

THE ROLE OF EMPLOYMENT IN GAELIC LANGUAGE
MAINTENANCE AND DEVELOPMENT

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I hereby declare that both this thesis and the research upon which it is based are my own work.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis contends that the fundamental problem affecting the status and condition of minority languages is the lack of a sound economic base, due, historically, to a decline in the speech-communities' access to resources and the power to exploit them. In contrast, majority languages are supported by relatively vibrant economies, with knowledge of the languages concerned a necessary requirement for participation: the use of language and the viability of the economic base are reciprocal and mutually reinforcing. The intrusion of the language of an economically strong community into another community's work practices is the initial breach which commences the process of language shift; the extent to which a language is used in the world of work is an indicator of the strength of economic base.

Following a description of the historical and social factors shaping the current circumstances of Gaelic, and an outline of the thesis's economic premise, a report is given on the results of a survey carried out to discover the extent of the use of Gaelic in the world of work, in particular the number of posts, and the fields of work, for which a knowledge of the language was deemed desirable or essential. To gain perspective on the Gaelic data, a comparative study is made of other minority languages, to explore the relationship between language condition and use in the work domain, and to discover any particular practices and policies utilised elsewhere which might be applicable to Gaelic.

A review of relevant aspects of sociolinguistic theory is presented, with particular reference to the Gaelic situation: language use within society; language shift, decline, death and revival and restoration; the association of language with identity and nationalism, and the connection between language, economics, and language planning. The political context affecting Gaelic is analysed, to take cognisance of the constraints and opportunities moulding the present and future condition of the language.

A theory of language development is proposed, amending that suggested by Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale: that in the case of smaller minority language speech-communities, the creation of certain kinds of employment for which a knowledge of the language is essential, primarily directed towards enhanced use of the language in the home and community, may well be a priority for the maintenance and development of intergenerational transmission. The rationale for public funding of minority language development is discussed, and attention is drawn to dedicated public funding which promotes majority languages. With language viewed as the foundation of

culture, it is asserted that this association must be maintained for a minority language and its speech-community to benefit, through employment, from any commercial opportunities the attractions of the culture and heritage may offer. These arguments are considered with reference to Gaelic, and the role of employment is perceived to be vital: extended, judiciously planned Gaelic-essential employment is seen as the means by which effective Gaelic development can proceed, simultaneously supporting intergenerational transmission, extending language use, and developing the language's economic base.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1. Minority languages

There are, throughout the world, some 6000 languages (Williams 1988a, p1), with groups of users ranging in size from a few hundred individuals to entire nations comprising tens or hundreds of millions. More than merely a means of communication, an individual's habitual language may greatly influence the scope of his interpersonal relations, and his outlook:

The worlds in which different social communities live are separate worlds, not just one world with different linguistic labels attached....Whether we like it or not, we are all very much under the spell of that particular form of speech which has become the medium of discourse for our society.... (Potter 1960, p19)

Whether this is due to a 'linguistic determinism' which imposes habits of observing and thinking (Sapir 1929, p207; Carroll 1956, pp212-214), or a 'linguistic relativity' by which language and social reality reflect, reinforce, and modify each other (Fishman 1972, p299; Eastman 1983, p75), languages are evidently capable of inspiring strong feelings of communal loyalty and identity. However, as Haugen (1981, p114) pointed out, languages may also be seen as commodities in a market:

Even our so-called mother tongue, the first language....will be maintained only if it serves as a medium of communication with speakers with whom we wish to communicate.

Most languages fall within the category of 'minority languages', being used by political or cultural minorities within states, and usually suffering from dwindling numbers of speakers. Casual observations have sometimes portrayed this minor and diminishing status as an indication that these languages are inadequate, compared to the major international tongues, for

communicative use in the modern world, and that minority languages' apparent process to extinction represents a linguistic version of Darwinian natural selection. As regards the inherent structures of languages, there does not seem to be any basis for concepts of superior and inferior fitness:

...there is as yet no convincing evidence that [any language] is easier to acquire (as a first language), less ambiguous, more efficient for cognitive processes, or more economical of effort in oral use, let alone more "logical", "expressive", or the like. (Ferguson 1968, p28)

The argument seems better founded when applied to levels of language development, of which Ferguson distinguished three: graphisation (writing), standardisation (the development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects) and modernisation (the development and extension of a language to cover contemporary topics and forms of discourse at a level translatable to other languages recognised as 'modern' mediums). It is clear that languages which have not acquired a written form are fundamentally unsuited to most aspects of modern life, and the non-evolution - or loss - of a standardised form presents an obstacle to a language's wider use. However, many minority languages are well-developed, and all they lack is acceptance, by large populations, in the domains most influenced by change. The absence of a full range of modern terminology cannot be accounted a serious inadequacy, as major languages continually acquire new words by invention and calquing, and a popularised minority language would develop in the same way. European minority languages such as Occitan, Catalan, Basque, Scottish and Irish Gaelic, Welsh, and Frisian are highly developed, having written literature, dictionaries, grammars, and levels of spoken and written standardisation which rank only slightly below that of the major languages. These are the legacy of such languages' former currency in populous communities which were politically, economically and materially powerful,

and their current minority status reflects their speakers' loss of power in the course of history, rather than any inherent flaw in the languages themselves.

In this perspective, Scottish Gaelic is one of the most successful languages the world has seen: a division of the greater Gaelic language of Scotland and Ireland which held a leading place in European cultural development until the Middle Ages. At one time the dominant language in Scotland, leaving its placenames in almost every locality, the boundary of its habitual spoken use has receded further and further into the north-west Highlands and Islands, particularly in the course of the twentieth century. It has attracted increasing public interest over the past two decades, but the number of speakers has continued to fall. There are now no adult monoglots, and the age profile of the sixty-six thousand speakers found by the 1991 National Census is weighted towards the elderly: more than a quarter are over the age of sixty-five. However, interest in the language, and concern for its future, has in recent years engendered increasingly organised efforts to secure its survival.

2. Gaelic: the historical background

From earliest records to the later Middle Ages

Gaelic was the language of the original Scots: a tribe of Goidelic Celts, known to the Romans as the Scotti, who colonised the West Highlands from their established base in the north of Ireland. Evidence suggests that Gaelic was spoken in Scotland as early as the third century AD. Thomson (1983, p89) cites a reference in AD 297 by Eumenius, panegyrist of Constantius Chlorus who restored Roman dominance, to the Picti and the Hiberni (Scotti, identified by their Irish origins) as enemies of Britons in south Scotland; later, the historian Ammianus Marcellinus recorded the alliance of Scotti and Picti

against the Romans in AD 360 and 365. By the late fifth century the embryonic kingdom of the Scots, Dalriada, had been established in Argyll by Fergus Mor mac Eirc. The establishment of the monastery of Iona by Colum Cille in 563 gave the colony and its language prestige and influence, through the consolidation of the Christian mission, and its associated literacy and scholarship. Over the following three and a half centuries the Scots contended with the Picts for dominance of the area north of the Forth and Clyde; the Picts gradually adopted Gaelic and Christianity, and eventually the two tribes were joined under the Dalriadic king, Kenneth MacAlpin, in 843. Thereafter the use of Gaelic spread with the extending overlordship of the speakers; the proliferation of Gaelic placenames shows that the language was at one time or another the language of the ruling class in almost every part of Scotland.

In the pre-medieval period, the Gaelic used in Scotland appears to have been indistinguishable from that in Ireland, and it was a language at the forefront of European civilisation: not only were there fine works of ecclesiastical scholarship, but also a corpus of vernacular literature greater than any in Europe. The first documentary evidence of a diverging Scottish Gaelic is found in annotations in the Book of Deer, a twelfth century gospel book. By that time, however, the language's sphere of influence was diminishing, replaced within the Church by Latin and at the Scottish Court by French, with Northumbrian English, later to be termed by some 'Scottis', increasingly used by the common people south and east of the Highlands. Around 1400, English replaced French as the language of the Scottish Court, and the country now had two main tongues; the power of the Clan Donald Lords of the Isles, and their potential threat to the security of the Crown, emphasised the political nature of the cultural division. James IV (1488-1513) was the last Scottish monarch able to speak

Gaelic, though as a learner; he presumably had occasion to use it in the dealings which led to the eventual subjugation of Clan Donald.

From the end of the Lordship to the 1745 Rebellion

The fall of the Lordship of the Isles in 1499 marks the point when Gaelic society lost its independence and power-base. As the power of Clan Donald declined, so that of Clan Campbell increased, through participation in the affairs of the Scottish Court. The Campbell hierarchy thus gained legal support for its interests in the Highlands, and simultaneously helped to spread the influence and power of the state. However, in Lowland eyes, the Gaelic community remained alien and threatening, an impression which appeared to be confirmed by the failure of the Reformation to make much impact in the Highlands. Attempted enforcement of the "discipline of the Reformat Kirk" culminated in sundry chiefs signing a bond of obeisance to the Statutes of Iona (1609), which included requirements to send their heirs to Lowland schools to learn to "...to speik, reid, and wryte Inglische..", and not merely to refuse hospitality to travelling bards, but to put them "..in the stokis, and thairefter to be debarit furth of the cuntrey with all guidlie expeditioun.." (Donaldson 1970, p174). The latter was plainly designed to discourage continuation of the bardic scholarship which recorded and broadcast history and contemporary events as the Gaels perceived them, and thus nurtured Gaelic society's pride and self-image. The subsequent Education Act of 1616 made clear the state's intentions with regard to the language:

...that all his Majesties subjectis, especiallie the youth, be exercised and trayned up in civilitie, godlines, knowledge and learning, that the vulgar Inglische toung be universallie plantit, and the Irishe language, whilk is one of the cheif and principall causis of the continewance of barbaritie and incivilitie amongis the inhabitantis of the Ilis and Heylandis, may be abolisheit and removit... (op. cit., p178)

Although much of the Highlands remained unaffected by the minutiae of state legislation, political events drew the Highland chiefs and gentry away from their Gaelic heritage. This was summarised by MacInnes (1988, p58):

For Scottish Gaeldom the material legacy of civil war and Cromwellian occupation was land devastation, social dislocation, and increasing public and private indebtedness. The unprecedented pressures for ideological conformity, financial supply and military recruitment generated by the Covenanted movement between 1638 and 1651 not only polarised the clans politically, but committed them irrevocably to Scottish as against Gaelic or pan-Celtic politics. Political commitment in turn accelerated the assimilation of chiefs and leading gentry....into Scottish landed society. The growing desire of the clan elite to make their mark in Scottish politics and live the lifestyle of Scottish landowners entailed protracted absences from their territories and the accumulation of debts as a persistent feature of estate management. The cost of absenteeism consistently outstripped revenues raised as rents....the Restoration era was to witness a fundamental shift in the nature and structure of clanship away from traditionalism towards commercialism.

Roderick Morison (An Clarsair Dall) observed the new trends in 'Oran do Mhac Leoid Dhun Bheagain' (post 1693), depicting, in the words of Thomson (1989, p153): "The sad transformation of the clan chief to a foreign cockatoo..." Thus, although the repercussions of the last Jacobite rebellion are sometimes represented as a watershed for Gaelic language and culture, irreversible change had been in progress for some time. By 1745, the absence of Gaelic political power and patronage had all but obliterated traditional Gaelic scholarship. Bishop Forbes wrote of Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair in 1747:

...he can both read and write the Irish language in its original character, a piece of knowledge almost quite lost in the Highlands of Scotland, there being exceedingly few that have any skill at all in that way. (Forbes 1747/1895, p354)

and analysis of particular stanzas of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's poetry led Black (1986, p13) to conclude that the author

..appears to have been acutely conscious of his lack of any systematic training in poetry of the kind undergone by the MacMhuirichs of the past.

When, therefore, the Gaelic aristocracy was forcibly divested of its traditional powers in the aftermath of the '45 rebellion, the consequent diminution in its sense of common cause with the Gaelic proletariat, and in fidelity to Gaelic language and culture (except as a scholarly diversion), was merely one further step in a process of disengagement evident over the previous century.

After the 1745 Rebellion

The effect of the '45 on the Gaelic population was to confirm that Gaelic society and its homeland was to have a subordinate role in British society, and led to an unremitting erosion of Gaelic society by emigration. The voluntary emigration in the late eighteenth century of many of the smaller landholders ('tacksmen'), and the introduction of Lowland sheep-farmers, left the Gaelic community with a diminished representation amongst local community leaders. Enforced emigrations followed the collapse of the kelp industry in the 1820s; tenants were no longer able to support estates through mandatory collections of kelp, and landlords perceived that large sheep farms, replacing existing tenancies, would be profitable. Despite this, Gaelic prospered. The role of social leadership came to be taken up by evangelical ministers, and, through a religious revival promulgated through Gaelic, and Gaelic schools run by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, and the Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Inverness Societies for the Support of Gaelic Schools, Gaelic literacy (with a modern orthography) was widespread throughout the Highlands by the second half of the eighteenth century, to an extent probably not surpassed in previous centuries, or since. However, even after Gaels were granted domestic security of tenure, through the Crofters Holdings Act of 1886, the

undeveloped nature of the Highland economy offered little opportunity for personal prosperity, and the opportunities available elsewhere induced a steady stream of emigration for higher education, employment, and the chance to begin a new life overseas. Gaels could not fail to notice the association of their language and culture with a lifestyle of relative backwardness and remoteness.

The Education Act of 1872 and the twentieth century

The 1872 Education Act had severe consequences for the fortunes of the Gaelic language. The progress made in Gaelic literacy during the first seven decades of the nineteenth century was dispelled by the replacement of the various forms of Highland school with a standard, state-run model, overseen by local school boards. There was no mention of a role for Gaelic in the new schools; although some of the new school boards were sympathetic to the use of Gaelic as a means of instruction, the policy of widespread Gaelic-medium education, as had been practised by the Gaelic schools, was abolished. The effect of the 1872 Act was the promotion of English as the only medium of education and the only worthwhile language for literacy, thus diminishing further the status of Gaelic. Although it can fairly be said that the Act did not bar the use of Gaelic in the new schools, the apparent dismissal of the Gaelic schools' achievements, and absence of any direct encouragement, confirmed the impression presented to Gaelic-speakers on a regular basis: that their language had no use in any progressive field of human endeavour, and was doomed.

Subsequently, there were official sanctions for the use of Gaelic in schools, and a clause in the 1918 Education Act required that the newly formed local education authorities make 'adequate provision' for the teaching of Gaelic 'in Gaelic-speaking areas' (Smith 1983, p260). Yet little progress was made in primary schools for almost a century, a period during which three generations of

native Gaelic-speakers received, during their formative years, almost all of their education in English and little instruction in literacy in their own language. Whatever perceptions earlier generations had about the inadequacy of their language and culture, was, post-1872, systematically inculcated in growing generations on a daily basis. This is not to say that Gaels, in the political and economic circumstances in which they found themselves, did not see the learning of English and participation in the English-language world as a means of achieving a better life. It is also easy to understand the stance of educationalists who, perceiving the alternative as a near-monoglot Gaelic community without means of economic advancement, reckoned an uncompromising emphasis on English to be philanthropic. However, the almost complete lack of recognition by the education service that Gaelic had a value must have played a significant part in the accelerating decline in the number of Gaelic speakers. Smith (1968, p59), in commenting on the 1872 Act, noted:

In roughly the same period since 1872 the process of deterioration in the state of the Gaelic language.....has continued at an even faster rate than previously.

In the past hundred years, the number of Gaelic-speakers has fallen from 254,415 to 66,978, and is now fully bilingual; while the greatest concentration of speakers is to be found in the Western Isles, half of the total are economic migrants living in the Lowlands. Although no compensation for the loss of speakers, it is possible to note certain positive developments in the long term which have given Gaelic, today, a better position than many minority languages. Through music and song festivals of An Comunn Gaidhealach, the language acquired renown and minor popularity outside the community of speakers, which has been reinforced on an annual basis for more than a century. The many recordings of Gaelic song and export of

the culture by the Gaelic diaspora have brought a measure of international recognition and appreciation. These, and the scholarship associated with the language through the establishment of Chairs of Celtic at three Scottish Universities, have induced many to attempt to learn the language.

These maintained a low-level public recognition of Gaelic's existence; significant initiatives have only been evident since 1968, and have taken the form of accelerating and cross-fertilising developments in education (bilingual primary education, 1976; Gaelic-medium primary education, 1985; playgroups, 1982; tertiary Gaelic-medium courses, 1983), broadcasting (Radio Highland, 1976; Radio nan Eilean, 1979; first Celtic Festival of Film and Television, 1980; Gaelic TV Broadcasting Fund, 1989), publishing (Gaelic Books Council, 1968; Acair Ltd, 1977) and social policy (Comhairle nan Eilean's bilingual policies, 1975; founding of Comunn^{an} Luchd-Ionnsachaidh and Comunn na Gaidhlig, 1984; establishment of Inter-Authority Standing Group on Gaelic, 1986). The fruits of these, in terms of stabilising the size of the speech community and giving it a healthy age-profile, have yet to be seen. The current position has been summarised as one requiring three thousand new Gaelic-speakers each year, to offset the mortality rate (MacLeod, 1989).

3. Political and social factors affecting the status of Gaelic

The above outline requires some development to give a more complete account of the historical predicament of the Gaelic people and their language. There are a number of clichéd images of the language, culture and people, based on perceived differences between Highland and Lowland Scots, which require closer examination. The

status of Gaelic in the eyes of the mass of the Scottish population will have a bearing on the success of current moves to resist the language's decline.

It is a common misconception that there has always been a great division between Highland and Lowland society, but the oft-quoted differences became apparent only in the later Middle Ages:

At the beginning of the fourteenth century...the geographical 'Highland line' hardly constituted a meaningful divide at all....But by 1400 the situation had changed... (Grant 1984, p200)

Fordun's chronicle, written in the 1380s, distinguished in detail the people of 'the seaboard and plains' ('civilized', 'trusty') from those of the Highlands and Islands ('savage and untamed') (Skene 1880, p40). Similar descriptions appeared thereafter, in other documents of Lowland provenance.

Fordun found three areas of difference: geography, language and way of life. As Grant (op. cit.) has pointed out, apart from differentiating the peoples' habitats, the geographical division had a bearing on the practical aspects of the ways of life. On the better soil of the Lowlands, new agricultural practices were more readily adopted, leading to improved production and a greater emphasis on arable farming. The Highlands retained the old pastoral customs, with cattle being especially prized; part of the adverse opinion of Highlanders was due to occasional appropriation of Lowland livestock as part of, in the perpetrators' view, an honourable tradition. But difference of language appears to have been a principal bugbear: for uncomprehending Lowlanders, Gaelic appears to have symbolized the Highlander's outlandishness and stubborn disrespect for self-ascribed Lowland authority.

At root, there seems to have been a dispute over which speech community was the true inheritor of the Scottish identity, following the demise of Gaelic as the language of government, and rise of English in that domain. There is "abundant evidence" (Skene 1877, p460) that Gaelic was initially acknowledged by all as the Scottish national language. It was known in Latin as 'lingua Scotica' (Murison 1979, p8), and described by Lowland writers such as Fordun, ca. 1380, as "the Scottish speech" (Skene 1877, p461), then later as the "ald Scottis toung" (Leslie 1578/1888, p95), and the "ancient Scottish language" (Buchanan 1582/1827, p6). However, at some time after 1400, following the spread of English in the Lowlands, it was conceived amongst certain members of the Lowland literary circle that Gaelic should be designated 'Irish'. This was, certainly, the name of the language as the English themselves knew it in their dealings with the Irish people, and dialectal speech in Gaelic Scotland may have been little different at that time, while a classical form was common to both countries. But for English-speaking Scots to begin to describe as 'Irish' a language which their own speech-community knew as 'Scottish', there must have been a deliberate intention to deny the nation's Gaelic roots, and to present Gaels as intruding 'non-Scots'.

We may conjecture that this happened because Lowlanders felt vulnerable to the charge of being anglicised 'non-Scots' themselves, for their language was recognised as English, and its adoption as due to English influence. That extensive anglicisation in language and custom had occurred amongst his fellow Lowlanders was plain to Hector Boece (ca1527/1821):

as our eldaris...[through wars and trade]...lernit the Saxonis toung....sa the pepill, now present in Scotland, hes tint baith the langage and maneris of writing usit sum time be our eldaris, and hes now ane new maner of writingis and langage; howbeit, the Hieland hes baith the writingis and langage as thay had afore, mair ingenius than ony othir pepill....we began to have

alliance....with Inglismen..and, be frequent and daily cumpany of thaim, we began to rute thair langage and superflew maneris in oure brestis; thro quhilk the virtew and temperance of our eldaris began to be of lital estimation amang us." (pp lix,lx)

In self-conscious compensation, apparently, some Lowland writers from 1494 onwards described their language as 'Scottis' (Murison 1979, p8), but others, and the legislature, continued to call it English: thus Dunbar in the 1490s, Major in 1521, Leslie in 1578, the Statutes of Iona in 1609, and the Education Act of 1616 all refer to the Lowland tongue as 'Inglis'.

Evidence of the dispute aroused by the language question can be found in Dunbar's poem 'The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie', written in the late 1400s (Dunbar, 1490/1932). Against vigorously anti-Gaelic sentiments, presented as his own, Dunbar gives the rejoinders of Kennedy, a Gael from Gaelic-speaking Carrick: that 'Irische' was the 'gud langage of this land' (l.347) and of 'all trew Scottis mennis' (l.346). The 'Kennedy' lines also deride English-speakers (such as Dunbar himself) as traitors, and recall the heroes and patriotism of the Wars of Independence. Indeed, Kennedy's case is given in sufficient detail to suggest that such opinions were well-known, and that Dunbar himself found them valid and credible, particularly as he couches the anti-Gaelic argument - even if allowance is made for the exaggeration characteristic of 'flyting' - in terms of unsophisticated bluster and abuse.

Amongst Gaelic texts, the Gael's lack of conviction in Lowland claims to 'Scottishness' can be detected in the interchangeable use of 'Gall' (foreigner) to designate, at some times, 'Lowlander', at others 'Englishman'. Thus the author of 'Ar Sliocht Gaodhal' (Anon, ca 1513/1937), in pleading that Scotland not be divided again, refers to the English as 'Gall', while in 'Saighdean Ghlinn Liobhann' (Anon, 1600-1625/1959) the term is used for the

hero's Lowland executioners. Fordun described "highlanders and people of the islands" as "hostile to the English people and language" (Skene 1880, p40). As well as claiming superior Scottish pedigree in respect of language and culture, Highlanders also prided themselves in their warlike way of life. MacInnes (1989, p94) summarised this attitude:

Gaelic praise-poetry glorifies the heroic ideal and celebrates the warrior class whose members play the aristocratic game of war. The warriors themselves despise manual labour and the tillers of the earth who are not allowed to carry weapons...The poets equate the Lowland peasant farmers, and by extension all dwellers in the Lowlands, with the bodaich who dig the soil.

From the Lowland side, Bishop Leslie (1578/1888, p96) concurred:

...naturallie thay ar bent mair willinglie and vehementlie, gif their maistir commande thaim, to sedition and stryfe: than to be labourers of the ground or men of craft...

It is likely, however, that differences in day-to-day lifestyle were exaggerated by both sides and less marked than those of culture and language, but the latter ensured different loyalties and interests. The Gaelic world of Dunbar's time, though in a long process of decline, extended from the north of Scotland to the south-west of Ireland, and had at one time been a considerable ecclesiastical, scholastic, military, naval and trading power, in regular contact with the European mainland; it was not to be subdued easily. Within Scotland, Gaelic-speakers were far from being the insignificant minority which lack of attention in later histories seems to suggest. They represented about half of the entire Scottish population in 1521 (Major 1521/1892, pp48-50), having "not so long ago" comprised "the majority of us" (ibid. p50); over a century and a half later, the Gaelic-speaking population of the 1690s was "perhaps 30%" of the total (Withers 1988, p140). Secure in their mountainous country and with cultural,

linguistic, political and religious codes for the most part out of step with the Lowland equivalents, Highlanders from the Middle Ages until Culloden must have represented, to the Lowland mind, as great a potential threat to livelihood and cultural preferences as that posed by the recurrent possibility of English invasion. Along with the cattle rustling and other banditry suffered by those on the edge of the Highland Line, the military strength of Highland armies seriously threatened the established Lowland order four times in the century between 1645 and 1746. Coming long after the reputation for 'barbaritie' had acquired common currency, these incursions cannot have failed to make a great impression on the Lowland psyche, and help to explain why so few Lowlanders enlisted in the Jacobite army in 1745.

Not unnaturally, it was only after Lowlanders felt safe that they found an appreciation of the Highlands and its inhabitants, to the extent, ironically, of cultural imitation. The nineteenth-century rehabilitation of Highlanders as the Scottish version of the 'noble savage' introduced a romantic and colourful image of Scottishness which many English-speaking Scots found attractive. This did not include popular appreciation of Gaelic culture in its entirety, rather the adoption of Gaelic dress and instrumental music as pan-Scottish cultural symbols, presentable at Lowland cultural functions. Although Gaelic language, literature and song attracted some scholarly interest, they never acquired the popularity of cultural aspects which did not require linguistic competence. Effectively, the language barrier determined that only parts of Gaelic culture found acceptance as symbols of the national identity, while the language, song and literature were left behind as the marker of one particular group of citizens.

The eventual dominance of English in Scottish life, and the demystification of Gaelic cultural symbols by their

adoption as pan-Scottish emblems, has meant that in the last two and a half centuries most Lowlanders have rarely had to confront the notion of an alternative Scottish culture. Although research has indicated (MacKinnon, 1981) that there is much popular goodwill for Gaelic, this reflected opinion amongst a public which had little opportunity of exposure to Gaelic, and consequently little chance of experiencing situations where the prevalence of Gaelic placed English-speakers at a disadvantage. For the most part, Gaelic has been tolerated as long as it has not had too high a profile, but there appears to be an underlying potential for Lowland irritation. The survey undertaken in the present study discovered some hostility to the promotion of Gaelic, and the recent increase in the Gaelic television broadcasting, particularly at prime viewing times, has been opposed in some media commentaries, letters to the press, and attitudes (Riddoch, 1995). It could be argued that the relative quiescence of Gaelic has concealed the unresolved nature of the language issue in Scottish life. There is a similarity in the tenor of anti-Gaelic sentiments presented by Dunbar in the late 1490s: "Thy trechour tung hes tane ane heland strynd; Ane lawland ers wald mak a bettir noyis (Dunbar 1490/1932, 11.55-56), Burnie's (1993) opinion of Gaelic-speakers: "heather and vowel bashers" and Clarke's (1995) judgement on the language: "There is nothing in Gaelic that is worth passing on to the rest of mankind....vernacular Gaelic is a low level peasantish sort of debris". It seems fair to conclude that, whatever the other differences associated with it, now mostly nullified, the linguistic barrier itself has played a significant part in Scottish history, and the notion that Gaelic/English bilingualism might have a place in the mainstream domains of Scottish public life has yet to gain full acceptance.

4. The economic factor in language maintenance.

The diminution of the Gaelic speech community cannot be attributed to any one over-riding factor, but rather to a number of pressures - military, economic, social, religious, educational - with a combined effect over time. It is, however, hard to overstate the importance of the economic factor, which has been present from the start of the process. Rait (1914) noted that the spread of English throughout southern, central and eastern Scotland in the early Middle Ages was caused by the extending influence of English-dominated trade, and the residence of English-speaking merchants in Scottish burghs. William of Newburgh, in 1174 (cited by Mackinnon 1991, p29) wrote that the burghs were established and run by foreigners, of whom the Flemings were the most important. MacKinnon (ibid.) noted in this connection that the Germanic dialect of these Low Country merchants was not very different from the Northern Middle English of that period, and that much of Scotland's overseas trade thus came to be carried out by Flemish and English-speakers. As already mentioned, Hector Boece (1527/1821, p.lix) recorded the anglicising effect of necessary trading with English-speakers. According to Withers (1984, p20):

Burghs were never centres of Gaelic speech, and the increased trade and economic contacts they generated were in many ways alien to much of Scotland at that time..

and he reckoned that the later emergence of Gaelic names amongst the burgesses of Arbroath after 1180 was due to:

the attraction of Gaelic-speakers to the economic pull of the burgh community....the role of the burgh may have been to concentrate in one place, and to hasten through trade links and repeated contact with non-Gaelic-speakers, the process of social and linguistic change....."

Many studies have attested, acknowledged or alluded to the importance of economic factors in determining the

maintenance or decline of languages: for example, O'Brien (1979), Dorian (1982), Fasold (1984), Edwards (1985), Grin (1990, 1993), Hindley (1990), Morris (1992), Pasqual (1993), and Urdangarin (1993). The process by which bilingualism and language shift is encouraged may be summarised as follows. One speech community, A, is brought into increased contact - for example, by improved communications, immigration, or military invasion - with a neighbour, B, which has a stronger economic base. The B economy is more prosperous, has greater diversity, and can supply more of what the members of communities A and B want, than the A economy can. Members of the A community thus spend much of their money in the B economy; this serves to expand the latter's markets into A territory, and to increase the utility of the B language within the A community. The expanding B economy is better equipped to produce and market innovations, and thus its language is associated with progress. The B economy also offers more career opportunities, and in newer fields of endeavour, and members of the A community have an incentive to acquire fluency in the B language for material advancement and personal fulfilment. As the B language becomes increasingly important in the lives of members of the A community, and there is increased fraternising with monoglot B speakers, the use of the B language within the A community starts to spill over from 'economic' domains to social ones, with increasing intermarriage of A and B speakers. Ultimately, intergenerational language shift occurs: whether by neglect, design, or necessity, fewer and fewer children are raised as A speakers, and the A community dwindles. The greatest remaining concentrations of A speakers are found in those remoter parts of the original A homeland which are furthest from the B influence.

The consequence of this is seen in minority-language homelands today. They tend to have a low level of economic self-sufficiency, they are usually areas of low

land value, their economy tends to be agrarian, and they lack urban development. This last is a particularly important feature in comparison to majority speech communities. With the exception of Catalan (which is atypical amongst minority languages in having more speakers than some majority languages) minority languages are not used as the main means of communication in large towns or cities. Their use by a majority in urban environments only occurs in settlements of a few thousand people. This has important implications for such languages' potential for development. Greene (1981, p6) noted:

For Irish, as for the other Neo-Celtic languages, the urban society necessary to widen the range of the language does not exist, nor is there any prospect of its emergence.

It is difficult, therefore, for minority language speakers to find an economic use for their language outside certain spheres of activity, and in a rural context. While cities have always been the seat of economic, political, and social power, accelerating urbanisation has been evident over the past two centuries, to the extent that approximately ninety percent of humans now live in urban areas. With improved communications focusing attention on urban language and culture, minority language speech communities are continually reminded of their deviance from the norm.

Numerous reports testify to the low morale of a speech community whose language is associated with rurality, and its connotations of social backwardness and poverty. The language of towns and cities is perceived as that of power, progress, social access and entertainment, and there is great economic and social pressure on individuals in rural communities to adopt the the urban code for themselves or for their offspring, in order to take advantage of opportunities for social and career fulfilment. Such downgrading of the 'rural' language has

been observed in the cases of Arberor (MacIver, 1990), Welsh (Price, 1984), Breton (Wardhaugh, 1987), Galician (Pedersen, 1989), Occitan (Schlieben-Lange, 1977), Sami in Norway (Eidheim, 1969), and Gaelic (Smith, 1983). With all these are found the phenomena of language shift: a predominantly elderly population, failure to pass on the 'rural' language to children, declining use of the language amongst the young, and a tendency for young women, particularly, to reject the 'rural' language and seek marriage partners in the dominant language community.

Economic considerations thus reveal to minority language speakers the status of their language, and the choices they must make for their own lifestyle and that of their children. While not the only factor operating in favour of language shift, the economic aspect is probably the most effective, and the harbinger of linguistic change in the social sphere. With the decline in economic importance of the traditional forms of work, and diminution of the workforce required for them, many minority language speakers, perhaps most, now switch codes on entering the work domain, and this breach simultaneously reduces the language's range, curbs its development in a changing world, and encourages habitual use of the dominant language. There may be social domains in which the minority language may survive, but they have to be of great communal significance to resist the intrusion of the dominant language.

It is therefore extremely important for a minority language to maintain a presence within the changing work domain, for this maintains a degree of economic leverage. The nature and extent of employment which uses a minority language is one measure of the language's health, indicating its profile and relevance in the modern world. The present study sets out to examine this in detail.

CHAPTER 2: SURVEY OF THE GAELIC JOB MARKET

1. Background to the Survey

Recent years have seen an increased public awareness and interest in Gaelic, accompanied, according to advertised vacancies, by an increase in employment for which a knowledge of Gaelic is desirable or essential. This has important implications: first, because it refutes the customary criticism of educational and social provision for Gaelic - that having the language is of no economic benefit to the individual - and second, because the perceived success or failure of the Gaelic element in employment could determine the scope of future opportunities for those young people who are presently responding to encouragement to maintain or to acquire Gaelic.

A survey was conducted in 1990 to obtain information about the use of Gaelic in work, the extent of employment prospects for Gaelic-speakers, the location of organisations offering such employment, and the types of work in which the Gaelic abilities are used.

2. Survey Method

The survey took the form of a widely distributed questionnaire, supplemented by telephone interviews. The intention was to cover the whole spectrum of Gaelic-related employment, rather than to take a random sample: job advertisements and such other information as was available indicated that the posts tend to be localised and specialised, so information obtained by extrapolation of results from a random sample would have been unreliable. However, there had to be an element of random selection of targets in fields where the extent of the use of Gaelic was unknown.

The targets were: organisations known to have advertised for Gaelic-speakers; organisations which operate in areas where more than 50 per cent of the population have Gaelic; and organisations whose operations are associated, in part at least, with the Highlands and/or Gaelic culture. Lists of targets were compiled from a survey of job advertisements over two years from mid-1987 to mid-1989, from directories of national organisations and government departments, from British Telecom's 'Yellow Pages' directory for the Highlands and Islands, and from personal knowledge. In some cases, it was more appropriate to target a branch or department of a large concern ^{than the} organisation as a whole.

In compiling the targets, deliberate selection of categories of organisation from directories carried the inherent risk of pre-judging the fields of work in which the use of Gaelic would be found. However, a completely random sample would certainly have missed important data; if the best available information about Gaelic in work was to be gathered, the 'more likely' targets could not be ignored. It was decided that it was not unreasonable to assume that the type of work which entailed frequent communication among employees and with the public, without the necessary use of much English technical terminology, would be the more likely to have a role for the use of Gaelic. Thus the targets included, for example, more hotels than builders. However, the 'less likely' categories were not ignored, and random targets were selected from them to provide a response over a range of types of work. It was intended that, if any targeted organisations in a 'less likely' category provided evidence of greater use of Gaelic than could have been suspected, given the initial information gathered, that category was to be investigated more fully.

The questionnaire was designed to be as concise and easy to answer as possible, in order to maximise response. As it was to be a large survey, it was thought better to attempt to obtain some clear information from many respondents, rather than to seek a large quantity of data which only a few might take the trouble to provide. Prior suspicions about how requests for too much detail would be treated were borne out by a poor response to one particular question. Fifteen copies of the draft questionnaire were distributed in a pilot study, and the final version was produced following examination of the twelve pilot copies completed and returned within a month.

Questionnaires were sent out with an explanatory letter and a stamped, addressed envelope. The standard letter was amended in cases where it was felt that particular explanation or supplication would improve the chances of response. Wherever possible, the package was sent to a named person or particular executive officer with the seniority to deal with it, and both letter and questionnaire were provided in Gaelic where it was known that the recipient would be able to read them.

Most of the distribution of questionnaires took place over a period of six weeks, April - June 1990. Others - important new targets, re-directions and second requests - were sent as their need was perceived until the end of the third week of September.

In all, 321 'first request' copies of the questionnaire were sent, including 8 extra to large organisations for any departments which could use them. These latter were not completed. Four targets - through use of alternate business names, change of address and change to voluntary organisation - proved to be unviable. The maximum return thus might have been 309, comprising 295 main, viable targets - organisations, or departments of large

organisations - and 14 extra copies of the questionnaire which were sent to individual offices and units of a social work department to obtain detailed information which was unavailable at the main office. Sixteen 'second request' questionnaires were sent to non-responding targets which were regarded as particularly important (all but one were completed). In addition, some 90 telephone calls and several written enquiries were made to confirm, elicit and elucidate information.

3. Response of Targeted Organisations

246 of the 309 questionnaires were returned with usable information; the average time taken for response was approximately four weeks. In addition one organisation explained its position by letter and it was possible to fit that to the questions to form an adequate record. The return was thus 80 per cent of the questionnaires distributed. Two other organisations responded by telephone and letter respectively, but were not able to provide enough clear information to form a record.

Usually, at least three-quarters of the questionnaire had been answered. In a substantial minority of cases this was not always in the manner desired, nor in such a way as to convey clear information. While the right of the respondents not to provide answers was respected, telephone calls were made to obtain in a usable form such data as they seemed willing to divulge.

4. Data Analysis and Discussion

Of the 247 usable questionnaires, 15 came from individual units of a particular social work department (this had been the only way in which the information could be obtained) and these 15 responses were collated into one.

In addition, a general response for a national Church was discounted as it was superseded by more detailed responses from the presbyteries, which were included separately. There was not a case for collating the data from the presbyteries in the same way as the social work units, because the circumstances of the presbyteries were different: they had a greater degree of administrative autonomy and were operating, collectively, over a wider geographical area with greater variation in the density of the Gaelic-speaking population. The total number of respondents appears in the results, therefore, as 232.

Much of the analysis involved the investigation of the response of two categories of organisation: the 186 which declared that Gaelic was used in some way in the course of their work, and the 92 which had Gaelic-desirable and/or Gaelic-essential posts.

(a) Use of Gaelic in work

186 of the 232 respondents (80 per cent) declared that Gaelic is used, in some way, in their work. Organisations were asked to categorise their use of Gaelic as formal, informal, or both; spoken, written, or both. The combined options most frequently chosen were both formal and informal speech and writing, and informal speech only (Table 1). The first was strongly associated with organisations which had posts for which a knowledge of Gaelic was desirable or essential.

Though use of Gaelic was declared in many different fields of work, in some cases organisations involved in the same field, and in the same location, had contradictory perceptions of the language's role and importance. For example, from two adjacent insurance offices in the Western Isles, with similar proportions of Gaelic speakers amongst the staff, one respondent reported the informal use of Gaelic in the course of

work, with opportunities for increased use, while the other office's respondent reported no use of Gaelic, and saw no opportunity to introduce it. This may have been due to Gaelic-speakers perceiving an advantage which non-speakers are not able to assess, or to the personal sympathy or antipathy of the person completing the questionnaire.

Table 1. Organisations reporting spoken/written, formal/informal use of Gaelic.

	SPOKEN	WRITTEN	BOTH SPOKEN & WRITTEN	Total
FORMAL	2	7	11	20
INFORMAL	57	1	3	61
BOTH INFORMAL & FORMAL	34	0	71	105
Total	93	8	85	186

(b) Change in use of Gaelic, 1981-90

Organisations were asked if they thought that the incidence of the use of Gaelic in the course of their work had changed over the last ten years.

Change in use of spoken Gaelic

Table 2 shows the responses for organisations which did not use Gaelic, for those which used Gaelic at some time in the course of their work but did not have posts for which a knowledge was desirable or essential, and for those with such Gaelic posts.

Most of the non-users gave no response. Three appeared to indicate that non-use had evolved during the previous ten years, that is, Gaelic had been spoken, but its use had

undergone a conclusive decline. They were: a procurator fiscal's office, a local government housing department and an hotel.

Most of the users reported unchanged or increased use of spoken Gaelic, with the fields of tourism and social work/social service prominent amongst those noticing an increase.

Of the organisations with Gaelic posts, more than 80 per cent reckoned that the use of spoken Gaelic had been maintained or increased. It was noticeable that it was the organisations with established Gaelic posts which gave most of the declarations of increase. They were diverse in their fields of work and geographical locations, but local government departments, social work/social services, education, the media, and organisations involved in tourism and the arts were well represented. Nearly half of the small number of organisations reporting a decrease were ones with Gaelic posts, but this somewhat high proportion was attributable to a decline in one field: the Christian ministry. Nine out of the twelve respondents in this category were small national Churches or presbyteries of larger Churches. No other field of Gaelic employment was prominent.

Table 2. Incidence of spoken Gaelic, 1981-90

	ORGANISATIONS NOT USING GAELIC (N = 46)	ORGANISATIONS USING GAELIC, NO POSTS (N = 94)	ORGANISATIONS WITH GAELIC POSTS (N = 92)
INCREASED	0	20 (21%)	43 (47%)
NO CHANGE	18 (39%)	40 (43%)	34 (37%)
DECREASED	3 (7%)	15 (16%)	12 (13%)
DON'T KNOW	1 (2%)	10 (11%)	0
no response	24 (52%)	9 (10%)	3 (3%)
Total	46 (100.0%)	94 (100.0%)	92 (100.0%)

Changes in use of written Gaelic

Table 3 shows the responses for organisations which did not use Gaelic, for those which used Gaelic at some time in the course of their work but did not have posts for which a knowledge was desirable or essential, and for those with such Gaelic posts.

As with spoken Gaelic, most non-users gave no response to the enquiry about written Gaelic; the two which had observed a decrease were the local government housing department and the hotel which had declared a decline in spoken Gaelic. Among users, a majority gave no response, or didn't know if there had been a change in use. Of the organisations with Gaelic posts, slightly more than two-thirds reported unchanged or increased use.

Overall, increased written Gaelic was especially noticed by organisation with Gaelic posts: radio/TV broadcasting and video companies, some local government departments, and organisations involved in academic, educational and arts work. Of the fourteen users which had noticed an increase, those involved in tourism, cultural activities and newspapers were prominent.

In most cases, decline in written Gaelic was reported as coincident with decline in the spoken form. Decline in written Gaelic was noticed by small national Churches and Highlands and Islands presbyteries in particular.

Table 3. Incidence of written Gaelic, 1981-90

	ORGANISATIONS NOT USING GAELIC (N = 46)	ORGANISATIONS USING GAELIC, NO POSTS (N = 94)	ORGANISATIONS WITH GAELIC POSTS (N = 92)
INCREASED	0	14 (15%)	35 (38%)
NO CHANGE	18 (39%)	17 (18%)	28 (30%)
DECREASED	2 (4%)	9 (9.5%)	9 (10%)
DON'T KNOW	1 (2%)	9 (9.5%)	1 (1%)
no response	25 (54%)	45 (48%)	19 (21%)
Total	46 (99%)	94 (100%)	92 (100%)

(c) Organisations with Gaelic posts

Organisations were asked if they had posts for which Gaelic was desirable or essential. Ninety-two organisations had such posts, distributed as in Table 4:

Table 4. Numbers of organisations with Gaelic posts

TYPE OF POST	NUMBER OF ORGANISATIONS
Gaelic-DESIRABLE POSTS ONLY	42
Gaelic-ESSENTIAL POSTS ONLY	28
BOTH TYPES OF POST	22
Total	92

A note on equivocal responses

To establish a criterion for processing the data, any organisation which gave equivocal responses was not credited with having genuine Gaelic posts.

113 organisations declared that they had Gaelic-desirable/ essential posts. Of these, 17 were discounted as, in answer to a subsequent question on recruitment, they chose the 'no such posts' option. It might be surmised that some of these organisations may have decided to create their first specified Gaelic post(s) around the time of the survey, and so could not refer to previous attempts at recruitment - this was known to be true in one case, at least. However, in such circumstances the unfilled posts should have been apparent as vacancies, not as established Gaelic-desirable/essential employment.

These contradictory answers to questions about posts and recruitment were due, in many cases, to evident difficulty in assessing what constituted a Gaelic-desirable post. This applied most often to workplaces in Skye and the Western Isles. Uncertainty was expressed by annotations on the returned questionnaires, or in telephone conversations. There appeared to be two principal reasons for this difficulty. One was that where there was a predominantly Gaelic-speaking staff and public, the incidence of Gaelic in the course of work was so normal that the question had not been considered previously. The other reason was that although it might be desirable for an employee to have Gaelic, this was not felt so strongly as to be an issue in recruitment: the general bilingualism meant that the job could be carried out in English. In one case at least (a social work unit), the desirability of Gaelic could not be pursued in recruitment because so few job applicants had been Gaelic-speakers.

A further four organisations were also discounted as, although there did not seem to be uncertainty in describing the posts as Gaelic-desirable, annotated or verbal comments indicated that a job candidate's knowledge of Gaelic was not an important consideration during the process of recruitment.

(d) Gaelic-desirable posts

Table 5, analysing the Gaelic-desirable posts declared, shows a total of 1421.6, among 64 organisations. Appraisal of this figure requires consideration of several qualifying points, which follow the table.

Table 5. Numbers of Gaelic-desirable posts

	NUMBER OF POSTS	
PART-TIME TEMPORARY	523	(37%)
PART-TIME PERMANENT	53	(4%)
FULL-TIME TEMPORARY	27	(2%)
FULL-TIME PERMANENT	818.6*	(57%)
Total	1421.6*	(100%)

* One organisation cited 12.6 FTE (Full Time Equivalent) posts.

In assessing the 'job market' for Gaelic-speakers, the number of Gaelic-desirable posts recorded here has to be regarded with caution. Several of the organisations concerned have, since the time of the survey, advertised as vacant posts for which Gaelic abilities might have seemed useful (for example, posts based in Gaelic-speaking areas and entailing frequent contact with

residents) but the advertisements failed to mention Gaelic altogether. It is not safe to assume that, all else being equal, a Gaelic-speaker would have been preferentially recruited for all of the posts declared here - nor even that Gaelic abilities would have been considered. Unless a knowledge of Gaelic was deemed essential for the work, it is not possible to ascertain how important it was reckoned to be, when weighed against other attributes at the time of recruitment.

Moreover, a large number of the Gaelic-desirable posts were of one type: 504 (estimated) part-time temporary Social Work Home Helps. Those recruited for this work were, preferably, neighbours of the helped clients, with Gaelic used in everyday speech between them anyway. Though Gaelic was undoubtedly desirable, and the work was certainly part of the local economy, the element of 'recruitment by proximity' seemed to place these posts on a different footing to the others.

However, the number of Gaelic-desirable posts found was certainly no overstatement of the number of posts in which a knowledge of Gaelic was recognised as facilitating the performance of duties. There were, in addition, 12 organisations which could not give a precise number of Gaelic-desirable posts. Moreover, organisations giving equivocal responses (which could not be counted) certainly saw Gaelic as useful: they declared, in total, 157 posts, and five of them could not specify the number - in one case, the Nursing Services Department of a Health Board, this involved several hundred personnel.

With regard to the location of the specified Gaelic-desirable posts, 89 per cent were in the Western Isles, and a large number of these were Home Helps (Table 6). Ten of the twelve organisations which could not enumerate their Gaelic-desirable posts were also based in the Western Isles. Thus, any significance which the large

total of Gaelic-desirable posts may have had for the Gaelic job market depended on the rigour with which the Gaelic-desirable aspect was pursued in recruitment in the Western Isles.

Table 6. Location of specified Gaelic-desirable posts

	P-T TEMP.	F-T TEMP.	P-T PERM.	F-T PERM.	Total
WESTERN ISLES	508	38	15	709	1270
HIGHLAND REGION	5	4	1	71.6	81.6
HIGHLANDS & IS.*	6	8	11	28	53
ARGYLL	0	3	0	3	6
LOTHIAN REGION	4	0	0	7	11
Total	523	53	27	818.6	1421.6

* This category was used for work which could not be classified within one area.

(e) Gaelic-essential posts

Table 7 shows analysis of the 446 Gaelic-essential posts, found among 50 organisations. Three-quarters were full-time and permanent. There appeared to be a small but significant job market, and there can be some confidence in the veracity of the data, for respondents had had the option of describing posts as Gaelic-desirable, if in doubt.

Gaelic-essential posts were found to be more widely distributed than the Gaelic-desirable posts (Table 8). The demand for Gaelic on the Highland mainland and Lowland cities appears to sustain half of the Gaelic-essential employment.

Table 7. Gaelic-essential posts declared

	NUMBER OF POSTS	
PART-TIME TEMPORARY	71	(16%)
PART-TIME PERMANENT	26	(6%)
FULL-TIME TEMPORARY	16	(4%)
FULL-TIME PERMANENT	333	(75%)
Total	446	(100%)

Table 8. Location of specified Gaelic-essential posts

	P-T TEMP.	F-T TEMP.	P-T PERM.	F-T PERM.	Total
WESTERN ISLES	5	3	4	139	151
HIGHLAND REGION	9	9	5	102	125
HIGHLANDS & IS.*	40	6	6	20	72
ARGYLL	0	0	0	11	11
GRAMPIAN REGION	1	3	0	6	10
TAYSIDE REGION	1	0	0	2	3
CENTRAL REGION	0	0	0	1	1
LOTHIAN REGION	12	3	0	11	26
GLASGOW	3	2	1	41	47
Total	71	26	16	333	446

* This category was used for work which could not be classified within one area.

Seven organisations cited unspecified numbers of Gaelic-essential posts, and in keeping with the pattern of distribution of the specified posts, four were based outside the Highlands and Islands.

(f) Types of Gaelic-desirable and Gaelic-essential work

Organisations were asked to describe the nature of the Gaelic-desirable or Gaelic-essential work. Table 9 shows the numbers of organisations reporting particular kinds of work (not the number of posts involved). The table indicates the relative importance of the different kinds of work under the two descriptions.

Table 9. Types of Gaelic-desirable/essential work

	NO OF ORGANISATIONS REPORTING GAELIC- DESIRABLE WORK	NO. OF ORGANISATIONS REPORTING GAELIC- ESSENTIAL WORK
PUBLIC RELATIONS	22	5
DIRECTORIAL/ADMIN./ MANAGERIAL	15	15
OTHER CUSTOMER/PUBLIC CONTACT POSTS	13	1
CLERICAL/TYPING	11	5
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY	8	5
SECRETARIAL	8	13
SOCIAL WORK/SERVICE	5	2
RADIO/TV/VIDEO	4	6
TEACHING/EDUCATION	3	19
JOURNALISM	1	2
GAELIC OFFICER POSTS	-	6
ACADEMIC/SPECIALISED/ RESEARCH	-	6
WRITING/TRANSLATION	-	6
LEGAL SERVICES	-	2

Gaelic-desirable work

Information was provided by 62 of the 64 organisations with Gaelic-desirable posts. The most widely recognised type of Gaelic-desirable work was PR - more than a third of these organisations, in a variety of fields, reckoned they had at least one position which could be enhanced by the use of Gaelic in this way - but always, apparently, as part of a job; there was no mention of any particular PR post. A quarter cited managerial/administrative/directorial work.

In terms of number of posts, the greatest number (623, 44 per cent) were in social work/social service. Education services accounted for 481 (34 per cent), of which almost all were provided by local government in the Highlands and Islands (Table 10). Local government departments, including education and social work units, were prominent amongst organisations which could not enumerate the number of Gaelic-desirable posts they had.

Table 10. Gaelic-desirable posts - fields of work

	P-T TEMP.	P-T PERM.	F-T TEMP.	F-T PERM.	Total
SOCIAL WORK /SOCIAL SERVICE	502	21	7	93	623
EDUCATION (local gov)	0	0	0	473	473
LOCAL GOV. (excl. Educ. & Soc. Work)	0	5	6	108	119
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY	0	4	0	45	49
CIVIL SERVICE	1	0	10	24	35
HEALTH SERVICES	0	3	0	13.6	16.6
NEWSPAPERS	0	0	0	16	16
PUB/ CAFE/ RESTAURANT	3	5	1	5	14
LAW (private practice)	0	0	0	11	11
EDUCATION (excl. local government)	3	0	0	5	8
GAELIC BODIES	6	1	1	0	8
ARTS BODIES	0	3	0	5	8
COMMUNITY COOPS	3	0	1	3	7
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	1	2	1	3	7
INSURANCE SERVICES	1	2	0	3	6
TELEVISION	3	0	0	1	4
TRADE UNIONS	0	2	0	2	4
LAW (Crown service)	0	1	0	2	3
OTHERS*	0	4	0	6	10
Total	523	53	27	818.6	1421.6

* The 'Others' comprised shops, animal welfare services, and tourist services.

Gaelic-essential work

Information was provided by 48 of the 50 organisations which had Gaelic-essential posts. The most striking feature of the kinds of Gaelic-essential work, compared to that reckoned as Gaelic-desirable (Table 9), was that a greater proportion of the Gaelic-essential work was of an academic/executive/professional level of responsibility. This might be taken to imply that those with a specific wish to use their Gaelic in work would be advised to acquire further education or training, but Gaelic-desirable posts of whatever nature would also offer incumbents the opportunity to use the language. Rather, the higher status of Gaelic in Gaelic-essential work and the number and type of post seem to suggest that a knowledge of Gaelic could now be a particular means of career advancement.

