

Research Exercise

Submitted by

Roderick Gilmour Maclean

for the degree of PhD

The University of Glasgow Department of Education

May 1994

A comparative study investigating education and language policy in Scotland (with respect to Gaelic) and Israel (with respect to Hebrew).

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Summary

Gaelic education in Scotland has no developed system for second language learning on an intensive, immersive, communicative basis. The Israeli situation was investigated and used as a comparator and contrastor to inform the present revival of the Gaelic language and to suggest possible future developments for intensive immersion language courses. Israel has long experience in second-language teaching and their *ulpan* method is renowned throughout the world. Both the Basques and the Welsh have adopted *ulpan* techniques. It was felt that the Gaelic situation could be best informed by investigating the *ulpan* system at source, and then to take cognisance of how two minority languages, Euskara and Welsh, had implemented an Israeli-based technique. The Irish situation was included to provide a more closely-related comparator with Gaelic. The methodology used in this investigation includes: taped personal interviews; personal learning of immersion techniques by participating in a 24 day Hebrew immersion course in Israel; personal observation of classes in language schools; and desk research. Two visits to Israel were undertaken, one for 12 days (23 December 1991- 3 January 1992) and the other for 6 weeks, spanning July and August 1992. The Basque Region of Spain (11-15 February, 1991), the Republic of Ireland (21-25 January 1991,) Wales (25-28 May 1993) and Friesland (20-25 March 1994) have also been visited to inform thinking for this research study. As far as is known, the study is the first to investigate Israeli *ulpan* methodology for the Gaelic world, and the first to develop formal links with Israeli linguists for this purpose. The main difficulty encountered in this study was the fragmented and limited range of information on immersion methodology.

Acknowledgements

I should like to thank all who gave of their time in granting me interviews and who provided written materials. The following are to be thanked for their special assistance:

An Comunn Gaidhealach	Lewis Castle College
Asher Stern	Museum nan Eilean
British/Israeli Public Affairs Centre	Nick Gardner
Comunn na Gàidhlig	Professor Nigel Grant
Dr Avraham Solomonik	Riva Pashin-Perlmutter
Dr Finlay Macleod	Shulamit Katznelson
Dr Morag MacNeill	The Central Bureau for Educational Visits and Exchanges
Gwen Awbery	The European Bureau of Minority Languages
Helen Ó Murchú	
Highlands and Islands Enterprise	The Western Isles Islands Council Education Department

I should especially like to thank my wife for proof-reading, and for her constructive comments and my family for patiently enduring a study-bound father.

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The Aim Of This Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to identify Israeli ulpan methodology and to examine whether it might inform Gaelic language immersion courses.

Chapter 1 Bilingualism

Introduction

This chapter will commence by demonstrating that bilingualism is the rule rather than the exception amongst the nations of the world. Following this, the term **bilingualism** will be discussed and a working definition provided. It will also be shown that bilingualism does not inhibit intellectual development as was once thought and it will be indicated that bilinguals may have advantages over monolinguals.

1. The Monolingual Myth

When we take a world-view of bilingualism or indeed multilingualism it comes, perhaps, as a surprise to some that monolingualism is not the norm. Although there are no official statistics, it is estimated that there are in the region of 3,000 - 5,000 languages spoken in the 200 or so countries of the world,¹ giving a hypothetical ratio of 15-25 languages for each country in the world. However, fewer than fifty countries grant official or semi-official status to more than one language, and of these nations only six (India, Luxembourg, Papua New Guinea, Singapore, Switzerland, and the former Yugoslavia) officially recognise three or more languages.²

In many countries, Government policy on official language recognition belies the internal situation. Countries that have a single official language policy, such as Britain, USA, France, Germany and Japan, have significant groups which speak other languages.³ In Ghana, Nigeria and many other African countries that have a single official language (frequently, English), up to 90 per cent of the inhabitants may be using more than one language.⁴ In the United States, whilst English is the first language of the majority of its inhabitants, Spanish is spoken by about seven per cent whose ethnic origin was largely Mexican.⁵ French is used in the homes of some northern New Englanders, and some autochthonous Indian languages are used across the country. In Canada, where both English and French hold official status, the 1986 census recorded that 60 per cent of the country's inhabitants spoke English as their first language and 24 per cent

¹Crystal, D., (1992) *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p360

²Crystal, p. 358

³op cit, p.360

⁴ibid

⁵Encyclopaedia Britannica (1991 ed.) *United States*, Vol. 12:152

French.⁶ Around eleven per cent of Canadians stated a first language other than English or French (most of this group declared another European language as their mother tongue).⁷ About 33,000,000 people (approximately one in six) of the European Community speak a minority language.⁸ The 'norm' of a monolingual nation, therefore, is a myth.

Nevertheless, speakers of non-official languages often constitute a linguistic minority. Meic Stephens describes a linguistic minority as a 'community where a language is spoken which is not the language of the majority of the State's citizens.'⁹ He further defines the term for the purposes of his book, thus:

The term linguistic minority should be taken...as referring to indigenous and, in some cases, to autochthonous populations, or to communities so well established that they can be properly regarded as the historic occupants of the territories in which they live. It therefore excludes all refugees, expatriates and immigrants.¹⁰

Adopting this narrower definition, he examines fifty linguistic minorities in sixteen States in Western Europe (now fifteen with German reunification), including two special cases - the ethnic groups of Cornish and Manx, whose languages, though more or less extinct, are still considered by them as part of their cultural identities.

⁶Encyclopaedia Britannica (1991 ed.) Canada, Vol. 15:464

⁷ibid

⁸UNITY IN DIVERSITY LESSER USED LANGUAGES IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages pamphlet: Dublin (n.d. c.1987)

⁹Stephens, M., (1978) Minority Languages in Western Europe, Gomer Press:Dyfed, p xiii

¹⁰ibid

*Linguistic Minorities in 16 Western European States Examined by Stephens Table 1*¹¹

