelah e khūrěn;	The Dénesh was driving the colts;
Pálàl sodè khūre sah phangle,	How many colts were driven
Děněš, pala vurdon?	at the back of the cart, Dénesh?
Haj dik, cìpisar(el): "Dále,	And look, he is shouting: "Mother,
andrè j akastımè e khurè, haj	the colts are caught,
tu čı les sàgma? haj sò keres?	can't you watch them? What are you doing?
Mànge trubul vì te trádav, vì sāma	Am I bound to drive and to watch
te lav pèj gras?"	the colts as well?"
Hę?	Hm?

(Déneshke is babbling plaintively)

Mištòj dè!	All right, all right!
Muřo šàv žal tàr, udjè, muřo šav?	My son is leaving, isn't he, my son?
"Kàj žah, Děněš?"	"Where are you going, Dénesh?"
"Ande bārì fòrō.	"To the Great Fair.
Ingràh e grahtěn;"	We are driving the horses;"
"Sodè grasten ingreh, Děněš?"	"How many horses are you driving, Dénesh?"
"Dùj vadj trīnen!"	"Two or three!"
"Haj dikhàv, te j àmna e řom,	"Then I'll see, if the Gypsies come
žàs ando foro, te n àmna, či žàs;"	we'll go to the Fair, if they do not, won't!"
"Ha maj kor džas e kàsa	"Then we'll go ...
žàs tar mure dadèsā;	go with my father;
duj žěnè, biknàsa, paruvàs,	two of us, we sell, swap,
kinàs cinè khūrěn;"	buy small colts;"
"Haj sò kereh lenca, Děněš?"	"What will you do with them, Dénesh?"
"Haj me kamàv e cıne khūrěn!	"Well, I love small colts!
Maj žàv, astaràv andr àndo	Then I will go and harness them to the

vurdòn, haj/kìdav oprè e bute

xurdè šavorèn, po vurdòn, me pale

tràdav pe les" - udje, mokam?

Tràdel muro barò łav e grahtèn!

E khurèn, a me pale cipij pe tu:

"Dènęškę(m)! Le sàma, kam lena

t e grah po mùj, muło šav!"

"Hàj nà dara, mama, man čì lęl ma,

me čì dàrav katar e grast!"

Udjè, muro šav?

Hàj?

Lindralò j lo, Dènęškę?

cart and pick up the plenty of

small children and I'll

drive" - shan't I, my son?

My big son will drive the horses!

The colts, and I will shout

"My Déneshke! Watch out, because the

horses might betray you!"

"Don't worry, mother, they won't catch

me, I am not afraid of horses!"

Are you, my son?

Hm?

Is the Déneshke sleepy?

Very similar topics of dialogue-improvisations can be found on the same recording: Déneshke's tasks at home, breeding horses, his conflicts at school and in his future marriage; the problem of the heritage after the parents' death, etc.

b) *Gypsy children's play: "What is in the sky?" - the anvil-game*

The second text illustrating Romāni oral culture is taken from our collection of children's play. The game is as follows: The children participating in the game - 5-13 year-old girls in this case - sit on the floor in straddle position in such a way that they sit between the legs of the girls in the following row. A child chosen in advance stays on all fours; he is the anvil (Romāni: *kovanca*). In front of the row, facing each other, there are two older girls standing who raise the children one by one putting them on their all fours, and then one of the girls asks the opening question of the game: Sò j pe ..? "What is in

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the sky?" or *Sò si po Sunto Del?* "What is there about
the Good Lord?" The child, in her raised position, im-
provizes a text about the Virgin Mary and the Good Lord
(who always appears in the texts as the Virgin Mary's
husband) and their children, telling it in a chanting,
continual and loud voice. The text ends with the word
amen and/or some kind of formula resembling a suppli-
cation or prayer, as e.g. *Amen, Kristuš, ažutìn p amènde!*
"Amen, Christ, help us!" or a longer alternative:
*Jàj, Dèvlakom, čumìdav tut, kèr te šòha n avàh nasvāle,
mindig-mindig jęgeššēgèšo t avas!* "Oh, Good Lord, I
kiss you, make it that we should never be ill, always-
always be healthy!" Depending on t:^ content and form
ʋ: the improvized text the two older girls dip the child
into "gold" or "silver" ("gold" and "silver" can be two
spots chosen before, e.g. two corners of the room). The
raised child is allowed to tell "ugly" texts as well.
(It seems that by "ugly" texts they mean the enumeration
of the organs and functions of sexual life and of mat-
erial exchange and/or special Gypsy curses). In this
case the two girls holding the child beat him/her against
the anvil and depending on the degree of "ugliness"
they dip the child into "urine" or "shit" (i.e. they put
the child in a given spot in the room). For the uglier
texts they put the child into "urine", for the less ugly
ones they put him/her into "shit". All this must sym-
bolize some kind of ritual punishment. The length of
the recorded texts can vary from a few sentences to many
pages. In most texts the same motifs recur (the child-
ren, the household tools and the animals glistening, the
coach taking the children to school, the family going to
the meadow to pick flowers, etc.). The 5 to 6 year-old
children who also participate in the game imitate the
chanting style by reciting unconnected motifs of the
text. To the question of the collector, who asked what

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this game is about, one of them answered: "We honour

this game is about, one of them answered: "We honour
God with it."

   Let us see some examples that were appreciated by dip-
ping the child into "gold":

<div align="right">
Gyöngyös, 1985
by Szegő Judit
</div>

(All the texts were preceded by the question *Sòj po čìɫì?*
"What is in the sky?" or *Sò ɉì po Sunto Dēl?* "What is
there about the Good Lord?")

<div align="center">
I.
</div>

<div align="center">
Lakatos Csilla (Hajnal) 11
</div>

"Čerhàjē, Sùnto Mãrję,	"Stars, Blessed Virgin,
phàbol lako khèr, řadjogìl,	her house is glistening,
či dičol andaj sunnakàj,	it cannot be seen because of the gold,
anda sunnakàj kèrdjon	the gold turns
gurùmburı,	into doves,
hàj śośoję;	and rabbits;
Phàbol lako bütòrı, řadjogìl,	Her furniture is shining and glistening,
kasavò k bütòrı nàj č eg řomnję,	no other woman has such furniture,
čèg Sunto Marjà, sar e Sunto	only the Blessed Virgin, [such a woman]
Màrja.	as the Blessed Virgin.
Dèvlãm. čumìdav ta.	My God, I kiss you,
ażutìn p amende,	help us,
śòha na ker t àmas oapte	make it that we never ...
te dèl ame Sùnto Màrję böldògo."	Let the Blessed Virgin make us happy."

II.

Jakab Mónika (Móni) 12

E Sunto Mārjà,	The Blessed Virgin,
le šavorę čillogìl̬,	her children are glistening,
čillogil vì vōj,	[and] she is also glistening,
čillogìl̬ lako khèr,	her house is glistening,
čillogil̬ lake gurumnę̀,	her cows are glistening,
čillogìl̬ lake šavorę̀,	her children are glistening,
žan lake šavor ànd iškòla.	her children go to school,
kana žan lake šavor and iskɔ̀la,	[and] when her children go to school,
thovèl pa lènde,	she washes their clothes,
thovèl pa lènde.	washes their clothes.
Kana čillogìl̬ leng-lenge gàdà,	When their clothes glisten,
vì vōj čillogij.	she also glistens.
Avèn khēr lake šavorę̀,	Her children come home,
žàn lasa po r̄èto,	they go to the meadow with her,
kìden lake luludję̄.	they pick flowers for her.
Lake šavorè nasvàjvon aba,	Her children got ill already,
ingrèl le ka òrvošo;	she is taking them to the doctor;
čìllògil vvòj,	she is also glistening,
sàko fę̀lę čìllogil lake:	all kinds [of things] are glistening on her;
vì lako kher,	her house, too,
vì laki gurumni.	her cows, too.
Kana fejìl pehkę guruvnję̀,	When she milks the cow,
vì lako thòd čillogil,	her milk also glistens,
àmen.	amen.

III.

Jakab Mónika (Móni) 12

(another occasion);

another child from the group

Sùnto Màrję, čillogìn lake gādà, làko řom;	Blessed Virgin, her clothes are glistening her husband;
Sàko fęlę čillogil;	All kinds [of her things] are glistening;
Mìndig-mìndig žàn ānde būtjì dùj žēnè,	Always-always they go to work, they two [the Blessed Virgin and her husband],
mìndig te ingrèn penge/te xàn	always to get some food for themselves.
Hàj avèn khērè,	And they go home,
žàn mìndig ando sùnto thàn,	always go to the sacred place[2],
engrèn vì peske šavoren.	and take their children, too.
//Ando zèleno rèto žàn peska řomèsa,	//They walk in the green meadow with her husband,
šòn penge colo, haj sōvèn.	they put down a sheet, and they sleep.
Hàj / astàn pàlpàle / avilè, khērè gele;	And. after that, they came back, they went home;
Sò rakhle ando kher? Rakhlè: dùj, trìn ibòji.	What did they find in the house? They found two, three violets.
Haj phendàs o/ làko řom lake:	And her [the Virgin's] husband told her:
"Sòj gadala, mìrı romňĩ?"	"What are these here, my wife?"

(Laughing; the children start talking loudly. After a while, out-talking the noise, another child continues:)

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Fejìl le;	She milks them [the cows];
Kana thovèl, gada čillogĭļ,	When she washes, the [washed] clothes glisten,
vì lake śavorę / vì voj.	her children and she also [glisten].
Sùnto Màrję!	Blessed Virgin!
Kana khèr avel làko řom,	When her husband comes home,
śùdel pa peste.	she gets herself
sŏvèl lasa.	[and] sleeps with him.
Avèn khĕre leske śavorę,	Her children come home,
āndr astarel ando hintōvo,	she harnesses the coach,
kàj phenèl pehke śavorę,	and says to her children,
gothè żal lenca.	that she goes there [to the meadow] with them.
Żàl po zèleno řèto lenca lengi	She goes to the green meadow with them,
dĕjōři,	their mommy,
kìden penge luludjōřà.	they pick flowerets.
Kàna ba tĕle żàl o khàm,	When the sun sets,
pàlpàl avèn, khĕre, xan	they go home, eat,
haj śon - l ando b-/ pāto,	and then [the parents] put them to bed,
haj sŏvèn tar.	and they fall asleep.
Destehāraj,	In the morning,
oprè vuśtavèl le lèngi dĕj,	their mother wakes them up:
"Mìre śavore, vuśtèn opr, and	"Get up, children,
iśkòla trubul te żàn!"	you must go to school!"
Oprè vuśtèn,gotòn pe,fulavèn pe,	They get up, get ready, comb their hair,
astàrel andre lèngo sòlga,	their butler harnesses
ingrèn le,	they take them,
čillǫgośe / hintōvèsa.	on a star-decked coach.
Àmen, Kristuš ažutịn p amènde!	Amen, Christ help us!
∿men, Kristuš ažutịn p amènde!	Amen, Christ help us!

These and other texts collected among Gypsy
children indicate that children living in a tradit-
ional Gypsy community, acquire by school age the
characteristic features of oral Gypsy culture: the
improvisational presentation and even the use of form-
al style.

If this is so, the question arises: Why do child-
ren coming from a traditional Gypsy environment encoun-
ter serious difficulties, first of all linguistic ones,
at school? Why do teachers get the impression of lin-
guistic deprivation in these children? It would seem
natural to assume that difficulties are due to the
children's not being Hungarian native speakers. In my
opinion, however, this fact alone cannot explain all
the language problems arising in their education. For
one thing, most of the children coming from a tradition-
al Gypsy community, by the time of starting school, ac-
quire Hungarian on some level. Secondly, as is well-
known, children getting into another linguistic environ-
ment - provided that their socialization is basically
not different from that of their pals - usually get
over these difficulties in a few months. The deeper
reason for the language problems in the classroom
(which we could only note here) is in our view relat-
ed to the culture of Gypsy communities, or more precise-
ly, to the specific features of their language use that
differ from that in the surrounding cultures. One of
these differences is, for example, that the linguistic
input these children are exposed to lacks written lan-
guage or written literature, which is one of the major
sources of both linguistic and other knowledge. In the
traditional Gypsy community children's books are absent
from the child's environment; even the typical situat-
ions or activities related to literacy (e.g. looking at

children's picture-books, naming objects or asking the
names of these objects, activities, people represented
in them, etc.) are absent from the everyday activity
of Gypsy communities. This means, that in their native
community, fostered by illiterate or functionally illit-
erate parents, these children lack the important lin-
guistic resource that children living in other cultures
exploit from the earliest age.