More than half of the Gaelic-essential posts (253, 57 per cent) were in education: 204 (46 per cent) of these were in local government, with education authorities in the Highlands and Islands accounting for 145 (Table 11). The total for all local government employment was 217 (49 per cent). In broadcasting, there were 48 posts, of which 32 were in radio; but the number for TV was understated. Several TV/video companies acknowledged the existence of posts, but could not be too specific; the smaller companies, especially, had a practice of engaging Gaelic-speaking freelancers on short-term contracts, and it was difficult for them to provide exact figures for this kind of employment.

The organisations which cited unspecified numbers of Gaelic-essential posts operated in the fields of fields of education, the civil service, television, and Gaelic promotion.

Table 11. Gaelic-essential posts - fields of work

	P-T TEMP.	P-T PERM.	F-T TEMP.	F-T PERM.	Total
EDUCATION (local gov)	0	0	0	204	204
Gaelic BODIES	45	5	1	17	68
EDUCATION (excl. local government)	25	13	6	5	49
RADIO	0	0	1	31	32
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY	0	0	0	27	27
CIVIL SERVICE	0	1	5	16	22
TELEVISION	1	2	0	13	16
LOCAL GOVERNMENT (excl. Educ)	0	2	0	11	13
PUBLISHING	0	0	1	5	6
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	0	2	1	0	3
NEWSPAPERS	0	0	0	2	2
TRADE UNIONS	0	1	0	1	2
LAW (private practice)	0	0	1	0	1
TRANSLATION SERVICES	0	0	0	1	1
Total	71	26	16	33	446

(g) Recruitment for Gaelic posts

Organisations were asked if they had ever been unsuccessful in attempting to recruit an applicant with Gaelic for a Gaelic-desirable/essential post. The responses are summarised in Table 12. Most of the organisations with Gaelic posts declared that they had never been unsuccessful in recruitment, but a substantial minority - two-fifths - had failed at one time or another.

Table 12. Success in recruiting applicants with Gaelic for Gaelic posts

	RESPONDENTS WITH GAELIC POSTS
SUCCESSFUL	49 (53%)
UNSUCCESSFUL	37 (40%)
DON'T KNOW	4 (4%)
NO RESPONSE	2 (2%)
Total	92 (100%)

Table 13 compares the successful and unsuccessful groups in Table 12, according to the most common fields of work involved. The fields which had had more success in recruiting staff for Gaelic posts were TV/video/radio and local government departments for services other than education. However, almost all the jobs in the latter group were Gaelic-desirable, a description which, as already noted, is open to subjective interpretation. Those least successful appear to have been local education authorities and the Churches.

Table 13. Successful/unsuccessful recruitment according to fields of work

	NO. OF ORGANISATIONS	
	ALWAYS SUCCESSFUL	UNSUCCESSFUL
EDUCATION, excl. Local Gov.	5	4
EDUCATION, Local Gov.	3	5
TV/VIDEO/RADIO	6	3
LOCAL GOVERNMENT ex Education	8	2
CHURCH MINISTRY	3	6
GAELIC ORGANISATIONS	3	4
SOCIAL WORK/SOCIAL SERVICE	1	4

Number of unsuccessful attempts to recruit

Organisations which had been unsuccessful in attempts to recruit for a Gaelic post were asked how many times this had happened over the preceding ten years.

Of the 37 which had been unsuccessful, 33 responded. The data in Table 14 indicates that about a quarter (23 per cent) of the organisations with Gaelic posts had had difficulty in recruiting for them, having failed to fill a vacancy on more than one occasion (Table 14). It is possible that these figures were understated: not all respondents may have had full knowledge and/or perfect recall of recruitment in previous years. Lack of success was reported in a range of fields, but more often in the fields of education and the Christian ministry (Table 15).

Table 14. Unsuccessful attempts to recruit for Gaelic posts 1981-90

NO. OF OCCASIONS	NO. OF ORGANISATIONS REPORTING	
1	11	(12%)
2-3	14	(15%)
4-5	4	(4%)
6-10	3	(3%)
10+	1	(1%)
n/r	4	(4%)
Total	37	(40% of 92 with Gaelic posts)

Table 15. Unsuccessful recruitment for Gaelic posts:
numbers of times per field of work

	NUMBER OF ORGANISATIONS FAILING TO RECRUIT				
	1 FAILURE	2-3 FAILURES	4-5 FAILURES	6-10 FAILURES	10+ FAILURES
EDUCATION (local gov)	1	2	1	1	-
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY	1	2	2	-	-
EDUCATION (excl.local government)	1	2	-	-	-
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	1	1	-	1	-
LOCAL GOV. (excl.Educ. & Soc.Work)	-	1	-	-	1
GAELIC BODIES	1	-	1	-	-
TELEVISION	-	2	-	-	-
PUBLISHING	2	-	-	-	-
SOCIAL WORK /SOCIAL SERVICE	-	1	-	-	-
HOTELS	-	-	-	1	-
TRADE UNIONS	-	1	-	-	-
LAND MANAGEMENT	-	1	-	-	-
SHOPS	-	1	-	-	-
*OTHERS	4	-	-	-	-
Total	11	14	4	3	1

* A public house, a tourist board, an arts body, and a branch of a building society.

Reasons for unsuccessful recruitment

Organisations were asked for the reasons for their failure to recruit Gaelic-speakers for Gaelic-desirable/essential posts.

Of the 37 which reported lack of success, 35 responded. Lack of an applicant with Gaelic was the most common

reason for failure to recruit followed by preference, at the time of selection, for an applicant without Gaelic (Table 16).

Table 16. Reasons given for failure to recruit Gaelic-speakers for Gaelic posts

REASON	NUMBER OF ORGANISATIONS REPORTING; PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL 'WITH GAELIC POSTS'
NO APPLICANTS WITH GAELIC	25 27%
GAELIC DEEMED LESS IMPORTANT THAN OTHER QUALIFICATIONS	18 20%
OTHER REASON	5 5%

Note: The question offered a multiple response facility, hence there were more responses than respondents

Four 'other reasons' were specified: younger people's lack of interest in Gaelic and preference for English (cited by a Church of Scotland presbytery); a reluctance amongst Gaelic-speaking ministers to take charges in the Hebrides (another Church of Scotland presbytery); a shortage of teachers (a local education authority); and insufficient enthusiasm for Gaelic (a further education college).

Table 17 shows the numbers of organisations in various fields of work which cited the two main reasons for failure to recruit. Because there was not the same number of organisations in each field, and only a few were able to give information about the number of times each reason applied, the table does not show a definitive ranking order of how often the circumstances obtain in the various fields. Rather, it shows the diversity of fields in which the failure to recruit arises, and highlights the problems experienced by the Churches and education.

Table 17. Reasons for failure to recruit in various fields of work

FIELDS OF WORK	REASONS AND NUMBER OF ORGANISATIONS CITING	
	NO APPLICANTS WITH GAELIC	GAELIC DEEMED LESS IMPORTANT THAN OTHER QUALIFICATIONS
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY	5	3
EDUCATION (local gov)	4	1
EDUCATION (excluding local gov)	2	2
TELEVISION	2	1
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT	2	1
LOCAL GOV. (excl. Educ. & Soc. Work)	-	2
CRAFT SHOP	1	1
ARTS ORGS.	1	1
GAELIC ORGS.	1	1
PUBLISHING	1	1
BUILDING SOCIETY	1	1
OTHERS	*5	**3
Total	25	18

* Social work/community service, hotel, legal services, civil service, public house.

** Trade union, tourist board, estate.

(h) Vacancies in Gaelic posts

Organisations were asked if there were any vacancies, current or anticipated, in Gaelic-desirable/essential posts.

Almost all the vacancies were declared by organisations which already had Gaelic posts (Table 18). Six organisations did not have established Gaelic posts, but anticipated having them in future. The 19 vacancies they mentioned (18 Gaelic-desirable, one Gaelic-essential) may indicate an increased consideration of the role of Gaelic in certain lines of work. They comprised a small television company, an agricultural wholesalers, a civil service department, a local authority department concerned with the arts, and a conservation body.

It was noticeable that almost half the organisations which had declared posts had vacancies, or were anticipating vacancies.

Table 18. Vacant Gaelic posts

	VACANT GAELIC POSTS			
	GAELIC-DESIRABLE		GAELIC-ESSENTIAL	
PART-TIME TEMPORARY	2	(3%)	2	(4%)
PART-TIME PERMANENT	22	(29%)	14	(29%)
FULL-TIME TEMPORARY	2	(3%)	1	(2%)
FULL-TIME PERMANENT	50	(66%)	32	(65%)
Total	76	(100%)	49	(100%)

Gaelic-desirable vacancies

The analysis of the total of 76, broken down as shown in Table 19, shows that most were full-time permanent and almost all were in organisations which already had Gaelic posts. The vacancies were distributed in small numbers, for the most part, among the 46 organisations. Exceptions to this were a civil service department which declared 15 vacancies, and a local authority social work department which reported 11. There were four part-time permanent and six full-time permanent charges in Churches.

Table 19. Gaelic-desirable vacancies - fields of work

	P-T TEMP.	P-T PERM.	F-T TEMP.	F-T PERM.	Total
SOCIAL WORK /SOCIAL SERVICE	0	3	1	8	12
EDUCATION (local gov)	0	0	0	9	9
LOCAL GOV. (excl. Educ. & Soc. Work)	0	1	0	8	9
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY	0	4	0	6	10
CIVIL SERVICE	0	5	0	11	16
EDUCATION (excl. local government)	0	0	0	0	0
GAELIC BODIES	0	0	0	0	0
TELEVISION	1	1	0	3	5
HOTELS	0	3	0	3	6
*OTHERS	1	5	1	2	9
Total	2	22	2	50	76

* Tourist information services, an agricultural suppliers, animal welfare services, a branch of a building society, a community cooperative and a public house.

Gaelic-desirable vacancies were located as shown in Table 20; they reflect the limited distribution pattern of the Gaelic-desirable posts shown in Table 6.

Table 20. Location of specified Gaelic-desirable vacancies

	P-T TEMP.	F-T TEMP.	P-T PERM.	F-T PERM.	Total
WESTERN ISLES	1	11	2	29	43
HIGHLAND REGION	0	6	0	18	24
HIGHLANDS & IS.*	0	5	0	3	8
GRAMPIAN REGION	1	0	0	0	1
Total	2	22	2	50	76

* This category was used for work which could not be classified within one area.

Four organisations could not specify the number of Gaelic-desirable vacancies. Two were involved in education, two in television, and one of each pair had Gaelic-essential vacancies as well. All were based outside the Highlands and Islands.

Gaelic-essential vacancies

Table 21 shows the breakdown of the 49 Gaelic-essential vacancies: they were mostly full-time permanent. Save for one full-time permanent post (which was mentioned by a conservation body), all were declared by organisations which already had Gaelic posts. That there were not more organisations anticipating the introduction of Gaelic posts might suggest that the Gaelic job market was remaining within previous confines, but the data represents a 'snapshot' at a particular time, and the job market could also expand through diversification within

the organisations with established and successful Gaelic posts.

Most vacancies were found in education and radio/TV/video: each of those categories having 15. One TV company cited 11 vacancies, all full-time permanent.

Table 21. Gaelic-essential vacancies - fields of work

	P-T TEMP.	P-T PERM.	F-T TEMP.	F-T PERM.	Total
EDUCATION (local gov)	0	4	0	5	9
Gaelic BODIES	1	6	0	3	10
EDUCATION (excl.local government)	1	0	0	2	3
RADIO	0	0	1	1	2
CHRISTIAN MINISTRY	0	0	0	3	3
CIVIL SERVICE	0	0	0	1	1
TELEVISION	0	0	0	13	13
LOCAL GOVERNMENT (excl.Educ)	0	0	0	0	0
PUBLISHING	0	1	0	0	1
HOTELS	0	3	0	3	6
OTHERS	0	0	0	1	1
Total	2	14	1	32	49

Gaelic-essential vacancies were located as shown in Table 22. The distribution was wider than that of the Gaelic-desirable vacancies, reflecting the wider distribution of the Gaelic-essential posts.

Table 22. Location of specified Gaelic-essential vacancies

	P-T TEMP.	F-T TEMP.	P-T PERM.	F-T PERM.	Total
WESTERN ISLES	0	5	1	7	13
HIGHLAND REGION	0	3	0	4	7
HIGHLANDS & IS.*	1	3	0	1	5
ARGYLL	0	0	0	4	4
GRAMPIAN REGION	1	0	0	11	12
CENTRAL REGION	0	1	0	0	1
LOTHIAN REGION	0	2	0	1	3
GLASGOW	0	0	0	4	4
Total	2	14	1	32	49

* This category was used for work which could not be classified within one area.

Five organisations declared unspecified numbers of Gaelic-essential vacancies; three were TV/video companies and two were involved in education. One in each category had Gaelic-desirable vacancies as well. Only one (a TV/video company) was based in the Highlands and Islands.

(i) Anticipated demand for Gaelic

Organisations were asked to forecast the demand for Gaelic in their field of work over the following ten years.

Tables 23 and 24 show the responses for the three categories of organisations defined in 4(b) above: non-users of Gaelic, users (without specific Gaelic posts), and organisations with Gaelic posts.

Most non-users anticipated no change in the demand for spoken or written Gaelic. The non-users which were anticipating an increase in demand for spoken or written Gaelic were all new organisations, founded in the preceding few years. It might be surmised that expectation of increased demand might have induced these organisations to become users or to designate posts as Gaelic-desirable or Gaelic-essential, and so their lines of work might represent growth areas for the use of Gaelic in employment. These 'new users' comprised two television companies, a community development organisation, a cafe/hotel/shop complex, a tourist board, and a commercial environmental centre. Most of them nominated increase in both the spoken and the written form.

Four organisations which denied that Gaelic was used in the course of their business nevertheless forecast that their use would decrease. This may have been due to an antipathetic attitude to the language: in one case this seemed to be confirmed by hostility evident in replies to other questions. This group comprised a veterinarian, a procurator fiscal, a local government department and an hotel.

Half of the users expected the demand for spoken Gaelic to stay the same, but none of their views on the demand



for written Gaelic obtained the same degree of consensus. Of the minority of users anticipating increased demand, most expected this to be for spoken Gaelic rather than the written form. They included hotels, local government departments, councils of social service, arts organisations, conservation bodies, a department of a health board, a political party, a large television company, a ferry company, a branch of a bank, a presbytery of the Free Church, and a civil service department. The seven 'user' organisations which foresaw a decrease comprised three hotels, a transport company, a Free church presbytery, a general practice and an agricultural wholesalers.

Half of the organisations with Gaelic posts expected the demand for spoken and written Gaelic to increase. A further quarter reckoned the demand for spoken Gaelic would be maintained at its current level, rather more than expected the same for the written Gaelic. However, very few foresaw a decrease in either form. The most conspicuously optimistic organisations were TV companies; the most pessimistic were the Churches.

Table 23. Anticipated demand for spoken Gaelic 1991-2000

	ORGANISATIONS NOT USING GAELIC (N = 46)	ORGANISATIONS USING GAELIC, NO POSTS (N = 94)	ORGANISATIONS WITH GAELIC POSTS (N = 92)
INCREASED	5 (11%)	19 (20%)	47 (51%)
NO CHANGE	26 (57%)	47 (50%)	23 (25%)
DECREASED	4 (8.5%)	7 (7%)	6 (7%)
DON'T KNOW	4 (8.5%)	14 (15%)	12 (13%)
no response	7 (15%)	7 (7%)	4 (4%)
Total	46 (100%)	94 (99%)	92 (100%)

Table 24. Anticipated demand for written Gaelic 1991-2000

	ORGANISATIONS NOT USING GAELIC (N = 46)	ORGANISATIONS USING GAELIC, NO POSTS (N = 94)	ORGANISATIONS WITH GAELIC POSTS (N = 92)
INCREASED	4 (9%)	11 (12%)	45 (49%)
NO CHANGE	24 (52%)	35 (37%)	15 (16%)
DECREASED	3 (7%)	5 (5%)	4 (4%)
DON'T KNOW	2 (4%)	10 (11%)	11 (12%)
no response	13 (28%)	33 (35%)	17 (18%)
Total	46 (100%)	94 (100%)	92 (99%)

5. Summary of survey results

The survey revealed that, for a language with little official recognition of its existence, Gaelic has a surprisingly high profile in some areas of the world of work. By conservative estimate, in 1990 a knowledge of Gaelic was essential for some 450 posts, and was reckoned to facilitate performance in about 2000 others. However, there was evidence that organisations involved in the same field, in the same location, may have contradictory perceptions of Gaelic's role and importance.

Many of the posts - 1421 - were nominated as 'Gaelic-desirable', but a degree of equivocation and uncertainty amongst respondents indicated that the description is open to interpretation. Although job advertisements have intimated that 'a knowledge of Gaelic is desirable', it may surmised that in some cases this could be disregarded for the sake of expediency or discarded altogether by personal whim. Moreover, these 1421 posts were not distributed evenly over a range of types of work: nearly 80% were in social work/service and education; also, almost all were located in the Western Isles. In effect, this means that the number of Gaelic-desirable posts was an indication that the role of Gaelic was acknowledged, but the figure did not represent such a healthy job market for Gaelic-speakers as it might suggest.

The number of Gaelic-essential posts - 446 - can be taken with greater assurance; it is felt that in opting for 'essential', rather than 'desirable', respondents had certainty as to the role of Gaelic in work. The number, distribution, and status of these posts seem to suggest that they represented significant career opportunities for Gaelic-speakers. However, only in certain education, publishing, TV & radio, and language promotion posts was Gaelic truly essential, though it was desirable or useful to the point of being occasionally essential in social

and medical services. There would certainly seem to be scope for greater recognition of the importance of Gaelic in these latter types of work, but the employers are not in a position to turn down applicants who are competent in other respects.

Recruitment has not been easy: more than two-fifths of the organisations with Gaelic posts had failed to recruit a Gaelic-speaker for such a post on at least one occasion, in most cases due to a lack of Gaelic-speaking applicants. As most of the organisations involved expected increased or maintained demand for the use of Gaelic in their work, there appeared to be a small but significant job market. According to press opinion in the Western Isles:

For the first time ever, to have Gaelic can be claimed to increase the chances of employment of a considerable number within our community. (Stornoway Gazette, 1990)

However, although the Western Isles has the greatest concentration of Gaelic-speakers, only about a third of the Gaelic-essential posts appeared to be located there, suggesting that many of the opportunities lay in satisfying demand elsewhere, rather than in employment within the Western Isles community.

Few of the organisations which declared the use of Gaelic had noticed a decline in recent years, but the Churches were prominent amongst those that had. There was some evidence that increased use had been particularly noticeable in social work/social service, some local government departments, newspapers, broadcasting, and in organisations associated with tourism and the arts. However, anticipated increase in the number of Gaelic posts was found in the fields in which such posts were already established, rather than in fields hitherto lacking them.

In conclusion, the position of Gaelic in the work domain in 1990 appeared to be in a state of transition rather than decline. The reduced size of the Gaelic-speaking community, compared to previous decades, undoubtedly meant that less Gaelic was used in work overall, but in terms of work for which Gaelic skills were recognised as essential, the range of opportunities appeared to be expanding, as there were posts involving administrative, technical and media skills which have traditionally been associated exclusively with the use of English. Most posts, though, were concerned with teaching, broadcasting or otherwise promoting the language, and so their existence was, and is, linked to the level of public interest - to active public demand for Gaelic. The extent to which this demand can be met - the degree of success in recruitment to Gaelic-essential posts - may well have a bearing on the language's future condition.

CHAPTER 3: GAELIC IN COMPARISON TO OTHER MINORITY LANGUAGES

In order to acquire a perspective on the findings of the survey, it is necessary to make comparisons with analogous data on other minority languages, and at the same time to consider the condition of these languages, and the extent of government provision for them, with particular examination of the work domain. The purpose of such comparisons is to find out if the findings with respect to Gaelic accord with those of languages in a similar overall condition, and to what extent, if any, differences are highlighted; what bearing use in the work domain has on the condition of languages, where this seems dissimilar, overall, to that of Gaelic; what policies are being employed in other cases and to what extent they have relevance to the Gaelic situation.

The process employed here involves the selection of suitable comparators from the wide range of minority languages, a consideration of the methods by which these selected languages could be compared to Gaelic, and, through this, the identification of particular language situations which may provide useful information.

The fundamental requirement of fair comparison is that 'like should be compared to like', and so it is reasonable that suitable comparators in the present exercise should meet certain simple primary criteria, based on Gaelic's linguistic character and the geographic, political and economic conditions imposed on the language. This would remove from consideration languages whose circumstances are markedly dissimilar to those affecting Gaelic.

At the outset, it seems prudent to limit the range of possible comparators to European minority languages. Gaelic's environment is European; in the future, as in

the past, it will have to cope with the European economic, political and social climate, and the most relevant comparisons will be with languages which share these influences.

1. Minority languages- the European context

The term 'minority language' covers a number of different circumstances:

The term 'minority language'....denotes a language that is not merely spoken by only a minority of the population of a particular political unit but is in some way inferior in status to some other language or languages. (Price 1979, p30)

Within Europe, the languages so designated can be grouped under the following four descriptions, based on prevailing political conditions. (The languages of non-European immigrant minorities are excluded in this review as they lack historical and geographical relevance, and it remains to be seen if there will be interest in their maintenance.)

(a) Languages spoken by a small minority of citizens within one state which includes the language's sole homeland.

Examples of these are Gaelic and Welsh within the United Kingdom, Breton in France, Romansh in Switzerland, Sorbian in Germany.

(b) Minority languages which are spoken by indigenous communities in more than one state.

Examples of these are Basque (France and Spain), Catalan (France, Spain and Italy), Frisian (The Netherlands and Germany), Occitan (France and Italy)

(c) Languages which have equivocal minority/majority status according to the context in which they are viewed.

Catalan is a minority language within Spain and France, but in the European context it has twice as many speakers as one of the European Union's 'majority' languages, Danish, and is the sole official state language of Andorra.

Irish is, officially, the first language of the Irish Republic and, according to the official statistics, a third of the population are Irish-speakers. However, English is overwhelmingly dominant in public and private life, and only a tiny minority uses more Irish than English. Irish is accounted to be a minority language within the remit of the European Union's Bureau of Lesser Used Languages (EBLUL), but is also ranked with the major ones in the Union's Lingua programme, the purpose of which is to promote foreign language competence among the Union's citizens.

Lëtzebuergesch - the German dialect spoken by a majority of the population, some 350,000, in Luxembourg - is, like Irish, accepted as a minority language by EBLUL, but has enhanced status through Luxembourg's full membership of the European Union, and is also numbered among the languages to be promoted through the Lingua programme.

Icelandic could be accounted a minority language because it has only 250,000 speakers, but it is also a state language, used throughout public and private life, and its existence appears to be unthreatened, unlike other European languages with much larger speech communities.

The 40,000 speakers of Faroese perceive it as the majority language of the semi-autonomous Islands, rather than a minority language within the Danish state, although use of Danish is common in Faroese life. Sandøy (1992) reckoned that, of the characteristics presented by Simpson (1980) as typical of minority languages, only those concerning a language 'at risk' pertained to

Faroese: it has the status, popular acceptance, and legal recognition which many minority languages lack, yet it has the same difficulties in competing with a language of a larger and more economically self-sufficient speech-community.

(d) 'Major' languages spoken by small communities outside the states in which speakers form an overwhelming majority.

Examples of these are Finnish in northern Sweden, Swedish in western Finland, German in southern Denmark, Danish in northern Germany, Hungarian in south-eastern Austria and French in the north-west of Italy. As noted by Trudgill (1992, p14), it must be debatable whether major languages used by minority speech-communities in other countries can be regarded as minority languages in the same sense as others which are nowhere the main, official language of a state. The speakers of dialectal German in Denmark, for example, certainly form a minority community, but the survival of the German language itself does not depend on their maintaining it. At the same time, maintenance of German in Denmark is helped by the language's evident utility in the modern world, arising from its full use in all domains within the prosperous neighbouring state, and is also nurtured by the cross-border influence of the powerful German media, which provides an alternative source of entertainment and information.

Within this political context, Gaelic is obviously most akin to the others in group (a), where in each case, at present, the language issue is an intra-state affair concerning a single minority community and the attitude of a single government. There are other factors to be taken into account in seeking comparators, but the above classification establishes the frame of reference, and raises an initial doubt that major languages, used by

minorities in other states, can be appropriately compared to Gaelic.

2. Criteria for selection of comparators

Examination of the geographic and economic circumstances affecting the Gaelic homeland, and of the linguistic character of the language, identifies the following as appropriate attributes for any language used in comparison.

(a) The language's homeland should be rural, on the western European coastline, and/or in a remote and mountainous area. Through the influence of topography and weather on local economic potential and access from the metropolis, the experience of Scottish Gaels should be more akin to that of communities in such places, than to minorities in more urban areas and warmer climes.

(b) The language should exist in diglossia with a language of international status, that is, a major language recognised as an international means of communication. This places the minority language community under a particular pressure to use the international language, with its access to a wider speech community and its greater economic power.

(c) The language should have Abstand status in relation to the other partner in the diglossia. An Abstand language is a linguistic variety which is perceived as being a language in its own right by virtue of its linguistic distance from other linguistic varieties (Kloss, 1967). A prime example is Basque, spoken in the western Pyrenees, yet utterly dissimilar to French and Spanish and having, indeed, "no discernible kinship with any other tongue on earth" (Potter 1960, p110). In contrast, an Ausbau language is a linguistic variety

composed of elements which are part of a geographical dialect continuum; for example, the Western Romance continuum covers dialects of French, Italian, Catalan, Spanish and Portuguese, which form a chain of mutual intelligibility (Trudgill 1992, p12).

(d) The language should, like Gaelic, be classifiable as a 'Small-group Standard Language' (hereafter designated SSLG), as distinguished by Kloss (1968, p78): that is, the language should have long-established norms but the small number of speakers restrict its use in the "broad domains of modern civilisation". There are thus two aspects to assess: the level of standardisation, which should approximate to that of major languages, with dictionaries, grammars, and an established literary tradition, lacking only, perhaps, some modern vocabulary; and the size of the speech community. Kloss reckoned it likely that all languages with speech communities of less than 200,000 would be SSLGs; he did not specifically exclude languages with larger speech communities, and certainly there are languages with fewer than 200,000 speakers which find greater use in modern life than others with half a million. However, in general, the smaller the number of speakers, the more frequently they will have to meet their needs through contact with people from a majority speech-community, whose greater numbers will tend to ensure that the majority language is the one used in 'the broad domains of modern civilisation'. It is difficult to find an example of a speech-community of 200,000 which is linguistically self-sufficient; the closest approximation is that of Iceland, whose population of 250,000 have been described as

...almost certainly the smallest linguistic community in which a citizen can choose to remain a functional monoglot and yet play a full part in the economic life of his country, and participate in every aspect of the culture of the modern world. (Greene 1981, p7)

It seems reasonable, therefore, to accept Kloss's observation on the size of speech-community which would constitute a 'small group', and in this respect the languages most comparable to Gaelic would have a speech-community of under 200,000.

3. Selection of comparators

Using available information, a number of European minority languages were tested for the criteria proposed in 2. above, and a simple scoring system used to find how closely the languages' circumstances approximated to those of Gaelic. A point was awarded where the criterion was met, a half-point where it was only partially met, and none where it was clearly not met (Table 25). The scheme was not intended to produce a definitive ranking order, but rather to highlight the least suitable comparators; it is plain that, for these criteria, the languages scoring three or four points have more in common with Gaelic than those scoring one or two.

The scheme indicates that Irish and Basque in France are, by these criteria, the best comparators of those tested, with Catalan in Spain and Icelandic as the least appropriate.

Table 25. Scoring of minority languages as suitable comparators

LANGUAGE	C R I T E R I A*				Score
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	
Gaelic	1	1	1	1	4
Irish	1	1	1	1	4
Basque (Fra)	1	1	1	1	4
Romansh	1	1	1	0.5	3.5
Basque (Sp)	1	1	1	0.5	3.5
Welsh	1	1	1	0.5	3.5
Breton	1	1	1	0.5	3.5
Faroese	1	0.5	0.5	1	3
Sorbian	-	1	1	0.5	2.5
Sami (Nor)	1	0.5	1	-	2.5
Finnish (Swe)	1	0.5	1	-	2.5
Galician	1	1	-	-	2
Swedish (Fin)	0.5	0.5	1	-	2
Frisian (Neth)	0.5	0.5	-	0.5	1.5
Frisian (Ger)	0.5	0.5	-	0.5	1.5
German (Den)	-	0.5	1	-	1.5
Catalan (Fra)	0.5	1	-	-	1.5
Occitan (Fra)	0.5	1	-	-	1.5
Lëtzebuergesch	-	0.5	-	0.5	1
Icelandic	1	-	-	-	1
Catalan (Sp)	-	1	-	-	1

* (a) rurality; (b) diglossia with international language; (c) Abstand status; (d) Small-group Standard Language.

Scoring: explanations of judgements applied

While in some cases the reasons for awarding a full point or no point at all were clear, in others a degree of judgement had to be used. The following is a brief summary of the reasons for not awarding points or half-points to particular languages, given in the order in which they appear in the table.

Romansh, Basque in Spain, Welsh and Breton were awarded only half points in assessing their SSLG status. Romansh has five recognisably different written varieties, and a written standard has only been in use since 1982 (Furer 1989, p151) - rather too recent to meet Kloss's criterion of established standardisation. Basque in Spain, and Welsh have at least twice as many speakers as the typical SSLG (Agote & Azkue 1992, p60; HMSO, 1993a). It has been claimed that Breton has half a million speakers (Neville 1986; Lécuyer 1991; Dorandeu/Chapalain 1991), though the lack of official census data must leave doubt. Moreover, although disputes about a standard form of Breton have almost been resolved, there are still three written varieties in use (O hIfearnain, 1994a).

Faroese exists in a diglossia with Danish, but the latter lacks major international status, so only half a point was awarded. Faroese does not appear to be clearly Abstand, as Danish is within the same (Nordic) group of languages. Sorbian, in eastern Germany, lacks a remote, western, rural environment, being based in the industrialised Lusatian basin (Ziesch 1990), and as there are two written varieties of the language, reflecting the dialects of Upper and Lower Sorbian, the standardisation would appear to be insufficient for SSLG requirements.

Sami exists in diglossia with Norwegian, but the latter does not have major international status, therefore only half a point is scored. Sami receives no score for SSLG status: Kloss's classification designates it, rather, a 'Young Standard Language', as Sami was first codified in the present century.

Finnish in Sweden has a northern homeland with about 20,000 speakers (Wande 1992, p44); in rurality this is adjudged, here, as comparable to Gaelic's homeland. There are about 200,000 Finnish-speakers in industrial centres in central, western, and southern Sweden, but they are

mostly immigrants from Finland itself, maintaining contact with that country and in many cases intending to return (Edwards 1985, p189). Finnish exists in diglossia with Swedish, but the latter is not one of the major international languages, hence only half a point is scored on this factor. Finnish, being a Finno-Ugric language, is unrelated to Swedish, which is one of the Nordic group, and so has Abstand status within Sweden. However, as the language of a modern state, with about 4.5 million speakers overall, it is clearly disqualified from SSLG status.

Swedish in Finland has three areas which may be designated homelands; two of them are coastal and rural (Tandefelt 1992, pp22-23), and in this respect there is partial comparability with Gaelic. The circumstances with diglossia and Abstand status are similar to that of Finnish in Sweden. However, it is plainly a language used in all aspects of modern life; even within Finland, there are 300,482 Swedish-speakers (Central Statistical Office of Finland, 1985), and SSLG status is clearly inappropriate.

Galician does not have Abstand status; it is part of the Romance language continuum, related to the dominant Castilian and, more closely, to Portuguese. With parliamentary proceedings being documented in Galician, standardisation is advanced, and with a speech community of 3 million, the language would appear to be outwith the SSLG category (Negro 1986; Wardhaugh 1987, p126; Pedersen 1989, p4; Vazquez, 1993a).

Frisian has homelands in the west of the Netherlands and the north-west of Germany, which, though coastal, were not considered sufficiently remote to qualify for more than a half-point. In the Netherlands, Frisian exists in diglossia with Dutch, but the latter does not have major international status. Frisian appears to be Ausbau in

relation to Dutch. It is a Germanic language of the 'West Germanic' group, and although, according to Boelens (1987, p4), it is more closely related to English than to the 'Continental Germanic' Dutch and German, it was reckoned by Gorter (1987, p6) that "...modern Frisian probably has as much in common with Dutch as it does with English." Frisian in the Netherlands has sufficient standardisation but too many speakers - about 350,000 claim the language as their mother tongue (Gorter, 1991; Fishman 1991, p154) - to have the typical characteristics of an SSLG.

In Germany, North Frisian does not appear to exist in a clear diglossia with German: Larsen (1984, p191) cites one Frisian community in which he found five language varieties: Standard German, Standard Danish, North Frisian, Low German and South Jutlandish. The extent of the mixing of these makes the Abstand status of North Frisian doubtful, and it also falls below SSLG status in its lack of standardisation: there are ten major dialects, not all of which are mutually intelligible, among only 10,000 speakers (Edwards 1985, p186).

German in Denmark lacks the required degree of rural remoteness, and although in diglossia with Danish, the latter does not rank as a major international language, and so only half a point was awarded. There was no score in respect of SSLG status, which German clearly surpasses.

Catalan is not a language of the western periphery, and its use in rural and mountainous regions in Spain is balanced by its extensive use in an industrialised heartland in and around the city of Barcelona. The rural criterion is, however, better met in France. While in both states it exists in diglossia, with Castilian and French respectively, it is related to both (Trudgill 1992, p12) and thus is not an Abstand language. There are

some 10 million Catalan speakers (Carulla, 1990, p14), and so the SSLG criterion does not apply.

Occitan's homeland in the south of France also lacks the character of peripheral isolation required to score a full point for rurality. It is not an Abstand language, being closely related to standard French, and it fails the 'SSLG' criterion on two counts - there are, perhaps, 2 million people who use it on a daily basis, and it is not standardised to the same degree as Gaelic (Wardhaugh 1987, pp104,106):

Some of the dialectal and orthographic problems that have stood in the way of teaching Occitan as a written language may have been resolved, but it is not at all clear which spoken variety will prevail, if any.

Lëtzebuergesch did not score for geographical rurality - Luxembourg, the language's homeland, does not have features of western peripheral or mountainous isolation. Lëtzebuergesch also did not score a full point as an SSLG, as it has many more speakers - 350,000 (Breathnach 1991, p18) - than Kloss suggested was appropriate for this category. Half a point was awarded for its diglossic character; Lëtzebuergesch exists in triglossia with French and German. No point was scored for Abstand status, as the language is a Germanic dialect.

Icelandic scores for geographical isolation, but does not exist in diglossia, and thus Abstand/Ausbau considerations are irrelevant to the purposes of this study. It has too many speakers, by Kloss's reckoning, to qualify as an SSLG, and it is in any case clear that it is used for all aspects of modern life in Iceland.

Conclusion: comparators selected

Three major languages in minority situations were included in the test carried out: Finnish in Sweden,

Swedish in Finland, and German in Denmark. The suitability of this kind of minority language for comparison with Gaelic was questioned earlier in this chapter, and the above scheme confirms these particular examples as less than ideal comparators. Given that no major language could satisfy the criterion of being a small group standard language, the maximum score for any in the above scheme would be three, and the assistance afforded by higher linguistic status would be an unknown quantity in any comparison with Gaelic. Major languages in minority situations therefore appear to be less worthy of consideration than languages which are nowhere the speech of a self-governing majority.

The selection scheme indicated that, according to geographic, economic and linguistic constraints, the languages most appropriate for comparison with Gaelic were Irish, Basque (in France), Romansh, Basque (in Spain), Welsh, Breton, Faroese, Sorbian, Sami (in Norway), Galician, and Frisian (in The Netherlands). Frisian in Germany was not chosen because its dialectal fragmentation among only 10,000 speakers would make meaningful comparisons extremely difficult. Catalan in France was also excluded from consideration, because the approximation of Catalan in Catalonia to a status equivalent to that of a majority language rendered the position of the language in France somewhat akin to that of a major language in a minority situation.

The following section examines the condition of the chosen languages in greater detail, and draws comparisons with that of Gaelic.

4. A method of measuring the condition of the comparators

The condition of a variety of European minority languages has been discussed by a number of authors, with different perspectives, over the past quarter of a century. Stephens (1976) gave a straightforward and comprehensive account of 54 linguistic communities in 16 Western European states, while the review of 20 languages by Ellis and Mac a'Ghobhainn (1971) has an intentional emphasis on evidence of linguistic revival. Adler's work (1977) is primarily a study of Welsh, with sections on the other Celtic languages, and other minority languages in Europe. Foster (1980) and Krejci and Velimsky (1981) included linguistic considerations in their political treatises. Haugen et al (1981) (reviewed by Anderson, 1981), and Blom et al (1992) contain particular studies of selected languages, while Alcock et al (1979) discussed the social and political factors affecting minority languages. Edwards (1985) appended information about minority languages to his work on language and identity.

The study by Allardt (1979) is of particular relevance to the present investigation. In the course of finding a positive relationship between ethnic mobilisation and the resources available to minorities, he attempted a statistical comparison of European minority languages based on multivariate analysis: the result was a 'league table' of the European minority language communities, according to the linguistic, economic and political 'resources' at their disposal. Each of these 'resources' had been assessed in relation to a number of factors which were reckoned to be important. The work has been strongly criticised by Williams (1980) and Hindley (1990), and indeed some of it does seem to be on the outer limits of sociological speculation. As Allardt admitted, selection of the 18 factors was arbitrary and based on availability of data, and though care and

consideration is evident in his use of the scoring system, the likelihood of the exercise producing any information which could substantiate a theory, or give any insight which would not require immediate qualification, was extremely slim. As Hindley (1990) observed:

...so many of his variables require estimation (or guesswork) that it is hardly surprising that the deduced ranking often verges on the ludicrous, for instance ranking Manx - which is extinct - seventeen places above Scottish Gaelic in its generalized linguistic, economic, and political resources.

Allardt acknowledged the unsound nature of his analysis, yet felt able to describe the result as supportive of his paper's central theory.

The aim in the present comparison is not to produce a ranking order of the condition of minority languages, but to find three categories: those which seem to be in better, similar, or worse condition than Gaelic; and thereafter to examine and discuss the reasons for this, with particular attention to the work domain. A method of assessing the condition of the languages has been adapted from that outlined by Fasold (1984, pp71-78), who used Stewart's (1968) consideration of language attributes.

The attempts by Ferguson (1966) and Stewart to find categories and formulae which could define languages and their role in particular societies were frustrated by the diversity of the subject-matter, but part of Stewart's method - an assessment of the sociolinguistic properties, or attributes, which languages require to be able to fulfil particular functions - is a useful tool for the present purposes. Fasold developed Stewart's theme and set down the pertinent attributes which might be applied to a language and its speakers to delineate its linguistic role, and/or discover its functional potential in a particular sociopolitical unit. He presented them as shown in Table 26.

Table 26. Language functions and attributes required
(from Fasold, 1984)

<u>FUNCTION</u>	<u>SOCIOLINGUISTIC ATTRIBUTES REQUIRED</u>
OFFICIAL	1 Sufficient standardisation 2 Known by a cadre of educated citizens
NATIONALIST	1 Symbol of national identity for a significant proportion of the population 2 Widely used for some everyday purposes 3 Widely and fluently spoken within the country 4 No major alternative nationalist languages in the country 5 Acceptable as a symbol of authenticity 6 Link with the glorious past
GROUP	1 Used by all members in ordinary conversation 2 Unifying and separatist device
EDUCATIONAL (level specified)	1 Understood by learners 2 Sufficient teaching resources 3 Sufficient standardisation
WIDER COMMUNICATION	1 'Learnable' as a second language
INTERNATIONAL	*1 On a list of potential international languages
SCHOOL SUBJECT	1 Standardisation equals or exceeds that of the language of the learners
RELIGIOUS	*1 Classical

* "Particularly tentative attribute"

Source: Fasold 1984, p77

The scheme, Fasold proposed, allows languages to be tested for their adequacy for certain functions in a particular sociopolitical unit. If a language does not have one of the attributes considered necessary, then it may be predicted that it will not be able to fulfil the function. It is proposed that this system, with certain amendments, be used here as a means of comparing the condition of the languages already selected as suitable for comparison. The following sections define the functions, review the attributes, and explain the amendments.

Official function

Fasold states that a language should not be regarded as 'official' simply because a law or section of a constitution says it is. It can only be judged official if it actually operates as an official language in the country: it must serve as the spoken language of government officials in official duties at national level; it must serve as the language of written communication between and within government agencies at the national level; it must be the language in which government records are kept at the national level; it should be the language in which laws and regulations governing the nation as a whole are originally written; it should be the language in which forms, such as tax forms, are published. Here Fasold uses the terms 'nation' and 'national level' in reference to fully autonomous states with international recognition; he specifically excludes official use of the languages of minority speech communities or nations:

The expression 'at the national level' is stressed...The official language at the subdivision level (states, provinces, departments) may fulfil these same tasks at the subdivision level without detracting from the status of the national official language. (op. cit., p72)

Fasold's definitions of official function are thus designed to distinguish major languages from minor ones, which would be useful in a broad examination of languages in general, but not for the present purpose of comparing the languages of intra-state minorities. For this, there has to be an assessment of the languages' present official function, or its immediate capacity for an official role, were there political will in favour.

The attributes offered as prerequisites in Fasold's scheme are: that the language should have 'a sufficient level of standardisation', i.e. a recognised and well used written form, grammar texts and dictionaries, and that there should be 'a sufficiently large cadre of well-

educated citizens who can use the language well'. There are few difficulties in assessing minority languages for the former, but judgement of the latter is more difficult. Fasold reckons that such a cadre can be a very small proportion of the population, but offers no suggestion of the numbers required, and in attempting to apply this criterion to many minority languages, lack of information reduces the researcher to conjecture. Moreover, the present homelands of most minority languages are found in rural provinces of states, and a distinction has to be made between official use - possible or actual - in provincial government, and in the administration of an autonomous state. The cadre required for the former would be smaller than that needed in the event of the minority community achieving full autonomy. In cases such as Gaelic and Welsh, there is a further complication in that the languages are those of minorities within provinces or sub-state units which have a degree of recognition as countries, and are more likely candidates for political autonomy than the traditionally Gaelic-speaking and Welsh-speaking heartlands, which have, in any case, lost much of their linguistic integrity.

For the present purpose, the minority languages will be compared on the basis of their capacity to be used effectively for all present official functions within the appropriate provinces or designated language areas, whether or not they are so used. This takes account of the various degrees of autonomy and extent of central government operations, and avoids, for example, downgrading a language which might have the 'cadre of well-educated speakers' for small-scale official use in its remote homeland but not for the wider operations of a semi-autonomous province.

Fasold reckoned that 'sufficient standardisation' for the official function would be a level "probably something

equivalent to Kloss's (1968, p78) 'young standard' (language) or higher" (ibid., p73). A 'Young Standard Language' will have been codified, with dictionaries and grammars, very recently, and it may be adequate for use in primary education, but not yet for more advanced study. Given the competition of established major languages, it does not seem likely that minority languages of such lower status could be acceptable for official use. The criterion sought here will be a standardisation equivalent to that for the 'Small-group Standard Language' used already, that is, a well-established written form, and a vocabulary which at worst requires minimal updating.

In each case the existence or absence of the 'cadre of well-educated speakers', and the motivation to use the language will be judged in accordance with available information concerning the history of the language, educational provision, geographical and demographic distribution of speakers, and associated political movements. A third attribute will be added: to be used effectively in an official capacity, at least 50 per cent of a language's speakers should be capable of reading it.

Nationalist function

The 'nationalist' function concerns the motivating affection and loyalty which the population have for the indigenous language. The 'country' referred to in the attributes is taken to be the particular sociopolitical unit in which the function of the language is being considered. The first four of Fasold's attributes appear to be suitable for the present study. The fifth, 'acceptable as a symbol of authenticity', means, according to Fasold, that it should be:

..good enough...This usually, but not always implies a fairly high degree of standardisation and a position at the High end of the diglossia repertoire. (ibid., p74)

The latter criterion does not seem appropriate for minority languages, which typically are the less prestigious registers in diglossias (except for, in some cases, use in the domain of religion). For the sixth attribute, the adjective 'revered' would be better than 'glorious'; the latter suggests nationalist sentiment is necessarily allied to jingoism. This is less likely of minority language speech-communities; the link with the past may simply serve to reassure the community of its identity and its sense of place.

Group function

The 'group' function is concerned, according to Fasold, with the extent to which the language identifies and marks out a group from the rest of the population. The first attribute proposed - "used by all members in ordinary conversation" - invites consideration of who may be counted as members of the 'group'. If one assumes that the 'group' is the speech-community which habitually uses the particular language in daily life, then the attribute seems unnecessary - it simply restates the speech-community's existence. The only circumstance in which a language might not be used for ordinary conversation by such a speech-community is where its use has been banned. If, on the other hand, one defines the 'group' as those of a particular ethnic minority stock, whether or not they use the language, then no minority language in Europe could have the attribute "used by all members in ordinary conversation", as in all cases there is evidence of non-transmission of the ethnic tongue between generations, and voluntary cessation of its use at the individual level, by choice or due to circumstance. Whichever definition of 'group' is used, the scoring would be the same for all languages under consideration, and for the present purposes this attribute seems redundant.

With the second attribute, there is some difficulty in distinguishing that part of the 'unifying and separatist' use of language which is non-nationalist in intent. Moreover, the extent of such use would be difficult to verify.

Both attributes appear to be unsatisfactory, and it is difficult to formulate others which would allow some kind of credible, differential assessment for this function. A language identifies and marks out a group from the rest of a population largely within the minds of the group and 'the rest'; the more a group uses a language, the more likely it is to feel an identity different to that of 'the rest'; the more often 'the rest' notice the language in use, the more likely it is to make the same identification. The stronger, more easily assessed aspects of language-focused communal sentiment coincide with the aspects of language-focused nationalism already used in the attributes for the nationalist function, and the purpose of the group function appears to be to assess whether or not a group exists. As, for any of the languages to be considered, a group of speakers does exist (otherwise the language would not have been identified in the first place) it seems appropriate to dispense with the 'group' function for the present purposes.

Educational function

This is distinguished from the 'school subject' function, as concerning a language's capacity for use as an educational medium, rather than its suitability as something to be learned.

The first attribute given for the 'educational' function seems superfluous. It seems axiomatic that the learners of any language find it incomprehensible at times, and that a teaching medium must be understood to be effective. Fasold emphasises that the educational level

must be taken into account in applying the attributes, but it is hard to find justification for his assertion that it is more important that a language be "understood by learners" at the lower levels of education, it being

...more reasonable to place the burden of learning a qualified language on university students than to place it on small children going to school for the first time. (Fasold 1984, p76)

On the contrary, there is ample evidence that small children can acquire an understanding of a new language, and use it as a learning medium at their own level of education, far more quickly than adults can at theirs.

The attribute 'sufficient teaching resources' is worth retention and the criterion for 'sufficient' will be the official provision of language-medium teaching throughout at least one state-run primary school. This may not be enough for demand, but it represents an official recognition that the language is suitable for the purpose, and entails a dedication of resources which are probably harder to acquire for the establishment of the first such school than for later ones. The existence of a state-funded language-medium primary school may be seen as an important median level of provision; better than using the language as a medium in the earliest years only, or teaching it as a subject, and a step towards state-funded secondary education through the language.

For the assessment of 'sufficient standardisation', Kloss's (1968) SSLG criteria will be used. Kloss's 'Young Standard Language' - adequate for primary education - might, in view of the foregoing, seem more appropriate, as 'sufficient teaching resources' are only to be measured at that level. However, the extent of official provision does not always reflect a language's potential utility, nor its range of literature and scholarship. The more exacting requirements of the SSLG criteria thus mark

out the languages which could be used in secondary schooling, at least.

'Wider Communication' function

Fasold's evident intention, in the first of the 'educational' attributes, was to include in his reckoning the difficulties which particular languages may pose for learners who are native speakers of other languages. This seems to be covered in the 'Wider communication' function, where the attribute required is that the language should be considered learnable as a second language by "at least one linguistic minority in the country" (ibid., p76). This criterion does not seem satisfactory, as there may be only one linguistic minority in the country - the one which speaks the language being assessed - and it could be argued that the linguistic majority's opinion of the difficulty of learning a minority language would be of greater importance. In the absence of detailed data for this, it is posited that the difficulty of learning and using a new language has a negative correlation with the new language's similarity to the known one: hence speakers of Castilian may be expected to have greater difficulty in learning Basque than Catalan, because of these languages' respective Abstand and Ausbau relationships to Castilian. (The ease with which speakers of Castilian can acquire Catalan was noted by Hall, 1990, p41.) Thus, the judgement here will be based on whether or not the minority language has Ausbau status in relation to the dominant one.

A second attribute will be introduced: for greater likelihood of use in 'wider communication', a language should have an arbitrary, minimum number of speakers. As mentioned already, 250,000 was suggested by Greene (1981, p7) as the minimum number required for linguistic self-sufficiency in the modern world, with Icelandic cited in evidence. A linguistically self-sufficient community

should be capable of functioning through its language in all domains of public and private life, and using that language in the course of development of new ideas. In contrast, communities lacking in numbers and economic power have domains in which an imported language predominates, and this tends to be the language which carries innovation. It may be surmised that persons outside a self-sufficient language community would perceive a benefit in learning the language, if they were to come in contact with it regularly. On this theoretical basis, and assuming conditions favourable to language maintenance, it seems reasonable to suppose that acquiring some ability in a language mustering 250,000 speakers would offer some advantages to non-speakers within its sphere of influence. There are, of course, larger speech communities, for example, Breton, where language use is more restricted and attracts little outside interest. However, rather than qualifying the Icelandic figure by attempting to weigh the complex influence of isolation, political autonomy and other factors on the size of the population, it seems better to use the Icelandic example as the 'baseline' of what is known to be possible. Little difficulty should be presented by 'borderline' cases, as most minority languages clearly have more or fewer than a quarter of a million speakers.

'International', 'School Subject' and 'Religious' functions

The 'International' function concerns use of the language in international commerce and diplomacy and the attribute is based on the observation that certain languages - English, French, Spanish, Russian, German - have been, and are, predominant in these activities. None of the languages to be considered would fulfil this function at present.

The 'School subject' function - the capacity of languages to be taught as part of the school curriculum, not their use as teaching media - will not be tested as it seems unlikely to provide information about the current state of the language. Unlike the other functions, the 'School subject' function does not seem to be immediately concerned with the languages as living means of communication, nor their social role. To say that a language is suitable for inclusion in the curriculum, simply because of its level of standardisation, tells nothing of the demand for it or the provision for it. Any such demand and provision would be better reflected in the extent to which teaching through the medium of the minority-language is carried out, assessed under the 'Educational' function, which requires 'sufficient standardisation' anyway.

The 'Religious' function will be disregarded also, because it is designated for languages which have been especially reserved for religious ritual and very little else, such as Latin, Classical Hebrew, Classical Arabic and Sanskrit. In any case, Fasold was not certain that the attribute requiring languages to be 'classical' was adequate; he acknowledged that there are minor religious movements which have special languages which are vernaculars.

From Fasold's original list, covering all use of language, four functions emerge as important in assessing current or prospective minority language use. The amended list is shown in Table 27.

Table 27. Language functions for assessing the condition of minority languages

<u>FUNCTION</u>	<u>SOCIOLINGUISTIC ATTRIBUTES REQUIRED</u>
OFFICIAL	1 Sufficient standardisation 2 Known by a sufficiently large cadre of well-educated citizens 3 50% of speakers literate
NATIONALIST	1 Symbol of national identity for a significant proportion of the population 2 Widely used for some everyday purposes 3 Widely and fluently spoken within the country 4 No major alternative nationalist languages in the country 5 Link with the revered past
EDUCATIONAL	1 Sufficient teaching resources 2 Sufficient standardisation
WIDER COMMUNICATION	1 'Learnable' as a second language: <u>ausbau</u> status in relation to dominant language 2 Speech-community of at least 250,000

5. Application of the method of comparison

The list of functions shown in Table 27 was applied to each chosen minority language in turn, to find out which, if any, of the functions the languages were capable of fulfilling. The method followed was similar to that suggested by Fasold for his scheme; it involved comparing the attributes of the language, current or in the foreseeable future, with the attributes required by the functions, and awarding a positive mark (+) if the requirement was or would be met, a negative one (-) if it was not, or would not be, and a combination of the two (+/-) in cases of uncertainty. However, only the positive marks counted towards a favourable conclusion; if any of the required attributes were lacking, the language was deemed unable to fulfil the function.