Austria	<i>Slovenes, Magyars, and Croats</i>
Belgium	<i>Flemings, Walloons, Germans</i>
Britain & Northern Ireland	<i>Gaels of Scotland, Lowland Scots, Gaels of Man, Gaels of Northern Ireland, Welsh, Cornish, Channel Islanders</i>
Denmark	<i>Germans of North Slesvig, Faroe Islanders, Greenlanders</i>
Finland	<i>Swedish Finlanders, Aland Finlanders, Lapps of Lake Inari</i>
France	<i>Occitans, Catalans of Rousillon, Northern Basques, Corsicans, Alsatians, Flemings of Westhoek, Bretons</i>
Germany (East and West)	<i>Sorbs, Danes of South Schleswig, North Frisians</i>
Ireland	<i>Gaels</i>
Italy	<i>Piedmontese, Occitans of Piedmont, Romagnols, Friulans, Ladins of the Dolomites, Aostans, South Tyroleans, Slovenes of Trieste, Sards, Greeks.</i>
Luxembourg	<i>Letzebürgers</i>
The Netherlands	<i>West Frisians</i>
Norway	<i>Bokmål and Nynorsk</i>
Spain	<i>Catalans, Basques and Galicians</i>
Sweden	<i>Lapps, Finns of the Tone Valley</i>
Switzerland.	<i>Ticinese, Jurassians, Rhaetians</i>

¹¹ibid

If we adopt a wider definition of minority language and include non-indigenous ethnic groups, then the multilingual nature of these states is even more pronounced.¹²

The Sixteen States with non-indigenous groups included

Table 2

Country (Official Language/s)	Indigenous Ethnic Groups	Non-Indigenous ethnic groups
Austria (German: 7,288,000)	Slovenes, Magyars, and Croats (175,000)	<i>Czech, Turkish, and others (160,000)</i>
Belgium (Dutch, French, and German, 9,200,000)	Flemings, Walloons, and Germans of the Eastern Cantons	<i>Italian and others (6,700,000)</i>
Britain (& N. Ireland) (English: 54,055,693)	Gaels of Scotland, Lowland Scots, Gaels of Man, Gaels of Northern Ireland, Welsh, Cornish, Channel Islanders (figures not available except for Gaels of Scotland (65,978) and Welsh (508,098))	<i>Immigrant languages, (3,,235,238)</i>
Denmark (Danish 5,005,000)	Germans of North Slesvig, Faroe Islanders, Greenlanders (1,070,000)	<i>English, Norwegian, Swedish, Turkish, Yugoslav languages, and others (131,000)</i>
Finland (Finnish ,4,661,000 and Swedish, 300,000)	Swedish Finlanders, Aland Finlanders, Lapps of Lake Inari	<i>Others, including Lapps (16,000)</i>
France (French, 52,810,000)	Occitans, Catalans of Rousillon, Northern Basques, Corsicans, Alsations, Flemings of Westhoek, Bretons (3,930,000)	<i>Arabic, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, other (6,220,000)</i>
Germany (East and West) (German, 74,110,000)	Sorbs, Danes of South Schleswig, North Frisians (no individual figures)	<i>Dutch, Greek, Italian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Yugoslav languages, other (4,570,000)</i>
Ireland (English 3,330,000, Irish, 180,000)	Gaels	
Italy (Italian, 54,100,000)	Piedmontese, Occitans of Piedmont, Romagnols, Friulans, Ladins of the Dolomites, Aostans, South Tyroleans, Slovenes of Trieste, Sards; Greeks, Croats, and Albanians of the Mezzogiorno (4,150,000 no separate figures, includes others)	
Luxembourg (French, 12,000, German, 9,000)	Letzebürgers (279,000)	<i>Belgian, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, others (77,000)</i>
The Netherlands (Dutch, 14,332,000)	West Frisians (420,000)	<i>Arabic, Turkish, others (600,000)</i>
Norway (Norwegian, 4,109,000)	Bokmal and Nynorsk language groups, Lapps	<i>Danish, English, Swedish, others (136,000)</i>
Spain (Castilian Spanish, 28,490,000)	Catalans, Basques and Galicians (10,540,000)	<i>English, others (310,000)</i>
Sweden (Swedish, 7,717,000)	Lapps, Finns of the Tone Valley (40,000)	<i>Arabic, Danish, English, Finnish, German, Iranian languages, Norwegian, Polish, Spanish, Yugoslav languages, other (783,000)</i>
Switzerland (French, 1,244,000, German, 4,395,000, Italian, 660,000)	Ticinese 200,000, Jurassians or French speakers 1,244,000, Rhaetians or Romansch, 50,000	<i>Other (403,000)</i>

¹²Official languages are in brackets in column 1. Figures are from Enc.Brit. Year Book, 1991, pp. 758-761 for all languages saving Britain & Northern Ireland which come from 1991 Gaelic Language Scotland, Table 3, 1991 Census Report for Wales Table 67, 1991 Census, Table 51 (c).

There are now over 24 million *Gastarbeiter* and dependants in north-west Europe,¹³ who have come from countries such as Turkey, Yugoslavia, Greece, Italy, Japan and the Arab nations. The educational problems they pose for the receiving country are immense. For example, in German schools in the early 1980s there were over 700,000 foreign pupils; in France, there were over 900,000.¹⁴ In 1981 minority languages being taught in French schools included German, English, Spanish, Italian, Portuguese, Arabic, Hebrew, Russian, Japanese, Dutch, Serbo-Croat, Chinese and Turkish.¹⁵

Small countries also have to cope with minority language problems. Denmark has to cater for migrants from Yugoslavia, Turkey and the Nordic countries. In Britain, English as a mother tongue accounts for 50,246,379 speakers, Welsh for 508,098 and Gaelic for 65, 978.¹⁶ Speakers of other languages number approximately 3.2 million. The most widely spoken immigrant languages appear to be Punjabi, Bengali, Urdu, Gujarati, German, Polish, Italian, Greek, Spanish and Cantonese. Of the 200 or so minority languages in Britain, around a quarter are taught in schools to over 400,000 pupils.¹⁷ It is evident from the preceding statistics that official language recognition by governments does not reveal the multicoloured tapestry of tongues woven by ethnic groups, and belies the multilingual nature of nations.

¹³Crystal, p.36

¹⁴ibid

¹⁵ibid

¹⁶Census Records 1994

¹⁷Crystal, p. 36

In an increasingly complex European language situation, with increasing mobility within the EC, the problem of language teaching and learning has already been addressed by a 1977 EC directive on the education of children of migrant workers in Europe:

Article 2 Member States shall, in accordance with their national circumstances and legal systems, take appropriate measures to ensure that free tuition to facilitate initial reception is offered in their territory to the children...including in particular, the teaching - adapted to the specific needs of such children - of the official language or one of the official languages of the host State.