It is worth noting that the above interpretation
of the origin of language problems in the classroom con-
verges with recent results in the field: linguistic
anthropologists examining language use and opportunities
at school from an intercultural perspective have recent-
ly ascertained that the basic source of mass failure at
school in the case of children coming from disadvantaged
social groups or from ethnic groups without literacy must
be due to the differences in their language use and to
the absence of literacy socialization (cf. Heath, 1982,
1983; Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). As they stress, in
such cases, children could only be successful if there
were a bridge between traditional speech events and
those appropriate to literacy activities.

iii) *Linguistic and cultural policies concerning the*
     Gypsies in Hungary
     The above-mentioned modification in the govern-
ment's cultural and linguistic policy has opened up
some modest possibilities in the education and cultur-
al activity of this ethnic group.

As regards education, an experimental curriculum
for first-grade Romäni-speaking children has been pub-
lished in four booklets by the National Pedagogical
Institute (1: *Sityevas te drabaras* "We are learning how

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to read"; II: *Amaro krujalipe* "Our environment"; III:
Ginav kathar o jekh zhikaj e desh! "Count from one to
ten!"; IV: *Gilya, poemi, paramichi* "Songs, poems, stor-
ies", Budapest, 1984). It is actually being tried out
in several classes. Several other programmes aiming
at the reduction of children's linguistic and educat-
ional difficulties have also been worked out: for ex-
ample, in the Institute for Post-Graduate Training of
Teachers in a Hungarian county (Bacs-Kiskun) an audio-
visual programme of Romani has been prepared with the
purpose of enabling teachers to communicate somewhat
with their pupils in Romani and helping them to over-
come their linguistic difficulties in the classroom
where the medium of instruction is Hungarian.

Teaching Romãni at two universities (Eötvös Loránd
University in Budapest and Janus Pannonius University
in Pécs; at the latter, a Rumanian dialect spoken by
Boyash Gypsies is also taught) will potentially pro-
mote the education of people able to advance language
planning and mother tongue education for Gypsies.

As regards recently created frameworks of cultur-
al activity, the Cultural Association of Gypsies in
Hungary (Ungrikone Themeske Kulturicko Jekkethanipe)
was established in 1986. Its proclaimed objective is
to develop language and culture, to publicize it in the
non-Gypsy environment, to help the maintenance of the
better part of traditions and to promote social pro-
gress. The association publishes a newspaper entitled
Remano Nyevipe ("Gypsy Journal") which appears every
fortnight and, besides articles written in Hungaiian,
contains articles, interviews and literary works in
Romãni, too.

One of the main problems of raising Romãni liter-
acy in Hungary is related to the orthography used.

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This is namely that, for various reasons, the leaders
of the politicized language movement in Hungary have
adopted an English-based spelling for the transcript-
ion of Romāni texts. However, their potential readers
have all learned to read and write in Hungarian class-
es and in addition, the majority of them, owing to
their low educational level, have rather poor skills
in this field. As a consequence, they have enormous
difficulties in reading texts transcribed in the above
way.

Greater sensibility to readers' needs on the lead-
ers' part would be an important prerequisite for any
advance in the field of language planning and the dev-
elopment of Romāni literacy.

NOTES

[1]The survey of 1970 puts the proportion of Gypsies char-
acterized by Romāni-Hungarian bilingualism at 21.2% of
the entire Gypsy population. For methodological reasons,
however, bilingual Gypsies in Hungary are probably under-
represented by these data based upon questionnaire acc-
ounts. That is to say, a linguistic survey of the Gypsy
population is difficult to carry out, because relevant
ans'' rs concerning intra-group language use are hard to
obtain from bilingual Gypsy speakers. Gypsies, as my
personal experienc? also confirms, very often deny their
knowledge of Romāni, declaring themselves monolingual
speakers of Hungarian, Hungarian having more prestige
than the Romāni mother tongue. This language attitude
is very similar to that reported by other authors in
connection with diglossic language situations (cf.
below) (Barker, 1949; Ferguson, 1959). Thus, it is
very probable that the estimate of a specialist in Rom-
āni linguistics, J. Vekerdi, according to whom the num-
ber of Gypsies speaking Romāni as mother tongue would
be over one hundred thousand, comes somewhat closer to
reality than the finding of the above-mentioned survey.

[2]To a place of pilgrimage.

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THE LANGUAGE SITUATION IN THE UKRAINIAN SSR AND THE ISSUE OF LESS WIDELY TAUGHT LANGUAGES

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In the world of today where national consciousness
is developing alongside the increase in international
relations and cooperation and the deepening of inter-
action and mutual influence of cultures and languages,
the issues of the learning and teaching of less widely
taught languages acquire special importance. As a
rule these issues are related to the problems of the
languages of national minorities, of doing away with
illiteracy, of working out writing systems for langu-
ages which had none and of reviving forgotten and semi-
forgotten languages.

However, in order to outline the contours of this
issue for the particular case of the Ukrainian Soviet
Socialist Republic, which is one of the 15 republics
of the Soviet Union, one has to answer the question:
less widely taught languages from which point of view?
Should it be the European community as a whole, the
Ukrainian language itself may be considered a less wide-
ly taught language. If we view the problem from the
internal standpoint of the Ukraine, the term "less
widely taught languages" may be applied to a number of
European languages which are, in fact, quite intensive-
ly used in parts of Europe other than the Ukraine, as
well as to a number of non-European languages.

The issue of less widely taught languages in the
Ukraine is directly connected with the ethno-linguistic
situation in the Ukrainian SSR. Historically the so-
called national minorities appeared in the territory of
the present-day Ukraine due to the migration processes

which were determined mainly by economic reasons and
religious strife   This period covers several centur-
ies – from the 10th to the 19th century A.D.   Thus, for
instance, Armenians appeared in the territory of what
is now the Ukraine in the 10th to the 14th century and
had become in fact assimilated by the 19th century.
The 15th to the 17th century saw the influx of Russ-
ians, Poles, Rumanians, Moldavians, Jews.   The 18th
century attracted to the Ukraine Germans, Bulgars and
Greeks and the 19th century Estonians, Hungarians,
Czechs, Slovaks, Byelorussians, Tartars, Gagauz[1].

According to the census of 1979[2] the population
of the Ukraine constituted 49,609,000 (50,500,000 in
1983).   Of this number 36,489,000 (73.6%) were Ukrain-
ians, 10,472,000 (21.1%) were Russians.   Thus, the re-
presentatives of these two nations constitute in the
Ukraine 94.7% of the total population, and the national
minorities, 5.3%.   Of other ethnic groups the number of
Jews amounted   to 633,000 (1.3%), Byelorussians 406,000
(0.8%), Moldavians 294,000 (0.6%), Poles 258,000 (0.5%),
Bulgars 238,000 (0.5%), Hungarians 164,000 (0.3%), Rum-
anians 122,000 (0.2%), Greeks 104,000 (0.2%).   The
Ukraine also hosts representatives of other national-
ities and ethnic groups – Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Es-
tonians, Armenians, Tartars, Karaims, Gagauz, Gypies
whose numbers are not insignificant.

About 81   of the population recognize the language
of their nationality as their mother tongue.   Among
Ukrainians this figure is 94%, among Russians, over 98%.
The overwhelming majority of Jews, Armenians, Karaims,
Estonians recognize Russian as their mother tongue.
For over 84% of Poles the mother tongue is Ukrainian.
Most Bulgars use Russian or Ukrainian alongside Bulgar-
ian.   Hungarians, Rumanians and Gagauz use mainly their
ethnic languages

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Most of the nationalities living in the Ukraine
(about 96%) belong linguistically to the Slavic group
of the Indo-European family. 0.8% of the population
speak languages of the Romance group, while 0.25%
speak languages of independent groups of the Indo-
European family. Other language families are repre-
sented in the Ukraine by Hungarians and Estonians
(Ural family) and Tartars, Gagauz and Karaims (Altaic
family). Their total number amounts to 0.7% of the
population of the Ukraine.[3]

Language planning issues in the Ukraine are being
solved on the basis of the principles of national pol-
icy and language policy elaborated by V. I. Lenin long
before the October Revolution of 1917, which found
their implementation in the decisions of the 10th Con-
gress of the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks)
of 1921 and in further practical activities of the
Soviet State aimed at the development and consolidat-
ion of Soviet statehood in forms appropriate to the
national and historical ways of life of the different
nations and ethnic groups, inhabiting the Soviet coun-
try: development and consolidation of courts, adminis-
tration, bodies of power and economy in the native lan-
guages: development of press, education, theatres and
other cultural and educational bodies in ethnic lan-
guages[4].

The cornerstone of this extensive programme was
the idea of rejecting an official language as such.
Among a number of pressing problems the task of high-
est priority was to do away with illiteracy among the
nations and ethnic groups possessing written languages
and to work out a writing system for those having none.
(It should be noted that of all languages existing in

the Soviet Union, only 20 were written and only four
- Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian and Georgian - were in
fact developed literary languages. During the two de-
cades after the Revolution writing systems ∘re devel-
oped for over 40 languages).

In the Ukrainian SSR education is based on the
..titution of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR, the laws
o. the USSR and Ukrainian SSR on public education and
the charter of public secondary schools which guaran-
tee the right to education and choice of language of
instruction. Because the Ukrainian population is mul-
tinational there exist schools with Ukrainian, Russian,
Moldavian, Hungarian and Polish languages of instruct-
ion. According to the Ministry of Public Education of
the Ukrainian SSR, of over 20,000 comprehensive schools
in the Ukraine in 1985 there were over 15,200 schools
(74.4%) with Ukrainian as the language of instruction
and 4,445 (21.8%) with Russian. Moldavian is used as
the language of instruction in 110 schools (0.5%), Hun-
garian, .n 55 schools (0.3%), Polish, in two schools.
Besides there also exist 539 so called mixed schools
(2.64%) with two languages of instruction (Ukrainian-
Russian, Ukrainian-Hungarian, Russian-Hungarian, Russ-
ian-Moldavian, Ukrainian-Moldavian, etc.)

It would be appropriate to mention here that for-
eign languages in the comprehensive schools of the
Ukraine are taught in the following ratio: English -
in over 9,600 schools, German - in over 9,000 schools,
French - in 2,700 schools and Spanish - in 132 schools.
In Kiev there is a school where Chinese is taught as a
foreign language.

Courses in less widely taught languages are taught
mainly in the universities. For instance, courses in

the languages of the neighbouring, mainly Slavic, coun-
tries are taught in Kiev University (Bulgarian, Polish,
Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, Czech) and a course in Hungar-
ian is taught in the University of Uzhgorod.

The main Western European languages are taught in
all universities of the Ukraine and in most teacher
training institutes. During the last ten to fifteen
years the studying and teaching of less widely taught
languages of Europe and other regions of the world was
launched in Kiev University. Some of them are less
widely taught in the Ukraine. For example, besides
French and Spanish, students may take an optional cour-
se in such Romance languages as Italian, Portuguese,
Rumanian, Latin and receive additional qualifications
in these languages. In order to widen their linguist-
ic horizon they may also take special courses in Gall-
ician, Catalan and Occitan.

Kiev University provides courses in the following
Germanic languages: English and German as major lan-
guages, Gothic in the course on the history of German-
ic languages, and Frisian as a special course. In the
1987-1988 academic year Dutch and Danish will be intro-
duced as optional courses and later Swedish with a view
to providing an additional qualification.

Moreover, since 1972 Kiev University has been pro-
viding courses in Arabic and Japanese (as second or
optional languages) and it is planned to introduce
Chinese. In the academic year 1987-1988 a special
course in Basque and an optional course in Greek are to
be initiated.

Kiev University is a place where research is also
conducted on the functioning and change in less wide-

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ly known and used varieties of European languages in
different regions of the world and in different socio-
cultural conditions (variants of the English and French
languages in the developing countries, etc.).

This is a brief outline of the language policy in
the Ukraine, paying particular attention to the system
of education and the place and role of less widely
taught languages.

Increasing the number of languages taught in
schools and universities, including less widely taught
ones - both of neighbouring and distant countries -
will contribute to better understanding of the way of
life and culture of these nations and thus to cooper-
ation and friendship.

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POSSIBILITIES AND LIMITS
OF THE PROCESSES OF LINGUISTIC RECUPERATION:
THE CASE OF CATALAN

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When two languages coincide within the same terr-
itory, either because in the given territory two groups,
each speaking its own language, coexist, or because the
members of one group use one language or the other de-
pending on circumstances, or because there is any situ-
ation halfway between these mentioned above, the two
languages present neither fulfil, in relation to the
whole society, the same functions, nor have the same
prestige, nor the same social strength. These differ-
ences and disequilibrium can be very varied, but if
they are all positioned in the same direction, they
allow us to qualify one of the languages as the strong
language and the other as the weak one.