(a) Gaelic

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 + 2 - 3 -
Nationalist	1 + 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 +/-
Educational	1 + 2 +
Wider Communication	1 - 2 -

Official function

Through increased formal use, both spoken and written, and development of a modern vocabulary and an updated orthography, Gaelic would appear to have achieved a level of standardisation appropriate to official use. However, despite a speech community with a reputation for educational attainment, and a socio-economic profile skewed towards the higher categories (Mackinnon 1990), the number of well-educated speakers must be far too small to suppose that official practices within Scotland could be carried out through the medium of Gaelic. Neither can the third criterion be satisfied: the 1991 Census showed that less than half of the Gaelic-speaking population were able to read and write the language.

Nationalist function

It seems certain that Gaelic is a symbol of national identity for a substantial proportion of the Scottish population; a 1981 public opinion survey found that more than two-fifths of those asked reckoned that Gaelic was important for the Scottish people as a whole; half thought it should be encouraged throughout Scotland, and more than half wanted it to be officially recognised

(Mackinnon 1991). It is not, however, widely and fluently spoken, nor widely used for any everyday purpose, and the 'Scots' language is, for many, the linguistic aspect of their nationalist sentiment. On this last point hangs Gaelic's importance as a 'link with the revered past': while there is no denial of Gaelic's antiquity, the past to which Gaelic provides a link - that is, the Gaelic side of Scottish history and tradition - is largely unknown amongst the Scottish public, and so it is not clear that the final required attribute can be met.

Educational function

Gaelic-medium education is well established in the primary sector, and now extends to some secondary school subjects in three schools, although there is a severe shortage of Gaelic-medium teachers, which is curtailing further development. The updated orthography already referred to, and a revised system of numeration, were introduced in order to provide a level of standardisation appropriate for a modern education.

'Wider communication' function

Gaelic's Abstand position in relation to English hinders the attempts of native English-speakers to learn it, and so a much wider use of Gaelic within Britain cannot be anticipated. The Gaelic speech community clearly numbers less than the quarter of a million mooted as sufficient for linguistic self-sufficiency: the 1991 Census found 65,978.

(b) Irish (Eire)

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 +
	2 +/-
	3 +/-
Nationalist	1 +
	2 -
	3 -
	4 +
	5 +
Educational	1 +
	2 +
Wider Communication	1 -
	2 +/-

Official function

A standard form of Irish was established with the publication of an official standard grammar in 1953, and the production of a range of teaching materials in the 1960s. The decision to base the standard on the Connacht dialect, as being intermediate between the dialects of Munster and Donegal, caused some initial controversy, but has gained acceptance.

Initial investigation seemed to suggest that Irish is 'known by a cadre of well-educated citizens'. In 1983, just over half of the professional/managerial socio-economic group in public sector employment in the Irish Republic had 'high' ability in spoken Irish (O Riagáin, 1987a), and it was reported in 1986, with regard to professional occupations:

...the proportion of each job entry cohort with honours Irish in Leaving Certificate has been constantly increasing since the mid-1960s. There have been significant increases in the Irish competencies of particular professional groupings - medicine, law, engineering for example - as the 'points race' drew more and more high achieving scholars with 'A's and 'B's in honours Irish into these faculties. (Coiste Comhairleach Pleanála [CCP] 1988, p76)

However, closer examination does not give confidence that the attribute is fulfilled. Despite the above successes, in 1983 only a fifth of the professional/managerial group in the private sector were reckoned to have 'high' ability in spoken Irish (O Riagáin 1987a). CCP (1988, p76) reported that:

...there has been a progressive and substantialerosion of Irish in the schools, and its instrumental value in post school life (e.g., as a means of facilitating entry to the civil service) has also declined.

Until 1974, a Leaving Certificate honours pass in Irish was compulsory for entrance to tertiary education and certain state employment, but this caused such dissatisfaction that the measure was subverted long before the statute's eventual abolition. As most of those who can claim knowledge of Irish acquired it in school, as a second language, and only a minority in the professional/managerial class overall have declared themselves committed to using it as much as they could (O Riagáin, 1987b) there must be doubt that there is a large enough cadre of educated citizens capable of running the Irish state through the medium of Irish.

The Irish Republic's Census does not ask Irish-speakers to record whether or not they can read and write the language, so there is no direct information on the level of literacy. The Census does ask those who can read Irish, but cannot speak it, to declare themselves, and 330,272 of these were found in 1986 (Irish Census Office 1990, p19). Given the educational provision, which is generous by minority language standards, on this basis it could be that a considerable proportion of the 1,095,830 speakers found in 1991 should also be able to read, as about a million of them would have learned their Irish in school, with reading ability acquired simultaneously and more easily than speaking proficiency. However, this still leaves the extent of writing ability open to

question. O Riagáin and O Gliasáin (1994, p12) noted that in surveys conducted in 1973, 1983, and 1993, on each occasion only five per cent of respondents had written in Irish 'often' or 'several times' since leaving school. As a similar level of use of spoken Irish was claimed by, respectively, 16, 18 and 21 per cent (ibid., p11), the least which can be deduced is that written Irish is practised by only a minority of speakers. This is not enough, though, to conclude that a majority lacks writing ability. Overall, the information about literacy can only permit a 'doubtful' score for the attribute.

Nationalist function

Irish is certainly a symbol of national identity for most of the population of Eire, 60 per cent agreeing that "Without Irish, Ireland would certainly lose its identity as a separate culture" (O Riagáin & O Gliasáin 1994, p19). However, it cannot be said to be widely used for some everyday purposes, nor widely and fluently spoken:

Outside the Gaeltacht, a substantial majority (70-80%) of the respondents do not use Irish themselves, even at minimal levels, do not interact with people who speak Irish in their presence, and do not attend social events or occasions where any Irish is used. (ibid, p42)

It is undoubtedly the language associated with nationalist aspirations, and with the national heritage.

Educational function

In most cases, the question of provision for minority-language-medium education concerns the extent to which the minority group have succeeded in persuading the majority group to accede to it. With Irish, however, there is provision in primary, secondary and tertiary sectors, though there appears to be large-scale public disenchantment; only a small minority supports the principle of Irish-medium education, and most people think that the language should be taught as a subject

only (O Riagáin & O Gliasáin 1994, p25). Standardisation, as noted previously, meets Kloss's SSLG criteria.

'Wider communication' function

Irish does not appear to be suitable for this function. As an Abstand language in relation to English, speaking ability is not easily acquired by English monoglots. Moreover, it must be doubted whether there are 250,000 genuine speakers. Although the 1991 Census found 1,095,830 self-declared Irish-speakers (32.5 per cent of the population), the true figure is probably very much lower. Whereas the 1961 Census recorded 27 per cent of the population as Irish-speaking, Dillon (1966, p316) reckoned that in 1964 native Irish-speakers represented only about one per cent of the population. Most Irish is acquired in school and seldom exercised afterwards, and as few as 29,000 may use it every day (Fennell, 1981). According to the Advisory Planning Committee of Bord na Gaeilge (CCP 1988, p23):

...across all the measures of use available (home, work, social conversation) it appears that only between 5% and 10% of the population consider themselves to be currently active users of Irish - although the actual intensity and range of use is as yet unclear.

(c) Basque (France)

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 + 2 +/- 3 -
Nationalist	1 +/- 2 - 3 - 4 + 5 -
Educational	1 - 2 +
Wider Communication	1 - 2 +/-

Assessment of the condition of Basque language in France is handicapped by the absence of any official data.

The three Basque provinces on the French side of the Pyrenees - Labourd (Basque: Lapurdi), Bas-Navarre (Nafarroa Beherea) and Soule (Zuberoa) constitute two-fifths of the administrative unit, le Département des Pyrénées-Atlantiques. Assessment of the present and potential use of the language for various functions has to be restricted to these three provinces, with consideration of the appropriate level of local self-government which could operate, were this to be regarded as a Basque homeland within the French state.

Official function

The northern Basque provinces have long had a standardised written form: centuries ago writers developed a literary style - 'labourdin', in French - based on the spoken dialect of the province of Lapurdi. By the twentieth century, most northern speakers, including most northern writers spoke the neighbouring dialect: 'bas-navarrais'. By combining elements of this with the more classical variety, a new hybrid standard came into being, named 'navarro-labourdin littéraire' by the respected Basque grammarian Pierre Lafitte. This standard has general acceptance; according to Haritschelhar (1988, p90):

Le navarro-labourdin littéraire.....est couramment usité dans les publications (journaux, revues, catéchisme....). Personne n'écrit plus en pur labourdin ou en pur bas-navarrais et les écrivains ainsi que les lecteurs sont naturellement habitués à faire la distinction entre la langue qu'ils parlent couramment et celle qu'ils écrivent ou lisent.

King (1994) agreed that navarro-labourdin littéraire is "holding its own", due to its local prestige, and to the administrative and geographical isolation of the French Basque provinces, but noted that the Basque-medium schools there are adopting 'Batua', the standard used in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain, and it is quite likely that the latter will prevail in time, given the disparity in numbers and resources between the north and the south. This is, therefore, a rather confused situation, in which the French Basque community faces a transition between one authentic standard form and another, either of which would seem acceptable within Kloss's criteria for SSLG status. Whatever the eventual outcome, it certainly appears that one standard or the other could be used for official purposes, if other conditions made such a role possible, and so on balance the attribute is scored positively.

No precise information has become available concerning the existence or otherwise of a cadre of well-educated Basque-speaking citizens, sufficiently numerous to administer the French Basque provinces through the language. What may be gleaned from accounts implies the negative: the Basque-speaking population is portrayed as largely rural and involved in agricultural, manual or small-town commercial occupations, with an age profile skewed towards the elderly, and lacking the motivation and resources for action on behalf of the language (Heraud 1989, p144; Haritschelhar 1988, p92; Wardhaugh 1987, pp116-117; King, 1994). However, in the absence of any further evidence, a 'doubtful' score is given.

Though no data has been collected, it seems safe to say that less than fifty per cent of French Basques are literate in their language. Fishman (1991, p165) recorded that Basque has never had a strong literacy tradition, but there have been recent improvements: according to a study on the 1986 census, 52.34 per cent of the citizens

of the Basque Autonomous Community who had Basque as a mother tongue were able to write it correctly (Euskojaurilaritza Gobierno Vasco 1989, p152). This was mostly due to a very high rate of literacy amongst young native-speakers, particularly those aged 10 (81.1 per cent), which in turn is attributable to advances achieved in Basque-medium schooling. If this obtains where Basque has official status and support, especially in education, then literacy in the French side, where these benefits are almost entirely lacking, cannot be expected to be reach the same level. The survey cited by Heraud (op. cit., p144), of the area most retentive of Basque usage, appeared to confirm this: "Sur l'ensemble du Pays basque intérieur, 26% seulement des sondés maîtrisent l'écriture".

Nationalist function

Wardhaugh reported (op., cit., p117) that only about a quarter of French Basques regard themselves as Basques; one in five opts for a French identity, and the remaining majority recognise a hyphenated description - Basque-French or French-Basque. In the absence of a source for his information, and of official figures which would identify Basques, it has to be presumed that Wardhaugh's proportions refer to the population of the French Basque provinces as a whole, including people of immigrant stock. This is about 250,000 (Haritschelhar 1988, p87), and Wardhaugh's proportions would give the number adhering to a discrete Basque identity as about 60,000. It is a moot point whether or not most of these are among the 80,000 Basque-speakers estimated by Haritschelhar (1988, p92), for there are cultural revivalists and nationalists for whom language promotion is not an essential part of their activities (Edwards 1985, p84). Undoubtedly the language is a symbol of national identity for some, but - while it may be suspected - it cannot be concluded, with certainty, that they constitute a

significant proportion of Basque-speakers, and hence will probably not do so for the population as a whole.

Research quoted by Héraud (1989, p144) indicated that even in the French Basque country "intérieur", where Basque "est restée la plus pure" only about 58 per cent of the inhabitants can speak it very well or fairly well, and, as Héraud noted, "En outre, savoir une langue ne signifie pas nécessairement la parler". Stephens (1976, p317) reported that about 90 per cent of speakers were in their sixties or seventies, which suggests little use outside the domestic scene. Haritschelhar (1988, p92) reckoned that Basque remains children's first language in many rural families, quoting a contemporary enquiry in "établissements scolaires" in one canton which found that 30 per cent of the children spoke Basque, though the number of children, and their speaking ability, was not given. Haritschelhar also claimed that the language was much in evidence rural markets and tradesmen's workplaces; King, however, cited research by a colleague, who found that none of 400 Basque-speakers in a village (total population 404) used Basque in the village shop, which was owned and staffed by speakers. There does not, therefore, appear to be evidence that the language is widely used for some everyday purposes, nor widely and fluently spoken.

Although, as mentioned above, language is not a prime issue for some nationalists and cultural activists, it is hard to make a case for French being an alternative nationalist language. If a Basque nation exists, it comprises Basque people north and south of the Pyrenees, and there is only one common language. Thus, although some on the French side may claim a dual nationality - Basque and French - the French language cannot be an inspiring and unifying factor in anything concerning the Basque nation as a whole. Basque, therefore, has no rival as the nationalist language.

To the extent that people feel they are Basques, there is a link with the past, but the evidence of dwindling language retention indicates that language does not play a great part in it. King (1994) felt that such sense of history as there is amongst Basques is often focused on the medieval kingdom of Navarre, in the south; the north, on the other hand, has tended to be poor, remote from the mainstream, and apparently without very much history of its own which might inspire reverence.

Educational function

The French state provides no Basque-medium schooling, only some itinerant teachers for a small number of language classes and bilingual classes (Haritschelhar, p98; Killilea p20). There has been some progress towards recognition of the privately-run Basque-medium schools - the ikastolas - in that agreements have been reached about the inclusion of the staff within the state workforce, but these have been blocked, first by the Conseil Constitutionnel (1985), and then by a new national Minister for Education (1987). The ikastolas have received, according to Haritschelhar, "...quelques simples garanties d'aide financière ponctuelle", but this clearly falls short of full state funding and is not worthy of a positive score.

As described above, for the 'official' function, there is sufficient standardisation for the 'education' function.

'Wider communication' function

Basque has an Abstand relationship not only with French, but with every other language, and for that reason has the reputation of being unusually difficult for non-Basques to learn.

It seems clear that the size of the speech-community within France falls far short of a quarter of a million. The number has been estimated as 80,000 (Haritschelhar

1988, p92; Killilea 1994, p20), and "about 100,000" (Dorandeu/Chapalain 1991, p15). It could, however, be argued that it would be more appropriate to consider the entire Basque speech-community, on both sides of the border, which easily satisfies the 250,000 criterion. This is reinforced by the recent adoption of the southern 'Batua' standard Basque in the northern ikastolas, and by the South's greater media output. However, different conditions obtain: apart from the physical barrier of the Pyrenees, the northern Basques have been separated, politically, from their Spanish compatriots since 1659, and "...have only on rare occasions shown the national consciousness and militancy which have for long been characteristic of their southern brothers" (Stephens 1976, p318). In these circumstances, a 'doubtful' score seems the most appropriate.

(d) Romansh (Romansch/Rumantsch/Rhaetian)

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 - 2 +/- 3 +/-
Nationalist	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 -
Educational	1 +/- 2 -
Wider Communication	1 +/- 2 -

Insofar as Romansh has a 'national homeland' in Switzerland, it is within what presently constitutes the canton of Graubünden (Grisons), but the 'homeland' boundaries are difficult to define. Usually, a minority language's autochthonous status within a geographical area is fairly clear: a long history as the sole language, gradually being replaced over the nineteenth and twentieth century by the state language. However, in Graubünden, German has been established as the higher register since 806 AD, and has thus co-existed with Romansh, and gradually achieved predominance, over the past thousand years. With the advance of German, the communities where Romansh has survived have become increasingly separated and scattered, so that even within the canton they cannot be construed as occupying a recognisable 'homeland' area:

Aujourd'hui, il ne constitue plus depuis longtemps un domaine linguistique cohérent, mais s'est fragmenté en flots séparés de grandeur variable" (Camartin 1985, p261).

Furer (1989, p152) described a "territoire traditionnel du romanche...defini une fois pour toutes" based on the results of the first censuses which investigated the issue of language (1860-88). These results, according to Furer, showed a Romansh-speaking area of 121 communes which had been Romansh-speaking from the end of the 16th century to the beginning of the 19th - the only period in which Romansh had not lost ground to German. Today, the Office Fédéral de Statistique recognises a commune as a "région de langue romanche" if a majority of the inhabitants are speakers: the 1980 Census found 77. In terms of local government, which in Graübunden comprises 14 districts and 39 cercles, only 2 districts and 4 cercles are composed entirely of offically-recognised Romansh communes (ibid., p155). But the official designation ignores communes where the language is still used by a minority of the inhabitants: Gross (1991) named 100 communes, of a total of 213, as being "Romansh areas".

However, whether considerations favour a homeland as it was for a time, or might be in the present circumstances, neither did nor does constitute a distinct unit with any history of communal action or local autonomy. As the administrative unit which has, historically, accommodated the language and provided for the needs of the speakers, the canton as a whole has to be treated as the homeland, for the present purposes.

Official function

Price (1979, p32) noted the marked dialectal fragmentation which had resulted from the isolation of Romansh speech communities in mountainous country. At the time of his writing, there were five recognisably distinct written varieties, two from distinct literary traditions dating from the Reformation. Although a standard written language was formulated in 1982, and a dictionary and elementary grammar published in 1985, this

is too recent to count for standardisation at the 'Small-group Standard Language' level, despite the publication of official Romansh translations of some administrative and legal documents at cantonal and regional level.

Available evidence suggests that it is unlikely that there is a cadre of well-educated speakers sufficiently large to administer the canton through Romansh. Apart from the size of the speech-community (about a fifth of the cantonal population), Edwards (1985) noted that there are within it certain features, often found in minority language communities, which suggest that it may not have had the best of educational opportunities, expectations and attainment. The age-profile is skewed towards the elderly (thus the distribution of educated speakers across the age range may be uneven); language shift is more evident in women (this tends to occur when a language has lower educational and social status), and Romansh has generally been associated with rurality and poverty. There must be well-educated Romansh-speakers, but the accepted status of German as the language of education, progress, and urban affairs tends to militate against their existence as a perceptible cadre. In these circumstances, the fulfilment of the attribute has to be scored as 'doubtful'.

There is no direct evidence on the level of literacy which Romansh-speakers have in their language, but general accounts indicate that a 'doubtful' score may be the most appropriate. Furer (op. cit., p157) reported that, in the cantonal administration, the secrétariat communaux undertake the written translation of official documents from German to Romansh. Because many of the Romansh communes have too few inhabitants to warrant the employment of a recognised translator, the secretaries undertake the task as best they can. Furer pointed out that they received most of their schooling through the medium of German (he cites only the first three years as

being taught in Romansh), and so the translations they produce are "le plus souvent dans un romanche approximatif et fortement germanisé". Since these are Romansh-speakers employed for literacy rather than manual skills, presumably in the knowledge that they would have to write in Romansh, such a statement seems to indicate that the average speaker is not fully literate in his own language. Moreover, it is a moot point that with five different written forms, and a unified one only since 1982, such literacy as does exist can be legitimately aggregated to give an overall assessment of literacy in the speech community as a whole.

Nationalist function

The circumstances which usually encourage a perceptible nationalist sentiment in a minority group - disregard or suppression of the identity and culture - appear never to have existed in the case of Swiss Romansh. According to Stephens (1976, pp728,734), the language has enjoyed support for centuries, and there is general agreement that the decline in the Romansh-speaking population is due to economic factors. It has, at local level, all the rights given to the other Swiss languages - German, French, and Italian at Federal level, and this, as noted by Stephens (p736) seems to satisfy the speakers' needs:

...there is no demand for minority safeguards: the Rhaetian attitude is that they wish to be not safeguarded but respected and allowed to develop as they choose. It is difficult, if not impossible, for the observer to find instances when this respect has not been shown by the Federal Government, the cantonal authorities and the other linguistic groups.

In the light of these considerations, it does not appear that Romansh meets any of the attributes of the nationalist function. As a symbol of identity, Romansh may well be significant to its speakers, but it does not seem certain that this imparts any great nationalist sentiment. Moreover, because there is within Graubünden a German-speaking majority of very long standing (and also

an Italian-speaking minority), it does not seem possible that Romansh - spoken by only one in five - could be a symbol of a cantonal 'national' identity for any 'significant' portion of the population as a whole. Neither can Romansh be described as widely used for any everyday purpose, nor widely and fluently spoken. It is spoken solely within a minority of districts, and the use varies, according to the extent to which the universal bilingualism has swung towards German, in particular localities (Gross, 1991). German must rank as an 'alternative nationalist language' within the canton - the evolution of local dialects demonstrates its established position - and while Romansh's history may be a source of pride for some speakers, there is no evidence that this is shared by the population as a whole.

Educational function

Where Romansh is the principal language, it is the medium of instruction in the primary schools, with German being gradually introduced in preparation for secondary schooling, where German is the only medium of instruction (Gross 1991). Furer (op. cit., p157) reckoned only the first three years constituted education in Romansh, and that the rest was mainly in German. Thus, although there is state-funded Romansh-medium teaching, it does not appear to amount to a full provision, made on principle, throughout at least one primary school. This attribute can, at best, be given a 'doubtful' score.

As explained above, in considering the 'official' function, standardisation is probably too recent to accord with Kloss's criterion for a Small-group Standard language.

'Wider communication' function

Romansh's Abstand status to German would appear to warrant a negative score. However, Romansh is, like French, a Romance language, and as French is the other

language of greatest use in Switzerland, it is normal for German-speaking Swiss to be proficient in it. Romansh may therefore be seen as existing in unusual circumstances where the Abstand status may not mitigate against its 'learnability' for German-speakers. Nevertheless, this is conjecture, and hence a 'doubtful' score seems to be appropriate.

According to official figures for the canton of Graubunden, there were on the first of January 1991, 36,017 Romansh-speakers, representing 22% of a total population of 164,641 (Amt für Wirtschaft und Tourismus Graubünden, 1991). The speech-community therefore appears to be too small for linguistic self-sufficiency.

(e) Basque (Spain)

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 +
	2 -
	3 +
Nationalist	1 +
	2 +
	3 +
	4 +
	5 +
Educational	1 +
	2 +
Wider Communication	1 -
	2 +

King (1994) advised caution in assessing the Basque situation, which is, apparently, difficult to interpret even from the inside and often misread from the outside. There tend to be three main attitudes on most issues: the central government view, essentially anti-Basque; the Basque institutional view, which tends to optimism; and the radical Basque view, which is pessimistic, and cynical about the Basque institutions. The truth, King reckoned, lies somewhere in the middle.

For the present purposes, the Basque homeland in Spain has to be taken as the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) which comprises three of the four Basque provinces on the south side of the Pyrenees. The fourth, Nafarroa, while claimed as part of the Basque country by Basque nationalists, has been mostly - and, in the southern half, entirely - Castilian-speaking, for centuries. Stephens (1976, p643) reckoned that the language had almost ceased to exist there as an everyday medium, though there remain, apparently, about 53,000 speakers (Fishman 1991, p182). However, they live close to the BAC, which has ten times as many speakers, and is the source of all initiative and development in linguistic

and cultural matters. The condition of Basque in the BAC is thus, in essence, the condition of the language in Spain.

Official function

Stephens (1976, p646) held that prior to the Spanish Civil War, Basque was an archaic language, inadequate for universal use in contemporary urban society. However, there was then little of such a society in the Spanish Basque provinces, and the language was suited to the lives of most of the population. The archaic aspect of Basque was perhaps rather more evident after the Franco regime, which had encouraged urban development on terms detrimental to Basque. There had been an overt attempt, at least partially successful, to replace Basque culture with Castilian: in essence, public use of Basque was banned, while immigration by Castilian-speakers was encouraged, many of them being given important positions. In the 1950s, as the authorities began to feel more secure, the proscription of the language and culture was relaxed, but the measures taken during the previous twenty years had ensured that many of the new generation of Basques had been raised without a knowledge of Basque (due to their parents' fear of persecution), and this, plus the Castilian immigration, had made the Spanish Basque provinces predominantly Castilian-speaking.

In these circumstances, Basque required substantial modernisation and standardisation, and with the establishment of the Basque Autonomous Community, this has been implemented. 'Euskara Batua' ('Unified Basque') is now, according to King (op. cit.), a 'sociolinguistic reality', resulting in "an explosion in urban and governmental use" (Fishman 1991, p180).

This raises a question as to whether the recency of the standardisation is adequate for the Small-Group Standard Language criteria sought here, or might be more

appropriate to the Young Standard Language category. Basque appears to one step ahead of Breton (not accounted, in this study, to be an SSLG) but without the history of codification of Welsh or Gaelic (both reckoned to be SSLGs). There is little on record of a Basque literary tradition: despite the "increased acceptance" of the new supradialectal standard, the standardisation remains, yet, "somewhat conflicted" (ibid., pp180, 165). On balance, it is felt that the recency of the standardisation should not count against a positive score. Minority languages tend, by reason of their being outside the mainstream, to require periodic standardising efforts; there was an attempt to create a standard form of Basque early this century (King 1994), but circumstances prevented any progress. If modernisation has required extraordinary political efforts in the last two decades, it might well be argued that this was due to previous extraordinary political efforts to obliterate the language altogether. Basque is, undeniably, used extensively for official purposes, far beyond the primary school domain which marks the limit of a Young Standard Language's scope of function in the modern world.

The Basque speech-community does not appear to have an under-representation of well-educated members. According to a study on the 1986 Census, more than 27,300 literate Basque-speakers have a university degree, and amongst the citizens with 'medios-superiores' and 'superiores' degrees, Basque-speakers comprise 30.5 per cent and 24.7 per cent respectively (Euskojaurilaritza Gobierno Vasco 1989, pp246,248). However, it is a moot point that these might represent a cadre sufficiently large to administer the BAC through the language. Historically, there has only been a small Basque-speaking middle class and the language has had intermittent and impermanent currency in government, literature and scholarship. The role of Basque in the process of government has been extended recently, with an increased number of posts for which

proficiency in Basque is part of the job description; associated with this, there is official sponsorship for learning courses leading to certificates which are useful for career advancement (Fishman 1991, pp152,165). However, Castilian remains the dominant language, and despite the promotion of Basque in official circles, "the number and proportion of adults who have not yet been reached are truly staggering" (ibid., p165). Though Fasold (1984, p73) reckoned that a very small proportion of the population could constitute a ruling cadre, the Basque-speaking graduates comprise less than one per cent of the BAC population, and it must be reckoned unlikely that this could suffice.

Basque has never had a strong literacy tradition (Fishman, op. cit.), and a 1975 report (cited by Edwards 1985, p188) showed that a minority of Basque-speakers were literate - 43% could read the language, but only 12% could write it. However, as mentioned in section (c) above, a study on the 1986 census showed that 52.34 per cent of the citizens of the the BAC who had Basque as a mother tongue were able to write it correctly (Euskojauraritzza Gobierno Vasco 1989, p152). This was mostly due to a very high rate of literacy amongst young native-speakers, particularly those aged 10 (81.1 per cent), which in turn is attributable to advances then achieved in Basque-medium schooling. Further progress having been made since, it seems safe to assume that more than half the present speakers in the BAC are literate.

Nationalist function

The importance of Basque as a symbol of Basque nationhood is evident in accounts of the resistance to Castilian dominance and the moves towards self-government over the past century. When Basque nationalism revived at the end of the nineteenth century, "...(t)he major factor in the national awakening was the Basque language" (Stephens

1976, p636). The transient success of the nationalist movement, in forming an autonomous Basque government in 1936, and the subsequent stubborn resistance to Franco, demonstrated to the latter the strength of Basque national feeling, and as mentioned above, one of the principal means by which its extinction was sought was by suppression of the language. Although, according to Edwards (1985, p188):

...it is difficult to ascertain the degree to which the language itself serves as an important rallying-point for Basque identity; it certainly is one for activists, but it has been suggested that Basque nationalism is not, overall, closely allied to the use of the language..

this was based on information and opinion gathered before or only shortly after the formation of the BAC. The efforts undertaken since by the restored Basque Parliament are indicative of a continuing association, in the public mind, of the language with the national identity.

Within the BAC, Basque is both widely used for some everyday purposes, and widely and fluently spoken. Urdangarin (1993, pp77,78) reports that the language is spoken "in almost all walks of life except at work", but that in that domain there is still a traditional use of Basque in the primary sector of agriculture and fisheries. Although Basque-speakers are only in a majority in the province of Gipuzkoa, and are in a small minority in Araba, even in the latter speakers and semi-speakers together constitute nearly a quarter of the provincial population (Euskojauriaritza Gobierno Vasco 1989, p22).

No alternative nationalist language can be cited. Although Castilian has been used in the Basque provinces for centuries, it has been, typically, the language of the outsider, or the de-racinated Basque. There are self-identified Basques who see no need to speak Basque

(Fishman 1991, p152), but it seems more appropriate to regard this a form of nationalist sentiment without a linguistic component, rather than evidence of a role for Castilian in maintaining the Basque identity.

Stephens (op. cit., pp635,636) records that the history of the Basques dates from the seventh century BC; that they defended themselves against Normans, Franks, Carthaginians, Romans and Visigoths; that they defeated Charlemagne; that they gradually lost their lands, but retained a degree of autonomy until 1841. This history of a maintained, discrete community, together with the more recent struggle for assertion of the national identity, particularly during the Civil War, represents a past capable of sustaining nationalist feelings, which the nature of the language - unrelated, it seems, to any other known, and thus unique to this people alone - must reinforce.

Educational function

The Basque-medium schools - the ikastolas - were formerly entirely private and privately funded, then private but state-subsidised, and are now public and fully state-funded (Fishman 1991, p165); the criterion for this attribute is thus satisfied. The language's degree of standardisation is sufficient, as argued for the 'official' function above.

'Wider communication' function

Basque's Abstand status in relation to Castilian handicaps its acquisition by the latter's native speakers, and thus renders its wider use unlikely. There are, in total, some 633,000 speakers, with, according to the 1986 Census, 511,006 of them living in the BAC (Agote & Azkue 1992, p60; Euskojauriaritza Gobierno Vasco 1989, p22), so in terms of size, the speech community is theoretically large enough for linguistic self-sufficiency.

(f) Welsh

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 +
	2 -
	3 +
Nationalist	1 +
	2 +
	3 +
	4 +
	5 +
Educational	1 +
	2 +
Wider Communication	1 -
	2 +

Official function

Welsh has had a standardised written form since the translation of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer (1567), and the first complete Welsh version of the Bible (1588). This standard retains a number of features which are no longer in use in the spoken language, and Price (1984, p100) noted that in recent years there has been a tendency to modify the written form to accord with various spoken usages. While welcoming the discarding of the obsolescent, he recognised the danger of 'destandardisation' and the possibility of regional variants in the written language evolving, with a consequent need for finding another standard.

The one point I would make is that the standard written language exists and that the task that confronts us in Wales is not that of creating a standard language but of modernising the one we have. (ibid.)

A survey undertaken on behalf of S4C has shown that the pattern of levels of knowledge of Welsh - in terms of the percentages with 'good', 'moderate', 'poor', 'any', and no knowledge - is quite consistent across the socio-economic groupings AB, C1, C2, and DE (S4C 1993, p4).

However, only 12 per cent of those with AB status had a 'good' knowledge of Welsh. This represents about two per cent of the total population of Wales, and assuming that this proportion includes most of the best-educated Welsh-speakers, it does not seem possible that all present official functions in Wales could be carried out effectively in Welsh.

The third attribute, for literacy, is clearly fulfilled: according to the 1991 census, 73 per cent of Welsh-speakers resident in Wales were able to read and write the language (HMSO, 1993a).

Nationalist function

All attributes appear to be fulfilled; despite

...the great, silent, apathetic majority - who really do not care whether the language lives or dies and cannot understand what the fuss is about... (Price 1984, p122)

insofar as nationalist sentiment and belief in a national identity exists, they are almost inseparable from support for the language.

Educational function

In 1984 the Welsh Office of the Department of Education and Science reported that Welsh was the sole medium of instruction in 18.8 per cent of primary schools, one of the mediums in a further 14.2 per cent, and taught in a second language in 43.4 per cent. Wardhaugh (1987, p84) noted that there were 14 designated bilingual secondary schools. It is government policy to provide every child in Wales with the opportunity to learn Welsh and in some cases to learn through the medium of Welsh, and while Wardhaugh noted that:

a lack of either resources or commitment has left this policy unfulfilled, for still today 23.6 per cent of primary schools and 13.4 per cent of secondary schools make no provision for Welsh.. (ibid., p84)

the extent of the provision in school education far exceeds that for most minority languages.

As noted for the 'official' function, standardisation is well-established.

'Wider communication' function

The Abstand character of Welsh in relation to English does not facilitate its wider acceptance. The second attribute is satisfied: the 1991 census found 508,098 Welsh-speakers in Wales.

(g) Breton

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 - 2 +/- 3 -
Nationalist	1 +/- 2 +/- 3 - 4 - 5 +/-
Educational	1 - 2 -
Wider Communication	1 - 2 +/-

Attempts to assess the condition of Breton are handicapped by what has been described as the French government's

...absolute refusal to gather census data or other statistics which would help to document both its general situation and its more local state of survival. (Williams & Ambrose 1988, p114)

There is also a need to define the area pertinent to the study. Historically, the homeland of Breton has been Lower Brittany, while Upper Brittany has never been predominantly Breton-speaking for any significant period; the linguistic border advanced and retreated (Press 1992, p409). The dominant languages in Upper Brittany have long been French and Gallo, the latter a patois combining French and Celtic elements. However, according to O hIfearnain (1994a), Breton has nowadays a higher profile in Upper Brittany than in Lower Brittany: an effect apparently due to the presence of materially-successful, urban Breton-speakers, public interest, and modern facilities on one hand, and rural disadvantage and intergenerational language shift on the other. For the present purposes, therefore, the whole of Brittany will be the area for consideration.

Official function

According to O hIfearnain (1994a), there are no real problems with standardisation nowadays. The 'unified' or Peurunvan orthography, conceived in 1941, is used about 90 per cent of the time; of the other two written forms, one is used in academic circles, and the other by one publishing house. The disputes between supporters of the language, noted by Price (1979), appear to have dissipated. However, the criteria of an SSLG do not appear to be met. The language has been little used in the written form; Guillamot (1987, p3) observed:

...negative feeling towards the language is reinforced by the fact that there is so little written material in Breton and up until recently nothing any normal young person would want to read.

Moreover, although the Peurunvan orthography is clearly dominant, insofar as the government is prepared to acknowledge the existence of Breton, it supports the academic orthography. It would appear that further development would be needed before the standardisation could be adequate for official use.

It must be doubted whether there is a body of well-educated Breton-speakers sufficiently large to administer Brittany through Breton. Although Guillamot noted that a contemporary survey had found that 'a great majority' of company managers in Brittany were Breton speakers, compared to 40 per cent of unskilled workers, he also observed (ibid., p2) that Breton has been strongly associated with lack of education: "...Breton became a language for the old, the farmers and the uneducated...". O hIfearnain (1994a) reported that the Breton radio news service can always find Breton-speaking spokesmen at any level, but these are mostly people who conduct their working lives in French, and concluded that no real network of educated Breton-speakers exists.

Precise information about literacy is unavailable, but it seems safe to assume, in view of the minimal opportunities for schooling in Breton, that less than 50 per cent of the speakers are literate in the language. O hIfearnain (ibid.) reckoned that "hardly anybody" who speaks Breton can read or write it. In 1990 a survey by TMO-Ouest in Lower Brittany found only 10.5 per cent of respondents were able to read the language, and only 4.5 per cent could write it (Broudic/TMO-OUEST 1993, p4). Press (1992, p413) quotes a Breton source as estimating the number of readers of Breton to be 15,000, amongst a speaking population usually estimated in hundreds of thousands.

Nationalist function

None of the attributes can be scored positively. In general, one could say that, insofar as a Breton national identity is recognised at all, the Breton language is one of its few remaining traditional markers, and so it does have a function in nationalist activity. On the other hand, there is, according to Wardhaugh (1987, p110) an alternative form of 'nationalism':

If the language itself seems doomed, there is still a considerable Breton consciousness which exists independently of language. Brittany has found itself at the periphery of the French state, and regional consciousness has solidified along ethnic, political and economic lines rather than linguistic ones.

The language has support as a national symbol: one local survey found that:

...two out of three considered Breton to be the true language of the locality of Finistère and more and more Bretons both within and without this area were in favour of such a status being given to the language. (Conseil Général du Finistère, 1992)

However, it is not clear to what extent this sentiment is general throughout Brittany. Timm (1980) noted that in the Breton cultural festivals, the emphasis is on song and dance, with French as the dominant language. This

appears to downgrade the importance of the spoken Breton language as a symbol of identity, but there is a commercial aspect to such events dependent on participation and attendance, which are enhanced if monoglot French-speakers are catered for. In terms of activities promoting the national identity, the various Breton language bodies would seem to be at least as prominent as the cultural festivals. O hIfearnain (1994a), though, reckoned that there was no direct link between the language and the national identity.

It is debatable whether the language is widely used for some everyday purposes. It may be quite widely used for two purposes in Lower Brittany: Timm (1980) observed that the main incidence of public use of Breton appears to be by men working in the fields, or gathering in male-dominated cafés. O hIfearnain (1994a) reported that it is used for almost every purpose in certain Breton-speaking localities, but by very few young people (those under 30). There is no information available which suggests that Breton is widely and fluently spoken within Brittany as a whole; accounts tend to emphasise declining use, and fluency would appear to be local and isolated rather than widespread. Williams and Ambrose (1988, p124) found in one locality a situation which they regarded as typical:

...the fate of Breton speaking in the area has been to pass from the status of vernacular tongue, the habitual language of the district, to that of relict feature, the preserve of a small group of mainly elderly, isolated people in a few remote corners, all within the lifetime of the oldest inhabitants...

The long history of Gallo and French in Upper Brittany, and the presence of French in Lower Brittany for over a thousand years (Press 1992, p409) would seem to deny Breton full status as the sole language of nationalist or regionalist sentiment, and while Breton's link with the past inspires respect, it is not a point around which all feel inclined to rally: the traditional association of

Breton speech with backwardness has apparently led to a form of Breton solidarity linked to urban values and the use of French.

Educational function

In the last half century, the behaviour of the central authorities has vacillated between the granting of small concessions and the traditional rejection and neglect. The passing of La Loi Deixonne in 1951 was, according to Neville (1986), "a turning point in the history of language use in France", for it decreed that certain regional languages, one of which was Breton, could be taught in schools, for one hour a week on a voluntary basis, if certain conditions were fulfilled. However, the traditional attitude was articulated by President Pompidou in 1972: "Il n'y a pas de place pour les langues minoritaires dans une France destinée a marquer l'Europe de son sceau". In 1978, the Cultural Charter of Brittany was signed, recognising Breton cultural identity but, according to the Ministry of Education in 1984, this charter "could not be considered a legal provision with power to amend the regulations laying down the content of the teaching curricula". In 1985, Prime Minister Laurent Fabius refused to place on the Assembly agenda a draft bill on the promotion of French languages and cultures, which was supported by a majority of Members. Later that year the creation of an advisory National Council of Regional Languages and Cultures was announced, but by 1991 this body had only met once (Lécuyer 1991; Dorandeu/Chapalain 1991).

The support for Breton in the state education system is thus almost non-existent; it certainly does not extend to fully state-funded Breton-medium primary education, and where Breton is taught as a subject in the state schools, the classes are not officially recognised and the teachers are nominally registered as teachers of other subjects (Lécuyer 1991; Chapalain 1993). Although state

provision is the criterion sought here, consideration has to be given to the efforts of the private Breton-medium school system, Diwan. Founded in 1977, by autumn 1993 it was reported (Johnson, Sobol and Jones, 1993) to encompass 30 nursery, 23 primary, and 3 secondary schools, catering for some 700 children up to the age of 15 (though O hIfearnain [1994b, 05027, 05032] records the number of schools as "24 primary+nursery schools and 1 collège" accommodating "about 1000" pupils). There is also privately-funded teacher-training for these schools (Johnson et al, op.cit.). The system receives some official support, in the form of a Regional Council grant (Killilea 1994, p14). However, the position of the schools is precarious: O hIfearnain (1994b, 04033) reported that Diwan was in receivership, principally because of fiscal disagreements with the State, and though likely to be reprieved, the financial problems are expected to recur. In these circumstances a positive score for educational provision is clearly inappropriate.

As argued for the 'official' function, it is felt that Breton probably lacks sufficient standardisation at present to meet the criteria of an SSLG.

'Wider communication' function

The Abstand status of Breton in relation to French means that to French-speakers it is not as accessible for learning as, for example, other Romance languages, and this makes it an unlikely medium for wider communication.

It has been estimated that, of the Brittany population of 3.5 million, 1 million can understand Breton and between 500,000 and 700,000 can speak it; most of them live in rural Lower Brittany (Neville 1986; Lécuyer 1981; Dorandeu/Chapalain 1991). Bozec (1974) gave an estimate of 685,250; Radio Bretagne Ouest, which opened in 1982, took its target audience to be half a million (Denez 1988, p107); TMO-Ouest reckoned, by extrapolation from a

survey sample, that there were 250,000 speakers in 1990, though only 26 per cent of speakers (equivalent, by the same order of extrapolation, to 65,000) spoke Breton as often or more often than French (Broudic/TMO-Ouest 1993, p1). However, Denez (1983, p74) reflected that estimates tend to be influenced by wishful thinking - from the 20,000 estimated by the Préfecture, to the 700,000 advanced by language activists. Press (1986, p1) suggested that there were only between 50,000 and 100,000 "actively using the language today". The profile of Breton is low (Wardhaugh 1987, p110) and as many speakers are, apparently, isolated and have little chance to use the language (Williams and Ambrose 1988, p120), it is hard to gain any accurate notion of the size of the speech community. As it has been reckoned already that Irish, despite the number of speakers found by census, its official status, and its undoubted claim on popular sentiment, does not have a speech community as large as a quarter of a million speakers, then in the absence of any firm evidence about the number of Breton-speakers, and of any support and recognition on the Irish scale, it would not be consistent to judge with certainty that Breton has that size of speech community either.

(h) Faroese

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 + 2 + 3 +
Nationalist	1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 +
Educational	1 + 2 +
Wider Communication	1 + 2 -

Official function

Faroese is already established as the official language of local government in the Faroe Isles (Sandøy 1992, p62; Hagström 1984, p178). Standardisation is well-established: the orthography dates from 1846, and the first grammar was published in 1854 (Sandøy 1992, p59). Danish is used by the Danish administration in the Isles, that is, by the state commissioner and the departments he oversees, but this practice is a political policy, rather than a necessity. It appears self-evident that there are enough well-educated citizens to administer the Faroes through Faroese: the native population is fluently bilingual, is involved in all types of work at almost all levels, and the main reason for the use of Danish would appear to be the presence of Danes who do not speak Faroese. Literacy in Faroese is widespread; according to Sandøy: "recent generations have now learned to master the written language..." (p63) and the islands' party newspapers, which are issued two or three times a week, are mostly written in Faroese (pp65-66). Hagström (op. cit., p180) observed: "...most Faroese grown-ups read both Danish and Faroese every day."

Nationalist function

Sandøy refers (p63) to the "real acceptance of Faroese as the national standard language" and observes (p68):

Today the Faroese language is accepted by all as a true marker of their identity - in line with the broad scale of use the language has attained. It is an accepted symbol of identity, like the flag, the national costumes and so on.

It is widely used for everyday purposes, is widely and fluently spoken, and is the only language with a claim on Faroese nationalist sentiment. With regard to the language's capacity to provide a link with the past, according to Sandøy the Faroese did not, despite a rich oral tradition, develop a sense of national self-respect until the nineteenth century. However, the linguistic element was of then of great importance. Language development, including the construction of a written form, coincided with economic modernisation, and the resulting confidence engendered moves for political autonomy, with which the language issue was closely associated.

Educational function

Faroese is established as the medium of primary education (Hagström 1984, p173). Standardisation is, as described above, well-established.

'Wider communication' function

As noted already (section 3 of this chapter) Faroese is not of clear Abstand status in relation to Danish, being within the same Nordic language group, although more akin to Norwegian and Icelandic. However, given the degree of similarity, it is appropriate to score it as Ausbau for the present purpose. With approximately 40,000 speakers (Sandøy gives the total population as 43,000, with 3000 Danes who "do not normally learn Faroese" [op. cit., pp61,72]), the speech community is clearly lacking the numbers likely to engender linguistic self-sufficiency.

(i) Sorbian

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 - 2 +/- 3 ?
Nationalist	1 - 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 -
Educational	1 + 2 -
Wider Communication	1 - 2 -

An attempt to define the Sorbian 'national homeland' encounters some difficulties similar to those found in assessing Romansh. Although a 'homeland' area can be recognised - the Lusatian Basin - it is not one to which the Sorbs have any exclusive claim: a German population has been established there, also, for more than a thousand years, and the German language is now predominant. Stephens (1976, p415) reported that the 70,000 Sorbs (a GDR estimate) all live in mixed populations with the 500,000 Germans. This was corroborated by Ziesch (1990):

Today the Sorbs live side by side with their German neighbours and are concentrated largely....in the bilingual, bicultural districts of Kamenz, Bautzen, Hoyerswerda, Weisswasser and Cottbus.

In terms of provincial administration, the Sorbs are split between Brandenburg (Lower Sorbs) and Saxony (Upper Sorbs). For the present purposes, the Lusatian Basin as a whole will be treated as the homeland, as the identifiable area with which the Sorbs have traditionally been associated.

Official function

There are two written varieties of the language, engendered by dialect differences: Lower Sorbian, which is related to Polish, and Upper Sorbian, related to Czech, Slovakian, and Ukrainian (Schuster-Sewc 1987, p40). The Upper Sorbian form is faring better, as its speech community is stronger numerically, and the written form has wider use in a number of fields, but it is, apparently, impossible to use in the Lower Sorbian region because "the language differences....are considerable and continue to exist..." (ibid., p43). At present, therefore, Sorbian does not appear to have sufficient standardisation.

Whether or not there is a cadre of well-educated Sorbs who could administer the area in their language (were this acceptable to the German population) is a matter for speculation. Though Sorbian has had lower status for centuries, the speakers have had, in the GDR, the same educational opportunities as the rest of the population, and Stephens (1972, p413) noted that the number of Sorbs taking part in public life had grown enormously since the end of the Second World War. In the opinion of Stone (1994), cautiously advanced, there is probably a greater proportion of well-educated people amongst Sorbian-speakers than amongst the German-speaking population. This is partly due to some working-class Sorbs abandoning Sorbian for German, and so the remainder - identified as Sorbs by their use of the language - show a relative upward social mobility. There has been comment in the region that the Sorbian population is 'over-intellectualised'. Undoubtedly, the government of a population of about 600,000 can be conducted by a relatively small number of people, though this also depends on the number and range of official duties. Well-educated though they may be, it must be doubted whether there are sufficient Sorbian-speakers for this role, even if it were politically feasible.

No information has been found on the level of literacy amongst Sorbian speakers, but scoring on this attribute would not, in any case, affect the conclusion dictated by the scores for the other attributes: that the language could not, in the present circumstances, be used effectively for official purposes.

Nationalist function

Stone (1994) opined that there is a distinct Sorbian national sentiment, and the language would certainly appear to be a major component of it. According to Stephens (1976 p416):

One of the distinguishing features of the position of the Sorbian language in Lusatian society is its almost total identification with Sorbian nationality: few who know no Sorb claim to be members of the Sorbian minority, so that once a person loses the language he is automatically considered to be a member of the German ethnic group.

As a symbol of identity, Sorbian may well be significant to its speakers, but not for the majority German population, neither is it a symbol of regional identity for any significant portion of the population as a whole. Apart from a very few, German-speakers regard Sorbian as something irrelevant to them (Stone, op. cit.). Neither can Sorbian be described as widely used within the region for any everyday purpose, nor widely and fluently spoken. It is spoken solely within a minority of districts, and the use varies, according to the extent to which the universal bilingualism has swung towards German, in particular localities. German, established for a millennium, must rank as an 'alternative nationalist language' within the region. With regard to Sorbian's links with the past, although this would appear to be a source of pride to the speakers, there is no evidence that this is shared by the population as a whole (ibid.).

Educational function

The resources available under the former GDR regime

continue at present: Sorbian is a teaching medium in half a dozen primary schools, but there are no schools which are all-Sorbian (Stone, 1994). Sorbian-medium education is an option, and according to reports, the number of pupils taking it is declining. Standardisation, as noted for the 'Official' function, does not meet the required SSLG criteria.

'Wider communication' function

Sorbian is a Slavonic language and therefore an Abstand one in relation to German; it cannot be reckoned that the average German-speaker would learn it easily. In the former GDR, no demographic measurement of the Sorb population was allowed, but one approved account reported that there were in 1987 "hardly more than 50,000 - 60,000" Sorbs (Schuster-Sewc 1987, p40). Both attributes therefore score negatively.

(j) Sami (Norway)

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 - 2 - 3 -
Nationalist	1 +/- 2 - 3 - 4 - 5 +/-
Educational	1 + 2 -
Wider Communication	1 - 2 -

Sami has never been a language used in more than half of the territory of the present Norwegian state, and the traditional range of the nomadic Samis defies attempts to describe their homeland within the structure of regional government. Under a 1990 Act of Parliament, in the two northernmost regions, Troms and Finnmark, the Sami language was given equal rights with Norwegian in a number of fields. These regions will be taken as the area for consideration with regard to the possibility of official use.

Official function

Sami must fail the requirement of the first attribute - adequate standardisation. All descriptions point to significant dialect differences, and while Central Sami is the most widely spoken, and may become the standard, the written version is a recent, and little practised development. This does not accord with the criteria of an SSLG.

General accounts of the Sami-speaking community indicate its marginalised character, and the extent to which Norwegian institutions and practices dominate its life.

Undoubtedly, there are well-educated Sami-speakers, but it seems unlikely that there are enough to administer the two Sami regions through the language.

Only in 1967 was Sami introduced in the first grade of primary schools, and given the paucity of literature, it is unlikely that 50 per cent of speakers have become literate in the language.

Nationalist function

The Sami language certainly acts as a symbol of Sami national identity for Sami activists (Nordic Sami Conference, 1983), but as they now, for the most part, live among Norwegians, who have no sense of Sami identity, it cannot be said with any certainty that a significant proportion of the population - either in the traditional Sami areas or the two new 'equal rights' regions - regards the language as a symbol of their own nationality. Within the traditional Sami country, it must be doubted whether the language is currently in wide use for everyday purposes, or that is it widely and fluently spoken; though in some municipalities in northern Norway the Sami constitute a majority, they hardly exceed ten per cent in any midland districts (Edwards 1985, p186). There does seem to be an alternative nationalist language in that Norwegian has been used in many parts for some time, and some Sami are eager to show 'Norwegianness' and to use that language (Eidheim 1969, p42). Lundén (1988, p62) noted the erosion of the national solidarity, concomitant with the adoption of Norwegian practices: ".....the Norwegian Sami have a wider occupational basis (in fishing and agriculture) which has led to a certain split in their ethnic-political cohesion." There is certainly a link with the past, revered amongst the more committed speakers, but they do not constitute a majority of the population.

Educational function

The criterion of 'sufficient teaching resources' appears to be met: within the regions of Troms and Finnmark, Sami-medium education is now available throughout nine years of 'elementary' schooling (Simonsen 1991, p3).

The level of standardisation is below that of an SSLG, and thus deemed relatively inadequate for the educational function, in comparison to the other languages.

'Wider communication' function

Sami's Abstand status with respect to Norwegian means that there is little likelihood of it achieving a wider area of habitual use. Given the cross-border character of the Sami-speech community, it may be inappropriate to consider the number of Norwegian Samis, on their own, but no recent account reckons the entire Sami people at more than 30,000 (sources quoted by Edwards 1985, p186; Lundén 1988; Crystal 1992).