Article 3 Member States shall, in accordance with their national circumstances and legal systems, and in cooperation with States of origin, take appropriate measures to promote, in coordination with normal education, teaching of the mother tongue and culture of the country of origin for the children...¹⁸

Does **Article 3** mean that Gaelic speakers in EC countries may ask for language learning facilities for their children, or is it suitably ambiguous to require a law case?

The Maastricht Treaty states:

Article 126 paragraph 2 Community action shall be aimed at:-
developing the European dimension in education, particularly through

¹⁸Quoted in Crystal, p.36

the teaching and dissemination of the languages of the Member States;¹⁹

Whether unofficial minority languages are included is not clear. The point is that the EC recognises the importance of languages, cultures and mother tongues, and of the rights of peoples to their own, as do the United Nations, UNESCO, and the Council of Europe.²⁰

To date, individual countries have generally ignored such international declarations.²¹ Nevertheless, such declarations may be viewed as statements of intent which take into account the practicability of granting rights according to economic, political, and other factors. To state them in any other way would lessen the moral force of their claims.²²

¹⁹Maastricht Treaty, Chapter 3 EDUCATION, VOCATIONAL TRAINING & YOUTH

²⁰Baker, C., (1993) Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, Multilingual Matters: Clevedon, pp 249-50

²¹ibid

²²Maclean, R.G., Theory of education essay as part of M.Ed. course at Glasgow University, July 1990, p. 6

2. Bilingualism - What is it?

Some Definitions

A simple definition of bilingualism would be 'the ability of an individual to use two different languages'. However, this simple definition does not satisfy the complexity of bilingual combinations that exist. How well can an individual speak both languages? In which situations are they used? Can an individual think equally well in both languages? Is the individual literate in only one of the languages?

Some maintain²³ that the term should be applied only to those individuals who possess 'nativelike ability' in two different languages, whilst others hold that bilingualism should be characterized by 'minimal rather than maximal qualifications.'²⁴ Others, who adopt a more neutral stance, state that bilingualism is the 'practice of alternatively using two languages'²⁵ - a definition in keeping with Comhairle nan Eilean's bilingual policy:

(b) The Western Isles is a bilingual community in which Gaelic is the dominant language in the majority of homes and social encounters. English is, however, the dominant language in terms of the extent of use in different situations. The degree of dominance is greater in written communication than in oral and in Stornoway and Balivanich than in the rest of the area. Consequently, in a statement of policies

²³ Bloomfield, quoted in Hornby, P.A. (1977), Bilingualism: Psychological, Social and Educational Implications, London: Academic Press, p. 3

²⁴ Haugen in Hornby, *ibid*

²⁵ Weinrich in Hornby, *ibid*

and programmes the accent will be on achieving balance through the development of abilities and opportunities for the use of Gaelic.

(c) The aim is to achieve a situation of literal bilingualism in the sense that every speech in one language is accompanied by a simultaneous translation in the other and every written message by a parallel text; the choice of language for a particular occasion will depend on the user's ability to express his message and his audience's capacity to understand it.²⁶

Hornby suggests:

The best way to deal with this variation in definitions would seem to be to recognise that bilingualism is not an all-or-none property, but is an individual characteristic that may exist to degrees varying from minimal competency to complete mastery of more than one language.²⁷

Measurements of Bilingualism

Baker makes an essential distinction between **ability** and **use**²⁸ of a language. **Language ability** comprises the four dimensions of reading, writing, listening and speaking, with a possible fifth - thinking ('inner speech') which embraces 'reasoning and deliberation.'²⁹

²⁶2nd edition October, 1986, p1, paras (b) and (c)

²⁷ ibid

²⁸Baker, p. 5

²⁹op cit, p.7

Language use (or competence), on the other hand, takes account of the social context in which the dimensions referred to above are used.³⁰ Baker suggests that:

An individual's **use** of their bilingual ability (**functional bilingualism**) moves away from the complex, unresolvable arguments about language proficiency which tend to be based around school success and academic performance. Functional bilingualism moves into language production across an encyclopaedia of everyday events. Functional bilingualism concerns when, where, and with whom people use their two languages.³¹

As a bilingual moves from one social context to another, so may the language being used vary in terms of type (e.g. Gaelic or English), content (e.g. vocabulary) and style (formal/informal).³² A bilingual's language use may be measured on a self-rating basis across the four language skills. Here are three examples from Baker's book which suggest a method for measuring language background.³³

³⁰op cit, p.13

³¹Baker, p. 13

³²op cit, p.16

³³op cit, p. 21

Example of Language Background Scale for Schoolchildren: Productive Skill (speaking)³⁴ Table3

Here are some questions about the language in which you talk to different people, and the language in which certain people speak to you. Please answer as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers. Leave an empty space if a question does not fit your position.					
In which language do YOU speak to the following people? Choose one of these answers					
	Always in Spanish	In Spanish more often than English	In Spanish and English equally	In English more often than Spanish	Always in English
Father					
Mother					
Brothers/ Sisters					
Friends in the Classroom					
Friends outside school					
Teachers					
Friends in the Playground					
Neighbours					

Self Rating Assessment for Listening Skills Table 4

In which language do the following people speak TO YOU?					
	Always in Spanish	In Spanish more often than English	In Spanish and English equally	In English more often than Spanish	Always in English
Father					
Mother					
Brothers/ Sisters					
Friends in the Classroom					
Friends outside school					
Teachers					
Friends in the Playground					
Neighbours					

³⁴ibid

Self Rating Assessment for Receptive Skills mainly (Reading and Listening) Table 5

Which language do YOU use with the following?					
	Always in Spanish	In Spanish more often than English	In Spanish and English equally	In English more often than Spanish	Always in English
Watching TV/videos					
Religion					
Newspapers/ comics					
Records/ cassettes/CDs					
Radio					
Shopping					
Playing sport					
Telephone					

There are limitations as Baker points out: the questions may be ambiguously interpreted and the tables are not exhaustive of domains (contexts) or targets (people).³⁵ However, they do provide the basis of a helpful formative assessment procedure to assess whether and where further language development may be necessary for an individual. It is also possible to devise a self rating test for language ability. The following example derives from the Linguistics Minority Project³⁶ where children in London were asked to rate themselves in the four language areas for Spanish and English:

³⁵Baker, pp 21-22
³⁶cited in Baker, p.22

Self Rating of Language Proficiency

Table 6

Tick one box for each question for each language			
	One Language		Another Language
Can you understand this language if it is spoken to you now?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes, quite well	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Only a little	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	No, not now	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can you speak this language now?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes, quite well	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Only a little	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	No, not now	<input type="checkbox"/>
Can you read this language now?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Yes, quite well	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Only a little	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	No, not now	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>	Never could	<input type="checkbox"/>

(Baker suggests that this self rating measures across the four language abilities of reading, writing, listening, and speaking, but it does not necessarily follow that ability to read a language is synonymous with ability to write it.) As with the previous tables for language use measurement, Baker comments that the above table suggests answers which may be too extensive. He identifies other problems with this type of assessment such as: ambiguity of wording; lack of sensitivity to different contexts; self esteem error; bias towards 'yes' answers in self rating questions; faulty points of comparison between the languages; over-reliance on the supposed 'scientific' nature of the tests; may lead to self-fulfilling prophecy if proficiency scores are low.³⁷ Despite the drawbacks these self

³⁷Baker, pp 24-25

rating tests may be of value for pre-course assessment in intensive/immersive type language courses where guidance is needed as to which ability levels students should be placed in. Hornby's statement that bilingualism is more complex than an 'all-or-none property' may be helpful in highlighting the variable abilities which a bilingual may have in each language. However, it does not give the greater precision of description which the terms **language ability** and **language use** provide. These term may be usefully applied, as seen from the sample tables, when assessing bilingual competencies.

What is a language?

Whilst bilingualism may be defined within broad and narrow competencies, the question begs as to what constitutes a **language**. Three models have been identified which attempt to say what a language is. Firstly, the **language as grammar** model 'looks at a language in isolation, as an internally coherent system of contrasts and relations, essentially a monolingual model which does not really have anything to say about bilingualism or languages in contact.'³⁸

Secondly, the **language as communication** model views language as a means rather than an end - the function of language is to enable real life activity. 'Effective language does not mean grammatical accuracy nor articulate fluency, but the **competence to communicate** meaning effectively.'³⁹ 'This is not a homogeneous model of language, as it seeks to account for stylistic, functional, social, and other forms of language variety.'⁴⁰ The use of more than one stylistic variation of the same language has also been treated as

³⁸Wells, G., Adult Learners and Native Speakers: Shall the Twain Ne'er Meet?, Conference Paper for Fasgnag at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, 11-13 April 1991

³⁹Baker, p. 220

⁴⁰Wells, *ibid*

significant, as in casual versus formal English. Some regard an ability in two stylistic variations of the same language as bilingualism: Taylor⁴¹ may be cited as an example of this approach. He defined a bilingual as a person who speaks two or more 'languages, dialects, or styles of speech that involve differences in sound, vocabulary and syntax.' As Hornby suggests, most adult speakers of any language would qualify as bilingual under the above definition. Current communicative approaches to language teaching derive their theoretical underpinning from this sociolinguistic model of language. Thirdly, there is the **language as identity** model which has impinged less on language teaching. Exponents of this theory seek to 'incorporate the language user's awareness of the socially symbolic function of language as a badge of individual and/or group identity in terms of class, ethnicity, age etc. so that, subject to various constraints, people like to talk with those with whom they identify, and not to those with whom they do not.'⁴²

The language as identity model mentioned above becomes a complex concept when the individual is a speaker of two or more languages and participates, as a result, in two or more cultures.

Biculturalism

The term **bilingualism *par excellence***⁴³ is used by Hornby to describe an individual who has two distinct language competencies, such as may be found in a speaker of both French and English in Canada, or Welsh and English in Wales. Whilst the bilingual *par excellence* may be competent in either language there may be significant cultural attitudinal variations between each language - cultural duality.

⁴¹Taylor, L., quoted in Hornby, p.4

⁴²ibid

⁴³in op cit p5, Used by Hymes, D. in *Foundations in sociolinguistics*, Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania (1974)

The topic of biculturalism has been researched for many years and not without vigorous debate. Various researchers have suggested that bilingualism may cause feelings of anomie, marginality, or even schizophrenia.⁴⁴ Identity problems arise, it is suggested, either because of the irreconcilability of the two meaning systems, or through hybridisation, resulting in a world view which is at variance with both cultural sets. Taylor argues that 'threats to ethnic identity, which arise from inequalities in intergroup relations may alter the motivational balance for becoming bilingual.'⁴⁵ There is much anecdotal evidence of Gaels who declined to speak their native tongue because of the negative associations of a minority culture in a majority and prestigious English language setting. Hornby summarises Pride:⁴⁶

There is a very important distinction between bilingualism and biculturalism, and although they may frequently occur together, they can also occur separately. The possession of two stylistic variations of English or two dialectical variations of Dutch is not necessarily associated with significant cultural variation. However, since in many cases possession of two languages does reflect interaction and knowledge of distinct cultures, it is important to realise that many of the effects commonly associated with bilingualism may actually reflect the result of such concomitant biculturalism.

Lambert⁴⁷ cites a study by Genessee which demonstrates that individuals with a dual cultural heritage may react idiosyncratically to their bicultural backgrounds. The study,

⁴⁴Summary of research by Genessee in Hornby, pp 152-155

⁴⁵in Hornby, p. 153

⁴⁶quoted in Hornby p5, Pride, J.B. *The social meaning of language*, Oxford:Oxford University Press (1971)

carried out in French-American communities in New England and Louisiana isolated at least three types of reaction. One group-type oriented themselves towards their preferred ethnolinguistic background to the exclusion of the other(s). A second category attempted to ignore descriptions of themselves in ethnic terms, and a third type identified positively with both of their ethnolinguistic reference groups. Genesee suggests that 'much valuable research needs to be carried out to investigate those circumstances in which individuals have difficulty adjusting to their bicultural heritage.'⁴⁸ He concludes that the type of bilingual education that would best suit members of minority groups would differ from that offered to the majority group. It is more likely that the majority group would benefit from additive forms of bilingualism and biculturalism if they received their education, during all or part of their schooling, exclusively in the second language. He continues:

...it might be advisable to adopt a native-language approach with non-English speaking minority group children at least during the primary grades, so that the children's native language and culture can become firmly rooted. Subsequent exposure to the English language and its associate culture at higher grade levels might then occur more easily and with more positive consequences. In other words, as Lambert has suggested, by first of all nurturing and supporting the language and culture which are most likely to be neglected by the society, then later introduction of a second language and culture may be a more additive process.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ibid p.19

⁴⁸op cit, p. 153

Lambert⁵⁰ records that studies which have reported positive effects from bilingual activity have been in communities where the school language has been socially relevant and unlikely to replace the home language (often a prestigious or dominant one, as is the situation with Anglo-Canadians learning French). Such situations are termed **additive** because the learner is adding new language skills to his repertoire. In many ethnic minority groups, however, the learning of the dominant language (usually the majority and prestigious language) is very likely to lead to the replacement of the home language. Such a situation is termed **subtractive** as the learning of another language depletes and gradually devours the minority one.