Some time ago, the word "diglossia" was success-
fully introduced to designate those situations of co-
existence and inequality between two languages. In its
common sense it is characterized by two facts:
-    In a "diglossic" situation, the weak language is
     only used in the private field and in daily life,
     whereas the strong language, besides being able
     to be used in such fields, is also used in the
     most formal circumstances and whenever it is nec-
     essary to deal with political or cultural aspects.
     Also, the strong language is mainly, or exclusive-
     ly, used for writing.
-    In a "diglossic" situation the weak language is
     used mainly by the popular levels of population,
     while the strong language is preferred by the

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higher levels and, generally, by those related
to political power and cultural activity.
I would add another characteristic to these, which I
understand is the most significant. In a "diglossic"
situation those who speak the weak language find them-
selves compelled to know the strong one and convert
themselves, therefore, into bilinguals, whereas those
who speak in the first place the strong language do
not feel this need or they feel it less. As a result,
in communicating with those who speak in the first
place the strong language, there is a tendency to
speak the strong language.

It is true that the situations of languages in
contact are so extraordinarily complex and varied that
this general description cannot be enough to define
them. Not only can we distinguish different grades of
"diglossia", but also the disequilibrium between the
languages can present very varied forms, sometimes sur-
prising or paradoxical. Each linguistic situation can
only be characterized by starting from a deep and vig-
orous description of its main features. But, anyway,
the notion of "diglossia", is useful to remind us that
in many cases of languages in contact, and considering
the situation comprehensively, we can justifiably speak
about a systematic disequilibrium favouring one of them.

Like all social phenomena, this disequilibrium is
not static but dynamic. It is continuously influenced
by forces which act in different directions. But this
dynamism can be very stable, since, as we know, the
linguistic habits of individuals and communities are
very conservative and reproduce themselves easily, thus
a "diglossic" situation can maintain itself for centur-
ies. Anyway, it is obvious that if the forces which

have produced "diglossia" keep on acting, the weak lan-
guage will progressively lose ground and at the limit,
however slow the process might be, can reach the point
of disappearing.

History, though, is neither linear nor uniform, nor
is it predetermined. The forces that act upon languages
have their own dynamism and it is possible that, in a
certain moment, a weak language gets a new "push in"
and starts a path of recuperation and, therefore, norm-
alization. The path of normalization can be defined as
the process inverse to that which leads to "diglossia"
or, to be more precise, as the process whose aim is to
invert "diglossia", converting the hitherto weak language
into the strong language.

Reviewing what I have said about the characteris-
tics of "diglossia", we could say that the process of
normalization tries to:
1. Make the weak language known and used by the en-
    tire population, even by those who have the strong
    language as their mother tongue.
2. Make the hitherto weak language be used on all
    occasions and, therefore, also used on those
    traditionally reserved to the strong language.

Before continuing with this subject, note that the
use of the word "normalize", to mean this recuperation
of a language, is not a general one. Traditionally,
the word "normalize" has meant the process of formal-
ization and codification of a language's rules, for
instance, what Pompeu Fabra did among us with Catalan.
Catalan linguists introduced this new meaning of the
word "normalize", to recover the "normal" use of a lan-
guage. To cover the old use of the word, the word

"standardize" has been created, in the sense of "give
rules". This Catalan innovation meets a certain and
considerably important need found elsewhere, particul-
arly among those who look after weak and minority lan-
guages.

Because of the existing relationship between re-
cuperation processes and recessive processes, the ex-
pansion of one language often implies recession of an-
other. Before starting with the subject of recuperat-
ion, I will briefly relate to this recession. And not
to extend the comment excessively, among the great var-
iety of known situations about languages in contact, I
will limit myself to those which are more familiar,
those which are found in Europe as a result of the
constitution of the so called national states during
the modern era.

Their common root starts from the disintegration
of the Roman Empire, from the arrival of barbarians
speaking different languages and from the splitting up
of Latin during the Middle Ages. The new languages are
consolidated and extended as the communities that speak
them get political success. The Iberian Peninsula
offers us an excellent example: after the Arabian in-
vasion, the different languages derived from Latin
spoken in the ranges of mountains in the north of the
peninsula - Galician, Asturian, Castilian, Aragonese,
Catalan - have a destiny directly related to the polit-
ical successes of those who speak them and to their
territorial extent. The political structures that
appear are not, though, necessarily related to the lan-
guage, and the Crown of Aragon is a good example of a
common fact in the Middle Ages: political unities that
do not coincide with linguistic limits.

This situation changes as the modern era advances
and as national states are being constituted, based on
an increasingly centralized administration that uses
only one language which becomes the state's official
language. Those languages different from that taken
as the official one are abandoned to their fate. This
expansion process of the state's official language be-
comes more acute in the nineteenth century when it is
given an ideological foundation that starts from the
French revolution and the nation's romantic ideology,
and which considers the language as a demonstration of
nationality and as a symbol of the nation's unity.
State, nation, language and culture are in this way
closely related terms.

Beside this history of the beginnings we must
situate the history of the means used to assure the
predominance of the national state language. In the
first instance, as I have said, the language of the
state is the language of the administration, so anyone
who attempts to have relations with the political
power has to speak the official language. Later in
some countries like France, the state explicitly
assumes the custody and defence of the official lan-
guage, for instance creating the French Academy. The
official protection and the spreading of printing
cause the vast majority of book publishing to be in
national languages.

The emergence of the linguistic nationalism ideo-
logy coincides with the spreading of compulsory educat-
ion in Western Europe and school is put at the service
of the official language's diffusion, thus bringing it in
a unified way to the entire population, even to those
who do not have it as a first language. Nowadays, this

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role of linguistic diffusion and unification by the
school is assumed, moreover, by communication mass
media, especially by TV.

It is true that the model of the process of uni-
fication that I have just summarized, and of which the
linguistic policy of the French state may be the best
example, has not acted in the same way in all Europe.
Germany and Italy, to give two significant examples,
did not obtain their political unity until the nine-
teenth century. Until then, the linguistic converg-
ence had been based, above all, on the prestige of
some literary models and it was with much hardness that
a policy of promotion of the "official" language arose
in both countries. On the contrary, Switzerland very
soon obtained a unified political structure but it was,
and still is, a federal structure which totally respects,
or at least very notably, the linguistic differences.

In spite of this and other variations, in the end
every country's history has its own individual
characteristics. It is still true that European
history in modern times has been distinguished by the
consolidation and diffusion of national state
languages. As a result of the pressure systematically
and continuously exercised in favour of such languages,
non-national languages have progressively lost ground.
All of them have seen themselves reduced to more or
less severe diglossic situations, which in most
cases   ter their evolution and progress and condemn
them   disintegration, converting them, in the
case o· the weakest languages, into dialectal variants
of the 'ficial language.

Historic processes have not playe   though, ex-
clusively against non-state languages; many have re-

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sisted more or less well and some have started recuperation processes and they even have obtained results which would have been unthinkable a century ago.

In principle it could be thought that the recuperation capability of a marginal language is a direct consequence of its resistance capability and, therefore, that the languages which have fared better are the ones which develop more easily, but one must realize that my contention and the reasons that explain it will hardly produce a recuperation. An isolated population, with traditional ways of living can maintain its own language for a long time and resist the surrounding linguistic pressure, but it will hardly initiate expansion. Mere survival then, is not enough; something more is necessary.

In the middle of the last century, and due to reasons which are not worth examining now, there was in all of Europe a great interest in the cultural past that led to the re-evaluation of cultures and traditions and also of languages that had been kept apart by the main line of "progress". The agents of such re-discovering were intellectuals in the wide sense and, in the first place, writers, or if you like, specifically poets. It is the movement that we call the "renaissance".

The revival of a minority language, even if it is only in the literary field, gets in conflict with the existing "diglossic" situation and awakes the nostalgia of using it, more than in the mere familiar and daily conversation, in all cultural fields. But to move forward in this direction its literary cultivation is not enough. Political intentionality becomes necessary. And to be more precise, we could say that two things are necessary. In the first place that those who

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speak the language feel that in some way they are
jointly sharing a common project, trying to assume re-
sponsibility and, therefore, hoping to have some grace
of autonomy. And at the same time that those who speak
the language or those who have given up speaking it
consider the language as sign and symbol of their sol-
idarity.

At the moment in which this is produced, what I
have called before the romantic theory of nationa ty,
used by national states to impose the official language
on populations that speak another one, can revert against
them. The states argue saying: if you are a member of
the state you must speak the national language. Those
who defend the language of minorities answer: if we
speak a different language it means that we are a diff-
erent nation and, therefore, we have the right to some
degree of autonomy and self-government. Language is a
guarantee of nationality, in the words of Prat de la
Riba.

This consciousness has been very different for the
various minority languages in Europe. It is known, for
instance, that the Occitan language had a splendid lit-
erary renaissance, but this did not materialize in a
political consciousness. The political project in
turn, must connect with wider collective situations,
even at international level, which can favour or make
difficult the recuperation process. The disappearing
of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire allowed the indepen-
dence of different nationalities, based to a great ex-
tent on linguistic criteria.

On the contrary, the historic confrontation be-
tween France and Germany was weighed as a stone over
the possibility that the language spoken in Alsace had

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political support. And, the fact that the German auth-
orities clearly protected Flemish during the two occup-
ations of Belgium, has in that country influenced the
linguistic conflict. In Norway, on the other hand, the
strengthening of the linguistic particularity seems to
have been rather a consequence of its independence from
Sweden than its origin. The examples could multiוly,
but all of them lead us to the same conclusion: that
the recuperation process of a language has necessarily
a political component and that this component takes
very different shapes depending on periods and places.

   .   Besides its political implications, the recuper-
ation process of a language is influenced by other
factors, some of which I will point out now. The form-
ulation of a political project in defence of a language
is not a question of pure willingness, but depends, in
its turn, on a lot of factors. Often, the society that
speaks the marginal language constitutes a depressed or
under-developed region within the state in which it is
integrated. Under these conditions it is difficult for
a language to gain prestige and symbolic status. One
of the keys to the recuperation of Catalan has been the
industrial revolution, which converted Catalonia into a
progressive and relatively rich country within the
Spanish unity. If the political solidarity of those who
speak a minority language does not achieve some recog-
nition in the form of more or less autonomous institut-
ions, the recuperation process will soon be blocked.

   Autonomous institutions of government can establish
and support the administrative use of the language, can
promote its use in all cultural dimensions and can, very
especially, introduce the language into education with
all the consequences that this means. Apart from that,
it must be remembered that, starting from a certain

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point, in order to assure that the recuperation of a
language can keep on progressing, it is necessary that
this has been standardized in the sense that its rules
have been formulated: dictionary, grammatical rules,
spelling rules, etc., and that such rules have a gen-
eralized acceptance. It is obvious that as long as
these rules have not been formulated, a language can-
not have either an administrative use, or an academic
use, nor can it be used as a teaching language. We
will add that the standardization effort continues in
two directions: the definition of the common language,
above dialectal differences and modes of use, and the
effort to modernize the language and put it in the
situation of being used for any subject and in any cir-
cumstance. Without this effort the aspiration ceiling
of a language has to be necessarily low.

To finish with these remarks about the recuperat-
ion process of a language, I will add a comment about
its objectives. Truly, it is difficult to specify the
objectives of historic processes which spread out in
time and which can be modified or exceeded by the pass-
ing of time itself. But in any case, it seems natural
to say that the recuperation and normalization process
of a language has as its main objective the reversion
of the "diglossic" situation from which it comes, con-
verting the hitherto weak language into the strong and,
therefore, dominant one. But, dominant to what extent?
Dominant language in public use, dominant language in
any situation, dominant language in the sense of unique
language?

It is obvious that the most ambitious objectives
can only be achieved by means of political resources
that guarantee a complete autonomy in the territory
where the language is spoken, either within the frame-

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work of a federal state or as an independent state.
Without forgetting, though, that political schemes,
even the most extreme, do not guarantee by themselves
the survival of a language; Ireland is a conclusive
example. Ireland's independence has only accelerated
its language's decay.

Definitively, a language's recuperation depends
on the extent to which those who speak it identify
themselves with it and on their will to maintain and
promote it. It also depends, as I was saying, on ex-
ternal political factors that can become uncontroll-
able. And we must not forget that it also depends on
simple demographic factors that weigh on the process
and which can determine its limits. First of all there
is the proportion within the population of those who have
as their mother tongue one or another of the languages
present. Secondly and more importantly is the total
number of speakers of the language that is claimed,
and also its demographic evolution. Below minimum
levels, the recuperation of a language is always more
difficult or it imposes a restriction on the objectives
that can be achieved.

Even though my contribution is focussed on the
conditions and limits of linguistic recuperation pro-
cesses, I cannot avoid referring to the process of re-
cuperation of the Catalan language and to its present
and future development.