(k) Galician

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 + 2 +/- 3 -
Nationalist	1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 +
Educational	1 - 2 +
Wider Communication	1 + 2 +

Official function

In the second half of the 19th century, progress was made towards a more standardised Galician orthography, and the first Galician dictionaries were published. Although the immediate benefits of these were in the literary field, they laid the basis for the current production of modern standard vocabularies covering all aspects of modern life by the *Politica Linguistica* (language policy) department of the 'Xunta de Galicia' (the Galician civil service). The developments have been aided by Galician's close relationship to its standardised neighbour, Portuguese. The efforts described by Pedersen (1989) suggested that any deficiencies in standardisation would be eliminated, and the progress reported by Vazquez (1993a) indicated that the main issue concerning the language is its social acceptability, rather than any lack of standardisation.

With regard to the existence of a cadre of well-educated speakers, capable of administering the country through Galician, there is a difficulty in distinguishing those without Galician from those disinclined to use it. Although 92 per cent of the 3.5 million inhabitants of Galicia claim to be able to speak Galician, it has been,

traditionally, the language of the lower classes, since the key political and administrative posts were appropriated by Castilians three centuries ago (ibid., p82). The legacy of this is still apparent: according to the Xunta de Galicia in 1987, most people in the upper categories of employment used Castilian in the course of their work, rising to 78 per cent amongst those in the most prestigious positions. Pedersen reported (op. cit., p8) that Galician university students "are mainly from urban and middle class areas where Galician is not strong", and that although an exam pass in Galician is obligatory for university entrance, only 10 per cent of students use the language. In the university administration, 90 per cent of the work was carried out in Galician, but only 20 per cent of the teaching staff used it; Galician courses had been provided for professors, but the uptake had been poor. However, the working language of the Galician autonomous Parliament is Galician, and issues of its transactions are published in a ratio of 1000 Galician copies to 50 Castilian. It may be surmised that, amongst approximately 3.2 million, there must be a sufficiently large cohort of well-educated, fluent Galician speakers, but there would appear to be no direct evidence that this is so. In these circumstances, it is uncertain that the attribute is met.

Less than half of Galician-speakers can read the language, and only a third can write it (Vazquez 1993b); the level of literacy is probably too low, therefore, for the language to be the sole medium of official business at present or in the near future.

Nationalist function

All attributes for the nationalist function appear to be fulfilled. Despite Castilian domination for more than three centuries, and the linguistic repression of the Franco regime, Galician has remained the first language

of most of the inhabitants, and the language is perceived as fundamental to the Galician identity:

Towards the the end of the Franco period, ie the 1960s and early 1970s, a new movement of poets, trade unions, historians, political and cultural forces started in their own and separate ways working again towards the aim of national and cultural revival.....These ambitions were realised with the creation in 1978 of the Galician autonomous Parliament.....Under the terms of the statute of autonomy, Gallego [Galician] is now recognised as the proper language of Galicia...all citizens have the right to use Gallego in all spheres of public life.... (Pedersen 1989, p4).

Educational function

In schools, the resources available appear to be inadequate for a language which is so widely used and which has official support. The autonomous Galician Parliament has made the teaching of Galician as a subject obligatory in all Galician schools, but whether or not the language is used as the teaching medium is presently left to the individual teacher. Such plans as the Galician Parliament has had for Galician-medium teaching have been for its use for one subject in primary schools and two in secondaries, and this was overruled by the central government in Madrid. There is thus no provision, or official plans, for fully Galician-medium primary education.

Sufficient standardisation, as noted above, would appear to have been achieved.

'Wider communication' function

Being a Romance language, Galician has an Ausbau relationship to the dominant Castilian, and should be comparatively easy for a Castilian-speaker to learn. The main barrier appears to be social prejudice. There is also, theoretically, the possibility of wider communicative use of Galician through its close relationship to Portuguese; it can be envisaged that, in favourable economic circumstances (hitherto absent),

Portuguese-speakers near the Galician border would be induced to adopt Galician terminology.

The Galician speech-community, estimated at around 3.2 million, clearly surpasses the minimum number thought necessary for linguistic self-sufficiency.

(1) Frisian (Netherlands)

<u>Language function</u>	<u>Score on attributes</u>
Official	1 + 2 + 3 -
Nationalist	1 + 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 +
Educational	1 - 2 +
Wider Communication	1 + 2 +

Official function

Frisian is adequately standardised for this function; although Boelens (1982, p41) noted that "Standard Frisian is only one hundred years of age...", he outlined the heritage of Frisian literature (1987, pp4-6), and the lexicography and the variety of current Frisian literary production have been described by Fishman (1991, pp160,166).

Available information suggests that there should be a cadre of well-educated Frisian-speakers who could administer the Province of Friesland entirely through the language. Van der Plank (1987, p12) reckoned that in 1980 some 40 per cent of residents with tertiary education were Frisian-speakers, as were the same proportion of those with 'upper secondary' education. ^{It} is already used to some extent for official purposes: most members of the Provincial assembly regularly utilise Frisian (Fishman 1991, p176), and the provincial and municipal governments 'sometimes' use Frisian in their written communications (Boelens 1987, p19). While it appears that people in higher-status occupations report more overall use of Dutch than people in lower-status occupations (Fasold

1984, p308), this reflects prejudice against the use of Frisian in the 'higher' domains, rather than evidence that the higher status personnel are unable to use it. Frisian-speakers comprise about three-quarters of the whole population; only about six per cent are unable to understand Frisian at all (Boelens 1987, p10).

Literacy in Frisian does not appear to be sufficiently widespread for full official use of the language to be feasible. According to Pietersen (1978, pp368-369) while 69 per cent of the population aged 12 or over reported that they could read Frisian at least 'fairly well', only 11 per cent could write it more than 'a little'. These levels of ability appeared to be confirmed by Boelens (1987, p10), who cited 73 per cent of the inhabitants aged 12 or over as speakers, 65 per cent as readers but only 10 per cent as writers.

Nationalist function

Gorter et al (1984, cited by Boelens 1987, p8) concluded that the inhabitants of Friesland closely associate 'language preservation' with their own identity. That this is a Frisian identity was indicated by results which showed that 76 per cent of the population regarded themselves as Frisian, and a majority thought it more important to be Frisian than to be Dutch. Fishman (1991, p157) reported that only 39 per cent of the total population claimed a 'primarily Frisian' identity, but this that kind of identity was claimed by 57 per cent of Frisian speakers. Van der Plank (1987, pp17-18) noted that Frisian-speakers associate Frisian identity with ability to speak the language, more strongly than the minority of Dutch-speaking autochthons who, if they regard themselves as Frisian, tend to base the identity on family background. The Dutch-speaking incomers, however, concur with the Frisian-speakers' ethnolinguistic definition. It seems safe, therefore, to say that the Frisian language is a symbol of identity for

a significant proportion of the population, particularly because, as Fishman pointed out (op. cit., p163), "Other than via Frisian per se, the ethnocultural manifestations of Frisianness are few and far between...."

It is also fair to judge Frisian as both 'widely used for everyday purposes', and 'widely and fluently spoken'. Van der Plank (1987, p15), summarised the 1980 findings of Gorter et al (op. cit.) thus:

A very large majority of Frisian speakers still speak the language at home (90 per cent), use the language with friends and acquaintances (91 per cent), with neighbours (87 per cent) and at work (87 per cent), and participate in Frisian-language club and association life (77 per cent).

According to Fishman (1991, p163), it is still the language of the home in 75 per cent of rural households, and 38 per cent of urban ones:

..the language is...certainly still well and naturally spoken by many rural and by some urban speech networks and both of these engage in a large number and variety of adult speech activities. (ibid, p160)

The differences between Dutch and Frisian culture have diminished, but the Dutch language and heritage have not acquired a role in Frisian nationalist sentiment, as summarised by the Frisian National Party (ca1982, p4): "What is characteristically Frisian about them [the Frisian people] is seen especially in the Frisian language and in Frisian history." Frisian would therefore appear to be unchallenged as the nationalist language of Friesland, and provides an important link with the past: "...it unlocks centuries of Frisian experience..." (Khleif 1982, p179).

Educational function

Frisian-medium education is minimal: the 1974 Education Act permitted the use of Frisian as a medium of instruction in elementary education where it was locally desired, and although in the early 1980s 14 per cent of

Frisian elementary schools were using the language as a medium in the first two or three grades, in very few schools, perhaps ten per cent, was it the main medium, or even a substantially used co-medium, of instruction (Fishman 1991, p170). In the secondary sector there is no Frisian-medium instruction and there has never been a legal obligation even to teach Frisian as a subject. The present circumstances are summarised by Fishman (ibid., p172):

Only in nursery schools/kindergarten in rural areas, where most of the children are still Frisian-speaking and where most of the teachers have Frisian as their mother tongue, is Frisian the normal, daily language of instruction and communication.

Given that the language's level of standardisation has been deemed adequate for official use, that is, adequate at the 'Small-group Standard Language' level, it meets the requirements sought here for the educational function.

'Wider communication' function

Frisian's Ausbau status in relation to Dutch is generally reckoned to facilitate Dutch speakers' acquisition of Frisian as a second language (Fishman ibid., p159). While, in 1984, 54 per cent of the population claimed Frisian as their mother tongue, 73 per cent declared themselves able to speak it (Gorter et al 1984, cited by Boelens 1987, p10), indicating that 19 per cent were primarily Dutch speakers who had picked up Frisian. This suggests that Frisian has the potential for wider use, were conditions favourable.

The Frisian speech-community in 1987 was estimated to number some 400,000 (Gorter 1987, p6), well above that postulated as the minimum for potential linguistic self-sufficiency.

Summary and analysis

The chosen languages' scores for the functions are summarised in Table 28. They can be perceived to fall into four categories:

1. Faroese, which scored positively for three of the four functions.
2. Basque in Spain, Welsh, Galician, and Frisian, which all scored positively for two functions: Basque and Welsh for the nationalist and educational functions; Galician and Frisian for nationalist and wider communication.
3. Irish and Scottish Gaelic, which scored positively for the educational function alone.
4. Sorbian, Breton, Basque in France, Romansh and Sami, which, in their present circumstances, appear to be unable to perform any of the functions, as they have been assessed here.

It is suggested, with caution, that the more of these functions a language appears to be able to perform, by the above method of assessment, the more fortuitous its present circumstances. This might have been too simplistic if positive scoring had been more varied, but it shows a fairly regular pattern. The conditions of languages in the same category are not necessarily very similar: Irish and Gaelic, for example, appear to fall into the same category, yet it cannot be denied that Irish has a much higher status in its homeland, which must be of benefit. Rather, it is proposed that their circumstances have slightly more in common with each other than with those of the other languages.

Table 28. Languages' scoring on language function attributes

LANGUAGE FUNCTION	L A N G U A G E S												
	Far	BaS	Wel	Gal	Fri	Iri	Gae	Sor	Bre	BaF	Rom	Sam	
- attributes													
Official 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Official 2	+	-	-	+/-	+	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	-
Official 3	+	+	+	-	-	+/-	?	-	-	-	+/-	+/-	-
Nation 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/-	+/-	-	-	+/-
Nation 2	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+/-	-	-	-	-
Nation 3	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nation 4	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Nation 5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+/-	-	+/-	-	-	-	+/-
Educational 1	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+/-	+	+
Educational 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
Wider Communication 1	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+/-	-
Wider Communication 2	-	+	+	+	+	+/-	-	-	+/-	+/-	-	-	-

Key: Far = Faroese, Bas = Basque in Spain, Wel = Welsh, Gal = Galician
 Fri = Frisian, Iri = Irish, Gae = Gaelic, Sor = Sorbian, Bre = Breton,
 BaF = Basque in France, Rom = Romansh, Sam = Sami in Norway.

All languages in the first three categories registered as standardised to SSLG status ('Official' function, attribute 1; 'Educational' function, attribute 2). However, none, other than Faroese, fulfilled the 'Official' function overall; no other could be confirmed as having a speech community manifesting both a well-educated cadre large enough to administer the homeland, and a literacy rate of 50 per cent.

All languages in the first two categories scored positively on the nationalist function; none of those in the third and fourth categories did. It is noticeable that the latter scored particularly poorly on the nationalist attributes concerning the extent of the languages' use. One reason for this may well be that they have insufficient speakers, relative to the total homeland population: none of them could be confirmed as having a quarter of a million speakers ('Wider Communication' function, second attribute). On the other hand, of the languages apparently capable of fulfilling the nationalist function, Faroese, despite its comparatively small number of speakers, is the first language of some 95 per cent of the Islands' inhabitants, and all the languages in the second category are reckoned to have more than a quarter of a million speakers. The size of the speech community would seem to be a factor in the other nationalist aspects too, having a bearing on whether enough of the homeland's total population think of the language as a symbol of national identity, the sole language appropriate for their nationalist sentiment, and a link with the nation's revered past.

Given that the circumstances of minority language speech communities are not static, it is pertinent to consider what changes might be possible, through administrative policy, which would give more positive scoring. Some of the functional attributes assessed concern aspects which do not seem immediately susceptible to any increase in

political support and available resources. The Abstand or Ausbau status ('Wider Communication' function, attribute 1) cannot be changed and the 'Nationalist' attributes concern popular mood, voluntary custom and sentiment, which can be affected by public policy rather than directly altered by prescriptive legislation. Two areas where improvement can be directly effected are educational resources ('Educational' function, attribute 1) and, with certain reservations, to be explained, language standardisation ('Official' function, attribute 1; 'Educational' function, attribute 2).

Increased educational resources, it can be argued, would lead to improved literacy, and possibly, through the language's increased prestige and depending on the size of the speech community, the evolution of a cadre of well-educated speakers capable of administering the homeland. Applied to the profiles of Frisian and Galician, as shown in Table 28, this theory suggests that an increase in educational provision would render the languages fit for all functions, the former somewhat sooner, as it already has the well-educated cadre. Basque in France would also benefit, for the 'Official' and 'Educational' functions, from this kind of support, though its smaller speech-community, relative to the size of population, makes the evolution of a well-educated cadre a possibility in the longer rather than the shorter term.

Improvement in the level of standardisation is a consideration applicable to Sorbian, Breton, Romansh and Sami. It would involve pursuing whatever measures were needed - formulating a standard, establishing its universal acceptance, extending the vocabulary and the corpus of literature, but this would not necessarily induce positive scores in the 'Official' function (attribute 1) and 'Educational' function (attribute 2). The criteria of standardisation sought here - based largely on the antiquity of the standard, the literary

tradition and the first dictionaries and grammars - cannot be met by immediate action. It may be argued that this is arbitrary, and that recent standardisation is no less valid, in linguistic terms, but it is felt that a degree of established status leads to a familiarity and acceptance which a new standard has to earn. Nevertheless, a standard, however recently formulated, would seem to be a prerequisite for any attempts to advance a language's cause in the fields of education and administration.

These are, however, theoretical arguments. While the functional attributes considered here have been chosen and assessed with care, the scores cannot present a complete profile of each language's condition. This is well illustrated by the example of Frisian: despite positive scores on all aspects except educational provision and literacy, it is a matter of conjecture as to whether simply improving the former, and hence the latter, would give Frisian anything approaching major language status. Moreover, despite scoring well on the nationalist aspects, there does not seem to be an overt nationalist feeling which might drive language restoration by popular enthusiasm. Though adequate educational provision appears to be lacking, the Frisian-speaking community as a whole does not seem overly concerned to secure it: according to Extra (1989, pp 67, 68)

...parental attitudes are generally not unfavourable toward Frisian, however, parents should certainly not be considered as trendsetters for bilingual education.....The pressure for Frisian instruction can generally be qualified as top-down pressure...

While it is possible, therefore, to use these profiles to speculate on the effect of development policies, there are aspects of the languages' circumstances which they do not measure. Their principal purpose is to provide a

means of comparison between languages, in a few key areas.

6. Minority language job markets

Information on the role of the other languages in the work domain was obtained from the relevant literature, and contact with reliable informants. In no case had there been direct research on the number of jobs for which knowledge of the language was considered essential. Most of the information obtained concerned the types of work in which speakers of the languages were most needed, but some informants estimated the number of posts involved.

(a) Irish

In 1901, Irish, as a language of work, was almost exclusively confined to rural craft occupations, small scale farmers and west coast fisherman (Williams 1988b, p275). Since then, the old ways have declined, bilingualism has become universal, and lack of Irish is no barrier to participation in most of the affairs of a community dominated by Irish speakers. Consequently, apart from organisations which are specifically language-oriented, use of Irish in other fields of work usually depends on convention or the conversants' personal preference, rather than because it is necessary for communication. A survey conducted by O Riagáin and O Gliasáin in 1993 found^{that} only 20 per cent of respondents in work ever heard Irish spoken in their workplace.

With regard to employment for which knowledge of Irish is an acknowledged requirement, three circumstances can be distinguished: Irish is clearly essential for posts in which the language is the main business; proven proficiency is required for some government posts; within the official Irish-speaking areas an ability could be desirable or essential depending on the enthusiasm with which the employer concerned upholds the linguistic ethos. In general, knowledge of Irish is less of an

advantage than it used to be. Formerly, whatever use might be made of it, it provided access to many of the better-paid jobs: until 1973 the school education certificate could not be achieved without a certain competence in Irish, and proficiency opened up additional opportunities. Nowadays, however, apart from personal commitment,

...the only factors prompting continuing acquisition of high competence in Irish are likely to be university or college of education requirements, or the curricular commitment...of school administrative authorities. (CCP 1988, p35)

The state is the largest employer in the Irish Republic, and given the official position of Irish, potentially the prime encourager of the use of Irish in the work domain. However,

...in recent years there appears to have been a cumulative withdrawal of state support and sanction for the use of Irish within the public service itself, particularly at the highest levels of prestige and power. (ibid., p47)

A division can be made between the use of Irish in the work domain within the Irish-speaking areas - the Gaeltachtaí - and the rest of the Irish Republic. The Gaeltachtaí receive special state support as the areas in which Irish is supposed to be the working language. While use of Irish in the public sector occurs to varying extents throughout Eire, the Gaeltachtaí provide particular opportunities for Irish-speakers to find employment in the governmental and institutional units situated therein. Most of the private sector use of Irish is found in the Gaeltachtaí. Moreover, there are no serious plans for development of Irish as a working language elsewhere (Fishman 1991, p140).

Inside the Gaeltachtaí, central government, local government in a few areas, and language organisations operate through Irish. Some non-governmental enterprises such as cooperatives and special projects have been

established with an express policy of using Irish (Fishman 1991, p139) and Irish may be the dominant language in agriculture (CCP 1988, p46). However, although Irish is supposed to be the medium, the practice varies: thus in some Gaeltacht workplaces, employees who speak Irish naturally elsewhere switch to English or bilingual usage. The type of product, and the language of the management or of the higher skilled workers may be factors in this tendency to switch (ibid., p6), which appears to be a corollary of the import of technology and personnel.

The dominance of English as the language of work, production and administration in Irish society as a whole is carried over into Gaeltacht areas in the 'incorporation process', ensuring that new institutional contexts, and contexts of prestige, power and authority, are almost inevitably marked as appropriate for the use of English. (ibid., p37)

Outside the Gaeltachtaí, the Civil Service has units which operate voluntarily in Irish, and the service in general has run classes and provided promotion opportunities for employees who have scored well in Irish competence exams, but the 'Irish-essential' element of such posts seems more token maintenance of the language's relevance, than serious planning for its use. However, there is an undoubted requirement for some staff to be proficient, even if the demand is largely generated from within the state organisation rather than coming from the general public - for example, formal motions for the Dail are usually in Irish, and all statutes are published completely in bilingual versions. Fasold (1984, p282) reported that

...officers in the state police force are required to demonstrate a knowledge of Irish when they are employed, but...only the police stationed in Irish-speaking areas ever use Irish. Ireland's small army trains its officers mostly in Irish, maintains a 175-man Irish-speaking company...Lawyers have to show competence in Irish before they are allowed to practice, but courts in English-speaking districts almost never conduct any business in Irish.

State funding provides Irish-essential posts in several other fields. Language organisations such as Bord na Gaeilge (language planning), Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (summer schools), Gael-Linn (general promotion), and Oireachtas na Gaeilge (cultural festivals), require their employees to be fluent. There are thousands of posts in education: all state primary and secondary schools have Irish on the curriculum, either as the teaching medium, or taught as a second language. At the tertiary level, most of the Irish-essential posts are associated with specialised Irish language courses, but one teacher-training college uses Irish as a medium of instruction, as does University College Galway for arts, science, and business studies. There is an extensive network of adult education classes in Irish. In the media, apart from the minimal Irish content of RTE radio and television broadcasting, Radio na Gaeltachta broadcasts in Irish for about 74 hours per week; recently, an all-Irish television station has been proposed (initially serving the Gaeltacht) and it is current policy to expand Irish-language programmes (Fishman *ibid.*, p140). It seems unlikely that publishing sustains more than a few Irish-essential jobs: the annual production is about 150 books, plus some journals.

The number of Irish-essential posts is likely, therefore, to be numbered in thousands. However, the use of Irish in the world of work, and most 'Irish-essential' jobs, are heavily dependent on state funding.

Irish at work, Irish in governmental services and Irish in the mass media are all efforts replete with tokenism...even where Irish is still (decreasingly) required for admission to university study or to government employment. (Fishman *ibid.*, p141)

(b) Basque (France)

There would appear to be evidence that Basque is the usual medium in the work domain for some of the population, and to that extent it may have a value in public relations or cohesion of the workforces. Haritschelhar (1988, p92) claimed that most of the rural businessmen use Basque with customers, also many workmen who, when working together "utilesent de préférence l'basque". He also remarked that most of the personnel in the banking sector were bascophones, though he omitted any specific reference to the use of the language in work.

There is no official use of the language in the public administration or the judicial system, French predominating in both (Killelea 1994, p20). There are some Basque-essential posts in education. According to Haritschelhar (op. cit., p100), there were, in 1985, 31 itinerant teacher posts serving state schools, and eight visiting private French-medium schools. In addition, there were 828 pupils in private Basque-medium schools, which probably entailed the employment of at least 45 teachers. The total number of teachers may well have increased since, as at that time Basque - as a teaching medium, a co-medium in bilingual classes, and as a subject - was attracting growing numbers of pupils. However, there is no Basque-medium teacher-training (Killelea, op. cit.), and hence no posts in that respect. In university education, Haritschelhar cited (op. cit.) five posts, distributed among Bordeaux, Bayonne, and Pau, along with some researchers. There are also some adult evening classes.

The most recent information indicates that there is little use of Basque in the media. The public television station provides one weekly 6 minute broadcast, and the public radio station 6 hours per week. There are a number

of private radio stations which broadcast all day in Basque. One daily and two weekly newspapers are published entirely in Basque, and Basque articles sometimes appear in local French-language publications. Very few Basque books are published in France; readers have easy access to BAC material (Killelea, op. cit.). This level of activity suggests that there may be, altogether, about 100 Basque-essential posts in the media.

There are theatre productions, cultural centres and an art centre, a museum and a library. The 'Centre Culturel du Pays Basques' coordinates most cultural activities and is funded by the state and by the regional governments: in 1988 it employed a Director and three 'animateurs'.

Though not employment in the usual sense, the priesthood does appear to have need of speakers: the catechism is taught in Basque, and most services are conducted in Basque and Latin, with only a few containing some French. Baptisms, marriages, funerals are conducted in Basque, except when the family requests otherwise (Haritschelhar 1988, pp92-93).

There appears to have been a growing consciousness of Basque language, culture and identity over the past twenty years, which even if not affecting the mass of the population, has created a climate in which language-based employment has increased. Haritschelhar presented a picture of small but significant advances in language promotion, noting that some job advertisements - "elles sont de plus en plus nombreuses" - were asking for applicants with a knowledge of Basque, and others were presented in the language itself. Overall, the evidence indicates that there might be between two and three hundred posts requiring a knowledge of Basque.

(c) Romansh (Romansch/Rumantsch/Rhaetian)

The use of Romansh in the world of work is almost entirely confined to the public sector; according to Grin (1993, p26), "Romansch has almost no visible presence in the world of commerce and business".

Gross (1991), reported that the total number of employment posts for which a knowledge of Romansh is judged to be essential has never been investigated, but provided information on the fields of work which have most need of Romansh-speakers. On the Swiss national level, the translation services of the Federal Office (Bundeskanzlei) has the greatest need of Romansh-speakers. Romansh as a Swiss national language has been used in Swiss federal publications only since the introduction of 'Rumantsch Grischun', a new standardised written form. At the cantonal government level, in the Canton of [^]Graübunden, Romansh is essential for certain employment in the cantonal translation service, the cantonal administration, and the legal tribunal, in each case for translations and the preparation of papers and documents.

In Romansh-speaking areas, there is employment for Romansh-speakers in a number of fields. The relevant employers include Romansh promotion organisations such as Lia Rumantscha; radio (40 minutes per day according to Arquint [1985, p235]) and television, research organisations, and, to some extent, local government, legal tribunals, the church, and the private sector of the economy, though no detailed information is available. The field of education appears to be particularly important, but mainly in the primary sector, where there are Romansh-medium teachers and inspectors; the secondary and 'vocational' schools have German-medium teaching, and Romansh is limited to 2-4 lessons per week. There is some remunerative work in the preparation of textbooks and

materials. Romansh-speaking staff teach the language and culture in the universities of Zurich, Fribourg, Geneva, Berne and St. Gallen.

There appears to be difficulty in finding Romansh-speaking recruits to fill posts for which Romansh is essential, principally a lack of teachers, and too few students of language and literature to fill research posts. There is a general migration of young Romansh-speakers to the German-speaking economic centres, and, in economic activity within the Graubünden canton, there is an increasing displacement of Romansh by German.

The extent of Romansh-related employment outlined by Gross suggests, bearing in mind the small size and dispersion of the Romansh-speech community, that Romansh-essential posts can only be numbered in hundreds, perhaps between 200 and 400.

(d) Basque (Spain)

In the BAC, the Act for the Normalisation of the Use of Basque (1982) laid down numerous provisions for the use of the language in administration, education and the media. An office for linguistic policy - the Secretariat of Language Policy - was created to coordinate and monitor all efforts to promote the language. Fishman (1991, p173) reported a widespread and growing view that a fair command of Basque is a worthwhile investment in 'employability'; he cited an unnamed 1986 study which found that 48 per cent of the BAC population regarded a knowledge of the language as very useful in finding work, while 66 per cent thought that those who know Basque have better jobs than those who do not: "it does seem that the total emphasis on "Basquisition" has spilled over, at least attitudinally, into the work sphere". On the other hand, according to Urdangarin (1993, p78), the recent

developments have barely affected the use of Basque in the work domain: "Basque is spoken in almost all walks of life except at work, where people revert to Spanish." However, with regard to employment, some posts are undoubtedly Basque-essential by virtue of their daily involvement in language use and promotion, and others have been designated as requiring competence.

For the BAC administration itself, the constitutional provisions protecting Spanish have been interpreted as not permitting the BAC authorities to institute extensive Basque-essential job requirements (Fishman 1991, p173). However, the language normalisation plan has instituted the concept of the 'language profile': an objective criterion of the level of knowledge of Basque necessary to carry out a specific job. There are four gradations of language profile, and the degree to which fulfilment of the profile is deemed obligatory is decided, by application of a formula, according to the social need for use of Basque in different circumstances. With certain exceptions (by reason of age, insufficient ability, physical or mental disability) incumbent civil servants whose job is assigned a language profile, but who lack the necessary language skills, are given the opportunity to train to meet the requirements by a set date, when they become obligatory. New and vacant posts with obligatory language profiles are filled by suitably competent recruits. In this way, by 1992 dates had been set for the 'obligatory language profile' status for 5,888 civil service posts (Agote and Askue 1992, pp 63-66). However, as these comprise only a third of the total, and the plan is only five years old, Spanish still predominates as the working language. Language Normalisation is planned as a gradual process, and more posts are designated for language profiles in the future.

All schools in the BAC teach Basque in one way or another, either as the main medium of instruction, the

co-medium of instruction, or ^{as} a subject. Pupils attending the ikastola schools, which are entirely Basque-medium, numbered 66,000 in 1986 (Fishman 1991, p168), which, at an average of twenty-five pupils per class, would require the employment of at least 2,640 teachers for this sector alone. It is possible to complete the teacher-training course entirely in Basque. At the university level, perhaps a third of all courses at the University of the BAC are now taught entirely or predominantly in Basque to small but increasing numbers of students; the limitations on this are the number of Basque-competent academics, not a lack of demand (ibid., p178). For teaching the language to adults, the BAC government has set up an organising institution, which also supports initiatives in this field by other institutions. Education would thus seem to provide thousands of Basque-essential posts.

A few radio stations broadcast partly in Basque, and one in Basque only (Killilea 1994, p20). There has been a Basque TV service since 1982 which has had a "tremendous impact" (ibid.) and has been "the true media success" (Fishman 1991, p174). This points to a professional operation requiring more than a few Basque-speakers. There is a well-established Basque weekly; Fishman (op. cit.) reported that the BAC government is planning to establish a daily and is currently sponsoring two experimental weeklies. Each of the four regional Castilian dailies of the region carries several pages of Basque each week, on average half a page per day; two of them devote also several pages to Basque on a given day of the week. There is a subsidised publishing industry which produces well over 20 all-Basque periodicals, including intellectually and professionally specialised journals, and about 700 books every year; this field is understood to be growing, in line with expanding literacy. There are even larger numbers of bilingual publications. The number of Basque-medium posts in the media can, therefore, be estimated in hundreds.

Many firms and agencies have instituted Basque courses for their employees (including younger executive officers) and have made the national EGA certificate of Basque competence a prerequisite for promotion and tenure of office (ibid., p173). Large employers are encouraged to introduce a Basque ethos to their operations, at least allowing Basque-speakers to carry out their functions in Basque and to use the language with the public when there is an opportunity to do so. However, language promotion has had least effect in upper management, finance, industry and commerce. In the commercial and industrial sector in general, the language has a lower profile, but whatever the extent of the language's use, Fishman's account suggests that there may be some Basque-essential jobs.

It can be fairly safely assumed, therefore, that in 1994 there are at least seven thousand Basque-essential posts, and a conservatively estimated upper limit might be ten thousand. If the Language Normalisation plans proceed on course, the number can be expected to rise, especially as linguistic requirements are made obligatory for more civil service posts.

(e) Welsh

Although there is geographical and sectorial variation, Welsh appears to be used fairly extensively in the world of work. An NOP survey in 1991 found 17 per cent of respondents (about 34 per cent of those in work) confirming that Welsh is 'always' used in their workplace, and a further 31 per cent cited its 'occasional' use (NOP Social and Political 1991, p39). On the other hand, research in 1993 found that among 'good' speakers of Welsh, "the percentage of working age using Welsh in the workplace is very low" (S4C 1993, p3). The sectors of employment with the highest proportions of

Welsh-speakers amongst the workforce are agriculture, energy, education and banking (Jones, 1992) but this presence does not always implicate language use, or employment on the basis of linguistic skills.

The Welsh Language Act of 1967 stated that the language should have 'equal validity' with English for use in government and administration. The language's presence in this sphere is one of the concerns of the Welsh Language Board - itself an employer of Welsh speakers - which was set up in 1988 to advise the Secretary of State for Wales on all matters related to Welsh. The Board's remit was extended by the terms of the Welsh Language Act 1993, acquiring the status of a statutory body: besides advice on the use of Welsh in public life (on a basis of equality), it can require a public body operating in Wales to prepare a scheme specifying the measures which it proposes to take in order to effect the conduct of their business in accordance with the principle of linguistic equality.

According to the Killilea Report (1994, p16), significant use of Welsh is made by both central and local government. Personal contact with the public can "in most cases" be in Welsh if desired, written communications in Welsh will receive a Welsh reply, and both central and local government produce bilingual forms and information, including public notices, advertisements and road signs. In the judicial system, court evidence may be given in Welsh. Although it is probable that a large number of such operations are aided by the opportunistic use of the Welsh-speaking ability of employees originally employed for other skills, there must be, nevertheless, a number of posts for which familiarity with the language is essential. This is illustrated by the circumstances in Gwynedd, described by Morris (1992, p140). Following Gwynedd County Council's decision, in 1974, to adopt a bilingual policy, there developed

..a significant demand for professional people to work through the medium of Welsh in a number of fields. Over the years, this group has grown considerably, and bilingual managers are now prominent, to a greater or lesser extent within a number of public bodies in Gwynedd...

It is likely, therefore, that Welsh-essential posts in local and central government administration can be numbered in hundreds, and the provisions of the Welsh Language Act 1993 are conducive to increase.

The Education Reform Act of 1988 stipulated that Welsh would in future be taught to all pupils in all Welsh schools, but as there is a shortage of Welsh-speaking teachers, the number employed in that capacity does not reflect the number of posts involved. There were in 1989 368 primary schools and 42 secondary schools which were either designated as bilingual schools or were regarded as 'natural' Welsh-speaking schools (Welsh Office, 1989). Taking the minimum number of Welsh-essential teaching posts as averaging six per primary school (one per year) and 10 per secondary school (about one per subject), this gives, by rough estimate, a total of 2628. There are, in addition, the posts for teachers of Welsh as a subject, which, because around 79 per cent of primaries and 82 per cent of secondaries are not Welsh-speaking (Welsh Office, 1990), must number a further 500 at least, assuming that some of the 1600 schools involved may use itinerants. Thus the total number of Welsh-essential posts in the school system must be at least 3100. Teacher-training is available in Welsh, and the five constituent colleges of the University of Wales offer Welsh-medium degree courses in Welsh language and literature. It is also possible to take degree courses in several arts subjects through Welsh, and so, with various research posts, it seems safe to reckon that there are probably at least 100 Welsh-essential posts in the tertiary sector. There is also an extensive network of adult education in Welsh.

The national radio service broadcasts about 100 hours of Welsh per week; a few local stations also carry programmes in Welsh. S4C broadcasts about 30 hours TV/week; the BBC are required to contribute 10 hours/week. There are about 50 small TV companies in Wales, most of them run by Welsh-speakers (Jones, 1991). There is one Welsh weekly newspaper and a number of weekly and monthly publications; in addition, English-language newspapers published in Wales often carry articles in Welsh.

There are many posts in cultural activity: in the Welsh Arts Council, which in turn supports work in theatre, music, and literature; in the organisation and operation of the National Eisteddfod; in the Welsh Books Council, and the publishers who produce about 400 Welsh books each year (Killilea 1994, p17).

With regard to the private sector, research has found that managers who speak Welsh are more likely to employ a workforce who speak Welsh (Menter a Busnes 1993a, p11). Another survey found that Welsh-speaking customers reacted very positively to being able to conduct business in Welsh, typical comments being that this was "pleasant", "natural" and "heart-lifting" (Menter a Busnes 1993b, p18). A majority confirmed that, in the course of business, they were definitely influenced by the use of Welsh, and most admitted that it was an important consideration for them when choosing an organisation with which to deal. Welsh thus has a perceptible economic value, especially as the presence of the language did not appear to arouse a counter-productive hostility amongst non-Welsh-speaking customers. These are circumstances in which some posts might be deemed Welsh-essential. Though the survey report did not mention any so designated, many businesses acknowledged that it was customers who most influenced their use of the language. A follow-up project aiming to promote the business use of Welsh reported that more

than half of the concerns approached were endeavouring to appoint bilingual staff. There was, however, a shortage of suitable bilingual candidates (ibid., pp31, 42).

The foregoing indicates that there are several thousand Welsh-essential posts, probably between four thousand and six thousand.

(f) Breton

The low level of use of Breton in the work domain facilitates the identification of the fields in which a knowledge of the language is essential. O hIfearnain (1994b) reported that such knowledge was an advantage in a very limited number of jobs:

Agricultural cooperatives, locally owned companies and even some local banks prefer to have Breton-speakers when they wish to sell to/buy from/ deal with local people. Only a very few jobs, such as in the administration of the Regional Park, require workers to know or to learn Breton....Most Breton-related jobs are in education, a few in 'cultural' tourism, local authority bilingual service, and a few in journalism/radio/TV. (ibid., responses 10014, 10015)

There is no legal requirement for civil servants to know the language, and very little concessionary use of it in public administration (Killilea 1994, p14).

Favereau (1991) estimated the total employment related to the Breton language at around 500. Of this, teaching, at all levels, accounts for 300 posts; language promotion, publishing, and maintaining a secretariat together provide around a 100 jobs, and the media perhaps 50. Roparz (1993, p76), however, estimated that there were (in the autumn of 1993) about 200 people working directly with the language, most of them teachers, in the Diwan schools.

Recruitment for such posts as are available has not been very difficult, if not immediate, according to Favereau, because there have been so few posts; education and training, especially that at university, seem able to satisfy the short and medium term needs of the present labour market. Favereau reported (1991) that the University of Rennes had 250 students specialising in Breton, and 150 taking it as an option; O hIfearnain (1994b, response 05063) recorded that about 300 students study Breton and/or Celtic Studies taught through Breton, including all specialist students and those taking the language as an option.

(g) Faroese

Hagström (1984, p173) describes Faroese as "the language of the local administration, the church, the primary school, the newspapers and the radio". There is a thriving publishing industry, with its associated work of authorship and translation. Moreover, as "almost everybody is in some way or other involved in the fishing industry directly or indirectly" (SK Hotel Promotion 1991, p32), this concentration of interest ensures that there is ample opportunity for use of Faroese, the first language of over 90 per cent of the inhabitants, in the work domain.

Yet it^{is} still hard to identify a high proportion of the employment as being considered Faroese-essential: firstly, because, as for major languages in their homelands, ability in Faroese is taken for granted, and secondly, because the universal bilingualism means that all but a comparatively small proportion of jobs could be carried on with a knowledge of Danish, which is ubiquitous in the work domain anyway. Sandøy (1992, p67) noted that although Faroese products are usually marketed within the Faroes through Faroese, there are few

indigenous companies, and business with Danish organisations, which provide most of the available commodities, necessitates the use of Danish. There are, apparently, many workplaces where Danish is only used in contacts with outsiders, and it could be supposed that the introduction of a Danish monoglot employee might impede working practices unless the rest of the workforce remembered to use Danish at all times; it is possible that such an imposition might have a detrimental effect on staff morale. It could be argued, therefore, that a new employee's proficiency in Faroese would be an economic advantage to such an organisation, or, more specifically, that it would avoid a possible economic disadvantage. However, this economic aspect of linguistic proficiency does not seem to arise, presumably because Faroese-speakers are in such an overwhelming majority that a problem is rarely encountered.

The relatively small number of posts in which knowledge of Faroese is absolutely essential would appear to be in education, the media, and the church. Elsewhere, Faroese is used widely and naturally in work as the native language, perhaps in some instances by deliberate choice, yet not out of necessity as the only means of communication. These circumstances are unusual in the scope of the present study, and while it is felt unwise to hazard even a rough estimate of the number of Faroese-essential jobs, the case is unique and can provide useful material for comparison, without the number of jobs being of particular importance.

Overall, Faroese's position in the work domain approximates to that of a majority language, but is somewhat more fragile, because of the universal bilingualism and the economic and political power behind Danish. The comparatively few posts which are plainly Faroese-essential, and the strength of the Faroese-essential aspect in the rest of the job market ultimately

depend on the public will to insist on the use of the language. Thus, despite the apparent 'majority language' status, the situation is not so very much different to those involving languages which are more clearly of a minority stature, but Faroese is aided by the relative isolation of the homeland, the high concentration of speakers, the lack of any stigma attached to using the language, and the Islands' semi-autonomous political status, through which it is supported.

(h) Sorbian

There has been a dearth of reliable and relevant statistics concerning Sorbian as, on one hand, there was a difference between declared and actual support of minorities in the former GDR, while on the other hand, many of the old structures no longer exist, and new ones have not been functioning for long, if at all. With these reservations, and emphasis on the uneven distribution of the Sorb population, Elle (1991) provided some approximate estimates of the number and type of Sorbian-essential posts.

According to the treaty which established German unity, most of the legal regulations regarding the Sorbian policy of the former GDR are to remain in force until new ones are established by the provincial legislature. The existing regulations require that public employers should, in principle, employ a number of bilingual individuals according to the percentage of Sorbian-speakers in the population. However, there are no binding norms nor posts specifically designated for bilingual employees, nor regulations to ensure that, in the case of several applicants with equal qualifications, Sorbian-speakers would get preference. Employees who are registered as bilingual are not required to declare

themselves as bilingual when dealing with the public and they do not receive a bonus in their pay.

Sorbian has had a low profile in the world of work, perhaps because the domain was, in the GDR, organised and regulated through German. According to Schuster-Sewc (1987, p44), Sorbian was not used at all in large-scale industrial production and only to a limited extent in "socialist" agriculture; Stone (1994) confirmed this with respect to industry, but reckoned that only in agriculture in the Roman Catholic, Upper Sorbian, areas could Sorbian be found in use in the work domain to any noticeable extent. No professional or technical terms have been developed from Sorbian roots; instead, Sorbian calques of existing German terms are used, promulgated by the Sorbian press. German words are also borrowed directly, a practice which Schuster-Sewc presented (op. cit., p45) as a linguistic development policy:

Now a liberal attitude is adopted also to direct German loan words which are accepted mostly wherever they help improve the communicative value of the language and enrich it.

All this, however, points to the lack of any serious planning on the part of the authorities to include Sorbian in the work domain. In the private sector, Elle reckoned the need for Sorbian-speakers to be very small, though it is fair to say that the sector itself is small. Only in isolated cases do employers take Sorbian-speakers into consideration, through measures such as bilingual signs.

Most Sorbian-speakers become bilingual at an early age (at the latest, in primary school - from ages 5-6), and due to the dominance of the German language in all contexts outside the family, Elle (1991) reckoned that a knowledge of Sorbian is only essential for certain posts in education, journalism, broadcasting, acting, and

editing, as well as for a few public offices and jobs with specifically Sorbian institutions and organisations.

In primary and secondary school education, there were reckoned to be between 325 and 340 posts in 1991 (ibid.). In about 50 schools, Sorbian is taught as a subject for 2 lessons a week; the teaching medium is German. For these classes, it is considered essential for the teachers of Sorbian to know Sorbian, but they are not required to be native speakers. In about 6 Sorbian primary schools or secondary schools, Sorbian is the teaching medium (except for the sciences); German is taught as a second native language. In these schools, all teachers are expected to be proficient in Sorbian, though in practice this is not always the case. In addition to these schools, there is a small Sorbian college for Social Studies with about 15 staff, predominantly Sorbian-speakers.

There were about 50-55 posts in academic institutions. Apart from the Sorbian Institute there is a Department of Sorbian Studies at the University of Leipzig (where Sorbian teachers are trained) and the 'House of Sorbian Folk Culture' conducts research on Sorbian and regional folklore. In these institutions knowledge of Sorbian is required as obligatory (even for most of the technical staff).

In the media and publishing, Elle (op. cit.) estimated that there were between 70 and 75 jobs. There is a daily newspaper in Upper Sorbian, and a weekly newspaper in Lower Sorbian, though Stone (1994) reported their sales as falling. There is a monthly periodical for cultural matters, one for children, one for teachers, and two on religion. Stone reported the current radio output to be two hours daily, and Sorbian TV has been introduced to the extent of a half-hour broadcast once a month in Lower Sorbian. Two publishing houses produce Sorbian material:

one in Bautzen (their products include school textbooks), and one in Berlin. The 'capital' of the Upper Sorbian area, Bautzen, has a Sorbian bookshop.

Cultural institutions carried 85-95 Sorbian-essential posts. The institutions included the Sorbian National Company, a Sorbian museum and ^{the} 'House of Sorbian Folk Culture' which supports non-professional artists who work in the field of Sorbian tradition, presents exhibitions and maintains an information centre. This last institution employs only Sorbian-speakers.

Political organisations provided 20-25 jobs: of the political groups operating in the regions with a Sorbian population, only the central organisation of Sorbian societies, 'Domiwina', has full-time employees. They are required to be proficient in Sorbian. In the political parties there are some Sorbian functionaries and members of parliament. It was not known if these organisations had any employment regulations about Sorbian-speakers but their existence was felt to be unlikely.

Administrative bodies were thought to have between 15 and 20 posts. In some regional local administration and council offices there are in some districts and communities certain areas of employment for which Sorbian-speakers are preferred, as well as some posts in local government. This is, however, not governed by binding rules.

In total there may be about 600 posts for which a knowledge of Sorbian is essential. According to Elle (op. cit.), under the principles of GDR administration with regard to personnel, and the continuance of that policy thereafter, there has been no difficulty in filling the relevant posts. Most of the Sorbian-speaking employees learned the language at home and in school, but there are also two special language schools for adults. They were

supported in the GDR by maintained wage payments for participants; they still exist today, though it is, apparently, very difficult to find participants for the courses.

(i) Sami (Norway)

Little specific information is available about the position of Sami in the work domain, but cautious deductions can be made from the few general descriptions of the language's condition which have been published in English.

All accounts present the Sami language and culture as having been, until recently, most evident in the remoter areas, where there are greater concentrations of speakers. In such circumstances, where the Sami have opportunities to work together - especially in the main traditional occupation of reindeer herding - the language is used in work. "It is the nomadic reindeer herders and the semi-nomadic River People, hunters and fishermen, who have kept their language and culture alive...." (Jilek-Aall 1989, p176). However, as Eidheim (1969) noted, in places where there is a substantial proportion of Norwegians amongst the local populace, the Sami tend to restrict the use of their language to the home, and to the relatively few other occasions when no Norwegians are present. According to Jilek-Aall (op.cit., p176):

...some of the Sami have settled, learning agriculture and husbandry from the Scandanavians with whom they intermarried....Few of them still speak the Sami language or know their ancient culture.

Nesheim (1981, p5) recorded the influence of Norwegian work practices on traditional Sami society:

The intimate contact with modern society has also drawn the Lapps into a money-oriented and competitive pattern of life which forges closer links between the Lapps and their Norwegian occupational or commercial partners but

at the same time weakens their bonds with Lapps from other occupational groups....The Lapp language and culture are best preserved among the Mountain Lapps. But, among them too, modern impulses and business modes help to weaken both traditions and the feeling of solidarity with other Lapp groups.

In general, then, the working role of Sami is diminishing along with the traditional occupations, while the language has yet to achieve any significant presence across the range of occupations afforded by Norwegian society. Although a knowledge of the language is undoubtedly important in traditional work, the latter has a very limited and declining economic significance. Such Sami-essential posts as there are within the mainstream economy appear to be more indicative of the language's future role within the work domain.

Recent years have seen, according to accounts, a few Sami-related developments, and the nature of these suggests the existence of a small number of Sami-essential posts. Under a 1990 Act of Parliament, in the two northernmost regions, Troms and Finnmark, the Sami language was given equal rights with Norwegian in a number of fields, one of which is education. There, Sami-medium education is, in theory, available by right throughout the nine years of 'elementary' school education (Simonsen 1991, p3), though the provision of this in any particular locality has to be ratified by the local authority. Outside Troms and Finnmark, Sami-medium education may be available if classes of at least three pupils can be registered. Given the size of the Sami population, and the reported circumstances of the 'language rights' being implemented by sanction of the local authorities, it must be presumed that Sami-medium education is not widespread, and that the number of teachers involved is small. However, Sami-language teachers are also employed: Norwegian-speaking children in the Sami-language area must take Sami as a subject. There are two Sami-medium secondary schools; tertiary

instruction in Sami is provided at the Universities of Oslo and Tromsø, and there is a Sami teachers' training college. The scale of these operations suggests that there may be about a hundred Sami-essential posts in education.

In theory, the obligations of the Troms and Finnmark regional and local authorities to give Sami replies to Sami enquiries, to translate laws and regulations and to make announcements in Sami when the subject matter is a Sami concern, necessitates the employment of competent and literate speakers. There are, however, certain reservations (ibid.,) particularly in local authority operations, which may mean that such employment is minimal. Similarly, although there are rights to use Sami in the law courts, in dealings with the police, the health and social services, and also in church worship, it cannot be supposed that many Sami-essential posts are involved, as the concession of the 'right' to use the language is rather less than the provision of a fully bilingual service. Some of the 'rights' appear to be circumscribed possibilities rather than actualities: for example, within the local bureaucracy, there is a 'right' for employees to receive leave to study Sami, should the office decide that it needs Sami-speakers.

There is little provision for Sami in the media. According to Kruse (1992), there are, on average, about two Sami television programmes per week, but in many the Sami content consists of subtitles. On radio, there are five minutes of news, daily, broadcast across Norway, while in the North there are more frequent and detailed newsrounds.

A small number of posts are implied by the existence of the Sami Language Board,^{and} a modern Sami Museum financed by the Norwegian Culture Council. There is also a Sami Parliament, funded by the Norwegian government, which

will entail certain employment. A small number of books and periodicals are published.

Overall, therefore, it can be speculated that there may be about two hundred posts for which a knowledge of Sami is essential.

(j) Galician

The traditional linguistic dichotomy follows class and occupational lines: farmers and fishermen speaking Galician, with Castilian being used by politicians and administrators, maintaining the practice of the incoming Castilian aristocracy. This distinction has been followed with other, new types of work: Castilian still predominates at the upper levels. Vazquez (1993a, p84) noted that in the private sector workers use Galician with each another, but Castilian when dealing with secretaries, executives and management personnel. Some changes appear to have been encouraged in the public sector with the passing of the Linguistic Normalisation Act of 1983. According to Killilea (1994, p24):

...it is possible for members of the public to use the language in their dealings with the administration. Public officials must have a knowledge of Galician. Administrative and legislative documents are published in both official languages. It is possible to use the language in court. Most representatives in the regional parliament use Galego [Galician] during their interventions. The internal language of the public administration is Galego for oral usage....Generally, public signs are in the two languages.

However, 'language normalisation' has not been pursued to the extent of planning the implementation of 'language profiles' for various public offices, as in the Basque Autonomous Community, and the outline given by Killilea describes not so much a vigorous promotion of the use of Galician, as its official acceptance if people choose to use it. Castilian maintains its place because it has

higher status, because almost everyone is bilingual, and because discrimination against its use is illegal. As Galician literacy is low, almost all official correspondence is in Castilian, and though Killilea stated that public officials "must" have "a knowledge" of Galician, other authors do not testify to the extent of the obligation or the required competence, nor how far they apply across all ranks and departments. Though Killilea reports that is 'possible' to use Galician in the courts, Vazquez cites this (op. cit.) as one of several areas which remain unresolved, and which, in respect to Galician, are subject to improvement or deterioration according to the degree of public support.

There are, however, posts within the civil service for which proficiency in Galician is undoubtedly essential. Apart from those where incumbents prepare the Galician versions of the administrative and legal documents, there is a department - the *Politica Linguistica* - which has been established to put into practice the Linguistic Normalisation Act. The work includes sponsoring the creation of modern standard Galician vocabularies, and producing school materials - both for teaching Galician as a subject, and for teaching other subjects through the medium of Galician. This department employs 30 people, and works in partnership with the University's Department of Linguistics (Pedersen 1989, pp4-5).

The Linguistic Normalisation Act states that Galician is the official language of all educational institutions. There are only a few Galician-essential posts in tertiary education, mostly in Galician language and literature and adult tuition, but a great many in the primary and secondary sectors. The teaching of Galician is obligatory in all schools throughout Galicia; prospective entrants to primary or secondary teaching have to pass an exam in Galician, and are trained to teach the language as a subject, as well as to use it as a teaching medium;

language courses are arranged for existing teachers (Killilea, op. cit.). However, the directives pertaining to Galician-medium teaching - one subject in primary schools, two subjects in secondary schools - are not fully complied with, as the Galician Parliament's statute was nullified by the central government in Madrid. Accordingly, as Pedersen noted (op. cit., p6), the use of Galician as a teaching medium is "...a matter of choice for individual teachers.....varies a great deal from school to school and teacher to teacher." According to Siguan (1992, p225) and Killilea (op. cit.) respectively, 67 per cent of primary schools and 30 per cent of secondary schools are following the proposed practices. Overall, it is clear that the school teachers employed specifically to use their competence in Galician must be numbered in thousands, even apart from those who have been required to show proficiency for entrance to the profession.

There appear to be several hundred Galician-essential jobs in the media. Pedersen (op.cit., p6) reported that in 1989 the publicly-funded Galician television service employed about 500 workers; since then a private TV channel has also been set up. There is a 24-hour public radio station which broadcasts entirely in Galician, while some other stations broadcast in the language for a few hours each day. Pedersen also reported the emergence of a small Galician film industry. There is a weekly all-Galician newspaper, employing 10 people (ibid.), and, according to Killilea (1994, p25), there are "quite a number" of other periodicals in the language. Some Castilian newspapers include a small amount of Galician. Five hundred Galician books were published in 1990, indicative of a small but thriving industry.

Together with posts in the field of language promotion - in the Galician Language Board, in cultural centres, libraries, and the publicly-funded theatre company, the

evidence suggests that the number of Galician-essential jobs is unlikely to be less than four thousand, and may be as high as ten thousand.