Biculturalism and bilingualism in an individual usually signifies that particular socially allocated functions are reserved for one or other of the languages. 'Bilingualism without diglossia stems mainly from the dislocation of populations, especially through immigration. The existence of separate languages without socially allocated functions tends to be a transitory phenomenon, that is, either functions are allocated, or linguistic assimilation is accomplished.'⁵¹

Diglossia

Diglossia is a phenomenon related to bilingualism and often confused with it. The term was introduced by Charles Ferguson in 1959:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard

⁴⁹op cit, p. 154

⁵⁰Lambert summarised in Mosaic Project, p. 13

⁵¹Penalosa, F. (1981) Introduction to the Sociology of Language. Rowely, Massechusetts: Newberry House p. 115

or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes, but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary communication.⁵²

Penalosa along with others describes diglossia as:

...the use of two different languages or language varieties, a 'high' formal, official one, and a 'low' informal colloquial one, in separate spheres of a given society or community.⁵³

He continues:

The 'high' formal variety (H) and the low colloquial one (L) have specialized functions, such that only H is appropriate in one situation and in another only L, with very slight overlapping between the two sets. Thus, H would be used in a sermon, personal letter, political speech, university lecture, or news broadcast, while L would be used in instructions to subordinates, conversation with family or friends, or in a radio or television soap opera. It is exceedingly important in these societies to use the right variety in the right situation. Speakers have a

⁵²op cit, p. 115

⁵³op cit, p. 116

particular set of beliefs concerning H, namely that somehow it is more beautiful, more logical, and better able to express important thoughts and the like. These beliefs are widespread, even among those with little or no mastery of H.⁵⁴

The term polyglossia is mooted by Penalosa as one which may be more useful to extend the concept of diglossia beyond the H-L description in societies with 'any kind of functionally differentiated language varieties, including separate languages, dialects or registers.'⁵⁵ He further contends that 'as a consequence of growing modernization and social complexity, the number of societies characterized by polyglossia or functionally differentiated varieties has greatly increased.'⁵⁶

The Circassian minority in Israel are an interesting example of how bilingualism and diglossia or rather polyglossia have been accommodated. The Circassians number about 2500, and settled in Palestine about 1870 as a result of Russian persecution. They originated from the northwestern Caucasus and today still speak Circassian, the language which they took with them. Stern⁵⁷ informs us that for language maintenance to be effective the Circassian community 'collectively decides to continue using the language or languages it has traditionally used.' He says:

Although almost all the population is multilingual or bilingual, there is no intergenerational switching and the community has remained

⁵⁴ibid

⁵⁵op cit, p. 115

⁵⁶ibid

⁵⁷Stern, A., *Educational Policy towards the Circassian Minority in Israel* in *Ethnic Minority Languages and Education*, Ed. Jaspaert & Kroon. p. 182

bilingual for decades. There is not even an early sign of shift; each language remains in the domains in which it used to be reserved. The Circassian case provides support for the basic hypotheses that a minority language community is in the best position to resist language shift when it can maintain a diglossic functional differentiation between its own language and that of the majority.

The socio-economic conditions of Circassians living in relatively isolated villages and farming are in favour of them maintaining their language. The multilingual educational system in Hebrew and Arabic and their Moslem religion conducted in Arabic seem to be major factors promoting shift. In spite of those conditions, bilingualism among Circassians in Israel is a clear case of stable bilingualism.

Kenneth Mackinnon has undertaken sociological studies of Gaelic speech communities in Harris and has summarised his own and the findings of other studies in different Gaelic speech communities as follows:

Gaelic-English bilingualism is diglossic. Most speakers use Gaelic exclusively with family, friends and neighbours and for worship. English predominates in public places and entertainments, in school matters and among children. It is in religious, social and educational contexts that the inter-generational shift towards English is most evident.⁵⁸

⁵⁸article in *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, Ed. D. Thomson, Blackwell, Oxford (1983), p114

As with all complex issues a simple definition is elusive. Whilst Hornby's conclusion that bilingualism is not 'an-all-or-none property' is eminently sensible, it does not permit the measurement of bilingualism to the degree Baker's language ability and language use approach does, uniting the linguistic and social aspects of language. Neither should the cultural and attitudinal effects of bilingualism be forgotten when providing second language learning opportunities for individuals. The Circassians provided an interesting example of how selective use of language domains has avoided intergenerational switching in language use.

3. The Bilingual Benefit

*'Each human mind is formed by a natural language, which, in turn, is a vehicle for the history of a specific culture ... natural languages are irrevocably tied to history.'*⁵⁹

'There is a famous Afghan folk-tale which tells of wise men who attempt to describe the elephant to the populace. Both the wise men and the populace are blind and each of the wise men has touched a different part of the elephant. One has touched its tail and likens the elephant to a rope; another, its trunk and likens it to a hose; another, its leg and says it is like a tree; the one who touches its skin likens it to leather. The application is that none has a complete view of reality because of his blindness. Some liken the wise men to our senses, and the elephant to language.⁶⁰ Each of our senses gives us only one slant on reality, and can we say that what our eyes see is a truer picture than that which our ears tell us? All sensory information needs to be integrated to give a larger picture, and

⁵⁹Hardison, O.B., *Disappearing Through the Skylight*, New York: Penguin Books, p. 161

⁶⁰Tartter, V.C., *Language Processes*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1986, pp 20-23

even then we are not aware of that which we did not receive: our senses may not have been sensitive to all the elements.