The history of this process is too well known to
be worth repeating it here in detail. It starts from a
situation in the eighteenth century and the beginning
of the nineteenth in which the language is maintained
in the country and in the cities where Catalan is spoken,
but its use is limited to the fields of the family and

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daily life. In formal and written uses Castilian is
preferably or exclusively used. A situation, then,
typically "diglossic". Recuperation begins, as I have
said, with a re-evaluation of the historic past and with
a literary cultivation of the language that progress-
ively extends to other fields.

Recuperation coincides, as I have also mentioned,
with Catalonia's industrialization and with the con-
firmation of a difference of perspective and interests
in relation to those of the state and its government
organs, which leads to the formulation of a political
project and the demand for autonomy.

As a result of this collective effort Catalonia
has, for the first time in the modern era, its own
government, which assumes the defence of Catalonia's
language and culture. A self-government experience,
even though being limited, that is repeated some years
after with the republic's "Generalitat" (i.e. Catalan
Autonomous Government) and which is brutally broken
during Franco's period. In Catalonia, the struggle
against the pro-Franco tendency includes, on the part
of those who participate in it, and regardless of their
political colour, the defence of the Catalan language
and institutions, and indeed, with the change of regime,
there begins another autonomous government period sup-
ported by a Constitution that recognizes Spanish
linguistic plurality and by a Statute that recognizes
Catalan as the true language of Catalonia.

The advances achieved since "renaissance" days and
since the first political struggles for Catalonia's
sake are obvious enough. The language has been stand-
ardized with a set of rules that nobody disputes, and
it has been modernized and has proved its capability

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of being used in all cultural dimensions. And its
quality of being the true language of Catalonia and
co-official with Castilian allows it to have an im-
portant institutional presence, practically exclusive
in the parliament and the government of the Generali-
tat, and considerable in all kinds of public and pri-
vate institutions.

And it is still necessary to add, and maybe it is
the most important fact, that this presence is increas-
ing. More or less quickly, the role of Catalan in pub-
lic administration is increasing nowadays, as is the
proportion of teaching in Catalan and the number of books
and TV broadcasting hours. It is not difficult to
agree with the affirmation that of all the non-state
European languages, Catalan is the one which has the
best situation and the best hope of future development.

In spite of this panorama, very positive at first
sight, discussions about Catalan's future remain fre-
quent and oscillate equally between optimism and pess-
imism. There are also curious mixtures of both these
outlooks, that claim immediate monolingualism and at the
same time announce the unavoidable and future disapp-
earing of Catalan if the present situation continues.

To formulate a better balanced opinion, I will
allow myself two considerations. The first one is to
refer to the impression that Catalan had achieved,
immediately before Franco's period, a situation of com-
plete linguistic normalization that the pro-Franco
tendency destroyed and which still has not been re-
covered, so despite the apparent progress there has
actually been a recession.

With the authority that is conferred on me by

having directly known the former situation in the war,
I can say that this impression is wrong and that in
most aspects Catalan was not in a better situation than
today but worse. To take as significant an example as
education, the proportion of students that were given
education about or in Catalan in the schools during the
republican period, did not reach 20%, whereas nowadays
practically all students are educated about Catalan
and almost 40% are educated in Catalan. Even at the
Autonomous University, so justly missed, the percent-
age of classes given in Catalan was lower than the
present. And, to give another example, the presence
that Catalan has in the Post Office, RENFE, IBERIA or
in certain state delegations, even though limited, is
much superior to what it was then, which was none and
I would even add that it was unthinkable. And, in a
more general field, I think it is obvious that the
attitude of the Spanish leaders towards Catalonia and
its autonomy was much more critical and hostile than
now. During those years the flow of immigration was
very strong and, if it is true that the immigrants who
settled in a Catalan environment would become integrat-
ed and learn the language, it is also true that the
vast majority concentrated in the suburbs of Barcelona
and the Baix Llobregat, and they stayed totally apart
from Catalan society and its language. Some facts pro-
duced nowadays, like the efforts of left wing parties
to "catalanize" the working class movement, the "cata-
lanization" trends promoted by councils with a majority
of immigrant population, to say nothing of the good
will with which many immigrant families have welcomed
teaching in Catalan, are absolute novelties, in con-
trast with what happened then.

     And, we still must take into account, and this fact
is essential, the continuity in the effort. Both Man-
comunitat and Generalitat (1931-1939) had very little

time to do all the tasks that they had aimed to do.
The Escola de Mestres (School of Teachers), created
by the Generalitat to provide the human base of the
"catalanization" of education, did not last to see its
first students find employment. The present General-
itat has already lasted longer than the republican
Mancomunitat and Generalitat together and it seems
that it will last for many years. Some innovations
that affect Catalan not only have been produced but
also are in the process of stabilization and becoming
irreversible.

And until now I have just referred strictly to
Catalonia. The progress of the political and social
role of the Catalan language, compared with the 30s in
the rest of the Catalan countries is literally sensat-
ional.

But, once having said all this that is true and
is convenient to remember, we must pay our attention to
the negative or limiting aspects of the process, and
this will be my second comment.

When I recall the times before the war, in the
environment where I lived, I realize that to me, like
the majority of inhabitants of Catalonia, daily life
was performed in Catalan more than now. At school
and at Balmes Institute the classes could be in Cast-
ilian, but outside classes we spoke practically only
in Catalan. And in the village, in the different vil-
lages I knew and in the city district where I lived,
Catalan was the predominant language of communication
and that which characterized community life, a thing
that I would not dare to say now. There has been,
then, a change, but it is a change that cannot be ex-
pressed simply by means of an intensity measure. It

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must be related to a difference in social ways of liv-
ing.   Then social life was based more than now on
direct and immediate relations in a limited geographic
space, the street, the neighbourhood, the ward. The
"festa major" (main festivity or festival), the meet-
ings and conversations, the amateur theatre, the excur-
sion centre ... were its centres. And all this, or the
vast majority, was in Catalan. Today, on the contrary,
social life takes place in much more open spaces which
tourism and TV, being mass phenomena, let us see.   It
is a society dominated by technology, and this is put
at the service of economic interests ever more widespread
and internationalized. In such a society the commun-
ication tone is given, more than by direct and person-
al communications, by communication mass media: news-
papers, magazines, cinema, TV, and also, in an increas-
ing proportion, by computer systems. And the presence
of a language in those areas is partly conditioned by
its economic potentialities. And the economic potent-
ialities of Catalan are inferior to other neighbouring
languages.

     Stated in a summarized way, the facts which limit
the normalization process of Catalan are, in my opinion:
1.   There are, in the first place, institutional
      limits. Catalonia is integrated in the Spanish
      state and according to the Constitution Castil-
      ian is the first official language of the state
      and its common language. Thus knowledge of Cast-
      ilian on the part of the Catalans is unavoidable.
2.   Moreover, through its political structure Spain
      constitutes a common economic area, with free
      communication of properties and services in its
      interior, and this economic unity favours Castil-
      ian, too. However difficult a deep change in the
      state's structure might be to imagine, it seems

even more difficult to omit this economic area.

3. Even though there are not authentic figures, it seems that nowadays, almost half of the inhabitants of Catalonia have Castilian as first language and they use it preferably in family life. Thus, even though, unlike the situation some years ago, the vast majority understand Catalan too, and many of them speak it, they will transfer Castilian to their children as first language.

4. The proportion of families with Castilian as first language within the Catalan population is now stabilized. But, since demographic indexes are low, it is possible to imagine in the future, new migratory flows coming from the south of Spain or, most probably from Africa with the subsequent danger to the language.

5. But, as I was saying, the greater danger to the Catalan language possibly comes from the characteristics of contemporary society, strongly technological and cosmopolitan which, while promoting multilingualism attaches the use of a language to its economic potentialities. More and more the cultural products, books, newspapers, magazines, films, videos, TV, computers ... need to be based on a wider market to bring profits and Catalan speakers are a relatively small potential market.

To conclude, during little more than a century, Catalan has made extraordinary progress, passing from a purely "diglossic" situation to become, in most aspects, Catalonia's main language. Continuity of this progress is not, though, assured. New circumstances establish limits which are very difficult to overcome and which put in danger even the objectives achieved. The challenge is great. But, as always, the future of

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the language depends in the end on the people who
speak it, on the extent to which we who speak it
identify ourselves with it and on the efforts that
we are willing to dedicate to it.

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SOME ASPECTS OF LEARNING/TEACHING ROMANIAN
AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

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0.   I shall briefly present here: some data con-
cerning the peculiarities of one of the languages of
Europe less taught as a foreign language – the Roman-
ian language (RL) – and a history of teaching it as a
foreign language (FL), also mentioning handbooks pub-
lished by Romanian as well as foreign scholars (1);
then (2) I will speak about the current status of
teaching RL as a FL at a university level in various
countries and in Romania for foreign students; various
studies (3) on the process of learning RL as a F. will
also be presented, and, in particular, two major pieces
of research conducted on this topic by Slama-Cazacu and
by Doca (a former doctorand in psycholinguistics), which
show some peculiarities of this process in a contrastive
approach, as well as due to features specific to RL..

The need was felt, in the international bibliography
of applied linguistics, of such a synthetic presentation,
including the points mentioned above. This explains the
brevity of this contribution, as well as the intention
to approach some of the major problem topics, even
though these can only be treated in general terms in the
present context.

1.0   RL is a Romance language (derived from Latin,
like French, Italian, etc.), with several influences
due to the history of the territory of ancient Dacia,
when the Romans – after having occupied and "Romanized"
it, also leaving many of their soldiers there – with-
drew a great part of their army   These influences do
not alter the fundamental Latin structure of this lan-

guage. I will endeavour to briefly mention evidence
of this:

    1.1 W. Meyer-Lübke (1930; 2, 35-6) the outstand-
ing Romanist, who was also a scholar very "prudent" in
his statements (Iordan 1968, 11) - wrote, synthetically,
that RL is not less Romanic than the other languages
deriving from Latin, and that it preserves - even more
than the other Romance languages - some features that
are characteristic of Latin. Its linguistic structure
"resisted" in a "kind of 'fight' against the other structures,
different from the genealogic point of view, with which
it came into contact".   For instance, despite dis-
advantageous conditions, not only its grammatical
structure resisted such influences, but also its phono-
logical system apparently "different" from other Romance
languages (some salient differences from Romance languages
such as the phonemes ă, /ə/ î, /ɨ/ - bătrîn "old" - and
diphthongs ea, oa - deal "hill, doar "only" - are due
to "internal" causes of evolution, and not to external
causes; it seems that only the h - hoț, "thief" - is
due to such influences - cf. Iordan, ibid.). As regards
the vocabulary, which is somewhat more heterogeneous than
in other Romance languages, it is much more unitary than
it seems to be, because one must take into consideration
the frequency and use of its components. There are
synonyms which come from languages other than Latin,
but the fundamental words, and in fact the "quality"
of the more requent words in the conversation of
everyday life present a Latin origin, or, integrated
into communicative contexts, they are submitted to a
grammatical processing which is essentially of a Latin
origin. RL also resembles the other Romance languages
in its capacity for enrichment - almost unlimited -
through its "internal" or own means (and this is to be

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noticed not only in its vocabulary, but also in its
syntax). It is very important to underline - and, I
think, of great importance - not only from the theor-
etical point of view, but also for the teaching/learn-
ing process - that, nowadays, the most productive
suffixes and prefixes are of recent Latin-Romance
origin (e.g., some affixes existing even in non-Romance
languages are of such a category: -ac, -can, -i, -ic,
-itate, - iza- akin to -ism and ·ist), and also the
modern auto-, cine-, micro-, pre-, radio-, tele·
(Iordan 1968, 10), thus making the learning of this
language easier. Contemporary RL shows a great capa-
city for enriching its vocabulary and even its syntax,
thus being able to express any concept and any logical
relation (I could add that it is particularly difficult
to find good translations into other languages, because
besides its wide variety of synonyms and its grammat-
ical richness, RL has also a great flexibility in
expressing ideas as well as features of a perceptual
or _nsory category, as well as nuancé feelings). If
this phenomenon is to be noticed first in literary reg-
isters, it also becomes frequent in the so-called
langage populaire ("common speech").