(k) Frisian

Frisian is not greatly valued in the work domain: Khleif (1982, p192) felt that Frisian has "restricted monetary or economic value." There is employment for which a knowledge of the language is essential, but no research has been carried out on the number and type of the posts involved (van Langevelde, 1993). In view of the large number of Frisian-speakers, the language's ubiquity, and information available on its use (Gorter et al 1984, reported by Van der Plank 1987, p15, found that 87 per cent of Frisian-speakers use the language at work), it seems fair to suppose that there are probably many jobs in which the use of Frisian may contribute to good working practices or good relationships with customers; Van der Plank (1987, p14) noted that some Frisians have greater competence in their own language than in Dutch. However, Dutch is established as the main language in the world of work, and is certainly the preferred language for seeking new custom: Sytsema (1993, p81) reported that only one per cent of commercial advertisements were in Frisian (compared to 30 per cent of personal advertisements) and that Frisian-speaking entrepreneurs had opposed the erecting of Frisian placename road signs, because of possible difficulties with transport and communications.

The predominance of Dutch has been consolidated in the last two decades. Van der Plank (1987) noted that, during the 1960s and 1970s, the service sector had expanded to more than a third of the total employment, with many posts in public administration, education, health care

and service oriented professions. Citing his 1980 research with Gorter et al (1984), he observed:

Since for many of these functions too few qualified persons were available in Friesland, the job market was opened to an inrush of allochthons. (Van der Plank 1987, p10)

This has led, he reckoned, to an ethnic division of labour:

At higher levels, it is primarily those from outside of Friesland who apply for jobs and who compete successfully with Frisians. Jobs at lower levels are left to the autochthons. This is a result of the fact that high-level positions are offered on the Dutch national labour market, while lower-level positions are only offered on the Frisian regional labour market.....preference [for non-Frisians] can indeed be assumed to exist for managerial personnel in civil service agencies controlled by the national government as well as in all other institutions controlled by allochthons. In general, opportunities for allochthons are greatest in the third and fourth sectors: higher education, civil service, social services, and health care.....the position of the autochthons is much stronger in the more traditional sectors: agriculture, trades, and industry. (ibid., p13)

As the autochthons are mostly Frisian-speakers, the foregoing suggests that agriculture, the trades, and industry might offer more opportunities for use of Frisian, but knowledge of the language does not obligate its use. Boelens (1987, p26) reckoned that Frisian "plays practically no role at all in trade and industry, particularly where written communication is concerned." He explained:

The spoken language depends on the work situation. In shops and service-oriented businesses it is quite normal that a Frisian-speaking client is understood and, if possible, spoken to in Frisian. This also applies to government institutions such as post offices and national services, such as the Dutch AA...

In 1980, Gorter et al sought to find out which language was used in a number of commonly-occurring contacts, and found from interviews with first-language Frisian-speakers (who, in total, comprise most of the population) that most had, within the preceding year, used Frisian in

speaking to a bank employee, a shopkeeper, a bus driver, a post office counter employee, a civil servant, a policeman, a salesman, a librarian, a teacher, a nurse, a waiter, a mayor, a doctor, and a clergyman (reported by Van der Plank 1987, pp15-16). Between 20 and 40 per cent of second-language Frisian-speakers also used Frisian in such contacts. In one service, a knowledge of Frisian is acknowledged as at least desirable: according to Falkena (1993), police officers from other parts of the Netherlands who want to work in Friesland are sent on Frisian language crash courses. However, there was no indication that any particular level of speaking competence has to be attained. On the other hand, Dutch is utterly dominant in the Christian ministry; in 1987 there were only 20 Frisian church services, and few clergymen, apparently, "dare" to conduct such services (Boelens 1987, p24).

In general, then, apart from an apparently small number of specialised posts, the use of Frisian in the work domain appears to comprise spoken communication in the course of agricultural work and in over-the-counter contact with services.

Of the posts identifiable as Frisian-essential, most are in education. Khlíf (1982, p193) noted that around 510 primary schools were teaching Frisian as a subject, and some were using it as a teaching medium; it can safely be inferred that there around 500 Frisian-essential primary posts, along with a small number in teacher-training. There are few secondary teaching posts: according to Boelens (1987, p17), only 5 per cent of all secondary pupils take Frisian as a subject. (This does not necessarily reflect demand; shortage of funds for secondary education has led to a regulation that a Frisian class cannot be established in any school year, unless 20 pupils sign up for it.) In 1982 the Frisian Department of the Centre for Educational Advice in

Friesland employed 8 people (Van der Ley 1982, p144), while outside Friesland, speakers are required for the university courses in Frisian in Amsterdam, Groningen, Leiden and Utrecht (Friesland itself has no university). Academic research on Frisian engages 'nearly 40' employees (Boelens 1987, p24) at the Fryske Academy.

There are several dozen posts in the media. Omrop Fryslan, the Frisian public broadcasting authority, employs 35 people (Omrop Fryslan 1993, p8), mostly on the radio service. There are plans (Falkena, 1993) to expand the television service from 50 minutes, weekly, to an hour and a half; although no new staff would be taken on by the authority, it would create "at least 14 new jobs for people outside the existing Omrop Fryslan...". This represents an expansion in the force of Frisian-speaking free-lancers, which already contributes to nearly all existing radio and television programmes. The two daily papers published in Friesland regularly print articles in Frisian, but the description of this given by Boelens (1987, p26) suggests that for each paper the work involved may not require more than two employees literate in Frisian. With one notable exception - agricultural journals - other periodicals contain little Frisian. A small number of Frisian books are published each year; Boelens (1982, p48) gave the annual numbers as 10-15 poetry, 10-15 prose fiction, 30-35 non-fiction and 50 for children. With small publishing runs and much of the selling carried out in a door-to-door fashion by volunteers, there is no indication that Frisian-language authorship and publishing can support more than a few livelihoods.

Overall, the evidence suggests that there may be between 600 and 700 posts for which Frisian is essential, a rather small number for a speech-community of several hundred thousand, and perhaps reflecting the rather low

level of grass-roots activity on behalf of the language (Fishman 1991, pp179,181).

Summary and analysis

Table 29 summarises the information and deductions concerning the estimated numbers of posts for which proficiency in the languages is reckoned to be essential.

Table 29. Minority language job markets

LANGUAGE	ESTIMATED SIZE OF FUNCTIONAL SPEECH COMMUNITY	ESTIMATED NUMBER OF POSTS FOR WHICH PROFICIENCY IN THE LANGUAGE IS ESSENTIAL
Faroese	40,000	No estimate*
Basque (Spain)	over 500,000	Probably 7000 +
Welsh	over 500,000	Probably 4000 - 6000
Galician	over 3,000,000	4000 - 6000
Frisian (Neth.)	about 400,000	Probably 600 - 700
Irish	under 250,000	1000s
Sorbian	possibly 50,000	About 600
Breton	under 250,000	200 - 500
Basque (France)	under 100,000	200 - 300
Romansh	under 40,000	200 - 400
Sami	under 30,000	About 200

* No estimate for Faroese - 'majority language' status, universal use and assumption of proficiency obscure the extent of obligatory use in work.

Survey of the role of the languages in the work domain showed that there were two main types of circumstance which had a bearing on the assessment of the number of posts.

First, in the cases of Faroese, Basque in Spain, Welsh, Frisian, and Galician, the percentage of speakers in the population is so large, and the use of the language is so widespread, that the use of the languages in the work domain is not uncommon. Apart from posts which are specifically language-oriented, an assessment of the number of language-associated jobs has to acknowledge the existence of others in which the use of the language might be a key factor, possibly unrecognised, in economic performance. To give two examples, a group of employees may have good working relationships with each other, because of a common linguistic and cultural background, and, in some circumstances, traders conducting business through the minority language may attract more custom than outsiders using the major language. Proficiency in the language in such circumstances may well be desirable or essential, although the applicability of such a description may not be as obvious as in work where the language is the raison d'être of the organisation. In short, use of the languages concerned may be an integral part of more jobs than can be recognised. The case of Faroese is an extreme example, in which the language's effective majority status means that few jobs need special recognition as Faroese-essential, yet it is the natural and main means of communication in most forms of work.

Second, there are the cases of Gaelic, Romansh, Sami, Breton, Basque in France, and Sorbian, where the language has a low profile and its restricted presence in the work domain allows comparatively easy assessment of the number of jobs in which proficiency which may ^{be} important. There may well be other work in which a knowledge of the language may be useful at times, but with much lesser frequency than occurs for speakers of the first group of languages, as the major language is much more dominant.

Irish appears to fall into an intermediate category, for in its case there is a widespread familiarity with the language combined with minimal use, and a relatively high profile in public life, but a restricted presence in the work domain. Though the number of Irish-essential posts may be reckoned in thousands, as in the cases of Welsh, Galician, and Basque in Spain, in relation to these others there is little natural use of the language in work, other than in the recognised Irish-essential posts.

Overall, most of the posts appear to be in the fields of education, the media, language promotion and the arts, and sometimes in public administration. Of the other fields in which minority languages are used, and may have unrecognised economic value, agriculture and fisheries are prominent. In most cases, there is a reported lack of use of the minority language in commerce and industry. The private sector of the homeland economies is dominated by the relevant major languages.

7. Summary of comparison; conclusions

Table 30 relates the assessed condition of the various languages to the estimated numbers of posts. The languages are separated into groups, according to the number of functions their condition may allow them to fulfil. The number of Gaelic posts is shown as 450+, on the assumption that extra funding available since 1991, especially for Gaelic television, has expanded the Gaelic job market from the 446 posts found in the 1990 survey reported in Chapter 2. Recent research suggests that this is so, although the number of posts specifically designated as Gaelic-essential was not verified (Sproull 1993, pp13-24). (Sproull's findings are discussed in more detail in Chapter 6.)

In general, more posts were found for the languages which were reckoned to be in healthier condition: most of those which seemed adequate for one or two of the functions were associated with thousands of posts, while for those apparently inadequate for any function, the posts were estimated in hundreds.

The special circumstances of Faroese have been explained in section 1(c) of this chapter: it is not a true minority language, and this is reflected in the difficulty of assessing necessary use of the language in the work domain, on the same basis as the others. Nevertheless, its unique position provides useful points for comparison.

There is an indication in Group 2 - taking the examples of Basque in Spain, Welsh and Galician - that a larger speech community and a strong link between nationalist sentiment and the language are together conducive to the creation and maintenance of thousands of posts. In each of these cases there is a large number of posts in education, though for Galician they are not organised into a Galician-medium education service. With Frisian, the educational provision is even less adequate, which may partly help to explain why it is the exception in this group, with only 600-700 posts. As noted above (section 5, summary and analysis), despite the apparent fulfilment of the 'Nationalist' function's attributes, there seems to be a lack of a vital element of nationalist enthusiasm supporting the language, a lack manifested in a low demand for better educational provision. Thus the reason for the small number of posts, despite the large speech community and fulfilment of the 'Nationalist' function, can be explained by the lack of posts in precisely that area where nationalist support is reported as deficient.

In Group 3, Irish also has thousands of posts, though it is doubted that it has a speech-community comparable in size to the languages in Group 2, and it does not seem to be capable of fulfilling the 'Nationalist' function. The number of speakers found by census (1,095,830) is not translated into a commensurate weight of active, popular pressure on behalf of the language, but may be important, as a figure, in compelling the state to finance policies and institutions which will at least maintain the number of declared speakers at its present level. This in turn maintains Irish-essential posts. Of all the languages examined here, only Irish is supported by an independent state as its premier language, and this offsets the low level of active support amongst the population. Full political autonomy has allowed the establishment and maintenance of many more language-oriented posts, perhaps, than even a well-disposed regional government would have been able to achieve for a language in similar circumstances. Without this dedicated assistance, it seems probable that the number of posts would be closer to that found for Gaelic.

In the fourth group, the numbers of posts appear to be little different from that for Gaelic, which, but for the recent provision of Gaelic-medium primary schooling, would have ranked alongside them. These languages have 100,000 or fewer speakers (with the possible exception of Breton), standardisation below SSLG level (with the exception of Basque in France), and lack significant support from nationalist sentiments. Breton, whether it has around half a million speakers as is sometimes claimed, or even a fifth of that, has proportionately few Breton-essential posts, reflecting the very low level of support and recognition accorded by the French authorities.

Table 30. Language condition and numbers of posts

LANGUAGE	FUNCTION				NUMBER OF LANGUAGE -ESSENTIAL POSTS
	OFFIC.	NAT.	EDUC.	WIDER COMMUN.	
Group 1 -					
Faroese	+	+	+	-	No estimate
Group 2 -					
Basque (Spain)	-	+	+	-	Probably 7000+
Welsh	-	+	+	-	Probably 4000 - 6000
Galician	-	+	-	+	4000 - 10000
Frisian (Neth.)	-	+	-	+	Probably 600 - 700
Group 3 -					
Irish	-	-	+	-	1000s
Gaelic	-	-	+	-	450+
Group 4 -					
Sorbian	-	-	-	-	About 600
Breton	-	-	-	-	200 - 500
Basque (France)	-	-	-	-	200 - 300
Romansh	-	-	-	-	200 - 400
Sami	-	-	-	-	About 200

In surveying the sociolinguistic conditions, higher absolute numbers of posts seem to coincide with larger speech-communities (by minority language standards), a degree of political autonomy, at least regional, for the homeland, a strong association of nationalist sentiment with the language, an educational provision encompassing, at least, a primary school curriculum in the language, and standardisation of the language to SSLG level. It may be that the last four of these conditions are merely corollaries of the first: greater numbers of speakers providing the political pressure and justification for the public policies which, through the local legislature,

establish most of the language-essential work (most posts are in the public sector). But proportionately, the larger speech-communities are not much better off than the smaller ones. For Welsh, Basque in Spain, and Galician, the numbers of posts for every speaker are, respectively and approximately, 50, 72, and 300, while Sorbian, Romansh, and Basque in France have one post for (approximately) every 83, 120, and 300 speakers. Moreover the types of post and fields of work seem similarly restricted; the larger speech communities do not appear to have a wider diversity. What can be mooted is that greater absolute numbers of posts represent a larger government investment, more institutions, a wider network, and a greater possibility of influencing and extending the use of the language in the work domain, particularly when, as is the case with the larger speech communities, there is a fairly widespread but unacknowledged use of the language in work already.

The exercise in comparison has shown that the condition of Gaelic is not worse than that of comparable European languages with a similar size of speech community, in terms of its use in the work domain, and, more specifically, in terms of the number and type of posts for which proficiency is essential. Other minority languages appear to have similar difficulties in maintaining a presence in the world of work, though the larger speech-communities may be able to exercise more political leverage. The restricted opportunities for use of the languages, and the speech-communities' lack of resources, have meant that only the stronger have been able to take initiatives to expand the use of their languages in work. Such schemes are being undertaken on behalf of Galician, Basque in Spain, and with particular emphasis on the private sector, Welsh. The example of Faroese indicates that even with all the other sociolinguistic characteristics of a majority language, a

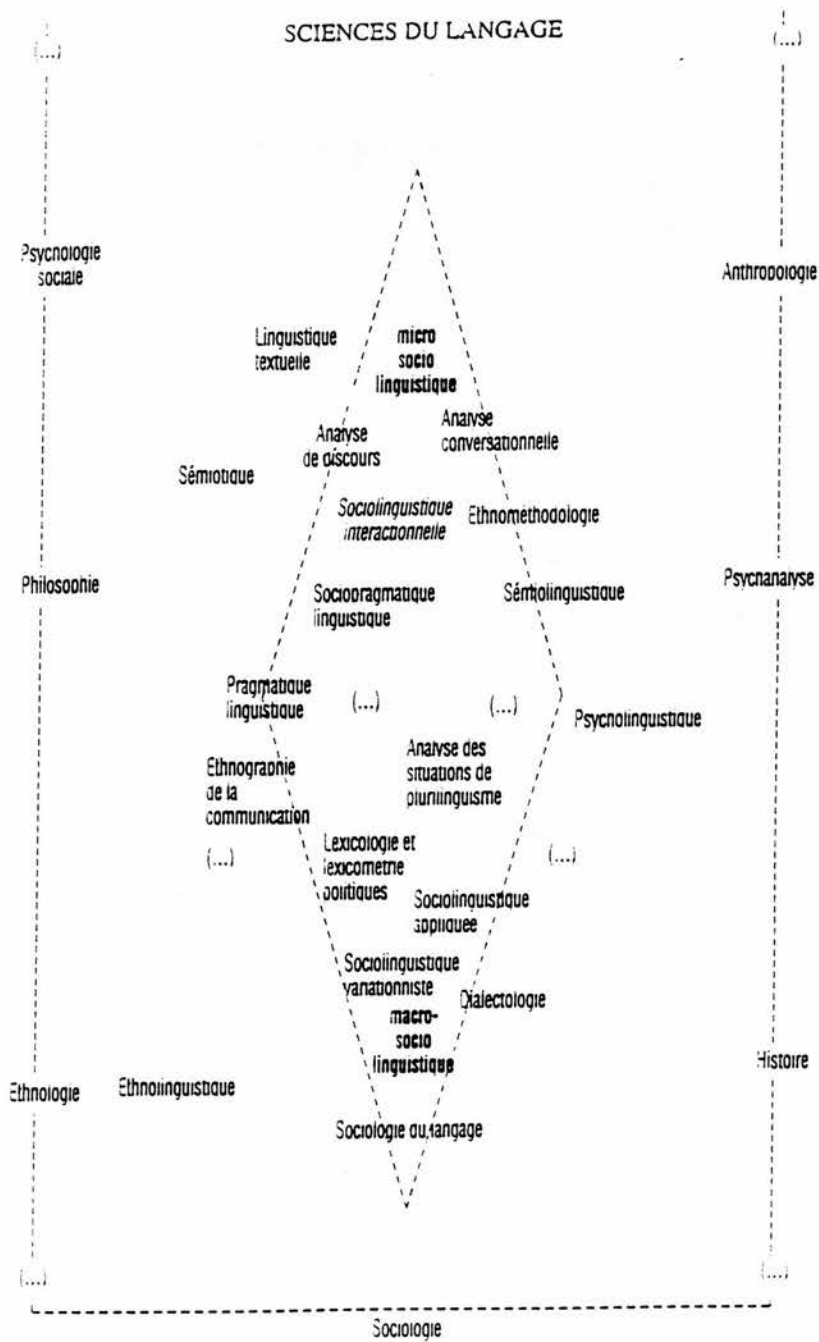
language with a small demographic base has to co-exist in the work domain with one representing a stronger economy.

CHAPTER 4: REVIEW OF RELEVANT SOCIOLINGUISTIC THEORY

1. Sociolinguistics: scope and philosophy

The term 'sociolinguistics' covers a broad field of study which emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Hudson 1980, p1); Fishman (1992, pvii) reckoned that American sociolinguistics was 'born' in 1964. A corollary of the subject's youth and breadth is that there is not yet general agreement on its scope and definition; as the term implies, it encompasses aspects of both sociology and linguistics, and research has been approached from both sides. Consequently there have been different emphases: Hudson (op. cit. pp4-5) gave his view of sociolinguistics as "the study of language in relation to society" in contrast to 'the sociology of language', which he defined as "the study of society in relation to language". However, he acknowledged a very large area of overlap. Boyer (1991) united the aspects within his review of "sociolinguistique", but presented them as poles of emphasis within the field, with studies inclined towards micro-sociolinguistics (a greater emphasis on the mechanics of language) or macro-sociolinguistics (a greater emphasis on sociology). His schematic presentation (Figure 1) indicates the proximity, as is generally appreciated, of other fields, such as social psychology, philosophy, ethnology, anthropology, psychoanalysis, and history.

Figure 1. The scope of sociolinguistics (Boyer. 1991)



**Les domaines de la sociolinguistique
au sein des sciences du langage**

Source: Boyer 1991, p9

The present state of sociolinguistics (including the sociology of language) has been criticised by Williams (1992), who held that the philosophical roots of its theories lie in a specific perspective on society derived from eighteenth- and nineteenth-century social theory, a perspective which is consensual in nature and which

....leads to the mistaken belief that language reflects society....a view which is not far removed from the 'common sense' social philosophy of American society. (publisher's preface)

This approach is viewed as 'structural' in that it identifies certain stable points of reference, namely social norms, which mediate social interactions and roles. Williams described the social system thus envisaged as "despite its internal diversity,...conceived as an integrated whole", and noted the association of this integration with ideas of social equilibrium, absence of conflict, and a view of society "as an evolutionary entity which was constantly striving for perfection in line with the idea of evolution as striving for perfection" (ibid., p228). Within this frame of thought, "...conformity, consensus and cohesion are integral aspects of the perfect society and there is no room for conflict and disruption." According to Williams, the effect of this on the way in which minority languages and minority language groups are studied is to cast them as backward and deviant, in contrast to the 'mainstream' norms and the forces of 'progress'. Whether sociolinguists are "naïve or politically motivated" (ibid., p240), their approach concurs with attitudes which accord new ways of life a halo for being 'of the present', while denigrating persisting established ways as being 'survivals from the past', even though both exist at the same time. Thus, the tone of discussions about language decline and 'language death' tends to confirm the accepted wisdom that these are corollaries of natural progress, of the new and modern replacing the old

and traditional, rather than the manifestation of struggles between language groups (ibid., p234).

At its epistemological level, Williams's argument has merit: considerations of minority languages have often been focused on demographic and socio-economic data indicating weakness, using terminology which might be deemed to favour the purposes of hostile researchers, while placing those sympathetic on the defensive. Williams's preferred approach to sociology, through 'ethnomethodology', leads him to question the value of such data:

For the ethnomethodologist knowledge is socially constituted and this, in turn, raises questions for the epistemological nature of sociology as a scientific endeavour which is superior to everyday knowledge. (ibid., p149)

Williams thus has cause to object to work which he sees as using an inappropriate methodology to validate a pejorative view of minority languages.

However, it is difficult to foresee circumstances in which the 'structuralist', or what Williams perceives as a 'natural science' approach to sociolinguistics will disappear, for questions about where, when, how and by whom minority languages are used are unsuppressable, and it can be safely assumed that there will be researchers willing to investigate them and a certain section of the public - as well as public bodies - willing to take an interest in the results. If data and discussion emanating from the structuralist approach seem prejudicial to the treatment of minority languages, minority language groups will still have to cope with them, but to dismiss the offending evidence because it comes from the 'wrong perspective' - without offering any more concrete counter - may appear as obfuscation and evasion. Williams himself acknowledges (ibid., pp240-241):

It is not that I would wish to argue that such a [structuralist] perspective somehow fails to correspond

to some form of truth or reality, but that there should be an awareness of the limitations of the perspective assumed.

The last is fair comment if it means that evidence from the structuralist approach should be tempered with caution and consideration of the conflicts of interest involved. If however, as Williams seems to suggest, sociolinguistics should advance as an epistemological discourse "rather [than] in terms of the cumulative knowledge associated with scientific experimentation" (ibid., p225), this appears likely to be fruitless in terms of assessing the present and possible future condition of minority languages. Such a discourse can be pursued ad infinitum as an intellectual exchange of opinion, while the use of many of the languages dwindles towards extinction, irrespective of the angle from which the process is viewed. Ultimately, public policy and personal attitudes to minority languages are influenced by hard data, and if this has emerged from a 'natural science' approach, then rather than attempt to negate the method as a product of out-of-fashion sociology, it would be better to examine the evidence on the grounds that investigations of social phenomena cannot achieve the standards of scientific design and verification found in the natural sciences, and that comment on the underlying ethical and political issues is always appropriate.

Thus, Williams's preferred perspectives of theoretical Marxism and French Discourse Analysis are tangential to the present study. The 'natural science' approach can be trusted so long as conclusions are drawn which are no more sweeping than could be used in the consideration of small-scale societal problem-solving which Popper (1966) called 'piece-meal social engineering':

The only course open to the social sciences is to forget all about the verbal fireworks and to tackle the practical problems of our time with the help of the theoretical methods which are fundamentally the same in all sciences. I mean the methods of trial and error, of inventing hypotheses which can be practically tested,

and of submitting them to practical tests.....Practice is not the enemy of theoretical knowledge but the most valuable incentive to it. Though a certain amount of aloofness may be becoming to the scientist, there are many examples to show that it is not always important for a scientist to be thus disinterested. But it is important for him to remain in touch with reality, with practice, for those who overlook it have to pay the price by lapsing into scholasticism. (vol.ii, p222)

The discussions which follow conform to Hudson's, Boyer's, and Trudgill's (1983, pp32-33) concept of the 'sociology of language', whether this is regarded as part of sociolinguistics or a separate subject. A high proportion of the studies conducted in this field have been concerned with minority languages, evidently engendered (according to the issues raised) by interest in the social, political and educational implications of the use or disuse of such languages. At the outset, it seems necessary to acknowledge that complete objectivity in the study of minority languages is probably impossible to maintain. Much of the research and authorship stems from interest generated by the actors' personal involvement with such languages, as native speakers or supporters. While it does not follow that findings would be falsified and arguments consciously slanted, the understanding and experience gained by being a member of, or closely attached to, a minority language group, could sometimes be reflected in the direction of research, the choice and treatment of subject matter, and the combination of observation with recommendations for action. On the other hand, it may be an unlikely field of study to engage in without some such prior personal involvement, and those who lack such understanding and experience may not be capable of an impartial or informed approach either, as pointed by Fishman (1983a, p280): "...shared identity may carry with it huge amounts of detailed knowledge that can never be equalled or acquired by outsiders". There are also those opposed to the persistence of minority languages; these include even

native speakers, or first generation non-speakers, of such languages, who develop a particular antipathy towards the language concerned and its like, or towards movements supporting them (Price 1984, p122; Smith 1968, p65). A further possible qualification of judgements expressed from a majority language viewpoint was given by Edwards (1979, p48): "The major point with regard to language is that any deficit view is saturated with a middle-class bias."

The fate of minority languages is an emotive issue, involving questions of personal identity, cultural loyalty, and politics. The following sections cover a number of areas in which published views on language issues may have been borne of experience of, and affiliation to, majority or minority communities and, perhaps, related political standpoints. The topics will be addressed with intended objectivity, but it is acknowledged that the considerations presented here are approached from a position of prior involvement with a minority language.

2. Language use: high and low registers, 'patterned evasion'

High and low registers

Ferguson, in 1959, introduced the concept of diglossia to describe the circumstances where two varieties of a language exist side by side, one having a role as the 'high' (H) speech form, which is more formal, and the other as the low (L), less formal variety. Fishman (1971, pp286-299) expanded this to include what Ferguson had excluded: different languages as well as different dialects. Fishman was careful to distinguish diglossia, which refers to the distribution of two language varieties among different communicational tasks, from bilingualism, which concerns the ability of individuals to use two language varieties. Fishman's summary of the interactions of diglossia and bilingualism is shown in Table 31:

Table 31: Interactions of bilingualism and diglossia

		DIGLOSSIA	
		+	-
BILINGUALISM	+	1 Both diglossia and bilingualism	2 Bilingualism without diglossia
	-	3 Diglossia without bilingualism	4 Neither diglossia nor bilingualism

Four theoretical circumstances are postulated. To have both bilingualism and diglossia, almost everyone in a speech community would know the H and L varieties, and H and L would be used in particular domains: Fishman cites the example of Paraguay, where the indigenous Guarani is L, and Spanish is H. Diglossia without bilingualism is found where there are two groups, one ruling and speaking H, and the other powerless and speaking L. Examples of

this would be African and Asian colonies of European powers where there was one local L. Bilingualism without diglossia occurs where there are large numbers of bilingual individuals, but there is no effective H and L - either language variety is used in almost any circumstance. Fishman described this as extremely unstable; it occurs when there has been diglossia, but it has broken down - particular functions are no longer reserved for H or L. The eventual outcome would be either a new language variety combining H and L, if they are structurally similar, or the replacement of one by the other - most likely L by H - if they are structurally dissimilar. There are numerous examples of the latter; Verdoodt (1972, pp 382-385) cites the progress shift from German to French, through bilingualism, in the German-speaking area of Belgium. The fourth theoretical possibility - where there is neither bilingualism nor diglossia - suggests a monolingual, completely egalitarian speech community, which is hard to discover in reality.

Williams (1992) objected to Ferguson's and Fishman's concepts on the grounds that they limited analysis of language contact. He reckoned that, starting with the 'high' and 'low' terminology, the concepts promulgated a certain accepted view of minority languages: the diglossia/bilingualism varieties are presented as stages in an inevitable, evolutionary process towards monolingualism, based on an assumption of the succession of 'traditional' ways of life by 'modern' ways.

They both express an evolutionary continuum which depends upon highly questionable assumptions about the nature of modernity, tradition and progress. Within this expression about the nature and direction of social change there is a highly conservative orientation which is embedded in the various concepts. This has the consequence of marginalising the minority languages while also making it virtually impossible to express the anger and frustration experienced by members of minority language groups confronted by the process of language shift. The main reason for this is that the perspective

adopted by most writers on this issue is inherently consensual in nature and plays down conflict while ignoring power. (Williams 1992, p122)

However, Williams may have read more into Ferguson's and Fishman's concepts than was warranted. Whether or not the concepts restrict thought on language situations depends on the extent to which they are regarded as definitive and universally applicable classifications, rather than simple, theoretical, tools of description, approximating to real-life situations, each of which has its own peculiarities. The 'high' and 'low' terminology may not be neutral in tone, but its meaning is clear and, contrary to the charge that power is ignored, fits observable circumstances where one language is favoured or used exclusively by the more powerful members of a state or nation, and another is associated with the less powerful or powerless. Moreover, it is quite possible to acknowledge the existence of circumstances outlined by Fishman's bilingualism/diglossia varieties, while attempting explanations by means of Williams's favoured models of power and conflict.

In the Gaelic context, before knowledge of English was widespread, the linguistic circumstances of the Gaels were closest to the third position above - diglossia without bilingualism. Nowadays, all Gaelic-speakers (with the exception of some small children) are bilingual, and the language is used in varying diglossic circumstances. However, they live alongside monoglot English-speakers, the concentration of whom in the local population determines the extent to which bilingualism and diglossia operate.

In the traditionally Gaelic-speaking areas, where there are still high concentrations of speakers, there were, within living memory, Gaelic monolinguals, and many others who used English only when they had to. There were particular domains in which Gaelic dominated as L - for

example, croft work, church worship, and social life - and others in which English dominated as H, such as contacts with official authority. This still holds to some extent, but the diglossia has, in Fishman's description, 'leaked'. The use of English has penetrated the traditional areas to such a degree that the 'Gaelic' domains are less Gaelic-dominated. Whereas English was formerly reserved for strangers, it is now used more often between acquaintances and within families. Gaelic is used between individuals acting on the knowledge of each other's ability in the language and propensity to use it. At the same time, there is a greater likelihood nowadays, with the establishment of Comhairle nan Eilean and a greater awareness of the language dimension, especially in education and the media, that Gaelic will be heard in the sort of official environment which formerly induced an automatic switch to English. MacKinnon noted such a change (1977, p153); he found that in certain situations - conversation at public entertainment, in a bank, with a policeman, an inspector, a local councillor or a workman calling at the door - younger people were more likely to use only Gaelic to a greater extent than their elders. Again, though, it will tend to be used if the communicants recognise each other as Gaelic-speakers.

In areas which are not traditionally Gaelic-speaking, or where the concentration of Gaelic speakers is now very low, the position of English in Gaelic-speakers lives is much enhanced, and there are few occasions when Gaelic-speakers might find an opportunity to use Gaelic in domains which are conventionally English-dominated. Consequently, the use of Gaelic tends to be restricted to social encounters and specifically Gaelic occasions. Although the Gaelic-speakers still operate in a bilingual, diglossic world, for the local population as a whole the situation is effectively that of English monolingualism with diglossia at the dialectal level.

Throughout the Gaelic world's 'leaky' diglossia runs a readiness on the part of the communicants to switch to English for concepts and modern terms for which they do not have a ready Gaelic equivalent, so that although H and L have been infiltrating each other's former domains, the penetration of H has been more pervasive. The prognosis for this, according to Fishman, would be the eventual replacement of Gaelic with English, and in the particular society concerned this would be, for the most part, L-level dialectal English. However, the recent high profile of Gaelic, and the increased emphasis on the value of Gaelic culture, seems to have led to an increase in the language's prestige among the more influential members of society. The socio-economic profile of those declaring themselves to be Gaelic-speakers has a higher percentage in the AB category than the Scottish population as a whole (MacKinnon 1990, p2), and with regard to the Western Isles,

...higher education is associated with higher Gaelic literacy and attitude levels as well as with usage and maintenance levels. (Mackinnon 1994a, p126)

The predominance of well-educated or trained people amongst Gaelic activists, and parents of children in Gaelic-medium education, is a matter of occasional comment, and sometimes criticism. Moves to establish, and then extend Gaelic-medium education at Back Primary School in Lewis, produced some division in the local community, with claims that the proposals constituted elitism. For those older Gaels who saw fluency in English, at the expense of Gaelic, as their children's hope of advancement, or for English-speakers of lower social status, the concept of Gaelic-medium education may be perplexing and its existence a luxury. Examples of suspicion were recorded during the period of research for this study: "Nach spaideil a tha sinn" commented an elderly relative of Gaelic-medium pupils in Lewis; an incomer to Skye, a Scot without Gaelic, declared that he

would not send his children to the local Gaelic-medium unit because it was full of "English, middle-class" children. While the economic power of English is too great to allow this development to lead to a reversal of the former H and L positions (in which Gaelic would become the language of power and English that of the proletariat), increased prestige and use of Gaelic amongst decision-makers, at whatever level and in whatever capacity, can only serve to nurture the language and maintain a degree of bilingualism in the population. Mackinnon (op. cit., p126) concluded:

The return of more highly educated professional people can only strengthen local Gaelic usage levels, coupled with the continued integrity of the crofting community. Policy-making needs actively to bear these factors in mind.

'Patterned evasion'

The failure of much of the population of Eire to make active use of their knowledge of Irish, despite the language's official status, has been well documented (MacNamara, 1971; CCP 1988, p24; O Riagáin and O Gliasáin 1994, pp11-17). Streib (1974, p83) has ascribed this to 'patterned evasion', a form of social behaviour originally described by Williams (1970, p420) as

...regularised evasion (or violation) of utopian and heroic standards or of norms expected to control actual behavior....we observe a basically favorable orientation to restore Irish, but on the other hand there is an almost complete failure of national business and political leaders to use the language in daily speech, even by those people who were fluent in its use at one time....All societies have alternatives and flexibilities in their normative systems in order to meet the realities of social life. The nature of the norm system, the variability by sub-groups and by sub-cultures which may be present, and the demands of everyday experience result in judgements and evaluations culminating in discrepancies between ideals and practice. Societies develop patterned evasions, or institutionalised modes of behaviour to affirm the norm yet permit an acceptance of the deviation.

Streib (op. cit.) gives several reasons for this: the persisting association of Irish with backwardness, poverty, and a slow-moving peasant culture; very few economic opportunities to continue to study or use Irish after school; diminished public motivation following political independence; almost complete absence of Irish in religious life; lack of doggedness in the 'national character'; a general recognition of the advantages of English as a means of communication, induced by frequent contact with England and the United States. He concluded that despite low public motivation to restore Irish, the language is acknowledged to be the source of cultural, spiritual, patriotic and emotional benefits. Because of the language's symbolic significance, the nation's leaders maintain existing language policies, thus avoiding "conflict and discord" about the restoration of Irish, while pragmatically utilising the benefits of communicating in English (ibid., pp85-89).

Given certain similarities of circumstance and the comparability of the language situations noted in Chapter 3, it is relevant to consider the extent to which this concept is applicable to the underuse of Gaelic in Scotland. Aspects of the behaviour are observable, but the absence of a commonly-understood political and ethical consensus on the language question means that there is not, except in very particular circumstances, a norm from which people might be perceived to deviate.

Across Scotland as a whole, Gaelic is too unfamiliar and unconsidered for its disuse to be termed evasion. Much the same can be said for the Highlands and Inner Hebrides, for, despite the area's Gaelic heritage, a usable knowledge of the language is the exception rather than the rule amongst the population, except in a few localities. Only the Western Isles, as a discrete geographical and political entity, populated for the most

part by Gaelic-speakers, has circumstances in which habitual evasion of the use of Gaelic might obtain.

The Irish model can be broken down into two components. There is a burden of expectation on the public, derived from legislation and official support for Irish, and the public's own belief that the language is important, that 'Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish-speaking people' (O Riagáin and O Gliasáin 1994, p19). The other component is the failure of the public's behaviour to match the expectation. Neither of these appears to be generally applicable to the Western Isles.

The Western Isles does have, in the regional bilingual policy of Comhairle nan Eilean, the only governmental policy in Scotland concerned with the general use of Gaelic (Comhairle nan Eilean, 1986). However, although the policy recommends and encourages the use of Gaelic, by nature of the financial and legislative strictures on local government it falls far short of a provision for Gaelic comparable to that for Irish in Eire, and so its capacity to promote changes in language use is limited. While there is evidence that the population of the Western Isles acknowledges the Gaelic nature of the islands' culture (Gillies 1988, p40; Sproull 1993, p83), their inclination to speak either Gaelic or English seems, for the most part, borne of ability, habit, and context. Thus, according to MacKinnon (1977, p172), writing about Harris:

In terms of who meets whom, and for what purpose who uses which language, Gaelic may be seen as the principal language of face-to-face relationships, the principal language of moralising, and, in a large measure, of communalising. English, however, takes over for politicising and commercialising.

Use of the language is, therefore, not so much evaded as in Eire, as (in general) compartmentalised. There is a widespread practice of bilingualism; there is not, as in Eire, a large proportion of the population which

acknowledges that it ought to speak the language, but which nevertheless uses English all the time. It is fair to say that in the Western Isles, in general, people with a knowledge of the language can use it frequently if they wish, while those who don't (though could) generally feel no guilt, and those who can't use it have ample opportunity to learn to do so.

There is however, one area of Western Isles life where the model of patterned evasion could, conceivably, fit: within the operations of the regional authority itself. Comhairle nan Eilean's Bilingual Policy states:

The most important short-term objective for staff who are bilingual is that they use Gaelic wherever appropriate for communication with one another, both in speech and in writing. (Comhairle nan Eilean 1986, p2)

If this recommendation were not pursued, the circumstances would fit Williams's "regularised evasion...of norms expected to control actual behavior", comprising "...discrepancies between ideals and practice". In the survey of the Gaelic job market described in Chapter 2, there were, according to responses received for the various departments of Comhairle nan Eilean, 419 employees who had Gaelic, but were not employed in posts reckoned to be Gaelic-desirable or Gaelic-essential posts. On the question of how many of these 'could make greater use of their Gaelic', the responses produced a total of only 48 employees, distributed amongst seven departments. Yet on the ways in which greater use could be made of Gaelic in the Comhairle's work, there were comments that there should be "extended readiness to use the language....particularly when writing"; that more Gaelic could be used "anns a h-uile dreuchd"; that "the diversity [of work in which more Gaelic could be used] is so vast"; that "all" employees with Gaelic could use it

more; that it could be made "a more natural means of communication in the workplace". One further comment, on the use of Gaelic in public life in general, noted that there seemed to be "a considerable diffidence in the use of the language. Native speakers are frequently reluctant to use the language with a beginner".

In essence, this amounted to a voluntary acknowledgement by nearly half of the respondents (who, if they were the intended recipients of the questionnaire, were in senior positions) that Gaelic was underused in the Comhairle's work. This seemed to be an impression of general underuse, rather than an underuse which could be identified in many specific kinds of work or cited against many employees, as shown by the low number of personnel whom, it was reckoned, could make greater use of their Gaelic. As many of the bilingual employees have to deal with English-speaking monoglots, both inside and outside the council, there may be many occasions where bilinguals find it easier to speak English most of the time, even amongst fellow bilinguals, rather than expend energy on the conscious vigilance which might be involved in reverting to Gaelic at every opportunity. As one respondent commented, with regard to his department's work: "Cha ghabhainn gnothaich ri poileasaidh na Comhairle ach gu pearsanta chan eil mi 'creidsinn gun gabh an obair a dheanamh troimh mheadhon na Gàidhlig air sgath 's gu bheil earrainn mhòr nach bruidhinn a' Ghàidhlig". It does seem possible, therefore, that some patterned evasion of the recommendations of the bilingual policy takes place. Only one of the reasons advanced by Streib for patterned evasion in Eire seems applicable in this instance: a general recognition of the advantages of English as a means of communication, induced by frequent contact with English-speakers. To balance a conclusion which would appear to impute blame to Gaelic-speaking Comhairle employees for not adhering to recommendations, it is fair

to acknowledge that the policy places an inequitable burden on them to maintain Gaelic usage, switching codes to accommodate non-speakers among the staff, while the latter, although apparently encouraged to learn the language (op. cit., p3), are not obliged to do so. That this results in a sub-optimal usage of Gaelic, even where a majority of staff in both manual and non-manual categories are fluent (Nic Gille Mhoire 1986, p6), illustrates the difficulty of maintaining Gaelic in circumstances where knowledge of it is not deemed essential.

3. Language Careers

(a) Language shift, language decline, language death

The consideration of these three phenomena within one section may appear to imply that the extinction of a language is the inevitable final event in a process commencing with language shift. That is not always the case, although it does appear to have been the course followed in a number of instances. However, there are many examples of languages which have remained extant after the reduction of their speech-community through language shift; some have even regained lost ground. The concept of a 'dead language' also requires examination, as the term is sometimes used loosely and imprecisely.

Language shift

Edwards (1984, 1985) treated as comparable the process of language shift evident amongst immigrant communities in majority-language countries, and that found in minority communities living in ancestral homelands which are now encroached by majority-language use. In this study, the linguistic circumstances are judged to differ (a point conceded in passing by Edwards (1984, p283): "...I am aware that contexts differ...", also (p302):

If we compare the linguistic facility of European children with that of their North American counterparts, we are observing the effects of quite different social realities, and not of different school treatments.

In parting from their geographical and historical roots, emigrants have physically distanced themselves from the environment and traditions which nurtured their native language: all expect a new life, and are ready to adapt. Full use of the native language has only been retained over several generations in the few cases where entire communities have been able to transplant themselves to a new country and live in virtual isolation; thus, for

example, the Pennsylvania Dutch (properly Deutsch), and the Gaels of Nova Scotia. Members of a minority community on its native ground are more likely than emigrants to follow, or retain a knowledge of, the lifestyles for which their language has an appropriate vocabulary, embracing technical terms, specialised description, practices and customs, placenames, and reminiscences. It is language shift in this latter context which will be considered here.

As noted by Fasold (1984, pp216), societal bilingualism is the basic condition conducive to language shift; the shift is effected mostly by the failure of bilinguals to pass on one of the languages to their children, rather than by bilinguals switching completely in the course of their own lives. The implications of bilingualism in a minority language community are well recognised; "When a language surrenders itself to foreign idiom, and when all its speakers become bilingual, the penalty is death" (O Rahilly 1972, p121). However, bilingualism does not induce language shift by itself; some societies have been bilingual for centuries. Fasold's review of a number of studies found that migration (both inward and outward), industrialisation and other economic changes, linguistic pressure in education and other official processes, urbanisation, greater prestige of one language, and a smaller population of speakers of the language shifted from, were frequently mentioned as causes of shift.

Taking a broader view, Fishman (1991, pp57-65) summarised all perceptible causes of shift under the headings of 'Physical and Demographic Dislocation', 'Social Dislocation' and 'Cultural Dislocation'. The first ensues from famine, natural catastrophes, warfare, genocide, enforced migration and anything else which would result in diminution in the size of a speech community,

...particularly if it becomes a historical constant such that successive generations come to take it for granted

and come to prepare for their own role in its further continuation. (ibid., p57)

Social dislocation results from the social disadvantage of minority groups, incurred by political powerlessness, poverty, and lower levels of education, which tends to induce upward social mobility into the advantaged majority language communities. Cultural dislocation proceeds from the measures taken by the majority-language communities against the culture and language of the minority groups, ranging from deliberate proscription and persecution, to the insouciant appropriation of minority groups' natural resources and the imposition of, in Fishman's words, "dependency interaction" which erodes psychological independence (ibid., p62).

All three types of 'dislocation', as described, have impinged on the Gaelic community, at least once. However, it is not intended, here, to examine all historical instances of language shift from Gaelic to English; moreover, the given categories of dislocation contain areas of overlap which make it difficult to present a brief and clear picture in these terms. The importance of the economic factor in inducing language shift has already been briefly described (Chapter 1: 4); using evidence gathered in the Western Isles and in Skye, this section will outline the supplementary roles of sex differences, the mass media, social class, education, and migration, in recent diminution of the Gaelic community.

One notable aspect of language shift is the role played by women, and in the present context this is a theme which pervades the consideration of education, social class, and migration. There is an apparent propensity of female members of minority language communities - especially young females - to prefer to use the majority language. Thus there is a tendency for French to be preferred to Breton (Timm 1980, p36, Dressler and Wodak-Leodolter 1977, p40); German to Hungarian in south-

eastern Austria (Gal 1979, pp167-170); French to Occitan/Provençal (Média Pluriel Méditerranée 1993, p19; Schlieben-Lange (1977, pp104-105); German to Romansh (Edwards 1985, p189); Greek to Arvanite (Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977, p177), English to Gaelic in the Western Isles and Skye (Mackinnon 1977, p160; 1991, pp167-172). This has significant implications for the succeeding generation, for there are indications that preference for the majority language is likely to have a bearing on the language in which the offspring are raised. Reviewing the situation on Harris, MacKinnon (1991, p161) noted that:

The fact that the least loyal of all the age and sex categories towards the Gaelic language comprises the young women remaining on Harris does not auger well for the future prospects of Gaelic language maintenance. These are the mothers or mothers-to-be of the ensuing generation.

Research on women's attitudes towards, and use of, language, has tended to the view that they reflect a desire for status and upward social mobility, which in the case of minority language group members means joining the majority by speaking the majority language. This appears to influence more women than men. Gal (1979, p170) noted that young women, reared in a Hungarian-speaking rural community, opted for German:

...young women believe they have more to gain than men by embracing upward mobility in the form of nonagricultural employment. They voice this in discussions about their future plans and act on it in their choice of husbands. They do not want to be peasants and, whether they have peasant or nonpeasant social networks, they are equally adamant in their linguistic rejection of this status. As a result, language choices of young women contribute importantly to the increased use of German by the youngest generation.

Schlieben-Lange (1977) recorded that in the town of Bagnols-sur-Cèze, while men continued to use Provençal, women generally deny that they speak it, have ever learned it, or have even heard of it:

Apparently women are much more concerned about upward social mobility than are men, and speaking correct French is a condition and a symbol of the aspired status. (pp104-105)

Complementary evidence is provided by studies which indicate that monolingual women appear to favour the more standard or more prestigious speech forms of their language, as spoken by the middle and upper classes within their speech-community (Fischer 1958, Thorne and Henley 1975, both cited by Edwards 1979, p92; Trudgill 1972, p179; Elyan et al 1978, p131; Abu-Haidar, 1989; Holmes 1992, p231).

The reasons for this lie, apparently, in the greater linguistic insecurity of women...a greater degree of status-consciousness coupled with a greater lack of social definition...(Edwards 1979, p92)

Hughes (1992) has countered with evidence of women to whom this did not, apparently, apply; they lived in a deprived inner-city area and:

The use of 'prestigious' standard English has no merit nor relevance for these women, it cannot provide any social advantage to them or increase any life chances for them. (pp300-301)

It would be, perhaps, more accurate to suggest that preference for standard or prestigious forms occurs where there are social advantages or life chances to be gained.

In some situations, there may be clear advantages or chances encouraging bilinguals to shift to optimal use of the majority language (for example, avoidance of discrimination), but in other cases it may simply be the easiest thing to do to enhance social acceptance, in circumstances where monoglots refuse to learn a minority language perceived as old-fashioned and inadequate for 'modern' conversation. MacKinnon (1991, p172), referring to the low linguistic and cultural loyalty of young Gaelic women who had not left their home communities to pursue further or higher education, suggested that they

may hope to rise socially and marry 'upwards'. Perhaps this phrasing has stronger connotations of social climbing than is appropriate; in a rural setting the direction of such sentiment seems to be 'outwards', seeking to abandon the rural lifestyle with its perceived limitations, especially as far as women's roles and expectations are concerned (Gal, Holmes, op. cit.; Ennew pp79-81). Rather than there being a general move to seek out monolingual English-speakers as husbands, these young women of Gaelic-speaking stock are probably maintaining a habit of speaking English developed by contact with monoglots in their childhood social circle, reinforced by teenage peer-pressure, boredom and the impression that English-language culture provides all entertainment and excitement, and consolidated by habituation to the mass media.

The usual understanding of social class, based on socio-economic status, is not directly applicable to Gaelic communities, as there is a limited number of ways in which a living can be made, and little scope for career development and variety of lifestyle. However, there are indications that people in a particular occupational stratum may be less supportive of Gaelic than those in others. MacKinnon (1986, p55) found that people in skilled manual and non-manual categories scored lowest in terms of Gaelic fluency, language loyalty and cultural loyalty. Moreover, the women in this category were less loyal than the men, despite the percentage of fluent women being almost twice that of the fluent men. MacKinnon's data, in showing higher loyalty scores for the professional/managerial, semi-skilled manual, and unskilled manual categories, concurs with the findings of Harrison et al (1981, p62) for Welsh:

The social class in Wales which most strikingly does not rear bilingual children is social class three. This class, like the mothers of monolingual [English-speaking] children more generally, has a priority for getting on in the world.

At a certain level of career aspiration, there would appear to be an ordering of priorities which hinders intergenerational transmission of language.

Although the system of school education established in and after 1872 was, by neglect and sometimes proscription, geared to the replacement of Gaelic by English, children's use of Gaelic amongst themselves survived, in Gaelic-speaking areas, until comparatively recently. However, the effect of the system was, in the words of MacKinnon (1991, p82), to select the most able children and to process them

...away from Gaelic society into the core society of modern Britain...Gaelic society thus came to lose its intellectual and community-leading individuals...

A similar view was expressed in the report of a study of Western Isles school-leavers:

For a long period there has been an attitude in the Western Isles that to 'get on' you have to 'get out'....Academic qualifications were held in high esteem, and were inexorably linked with a move to the 'mainland'. Such qualifications often became a one-way ticket to other destinations: a passport to success. (WIEBP 1993, p3)

This also represents a linguistic impoverishment: "...higher education has associated with higher Gaelic literacy and attitude levels as well as with usage and maintenance levels" (MacKinnon 1994a, p126). There has been a steady extrusion of those most likely, apparently, to uphold linguistic and cultural traditions.

Moreover, most emigrants to the mainland are female (WIEBP 1993, p26). MacKinnon (1991, p171) noted that whereas young men might inherit a croft or a share in a boat or a small business,

The more able young women have to seek their prospects elsewhere, depressing the local balance of the sexes.....Young Gaelic-speaking men often have to seek elsewhere for a wife, who will typically not be Gaelic-speaking. Family and community life then turns over from Gaelic to English...

This process is helped by the lesser language-loyalty of the young women who do not leave, and by other immigrants without Gaelic who come to take up skilled, professional, or socially interactive work. MacKinnon (*ibid.*, p190) pointed out that when local shops and post offices are taken over by incomers without Gaelic, Gaels are compelled and conditioned to use English in these important communal meeting-places. Some incomers try to learn Gaelic, but few succeed. Meanwhile, whether initially drawn by higher education or work, young emigrants - who overall, as mentioned, show greater language loyalty - have tended to settle elsewhere, as their chances of employment in their chosen occupation in their home or other Gaelic-speaking areas are slim.

Analysis of census small area statistics indicated that only 27,813 of Scotland's 79,307 Gaelic-speakers lived in neighbourhoods in which Gaelic was spoken by a majority of the population: just over one in three or 34.9% of the total. (*ibid.*)

Most economic migrants from the most strongly Gaelic-speaking area, the Western Isles, would return there if employment were available (WIEBP 1993, p26). Ironically, in view of the depressed state of Gaelic amongst young women in areas where the language is still in common use, young women who have moved away for education or employment are often very active supporters of Gaelic playgroups and Gaelic-medium education in distinctly non-Gaelic communities (Mackinnon *op. cit.*, pp171-172). Some emigrants return; a remigration of women, with qualifications but without prospects of employment, has been reported (*ibid.*, p182), and it has been suggested that the presence of these returnees may well strengthen current initiatives undertaken on behalf of Gaelic (MacKinnon 1994, p126). However, another investigation (WIEBP 1993, p26) indicated that women currently living elsewhere are less likely than men to return.