Language, like our senses, Tartter suggests, makes us focus our attention on some aspects of reality, but not on others.⁶¹ For him, in English, the word *elephant* connotes largeness because of the related words elephantine and elephantiasis. Webster's dictionary, on the other hand, derives elephant from the Greek word for *ivory*. Tartter asks if when Greek and English speakers think of *elephant*, do they have the same concept, or does the Greek see the animal's face, while the English speaker visualizes the largeness of the body? Consider, also, that words which are supposed to be the imitations of the same natural sounds are different in different languages. Dogs say 'bow-wow' in English, 'oua-oua' in French, 'wan-wan' in Japanese, and 'pyee' in Bantu (though only after being kicked). Pigs go 'oink-oink' in English but 'cue-cue' in Portuguese, 'snöf-snöf' in Finnish, and 'fron-fron-fron' in Italian.⁶²

Cod liver oil in English goes from a general to a specific, and in Gaelic from a specific to a general, *ola gruthan thros*g (*oil of the liver of the cod*). From this it may be argued that each tongue provides a different perspective on matters - whether the taste of the substance improves according to the language used is open to debate. And, whilst it may be generally agreed that *omnia vincit amor*: in English it appears to conquer with more force than in Gaelic. 'I love you' to a Gael sounds slightly more threatening than *tha*

⁶¹ibid

⁶²Hardison op cit, p.165

gaol agam ort (there is love at me on you). In English it is stated as an action transferred from subject to object, whilst in Gaelic it is the bestowal of a possession.

What has this to do with the benefits of bilingualism? Much, for our perception of reality is affected by the linguistic concepts we use - a theory propounded by Benjamin Lee Whorf over 50 years ago and which has aroused much controversy. Whorf's **linguistic relativism** (or in its extreme form, **linguistic determinism**) strengthens the case for the bilingual benefit. He gave the example of differing concepts of time and space in American English and Hopi.⁶³ To American English-speakers time is omnipresent, uni-dimensional, and continuous, but conveniently divisible into past, present and future. This may seem, at first, the only *natural* way to view time. However, the Hopi Indians have three tenses, but a different concept of time. The first tense is objective: what the Hopi can verify by sensing and includes both the American English past and present tenses. Tenses two and three are subjective and dissect the American English future. One of these tenses deals with a '*will happen because it always does, by natural law*'; and, the other is a '*will happen because the actions leading to it have already begun*'. Tartter records:⁶⁴

Thus the concept of simultaneity inherent in a statement like 'I (in New York) eat lunch while my friend (in California) eats breakfast' is impossible in Hopi; they would consider something like 'I eat lunch and will hear that my friend ate breakfast'; that is, two distant-in-space events can be assigned the objective tense only when they are both past

⁶³in op cit. See also MacLaren's Gaelic Self-Taught, 4th edition 1963, p128 for a similar argument.

⁶⁴op cit pp 20-23

because one person cannot have sensory experiences in two places at once.

Whorf considered the Hopi conceptualisation to be more in tune with reality as described by Einsteinian relativity: 'time is not constant but depends on observer position and motion; we never know that a star is shining, only that it was shining some number of light years ago.' Whorf concluded that the theory of relativity might seem intuitive to the Hopi because they always looked at reality that way. However, as Hardison points out:

Whorf believed that American Indian languages like Hopi or Navaho offered alternatives to the Indo-European way of putting things together. They are closer, he thought, to the worldview of modern physics because they blur the distinction between subject and object and also the past-present-future distinction so emphatic in the European verb system. However, American Indian languages are just as opaque as English, and even as they permit one alternative world to be imagined, they preclude others.⁶⁵

To have access to two or more languages, it would seem, is to have access to a plurality of cultural stores, providing a richer *Weltanschauung*. Dr Eve Clark, professor of linguistics at Stanford University was quoted in the New York Times.⁶⁶

⁶⁵op cit p.163

⁶⁶Joseph, Nadine, 'Parents are encouraging Bilingualism From Infancy', New York Times, January 16, 1981 pD15

Bilingual children are at an advantage because they are more conscious of language and more apt to pick up a third or fourth language later on.

Merrill Swain, associate professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies and Education in Toronto, posits that there may be some disadvantage in being raised as a bilingual, but only a temporary one. For example:

Sometimes a child may be a few months behind in learning grammatical structure or vocabulary in one or both languages. On the other hand, the child learns more vocal sounds, grammatical structures and concepts in the two languages combined than a monolingual child does.⁶⁷

In the same article in *The New York Times*, Dr Lambert, a psychology professor, believes that:

Bilingual infants grow up more flexible, understanding, open-minded and tolerant about ethnicity. These children understand the concept of arbitrariness and are liberated from thinking that things are what they are named.

This view is echoed by the findings of Ianco-Worrall⁶⁸ who in 1972 tested 30 Afrikaans-English bilinguals aged four to nine for sound and meaning separation. The

⁶⁷ibid

⁶⁸cited in Baker, p. 121

bilingual group was matched with monolinguals of 'equal IQ, age, sex, school grade and social class.' A typical question was: 'I have three words: CAP, CAN and HAT. Which is more like CAP, CAN or HAT?'⁶⁹ With 7 year olds Ianco-Worrall found no difference between bilinguals and monolinguals in their choices. With 4-6 year olds, she found that bilinguals tended to distinguish according to meaning more than sound. That is they tended to say that CAP and HAT were more similar, whilst monolinguals chose CAP and CAN.⁷⁰ She concluded that bilinguals 'reach a stage of semantic development, as measured by our test, some 2-3 years earlier than their monolingual peers.'⁷¹

Cummins⁷² in a foreword to a report on the efficacy of Basque language teaching says that there was no loss in academic development in the majority language because of Basque immersion education. He says:

This pattern of transfer of academic skills from the minority to the majority language has also been reported in virtually all the bilingual programs implemented in North America (e.g. French immersion programs in Canada) and is thus a well established result...there is considerable research evidence that when children develop literacy in two languages, they experience an enhancement of their overall linguistic and cognitive abilities. As a result of having two ways of expressing their ideas, they gain insight into how language itself works

⁶⁹ibid

⁷⁰ibid

⁷¹ibid

⁷²Sierra.J. & Olaziregi,,L., (1989) E.I.F.E. 2 Influence of factors on the learning of Basque, Central Publications Service of the Basque Government: Gasteiz, pp 16-17

and how they can manipulate language more efficiently for problem solving and creative thinking.⁷³

These suggestions of a **bilingual benefit** are in stark contrast to views expressed at the dawn of this century. Sandra Ben-Zeev gives a summary of these early views and of present developments:⁷⁴

Research on the effects of bilingualism on cognition goes at least as far back as the early 1900s. At that time the question was formulated in terms of whether or not bilingualism affects performance on tests of general intelligence, and the bulk of early studies, as reviewed by Arsenian (1932), concluded that intelligence is negatively affected by the presence of bilingualism. However, as Lambert⁷⁵ has pointed out, these studies can largely be discounted because of their failure to include the most basic controls. In a review of later studies, Darcy (1953) concluded that bilinguals suffer from a large handicap when measured by verbal tests of intelligence but that there is no handicap on tests of nonverbal intelligence.