1.2 This neo-Latin language situated in the middle
of languages of various other origins seemed to be a
"miracle" (and it was called such by some scholars - and
by some an "enigma" - Let 1937, apud Iordan 1968, 12).
Romanian linguists and Romanists, however, have tried to
explain this situation and the peculiarities of RL. The
Latin tradition in RL and its position as against the
other Romance languages can be explained through its
history: in the beginning, Dacia was not at the "peri-
phery" of the Roman Empire - no more than other areas -,
and it only became a "periphery" after the decline of
the Eastern Roman Empire (and even after that event, it

was not in such isolation as Sardinia or Portugal).
This explains why alloglot influences were acting
upon the future RL, but also explains its peculiar-
ities as a Latin language due to the relations the
North Danubian territory had with the Southern one,
where Romanization was still powerful up to a certain
moment (and this also explains the South Danubian
Romanian dialects - cf. Iordan 1968, 5). What is
also a salient peculiarity of RL is its *unity* on the
territory of the ancient Dacia (North Danubian); its
dialects are only in the Balkans area (South Danubian).
This fact - as well as comparisons that began to be
made by scholars who knew Latin in the 16th century
and later - generated a powerful national conscious-
ness (even among illiterate people). RL has also aroused
great interest among linguists since several centuries
ago, and particularly in the 19th and 20th centuries.
They began to study RL for their own interests as
Romanists, but also as general linguists, also finding
a language which allowed opportunities for original
studies (important studies were published by Sandfeld 1902,
1930, (apud Iordan 1968. p.4), Tagliavini 1923 a.o.,
Meyer-Lübke 1930 a.o., Werner Bahner, etc. - and by
Romanian linguists (B.P. Hasdeu, Alexandru Philippide,
Ovid Densusianu, Iorgu, Iordan, Alexandru, Rosetti etc.).
Foreign scholars started to teach RL in their Romance
languages courses, and to set up RL "lectorates", also
publishing handbooks of RL as a FL. Young people began
to study this language in order to complete their uni-
versity training in Romance languages, but also to read
literature. Finally, also touristic interests arose,
as well as some motivation for knowing what was consid-
ered an "exotic" country and its language. More recent-
ly, also, for studying, in Romanian universities, not
only literature, language, art and history of this

country, but also medicine, agronomy, engineering, etc.

1.3 A question was essential for teaching RL as a
FL - and for the learners who would not have a strong
motivation for learning this language except for a deep-
er specialization as Romanists: is it a "difficult"
language? Certainly, this is a layman's question, at
any rate put in layman's terms. It cannot be answered
in absoluto, and has to be connected with the base lan-
guage of the learner. We can now meet, in Bucharest,
students from Africa or Asia, from Bulgaria or Germany,
China, the USSR, from Israel or the Arab countries, be-
sides Francophones, Anglo-Saxons etc. - who learn RL
and speak it - according to their motivations - very
well. There are, certainly, some features more specific
to RL, some others that may become "difficulties"
according to the learner's mother tongue. Among the
apparent difficulties for some learners having various
base languages are the phonemes ă, î, and some diph-
thongs (but I wouldn't consider it less difficult for a
French learner to master the pronunciation of th in
English, or for a Romanian the e muet in French, etc.).
This language has a strong specificity in morphology
(which was found by us - when conducting research in
the Romanian-English contrastive project as being one
of the most important differences between Romanian and
English - which has fewer morphological difficulties
than syntactic ones, at least for Romanian-speaking
learners). I will quote from the remarks made by one
of the best specialists in RL in the USSR, who also
teaches this language at a higher level at the University
of Leningrad and speaks RL almost as a native
speaker (although she only learnt it when she began her
university studies in Leningrad) (Repina, 1968, 6):

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The grammatical structure of RL is character-
ized by a strong binding of the elements of
the flexionary and analytical construction.
The existence of the nouns declension, the
clear expression, in the majority of cases,
of the verbal inflexion, the complex system
of the declension of personal pronouns, of
the demonstratives and other pronouns, on
the one hand; and, on the other hand, the
system of the articles, much richer than in
any Western or Southern Romance language (in
fact, the majority of the articles are
declined), the ample system of prepositions
[which, I shall add, are connected with nouns
and not with verbs, as in English - note TSC],
the presence of complex analyrical forms of
verbs, all that may create special difficult-
ies in the acquisition of RL.

"The phonetic structure of RL, which basically continues
Late Latin, is also characterized by some non-Romance
features", and this is considered by the same author
among the "difficulties". She also adds that the "re-
latively free word-order, the diversity of the means
for grammatical determination, the predominant use of
the subjunctive confer special syntactic features on RL".
A specialist in RL who was a Francophone underlined:

The difficulty of RL does not consist in its
general structure, or in its syntactic details
(e.g. the syntax of subordinate sentences does
not offer any difficulty to beginners), but in
the subtlety in the use of the articles. Some-
times the noun is totally deprived of an article
(it it is introduced by any other preposition
except *cu* ["with"], sometimes, on the contrary,
the *group noun plus qualifying adjective* is en-
riched by little determiners such as: a post-
posed article, an adjectival article, a possess-
ive article. (Guillermou 1953, 7 *apud* Doca
1976).

I will return to such "difficulties", speaking about the
necessity for thorough scientific research not only in order
to determine "the sensitive points" (the difficulties)
according to the specific base language (mother tongue) in a

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contrastive approach, but also in order to state the
order of teaching the various forms of RL, etc.

1.4 As mentioned before, many scholars who were
interested in RL as foreigners have also published
handbooks for teaching this language. The same was
done, even before, by Romanians (I am speaking here
about handbooks intended to be used for foreigners
learning RL, and not about "grammars" of RL in the
general meaning). Among the first, if not even the
first one to appear, was the handbook "German-Valach-
ian" by Ioan Molnar, published in Vienna in 1788,
meant to be used by non-native speakers of RL from
Transylvania, Bucovina and the Banat (included in the
Austro-Hungarian Empire). In 1827, Stefan Margela
published, in Petersburg, a "Russian-Romanian grammar",
one of the first attempts to present a contrastive
handbook. In the 19th century handbooks for Franco-
phones also appeared, and mostly after the creation of
the "Romanian Principalities" (1859), the interest in
this part of Europe increased in Western countries: as
a consequence, handbooks and lexicons of RL appeared in
a great number (for an acquaintance with the language
"spoken by 8 million people" (Mircesco [V.Alecsandri],
1863, XXV-XXVI). At the same time, many such books
appeared in Vienna, Czernovitz, Brasov, Sibiu, for
German-speaking learners. After the beginning of the
20th century, the awareness of the interest presented
by RL for linguistics generated the publication of
handbooks written by well-known linguists such as
Weigand 1903, Tagliavini 1923, etc.). After the
Second World War the handbooks for RL as a FL increas-
ed in number, also due to the extension of the area
where the interest in this language w. a .ened (Asia,
Africa, America). Many of the principles a use in the

last few decades were used for these handbooks such as
the principle of grouping the words around a "lexical
field" or "centres of interest" and also based on the
most various theoretical concepts - structuralist
(Cazacu et $al.$), comparative-historical (Tagliavini
1923: he even gave texts concerning old RL, from the
15th - 16th centuries, etc.), or generative (Augerot,
Popescu 1969). Some of these handbooks in fact pre-
sented "descriptions" of RL grammar, and in the past
only a few set out to consider the practical aims of
the teaching process or, in any case, to facilitate
the learning of RL through the application of didactic
principles (among them: Cazacu et $al.$ 1967, 1980 -
created and used at the Summer Courses at Si~aia and
widely used and appreciated abroad; it remains the
only one published in Romania, also adding acoustic
aids - a record etc.). After several years of tests,
in the courses for foreign students in various Roman-
ian universities, a handbook written by a group at the
University of Bucharest (Brâncus et $al.$ 1982) was ad-
opted and recommended by the Romanian Ministry of
Education for teaching RL as a FL to foreign students.
Its characteristics are: to be meant to serve for the
students of the "preparatory year, semester I", to com-
bine "traditional and modern methodologies", to train
them "concomitantly" for all language levels (phonetics,
grammar, vocabulary, phraseology), to help "progressive
acquisition" and mostly for "everyday conversation" and
dialogues; only some scientific terminology is given,
"no intermediary language" is used, and therefore many
words are explained through contexts - also in order to
avoid interferences with the bare language; in the second
part, texts on topics of Romanian history, geography,
culture etc. are included. Several books containing
"exercises" were also published, by the groups of var-

ious Romanian universities (one of them, also written
on the basis of psycholinguistic research, of which I will
speak further, was published by our doctorand, Doca,
1981).

Various foreign publishing houses considered it
was of a commercial interest for them to publish such
handbooks (some are written by Romanian scholars; un-
fortunately, the majority are not based on special re-
search in the field).

2.0 *Teaching RL as a FL, in special courses.*

2.1 *Outside Romania,* RL has long been taught in
universities (in accordance with the interests of some
scholars, as I mentioned above). After the Second
World War, the so-called "lectorates" were created in
various universities and mostly in the 60s they pro-
liferated very much, on an exchange basis. The lectors
were mostly trained at Romanian universities and the
"lectorates" are usually integrated with the depart-
ments of Romance languages (they have libraries with
Romanian publications, the majority of them sent, on an
exchange basis mostly, by the Central Library of the
University of Bucharest; such "seminars" and "librar-
ies" can be seen in any country, from Paris-Censier,
or Roma-La Sapienza, to Waseda University in Tokyo,
etc.). Many of these centres for teaching RL as a F!
for *students* (we have not many workers abroad, needing
teaching for their children and for themselves) are
enthusiastic in their activities, which include, be-
sides language courses, learning Romanian folklore,
dances, popular songs, poems, etc. I have heard a brief
comedy in Romanian, acted by Japanese students at a
university in Tokyo. And, from other examples, I can
mention the beautiful collection of volumes of the

"lectorate" at Turku-Finland, which the Romanian lector
Ion Stavarus, published for several years, with the help
of the head of the Department of Romance Languages,
Lauri Lindgren; it contains Romanian poems translated
into Finnish or from Finnish into Romanian: the beauti-
ful "Kantelar" - collection of Finnish runes, trans-
lated into Romanian - etc.   Such productions are con-
crete proof of the fact that RL *can* be learned by for-
eigners, at a high level of proficiency even, if there
is enough *motivation*, (at the Summer Courses at Sinaia,
we heard Romanian poems recited by students from *all*
countries of the world, often with a perfect pronun-
ciation; or "compositions" written *ex tempore* in a
perfect grammar and a rich vocabulary, in the seminars
for foreign students at Bucharest, which I will mention
below: for instance, good "compositions" written by
Chinese students).

      2.2   In Romania, RL is taught as a FL at the uni-
versity level or for children (foreigners who spent
here a longer interval of time - such as Greeks or
Koreans, for instance, many years ago - ; or as a sec-
ond language for pupils in the classes of RL for child-
ren belonging to the other nationalities - "minorities";
and, though pertaining to the process of developing RL
as a mother tongue, it is perhaps interesting to men-
tion that there are special classes - 2 hours per week
- in the first two forms, for children having RL as a
mother tongue, for "improving speech"). a) As regards
the teaching of RL as a FL at the university level in
Romania, we ought to mention first the "Summer Courses".
This was the first organized way of teaching RL as a
FL for foreigners at this level. The first "Summer
Courses" for RL as a FL after the Second World War were
those organized by the University of Bucharest (several

years later, there were also such courses at other
Romanian universities), and they began in 1960, at
Sinaia[1]. b) Courses of RL as a FL at the university
level in Romania are given for students who come to
Romania for training in any speciality. These courses
mostiy increased in the 70s, with higher numbers of
students coming from various countries for training
in various specialities, from medicine to philology,
from agriculture to history, economics, engineering etc.
They are organized at the various universities, with
the same curriculum, taught exclusively by persons
from the university staff, and, with slight variations
they now use the same handbooks. They are attended
either by postgraduates, who come for the doctorate
(in RL and literature, but also in other fields),
or to do research or a "specialization", or - the
majority - undergraduate students, who come for their
university studies in the various fields mentioned be-
fore. All these students (postgraduates included)
have to attend the so-called "preparatory year",
where an introduction into their speciality is taught,
but mostly a teaching of RL as a FL is envisaged[2].

The result (I think, due to the special *motivation*)
is that all these students speak and understand RL
pretty well (one has many opportunities also of meet-
ing them in the street and hearing them speak RL).
From my own experience I can mention an Albanian of
over 40 years old, who came for one *year's* training in
psycholinguistics (knowing Italian and Rus   n); after
3 months of learning RL (with a doctorand of mine, but
for the most part *alone*, with his own well-motivated
efforts), he was able to understand my lectures and to
take an active part in our seminars of psycholinguist-
ics; in the summer, when he left, he was able to speak
RL (and to read proficiently).

3.0 *Studies* and *research* are necessary in order
to establish any curriculum and any method or hand-
book for teaching any language as a FL. My opinion
is very strong in this respect, and I add the neces-
sity of envisaging a strong basis of psycholinguist-
ics in this process of organizing teaching of a FL
(see Slama-Cazacu 1968/1973, 1971a, 1971b, 1973b, 1975,
1983, etc.).

3.1 For learning and teaching RL as a FL, I also
have envisaged special previous investigations; I
will mention some of them (and mainly the two more
comprehensive ones done by me, and then by Doca 1981).
Some studies have also been done more recently by the
staff who teach RL as a FL, but mostly based on *obser-*
vation and not meant to be organized research as the
ones I will speak of below (many of these studies are
presented at the Symposia of the Romanian Working
Commission of Applied Linguistics - GRLA/RWCAL -
affiliated to AILA - which greatly encourage such pre-
sentations and their publication).