Meanwhile, for those remaining in the Gaelic-speaking areas, there is another particularly influential and ubiquitous agent of language shift. In comparing life in the Gaelic-speaking areas today, with life there, or in formerly Gaelic-speaking areas, in the first half of this century, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Gaelic has lost its function in communal entertainment. It is no longer necessary to have Gaelic in order to participate in the local social life, on which the introduction of television appears to have had a great effect. Ennew (1980, pp84-86) reported that watching television had, since the provision of clear three-channel reception in 1976, become a common activity in many Western Isles homes, and it was a frequently-expressed opinion that television had stopped people providing their own entertainment. Cooper (1985, pp85,89) recorded the testimony of Western Isles natives on the effect of television on social life: "...you hear so much about the good ceilidhs they used to have but now there's nothing at all"; "TV has certainly spoiled all that [ceilidhs]. It tends to keep people in their homes a lot more". Later, Cooper concludes:

Although television has quelled conversation and the quality of social intercourse enshrined in the ceilidhs of the past it has not made island life materially easier...it transmits images from a society where shops and supermarkets are just round the corner and discount stores within the reach of all, to islanders who are hundreds of miles away from the source of these supplies. A crofter's wife on Scalpay might be tempted by some astonishing carpet offer in Aberdeen but getting there could cost her two days travel and twice her week's housekeeping. (ibid., p205)

Cooper associates the introduction of television, with programming which extolled urban values without providing anything attractive in Gaelic for children, with a language shift towards English in Berneray (ibid., p89):

When Roddie came to Berneray eighteen years ago all the children were Gaelic-speaking and in the playground nothing but Gaelic was spoken. Now of the fifteen children in the school only about five have parents who are both Gaelic speakers.

A contributing cause of this may well have been the new, unflattering view of themselves and their culture which islanders received:

Television is the first universally available medium for fictional entertainment [in the Western Isles]. Through news and documentary programmes, television also disseminates information and attitudes which include the Hebrides in a manufactured form of British national heritage....a reiteration of the view of the islands as backward, traditional and quaint. (Ennew 1980, p85)

These, then, constitute the factors inducing shift from Gaelic to English. Economic imbalance between rural and urban, Gaidhealtachd and Galldachd areas induces migration for jobs, particularly by women who have lesser prospects at home. This results in an imbalance of the sexes, leading to marriages with partners from outside the community, most of whom do not have Gaelic and are unlikely to learn to speak it fluently and habitually. The same applies to most other immigrants. Of the natives who remain in their home community, young females - about whom there is "...little perception of the possibility of a female role which is not tied to the domestic sphere" (Ennew, p79), and skilled workers aspiring to 'get on in the world', are apparently least loyal to Gaelic. Television nowadays introduces an insistent English-language presence to Gaelic homes, and on a daily basis confirms the impression that opportunities, better lifestyles, and 'the things which matter' lie outside the Gaelic sphere.

Language decline and death

Whereas language shift is viewed here as a behavioural change in a speech-community, which can be identified over a few generations, language decline concerns languages themselves, supposing them to have a 'career' through time, consisting of periods of greater or lesser use. Some early (17th-19th century) discussions of

decline portrayed languages as quasi-organic entities, having a finite lifespan (Edwards 1985, pp48-49), but languages have recovered from decline, and while studies have shown that there are certain symptoms indicative of impending extinction, this cannot be said to be inevitable. There is no intrinsic self-destroying 'death gene'; languages are extinguished by competition from other languages, and this depends on the interaction of the speech communities. Predictions of language 'death' thus assume that the political, economic and social circumstances which led to decline will continue to prevail; they may well do, but there is a capacity for human intervention in these matters which denies the notion that their course, and its linguistic consequences, are driven by a biological necessity.

Coulmas (1992, pp182-183) distinguished four levels on which the decline of a language is apparent: the speech community, communications domains, the speaker, and the language system, and their interaction, as explained, constitutes "a self-reinforcing process" of decay. Starting from the reducing size of the speech community, languages would tend to "retreat from the domain of primary socialisation"; the existence of unwritten languages would be especially vulnerable following this, whereas languages "with meaningful literary traditions" can live on in other domains. The loss of a language's dominance in communication requires its speakers, increasingly, to switch between it and the new dominant language, leading to "an increase of transfer and interference" in the language system, which may take the form of borrowed words, borrowed phonetic properties, and calquing. The resultant loss of linguistic distinction, along with the effort required to switch codes, and the decreasing opportunities for communicative use, encourages further reduction of the size of the speech-community.

The driving force of language decline, according to Coulmas, is lack of economic power, a growing economic dependency on the dominant speech-community, though there is "a subtle interaction between the socioeconomic potential, the communicative serviceability, and the systematic flexibility of a language" (ibid., p183). Ideological motives such as religion and nationalism may well be able to resist economic forces, "But wherever languages retreat or disappear, economic development is an important, often decisive factor". To this can be added the observation of Dorian (1981, p39), on a language's socioeconomic power base: "Who speaks the language is ultimately far more important than how many speak it".

The predictable outcome of continued decline is language death, though the precise meaning of the term is a matter of debate. At the academic level, there is disagreement over whether the term should apply to the passing of the last few speakers of a discrete language, (a view supported by Dennison 1977, p15) or to a complete language shift from a language within a particular community, whether or not there are other speakers of the language living elsewhere in the world (the interpretation used by Dorian 1978, p647). The term seems to be appropriate in both instances, though in the first the accent would appear to be on the language itself, while in the second it is on the linguistic behaviour of the local population. For the present discussion, the focus is on the former understanding.

Ultimately, a language is not truly dead until no one can use it for any purpose. There are known to have been languages of which little or nothing now remains but the name now given to them; presumably there have been thousands more, the existence of which has not even been recorded. In these terms the Pictish language (or languages) is dead, but Latin remains extant, because of

its use in scholarship; a written language is guaranteed perpetuation (Coulmas 1992, p209). However, Latin might be described as dead, because it is not used in everyday communication. By that criterion, all surviving minority languages are very much alive, and although some appear moribund, others have modern technical vocabularies, and are still developing in modern contexts such as writing and broadcasting, music and song. Death might be considered to have occurred when there are no mother-tongue speakers of the ancestral stock left alive, but this notion attaches more importance to genetic continuity than to language maintenance. It cannot be presumed, for example, that speakers reared in language heartlands, who are children of immigrants, are unable to pass on the authentic local speech to their own children, because of lack of local roots.

However, when there are no longer any speakers for whom it is their first language, this must represent some sort of hiatus in a language's career. Thus, although recordings of Manx speech exist, and it is possible to learn the language, the demise of the last mother-tongue speaker in 1974 was a break in the tradition of language transmission in the home environment, between adult and infant. It is theoretically possible, in circumstances where knowledge of a language is available, that the tradition could be revived and sustained, but in the meantime the language can be deemed functionally dead, because nowhere is it a primary means of interpersonal communication. This is not to deny that a population of speakers who learned the language as adults could maintain the language's use; as observed by Haugen (1987, p2): "There are no genes; there is only learning". Languages are always passed on by being learned, whether by children or adults, but when a language ceases to be learned as a first language, this would appear to be an indication of the demise of its social significance.

The long-term decline of Gaelic at all four of the levels proposed by Coulmas has been well documented. The size of the speech community has fallen, not only in proportion to the Scottish population as a whole - from "the majority" shortly before 1521 (Major 1521/1892, p50), to 1.3 per cent in 1991 (HMSO 1994, p25) - but also in absolute terms over the past century, from 254,415 in 1891 (Withers 1984, p210) to 65,978 in 1991 (HMSO 1994, p24). Especially over the past century, the intrusion of English has led to diminished use of the language in all domains, and at the level of the individual speaker, the tendency to switch to English for certain purposes has increased (MacKinnon 1977, p145). As for the language system,

English-based structural remodelling is a feature of the Gaelic language that has been operative as an agent of change for a very long time. It has without doubt been accelerating in the recent past. (MacAulay 1986, p121)

while the excessive borrowing of vocabulary, may lead on to a point

...at which the remaining Gaelic syntactic framework becomes 'odd' and hence liable to abandonment in favour of English...The market forces of linguistic choice may cause its speakers in time to abandon a language which ceases to have its own perspective on the world and becomes a mere Doppelgänger of another. (Gillies 1987, p35)

Against these long-term trends, some recent developments are noteworthy: confidence in the use of Gaelic, not apparent previously (ibid., p40), and the increased use of Gaelic in some sectors of the world of work (Chapter 2). The development of modern Gaelic terminology, and its promulgation through an expanded Gaelic presence in the media, may encourage some diminution in the use of English loanwords in Gaelic speech, and forestall the adoption of others, particularly among young speakers who may not have become accustomed to such use.

Of the eight features advanced by Haarmann (1979, p277-291, quoted by Larsen 1984, p217) as characteristic of complete linguistic assimilation, six are recognisable in the Gaelic context: a decline in the number of speakers, an overwhelming influence of the language of the mass media, a lack of schooling in the minority language, a high proportion of old people amongst the speakers, a lack of a linguistic identity (discussed in section 4 of this chapter) and a transition from bilingualism to monolingualism. The two features on which Gaelic can be scored positively are its status as a written language, and the absence of great dialect differences (or, at least, the decreased difficulty of coping with dialect differences, with better means of communication and increased opportunity to encounter them through broadcasting).

According to general theory, therefore, Gaelic has the appearance of a language in terminal decline, but between this condition and a state of complete extinction there remains some linguistic resilience. There does not appear to be an immediate danger of Gaelic dying, in the sense of it falling into complete disuse; neither does it seem likely that it will be confined to scholarship, given the widespread, popular appreciation of Gaelic song, and the language's established presence on maps, ^{being} used uncorruptedly for topographical features over approximately half of the entire Scottish land-mass. It is plain, however, that mother-tongue transmission has become rarer, and the continuation of this towards language death, in that sense, must be accounted a distinct possibility.

(b) Language Revival and Language Restoration

The term 'language revival' has been loosely applied to a number of situations where the use of an extant language is perceived to have increased, but, strictly speaking, 'revival' means resuscitation after death has occurred. In discussing 'Irish Revival Movements', O hAilín (1969 pp91-100) observed the ambiguity:

"The title of this lecture is in one sense self-contradictory. "No language has ever been revived," said Osborn Bergin, "and no language ever will be revived." He meant that no language that has ceased to be spoken has once more become a medium of social intercourse, and with the possible exception of Hebrew he was undoubtedly right. The Irish language, however, has never ceased to be spoken, has never died, and in its case the correct term is restoration rather than revival.

('Restoration' is presented here as the aim, not a state achieved.) Eastman (1983, p28) suggested that 'revival' included both restoration of a living language to its previous status and resuscitation of a dead language. Two considerations seem relevant in this context: the criterion by which a language is judged to be 'dead', and the measurement of revival or restoration - that is, an assessment of the condition of the language before and after it has taken place, and consideration of whether an improvement is of any significance for the language's future. This review chooses to consider revival and restoration as separate concepts, as proposed by O hAilín, and considers whether they have occurred and if so, what caused the occurrence.

The Bergin argument, as quoted by O hAilín, appears sound. There does not seem to be evidence of a language which has completely died out, in terms of common spoken use, being subsequently revived to its former level of popularity. O hAilín's proviso about Hebrew refers to its apparent resuscitation in the newly formed state of Israel, but as has been observed (Nahir 1977, pp110-112), there were special reasons for its success: the new

Israeli citizens arrived from all parts of the world, and a common language was needed. It is also the case that Hebrew, as the ancient Jewish language, had retained a psychological hold on Jews, and Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn (1971, p69) suggested that the language was never considered to be dead:

The languages spoken in the Diaspora were considered only as temporary expedients, that at some time the Jews would return to a Hebrew-speaking Zion.

The Hebrew 'revival' was always, therefore, a likely eventuality, when circumstances became favourable. Within the British Isles, a revival has been claimed for Cornish, but the version of that language used for some purposes amongst a small number of individuals appears to owe much to invention; it cannot be assumed to be the same language as that which died out in the 18th century (Price 1984, pp142-144).

Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn (op. cit.) reviewed 20 cases of languages restored to widespread use within the traditional territory, following one or more periods of decline, in some cases to a moribund condition. Their review shows that the fortunes of languages can fluctuate, and these examples of survival and restoration are presented as an encouragement to speakers and supporters of the Celtic languages. However, linguistic circumstances differ and certain qualifications have to be made with regard to the value of these restorations as comparators. First, none of the languages cited was threatened by a competitor as powerful and as persistent as English. Though Finnish was threatened by Swedish, Faroese by Danish, and Danish by German, the threat diminished as the power of the dominant language speakers waned, with the passage of time. Second, half of the examples are the languages of sovereign states: the extent of the restoration has been facilitated by political autonomy which allowed the establishment of language laws and official usages. In the case of the

restoration of Danish, Denmark has never been under foreign subjugation, so foreign oppressors did not have to be overthrown to replace Latin (the language of academia) and German (the language of the upper classes) with the Danish vernacular. Third, at the time of publication, languages such as Armenian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian were under Russian domination, and the authors gave meagre information about their contemporary use; as no sources were cited, the few statistics and assertions of language health were presumably taken from the Soviet Union's own information service. Language restoration in these cases did not progress as far as in the sovereign Western states cited, where proficiency is essential for full civic participation. Russian was required learning within Soviet republics as the supranational lingua franca and while Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn cite popular will as the agent of the 'national language' restorations, an alternative view suggests that there was a deliberate Soviet policy of 'divide and rule', which gave official encouragement to as much language restoration and maintenance as would sustain national differences, while resisting developments which challenged the supremacy of Russian - for example, requiring that new terms in the local language should be borrowings from Russian, rather than freely developed from the established local language vocabulary (Wardhaugh 1992, pp354-355; Trudgill 1983, pp151-155). Fourthly, there were in some cases (for example, English, Danish and Finnish) social divisions which kept the 'H' and 'L' speakers apart and did not allow the 'L' community access to benefits which might have accrued from language shift. This maintained the 'L' group numbers and communal integrity, which might otherwise have been reduced by economic incentives to join the dominant group, and hence the 'L' language was maintained until change of circumstances allowed it to become the 'H' language. Fifthly, languages may not have been, in all cases, restored in the original form;

certainly the English 'restored' in England over the 14th and 15th centuries incorporated a great deal of Norman French and was very different to the language used before Norman domination: "Today about 50 per cent of the English vocabulary is of Romance origin, dating largely from this period" (Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn 1971, p38).

Thus, although it seems true that restorations have occurred, the degree of success achieved was heavily dependent on other factors besides popular will. Undoubtedly the latter is a primary necessity: Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn (ibid., p69) considered that Irish had suffered from the attitude of the Irish people, who generally regarded the language as 'dead', despite its everyday use. This was contrasted with the Jewish attitude to Hebrew: "...how many Irishmen today consider English as a temporary expedient until the all-Ireland Gaeltacht is achieved?". Given popular will, restoration appears to be facilitated where the dominant language is not, in continental affairs, one of the most influential; where there are social divisions or some degree of geographical isolation which can maintain the size of an 'L' language community until conditions for restoration obtain; and where political autonomy can legitimize and reinforce language campaigns. In addition to these, it must be reckoned that political and economic good fortune play an important part.

The agents of restoration in the examples given by Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn appear, most often, to have been the work of some committed individuals, a resilient culture maintained by a substantial surviving population, and a fortuitous turn of events which granted the opportunity for language expansion. Recent years have seen rising interest in the subject of planned revival or restoration, which will be considered in more detail in the section 5 of this chapter. Such considerations are new; there is little literature on the subject because

few such plans have been formulated and tried in practice. The results of these have been mixed. As already suggested, the successful planned restoration of Hebrew occurred in unusually favourable circumstances, wherein practical need coincided with popular will. The attempted restoration of Irish through school education has fallen far short of the intended target of general public use, though the development and maintenance of a widespread familiarity with the language must be accounted an achievement. The official efforts to establish the dominance of French in the educational, cultural and economic life of Quebec appear to have been successful, supported as they were by a demographic majority. There appears to have been increased knowledge and use of Catalan following the 'language normalisation' measures (Leprêtre, 1992), though this also has taken place in particularly favourable conditions (a large speech community and established urban use), and like the normalisation programmes for Basque and Galician, it is too soon to assess the final outcome.

However, as the decline of a language is accompanied by other significant social changes, - "the milieu in which it once flourished has irrevocably altered" (Edwards 1985, p86) - restoration of a language reduced to minority status and low prestige would have to be attended by correspondingly great and favourable social changes, requiring wide-ranging and sustained political action and much public goodwill. In the case of a minority language which was once a majority language, spoken by a society with independent power and its own institutions, restoration would involve the creation of a new society, in which the language could be used with the present day equivalent of its former vitality. This must be reckoned commensurately more difficult to achieve with the passage of time since the society was at its peak of political prestige, and also with the extent of the loss of prestige since that time. Consequently, any

progress towards successful restoration requires more than the substitution of one language for another: language policies have to complement other social policies, and require active popular support by the speech community. According to Edwards (ibid., p88):

...the Hebrew case demonstrates that the power of language planning tends very much to depend upon existing social forces, and in most cases planning involves the tidying up...of processes put in train or made possible by these larger forces.

With particular reference to Irish, Fennell (1981) concluded that the 'revival' of languages depended on the will of the speakers, not on government initiatives, though governments could help once the will to survive is aroused, while Gillies (1989, quoted by MacKinnon (1991, p174) reasoned that the failure of past attempts at 'revival' of Gaelic derived from

...the tendency for campaigns to be generated from outwith, and with little attempt to involve or inform, the grassroots community; their failure to address underlying social and economic problems within that community...

Given the number of languages competing for linguistic 'space', the competitive advantage which major languages have in maintaining their speech-communities, and the difficulty which even a major language may have in asserting its existence alongside larger ones (Pavlidou 1992), it must be reckoned extremely unlikely that very many minority languages will, by fortune or design, be fully restored to any former greater status. In these circumstances, ambitious language restoration plans are likely to fall short of their targets when put into practice:

Despite all the energetic campaigning and the impassioned rhetoric of revivalist leaders, it would seem that the chances of returning a declining language to its old domains in a restored speech community are very slim, so that if the term revival is interpreted in this sense, the whole enterprise may be dismissed as

impractical and unrealistic. (Bentahila and Davies 1993, p371)

Apparent failures are undoubtedly dispiriting to minority speech-communities and the associated language activists, as they appear to confirm the languages' unsuitability for a modern role. However, if it were recognised that full restoration of a language, even if possible, would probably not be evident within a lifetime, developments might be more readily assessed in terms of their achievements rather than their failure to induce mass language shift. Bentahila and Davies advocate a goal of 'transformation', of seeking to forge new roles for the language:

..once it is admitted that simply turning back the clock is probably always an impossible goal, there remain many possible avenues through which a declining language may nevertheless be carried on towards the future....while the measures taken by many revival movements may be ineffective in promoting the goal of restoration, they do nevertheless have an impact of the state of the language.. (ibid., p371)

Their contention that the language

...may no longer serve as a widely used medium of communication among the type of people with whom it was originally associated, but instead acquire new functions for another group, and be assigned roles it could never have assumed in its heyday...(ibid.)

may be viewed as controversial, and they admit that this may induce a sense of alienation in the language's traditional users. Such a situation could well be unacceptable in many cases, and the merits of pursuing a goal of 'transformation' would appear to lie in realism, optimism, adaptation, the persistent seeking of new roles and niches for the language, and the achievement of progress through small victories, all alongside such traditional users and uses as may still be found, rather than in emphasising the new at the expense of the traditional.

4. Language, ethnic identity, and nationalism

Language and ethnic identity

An individual or group may have an ethnic identity through self-ascription and/or attribution by others. The substance of this identity may be capable of objective reduction to observable features such as language, religion, pigmentation, and geographical origin, but there is also the subjective element of the individual's or group's belief in the identity. Isajiw (1980, p24) reckoned that:

...ethnicity refers to an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group.

However, Edwards (1985, p10) played down the cultural aspect:

Ethnic identity is allegiance to a group - large or small, socially dominant or subordinate - with which one has ancestral links. There is no necessity for a continuation, over generations, of the same socialisation or cultural patterns, but some sense of a group boundary must persist. This can be sustained by shared objective characteristics (language, religion, etc.), or by more subjective contributions to a sense of 'groupness', or by some combination of both. Symbolic or subjective attachments must relate, at however distant a remove, to an observably real past.

The role of culture in identity has been a matter of debate, and this analysis seeks to distinguish ethnic identity from ethnocultural identity. It is proposed that the former is a subjective concept, being the assignation or claiming of identity on grounds of ancestry, whether or not any group cultural traits are apparent. Thus, in the United States, persons with Irish names may be identified as Irish even though they are culturally indistinguishable from their neighbours. Ethnocultural identity, on the other hand, can not only be assigned or claimed subjectively, but also observed objectively, as

it is based on intergenerational adherence to vital elements of a group's culture. Fundamental to the concept of ethnocultural identity is the presumption that particular languages are linked to particular ethnocultures, as argued by Fishman (1991, pp20-26).

The reason for drawing this distinction is to try to obtain a clearer view of the role of language in ethnicity, and, in particular, whether or not the loss of a group language signifies a loss of group identity. The contention that it does not was used by Edwards to argue that language-maintenance efforts are unnecessary and unworthy of the succour of official support and resources. Thus, if their language is not a vital part of their ethnic identity, minority groups need not be concerned about language loss: if bilingual policies and minority-language-medium education are founded on the supposition of catering for an ethnic group's need, they are unnecessary. This is a challenging argument, which in the current context deserves detailed examination, as it questions the basis on which most 'minority-language-essential' posts exist.

Edwards used a single model to represent differing minority language situations, and pursued theoretical arguments delimited by that model to reach conclusions which were purportedly universally applicable. He used Barth's (1969) concept that metaphysical 'boundaries' between groups are the important factor in maintaining their identities, not the nature of the cultural content the boundaries enclose. Edwards reckoned that cultural changes such as language shift are alterations of the identity, not a diminution of it (op. cit., p159). Thus it should follow that group identity survives loss of the group language, because other surviving cultural 'markers', such as religion and social rituals, maintain group boundaries. This stretched Barth's concept rather further than its original scope. The investigations of

Barth's co-authors concerned, for the most part, relationships between tribal groups of more or less equal size in remote, rural locations in Africa and Asia; Edwards adopted the theory as generally applicable to relationships between minority and majority groups in the developed world. In fact, where an example of a European, minority/majority relationship was given - a study by Eidheim of the Sami in Norway - it transpired that for that minority, the group boundary was founded on the 'cultural content', and most specifically on their language. Although the Sami "considered it appropriate to show off their Norwegianness", and "very ostentatiously act out a 'Norwegian' identity", in private they confessed their personal dilemmas of identity - an identity marked "first and foremost [by] the use of the Lappish language" which they use amongst themselves (Eidheim 1969, pp42, 45).

Edwards's hypothesis assigns a common identity to people who maintain their ancestral language, and those of similar descent who do not. His argument that ethnic identity survives language loss cannot be disproved, because there is no objective way of denying the identity which people perceive or feel. There can thus be a version of identity for which language (or any other objective criterion) is not required. This is the identity held by the descendants of emigrants, or people remaining in the ancestral homeland who do not speak the language. They have the language and the language-based culture of an altogether different community, though they do not identify with it. But there is also the original language-based identity, retained by people still (for the most part) living in the ancestral homeland and still speaking the ancestral language. This ethnocultural identity is dependent on the language spoken, and thus cannot survive language loss.

The justification for making this differentiation lies in the evidence that language - notwithstanding what the descendants of emigrants or some non-speakers in the homeland may feel - finds strong support as a marker of identity, especially amongst speakers. Amongst the Sorbs (Stephens 1976, p416), the Sami (Eidheim 1969),^{and} the Faroese (Sandøy 1992, p68), their language is universally recognised as the true marker of the identity. Galician, as noted in Chapter 3, is perceived as fundamental to the Galician identity. The Frisian-speaking majority in Friesland tend to regard the ability to speak the language as the marker of Frisian identity, a view with which incomers concur (Van der Plank 1987, pp17-18). Although most citizens of Eire do not profess to speak Irish, surveys over the past 20 years have consistently found majorities agreeing that "Without Irish, Ireland would certainly lose its identity as a separate culture" (O Riagáin & O Gliasáin 1994, p19). With reference to Romansh, Camathias (undated) declared: "A people must not lose that language which corresponds to the spirit and blood of its origin, to its inherited gift and character, to its tradition and its national culture." In the linguistic politics of nineteenth century Finland, both Arwidsson on the Finnish side, and Freudenthal on the Swedish, viewed language as the sine qua non of nationality (Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn 1971, pp55, 59). Osmond (1988, pp121-152) emphasised the prime significance of Welsh as a marker of identity. Finally, there can be no denial of the evident association of language with identity found amongst language movements, and their opponents, throughout the world, and also in the eagerness with which groups such as the Basques, Catalans, Indonesians, Koreans, Latvians, Lithuanians, on achieving partial or full political autonomy, have moved towards legislation supportive of their language.

Where language is accorded lower importance as a marker of identity, this seems coincident with diminished use or disuse. Wardhaugh (1987, p110) observed that:

...there is still a considerable Breton consciousness which exists independently of language.....regional consciousness has solidified along ethnic, political and economic lines rather than linguistic ones..

and O hIfearnain (1994a) also reckoned that there was no direct link between the Breton language and the Breton identity. This is unsurprising, given that Breton has never been the language of all of Brittany. Van der Plank's research found that native Frisians who cannot speak the language tend to play down its importance, claiming that family background is the marker of Frisian-ness. Trudgill and Tzavaras (1977, pp180-181) found that amongst the 'Albanian-Greek' Arvanite community in Greece, a majority of respondents in every age-group except the youngest thought that it was not necessary to speak Arvanitika to be a group member. However, the authors reckoned that this non-language-based view of the identity was unrealistic, "in that language is now the main distinguishing characteristic of Arvanites". The reason for the older Arvanites' extended view of group membership was, the authors felt, their reluctance to distance themselves from younger relatives who didn't speak the language, while the new generation, who tended to have negative attitudes towards the language (ibid., pp176-178), have opted for a language-based Greek identity and "do not regard the loss of the language or of the [Arvanite] ethnic identity as undesirable".

As general rule, therefore, speakers' perception of the link between the language and ethnic identity differs from that of non-speakers. The difference lies in the value placed in what Fishman (1991) calls the language-in-culture concept. This accords language special grounds for consideration, as representing something unique, a particular means of expression, a way of seeing the

world, a medium underpinning cultural distinction, and a cultural marker of possibly psychological importance to individuals and communities. Such views are value judgements, but are not necessarily invalid for that, because opponents can only utilise other value judgements in denial, citing perceived societal benefits of reduced linguistic diversity, accruing from shift to a majority language.

With regard to Gaelic, although generally accepted as a national symbol, the language has too low a profile to be an essential marker of Scottish identity. As described in the first chapter, Gaelic lost general recognition as the Scottish language about five hundred years ago, and whereas a Gaelic-speaker's belief then, that it was the language of "all trew Scottis mennis" (Dunbar 1490/1932, l.346) might well find favour with his modern counterpart, it must be doubted if any nowadays would dispute the validity of a sense of Scottishness based on other factors. Moreover, there are many people of Gaelic stock who are not Gaelic-speakers. The appropriate question is, rather, whether or not there is a Gaelic identity, and if so, to what extent is it defined by ability to speak the language.

Sproull (1993, p45) surveyed school pupils and adult business people in five Hebridean islands and found that minorities (pupils 45 per cent, adults 22 per cent) cited an identity (in the form of references to distinctness and a sense of belonging) as one of the cultural advantages of proficiency in Gaelic. However, the minority nature of the response may not be significant; the enquiry was open-ended, there was a wide variety of positive opinions, and the respondents included monoglot incomers who may not have been au fait with the extent of the language's communal and cultural significance amongst speakers. It could be argued, also, that the issue of a linguistically-derived identity might well be a matter of

greater consideration to an island Gaelic-speaker when on the mainland, in a wholly English-orientated environment, than at home, as pointed out by Mackinnon (1977, pp110, 116). Even so, the percentage amongst school pupils, besides being twice that found amongst the adult sample, is more than for any other cultural advantage cited, which would appear to indicate that a link between language and identity is perceptible to many of the younger generation. Mackinnon (ibid., p124) found among older school pupils "a very strong perception of language as a component of 'groupness'".

However, it is not certain that Gaelic-speakers or those of Gaelic-speaking stock adhere, in a majority, to any one kind of identity. Mackinnon and MacDonald (1980, pp112, 116, Appx p2) found that the more dominant image of self-identity or social solidarity in Harris and Barra was of being an islander - a Barrach or a Hearach - rather than of being a Gael, a Scot, or a Highlander. Although Mackinnon (1977, p43) found that within the Gàidhealtachd as a whole, "there is...a local patriotism to the Gaelic character of the community. The terms Gael, Gaelic and Gàidhealtachd are the foci of a definite communal feeling", he subsequently noted (1984, p498) that "Few ordinary people respond to an abstract image of 'the Gael'..".

It cannot be concluded, therefore, that there is at present a widespread common perception of a language-based Gaelic identity, such as formerly existed (MacInnes 1989), which would establish a closer bond between Gaelic-speakers belonging to different localities, rather than between Gaelic-speakers and non-speaking neighbours. Undoubtedly some speakers do regard the language as very important: Cooper (1985, p90) was told on Lewis that without a knowledge of Gaelic he "might just as well be wandering around the Western Isles like a blind man". However the extent of the penetration of English means

that speakers are likely to have neighbours, friends and relatives who, even if they may be able to understand Gaelic, use English all the time. Ennew (1980, pp74-79) stressed the importance of kinship in Western Isles communities, and it is probable that Gaelic-speakers, like the Arvanites observed by Trudgill and Tzavaras, are reluctant to have language cause any division within their families. This seems particularly likely in view of the commonly-held opinion in the recent past that Gaelic was of no use in the modern world; in many cases Gaelic-speakers deliberately raised their children as English monolinguals. Ennew also pointed (op. cit., p96) to the range of Hebridean loyalties: "...to kin, to a village, to an island, to Scotland, or to Britain", and, in Lewis, the influence of three conflicting value systems: Gaelic, Puritan and English (ibid., p110). The apparent absence of a popularly espoused Gaelic ethnocultural identity would seem to be due to the demise of institutions, practices, and social leadership which required it; it may be surmised that with the increasing pace of Gaelic development, and the increasing proportion of the Gaelic-speaking population involved therein, that such an identity might re-emerge.

However, insofar as any sense of Gaelic identity exists, it is arguable that its maintenance does depend on the use of the language, rather than on ancestry and some retained non-linguistic aspects of culture. It must be doubted that an identity based on the latter can maintain the Gaelic character of the non-linguistic features. Research by Mackinnon (1991, p169) has shown that lack of traditional entertainment skills tends to coincide with inferior language abilities and weaker language loyalty. The changes in traditional music induced by loss of Gaelic have been recorded by Shaw (1992) and MacDonald (1994, p13). Edwards's (1985) argument would dictate, here, that a Gaelic identity survives these changes, but with an altered culture; indeed, he tried to fit his

theory to Nova Scotian Gaelic (1991). However, his argument that the Gaelic identity is somehow retained by Nova Scotians after loss of the language, by transmutation into a general Scottish identity, with a 'cultural content' which he admits is increasingly Anglo-Canadian, is not wholly convincing. The retained Gaelic identity suggested by Edwards appears to be merely a label, barely considered and probably of less identity-forming significance to the individual than intergenerational transmission of support for a sports team. In the words of a native Nova Scotian Gaelic-speaker, commenting on the Scottish connection:

For Nova Scotia Macs wearing breeks, cut off from the language of their parents and struggling to survive in a marginalised area, interest is scant....The lack of Scottish history in our schools, and especially the absence of Gaelic in the curriculum, has helped to sever Nova Scotians from both a local and emerging global community of Gaels. Nova Scotia's heavy tourism promotion of 'New Scotland' has trivialised all that is associated with the old country. At least through Gaelic their parents and grandparents could connect with the Gaels of Scotland, should they ever meet. (MacEachen, 1995)

The changes following language loss, as described by MacKinnon, Shaw and MacDonald, are not those which might occur in a healthy culture, evolving with the accommodation of outside influences, while retaining a strong continuity of character. They are, rather, in the nature of sudden, significant separation from the accumulated communal cultural achievement: thus metropolitan mass-media entertainment replaces the local, traditional form; tempo and phrasing of instrumental music no longer reflects the subtleties of Gaelic song. These are directly connected to the disuse of the language, as observed by Dorian (1987, p64), for whom the demise of East Sutherland Gaelic followed a universal pattern:

Quite typically the threatened language community is also dispossessed of its heritage, often astonishingly ignorant of such basic information as where the

ancestral population came from, what the original nature of their means of livelihood was, how their cultural institutions functioned, and what their traditional lore (songs, stories, proverbs, humor, satire or invective, artwork, crafts) was like.

A similar observation has been advanced in the course of a recent report on the global phenomenon of language loss, and the implications of this reduced diversity for the breadth of the human intellect: "If you lose a language, you lose the tradition and culture embedded in it" (McHale, 1995).

Taking this with the increasing influence of mainstream practices, tastes, and values on the life of all, it seems doubtful that a Gaelic identity not anchored in the language itself could have credibility in the twenty-first century. This is not to argue for a retention of the old and traditional, and rejection of the new: rather, that language provides the thread of continuity by which identity can be retained through time, whatever other changes occur.

Language and nationalism

Nationalism is viewed here as the mobilisation of feelings of ethnic or communal identity for political purposes. As language is often felt to be an intrinsic part of identity, so is it often linked to nationalist movements, as, for example, in Ireland, Wales, Catalonia, the Basque Country, and Brittany. As does any form of political motivation, such movements provoke opposition, and a connected issue of language restoration or language rights can be affected by the reputation of the political vehicle on which it rides. It is therefore appropriate to examine what is meant by 'nationalism' before considering the implications in the Gaelic context.

In the course of a study generally critical of attempts at minority language restoration, Edwards (1985) reviewed sociological commentaries on nationalism, and felt inclined to agree with those which emphasised the "negative impact":

Nationalist identity shares with other varieties of groupness the following perils: a promotion and maintenance of 'them and us' boundaries, a de-emphasis of individual rights and interests, and a hardening of group interest into perceived superiority and racism. Nationalist identity also comprises romanticised yearnings for a past which, suitably interpreted and restructured, is seen as a bulwark against present inequalities or indignities. It can change quickly from a radical ideology to a reactionary one. It can be static or regressive in the face of unpalatable aspects of modernity. (ibid., p44)

These are, as Edwards noted, "perils", things which "can" happen; in other words possibilities. A similar list of possibilities could be drawn up as the feared prognosis for other political movements: for example, at their extremes both left wing and right wing politics embrace totalitarianism. Edwards's approach seems highly tendentious, as he derived his collective presentation of so much that is, by Western social conventions, highly undesirable, from no more than a review of selected opinion, for which more opponents of nationalism were found than supporters.

However, on this issue, true objectivity is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to maintain. It seems axiomatic that investigators will approach the subject encumbered by their own prejudgements, borne either of a distinct sense of belonging to a particular national group, or of the absence of such a sense. It is natural for those with a strong sense of nationality to feel it to be no bad thing; equally, it is understandable that those unconscious of such a sense should be uncomprehending of its manifestation in others. The matter must lie deep in the psyche, resulting from differences in the processes of socialisation and

development of group loyalty (Fishman 1991, p30), acting on the phylogenetically evolved response "by which any group defends its own social norms and rites against another group not possessing them" (Lorenz 1967, p223). Forbes (1985, p62) noted the difficulty of discussing the subject without value judgements:

...any classification I might offer here, and try to justify briefly, would be only my partisan prejudices disguised in the trappings of science.....we would be trying to determine whether particular nationalist demands are rational or irrational, and whether they spring from noble or base motives. What if someone should question our standards of reason and nobility? What is reason, really, and what is nobility? The Aristotelian account of these things differs from, say, the Christian or the Nietzschean. Whose should we adopt? Can we, as scientific specialists, make any such determination? Is it not precisely this sort of judgement that is being excluded from science, when scientists and philosophers of science say that science is value free, that it deals with what is and not with what ought to be?

Central to an attempted even-handed treatment of nationalism is the recognition that, without considered qualification, the term is a superficial and inadequate generalisation for differing causes and movements which emerge for different reasons in different circumstances. Kellas (1991, pp166-167) distinguished six kinds of 'historic' nationalism, three of 'geographic' nationalism, and five forms of intensity in which they were expressed. Most importantly, there is usually a fundamental difference in the nature of large-nation nationalism, and that of small-nation nationalism. Forbes (op. cit., p58) distinguished between "an imperialistic and reactionary nationalisme de domination....and a progressive and humanitarian nationalisme de liberation". Supporters of many modern nationalist movements understand their goal to be the achievement of democracy and political self-determination, in place of domination by an elite group (as in South Africa) or a colonial power (as in the erstwhile Soviet Union's peripheral

republics). But opponents invariably use the term to cover several disparate circumstances: the Nazi aggression of the 1930s and 1940s, any military confrontation between ethnic groups or states, the persecution of immigrants, as well as the resistance of small nations to assimilation within larger units; rarely does the last avoid the stigma of the first three. Yet an important distinction can be observed between minority groups and majority groups in respect of the propensity for ethnic sentiment to obscure recognition of the rights of others:

...perhaps the most important prerequisite for the full eliciting of militant enthusiasm is the presence of many other individuals all agitated by the same emotion. Their absolute number has a certain influence on the quality of the response. Small numbers at issue with a large majority tend to obstinate defence with the emotional value of 'making a last stand', while very large numbers inspired by the same enthusiasm feel an urge to conquer the whole world in the name of their sacred cause....the excitation grows in proportion, perhaps even in geometric progression, with the increasing number of individuals. (Lorenz 1967, p235)

As well as contrasting the defensive nationalism driven by a desire for political self-determination within the home territory, with the aggressive nationalism, that is, imperialism, which seeks to deprive other nations of their territory and autonomous government, a third form can be mooted: the unconscious imperialism which seeks no further conquests but wishes to retain previous acquisitions by resisting the restitution of self-government to dominated nations. This last is a particularly important concept, as it recognises the true universality of nationalism - that it is found in all societies, and can operate in a low-key but highly effective manner to the benefit of majority-group members who regard nationalism as a malady afflicting other groups. Such circumstances were summarised by Palley (1979, pp126-127):

In the standard domination situation there are noticeable departures from the equality and non-

discrimination principles. To the naive observer it is less obvious that when the status quo in a state is maintained there is equally domination in the form of an attempt to freeze existing power patterns. Failure by non-minority groups to perceive domination is even more frequent where existing state institutions do not formally recognise the cultural distinctiveness of minority communities. Such societies are often described as assimilationist. If the situation is analysed it is apparent that 'forced assimilation' is domination whether this is implemented by the provision only of majority-determined linguistic schooling or religious facilities, or by state preservation only of majority cultural symbols. It is domination in the sense of maintaining the current political, economic and cultural predominance of the majority group, and domination in that it denies alternatives to other groups whose members are subjected to enforced integration.

Similar observations were made by Fishman (1991 p65), and the words of Fanon on dominant/subordinate group relations (1965, p190) seem apposite: "Every effort is made to bring the colonised person to admit the inferiority of his culture.....to recognise the unreality of his 'nation'".

Thus, it can be argued that perceptions of a particular nationalism as 'good' or 'bad', or even a form of nationalism at all, are heavily influenced by the conventional wisdom in the perceiver's own society. In particular, members of a comfortably dominant community, unconsciously secure in their greater numbers and in the unlikelihood of the impending demise of their culture, may in their attitudes and actions towards minorities exercise a nationalism which maintains the status quo - a tacit assumption that the domination of one group by another, already achieved and continuing, represents a harmonious and desirable state of affairs, and should not, for the sake of the 'common good' and 'progress', be challenged by the minority. Thus, when Edwards describes nationalism, as he perceives it, as "a regressive phenomenon...an inability to come to grips with present realities, and more specifically, the social evolution which connects the past to the present.." (1985, p43), he

argues for the divine right of existing power structures: ethnic/nationalist desire for change is seen as regressive refusal to accept change, because the only kinds of change which can be accommodated within this imagined scheme of progressive "social evolution" are those involving the demise of minorities and the formation of larger and less diverse political units. The events in Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1992 belie this assumption; whatever subsequent difficulties have ensued in some areas, the cause of national self-determination was widely and popularly espoused as a means of progress through material benefit and democratic self-expression.

With regard to language, minority group members who insist that their language should have greater use in public as well as private life, within the group's territory, are not infrequently castigated by majority-group members as nationalist, parochial, intolerant and reactionary (Fishman 1991, p30; Morris 1992, pp144-145). Yet, except for small and diminishing numbers of monolinguals, minority-language speakers are, by the dominance of the majority language and its speakers, required to be more internationalist, outward-looking, tolerant, and adaptive to change. Objectively, it is no more chauvinistic for a minority group to counsel that incomers to its territory ought to learn the indigenous language, than for a majority group to assume that incomers to its territory should do the same there; in practice, however, the prevailing opinion is that held by the greater number of supporters and promulgated by the more powerful means of promotion. Dominant group authorities and citizens often, by statute or social insistence, promote their languages with a nationalistic presumption which is condemned if evident in minorities. Thus Trudgill (1983, pp151-155) cited Welsh-speakers forbidden to speak Welsh, the Castilian nationalist nature of the Franco regime, and the official praise within the Soviet Union for the imposition of Russian on

the satellite republics as a 'second native language' and as an 'unfailing source of enrichment' of minority languages - with opposition to the introduction of Russian loanwords or to the compulsory study of Russian being denounced as 'bourgeois nationalism'. When, however, a majority language suddenly appears to be under threat, the instinct to protect it is the same as that found for minority languages: Pavlidou (1991, p286) suggested that an attitude of linguistic nationalism would be the only way to protect the position of Greek within the European Union, against the dominance of English, French and German. Ironically, the Greek state has tended to ignore its autochthonous minority languages, resisting the collection of relevant census data, and, through its Members of the European Parliament, abstaining from the 1987 Kujpers Resolution which was adopted in support of European cultural minorities (MacIver 1990, pp6-7).

Thus, linguistic nationalism found in minorities is a defensive counteraction to the insistent linguistic nationalism of dominant groups, and representations of the former as malignant growths on the healthy, normal bodies of the latter are heavily biased. However, in practical political terms, minority-group nationalism does affect stability, and any promotion of minority-group interests is likely to appear as a challenge to the political status quo. In respect of a minority language, the existing political establishment has to assess whether moves to nurture it are a recognised part of a wider campaign of secessionary nationalism (in which case the language is a threat), or likely to encourage secessionary nationalism in future (in which case the nurture of the language would not be desirable), or purely cultural, without any implicit suggestion that the fortunes of the language would be succoured by change in the government or constitution.

In the case of Gaelic, the language at one time could be invoked in declarations of Scottish nationalist sentiment (Dunbar 1490/1932, 11.345-352), and the distinction between Gaidheal and Gall (MacInnes, 1989) was clearly associated with linguistic nationalism on both sides: the Gaels perceiving much of the Lowlands as lost Gaidhealtachd, while the Lowland administration sought to eradicate Gaelic from the Highlands. Nowadays, insofar as linguistic nationalism on the Gaelic side exists, it is not associated with political secession. Such popular enthusiasm and effort as is expended in the nurture and promotion of Gaelic is not directed towards the establishment of an autonomous, Gaelic-speaking political enclave within Scotland, nor towards a Gaelic-speaking Scottish state, and given the dominance of English in Scotland, it is extremely unlikely that either proposition could win popular favour in future. Moreover, Gaelic-speakers do not appear particularly prone to political Scottish nationalism (MacKinnon 1994, pp125, 137), while politically active Scottish nationalists tend to take little interest in cultural affairs (Kellas 1989, p129). On the English-speaking side, the general public appears to show passive goodwill towards Gaelic, but also a level of opposition, which apparently emerges when Gaelic receives attention and funding (Chapter 1: 3).

Gaelic does not, therefore, play a part in any nationalist movement, nor is it likely to in the future, and campaigning in its behalf can be accounted a cultural concern which would be pursued irrespective of the constitutional position. Linguistic nationalism, in the form of intolerance, is rather more evident in the English-speaking community than amongst Gaelic-speakers, for while the latter invariably accept the prevalence of English, some members of the former exhibit irritation when the very infrequent use of Gaelic in public life is slightly increased.

5. Minority Languages, economics, and language planning

There are many areas of overlap between the various aspects of sociolinguistics, and in the present context the economics of language, and language planning, are related considerations. Economic factors, as they impinge on the life of individuals, have already been shown to be important in language shift, but in this section the focus is on the broader effect of the economics of language use at the group and national levels. The issues involved have to be tackled, along with the needs of the individual, in considering what plans might be made for a language's future use.

Until recently, there had been little discussion on the role of economic theory in the study of language. Grin (1990) noted the contributions made by economists since the 1960s, which had been concerned with the relation of language use to traditional aspects of economic theory: wage rates, income, savings and so forth. Later (1994, p25), he outlined the economic considerations in a number of diverse studies of language over the previous thirty years, acknowledging the 'economics of language' as an interdisciplinary field of investigation.

However, most of the studies have involved major languages. There has been comparatively little discussion of the economics of minority languages, beyond a general appreciation that trade and employment opportunities are important in the processes of language shift and decline. The considerations have been empirical rather than theoretical, and usually concerned with particular cases.

Language use and economic prosperity: the minority group perspective

Language touches on economics through the relative ease with which necessary communication can be carried out in

trade and at work: employees who cannot give and receive information and instructions quickly and effectively are less cost-efficient. As has been noted (Chapter 1; also O'Brien 1979, p87), because minority-language communities tend to be deficient in economic resources, minority language speakers have a restricted choice of work in which their own language has predominant use, and less opportunity for personal prosperity thereby; for many, therefore, it is in their interest to obtain a command of the language of another speech-community with greater economic resources and a greater choice of work. It can sometimes happen that a speech-community is so large, and use of its language so common, that some work for a branch of a large multinational company can be performed efficiently, at a particular level, by local employees who have little or no ability in the language used by management. An individual might thereby gain a greater measure of prosperity while remaining a functional member of the minority group. However, communication with other branches and the head office will be in the company's dominant language, and careers are still limited if that language is not known. The minority group, as a whole, is further disadvantaged by this process: the more prosperous members will tend to be those who have taken opportunities outside it, and apart from the message imparted to the rest that 'getting on' entails 'getting out', the talents of the economic emigrants and much of their remuneration will tend to be retained within the dominant speech community's pool of resources, thus further restricting the minority community's capacity to develop available resources for its own benefit.

Such reasoning dictates that the reversal of economic fortunes is the vital element in nurturing the demographic base in which a minority language can be maintained. However, Fishman (1991, p61, using 'X' and 'Y' symbols for the minority and majority languages respectively) felt that:

...the reduction of the entire problem of Xish language maintenance to that of economic advantage pure and simple, is overly simplistic and reductionistic. It is akin to other brands of reductionism (e.g. that 'only schools in Xish will save us', 'only mass media in Xish will save us') in that it offers a mechanistic and pre-packaged solution that is automatically applied to every RLS [Reversing Language Shift] case, even before its particular problems are fully examined or well understood. Since the economy associated with Xish will always be smaller than that associated with Yish, pro-RLSers must focus their gaze on other avenues of solution than those which are basically no more than the 'counsel of futility'.

This is fair criticism, in that greater prosperity will not necessarily halt language shift, once that movement has started. However, while not providing the whole solution, it is arguable that emphasis on improving the local economy could, measuring factor against factor, have a greater single stabilising effect on a speech-community than schooling in the minority language, or its use in the mass media, in that economic security could reduce the need for emigration, and (assuming the language were still the main medium of communication) negate any connotations the minority language may have with relative poverty and deprivation. Fishman himself noted the debilitating effect on minority communities of the lack of economic control, and the potential influence of greater economic prosperity on language and culture (ibid., p62):

Even in democratic settings indigenous populations are...robbed of control of the natural resources that could constitute the economic bases of a more self-regulatory collective life and, therefore, robbed also of a possible avenue of cultural viability as well.

The difficulty in trying to nurture a minority language by improving economic conditions lies in finding ways of doing so which minimise the intrusion of the majority language into working practices. As found in Ireland, Wales, South Tyrol and Brittany, certain kinds of economic development can undermine minority language use: language-shift can be accelerated by the introduction of

majority-language monoglots and terminology to the minority-language work domain (O'Brien 1979, pp91-92; Edwards 1985, p58; Hindley 1990, p182).

Language use and economic prosperity: the majority group perspective

From the majority group perspective, it has been argued that the use of a common language facilitates most forms of economic endeavour. Fishman (1968, p60) found that: "Linguistically homogeneous polities are usually economically more developed....the good life is economically within the reach of a greater proportion of the populace" while Pool (1972, p222) noted: "...a country that is linguistically highly heterogeneous is always underdeveloped or semideveloped, and a country that is highly developed always has considerable language uniformity". According to O'Brien (1979, p83): "Multiplicity of languages [is] an obstacle to trade and the mobility of labour, technology and information generally", and Chaudenson (1987, p55 quoted by Coulmas 1992, p120) observed that "Une économie 'ideal' supposerait une langue unique à travers le monde".

However, these comments highlight the disadvantageous effect of multiple monolingualism within a population, rather than reveal anything undesirable about the existence of a multiplicity of languages. Linguistic diversity need not cause problems, providing there is widespread multilingualism among individuals. Moreover, as Fasold (1984, p7) pointed out, generalisations about the relative prosperity of linguistically uniform societies, compared to linguistically heterogeneous ones, do not constitute proof that the heterogeneity hinders economic development. It could be that economic prosperity reduces linguistic diversity or that linguistic uniformity and economic prosperity reinforce each other. Some multilingual countries may have poor

economic development because they are, or have been, under colonial rule. There is also the possibility that the data used in the analyses was not of sufficient quality to justify the impressions gained; in addition, the 'snapshot' nature of the data could not demonstrate any causal processes.

Lieberson and Hansen (1974) worked on the principle that a causal relationship between reductions in linguistic diversity and increases in economic development could only be demonstrated by using data gathered over time. They found, initially, that less diverse countries tend to be more urbanised and more diverse nations to have higher rates of illiteracy. However, they could find no indication that decline in diversity was connected to either urbanisation or greater literacy. Using data on 23 European countries, gathered between 1930 and 1960, they found that the more linguistically diverse countries in 1930 tended to be so in 1960 as well. Further investigations failed to show any connection between development and diversity in eight countries over a hundred years. They concluded (*ibid.*, p537) that the apparent inverse relationship between linguistic heterogeneity and economic development has something to do with the age of the states, for when data is examined on the basis of whether countries were independent pre- or post-1945, even 'snapshot' data show that the older ones are less linguistically diverse and more developed, and the younger ones more diverse and less developed. One reason for the incidence of greater diversity is the ad hoc nature of borders agreed for new states; as Fasold pointed out (*op. cit.*, p135), many of the more recently independent countries are former colonies where linguistic diversity is at least partly due to forced federation.

This seems to indicate that the political legacy is a significant factor in circumstances where linguistic

heterogeneity and economic underdevelopment coincide, and the underdevelopment might more appropriately be ascribed to relationships between powerful states and weaker ones, and the control of resources and the means of exploiting them, than to linguistic diversity hindering growth. In addition, any attempt to find a correlation between linguistic diversity and underdevelopment on the basis of the difficulty of communication would have to take account of the extent of bilingual or multilingual abilities within the population. Thus, proof is lacking that linguistic diversity and economic prosperity are incompatible, and that prosperity follows the spread of monolingualism. It cannot be supposed that the retention of minority languages is a handicap to economic progress, provided that majority language abilities are widespread within the minority group, and that retention of the minority language does not symbolise an animosity, which might be economically obstructive.

Language planning in sociolinguistic theory

In the last thirty years, language planning - "an attempt to interfere deliberately with a language or one of its varieties" (Wardhaugh 1992, p347) - has developed greatly as a topic. Fishman (1977, p36) divided it into two broad categories of study: corpus planning, concerned with the consideration of the need for changes in the language per se, and how best these might be implemented, and status planning, focused on ways of enhancing the use or reputation of a language within society. Most of the body of literature, especially the earlier books and papers, has been concerned with corpus planning, though status planning has attracted increasing attention. However, the categories are not discrete, as, for example, the development of a standardised form or more advanced vocabulary are aids to the enhancement of status.