In contrast to these earlier findings, she quotes Peal and Lambert's (1962) study of ten-year-old, middle-class, French-Canadian bilinguals which revealed a positive relationship between bilingualism and intelligence. The study also revealed that the bilinguals were characterized by a more differentiated intelligence subtest profile than

⁷³ibid

⁷⁴Ben Zeev, Sandra, *Mechanisms by which Childhood Bilingualism Affects Understanding of Language and Cognitive Structure* in Hornby, pp. 29-31

⁷⁵ibid chpt 2

their monolingual comparison group. This was the first rung in ascertaining the particular intellectual skills or processes that bilingualism might affect. As the study was not controlled for native intelligence, results could only be suggestive.

However, Anisfield (1964) attempted to correct this by reanalyzing the original data and matching groups for IQ. She found that the findings still revealed a positive relationship between bilingualism and intelligence. Other findings from Anisfield's study indicated the superiority of bilinguals on intelligence subtests which require 'symbolic manipulation or mental flexibility.' She distinguished tests of this type from tests of 'creative flexibility.'

Cummins⁷⁶ says that bilingualism was seen as a negative force in the early part of this century and likened to a disease. A disease which was to be eradicated by punishment or through L1 cultural devaluation. It was not surprising, therefore, that research findings at this time recorded that bilingual children did not perform well at school, and often had emotional struggles. The sad result of this type of approach was that children often ended up alienated from both the majority and the minority cultures. The fairly obvious conclusion that it was the schools' treatment of bilinguals which caused them to be poor performers and emotionally anxious was not concluded. Instead, the bilingual deficit theory held sway. Cummins comments:

Recent research findings and evaluation of programs which have promoted children's L1 in the school show clearly that the poor academic performance of many bilingual children was caused not by

⁷⁶Cummins, J. 'Empirical and Theoretical Underpinnings of Bilingual Education,' *Journal of Education*, Winter 1981, pp 16-21,28-29

their bilingualism, but by the attempts of the school to eradicate their bilingualism. These findings show clearly that bilingualism can be a positive force in minority children's development...⁷⁷

The theories of a pejorative multilingualism fostered terms such as: **linguistic interference, linguistic mismatch, language load, language confusion, and language handicap**. This theorizing is deemed to arise from a monolingual approach to language learning where bilingualism or multilingualism is seen as deviation from the norm⁷⁸ - a norm which we have already seen to be specious. It has also been suggested that such views were promulgated by 'monolinguals from the dominant language background seeking to explain the failure of children from minority or subordinate language backgrounds'⁷⁹ in monolingual education systems.

We have previously discussed Lambert's **subtractive** bilingualism and now mention some other related terms, namely, the **balanced effect** hypothesis of Macnamara,⁸⁰ where the development of skills in one language is claimed to be balanced by a reduction in the other; the **semi-lingualism** of Skutnabb-Kangas, which describes the circumstances of individuals who have been exposed to two languages since childhood without reaching a **nativelike** ability in either.⁸¹ An attempt to describe the merits and demerits of language learning in terms of **immersion** and **submersion** was suggested by Cummins.⁸² **Immersion** comprehends a dominant language speaker learning another language, such

⁷⁷Ibid

⁷⁸Mosaic Project, p12

⁷⁹ibid

⁸⁰op cit, p.13

⁸¹op cit, p. 13 & Baker, p. 9

⁸²Mosaic Project, p15

as Anglophones in Canada being immersed in the French learning environment, where English and English culture are never devalued, where teachers are familiar with the Canadian Anglophone culture, and where attempts to use French are praised. The obverse is **submersion**: the target language is that of the school and the inability of the learners to use this language inclines to be viewed by fluent target language speakers, both teachers and pupils, as an indicator of limited ability. Further problems may arise because of the teacher's lack of knowledge of the learner's native language and cultural expectations. He says:

In general, what is communicated to children in immersion programme is their success, whereas in submersion programme children are often made to feel acutely aware of their failure.⁸³

Bilingually Beneficial Projects

However, there have been bilingually beneficial projects which aided minority language children and avoided the submersive situation mentioned above. These studies include:

Rock Point Navajo Study (1971-76)⁸⁴

This bilingual programme was started in 1971 and the first report received in 1976.

Before the project commenced, the Navajo children were two years behind US norms in English reading by the age of 12 even although these children received intensive teaching in English as a Second Language. The Rock Point programme used Navajo as the

⁸³Mosaic Project, p. 15

⁸⁴op cit, p. 18

medium of instruction from pre-school age (5 years) until the end of primary education. English reading was delayed until Navajo reading skills were well established and the children were 8 years old. By the time the Navajo children were 12 years old they were performing above US grade norms in English reading despite considerably less exposure to English instruction than they were getting before. A significant factor to be noted is that Navajo is a low status language, has only a short history of written literature, and has poor literacy levels among adults

Edmonton Ukrainian-English Bilingual Programme (1972 onwards)⁸⁵

This programme has existed in eight Edmonton primary schools in Canada since 1972 and is financially supported by the Alberta Government of the Province of Canada. In this programme Ukrainian is used as a medium of instruction for 60% of the regular school day throughout the primary school years. Only about 15% of the children are fluent in Ukrainian when they start schooling. A study carried out with the six and nine year-olds found that those using Ukrainian in the homes all the time were better able to detect ambiguities in English sentences than those children who came from English-Canadian homes or those children of Ukrainian origin who used English most of the time at home. The evaluations of the programme have shown that children doing Ukrainian are not backward in English or other academic skills. Instead, by the time the children in the programme have reached the age of ten years, they are better at English reading comprehension skills than children not in the programme. This evaluation is

⁸⁵ibid

remarkably similar to evidence, as yet anecdotal, emanating from Gaelic medium schools in the Western Isles.