3.2 The *first research* on RL learned as a FL was
begun by myself at the Summer Course at Sinaia, in the
early 60s (dictations, records of pronunciation, etc.).
This study was continued, in a better organized way,
by me and our doctorand G. Doca (Slama-Cazacu 1977,
also in Slama-Cazacu 1975), according to the method-
ology I developed, of the Acquisition Corpus, Aberrant
Corpus and Hierarchical System of Errors (Slama-Cazacu
1974). Various proofs were used (free composition,
dictation, translation, etc.), which brought to the
Acquisition Corpus, out of which the Aberrant Corpus
was processed (by classifying the errors), and then by
statistical processing we established the most frequent
errors. This first piece of research was more difficult

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of achievement to the detail implied by my method,
because 23 base languages were used (with RL as the
target language; 246 subjects). However, interesting
data were obtained (presented at the 3rd AILA Congress),
showing some of the most frequent or typical errors in
learning RL whatsoever the base language would be (as
interferences or in any case sensitive points due to
morphological peculiarities, etc.). Many errors were
also noticed, which depended on the *base language* (and
also on another foreign language previously learned -such
as Italian, or Spanish, for a Francophone, etc.). E.g;
avem petrecut, instead of *am petrecut*, "we have enjoyed",
an error made by German and English native speakers as
in their languages the verb *haben*, *have* is the same when
used predicatively or as an auxiliary, while in Romanian
a avea is different for the 1st and 2nd persons plural,
plus 3rd sg when it is used as auxiliary - *noi am petrecut*,
"we have enjoyed", or predicatively, *noi avem cărti*,
"we have books". A great number of errors were however
identified which depended on the storage already
acquired *in the target language* (which I call errors
of "regularization", and which also appear when a child
is learning its mother tongue - as *goed*   (for *went*),
mens (for *men*), etc. - see Slama Cazacu 1973c; these
enter very probably the category of the "universals
of learning"). E.g.: *vedînd* and not *văzînd* "seeing"
(a self formulated "rule" from *el vede*, "he sees",
a vedea, "to see")or: *înconjurează*, "he-she surrounds",
înălţează, "he-she arises", instead of *înconjură*,
înaltă, due to verbs already learned, in the first
lesson: *corectează*, "he-she corrects", *lucrează*, "he-
she works.

Thi result (about 50% of errors generated by pro-
perties of *storage in the target language* and not due
to base language influence) was among the first proofs

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against the basic principle of contrastive linguist-
ics. It was also corroborated with the results we
obtained at the period within the framework of the
Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project, where
I employed the same methodology as the one establish-
ed for the Summer Course of Romaniln (see Slama-Cazacu
(ed.) 1975 etc.). It was also verified by the doc-
toral thesis of G. Doca (1981), who used exactly my
methodology and succeeded in establishing also the
hierarchical system of errors (as we have done also
for the Romanian-English Contrastive Analysis Project
- RECAP -, in the learning of RL by Francophones. He
did research in Romania, with foreign students, as
well as in France, at the RL lectorates; his research
was afterwards used by him in order to teach RL and
to publish a book of exercises. Such research shows
on the one hand the necessity and usefulness of thor-
ough studies in order to elaborate efficient handbooks
and methods for teaching any language (and in our case,
RL) as a FL, and not only as a guide for teachers,
showing the sensitive points in learning a FL (here,
RL), but also for general results interesting for lin-
guistics as such. On the other hand, it shows the im-
perative necessity for using a *psycholinguistic* approach
in such studies, as well as in the process of teaching
a FL (Slama-Cazacu (1981/1983) (because my starting
point was a criticism of "traditional" contrastive ana-
lysis - i.e. a comparison *in abstracto* of the two sys-
tems: base and target languages -, advocating an analy-
sis of the results of the meeting of the two languages
in the learner - see Nemser, Slama Cazacu 1970).

3.3 We may say that research on one of the "less
widely taught, to non-natives, languages in Europe", RL,
and also on learning English on the basis of this same
language, brought about some results which are of a

peculiar interest also for applied linguistics in
general, or for linguistics *tout court*, such as: the
use of psycholinguistics as a basis in contrastive
studies, the modification of the "traditional" con-
trastive principle of the dominant influence of the
base language, or some data concerning various cate-
gories of errors (as "regularization") that may be
considered as "universals of learning a language",
etc.

4.0 We may conclude that: any of the "less widely
taught languages in Europe" *can* be learned by foreign-
ers (it has *no* inherent difficulties for members of
the other linguistic communities, making it "impossib:
or "difficult" to be learnt), if a *motivation* exists,
and also if a minimum of *materials* (handbooks, etc.) as
well as an organizational *framework* are provided: such
a process should have a *scientific research basis*, and
develop from *thorough studies* carried out by experts.

There are *no* inherent difficulties for non-natives,
in learning a "less widely taught language" or making it
more "difficult" than the "widely" learned languages.
And the future of Europe will be based on learning one,
two or more foreign languages - one more "widely" and
one or more among the "less widely", also preserving
one's own language. Moreover, it will be based on be-
coming aware of the importance of each language, of its
"beauty", and of the cultural and human interest in
learning any language as a mother tongue and also any
one as a second and as a FL as well.

NOTES

1. They were very much appreciated abroad; the part-
icipants were, in the 60s and middle 70s, invited from
among students and young researchers (half of the part-
icipants - mostly chosen from students following RL
courses at their university and from scholars interest-
ed in RL or its literature, culture, etc. Many of the
latter were teaching RL at their universities, or per-
forming research on RL, or on other aspects of Romanian
culture, for which knowledge of this language was nec-
essary. There were also many linguists who wanted to
complete their knowledge, by learning this language for
general linguistics for instance (André and Jeanne Mart-
inet were invited, as well as T.A. Sebeok, Pierre
Guiraud, Alain Rey, E. Pottier, W. Bahner, R.A. Budagov,
Manuel Alvar, E. Tappe, G. Szope, Rucqaya Hassan etc.).
These courses included 3 categories of learners (begin-
ners, medium level, high level), they consisted of sem-
inars and laboratory practice, and lectures delivered
by some of the best linguists, historians, etc.

2. Except those who, at the beginning of the first year,
passing an examination, are considered as sufficiently
proficient in RL - or those classified in special sem-
inars for those "advanced" in mastering RL - all have
the same programme of studies: in the 1st semester, 34
hours of RL per week, then an oral test is taken (the
mark is not necessarily taken into consideration at the
end of the year); after 4 months, from February onwards,
they take an examination, and this mark is considered
for their admission (mark 5 for students, point 7 for
doctorands - basis 10); this mark is also taken into
consideration at the end of their studies, for the M.A.
degree. In the 2nd semester, the programme includes:
3 days per week - an introduction to their speciality,
3 days - RL. Teaching methods envisage the written lan-
guage as well as the spoken. The handbook is the one
mentioned above. With some students, English or French
is used as a lingua franca, with others even the Latin
alphabet has to be taught (Arabs).

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LANGUAGE POLICY, LANGUAGE PLANNING, STATUS PLANNING

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In English one can make a distinction between
language policy and *language politics*. *Language policy*
is long range planning and provision connected with
language in any way, and its implementation in various
forms. *Language politics* may cover the same area and
may be active in the same way; the major distinctive
feature of language politics can be found in its
relation to power. As in most European languages there
is but one reflex for the Latin *politica*, one term
covers both aspects, and more often than not, power is
present in glotto-political deliberations.

One could ask the question whether *l. p.*
(especially language policy) should be regarded as a
social activity or as a discipline, or as both. The
same problem exists with political science or with its
specialized branches. There is no doubt about the
existence of activities falling into the scope of
language policy, or the possibility of collecting social
acts and lumping them together in something which may be
called language policy. This is almost trivial. But
the theoretical status of a discipline on language policy
(also called language policy) is more dubious. There is
something emerging very slowly as an interdiscipline by
the merging of sociology of language, educational
policy, and some aspects of political science proper,
and containing parts from demography, law and some
other disciplines.

There is, as yet, no discipline of language
policy, but there is a very fruitful zone of cooperation
more or less established as the - interdisciplinary -
field of language policy. The present embryonical state
has some influence upon the level and the form of
expression within language policy. Huge data collections
and brilliant essays characterize the field, but very
few well-founded valid statements have been made.

The practical relevance of language policy, both
as an activity and as a scholarly terrain, seems, never-
theless, rather high. One of the reasons may be that
nove. prevails over depth; another reason is very
simpl. language tends to be more important nowadays
than .& was formerly, and more and more   's of people
have something to say about language or languages. Let
us look into the motivation of people who deal with what
we may call language policy.

     Decision-makers have to and find arguments, a
"phi· ophy", pretexts for their acts, mainly because
of th change in the structure of public life (includ-
ing international public opinion created by the mass
media). Researchers of social sciences (especially of
political sciences) tend to describe the dynamics of
societies, changes and trends. Social sciences, it
seems, have surpassed their long-lasting Linnaean
period when constellati ns, structure, i.e. surface
phenomena were described. The new stage requires such
dimensions as "satisfaction", "happiness" etc., i.e.
the accounting for the reactions of men and peoples.
Language cannot be omitted from such observations, and
so language gets transformed from mere demographical
aspects into something fundamental for the identity of
its speakers. (Let us parenthesize for the moment the
other, the old, way of king synthesis, i.e. the

historical way which exists more and more as a method
in social research).

Linguists may or may not have been exposed to
language policy during their active life; this may
depend not only on their socio-historical context, but
also on their individual conditions of life, and on
such factors as their temperament, courage, activism
etc. Linguists may be committed to some change in the
status of languages, furthermore they may be requested
to contribute to the change as "language experts". But
they also may initiate some changes. Linguists are not
necessarily grammarians; literary gentlemen, writers,
journalists, cultural organizers behave as applied
linguists in linguistic movements; and, in addition to
it, sometimes literary and cultural movements contain
major linguistic aspects where educated people inter-
ested in language are in the forefront, and one cannot
easily separate the roles and fields involved. Never-
theless, I have to stress that language policy is not
a regular and compulsory part of linguistics. While,
on the other hand, language policy is more or less
interested in everything produced under the label of
linguistics or language studies (language sciences).

Educators are usually interested in language
policy falling into the scope of their competence,
e.g. a headmaster in problems of his school, a French
teacher in the fate of the French language and civil-
ization in a given country, etc. But language policy
issues are usually broader, they include more than one
language and more than one school or school type.
Therefore, efficient handling of these issues needs a
broader scope, e.g. that of a larger administrative
unit of education or a teacher training college. Those

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teachers who are engaged i teacher training want to
inform the future teachers about the aforementioned
issues in a perspective o. three decades or so (with-
out specifying the time span). Since teachers are
usually trained towards one language (or in some
countries, towards two languages which have something
in common), future teachers will be overmotivated
towards this language (or these two languages); they
will be trained, willy-nilly to develop a marketing
strategy of their own, which runs counter to the
interest of other languages. Now, some teacher
trainers want to inform their students about languages
or foreign languages on a larger basis, where the
inclusion of other languages - jointly with the mother
tongue, languages of the environment, and the second
language - needs a cooperative language policy and
educationai strategy. (It seems to me that the field
of languages - at least in some countries - is mostly
exposed to the competition of varieties of the same
school subject, i.e. the various languages.)

It will be evideut from the previous remarks that
we postulate the exis.ence of a langu ge policy which
unites fields which hitherto were treated separately.
Let us take an example: the language policy of the
French State after the bourgeois revolution. It could
be summed up in three slogans: the State needs one
language (i.e. French) ail over its territory; there
is one best variety spoken within that language: i.e.
that of the capital (used by the dominant stratum of
the State: the bourgeois of Paris); French people
prefer their own idiom in international contacts, be
they official or private. These three facets display
a heterogeneous field. There is no way of combining
these three aspects. Historical explanations are not
sufficient either: one can really find the source of

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each of the three aspects in the history of France and
of the French people. If one wants to construct a
single underlying statement, then domination through
language by a group of people over other groups of
people seems to be the best solution. And in this
regard language policy served the expansion of the
domination in three directions: a social axis, a
geographical-economic axis, and an international axis.

The epiphenomena of the expansion were conflicts,
and the handling of these conflicts. Conflicts were
produced at several levels beginning with interpersonal
contacts between dominating and dominated people speak-
ing different languages or language varieties. Here we
should not forget about the double role of language in
communication: it functions on the one hand as an
instrument of human cooperation, on the other hand it
smybolizes one or more characteristics of the speaker,
and among these traits political units like the State
are also often expressed. Therefore, curiously enough,
the more contact one has with speakers of other language
varieties, the more conflicts one may experience.
Therefore, one can be sure that above a certain level of
development (commerce, international contacts, national
market, etc.) language conflicts will appear.