Fasold (1984, p251) reckoned that "almost anybody" can be an agent of language planning, citing Haugen (1966a), Ray (1968), Jernudd (1973) and Rubin (1973) in support, and noting the role of churches, language academies, private citizens (for example, Samuel Johnson and William Caxton), international companies, and proof-readers in encouraging and discouraging linguistic habits. However, governments are the most influential agents of planned linguistic change, although government-backed plans are not always successful. Wardhaugh (1992, p347) noted that where plans for status changes are implemented, they "are nearly always very slow, are sometimes actively contested, and often leave strong residual feelings", even where the changes are relatively minor; this has been the experience in Norway, Belgium, Canada, and India. As already mentioned, the attempted restoration of Irish to widespread usage has been a failure, though the widespread knowledge of some Irish, and general public appreciation of its symbolic importance, reflect the efficacy of state support. On the other hand, in circumstances where there is great linguistic diversity, there have been successful and popular development of *linguae francae*: thus Swahili in Tanzania, and Hebrew in Israel. For corpus planning, Wardhaugh (*ibid.*) observed that it has been particularly important in Indonesia, Israel, Finland, India, Pakistan, and Papua New Guinea, though once again Ireland provides an example of relative lack of success: the imposition of standardisation and new vocabulary has caused some confusion and resentment in native-speaking communities (Hindley 1990, pp60-61, 204-205).

It is fair to say, however, that the expanding body of theory has had little application in practice. Edwards (1985, p89), noted that if language planners are called on at all, they tend to engage in technical activities after the need for change has been recognised by politicians and administrators. Language planners

themselves perceive the need for various kinds of change more readily, because language planning is a value-laden exercise, for which a particular interest is required. This may be scholarly, or derived from a concern for a particular language, but politics and administration tends to be conducted by non-academics using languages which are very evidently, by their currency at the highest levels, perfectly adequate in terms of form and status: for most members of most ruling strata, most of the time, language issues are not of immediate importance; and so, in the absence of motivation to effect a significant change on society for the benefit of a language, or a change in language use for the benefit of society, language planning is not often considered. As Edwards observed (*ibid.*, pp90-91), language planners:

...should not...imagine that their considerations and actions are likely to significantly affect the state of affairs - unless, of course, these coincide with powerful extra-academic views...It is not language planners themselves, nor the results of academic argument, which sway the real policy-makers; as in other areas of public life, 'experts' are called in as needed, and their recommendations are either implemented or gather dust according to how well they support or justify desired positions.

Similar negative judgement on the influence of language planners was voiced by Fishman (1983b, p383): "but the plaything of larger forces", and Eastman (1983, p4) observed that language plans are made by governmental or educational authorities, and planners then work at their behest.

Beyond the recognition that language changes might be desirable, the political motivation required for the implementation of language planning has to encompass the belief that the benefits will outweigh the costs, although many of the costs and benefits of language change cannot be evaluated in monetary terms, some cannot be quantified at all, and the consequences of language planning, especially in the long term, cannot be

predicted reliably (Fasold 1984, p262). Moreover, as pointed out by Fasold (*ibid.*), and Edwards (*op. cit.*), successful language planning depends not only on the approval of those in power, but also acceptance from the people whose linguistic repertoires would be changed. Haugen (1966b, p15) reckoned that "...success is a function of the social needs of the people involved.." and (*ibid.*, p26) that a language planner can plan language "...only if his goal is substantially the same as that which the people have unconsciously adopted as their own". Fasold (*op. cit.*, p286) contrasted the "relative puniness" of official planning with the power of the 'natural' social change, which includes language maintenance and shift. He advised that the implementation of language planning would be smoother if the goals were consistent with the direction of the social forces guiding language behaviour.

For minority languages in particular, therefore, academic language planning has the potential to be a fruitless exercise. In the many cases where minority language issues are of low priority in the business of government, and expenditure on them likewise, it is unlikely that academic schemes for the nurture of such languages would be implemented in full and with advantageous timing, if at all. Fasold's proposal that language planning will be more successful if it follows the direction of social forces does not appear to offer a helpful strategy, as the direction of these forces tends to be against the prosperity of minority languages. All this suggests that there is great scope for wasted effort, and an especial need for realistic assessment of the minority position, prudent judgement of what is possible, and planning designed to stand the best chance of implementation and success.

Such requirements were recognised by Fishman (1991) in formulating his Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

(GIDS), which distinguishes various levels of language condition and status, and plans conducive to 'reversing language shift' (RLS) at each stage. Before any effort is undertaken, however, Fishman stressed that there has to be "consciousness heightening and reformation" amongst the planners of RLS: a thorough examination and clarification of the issues involved, and consensus on the direction to be followed, so that subsequent internal conflict will be minimal, and the goals may be explained effectively to potential supporters. "All this becomes possible only when the RLS enterprise can count on the participation of maximally dedicated and ideologically oriented individuals" (ibid., p395).

Fishman presented eight stages for RLS, with Stage 8 as the most basic development to be achieved, Stage 7 following after, then Stage 6, and so on (Table 32). This represents a series of graded priorities, with the object of directing attention to self-reliance, utilising of scarce resources to maximum effect, and ensuring that the achievement of language transmission to the succeeding generation is regarded as fundamental, before time and effort is expended on other stages. Fishman divided the eight stages into two sections: stages eight to five representing the pursuit of diglossia for languages in the weakest conditions, and stages four to one for languages transcending diglossia, in search of increased use within the more influential language domains - education, work, the mass media and government. In the following summary, Fishman's codes X and Y represent, respectively, any minority language group and the associated majority language group. Thus Xmen and Ymen are the speakers of the languages, while the languages themselves are called Xish and Yish.

Table 32. Stages of Reversing Language Shift (Fishman 1991)

(read from the bottom up)

1. Education, work sphere, mass media and governmental operations at higher and nationwide levels.
2. Local/regional mass media and governmental services.
3. The local/regional (i.e. non-neighbourhood) work sphere, both among Xmen and among Ymen.
- 4b. Public schools for Xish children, offering some instruction via Xish, but substantially under Yish curricular and staffing control.
- 4a. Schools in lieu of compulsory education and substantially under Xish curricular and staffing control.

II RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment

5. Schools for literacy acquisition, for the old and for the young, and not in lieu of compulsory education.
6. The intergenerational and demographically concentrated home-family-neighbourhood: the basis of mother tongue transmission.
7. Cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation.
8. Reconstructing Xish, and adult acquisition of the standard.

I RLS to attain diglossia (assuming prior ideological clarification)

Source: Fishman 1991, p395.

Stage 8 is the reassembly of the Xish language: "a prior stage of re-establishing norms of Xish grammar, phonology, intonation and prosody, ideomaticity and semantic typologies is highly desirable". This may require work on varieties of Xish, involving the help of outside linguists and educationalists, or the construction of a new, historically inauthentic variety of Xish. As Fishman points out, this latter lays the RLS movement open to charges of inauthenticity, which, though unfair (because there is constant innovation in majority languages anyway), is better avoided, because of the danger of efforts being diverted from the task of implementing the reassembled code.

Stage 7 is "cultural interaction in Xish primarily involving the community-based older generation". This comprises all manner of public entertainments, ceremonies, radio and television broadcasts and publications. These are highly enjoyable for persons already enthusiastic for the language, but, in truth, do little for RLS except boost morale for the harder work of the succeeding stages. Although some young people might take part, this is of no consequence unless the language is part of the daily process of socialisation.

Stage 6 consists of reinforcement of the language in the home, family and community, and is the most important of the initial stages, being absolutely fundamental to intergenerational transmission. Spicer (1980, p358) summarised the necessity thus:

The persistence of configurations of identity symbols depends on the kind of communication possible in local community organisations, uniting household groups. It is in the milieu of the effective local community... that the basis for choosing to identify with an enduring people becomes established.

In the context of minority languages, such communities are fragile, because their efficacy in the language cause depends on a degree of separation from mainstream society which is difficult to maintain. Nevertheless, this stage has to be satisfied if anything more than maintaining the status quo is to be achieved, and the status quo cannot be an option for RLS activists as it merely confirms to the majority community that the minority language is a minority concern.

Stage 5 involves the establishment of a community-run form of schooling in "formal linguistic socialisation" (Fishman, op. cit., p399), which would be supplementary to compulsory education, and open to all. Though literacy would be the prime object, the broader remit would be the acquisition of varieties of the language unavailable in

the general oral interactions with members of the family and the community.

Stages 8 to 5 thus comprise the minimal objectives of RLS; Fishman reckoned that they can be achieved relatively cheaply, can be organised by the minority community without relying on the cooperation of the majority, and are feasible in most political and economic circumstances. They would produce a diglossia in which participation in the more important functions of the society's public life could only be carried out through the language of the majority. According to Fishman, in these circumstances the future of the minority language is dependent on there being a relatively impermeable boundary between the minority community and the majority, and on general acceptance of the minority language as the definitive marker of minority group identity. Fishman (*ibid.*, p400) summarises this latter as the "non-negotiability of the 'Xmen-via-Xish' position at stages 6 and 5"; this addresses a familiar situation, where members of a majority community, whose immediate or distant forebears may have spoken the minority language, may assert the majority language as a badge of same identity, an attitude Fishman summarised as 'Xmen-via-Yish'. Thus English-speaking Welshmen have been known to claim that they are as Welsh as Welsh-speakers (Price 1984, p120); such an attitude, widely held, would diminish a minority language's status, and, through language and cultural shift, the minority speech-community as well.

Even with acceptance of the minority language as the authentic symbol of identity, satisfaction of stage 5 nevertheless leaves it in an inferior position which often induces RLS movements to press on towards higher stages. This, Fishman postulates, is a particularly crucial undertaking in the RLS process, because while excessive caution may result in lost opportunities,

premature expenditure of time and money on the higher stages may be wasted, and, through exposing the language and its users to challenges they may not be ready to meet, perhaps endanger the entire venture.

Stage 4 entails a general provision for minority language education while retaining at least the essentials of the general state curriculum: schools run by either the minority language community (stage 4a), or the majority community authorities (stage 4b). The first has the advantage of promoting the minority community's capacity for self-sufficiency, but taxes its resources. With the second, cooperative authorities may be prepared to meet costs, especially if minority-community children are found in sufficient concentration; while this might free RLS energy and resources for efforts on other fronts, it does place the schooling enterprise at the mercy of outside control, and for success it must operate in a strong minority-language environment. While important, this stage cannot be relied on as the basic means of RLS, as demonstrated by its failure in Ireland.

Stage 3 concerns the local/regional (that is, non-neighbourhood) work sphere, involving members of both the minority and majority communities. This is an extremely difficult domain for a minority language to penetrate, as the economic and political power of major languages predominates, especially the larger ones, with the proliferation of multinational companies and the transfer of information and technological expertise. The possibilities have to be appraised realistically, but the benefits to RLS are obviously great, not least through the social life attendant on working life. If a minority language can make inroads in this domain, one can foresee greater prosperity for individuals and the group as a whole, leading to the usual effects of social stability: more permanent residence, greater frequency of marriages within the group, increased rates^{of} childbirth, et cetera.

However, Fishman feels that, despite these, there is no direct or obvious spin-off for intergenerational language transmission, and that Stage 6 will still require attention and innovative effort.

Stage 2 entails use of the minority language in the local/regional mass media and government services. As with work sphere of Stage 3, the penetration of these domains buys time but does not aid RLS unless following and operating alongside the successful implementation of Stage 6. This is because these domains are dominated by the majority language, which, through the mass media in particular, will have a greater socialising impact than the minority language, unless the latter is given a high profile by RLS efforts at the Stage 6 level.

Stage 1 represents the use of the minority language at higher and nationwide levels in the fields of education, work, mass media and governmental operations: effectively, the recognition and implementation of cultural autonomy. Like Stages 2 and 3, Stage 1 only makes a contribution to RLS if achieved in conjunction with successful implementation of Stage 6; in terms of the broad scope of language use, the three highest stages play a greater part in influencing adult identity and language choice than in instilling basic identity and first language use in the young. The proof of this is that the world role of the English language in administration, commerce, and the media makes knowledge of it useful, even essential, in the upper domains of public life, but other languages maintain robust health where the home/family/community support is strong.

Fishman's scheme is a valuable frame of reference for minority language planning, based on detailed knowledge of the condition of minority languages and efforts to nurture them, as well as on sociolinguistic theory, and is evidently designed to encourage the most realistic and

efficacious courses of action. The present study suggests some new considerations which might be brought to the scheme, which seem to be appropriate in the case of Gaelic, and may also be applicable to other languages.

CHAPTER 5: THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

1. Models of national development: diffusion and internal colonialism

Two theories dominate thinking on the process of political and economic development within states: those of 'diffusion', and 'internal colonialism'. They concern the dynamics of the relationship between the core region of a state - the centre of power - and the peripheral areas.

The diffusion theory of national development, as described by Hechter (1975, p8), postulates that before industrial development, the core and peripheral regions are isolated from one another. The core acquires an industrial base, and there is increased contact with the periphery (arising, for example, from acquisition of raw materials, expansion of markets, migration of workers). From this interaction comes commonality: the social structure, culture, et cetera, of the core diffuses into the peripheral regions. In the long term, the core and the periphery become homogeneous because the economic, cultural, and political foundations for any separate ethnic identification which the core may have will disappear: wealth should equilibrate, cultural differences should cease to be socially meaningful, national political parties will accommodate all political opinions.

There would appear to be a flaw in the logic of the diffusion theory: rather than the peripheral regions attaining equality and becoming part of a homogeneous whole, it seems more likely that if the core has an initial advantage in economic prosperity and political power, then this advantage will be maintained, simply because the core has the institutions and individuals directing the course of economic and political change,

and they would be unlikely to implement any measures which would reduce their own power. At no time could it be expected that a peripheral area would acquire political power or economic prosperity on a par with that of the core; if there were any indications that either development was imminent, the core would have an especial interest in undermining it, or gaining control over it, so that the benefits of power and wealth might continue to accrue to the established individuals and institutions of the core, rather than to rivals. The history of the United Kingdom, and of most states, would appear to deny that homogeneous development is achieved.

Hechter felt that the diffusion model was inadequate for what he perceived to be happening in the modern world. He proposed, instead, that events could be better explained by a process of internal colonialism. Although much of the attention surrounding the theory has focused on Hechter's work, it was not, as Hechter himself pointed out (*ibid.*, p8), a new idea, having been considered by Lenin and Antonio Gramsci. The theory proposes that the core dominates the periphery politically and exploits it materially; development does not proceed on a national basis, except under exceptional circumstances. In detail, the process starts with an uneven progress of modernisation which gives the core an advantage; there is an unequal distribution of resources and power between it and the periphery. The core seeks to stabilize and monopolize its advantages through policies aimed at institutionalising the existing stratification system - it attempts to regulate the allocation of social roles so that these roles commonly defined as having high status are reserved for its members, not individuals from the less advanced group. This maintains a cultural division: the periphery remains less advanced, and becomes dependent on, and sensitive to, decisions made at the core. Peripheral industrialisation, if it occurs at all, is highly specialised and geared for export. The outcome

is thus maintenance, even exacerbation, of the core-periphery dichotomy.

Hechter reckoned that the political and cultural history of the British Isles could be explained by a model of internal colonialism. However, his presentation of that history seemed to lack a thorough knowledge and understanding, and consequently his explanation is deficient. Certain aspects of English foreign policy and UK internal policy over the centuries are suggestive of a colonial relationship between England and the Celtic Fringe, but the concept of England as the 'core' is hard to sustain. It is difficult to show that there has been or is any grand plan of exploitation of the Celtic countries for England's benefit; such a design would require that the English 'core' recognised a difference between 'England' and 'Britain'. On the contrary, there is a long history of English assumption that the British Isles are synonymous with England, a view much easier to maintain since the Union of the Scottish and English Parliaments removed Scotland's capacity for independent action at the international level (Paton 1968, p19). The significance of this is that there has been a tendency for the powerbase in the London to regard the outlying areas of England and the Celtic Fringe (when no longer threatening) as provinces of more or less equal status. It is the Home Counties, rather than the whole of England, which may be appropriately described as 'the core'.

Moreover, rather than being imbued with any calculated colonialist intent, policies drafted in London are more likely to assume that the core and the Celtic Fringe are worthy of the same treatment, as pointed out by Paton (*ibid.*, p20):

The attitude of the English to Scotland is no doubt complicated. For the most part they do not think about Scotland at all. When they do think about it, they regard it sometimes as a place utterly remote, where

strange things may happen which have no bearing on their own lives. At other times they think of everything that happens there as barely distinguishable from what is familiar to them in England. But when it comes to action, they tend to assume that whatever may suit England must be well adapted to the needs of Scotland.

Birch (1977) reckoned that the British circumstances did not meet the internal colonialism model in its two main features: the dominant group's exclusion of persons from the periphery from prestigious state positions, and the control of industry in the periphery so that it becomes highly specialised and dependent on export. Neither of these, he reckoned, applies to the United Kingdom. However, it is possible to argue that neither Hechter's model nor Birch's rejection of it is wholly satisfactory. It is true that persons from the periphery are not excluded from prestigious positions, but there is ample evidence that the core 'establishment' absorbs them quickly: as most of the positions of prestige and power are located in London, and the functions of the rest are concerned with, or influenced by, decisions made there, individuals who break into the 'establishment' ranks are drawn, with their families, to London and the mores associated with the Home Counties upper-middle class. Although, therefore, persons from the periphery are not barred, they may not remain recognisable as 'from the periphery' for long, and their offspring are likely to have only tenuous social links with it. As for the control of industry, whether this occurs or not may depend on the particular needs of the core at a particular point in time. In the hey-day of the British Empire, there was opportunity for British industry to expand, and all areas could develop without the core suffering from competition. In the latter part of the twentieth century, the decline in British industry has made all parts eager for re-development, but the core is likely to suffer least and to re-develop quickest. No formal plan is needed to effect an apparent control and restriction of the peripheral areas' industry: as the

government of the day is obliged to satisfy - or at least, to appear capable of satisfying - the needs and wishes of the bulk of the population, policies will be adopted to effect that end. The bulk of the population of the United Kingdom live in and close to the Home Counties core, so that any government will, quite naturally, consider economic development there to be a priority.

As Edwards (1985, pp73-74) observed, it is possible to see elements of both models in British history. Rather than imperialistic exploitation by one country of others, it has been, and is, a case of powerful institutions and individuals seeking to nurture and expand their power wherever possible, within the former and present United Kingdom as a whole. Agnew (1979, p174) noted that Hechter's simplistic portrayal of a deliberate domination of the Welsh, Irish and Scottish periphery by the English core overlooks the existence of any dynamics within the periphery:

Thus the Scottish, Welsh and Irish societies only changed when England acted, and England usually knew what it was up to....This seems to me to be a very extreme, if not untenable, position to take on the nature of social change.

However, a particular study of the Highlands and Islands appeared to give evidence of the economic aspect of internal colonialism in operation, in respect of that area:

The marginal economy does not have the opportunity to diversify, and with increasing control of its economy by entrepreneurs and agencies located in the progressive modern sector, it then becomes the source for primary and extractive products that the modern sector manufactures and distributes. The marginal sector is used instrumentally by the modern sector and indeed becomes functional to the maintenance of the continual growth of the modern sector. (Prattis 1977, p10)

As Edwards pointed out (1985, p74):

..it cannot be denied that colonisation of a sort, mixed with blundering and benign neglect, has been a feature of the scene. It is with the alleged implications of

internal colonialism that problems arise.

The complexity of political and economic affairs makes it hard to discover any single theory which could serve to explain the pattern of UK national development; as Birch concluded after considering these models, the search for a predictive model in the inexact domain of politics is probably pointless (1977, p34).

Implications of development models for Gaelic

Whatever the ability of the models to explain political and economic development, the implications are that, with diffusion, the cultural differences between the core and the periphery will wither away, while with internal colonialism, a culturally-based divide remains. This would appear to suggest that a situation where the indigenous language survived would fit the internal colonialism model, but Hechter (op. cit., p207) played down the role of language, and indeed any particular cultural marker, in maintaining the core-periphery divide:

...the census evidence also points towards eventual linguistic homogeneity, save in Eire. This might appear to weigh against the internal colonial model, which predicts the maintenance of indigenous cultural identity in the periphery despite heightened exposure to the core culture. However the establishment of compulsory public education in the English language introduces a new element to the analysis, namely a legal sanction against Welsh speaking in school. The active intervention of the state on behalf of this English cultural form was not easily resisted in the Celtic lands. The internal colonial thesis need not insist on maintenance of the peripheral culture in all its forms, but in at least one. It is the existence of a social boundary which defines the peripheral group, and not the particular cultural stuff which it encloses.

Hechter's attempt to disengage the role of language to protect the consistency of his theory is unconvincing, for his argument that English was forced on the Celtic

periphery is, at best, only partly true. In the first place, the suggestion that Eire is the only part of the periphery which fulfils the linguistic implications of the model of internal colonialism is not sustainable because the true extent of the use of Irish (as explained in Chapter 3: 5[b]) indicates that there is no reason to suppose that Eire, despite its own compulsory public education in Irish, is much better placed to resist linguistic homogeneity than Wales or Scotland, and irrelevant because Eire is outside the realm of UK national development anyway. Moreover, in Scotland, the promotion of English and the erosion of Gaelic was pursued by the Scottish Crown; the direct sanctions taken against Gaelic were made within Scotland by Scots, not by decree from England. Furthermore, after the Union of Parliaments in 1707, the Scottish ruling classes sought to lose their Scots speech (Hanham 1969, p35; Daiches 1978, p107) and under their influence the education system taught standard English to the general population. Linguistic change in Scotland has thus been largely the result of policy decided by Scots themselves, whereas in Hechter's classic internal colonial model, it should not have happened, and in his amended version it should have been enforced by the "active intervention of the state" (op. cit.). Scott however (1993, p12), doubted that Westminster and Whitehall were capable of sustaining anything so subtle and consistent as a formal policy of aiding colonisation through systematic undermining of Celtic culture; rather, he considered, "It is much more likely to be the automatic result of the concentration of political power in London, with the wealth and social prestige that go with it".

The assertion that the social boundary, based on at least one cultural marker, is more important than the "cultural stuff", is a rather flimsy basis on which to support a theory of colonialism. The strength of such a social boundary would seem to be entirely dependent on the very

quality of the difference between the periphery's "cultural stuff" and the core's. In Hechter's own words, referring to core-periphery differences in political affiliations (op. cit., p10): "...the internal colonial model states that political cleavages will largely reflect significant cultural differences between groups". If the peripheral population does not appear to maintain a culture which is significantly different, then it would seem that one of the identifying features of internal colonialism is not convincingly manifested.

Thus, the internal colonialism model of Scotland's relationship with England, already apparently unsuitable in terms of economic development, is not fulfilled in the predicted retention of linguistic differences, nor in the terms of Hechter's explanation for the decline of these differences. As observed by Edwards (op. cit., p73), the diffusion model does seem to explain linguistic decline in the Celtic nations better than the colonial model, in that it predicts the eventual cultural homogeneity of the core and the periphery; the trend towards this is certainly evident linguistically, with the spread of English. However, as already argued, the diffusive theory of national development does not, logically, lead to economic homogeneity, and this seems borne out in practice. Neither model appears to reflect a causal relationship between national development and language use within the United Kingdom; if appropriate elements of a better model were sought, observation seems to suggest that there should be a core with the economically and politically exploitative energy suggested by internal colonialism, combined with cultural diffusion to the periphery. Alternatively, it may be that the international role of language may place it outside of models of national development, as implied by the continuing influence of English culture on Eire, despite political separation from the United Kingdom's core.

2. Scotland's current political and constitutional position

The Crowns of Scotland and England were united in 1603, but while this brought the countries under the same monarch, for a century thereafter the kingdoms were separate, each with its Privy Council, Parliament, and state officials. Under the Treaty of Union of 1707, the Parliaments of Scotland and England were abolished and were replaced by the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. The principal provisions in the Treaty were the united Parliament, the guarantee of free trade within the United Kingdom and its possessions, and perpetual safeguards given to the Church of Scotland, the Scottish legal system and the courts, and to the universities. This allowed Scots to retain day-to-day control over much of Scottish public life; however, there was no in-built blocking mechanism by which the Scottish representatives in the UK Parliament could veto any legislation to which they did not wish Scotland to be subject. The lack of a written Constitution, and special legal procedures for its interpretation, allowed the UK Parliament the omnipotence of its English predecessor: there was, and could be, no limit to its legislating powers, and no law it passed could be deemed unconstitutional. Through its overwhelming English majority, the UK Parliament was, in effect, the previous English Parliament continuing, with powers extended to cover Scotland - an interpretation of the Treaty which was officially approved on more than one occasion (Mackinnon 1896, pp420-422 and 521-522; Mackenzie 1941, pp7-8). As minorities in the House of Commons and House of Lords, Scottish MPs and peers discovered that they were powerless to oppose breaches of the Treaty, neither could they repeal it, which they attempted in 1714. The reasons why a majority in the last Scottish Parliament had agreed to the terms which precipitated such circumstances have been discussed in numerous historical

studies and are irrelevant to this one; the important consideration here is the basis on which the present-day governance of Scotland was established.

Following the Union of the Parliaments, the administration of Scotland was carried out by the new Offices of Secretary of State for Scotland and Lord Advocate: the former to implement the government of Scotland, and the latter to oversee Scottish Law. The UK Parliament abolished the post of Secretary of State in the wake of the 1745 Rebellion, and the relevant responsibilities were assumed by the Lord Advocate. At this time, apart from a serious matter like the Rebellion, the UK administration paid little attention to Scotland: when James Stuart Mackenzie was appointed as the Minister responsible for Scotland in 1761, he was surprised to find no papers in his office and no sign that any business was being carried on (Murdoch 1980, p106). During the nineteenth century, the functions of government increased, particularly at local level. Local authorities became responsible for public health, road-building, education and poor law relief, and at the same time some became active in 'improvement' measures such as water supplies, drainage, hospitals and town planning. There was a need for central government to become involved in such developments, in order to monitor the use of grants, and so the Scottish Office was established in 1885, along with a Scottish Secretary. The Scottish Office assumed, for Scotland, most of the functions of the UK Home Office, as well some of the Treasury's, and those of the Local Government Board for England. Over its first forty years, the Scottish Office's remit expanded, and the title 'Secretary of State' was restored in 1926; in 1939 the powers of the Scottish Office were vested directly in the Secretary of State. Between 1939 and 1984 functions were transferred to and from the Scottish Office, with a substantial net gain of responsibilities (Kellas 1989, p32). However, recent years have seen moves

towards ^a reduction of state involvement, with the privatisation of state-owned utilities and agencies.

As detailed in a recent assessment of Scotland's constitutional position by the present government (HMSO, 1993b), the Secretary of State's responsibilities are administered by five main Departments: Agriculture and Fisheries, Education, Environment, Home and Health, and Industry, under the direction of a Minister of State and three Under Secretaries of State. Scotland is thus partly governed through the Scottish Office, and partly through other government departments in London. A development of particular relevance to Gaelic was the proposed transfer of responsibility for the Scottish Arts Council, on 1st April 1994, from the UK Department of National Heritage to the Scottish Office.

As the Scottish Office covers the functions of several Whitehall departments, the Secretary of State exercises considerable power. However, the post is not a major one within the Cabinet, and within UK politics it is regarded as promotion if a Scottish Secretary is moved to another Cabinet post. The scope of his brief, and the need to spend time in Scotland and in Scottish committees, results in few opportunities to perform before a full House of Commons, thus diminishing the office's prestige. The Secretary's role in Scotland, as pointed out by Kellas (1989, pp27-28), is partly that of a proconsul, 'speaking for Scotland' in London, but also 'speaking for London' in Scotland. He is not chosen for the position, as an individual, by the Scottish electorate, nor does he take the post as the chosen leader of the majority party in Scotland; he receives office as the Scottish spokesman of the majority party within the UK. Consequently he is empowered to formulate and implement legislation which may be unpopular in Scotland, but cannot be legally resisted, as the Secretary is accountable only to the UK Parliament, not to the Scottish people.

This non-accountability has been the basis of demands for constitutional reform, for which the alternatives mooted are a devolved assembly with limited powers, remaining within the United Kingdom, or an independent Scottish state. Protagonists for each of these regard the present arrangements for governing of Scotland as inadequate and undemocratic but they disagree over the extent of the self-government required to remedy it. In presenting the case for a devolved assembly in 1988, the Campaign for a Scottish Assembly (CSA) noted:

3.1 Scotland has a team of Ministers and an administration who are supposed to exist in order to provide Scotland with distinctive government according to Scottish wishes in those fields of British government which affect Scotland only. They cannot possibly do so.....

3.8 We are not aware of any other instance, at least in what is regarded as the democratic world, of a territory which has a distinctive corpus of law and an acknowledged right to distinctive policies but yet has no body expressly elected to safeguard and supervise these. The existing machinery of Scottish government is an attempt either to create an illusion or to achieve the impossible. (CSA 1989, pp15,17)

The success of the CSA's campaign depended, as a first step, on the Labour Party winning the 1992 General Election, having promised the establishment of a Scottish Assembly within a year of taking office. The Conservative Party opposed any form of constitutional change, and their overall victory at the UK level (though Labour was once again dominant in Scotland), and the failure of the Scottish National Party (SNP) to make ground with its campaign for full secession, left the issue in abeyance. Opinion polls continue to show, as they have done for a decade, around 80 per cent of Scots in favour of some form of Home Rule, but the absence of widespread active support by the general public, in contrast to the mass demonstrations for political reform in Eastern Europe, a few years ago, has at times led leading Unionist politicians (Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat) to doubt whether the Scottish public really desires

constitutional change. The present Secretary of State has explained on several occasions that by voting for Unionist parties, the Scottish electorate accedes to the legitimacy of the Westminster Parliament, and hence to the right of its majority party to legislate for Scotland, and that as long as the Conservatives remain in power, constitutional change could only occur by Scots voting for full independence in sufficient numbers to give the SNP a majority of the Scottish seats. This is a scenario which has never come close to realisation.

While the Conservative Party remains opposed to change, and the federalist policy of the Liberal Democrats would only have a chance of consideration in the event of hung parliament, constitutional change awaits, as before 1992, the election of a Labour government or an SNP majority within Scotland. At present, the Labour Party is as dominant as before in Scotland and appears to be gaining sufficient support in England (and retaining it in Wales) to suggest that the next General election may see the formation of a Labour government, with the promise of constitutional change to follow. This seems more likely than the election of a Scottish majority of SNP MPs, for the winning of that number of seats would require widespread and bitter disaffection with the Labour Party, the principle of government from Westminster, and the media, which, at General Elections, focuses public attention on UK issues and the Unionist parties. Moreover, this disaffection would have to be translated into enthusiasm for independence rather than abstention from voting. There are no signs, at present, that this is imminent.

However, were another Conservative government to follow, it seems unlikely that it would be with the approval of a majority of the Scottish electorate, and the continuing imposition of policies with which that majority disagrees would remain a source of grievance. For that reason,

constitutional change is likely to be remain an issue in the foreseeable future. It is possible that if such change does occur, it may happen with a speed not anticipated a short time before; it would offer political opportunities, in terms of policy implementation and personal advancement, and were it to appear imminent, some politicians, whose caution on the issue has hitherto helped to maintain the status quo, may take a sudden interest in hastening the process.

3. Current provision for Gaelic

'Provision' for Gaelic is defined here as financial support from official government, or quasi-governmental, sources, whether they be local, state, or trans-state (that is, a body such as the European Union disbursing the pooled contributions of the state governments according to central policy). Such support would be directed towards enterprises and practices which would encourage the use of the language. Private sources of support, through donations, trust funds, fund-raising activities and so forth, will not be considered, as the present chapter concerns the political environment, and while the extent of funding from private sources may undoubtedly be influenced by political events, official provision, which underwrites the year-to-year continuity of Gaelic promotion and learning, and most of the Gaelic-essential employment, is more directly affected.

As has been noted in Chapter 3, provision for Gaelic in terms of education, and the number of Gaelic-essential posts supported, is not, for its size of minority speech-community, among the poorest, but much of it is due to recent developments. However, the nature of majority/minority linguistic relations tends to throw financial support for minority languages into relief, with allocations appearing on balance-sheets as though

they were a gift or concession from the majority. Not infrequently, the view is expressed on the majority side that such expenditure is profligate: thus government support for increased Gaelic television broadcasting has been called "a gigantic and uproarious waste of money" (McKay, 1993). Such attitudes represent language as an expense only where the minority variety are concerned, ignoring the support given to the majority language by its presumptive use: communication in the majority language is seen simply as communication, rather than a financed reinforcement of linguistic dominance. Neither is it often acknowledged that states such as the United Kingdom spend large sums in promoting their majority languages abroad; the wider use of majority languages often allows such ventures to appear as philanthropic endeavours in the pursuit of international understanding or wider education, though they may also be seen, with justification, as linguistic gambits in the securing and maintenance of political and economic advantage. Overall, the expenditure on majority languages is rarely recognised on the same basis as that on minority ones; the notion that tax-paying, minority-language-speaking citizens might be entitled to a proportionate consideration in language provision within their state is not always acceptable to "the rest of us who speak normally" (Burnie, 1991).

In this examination, the focus is on the source of public funding for particular ways of nurturing the use of Gaelic, rather than consideration of the amounts. Amounts can be varied; what matters here is the extent to which, in the overall scheme, the nurture of Gaelic depends on decisions taken at one level or another. The public expenditure on Gaelic covers education, broadcasting, children's playgroups, language promotion, Gaelic Arts, publishing and academic research and development.

Local Government

The chief involvement of local government in Gaelic provision is in the administration of school and community education, and the Gaelic element of this is funded from education department budgets and additional finance awarded by the Scottish Office Education Department (SOED) under the Specific Awards Scheme for Gaelic Education. The Education (Scotland) Act 1980 requires education authorities to make provision for the teaching of Gaelic in Gaelic-speaking areas, although these are not specified, and in practice the 'Gaelic-speaking areas' seem to be interpreted as those places where there is demand for Gaelic (SOED 1994, p7). Thus the school and community provision varies across Scotland; according to the Scottish Office Education Department, there has been "significant progress" in Highland Region, the Western Isles and Strathclyde Region, while other education authorities have responded to "smaller, localised demands which were [in 1992] steadily growing" (ibid., p31). Apart from direct expenditure on Gaelic-medium schooling, and Gaelic language classes, local education authorities have been involved in support and curricular work on behalf of Gaelic: inter-authority projects and local projects (funded by the Specific Grants Scheme for Gaelic Education), and working contact with CNAG, CNSA, and CLI. The SOED described the latter as having a "strong working relationship with Highland Region" (ibid., p50.)

Lesser expenditure on Gaelic may be incurred by other local government departments: for example, in Highways Departments, for new bilingual (or even monolingual) roadsigns, and in Leisure and Recreation Departments, the cost of library books and materials, and cultural activities.

Ultimately, as most of the total funding available to local government comes from central government (the

revenue raised through local taxation accounts for only a small proportion), most of local government funding for Gaelic has the same source. Local authorities have the task of budgeting and determining priorities in respect of the resources available, and the provision for Gaelic in education is nominally protected by the Education (Scotland) Act 1980 and the Specific Awards Scheme for Gaelic Education, but there would appear to be practical difficulties in fully implementing the former, especially in finding Gaelic-speaking teachers (ibid., pp3-4).

Central Government

The SOED dispenses the Specific Awards for Gaelic Education to local authorities; the total amount has increased each year since the inauguration of the scheme in 1987 (SOED 1994, pp61-62). The SOED also funds further education colleges, of which Sabhal Mòr Ostaig is prominent in the Gaelic context, being the only Gaelic-medium college, but Lews Castle College in Stornoway has increased its Gaelic-medium provision in recent years. Some other colleges provide classes for learners (ibid., pp23-25). The SOED also gives support to organisations involved in informal Gaelic education, such as An Comunn Gaidhealach, CNAG, Proiseict nan Eilean, CNSA and CLI. There has also been SOED expenditure on curricular development, European Community (EU) Workshops on Bilingualism, SOED circulars on the place of Gaelic in the curriculum, and in-service training (ibid., p11).

The Scottish Office also funds the Scottish Higher Education Funding Council which finances the Scottish universities, and through them, the Celtic Departments at Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and the Gaelic Department at Jordanhill College of Education, which is now part of Strathclyde University. Jordanhill is now the only unit providing teacher-training for the Gaelic education service: Northern College in Aberdeen no longer

has such a facility, and St Andrew's College in Bearsden uses staff from Jordanhill when there is demand.

The Scottish Office also provides grant assistance to Gaelic organisations under section 23 of the National Heritage (Scotland) Act 1985, and from the Scottish Arts Council budget there have been allocations to the National Gaelic Arts Project, occasional awards to individual Feisean, and finance for the publishing of Gaelic books through the Gaelic Books Council. (The Scottish Arts Council's funding has been provided through the Scottish Office since April 1994, having previously been part of the UK Arts Council budget, administered by the UK Department of National Heritage.)

Central government has long provided funds for Gaelic broadcasting through the BBC, and since 1992/93, the Gaelic Television Fund, established by the Broadcasting Act of 1990, has financed the production of Gaelic programmes by BBC, ITV, and a number of smaller independent companies. The funding is available through the Independent Television Commission, the amount is decided by the Secretary of State for Scotland and the allocation amongst programme-makers is made by an ad hoc body, Comataidh Telebhisein Gàidhlig.

Support for some Gaelic-orientated projects with economic development aspects (such as Aros, the Skye Heritage Centre) has been given by Local Enterprise Companies (LECs), which are Government-funded. The 10 LECs in the area formerly served, for similar purposes, by the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB), have an obligation in their regulations to support Gaelic, and they will deal with most of the smaller Gaelic project applications (SOED 1994, p49). The link between Gaelic development and social development was pioneered by the HIDB: this included financial assistance to CNSA for its first 3 years, initial funding

for CLI, support for the Gaelic publisher Acair, for National Mods and community based initiatives, as well as various Gaelic Arts initiatives, in partnership with other organisations. This level of involvement in Gaelic activities continued briefly under Highlands and Islands Enterprise (HIE) (the 'umbrella' organisation for the Highlands and Islands LECs), and HIE's interest in Gaelic development was reported as focused on five areas: broadcasting and related training; provision for adult learners; development of Sabhal Mor Ostaig; provision of a Gaelic research centre; and Gaelic-related economic initiatives (for example, in tourism and the arts) (SOED 1994, p49). However, responsibility for Gaelic Development is now delegated to Comunn na Gaidhlig, though the relevant CNAG staff salaries and funding are still paid by HIE.

The European Union

European Union funding has assisted cultural events, the development of Gaelic computer software, sundry research projects and research conferences, publishing of children's books, and the appointment of a CNAG Gaelic Development Officer, along with the establishment of the Gaelic Television Training Trust at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and European Social Fund assistance for Sabhal Mòr Ostaig itself (MacKinnon, 1994b).

Summary

It is apparent that most of the funding available to Gaelic comes, directly or indirectly, from central government. The provision has increased greatly since the early 1980s, and for 1993/94 the planned expenditure on Gaelic (through education, the support of Gaelic organisations, and Gaelic television) amounted to £12,095,558 (Scottish Office, 1993; SOED 1994, p11). It may be surmised that this increase has occurred through a higher degree of interest in Gaelic on the part of

government, responding to an emergent professionalism and commitment on the part of the language's protagonists.

4. The governance of Scotland: implications for Gaelic of constitutional change/maintenance of the status quo

The establishment of devolved or independent legislatures elsewhere suggests that unless the regional or national language enjoys active support and use amongst most of the general public and the politicians, the existence of the legislature makes little difference to the language's condition. In pre-independent Ireland, although the condition of Irish was much stronger than that of Gaelic today, a mass shift to English had already occurred; Fasold (1984, p278) noted that nineteenth-century nationalist sentiment was, for the most part, expressed in English. Although Irish had great support as a symbol of nationhood, and its suppression in former years was accepted as one of the reasons for striving for autonomy, the Irish people, as a whole, were not more attracted to the language after independence than they had been before. (It is generally acknowledged that the educational efforts were ill-conceived, but the point to be taken here is that most of the Irish public abdicated personal responsibility for the language and left the matter to the government, an attitude still evident [CCP 1988, p67].) Meanwhile, in politics and in the administration, English has predominated since independence, despite many, perhaps most, of the actors being nominally proficient in Irish. MacNamara (1971, p68) felt that the very success of the independence movement sapped strength from the language-restoration effort; it was thought that if the Irish had political control of their territory, working for the language would not be necessary.

Although Frisian has around half a million speakers, the level of grass-roots activity on behalf of the language amongst the general public is low, and despite principled use of the language in the Provincial Assembly and in provincial government, the overall condition of the language appears to have improved little. According to Fishman (1991):

A great deal of attention has been given to the legalistic niceties of language legislation and policy statements, and the overcoming of Dutch resistance in these areas is greatly stressed as a matter of principle. However, once proper legal provisions are in place in the few areas in which Dutch resistance has finally been worn down, the implementation of new opportunities via RLS [Reversing Language Shift] funding and concrete institutional procedures leaves much to be desired (p177).....The Frisians often succeed in scolding and berating the central authorities for lack of central support for the Frisianization of Friesland, more than they succeed in consensually adopting and then vigorously following through on anything like a well-considered set of urgent priorities to be accomplished by their own wherewithal and efforts. (p179)

While ill-judged and token action may be taken when legislatures are sympathetic, it is also possible that new regional or national governments may show no interest in linguistic or cultural matters at all. A case of a regional legislature unsympathetic to the local language was cited by Stephens (1976, pp543-549). Sardinia's Autonomy Statute presented Sard as the Second Official Language, yet the Sardinian Regional Assembly had done nothing to secure this status; all attempts by folklore and cultural societies to win a measure of recognition had apparently failed.

Where minority or lesser-used languages have benefited from the establishment of new regional or national legislatures, there has been clear coincidence of popular and political will. The condition of Catalan and Faroese has been improved by supportive legislatures pursuing policies which found favour with the public, and in similar circumstances Hebrew was restored to full daily

use. However, these are special cases, dissimilar to most minority language situations. Catalan was already known by most of the population, and the drive to restore its position coincides with the drive to assert the Catalan identity after years of repression under Franco. Faroese, likewise, was well-used and recognised as the national language, being strongly associated with the nationalist movement. The task of strengthening it amongst forty thousand people must have been aided by the Islands' remoteness from Denmark, while the introduction of a new autonomous civil service, new educational provisions, a broadcasting service and additional publishing, allowed a natural expansion of language use in a population already accustomed to it. Hebrew, as already noted (Chapter 4: 3[b]), was the appropriate lingua franca for immigrants to Israel.

The establishment in Scotland of a devolved assembly or a fully sovereign parliament would affect Gaelic in that provisions for the language, and measures affecting it, could be subject to greater scrutiny and debate than is currently the case with Westminster's crowded schedules. There are, however, no convincing reasons to suppose that this is would automatically result in greater provision from internal resources than obtains at present. This is partly because none of the parties in favour of some measure of Home Rule lays a heavy emphasis on the nurture of Gaelic, and partly because it is a minority interest within the general population and shows no sign of being otherwise. As mentioned in Chapter 1, MacKinnon (1981) found widespread sympathy for the language amongst non-speakers, but this was passive support, untested by any requirement for the survey respondents to consider the language a feature of their daily lives. Unlike Wales, the language dimension has not been a major political issue in Scotland, and has not been featured strongly in Home Rule campaigns. The differing importance of this aspect has been recognised by UK government on the one

occasion in recent times (1979) when a Bill was presented to Parliament for the establishment of forms of self-government for the two countries: the proposed Welsh Assembly was to be empowered to decide whether or not to use Welsh in its proceedings and documents, but the plans for a Scottish Assembly did not mention language at all.

A devolved or independent Scottish legislature would be in constant contact with the rest of the English-speaking world, and given that most Scots today speak English with a Scottish accent, rather than Gaelic or 'Scots', it is unlikely that these latter would assume much functional importance in a new regime. While the committed interest of many Scots will keep linguistic and cultural issues to the fore, it must be doubted that much additional financial assistance would be forthcoming, were the demand based on sentiment alone. Another factor, as far as Gaelic is concerned, is that a Scottish legislature might well split the overall support given to Gaelic and the 'Scots' language in a manner less favourable to Gaelic than at present.

For these reasons, therefore, constitutional change would not seem to imply greater support for Gaelic, though two qualifications have to be appended to this conclusion. First, for Gaelic to survive as a language of communal use, certain initiatives have to be taken, and the present study draws together evidence indicating that economic and social development can be effected through language development. It is a moot point whether a Scottish Assembly or Parliament might, perceiving wider benefits, invest in language development, while with the present system continuing, the reduction of state-directed development might mean that such an opportunity could not be taken. Second, were Scotland to become a state, and hence a member of the European Union in its own right, additional funding for Gaelic projects might be obtainable from that Union. The present arrangements

for special funding favour cooperative ventures among three or more members, to avoid charges of favour. At present, Gaelic is one of three autochthonous languages within the UK, and the opportunities to set up fund-seeking partnerships with other minority languages are consequently limited, because only one UK participant can be involved. Thus, a partnership project involving Welsh precludes the involvement of Gaelic and vice versa. Independent Scottish membership of the European Union would therefore allow increased opportunity for Gaelic bodies to secure funding for appropriately designed projects.

5. The European Union and minority languages

The present European Union of fifteen Member States traces its origins back to the Treaty of Paris of 1951, which led to the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) the following year. The success of this experiment resulted in the signing of two Treaties of Rome in 1957 which set up the the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC or Euratom). All three Treaties were amended and complemented by the Single European Act of 1986, which provided for increased coordination amongst the members, principally in the fields of economic policy, social policy, research and technological development, environmental improvement and progress towards economic and monetary union. There were also provisions to facilitate the passing of Community Law. The terms of the 1986 Act were consolidated and developed by the Treaty on European Union of 1992 (commonly known as the Maastricht Treaty) by which the Member States agreed on the introduction of a common currency by 1999, increased uniformity of policy across a broad range of domestic affairs, increased powers for the European Parliament,

and the introduction of common policies on foreign affairs, security, and later, defence.

Although ECSC, EEC, and EAEC still exist, they are all managed by common institutions, and so the singular term 'European Union' (EU) is commonly used (some texts written before 1992 refer to the 'European Community' or EC). The Union's legislative process involves: the European Commission, the civil service which is responsible for drafting proposals for legislation; the European Parliament, which scrutinises and amends the proposals; and the Council of Ministers which takes the final decisions. Initiatives for the Commission's proposals for legislation come from the Commission itself, from Members of the Parliament, and from petitions presented to the Parliament by individuals and bodies within the Community.

The language issue reveals an inherent contradiction in the purpose and operation of the European Union. On one hand the objective of the Union is economic, social and political integration requiring a level of cooperation transcending the interests of individual nations and states. On the other hand, the diversity of European languages presents an obstacle to integration and cooperation, but is nevertheless upheld as a rich asset, representing the breadth of the continent's cultural achievement. Yet this appreciation of diversity is guarded, in that due respect is paid to prospering major languages, but little has been done, so far, for the threatened minority languages.

At present, German, French, Italian, Dutch, Danish, English, Greek, Portuguese, and Spanish are recognised as the Union's official and working languages, with Finnish and Swedish to be added following the extension of membership to Finland and Sweden. Irish and Luxembourgish are recognised as national languages without full EU

status, though legal documents are translated into Irish (on applying for membership, the Irish government sought recognition for the language, but did not press for its unlimited validity). As pointed out by Coulmas (1991, p5) this concession to Irish shows:

...the actual level of the Community's integration and its nature as an association of sovereign states rather than a federation in that it demonstrates the willingness to accommodate national desires and to accord national languages a privileged status.

No other international forum uses so many languages; nowhere else are languages such as Greek and Danish accorded equal status with English and French. All official and working languages have been promoted through the Union's LINGUA programme to develop foreign language competence.

There are a number of reasons why a reduction of the number of official languages is unlikely. There is the need to maintain member states' prestige, and a formal acknowledgement of partnership. For the judiciary, the range of languages ensures that EU legislation is broadly accessible to its citizens. Although there have been several moves to reduce the number of languages used in the European Parliament, they have never gained enough support, because this would effectively limit the number of EU citizens who could participate fully as Members of the Parliament, if elected. The Union's first Regulation also requires that replies to citizens' correspondence should be in the language of the citizen's choice. Lastly, there is the economic aspect of the languages: tuition is a marketable commodity which earns for the homelands, and the export of a language creates an environment into which material exports can follow (Coulmas, op. cit., pp24-25). Member states are naturally loathe to give up the advantages of 'selling' their own language, and incur the losses and expense of 'buying' another.

The Union as a body thus actively supports multilingualism, but only because individual members have an interest in upholding the rights of their own state language - languages which, ironically, tend to owe their status to the discouragement of multilingualism within their own state frontiers. Member states have endorsed general statements concerning "...respect for the cultural diversity in the European Community..." (European Union, 1981), and asserted that "...the multilingualism of Europe is one of the essential features of its culture and civilisation..." (European Union, 1982), but the logical extension of this to specific action on behalf of minority languages has not been pursued. The problem, according to Coulmas (op. cit., p15), is that although the European Parliament appears generally sympathetic to minority issues, it "...is more integrationist than either Council or Commission in that it is more prone to advocate actions which can be interpreted as weakening the nation state". The European Commission has on several occasions failed to implement the Parliament's recommendations concerning minorities, because they have often gone beyond general expressions of goodwill, advocating specific measures referring to particular minorities and particular governments. Had such actions been pursued, it seems safe to say that the governments concerned would not have been pleased to have been singled out, and there would have been unavoidable and awkward policy implications for the other states and their minorities:

The member states have differing traditions of understanding the human rights and laws bearing on minority concerns. Except in those areas where the member states have through the signing of treaties transferred their sovereign rights to the EC they do not accept any interference by the Community. For reasons of political prudence the EC must...avoid giving the impression of attempting to encroach upon the prerogatives of member states. This is particularly true of the Commission, whereas the Parliament can sometimes be more bold without compromising its credibility" (op. cit., p16).

However, linguistic minorities have benefited from the establishment of the Union. It has provided a new forum in which their concerns can be raised, and opportunities for contact with each other to make common cause: the collective population of minority language speakers - about 40 million - is potentially capable of considerable impact on Union affairs. As a result of parliamentary Resolutions, the European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages was established in 1982. The Parliament also created, in 1983, a budgetary provision for actions in support of linguistic and cultural minorities, so that the Commission can finance publications, research, conferences and pilot studies. In the broader context of the Union's operations, there is also regional policy designed to assist rural areas and arrest depopulation, which is directly applicable to minority language homelands and can thus contribute to the maintenance of speech-communities.

The European Union has thus been rather more helpful to linguistic minorities than some of the individual member governments, but any specific legislation designed to nurture minority languages, in the form, for example, of guaranteed facilities for use, or specific grants for education, is unlikely to be implemented unless greater integration occurs, with the member states relinquishing much more of their sovereignty. It is not possible to tell when or if that might happen; in the meantime, obtaining benefits for Gaelic within the present framework would appear to depend on the initiative and cooperative efforts of the minority groups, with the support of Members of the European Parliament, rather than on representations by the UK government.

CHAPTER 6: LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT, EMPLOYMENT, AND A VIABLE FUTURE ROLE FOR GAELIC

The research reported in Chapters 2 and 3 identified a number of salient points concerning the use of Gaelic and other comparable minority languages in the work domain, and how this relates to their present condition and circumstances. The significance for Gaelic of these findings lies in their implications for the future of the language. This will be explored in the context of the arguments advanced in Chapter 4 on aspects of the role of language in society, and the political considerations described in Chapter 5.

The review of the condition of comparable European minority languages and their use in the work domain suggested that there was a rough correlation between the number of employment posts for which knowledge of a particular language was required, and the condition of the language, but only insofar as the condition reflected the number of speakers of the language. Larger speech-communities seemed to harbour a strongly language-based nationalism and, having achieved various degrees of political autonomy (from the political pressure exerted by strength of numbers, allied to nationalist feeling), the languages acquired greater importance in the work domain. Apart from the political independence which has granted Irish special status and provision, there was no case of the implementation of a special strategy or policy which resulted in a number of posts which was disproportionately large for the size of the speech community.

The only policies employed which could be identified as raising the number of minority-language posts were those associated with the language having some form of legally-recognised 'official' or 'national' status. For example, the 'language profile' accorded some civil service posts

in the Basque Autonomous Community undoubtedly boosts the number of posts reckonable as Basque-essential, and the 'national language' status of Romansh accounts for most of the posts associated with it, due to the statutory requirements for translation and interpretation. With regard to the Gaelic situation, granting the language some kind of statutory recognition of status would accord with the UK's own policy towards Welsh, though this move alone would not necessarily result in the direct creation of many Gaelic-essential employment posts; that would depend on the nature of the status, the implications which it would have, in theory, for further statutory provision for the language, and the extent to which there would be political will for further provision. Nevertheless, it is possible, even probable, that a recognised status would provide a base for further developments, but because of the differences in political circumstances it must be doubted whether, in the short term, civil service posts analogous to those for Basque and Romansh would be created. More importantly, it may be questioned whether the provision of these types of post is a priority: whether the funding could be spent more usefully, for the language's condition, in other ways.