Language policy in this respect is nothing other
than (a) the handling of language conflicts in the short
run, and (b) the avoiding of language conflicts in the long
run. The short term language policies are usually of
a restrictive type, while those of long(er) terms may
be constructed in various ways, for example, having some
kind of positive programmes.

When mentioning the term "restriction", one should
be careful in identifying those who are restricted,

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and those who restrict other people, and those who
profit from the restriction. (For a very long time
many scholars were deeply convinced that they were in
possession of a waterproof device which could decide
whether a historical move is progressive or reactionary:
as a consequence the drive for using one's own language
was often qualified as reactionary. This no longer
holds: since language is included in the defining set
of human groups - in a non-compulsory way - sweeping
generalizations on progress do not serve as exhaustive
explanations for language phenomena.)

Here we must speak of the legal side of language
issues. The right to use one's own mother tongue in
school, work, public life may be attached to a given
territory where the speakers of the language reach a
certain level (quantity of speakers, the priority of
arrival, social prestige). It also may be attached to
the individual's mother tongue, independently from the
fact of where he lives. The former variety is the
"territorial language right", while the latter is the
"personal language right".

It is well known that territorial language
rights are ipse jacte restrictions for the use of the
language outside its own, legally protected, territory.
Furthermore, there is no way to include any aspect
going beyond monolingual mother tongue use in the
territorial conception of language right (save the
coexistence of languages where only one dominant
language is in a privileged position, while the other(s)
are legally protected, else tolerated).

Therefore a third way is needed to cover the
necessary aspects. "Language right of the community"
appears to be the solution now. This would embody the

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language rights of the individuals within the community, independently of their geographical setting, i.e. not only for those who live in blocks, but also for those who live in diaspora. And if a community lives in a compact geographical area, then the right to use the given language may also be - additionally - attached to the territory. This can be called the principle of double protection of minority languages. (Majority languages might also profit from this principle. The only loser is the narrow-minded bureaucrat who is frequently bothered by the mere existence of more than one language).

Community language rights harmonize with the vernacular principle, i.e. the principle advising that one begins schooling in the language the child speaks at home. (The early definition of vernacular was "the language spoken by a group of people dominated by another group of people which speaks a different language"). Community rights al o contain chances to solve such complex problems as the language revival for the sake of symbolizing a community, evidently for gaining or regaining its identity vis-à-vis a hitherto dominating community symbolized by another language. In the light of community language rights the revival of Irish is a perfectly legitimate historical action. It could never have been explained either in the framework of a territorial language right, or in the framework of a personal language right. The concept of community language right concedes the coexistence of several (more than one) linguistic communities within the same territory; and it does not exclude the inter-woven existence of these languages within the same territory.

Bilingualism is a challenge for almost all branches

of linguistics and applied linguistics. Language
policy is also supposed to cover issues and cases of
bilingualism. "Bilingual" may be used in connection
with an isolated individual, a family, an *ad hoc*
group of people, a social segment, a geographical unit,
an institution, a State, a federation, and an inter-
national (interstate) entity. This is not the place
where an extensive discussion of these levels seems
to be necessary. From the viewpoint of language
policy there are some cases where bilingualism is of
paramount importance. The chance to maintain the
bilingual character of a family can be assured by some
extra moves promoting the education and use of minority
languages. The same is valid for maintaining the
bilingual (plurilingual) character of some municipalities.

Within a federation based on heterolingual parts,
e.g. Switzerland, Belgium, the usual solution is the
"bilingualism of general staffs". A more difficult
problem is the bilingualism of a non-federal State,
where bilingualism is not – or not only – the symbolical
coexistence of heterolingual people, but where there
are large groups of people who are symbolized by speaking
two (or three) idioms.

An ethnic community is characterized by a set of
values, where some core values can also be detected.
Language may or may not be a core value for an ethnic
community, e.g. for the Italian immigrants in Australia
(as described by J. Smolicz). And core values may also
change: language might return. Most Scottish people
do not speak their ancient language any more, still they
have quite a few traits for their identification, for
the symbolization of their community. A similar situation
can be found, e.g. in Bosnia, a republic of Yugoslavia,

where people speak Serbian but do consider themselves
as being a "nation" different from the Serbs:
Manchurians speak Chinese but consider themselves as
a separate kind of people.

If I am permitted to say a word about the present
linguistic situation of Ireland, then I would say that
we are now in an age when language is becoming a higher
value: this is a long range phenomenon, if I am not
mistaken. In the short run, people in Ireland can be
characterized by two obligatory and one optional
feature. Obligatory is the use of one variety within
the set of Anglo-Irish; the other obligatory feature is
the appreciation of the Irish language, and the optional
feature is the use - or the quantity of usage - of the
Irish language. Two features refer to the use of
languages, while the third (i.e. the appreciation of
Irish) is a cultural and political attitude.

And this is the right place to say a word on the
problem, "what is a nation?" (May I begin it with a
remark of caution: linguistics can dispense with the
notion of "nation", and it is not an absolute necessity
for language policy either.) In the context of European
nation-states and state-nations one cannot, however,
avoid answering the above-formulated question.

There have been two schools of thought on the
concept of "nation", the German and the French schools.
Germans tried to characterize nation by a set of
objective criteria like language, territory, religion,
race, etc., while the French conception - best form-
ulated by I. Renan - characterizes a nation through
accepting a common future, in other words: assuming a
common value system which shows the joint way for the
future and which may also contain symbolic values of

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the past and the present. Language is a quasi-necessary
defining trait in the former conception, while it may
or may not be presert in the latter one. Ireland is a
"nation" in both senses, but in the latter one Irish
people outside Ireland may also be included in what
may be called "the nation of Irish" (in perfect con-
sonance with the language rights conceived for
communities).

It is time now to turn toward language planning.
(May 1 omit here, as was intended, the aspects of corpus
planning though they may be quite important for language
policy: furthermore, most of the corpus planning
actions have a linguistic-political credo). The
classical scheme (with slight modifications) of
language planning can be summed up in the following
way:

    1st stage: selection of a language variety;
    ?id stage: normalization (standardization);
    ?ri stage: extension.

In the selection there may be political, emotional,
cultural and other motivating factors. In the norm-
alization (standardization) very heterogeneous factors
may play a role in a very different mixture, e.g.
logic, aesthetic, xenophobic considerations, sometimes
even linguistic ones. In the third stage school and
mass media (including the church) have a preponderant
function. The agents of the three stages are the
cultural politician, the applied linguist, and the
educator, respectively.

It we include writing in the previous scheme,
then the situation, of course, becomes more complex.
The design (or selection) of an adequate writing system;

the standardization of orthography (sometimes calli-
graphy) of the given script; and the alphabetization
of people (relabelled nowadays as the "illiteracy
campaign") are important parts of the process.

    In the light of the tremendous secondary illit-
eracy (or functional illiteracy) in European States,
and taking into consideration the one billion illit-
erates of our world, alphabetization seems to be the
major task in the field of language planning. Neo-
illiteracy has emerged in the context of the new mass
communication structure where television is absolutely
dominating with its video-technique. Language policy
has not reckoned with this state of affairs: there is
a novel ideal materializing via visual media, and
replacing the former ideal of literate - even
literary - people. In this respect we are now closer
to the Middle Ages, than at any other time since the
invention of printing. Linguists are aware of the
fact that oral genres have got a different structure
than written genres; the structure of the neo-oral
culture will also be different. And if we add the
impact of computers - including the merger of tele-
vision, video, computer in a micro-electronic system -
then an unforeseen type of cultural and communicational
activities can be observed with all its linguistic
peculiarities.

    What is the relation between language policy and
language planning (if we concentrate upon the planning
of the status of languages)? They are not alien, very
distant terms: sometimes they are used as mere synonyms.
Nevertheless, language policy is broader than language
planning (status planning); and language planning is
more technical than language policy in texts where both
terms can be found. The fundamental difference lies

in the sociological saturation of language policy,
while language planning is not more concerned with
sociological aspects than any branch of applied
linguistics. The target of language policy is man,
a group of people; while the target of language
planning is the language or the languages. These are,
however, not such great differences that we could not
hope for the appearance of a merger one day between
these two approaches. (By the way, may I qualify the
existence of the two disciplines, or would-be discip-
lines as an example of "abundantia scientiarum", not
forgetting the useful service done by them.)

There are differences in the agents, too.
Language planning is carried out by academics, among
them linguists; language policy receives its imple-
mentation by various sectors of society (including
those who are involved in language planning); the
sphere of decision, however, lies outside the scope
of experts in almost all major glotto-political issues.

Finally, I want to raise the issue of the inter-
national dimension of language policy. There are -
evidently - domains which are supra-national (i.e.
going beyond the borders of a State) in language
policy. There are supra-national - inter-governmental
- political, cultural, economic and other bodies which
have got an internal problem of their own in communi-
cation. Then there are supra-national enterprises
which a : across borders but may be very monolingual
as a matter of fact. Some well-established sectors,
like civil aviation, international sea and surface
transportation, mailing service, broadcasting in its
large sense, and especially tourism are sectors where
international communication must be solved. (And we
should not forget about such century-old organizations

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s diplomacy, international churches, banking and
international science.) All these organizations had
to find a viable way for their communication problems.
In several cases it is ot very difficult because live
contact among people would take care of the problems
anyway. Therefore, not every international organi-
zation has got an explicit language policy of its own.

One could investigate the distribution of
languages in the international arena from a different
approach. Language serves here as a carrier of the
interest of people who speak (know) the language
either as a mother tongue, or as a second language, or
as a foreign language serving communication (in this
decreasing order of importance). This is much more
than a symbolic function, though it may contain the
symbolic aspect as well.

The action deployed in the interest of "less
taught languages" by the Helsinki Final Act is a very
special enterprise from the viewpoint of language
policy. It takes up the uneven distribution of
languages as the non-adequate expression of inter-
national cooperation. The action organized by Unesco
tends to straighten out well-known conflicts among
the so-called world languages, then between the set
of world languages and the set of "less taught
languages". (The whole Helsinki text is designed
in a special attitude of international cooperation;
but the language policy generated from the Final Act
his begun a kind of independent life where some novel
elements could also be found. Since this had been
the first major international language policy under-
taking where East and West Europe (including the United
States and Canada) were present, it had to go beyond
its original limits:

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The original Helsinki text was the result of a
hard-negotiated compromise: without a compromise it
would not have been possible to sign the agreement.
(There are some examples in the Helsinki follow-up for
the waiving of signature....) The compromise was made
by the governments of sovereign States who have got their
internal language policy (be it explicit or implicit).
Therefore the Helsinki Final Act contained only inter-
national recommendations - expressed in the form of a
non-binding treaty - upon foreign language teaching.
Minority languages were not mentioned at all; there
were some very scarce indications of the protection of
rights of minorities (much, much less than in the
documents of the League of Nations).

The situation is clear: one should complement the
language policy of the Helsinki Final Act by (a) a
language policy which is international in its scope but
national in its domain; (b) a language policy which
reckons with minority languages at international level.
Task (a) has been started under the auspices of Unesco,
but not limited to Europe. Task (b) has been tackled
by the Council of Europe and by various international
organizations (but hardly by Unesco).

From the viewpoint of Ireland and the Irish
people, I think, only such an internationally accepted
language policy seems to be fair where Irish - an
idiom which is official but not majorital - finds its
due places, and where Celtic idioms are not omitted just
because they are "minority" languages.

One is aware of the superiority of rights which
have been acquired through conflict. Nevertheless, I
think, a meeting sponsored by Unesco seems to be a

domain where linguistic battles can be modelled or
simulated by dint of experts representing different
language communities, specialities, and being united
by the common will to promote peace and development
via language. And we may also influence public opinion
in our co ntries in Europe

Language policy - to sum up - has the aim of
transforming the field of language from a zone of
possible oppression and marginalization into a zone
where equality among men and peoples is carried and
promoted by their idioms.

NOTE

This paper is a revised version of the one delivered at
the Dublin symposium.

THE VARIABLE MACEDONIAN STANDARD

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In my paper presented at the symposium *Language
Across Cultures*, held in Dublin in 1983, I argued that
in areas of close cross-cultural contacts the develop-
ment of the grammatical categories of a language often
diverge from the general trend taken by the grammatical
categories of the language family to which the given
language belongs. My argument was based on an analysis
of some aspects of the development of the Indo-European
verbal system. With examples from French, Spanish,
German, English, Irish, Russian, Bulgarian and Macedonian,
I showed how, in the language communities whose bound-
aries intersect with those of "alien" language
communities, the forms of the Indo-European Perfect
have diverged from the general European tendency of re-
placing the exponents of the Aorist and have become
markers of an aspectual category which denotes rele-
vance of an anterior action in a given moment, combin-
ing with quite a number of signals of other categories
(tense being only one of them) to yield a rather
analytic verbal system. My discussion of the Macedonian
standard language will start with an analysis of the
way in which the signals of the categories of Tense,
Perfect Aspect and Reporting Modality of its verb are
combined.