1. A theory of minority-language development

In the absence of evidence of a particular direction of policy which appears to improve the condition of a minority language, the information, interpretation and discussion presented in previous chapters can be used to construct a theoretical model.

The premise is that the fundamental difficulty affecting minority languages is the lack of an independent economic base, such as supports major languages, and that the economic deficiency is a driving factor in language shift

and decline. A sense of economic security amongst individual members of a minority speech community, rooted in the use of the language, would seem to be the only sure foundation of its survival. It is a measure of the scale of difficulty involved in acquiring an independent economic base, that the process would entail the evolution of the minority language into a major one and, concurrently, the evolution of a new majority-language society. Such a development is not, given time, outwith the bounds of possibility, but must be reckoned beyond the scope of any kind of language planning not allied to the most powerful and autocratic of political and economic forces.

For minority languages, observation and comparison indicates that the best which can be hoped for in the foreseeable future is the attainment of a semi-independent economic base: one in which there is a small but fairly diverse work domain in which the language dominates. Faroese provides a good example of this: the Islands' economic base is too small for complete self-sufficiency, and so Faroese has to co-exist with Danish, the language of the main customers, suppliers, and immigrant workers.

It may not be possible for a minority language to acquire an economic base as semi-independent as the Faroese model, if it is too close to the direct influence of a powerful majority-language economy. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to assume that any improvement of the economic circumstances governing the lives of members of a minority speech-community which is related to their functioning as a minority speech-community, will reduce the drift towards the majority community's language, work practices and work locations, and thereby improve the minority language's general condition in terms of status and usage.

The theory propounded here is that the required economic improvement is most usefully initiated through a language development policy which lays an emphasis on the provision and maintenance of certain kinds of employment posts for which a knowledge of Gaelic is deemed essential. The following chapter sections advance supporting and refining arguments, with regard to the merit and efficacy of this kind of policy, the justification for requisition of the required finance, the forms of Gaelic-essential employment most conducive to the objective, and the further, unaided development which could be anticipated in the favourable circumstances created.

2. The necessity for employment-orientated development

As described in Chapter 5, the GIDS scheme proposed by Fishman (1991) presents a graded sociolinguistic disruption scale with respect to language communities or networks; the higher numbers imply a greater threat to intergenerational transmission of the language. This is utilised in his formulation of a theory of 'Reversing Language Shift' (ibid., pp393-404), which suggests the forms of language development which should take priority at various stages on the scale. This represents a recent, comprehensive, authoritative, and global assessment of the problems of minority language development, and provides a suitable reference for a consideration of the merits of the proposed employment-focused strategy.

For an increase in employment to be effective in countering the economic pressure driving language shift and decline, the available work practices using the language need to provide not only material prosperity sufficient to speakers' needs, but a variety of types of work, capable of meeting individuals' preferences and ambitions. Such a variety would have to include work in

the higher levels of Fishman's GIDS scheme: stages 2 (lower government services and mass media), 3 (lower work sphere outside of the neighbourhood involving interaction with non-speakers) and 4 (lower education). At these levels the work domain tends to be dominated by the majority language, and minority language posts usually have to be specially created, following petition to central authorities on the need for such provision. To seek the provision and maintenance of such posts represents a particular investment of the time and energy of language activists, and of a portion of the fund of goodwill and support extractable from the controlling majority.

Fishman was doubtful of the value of investment in the use of minority languages at these levels before stage 6 (informal intergenerational transmission in the home) is established; he considered that the actual benefits to the condition of the language may be minimal. He acknowledged that progress at different stages may influence the extent of a language's use at other stages: thus there could be feedback of developments at the higher stages to the lower stages, and the momentum of lower stage developments could induce penetration of higher stages. Nevertheless, he reckoned that "a cautious approach requires the recognition of the possibility that both will make relatively minor contributions to intergenerational mother tongue transmission in comparison with the dynamics of stage 6 (or stages 6-4a)" (ibid., pp109-110).

However, for some minority languages nowadays, the circumstances conducive to intergenerational mother tongue transmission may rarely be found, and difficult to reconstruct. Where knowledge of the language does not afford any obvious benefits, and where the majority language has started to hold sway in local conversation, bilingual parents have to have an extraordinary

motivation if their children are to be raised with full competence in the minority language. Moreover, there is, for all minority communities, more frequent incidence of mixed parentage (Hindley 1990, p215; Mackey 1977, p7; Williams 1987, p89), and in such cases there is a tendency for the economically ascendant language to dominate the home. In these circumstances, the feedback from language use above stage 6 may be the main encouragement for the continuation of mother tongue transmission, because of the raised profile of the language, the evidence that it is of some economic and social value, and the possibility of creating a supporting network of institutions which, in their formal and informal functions, would facilitate contact between speakers and provide the younger generation with learning experiences through use of the language.

In this way, investment in paid employment which specifically requires minority language skills might be an absolute priority in language maintenance, even though it may appear over-ambitious while Stage 6 is insecure. It is certainly true, as Fishman observed, that 'Reversing Language Shift' movements have often failed through having undertaken struggles on the wrong front, making "prolonged efforts focused in intergenerationally non-transmissible (or minimally transmissible) directions" (op. cit., p113). However, it is difficult to see any effective way of directly investing resources at the Stage 6 level. Commitment at this stage can only be voluntary: it is not easy to persuade parents to make special efforts to pass on their minority language to their offspring, in circumstances where the language has diminishing status and relevance to everyday life. There may be goodwill towards the language, but this does not often provide the special motivation needed. A system of financial inducements, such as those accruing to Irish-speaking families in the Irish Gaeltachtaí (£10 per annum, for every Irish-speaking child, plus larger

housing and development grants for the family), could prove to be, judging by the Irish experience, of uncertain efficacy, expensive to administrate, difficult to monitor, open to abuse, and a source of social division and rancour where the standard of language use were disputed (as outlined by Hindley, 1990, in references to the deontas). In contrast, Williams (1987, p95) found evidence, in respect of Welsh, that in those locations where "the prestige of the language derives from its relevance for certain public-sector petit-bourgeoisie and bourgeoisie class places" - in other words, where there were Welsh-essential employment posts typical of stages 4, 3, and 2 of Fishman's GIDS scheme - Welsh had been revitalized, and there had been "a decline in the incidence of negative identity vis-a-vis the language".

It thus seems appropriate to propose an amendment to Fishman's GIDS scheme, appropriate where the smaller of minority language speech-communities are concerned: that rather than being a matter of secondary importance until mother-tongue intergenerational transmission is established, the penetration of language use to stages 4, 3 and 2 may well be of the utmost importance for this transmission to occur at all. It is true that home and communal use of a language is essential for its long-term survival, but it is difficult to perceive how such use could be fully restored without some concurrent amelioration of the prime factor causing the decline, namely, the language's apparent irrelevance to the speech community's economic needs. It would, perhaps, be possible where there is a particularly strong communal bond, such as religion, which marks out the group from the majority population, whatever the language of group members. In this respect, Fishman's generalised view of minority languages may have been over-influenced by his knowledge of immigrant communities in the United States, particularly the Jewish community. But for the languages

considered here, in their European homelands, it does not seem likely that minority-language-speaking neighbourhoods and communities could be built in a hostile linguistic environment, with little more to sustain them than the desire of language activists that they should exist. Rather than "immediately provid[ing] a base for intergenerational continuity and a point of departure for stages that can come after it" (Fishman *ibid.*, p408), it is easier to visualise any such 'willed into existence' neighbourhoods and communities as being - particularly in the case of the smaller minority languages - small, unstable, populated by idealistic learners rather than native speakers, and prone to a net loss of members in the second and any succeeding generations, through the lack of an economic base broad enough to create living conditions and opportunities as attractive as those found in the majority speech-community. This may mean, if Fishman is correct, that intergenerational mother-tongue transmission cannot be established in those cases, and that, as vernaculars, the languages are doomed. Yet his scheme seems to underestimate the capacity of judicious higher stage investment to provide the seeds for an embryonic community, and the driving force for a growing or resurgent one. Though he reckons that the establishment of schools, publications and non-print media can only, at best, "contribute to the 'spirit' necessary for...a foundation to be laid, but they do not lay it themselves" (*ibid.*, p408), he appears to have considered only their educational and recreational 'products'. Such developments can contribute much more than spirit: the material benefits from language-based employment, the potential stabilising effect on the local society and economy, and the evolution of a network of minority-language workplaces and workers, providing business and social opportunities for using the language outside the domestic sphere, must all compound the benefits afforded by the workplace 'products' to demonstrate the language's

relevance, adaptability, and usefulness, and hence its suitability for transmission to the following generation.

However, it is acknowledged that not all investment at stages 4, 3, and 2 can be helpful, and that the pursuit of the right to use a minority language in certain domains and sub-domains can be wasted effort, with little feedback effect to stage 6. For this reason, the proposed amendment to Fishman's scheme is qualified by the recognition of three particular requirements which must govern ambitions for language use in the higher stages. These requirements are all of equal importance, and all should be fulfilled, if the investment is to be worthwhile.

First, all minority language penetration of the higher stages must involve employment for which knowledge of the language is essential; this is the only way in which language development can directly offset, to some extent, the economic forces draining the speech-community. Second, if employment is to be created, it should be preferentially of a type which is directly supportive of efforts made at Stage 6, that is, primarily directed at encouraging the language among children, in the home and community, and providing learning opportunities and entertainment. This means initial investment in playgroups, school education, community education, youth groups, cultural enterprises, and publishing and broadcasting for children, adolescents and home consumption, rather than pursuing the furtherance of minority language use in standard work practices dominated by the majority-speech, or in backing the introduction of new forms of work brought in by majority-language concerns. (As noted in Chapter 3:6[a],, new forms of work may bring greater prosperity, but they have the capacity to undermine language use.) Third, isolated posts for minority-language-speakers - for example, a particular 'minority language' officer within an office

or organisation - are probably of lesser significance in language development. For optimal effect the employment should be clustered in minority-language-speaking workplaces, and the workplaces clustered in particular localities, so that the working speakers are in frequent contact with each other, a personal network and routines of language use can be established, the density of regular users within the local population is increased and more evident to the public, and there is a greater likelihood that a well-attended, minority-language-orientated social life can be established. (The advantages of clustering Gaelic-speaking professionals have been observed by Pedersen [1993, p14], who perceived them as "energy centres" for Gaelic development.)

3. The pretext for public funding of minority language development

Fishman (1991, p111) rightly observed that the initial steps in a programme of 'Reversing Language Shift' would require self-reliance on the part of its advocates, and the involvement of the speech-community in their efforts. However, because most minority communities have minimal resources, expansion beyond a basic level of language development effort will usually require financial input from the majority language community, and the employment-orientated scheme outlined above would certainly require public funding.

Such expenditure may be controversial: it may be questioned within the majority community why this should be considered a worthwhile allocation of resources. In societies where most people are monolingual in the dominant language, there tends to be little interest in peripheral minority groups, and little interest in becoming bilingual so as to participate in minority community life. Moral and philosophical aspects of the issue - of cultural democracy being "a component and...a

responsibility of the general democratic promise" (Fishman, *ibid.*, p65), of affording linguistic minorities compensation for past injustices (Dorian 1987, pp63-64), of language diversity per se being of scientific and intellectual value (McHale, 1995) - do not appear to impinge on practical politics more often than other moral and philosophical reflections. Insofar as language is considered at all, many may take an 'evolutionist' view of the linguistic environment, in which languages are seen as operating in a 'free language economy', with those surviving doing so on their own merits; such a system supports the expansion of majority languages at the expense of minority ones (Williams 1991, p63). Thus Edwards (1985, p169) described the loss of diversity as "natural", while "language maintenance and revival efforts are usually artificial", and "Refusal to legislate on cultural and linguistic matters, particularly, seems an appropriate stance". However, as Baker (1993, p41) and Williams (*op.cit.*) pointed out, language change is not a natural process, and language shift does not happen by accident. (Indeed, the trend in nature is towards greater, not lesser, diversity.) Change and shift occur as a result of deliberate decisions made in the course of political manoeuvrings and power struggles. There is, therefore, an element of human control, and since it is evident that humans are capable of acquiescing to the existence of, or even appreciating, cultures other than their own, decisions made with a view to nurturing cultural and linguistic diversity would be just as 'natural' as those indifferent or hostile to it.

There may also be objections to the public financing of language development on the grounds that the return to the common good does not justify the expense. However, the costs are always more quantifiable and more readily identified than the benefits, and a simplistic cost-benefit approach to language development, focusing on the

wisdom of 'propping up a dying language', may not take full account of the problems accruing to the majority community through the decline of a minority language, nor of the advantages which could flow from language development.

General social and economic benefits

On the cost of minority language decline, Fishman (ibid., p60) observed that "transethnification and translanguification bring with them their own problems and exact their own steep prices, medically...psychologically... and socioculturally" (citing, respectively, elevated and aggravated illness patterns, mental stress patterns, crime and violence patterns among "dislocated assimilating populations"). This concurs with the ethological observations of Lorenz (1974, pp29, 46-57), who noted the destructive effect of uncontrolled social and cultural change on the quality of human life: "In his deepest essence man is by nature a cultural being and can therefore find a completely satisfying identification only in and with a culture." Thus, any perception of public funding for a minority language as being a superfluous expense has to be balanced against the costs of language decline which the state may be required to bear. Fishman felt that minority language speakers who wish to remain identified with minority ethnocultural ideal

...should also be seen as contributing to the national interest and the greater general good. Many of them, often most of them, will opt for a stable...bilingual and bicultural solution...As such they will be involved in the general economy and in the general political process...They will not be cut off...from the general good, general problems or from general responsibilities, but they will assiduously maintain a treasured [minority language] corner of their lives and will aspire to be happier, more productive and more contributory citizens as a result. (ibid., p64).

With regard to the benefits of offsetting decline, language development projects which present new

employment opportunities to minority language speakers are instruments of economic development. The capacity of such projects to transform a deprived community was noted by Spolsky (1978, pp355,357), in citing the potential economic spin-off from employment of Navajo Indians for bilingual education: even a minimal programme would require five times as many Navajos as were employed in the mainstream education system within the Navajo reservation. Language development can also have positive economic effects which are not immediately apparent. There is now a school of thought which appreciates that "The economic development process is significantly influenced by the social and cultural environment in which it takes place" (Sproull 1993, p1). With particular reference to Gaelic, Sproull observed:

There is now a greater formal commitment through the LECS [Local Enterprise Companies] to the view that the long-term economic health of communities in the Highlands and Islands critically depends on their capacity to develop their own human and physical resources. As part of this process a consideration of the economic potential inherent in those characteristics which differentiate these communities is important in determining whether they represent a comparative advantage which can be economically exploited. As one of the most important and obvious markers differentiating parts of the Highlands and Islands, the Gaelic language and culture may have the potential to confer economic as well as cultural advantages in these areas - and possibly beyond. (ibid.)

As will be detailed later in this chapter. Sproull's study showed that the Gaelic 'industry' provides substantial benefits to the overall economy of the Highlands and Islands.

Moreover, the financing of minority language schooling and minority language learning facilities would appear to be justified for the educational and social benefits which bilingualism imparts at both the individual and societal level. In contrast to past opinion, bilingualism is now viewed as educationally advantageous to the individual (Johnstone 1994, p12). Baker (1993) observed

that research from the 1920s to the 1960s tended to support a traditional and popular view that bilingualism resulted in lower intelligence. However, the limited expression of intelligence allowed by IQ tests, as well as flaws in research design, casts doubt on the these early findings, and in the past thirty years "...the indication has been that a more positive relationship between bilingualism and cognitive functioning can be expected..." (p116), and "...the evidence that currently exists does lead in the direction of bilinguals having some cognitive advantages over monolinguals" (p129). In addition, majority language/minority language bilinguals have a wider choice of opportunities for social involvement than majority language monolinguals, to the advantage of themselves and others. Bilingualism imparts "perspective, opportunity, variety and nuancing" to people's lives (Fishman 1991, p84). There is an extra capacity for participation in the arts and community entertainment, and in wider and more varied social interaction; the chance to exercise a better informed citizenship, and opportunities to use cultural knowledge in contributions to formal and informal scholarship. Furthermore, with the advanced penetration of major languages into minority language homelands, it can no longer be claimed that there is a need for schooling in the majority language, to provide young minority language speakers with an opportunity to learn it and thus gain access to the wider world. Rather than minority-language-medium education being an extra cost on the public purse, it can be regarded simply as 'education'; indeed, where there is more demand for the education through the medium of the minority language (as happened for the Primary 1 intake in Portree, Skye, in 1993 and 1994), any concern about 'extra cost' would be an argument against the provision of majority-language classes.

Even non-speakers of a minority language can gain some form of benefit from its nurture, if it has some symbolic

significance for the wider population. An example of this is the importance of Irish to the population of Eire, despite the majority's inability to speak it. According to Streib (1974, p88):

Critics of the [Irish] language restoration program have used what might be called a productivity model for analyzing the restoration and use of Irish. They have attempted to balance the inputs (hours of classroom study, cost of subsidies, number of television program-hours, books published in Irish etc.) with the outputs, i.e., the number of people who actually speak the language. However it became increasingly obvious to this investigator that the output could not be measured simply in terms of language usage. The symbolic rewards are very real to the Irish, but are extremely difficult to evaluate....

For such intangible benefits to be available to all, there have to be people who can use the language in everyday conversation, and facilities to allow a following generation to use it to the same level.

Economic motives for investment in language

Arguments such as the foregoing may have to be marshalled in justification of public expenditure on a minority language, where this is not constitutionally protected. Whatever the moral and democratic obligations involved, in unprotected circumstances the provision tends to have the appearance of being a retractable gift or concession from the majority speech-community, and may be viewed as such by many majority-language monolinguals: the nurture of and provision for a minority language is seen as an expense. It is less often recognised that there is expenditure on the nurture and promotion of majority languages as well. Some of this is hidden: strictly speaking, every governmental or quasi-governmental document, communication and working practice which is only available in a state's majority language represents a publicly-funded promotion of that language, at the expense of the minority one. Though technically correct, it must be doubted whether this argument would be accepted as a basis for further minority language

provision; its appreciation would require more tolerance than majority communities usually exercise. However, in some states open and heavy expenditure on the direct promotion of the majority language is routine practice.

Coulmas (1992, pp110-115) gave examples of the large sums which some states spend on the promotion of their major language abroad. The German Foreign Ministry has a division for 'the promotion of the German language', which accounts for half of that Ministry's cultural budget, to the extent of some 500 million Deutschmarks per annum. This is channelled into language export agencies such as the Goethe Institut, the German Academic Exchange Service, and German schools abroad. These agencies also receive funds from other government departments, so the total for the promotion of German abroad will be considerably in excess of the above figure. The promotion of the French language cost the French government between 25 and 30 billion francs in 1977, supporting, for example, 1,200 offices of the Alliance Francaise in 100 countries, and in 1989 the debts to France of 35 African countries, totalling 16 billion francs, were written off, in exchange for the expectation that French would continue^{to} predominate throughout their government and education. English is promoted by both the United States and Britain. Coulmas (ibid., p112) reckoned there were "at least five" different US agencies promoting English, including the Agency for International Development (AID), the United States Information Agency (USIA), the Peace Corps, the State Department, and the Department of Defence. Funding of English by the UK government includes the £200 million annual budget of the British Council - "an extremely effective institution for the execution of [Britain's] language spread policy" (ibid.) - and the BBC's world broadcasts, augmented by programmes for English learners. Export of the Russian language was heavily subsidised by the Soviet Union, spreading and consolidating its

influence within that Union and the Warsaw Pact countries, while in 1990/91, the Spanish government decided to increase the number of its cultural institutes to 70, allocating \$75 million dollars to that end.

The purpose of these exercises in language export is to gain influence, with the ultimate aim of securing economic advantage. In this context, language is a commodity with value, which can bring benefit to the exporting society in compounding and complementing ways. There are direct earnings through written and spoken use of the language: sales of language-learning materials, books, audio-visual material, and computer software can all be boosted by effective promotion of the language abroad. More advantageous than this, however, is the development and retention of commercial and trading links between the language-exporter and the importer. Coulmas cited a 1989 report on the economic value of the French language by the Conseil Economique et Social (Renouvin, 1989):

The presence of French abroad, the report points out, is more than a matter of tradition and prestige. Directly or indirectly it elicits the desire to get to know France, to use her commercial services, to consume her goods and enter into an exchange. (Coulmas 1992, pp110-111).

There is, moreover, a 'snowball' effect:

Another characteristic of the commodity language is that its value increases by every speaker who acquires it, or whom it acquires...The more people learn a language, the more useful it becomes, and the more useful it is, the more people want to learn it. (ibid., p80).

Expenditure on language promotion is thus a highly important and worthwhile investment.

The existence of such policies for majority-languages invites consideration of whether minority languages deserve support for analogous reasons. As the purpose of

promoting the external use of a majority language is to achieve an economic return, it can be argued that if a minority language appeared to be capable of generating economic benefits within a state, and especially within the language homeland, then support to maximise its productivity would be not merely be justified, but expedient. In respect of Gaelic, its economic value has already been demonstrated (Sproull 1993).

4. Further minority language development: the private sector

The employment outlined in section 2 above - minority-language-essential posts in domains classifiable in Fishman's stages 4, 3, and 2, preferentially clustered and directly supportive of intergenerational transmission - would be a necessary initial development towards a minority language achieving a semi-independent economic base. It would be, for the most part, public sector employment, and could engender considerable economic and social benefits were the public investment to be adequate and sustained. The chief discouragement for a central funding authority would be the belief that the return would be minimal, and that the least wasted in this direction, the better. However, if, as Coulmas observed, a language's value increases with use, public investment would obtain a better return if it were geared to wholehearted rather than half-hearted provision.

Nevertheless, the ultimate aim of developing a semi-independent economic base would entail the use of the language in work domains in the private sector. The winning of increased use in the private sector, with its implications of larger contributions to taxes, rates, and the wider economy, would be a strong argument for greater minority language penetration of the higher levels of the public sector.

Private sector developments in the minority language economy would be difficult to achieve: they would depend on the minority speech-community having something to sell which non-speakers would want to buy. The common position for such minorities is a lack of control of resources and the means of production: majority language concerns dominate. The principal marketable commodity possessed by the minority may well be its cultural image and the culture itself; if they are attractive enough, income may be generated from specific products associated, currently or formerly, with the speech-community and its homeland, and, more generally, from cultural tourism. Specific products, such as food, drink, clothing, and 'ethnic' artefacts, may provide a limited economic return, for their production can be taken over (or even initiated) by majority-language individuals and organisations, who tend to have greater resources for research, development, marketing and distribution; indeed, it can be mooted that the greater the potential profit, the more likely it is that this will happen. Cultural tourism, however, offers economic opportunities to a minority speech-community, which should be uniquely theirs.

The economic potential of cultural tourism has been increasingly recognised in a number of minority language homelands. It seems that greater uniformity of metropolitan culture across countries and continents has made non-metropolitan cultures attractive as holiday destinations:

Tourists today often look for less-known places off the beaten track...They want to explore new areas and regions. The new tourist, whom I will call 'the cultural tourist'...is often interested in getting to know his new holiday destination in another way. He wants to know about its history, its culture, its unique character. Thus we are seeing a large and growing number of tourists with interest in the cultural details of the regions they visit. (Wiegel 1991, p1)

Jones (1992) cited a cross-national comparative study (the TOUR project) of the impact of tourism on culture,

involving teams of researchers working in Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Spain, the USA, Wales and what was then Yugoslavia:

Results and findings from all countries involved showed an overwhelming awareness of the need to preserve customs and traditions. These were valued for the feeling of unity they create, for their beauty, for the fun and entertainment they provide and because they are interesting to tourists.....There was a positive correlation between tourism and socio-economic benefit. (ibid., p2).

Of the Welsh study in particular, Jones reported that a majority of residents viewed tourism as a positive force in economic and social development, and a "substantial" number of tourists thought that the host culture was attractive and that the Welsh language was important to the culture. The Welsh Tourist Board has implemented some of the report's recommendations, and now takes cultural tourism into account in its planning; special attention is paid to reliable cultural representation and to the Welsh language, in keeping with promotion of Wales to the overseas market as a culturally distinct destination.

Similar acknowledgements of the potential of cultural tourism and the need to plan for it have been made in Nova Scotia (Nova Scotia Department of Economic Development, 1993), Brittany (Ensavador Breizh, 1993; Roparz 1993), Friesland (Terpstra, 1991), France (Madonnier, 1991; Verlynde, 1991), Austria and Greece (Gehrer, 1991). There is evident encouragement from the European Union:

We believe that tourism and especially cultural tourism in a broader sense are main concepts which deserve priority attention...The approach on the basis of regions concentrates on the most important objectives...The first aim is to help areas with a large tourist potential increase their capacity by opening up those areas of their heritage which are of interest to tourists.... (Bernardini 1991, p4).

However, for linguistic minorities, there are two related problems attendant on this issue. The first is generally

appreciated: the danger that too many tourists and excessive commercialisation may ultimately damage the industry, through loss of the attractive cultural image and the development of urban social problems, currently minimal, while at the same time the area's economic dependency on the tourist trade is increased (Jafari 1991, p13). The second problem concerns the possibility of majority-language intrusion and exploitation of the minority's cultural tourism niche (which may itself lead to excessive commercialisation, through insensitivity, ignorance and greater financial resources). Most references to cultural tourism within Europe concern dominant-language cultures, and even those which acknowledge regional cultures pay scant attention to the minority languages. "Minority linguistic aspects are often submerged or ignored in tourism, maybe because they represent the most difficult feature of a culture to convey" (Jones 1993, p2). Yet, as argued in Chapter 4, for linguistic minorities language underpins culture: when language shift occurs, the culture tends to shift with it. Thus, use of the language would appear to be the vital, controlling factor in a cultural tourism which is manageable and minimally harmful to the culture itself. A tourist development which presents a non-language-based version of a minority culture is dislocated from the culture's sustaining and self-repairing mechanism, and though the version may have a degree of commercial success, as tourists may not know enough to question it, it would represent success on the superficial 'theme park' model, and would be of minimal relevance and benefit to the culture which engendered it. Moreover, while cultural tourism focusing on the linguistic basis of minority cultures has need of the involvement of members of the indigenous linguistic minority, non-

language developments can be set up by, and run for the benefit of, members of the dominant language community.

Cultural tourism, therefore, affords the opportunity of private sector development, but the linguistic identity of the minority, the culture, and the homeland cannot be compromised if their marketable aspects are to bring any benefit to the minority and the language itself. To minimise exploitation and commercialisation, cultural tourism projects should be regarded as integral parts of an expanding minority language work domain, in which knowledge of the language is obligatory for employment. As observed by Watson (1993, p17), with reference to Nova Scotian Gaelic:

In the case of 'New Scotland's' Gaelic heritage, promotion without specific provision for its long-term development holds the real peril of attracting visitors only to find an empty nest.

5. The scope, potential and problems of Gaelic development

Increased interest in Gaelic has been evident all over Scotland, with the Lowlands, in particular, evincing a proliferation of adult learners' classes, besides a growing number of playgroups, and the introduction of Gaelic-medium education. The nurture of these must be an important feature of any plans for the future of Gaelic, but the aspects of Gaelic development to be considered here concern the language's use in the Highlands and Islands. There are three principal reasons for this. Historically and in the public mind, much of the Highlands and Islands has a stronger association with the language than other parts of Scotland: this association is evident yet in the concentration of Gaelic-speakers, and in placenames. The data reported in Chapter 2 indicated that despite the concentration of speakers in the area, Gaelic abilities were little

considered in the world of work, while half of the Gaelic-essential posts found were in Lowland areas, to which speakers had to relocate. This, in the context of an increasing interest in the language and its traditional homeland, plus high unemployment, suggests that there would be scope for Gaelic development in the work domain in the Highlands and Islands. Finally, if the work domain could be used to build networks and small communities of speakers, as outlined in 3. above, then it would appear to be more feasible in an area where the concentration of speakers is higher, and where the language has an acknowledged place in culture and heritage.

As outlined in Chapter 5:1, the Highlands and Islands can be perceived as having suffering a degree of colonial exploitation. The mass appropriation of cattle by Lowland and English dealers after the 1745 rebellion removed, by government sanction, most of the population's wealth; the recruitment into the British Army of large numbers of Highlanders, seeking personal dignity and an income, helped greatly in building and maintaining the British Empire; for 250 years, much of any profit from natural resources and labour in the Highlands and Islands has been spent elsewhere. Essentially, the population has been too weak, economically and politically, to take the initiative in development, and lack of development maintains the weakness. As O'Brien (1979, p91) deduced from Prattis (1977):

...it can be inferred that a crucial step in altering the nature of the relationship with the developed sector is to create an economic mechanism that will net part of the surplus and reinvest it for the benefit of the people in the area.

Gaelic development may offer such a mechanism; it cannot provide a complete economic solution, but there appears to be scope for growth, and plans have been drafted for that purpose. The nub of the issue, for the language, is

the form development will take: the extent to which it will be general economic development using Gaelic, or a genuine strengthening of the language's economic base.

Sproull's (1993) study estimated that the minimum size of the overall Gaelic 'industry' was just under a thousand full-time equivalent (FTE) jobs (counting both direct and indirect employment), and had a direct output valued at £19m, with a further £22m of output being generated in indirect 'knock-on' benefits (p iii). Moreover, it was found that expenditure on Gaelic development tended to stay in the local economies (in contrast to other developments which would require purchase of goods and services outside the locality):

Of the 19 sectors identified in the Western Isles Input-Output study, only five have higher output multipliers. This implies that, pound for pound, policy spend on Gaelic development compares well to other areas of policy support in terms of direct local impacts. (ibid, p iv).

Forty-nine per cent of employment posts, and thirty-nine per cent of the household income, were found in the Western Isles and Skye and Lochalsh alone (ibid, pp23,24,29,31); the Gaelic 'industry' is thus a significant factor in the overall economy of the Highlands and Islands. This evidence led to the Chairman of Highlands and Islands Enterprise to declare:

For the first time in generations, we have the prospect of Gaelic becoming a significant economic force in the land, and in doing so ensuring its own survival", and to call on Scottish business people to take an active role in developing commercial opportunities based on Gaelic. (Highlands & Islands Enterprise 1993)

In other words, the public expenditure on the Gaelic 'industry' was judged to be a sound economic investment. Moreover, as wages comprised around 70 per cent of the expenses of the 'industry', this sound investment was mostly in employment: "...the 'industry' contributes proportionately more to household income than many other sectors" (Sproull, op. cit., p13). The practice of

spending public money on 'Gaelic' employment is thus already established, and can be seen to be worthwhile.

However, certain features of Sproull's evidence merit close scrutiny, for they demonstrate the utility of examining expenditure on Gaelic for the number of Gaelic-essential posts it provides.

Sproull's 1991/92 data found that wages constituted over 70 per cent of the expenses of the Gaelic 'industry'. This can be taken as Gaelic-essential employment, for although Sproull did not investigate whether posts were considered Gaelic-essential, the organisations he surveyed as constituting the Gaelic 'industry' comprised, for the most part, the same organisations which declared Gaelic-essential posts in 1990, as reported in Chapter 2, and Sproull's total of 449.3 FTE (full time equivalent) jobs for 1991/92 is not far removed from the first survey's total of 446.

Sproull found that the 'industry' doubled in size the following year, with increased funding for Gaelic television, dispensed by Comataidh Telebhisein Gàidhlig (CTG); nearly 70 per cent of the budget was distributed as labour costs (*ibid.*, p19). However, only 6 FTE posts (the staff of CTG) were directly created, while 271.6 were supported (*ibid.*, p21). It is not known how many of these supported FTE posts were deemed Gaelic-essential, but as most of them would have been concerned with various aspects of the production and broadcasting of television programmes and films, and as there was a conspicuous shortage of Gaelic-speakers in this field, it is a safe assumption that a considerable portion of the expenditure on labour was received by personnel without Gaelic abilities.

This marks out an area of ambiguity in what is seen as provision for Gaelic: not all of the public funding so

labelled is used in ways wholly supportive of the language. That the Gaelic 'industry' is capable of generating knock-on benefits for majority-language individuals and organisations is certainly an argument in favour of using provision for Gaelic as a form of general economic development, which not only helps the speakers and the language, but the wider community as well. However, if, as has been argued, the employment of minority-language-speakers in minority-language-essential posts is necessary to counter language shift and decline, and to secure the foundation for a minority-language-based community life, then all employment created by funds provided in support of Gaelic should be Gaelic-essential. It is understandable that in certain fields there may be an initial lack of Gaelic-speakers with professional expertise, technical knowledge or work experience, but this highlights the urgent need for supplementary provision for training, for unless the finance - which appears, in the public eye, to be set aside for Gaelic - can offer speakers greater economic security and increased opportunity for using the language, it can contribute little towards the language's maintenance and development.

A similar judgement can be made on the marketable aspects of Gaelic culture, with respect to 'Gaelic' or 'Highland' or 'Celtic' products and cultural tourism. Insofar as public funds might be used in support of enterprises which use these images, the funds would only be supportive of Gaelic to the extent that the language is used. As an illustration of the problems which may arise, evidence can be drawn from one form of development, the Feisean (local, independent Gaelic language and arts festivals, involving tuition and performance). It is arguable that much of the activity at many Feisean is not supportive of the language, though the stated aim of the umbrella organisation to which they voluntarily belong, Feisean nan Gaidheal, is:

...to make the Gaelic Language and its associated Arts more widely appreciated and readily available through the network of community Feisean now established...(Feisean nan Gaidheal 1992, 2.1)

According to the questionnaire responses of 18 Feisean surveyed in 1993, in only two was Gaelic the medium of all tuition, with Gaelic-speakers having priority in participation, and in only three others was the language used 'to a great extent' (MacNeil et al 1993, pp26-27). In four Feisean it was used barely, or not at all. It may reasonably be said that a Feis can only be supportive of the language to the extent that it provides opportunities for its use, which, in respect of the principal utilisation of the funds raised, means that proportion of tutors' fees relating to Gaelic-medium tuition, or language classes for learners.

It is certainly the case that there has been a shortage of Gaelic-speaking tutors, and Feisean nan Gaidheal has stated its intention of addressing this problem through training (Feisean nan Gaidheal 1992, 2.2.2). In the meantime, the Feisean, operating independently, provide local economic benefits and much enjoyment, and it could be argued that it is better to provide, for example, music tuition in English, than none at all. However, this situation provides a prime example of the importance of maintaining a language-in-culture focus, for relaxing the requirement that tutors be Gaelic-speaking increases the number and variety of those who could be recruited, and some have very little knowledge of Gaelic music or the aim of the Feisean movement, and teach according to their own musical repertoire and preferences. This may well be of general social and educational value, but does not accord with the aim, nor with the advertised ethos which attracts funding. The material presented may be a general Scottish mixture, rather than Gaelic in character, but sometimes the misunderstanding and cultural dislocation can be extreme: thus a tutor began to teach and perform

Cajun music at the 1993 celebration of the oldest Feis, which had been founded twelve years before with the specific and sole design of nurturing the Gaelic language and re-popularising Gaelic culture in that area. (By 1992, and again in 1993, a majority of tutors and pupils at this Feis were non-resident, and non-speakers of Gaelic.) MacNeil et al (pp25-27) noted that for this Feis in particular, and Feisean in general, the attitudes of locals, participants and visitors towards the Gaelic language content were mixed: there was some keenness to use more Gaelic, but little planning to that end; some concern about the lack of Gaelic-speaking tutors, but suspicion that adherence to a Gaelic-speaking ethos might deter the paying visitors.

In this respect most of the Feisean evince a linguistic situation analogous to the 'patterned evasion' of the use of Irish in Eire (referred to in Chapter 4:1), in that there is a tacit acknowledgement that Gaelic should be the medium of communication, but it is easier for all to pretend that the acknowledgement itself, and the use of an occasional Gaelic word or phrase, will suffice. The difference is that in the Irish case, the patterned evasion occurs in everyday situations amongst people who have had an opportunity to learn the language, and may well have done so to the point of knowing more than they use, whereas in the case of the Feisean, non-use of the language occurs at events which are purportedly held to encourage it, by people who either have not yet learned the language, and do not regard learning it as a priority, or who do speak the language but are reluctant to insist on its use for fear of alienating non-speakers and jeopardising the financial viability of the enterprise. At best, some enthusiasm for the language may 'rub off' on non-speaking participants, insofar as they are exposed to it at all, but it can also be argued that such practices promulgate the view that the culture can be enjoyed without the language, and that the latter can

be dispensed with. Most tellingly, in the case cited above, some of the children in a group convened to discuss the Feis seemed unaware that Gaelic was supposed to have a central role, and suggested that because not everyone could understand it, the venture would be better without it (personal observation).

The foregoing analysis of the Feisean has implications for Gaelic development in general. Across the overlapping fields of language development and cultural tourism, a number of projects and enterprises have already been launched, and more are likely to follow in the near future; they have sought and will seek funding from public or private sources. Such sources may be willing to finance projects because of their purported 'Gaelic' or 'Highland' or 'Celtic' cultural character, but may not take the time to consider which have the greatest capacity to promote the use of the language, which underpins the culture. Those projects which are only symbolically Gaelic, or bilingually-oriented, will tend to create jobs for 'sympathetic' non-speakers, becoming an alternative industry which is nourished by the language and its speakers, while giving little benefit to either. The misdirection of such finance away from genuinely Gaelic projects cannot help the language's condition. First, it supports the dominance of English in workplaces supposedly orientated to the culture and history of the Gaels, and deprives Gaelic-speakers of opportunities for language use within that context; second, much of the economic benefit will bypass the Gaelic speech-community; and third, if a knowledge of Gaelic is seen as increasingly superfluous, and as imparting no economic advantage to the speaker, even in a 'Gaelic' context, a further decline in the size of the speech-community may be anticipated, which in the future might well call into question the wisdom of present

funding which does nurture language use, and the value of any further investment of the same calibre.

It follows that in planning for Gaelic development, there should be clear vision of the types of venture, and the character of company policy, which can genuinely help the language and its development, and funding intended to support Gaelic should not, in the end, encourage the use of English. Any project launched with the intention of using Gaelic would have to be sure of its supply of Gaelic-speaking personnel, being prepared to train them if necessary, if the Gaelic element is not to become token. Ultimately, languages survive through use; this end is best served by projects in which Gaelic is used and the use promoted, and where it is essential for employees to have proficiency in the language, and an expectation of exercising it, while receiving an economic return for that ability.

6. The role of Gaelic in cultural tourism

Cultural tourism is not an idea new to Scotland nor, especially, to the Highlands and Islands. Tourists have long been attracted by the Gaelic images of clans, tartan, bagpipes, Highland scenery, the romantic history of the Jacobite rebellions, the visions of picturesque crofting landscapes inhabited by people of integrity and deep cultural roots. These are still the images projected, and they support a tourist industry which is of great economic importance. Yet it has been developed with very little acknowledgement of the Gaelic essence of the images. This is perhaps understandable in that most tourists have not been Gaelic-speakers, but it has resulted in circumstances in which the language has been separated from the marketable aspects of the culture, and through time, the Scottish people as a whole may be said to have largely accepted the separation.

There would appear to be certain cultural and social advantages in reclaiming these images for Gaelic. This would have to be achieved not through aggressively disenfranchising Scots without any apparent Gaelic connections from much of the 'Scottishness' they know and believe in, but by an educative process, by regular public presentation of the importance of Gaelic to the authenticity of that 'Scottishness', and by increasing the use of Gaelic in public life. Success in this endeavour would benefit the language and its speakers, and would also cultivate a better public knowledge and understanding of Scotland's history and the Scottish identity, and would be consistent with a resistance to superficial and excessively commercial treatment of culture and heritage.

However, it might be reasoned by present and prospective operators in the tourist industry that since it has been sustained for so long without a linguistic component, there is no need for much emphasis on Gaelic-speaking abilities now: whatever commercial potential a 'Gaelic' image has can be marketed through English, for it can be assumed that relatively few tourists speak Gaelic, and the general improvement of a local economy from an English-language service will benefit speakers and non-speakers alike. Yet the presentation of a 'Gaelic' image without the language itself may eventually prove unviable: if, for example, 'Gaelic' projects are used to boost the existing tourist trade, they may cease to have an additional effect when it becomes well-known that they lack a genuine basis in a living language. Every 'Failte' sign, each presentation of Gaelic on or in goods and services for sale, owes its impact to the visitor's belief that the language is still used, representing a culture and way of life different to his or her own.

7. The capacity of Gaelic development for demographic change, and current planning

It must be considered highly unlikely that Gaelic will ever again be a language spoken habitually by most people in Scotland. Over 98 per cent of the current Scottish population do not know the language, and except with those of the elderly who spoke Gaelic exclusively in childhood, and revert to it as their mental agility declines, and the very few infants who have not yet acquired English, there is no longer any absolute necessity for the use of Gaelic in communication.

It seems doubtful, at present, that a language shift could be induced such that half of any future generation would grow up speaking more Gaelic than English. Such a process would require a massive popular change of attitude, inducing increasing numbers of people - increasing in terms of hundreds of thousands - to learn Gaelic and to bring up their children as Gaelic-speakers. 'Best expectation' projections for the Gaelic-speaking population forecast gains of 32 per cent and 39 per cent in the first two decades, respectively, of the twenty-first century (Pedersen 1993, p2), and even if the progress could be maintained at this geometric rate during the yet unknown but inevitable changes in political and social circumstances, it would not result in two and a half million Gaelic-speakers (half of the present Scottish population of five million) until about 2091. This is a scenario in which all obstacles would have been surmounted, and in which, to a degree which presently seems utterly fantastical, people would have perceived advantages in speaking Gaelic. A language shift on that scale is difficult to visualise, because neither of the two motives which would induce people to learn to speak Gaelic - necessity and strong desire - are evident amongst the bulk of the population.

Moreover, given that the population as a whole (being almost entirely monoglot) is not linguistically gifted, and Gaelic orthography and syntax poses certain difficulties for English-speakers, it is hard to believe that more than a small minority would switch codes during their lifetimes, and the key to having increasing numbers of Gaelic-speakers, overall, must be to have increasing numbers of Gaelic-speaking children. That requires interest and effort on the part of parents, which, it seems fair to presume, would be most likely to stem from Gaelic connections, or a scholarly interest, neither of which can be reckoned to be common. In addition, if one supposed that a wave of patriotic feeling and desire to maintain heritage might occur, which would afford opportunities for increasing the use of Gaelic, it would still have to compete with the claim of 'Scots' as a linguistic marker of Scottish identity.

This is a realistic, rather than an unduly pessimistic, appraisal of the prospects for a Gaelic restoration. There are compelling reasons related to the value of culture and heritage why a means should be sought for the nurture of Gaelic as a vernacular, but as mentioned in Chapter 4:3(b), expectations of restoration are likely to meet with disappointment; the more modest goals implicit in Bentahila and Davies's (1993) concept of 'transformation' are more easily attained.

Coulmas (1992, p170) noted that, when in decline, a language ceases to be used for the purposes for which it used to be employed, but usage domains are not eternal, new domains continually emerge:

Today, the future of many languages is uncertain not only because their functional range is scaled down, but because they are never used for, and adapted to, newly emerging functions which are from the start associated with another language.

For Gaelic, the past twenty years have seen progress in innovative use and adaptation. The use of Gaelic as a sole medium of communication and teaching has been established at nursery, primary, and tertiary education levels and, to some extent, in the secondary sector. Gaelic is now used in broadcasting as a modern language, dealing with contemporary issues; formerly it tended to be presented primarily in association with its tradition, especially its music. Where touched by Gaelic development, the language has gained currency in office and business practice, accommodating advances in computing and other technology without the practitioners having necessary recourse to English. These must represent the greatest advances in the functional use of Gaelic since the SSPCK began to encourage Gaelic in its schools in 1767, and it must be doubted whether there had been any previous advance for hundreds of years before that. For the future, it must be expected that, except for very young Gaelic monoglots, Gaelic-speakers will be bilingual, and that with the passing of traditional Gaelic work-practices and much of traditional social life, and the adoption of versions from the dominant culture, Gaelic will exist in a 'leaky' diglossia, with English intruding in all domains. However, the extent to which Gaelic can be and is used by a growing number of people in certain contexts formerly entirely associated with English gives cause for some optimism.

Planning for the future involves a number of organisations (Chapter 1:3) working with increasing influence and cooperation, and utilising the talents of a growing number of experienced and able professionals. There is regular contact with government at local, national, and European level, and the record of recent years has been one of increasing success in advancing the language's cause. However, the immediate future will be a crucial period for Gaelic development. There appears to be a constraint on further expansion because of ^a lack of

qualified personnel able to take part in promoting the expansion.

The most recent plans for Gaelic development focus on four key "spheres": Education (Gaelic-Medium Pre and Out of School Provision, Gaelic Medium Education, Adult Learners, Further Education); Economic Development (Business Development, Investment, Training); Culture (Arts, Media, Heritage); and Co-ordination and Promotion (Relationship with Government, Promotion) (Comunn na Gaidhlig 1994, pp13-15).

In the light of ideas explored in this thesis, three of these areas give cause for concern. In 'Business Development', it is proposed that Gaelic be used, through the publicly-funded Local Enterprise Companies, as

...a motor for economic development in terms of job and wealth creation by exploiting opportunities for new Gaelic based employment including media, leisure etc. but particularly cultural tourism (ibid., p14)

The term "Gaelic based" appears equivocal: the extent to which any employment of this description would actually require any particular level of ability in Gaelic is a matter for speculation. In a similar vein, the field of 'Arts' is seen a vehicle for "cementing Gaelic within communities and the economy and complementing linguistic regeneration through education" (ibid.) though the present capacity to do so must be regarded as limited. 'Heritage' is seen as offering "major development opportunities", but the precise role of Gaelic as a living language is undefined.

The plans certainly offer, at least, a means of raising the profile of Gaelic, but there is an element missing: a means of ensuring that use of the language coextends with the developments. It may be that this is not anticipated: it is theoretically possible that a great deal of 'Gaelic' activity may induce yet more interest and

sympathy, and nurture the domain niches where Gaelic is used. But, as has been seen, where neither a knowledge of Gaelic nor expending the effort to acquire it is necessary for personnel operating in a Gaelic context, acceptance of the use of English is too easily achieved, with a consequent loss of opportunities for language use.

The creation of Gaelic-essential employment provides the link between Gaelic development plans and a verifiable increase in language use. The difficulty in applying this principle is that there are too few qualified Gaelic-speakers for the Gaelic-essential posts currently available, and unless particular measures are undertaken there will not be enough Gaelic-speaking personnel for any of the mooted developments. These are: the establishment of an 'immersion' language learning facility; the training of Gaelic-speakers for the non-educational Gaelic-essential employment; and the recruiting and training of Gaelic-medium teachers. That these are essential has been recognised for several years, and they are included in the CNAG plans (ibid.). However, the sequence of developmental achievement must be uncertain, and until these three measures have been implemented, an increase in Gaelic language use is more of a case for hope than anticipation.

8. Conclusion

Gaelic-essential employment, directed towards expanded use in the home and the community, provides a means of expanding the language's economic base, simultaneously facilitating social development and intergenerational transmission. There is potential for further expansion through cultural tourism. However, this can only happen if use of the language is seen as an integral part of any development associated with the culture.

Most of the current Gaelic-essential employment is of the type conducive to increased use in the home and community, and is publicly funded. However, the present funding has to be guaranteed in maintenance and increase if economic returns are to be optimised. The principle of investing in the export of language for economic return is well established in the case of major languages, including English, and might, with vision, be applied internally to Gaelic: it has already been demonstrated that, even at the present level of support, Gaelic maintenance and development represents a highly productive utilisation of public funds. The detachment of public support for Gaelic from political nationalism indicates that present and future public funding for the language can be viewed as politically neutral. There are certain funding requirements of vital, immediate, and prior importance: the establishment of an 'immersion' language learning facility, the training of Gaelic-speakers for the non-educational Gaelic-essential employment, and the recruiting and training of Gaelic-medium teachers. Without Gaelic-speakers to fill the Gaelic-essential posts created, no Gaelic development will occur.

The above considerations give a projected future role for Gaelic in Scottish life as that of a minority language with guaranteed state support for its development, such

that the latter could be pursued into the private sector and towards an established diglossia for those of the speech-community living and working within the sphere of Gaelic-essential employment. The speech-community would be small, and capable of increasing its membership. Gaelic-essential work would generate economic benefits for speakers and non-speakers: the retention of Gaelic as a medium of daily communication would sustain the culture, legitimise cultural tourism and minimise its undesirable side-effects, and maintain, for Scotland and the wider world, a linguistic and cultural resource to which many with no previous connection are strongly attracted.

The economic potential of use-orientated Gaelic development has profound implications not only for the language and its speech-community, but for the population of the traditional homeland as a whole; it is one of the few means of achieving a profile in an increasingly metropolitan and cosmopolitan world, and of securing an element of economic advantage. While Gaelic is used, the people of the Highlands and Islands are at the centre of a culture which has found respect and admiration throughout the globe. Without it, they may be no more than a peripheral population in an insignificant corner of the English-speaking world.

APPENDIX

SURVEY ON GAELIC-RELATED EMPLOYMENT 1990

QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is provided in English in cases where it is not known if the recipient has Gaelic. The Gaelic version will be sent on request: the address and telephone number are given on the last page, and an s.a.e. is provided.

To answer, please tick, except where requested otherwise.

If responding on behalf of one particular branch or department of a large concern, please note that the recurring term 'organisation' should be taken as referring to the designated branch or department.

Many thanks: your help is much appreciated. Should you wish to add your own comments, space is provided on the last page. Your answers and opinions will be treated as confidential.

Name of Organisation.....

1 Is Gaelic ever used in the work of your organisation?

Yes..... No.....

If so, is it used formally, informally, or both?

formally..... informally..... both.....

2 If Gaelic is used, in what form?

spoken..... written..... both.....

3 Do you think that the incidence of the use of Gaelic in the course of your organisation's work has changed over the last ten years?

	<u>spoken</u>	<u>written</u>
increased
decreased
no change
don't know

4 Does your organisation have an official policy for the use of Gaelic in the course of its work?

Yes..... No.....

If you would like to supplement your answer with observations on such a policy, please do so:

.....
.....
.....

5 Are there posts within your organisation for which Gaelic is desirable or essential?

Yes..... No.....

If 'Yes' could you please give the numbers of posts?

	<u>Gaelic desirable</u>	<u>Gaelic essential</u>
part-time temporary
part-time permanent
full-time temporary
full-time permanent

6 If Gaelic is desirable/essential, in what types of work?
(eg managerial, clerical, public relations etc; please
specify, if possible)

Gaelic desirable

.....
.....
.....
.....

Gaelic essential

.....
.....
.....
.....

7 Has your organisation ever been unsuccessful in attempting
to recruit an applicant with Gaelic for a Gaelic
desirable/essential post?

Yes..... No..... Don't know.....

Non-applicable: no such posts.....

If 'Yes', on how many occasions in the last ten years?

1..... 2-3..... 4-5..... 6-10..... 10+.....

Did these reasons apply? (please give numbers of
instances, if known)

(a) At time of selection, Gaelic deemed
less important than other qualifications.....

(b) No applicants with Gaelic.....

(c) Other reason (please specify).....

.....
.....

8 At present, do you have any vacancies in Gaelic-desirable/essential posts, or do you anticipate vacancies in the foreseeable future?

Yes..... No..... Don't Know.....

If 'Yes', could you please give the number of vacancies?

	<u>Gaelic desirable</u>	<u>Gaelic essential</u>
part-time temporary
part-time permanent
full-time temporary
full-time permanent

9 Applicable to workplaces in Argyll, Highland Region, and Western Isles.

Could you please estimate your organisation's total number of employees?

.....

Apart from any in Gaelic posts, do any of your other employees have Gaelic?

Yes..... No..... Don't know.....

If 'Yes', could you please estimate the number?.....

If applicable - has such an employee's knowledge of Gaelic - though not required for his/her job - proved useful to your organisation at any time? (e.g. public relations, advertising, translation)

Yes..... No..... Don't know.....

If applicable - could greater use be made of the Gaelic abilities of particular employees?

Yes..... No..... Don't know.....

If 'Yes', could you please estimate the number of employees whose Gaelic could be utilised?

.....

and could you describe the types of work in which they could use their Gaelic to greater effect?

.....

10 What sort of demand for Gaelic do you anticipate in your organisation's field of work over the next ten years?

	<u>spoken</u>	<u>written</u>
increased
decreased
no change
don't know

If you would like to make any observations about this questionnaire or about the role of Gaelic in public life (e.g. business, religion, education, tourism and cultural activities, etc.) please do so:

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