The exponents of the present-day Macedonian
Perfect, equivalents of *have* plus respective forms of
deverbative adverbs, are a relatively recent
development, triggered through intensive contacts with
Albanian, Aromanian and Greek; the old Common Slavonic
exponents of the Perfect, equivalents of *be* plus res-
pective passive participles, being transformed into

exponents of Reporting Modality, again under the in-
fluence of language contacts with an "alien" language,
Turkish in this case.   But while the contacts with
Turkish have been evenly spread throughout the Mace-
donian language community, those with Albanian, Aro-
manian and Greek have been perspicuous only in Western
Macedonia.   This has led to the establishment of two
verbal subsystems within the Macedonian standard lan-
guage itself.   One of them has two past tenses: a
Simple Past Tense (the former Imperfect) and a Compo-
site Past Tense (the former Perfect);   the latter, in
addition to its traditional function, signalling re-
ported actions and states.   The other system has only
one past tense, whose exponents are in interaction
with distinct exponents of more than one aspectual and
modal category.   Consider the following sentences:

(1)   a.   Ne   sum ge   pekanet.
             not am   him invite(act.
                 (encl.) part. m.s.)
             'I haven't (reportedly) invited him.'

       b.   Ge   neman   pekanete.
             him not have   invite(deverb.
                 (1st p.s.)   adverb)
             'I haven't invited him.'

       c.   Sum ge   nemat   pokaneto.
             am   him not have(act. invite(deverb.
                 (encl.) part. m.s.) adverb)
             'I haven't (reportedly) invited him.'

Sentence (1)a. would be produced by speakers who have
internalized the system with two past tenses; the com-
posite past tense which it represents would have the
meaning of the Perfect with or without the additional
meaning of reported modality.   Sentences (1)b. and (1)
c. would be produced by speakers who have inter.alized

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the system with one past tense; (1)b, has signals of
the Perfect Aspect (*imam* + *-to*), while (1)c. embodies
signals of both Perfect Aspect (*ima* + *-to*), and re-
ported modality (*sum* + *-1*).

When the Macedonian standard was codified (by and
large in the late forties and i., the fifties) the
formal exponents and functional loads of both systems
were sanctioned. This might have been done inadvert-
ently, in which case no justification is in order; yet,
looking carefully into the overall linguistic situation,
in synchrony and diachrony, one comes to think that,
at least subconsciously, the codifiers might have been
reasoning along the following lines: The *ima* + deverb-
ative adverb forms have restricted scope of usage but
have the advantage of being built into the verbal sys-
tems of the Western dialects, which constitute the
core of the Macedonian standard language[1]. In accord
with the tradition of standardization obtaining
throughout the Slavonic world, the decision to base
the standard on these dialects has been substantially
influenced by the tact that they exhibit features that
distinguish Macedonian from the neighbouring Slavonic
languages. As the *ima* + deverbative adverb forms
count amoung these features, one could not keep them
out of the standard code. The less so, since they
were assumed to belong to it in the first manifesto of
Macedonian linguistic policy, published at the turn of
the century (Misirkov, 1903)[2].to which the Macedonian
linguists refer with reverence. On the other hand,
the Macedonian speakers of the Eastern and Northern
dialects, who outnumber those of the Western and South-
Western ones, express resultativeness through the sign-
als of the old Perfect, which are also used to denote
reported actions and states. So, one had to take into
consideration those signals with that tunctional load,

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as well.   The more so, since the capital of Macedonia,
Skopje, is in a Northern dialect area.

The use of the *ima* + deverbative adverb signals in
the standard language is highly conditioned by the
dialectal heritage of the respective speaker(s), and
so is the functional load of *sum* + active participle
ones.   Typically, a Macedonian develops in a specific
local dialect atmosphere.   If he lives in one of the
provincial towns, he grows up with a specific local
dialect - distinct from the one in the next town even
when the latter is no more than ten to fifteen kilo-
metres off - and with a version of the Macedonian
standard, which includes all the elements that the
dialect shares with the standard language, as well as
a varying number of non-standardized elements charact-
eristic for the language of the area, but definitely
excludes all optional standardized features which have
their roots in another area.   An average speaker of
Macedonian who was born and lived in the capital,
would follow the same pattern; if he were well-educated
and involved in activities that required official
comumunication, however, he would grow up with: (a)
a local dialect, (b) a broader regional code in which
the local dialect and the standard were interwoven[3]
and (c) a version of the standard code which excluded
the optional standardization features rooted in an
"alien" dialect.   Most complicated is the language
situation of the speakers that have moved into the
capital - and these are a major factor, the city
having more than tripled the number of its inhabit-
ants within the forty odd post-war years, by and
large through immigration from other parts of the
republic.   Adult immigrants usually keep the two codes
with which they have grown up, though brushing up

their versions of the standard code by getting rid of
non-standardized elements. Their children, however,
grow up with three codes: (a) the dialect of the
parents, (b) a broader regional code in which the
local Skopje dialect and the standard interweave, but
which is to some extent influenced by the dialect of
their parents and (c) a version of the standard code
in which the standard code of the Macedonian speakers
in their environment intersects. Things being as they
are, the *ima* + deverbative adverb forms are part of the
standard codes of the Western dialect speakers and of
those of their immediate descendants; all other speak-
ers of Macedonian develop standard codes in which the
sum + active participle signals have a very wide scope
of functions, including resultativeness and reported-
ness.

Lunt (1984: 126) benevolently contends that "stand-
ard Macedonian has the same sort of problems in main-
taining consistency and uniformity that every European
language has – the differences are matters of specific
details". I find it, however, difficult to go along
with this contention. The dual verbal system is not
a "matter of specific detail", nor are the factors
that have brought it about, namely: (a) the discrepancy
between the verbal system of the dialect area of the
capital and those of the dialect areas which had
served as a basis for the standard code, (b) the per-
sistent prestige of (at least some of) the Western
dialects over the Eastern and Northern ones[4] and (c)
the very intensive immigration into the capital. If
these factors were not in constant operation, one
would have expected the system used in the dialect
area of the capital to prevail. As it is, not only do
both systems continue to be used, but usage of one or
the other has acquired secondary symbolic effects.[5]

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The *ima* plus deverbative adverb, along with another
very distinct feature of the Western dialect which has
entered the standard, the triple definite article,
symbolises superiority of linguistic manners. The use
of *sum* plus active participle has the opposite effect
of imparting solidarity with the broader regional code
of Skopje,[6] which shows signs of developing into a
colloquial register. In spite of their prestige effect,
the use of Western features for which the standard
allows an alternative do not spread among Macedonian
speakers with Eastern and Northern dialectal heritage,
who (one must remember) outnumber those with a Western
or South-Western one.

The picture is made even more complex by the influ-
ence exerted by Serbo-Croatian, a language spoken by
the majority of the inhabitants of four out of the six
Yugoslav republics, which shifts linguistic choice in
a direction opposite to the one it would be expected
to follow if the prestige factor were left to operate
undisturbed[7]. Thus, the *sum* plus active participle
construction not only intersects with the *ima* plus
deverbative adverb one but also shows signs of joining
its Serbo-Croatian formal counterpart in its success-
ful efforts to function as a general past tense.   I
have heard Skopje-born Macedonian speakers use the *sum*
plus active participle forms when speaking of events
which have occurred in their presence and whose occur-
rence they do not question. Examine the following
sentence:

(2)   Kako možeš   tea   da ge   tvrdiš
       how can(2nd it(neut.) to it(encl.) contend
       p.s.)   (2nd p.s.)

```
koga jas sum bila        tame  i   sve
when I    am  be (act.   there and everything
              part. f.)

sum videla.
am   see  (act.
          part.f.s.)
'How can you contend that when I was there and saw
everything?!'
```

An event which has been witnessed by the speaker is
here referred to by the forms of the old Perfect (sum
bila) instead of by the Aorist (bev). While contacts
with genetically remote languages have diverted ling-
uistic development off the course typically taken by
the members of its linguistic family, reintensified
contacts with a genetically close language have pull-
ed it back and have tried to fi' the language into the
general current of linguistic evolution.

    The different language codes are implicitly present
in the Macedonian educational institutions, though the
educational plans and programmes hardly ever acknow-
ledge them. But they should! In a multinational,
multilingual community of peoples with a variety of
religious tr   ms.   : slav one, the
. .   ..   rather than
with ch . . . .   . s of the structure
. . . . to
ationship world contribute
active . . . .   . . dia..   .in. gr . . . .
more, .l. . . . . to
the standard . . . .
relationships between the members of different nations
and nationalities (euphemism for national minorities)
in the country and would bring the standard much closer
to the children of the Macedonian immigrants who attend
Yugoslav schools and learn Macedonian abroad.

Of the twelve languages spoken and taught as a
mother tongue in Yugoslavia, four are spoken and taught
in the primary and secondary schools of the Socialist
Republic of Macedonia. Very often, children who live
not only in the same town, but also in the same neigh-
bourhood, go to schools with different languages of
instruction. When they communicate with each other,
they do so in Macedonian; not in the standard code,
however, but in the local dialect. Individual local
Macedonian dialects are actually the *coinés* of *concit-
oyens* who are native speakers of different languages
wherever and whenever they meet. This fact suggests
that the speakers of the languages of the national
minorities should learn the Macedonian standard through
the dialect they speak, which requires an awareness
of the dialect not only on the part of those who teach
"the mother tongue" but also on the part of those who
plan this teaching.

For historical and economic reasons there are as
many native Macedonian speakers outside the boundaries
of Yugoslavia as there are within them. The Macedon-
ians in the neighbouring countries on the Balkans (in
Greece and Bulgaria) cannot attend schools in their
native language; the Macedonian immigrants in Canada,
Australia, the U.S.A., the Federal Republic of Germany,
Sweden and France, however, can and do. The language
of instruction (the language of the books and of the
teacher) is, however, not exactly the language they
hear in their homes. This raises doubts, misunder-
standings, and in the case of the children of the
Macedonian immigrants from countries other than Yugos-
lavia, resistance. If the teacher is made aware of the
relationship of the standard and the dialect and allows
for or even encourages variation, the doubts can be

dissipated and the resistance overcome.

    The standard language is in fact an abstra   on
over a number of codes, some of which are close to it
while others are purely dialectal. An explicit recog-
nition of this fact is beneficial; in the case of a
language such as Macedonian, the history of the stan-
dard of which is short and which, to boot, is in the
centre of a Spachbund, it is imperative.

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[1] The choice of the Western dialects was not made after
Macedonia became part of the Yugoslav federation; the
Macedonian grammarians of the late forties, fifties
and sixties only described explicitly and sanctioned a
code which had begun developing in the 19th century
and whose basic distinctive features were shaped up in
the first half of this century.

[2] Misirkov calls for the establishment of a Macedonian
literary language based on the Prilep-Bitola Western
dialects. As Friedman (1985) points out, Misirkov's
book *Za makedonskite raboti "On Macedonian Matters"*
(Misirkov, 1903) is a valuable document for the fact
that the concept of a Macedonian nationality and
literary language was already clearly defined by the
beginning of the century and not created *ex nihilo*,
by Yugoslav fiat in 1944.

[3] This regional code moves in the direction of becoming
a regional register.

[4] The prestige follows not only from the choice of
these dialects is the core for the standard code, but
also from the fact that throughout history it was in
the Western dialect area that the cultural centres
were situated. Anyhow, these two phenomena are inter-
dependent.

[5] Kalogjera (1985: 99) is specifically concerned with
secondary, symbolic effects of language. Discussing
the attitude towards Serbo-Croatian language varieties
he says that the process of standardization of Serbo-
Croatian has given rise to "specific attitudes toward
dialects, particularly in the educated sector of the
population and among men of letters". He stresses
that such attitudes occur "in situations where one of
the existing dialects obtains favourite treatment and
becomes selected as the basis for the standard lan-
guage".

[6] Lencek (1981: 42) points out that every language has
unifying, separating and prestige functions. They are
charged with symbolism "which in the Slavic societies
has served and still serves as a peculiarly potent
image of the social solidarity of those who speak the
language".

[7]Serbo-Croatian penetrates through the mass media. It
is also the language Macedonians use when speaking to
Yugoslavs who do not speak Macedonian. One should,
however, note that the dialects of Serbo-Croatian and
Macedonian form a continuum. There are substantial
differences between Western Serbo-Croatian and South-
ern Macedonian, but the differences between Southern
Serbo-Croatian and Northern Macedonian are very small.
This is one more reason why Macedonian speakers of
the Northern Macedonian dialect of Skopje are so re-
ceptive to Serbo-Croatian influence.

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