The San Diego Spanish-English Language 'Immersion' Programme ⁸⁶

This programme was started in 1975 in the San Diego City Schools in California. 60% of the children have Spanish as their language of everyday communication (LEC) and 40% have English as their LEC. Teaching is done in Spanish from nursery years with about 20 minutes of English every day going up to thirty minutes when the children are in the first year at school and 60 minutes in the second and third years. The project evaluation shows that although students lag behind in both Spanish and English reading skills until the children are nearly 12 years old, by the time they are 13, they perform above the average in school grade norms in both languages. Performance of these children in maths is also above the average for children of their age and socio-economic backgrounds in ordinary schools. As the San Diego City Schools Report points out:

Native-English speaking project students - because they do not receive instruction in English reading as early as do students in the district's regular elementary level program - begin to develop English reading skills somewhat later than regular-program students. However, project students made [sic] rapid and sustained progress in English reading once it is introduced and, as has been noted, ultimately meet or exceed English language norms for their grade levels. Also, though native-Spanish-speaking project students are not exposed to English

⁸⁶ibid

reading and writing as early as they would be in the regular, English-only instructional program, they eventually acquire English language skills which are above the norm for students in regular, English-only instructional programs and, in addition, develop their native-language skills.⁸⁷

The Carpenteria Spanish-Language Pre-School Programme (1979-82)⁸⁸

In the Carpenteria School District near Santa Barbara, California, it was found that a large number of Spanish-speaking children entering kindergarten each year lacked adequate skills to succeed in the kindergarten programme. In the school tests given to all incoming kindergarten children, Spanish-speaking children scored lower marks even when tests were given in Spanish. Before the Carpenteria programme was started, Spanish-background children had been attending a bilingual pre-school programme in which both English and Spanish were used at the same time but with strong emphasis on the development of English skills. The Spanish-language Pre-schools Programme used Spanish only to bring Spanish-dominant children entering kindergarten up to a level of readiness for school similar to that attained by English-speaking children in the community. This programme also involved the parents closely and made them aware of their role as a child's 'first teacher.' The evaluation report, on the programme from 1979 to 1982, states that:

The development of language skills in Spanish was foremost in the planning and attention was given to every facet of the pre-school day.

⁸⁷op cit, p. 19

⁸⁸ibid

Language was used constantly for conversing, learning new ideas, concepts and vocabulary, thinking creatively and problem-solving to give children the opportunity to develop their language skills in Spanish to as high a degree as possible within the structure of the pre-school day.

The surprising observation made in the programme was that although the pre-school programme was exclusively Spanish, in the Bilingual Syntax Measure Test these children outperformed other Spanish-speaking children in both Spanish and English. The Spanish language promotion that was going on in the experimental programme allowed children to acquire more of the English to which they were exposed in the environment.

Commenting on these studies above, Cummins reports that educational programmes can prevent poor school performance, which was the lot of many minority students. Other important aspects are that the programmes reinforce cultural identity and the fact that parents are involved may also have an enhancing effect. He concludes:

The findings clearly suggest that for minority students who are academically at risk, strong promotion of first language conceptual skills may be more effective than either a half-hearted bilingual approach or a monolingual English 'immersion' approach.⁸⁹

⁸⁹in Mosaic Project

Attitudes towards Bilingualism

David Crystal ⁹⁰ suggests that bilingual programmes have always attracted controversy with two main stances being adopted, one positive and the other negative. Negatively, bilingualism is said to foster social divisions and narrowness of outlook as may be seen in ethnocentric churches, bespoke media, ethnic schools. Educationwise, children may become trapped in the mother tongue, thus failing to achieve in the major language, reducing access to prosperity. There may be inadequate education services for the minority language and pupils may, as a result, fail in the mother tongue also. It is suggested, according to this negative outlook on bilingualism, that education in the minority language should continue only until pupils are fluent in the majority language. This may be described as a **transitional** approach to bilingualism.

Positive proponents of bilingualism would argue that maintaining the minority mother tongue develops a desirable cultural diversity; fosters ethnic identity; permits social adaptability; adds to the psychological security of the child; promotes linguistic, and perhaps cognitive, sensitivity.⁹¹ This **maintenance** view of bilingualism requires bilingual instruction throughout the school career of the individual. According to Crystal, the **maintenance** view is paid lip-service by the many, and, in reality, the **transitional** type is practised.⁹²

⁹⁰Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language, p. 366

⁹¹ibid

⁹²ibid

What worth bilingualism?

In this chapter we have observed the uncommonality of monolingualism, discussed definitions and measurements of bilingualism, acknowledged three models for defining what constitutes a language, noted some effects of biculturalism, discriminated between bilingualism and the phenomenon of diglossia, and noted benefits deriving from bilingualism. One question remains: What arguments are there in favour of preserving or reviving a minority language in the face of majority language dominance? Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn⁹³ provide their reasons for valuing languages:

Language is a product of many centuries of human thought, a vehicle of all the wisdom, poetry, and legend and history which is bequeathed to a people by their forebears. Rough hewn, chiselled and polished with loving care it has been handed down as a beautiful work of art - the greatest art form in the world - the noblest monument of man's genius.

Whether we agree with that definition in its entirety or not, it echoes the words of Dr Samuel Johnson who stated: 'There is no tracing ancient nations but by language, and therefore I'm always sorry when language is lost, because languages are the pedigrees of nations.'⁹⁴

Some argue⁹⁵ that in the same way that there are individual rights in the choice of religion so should there be an individual's right to the language he chooses to use. In addition,

⁹³*The Problem of Language Survival*, Club Leabhar, Inverness (1971), pp 6&7

⁹⁴Stephens, p. 61

⁹⁵See Baker, p. 249

just as there are efforts made to remove discrimination in the areas of colour and creed so language prejudice and discrimination should be banished.⁹⁶ The United Nations, UNESCO, the Council of Europe and the European Community have each declared that minority languages are to be permitted the right to the maintenance of their language.⁹⁷ Treuba argues:

Language rights of ethnolinguistic minorities are not detachable from their basic human rights, their right to their culture and their civil rights.⁹⁸

Language may be regarded as a medium for life and, combined with the argument that language is an intrinsic part of an individual's identity, provides another reason for maintaining language on a human rights basis. However, Baker rightly sounds a note of warning about language rights' rhetoric and highlights that in England government reports make 'the correct moral noises', but have no legal influence and are hollow.⁹⁹ In Scotland many are dissatisfied with 'the correct moral noises' and are now calling for a Gaelic Language Act to safeguard the rights of the language and its speakers.¹⁰⁰

There are other arguments which may be brought forward to bolster the claim for the continued maintenance of languages which are under threat. There is the claim of rising interest. Allan Campbell, Director of Comunn na Gàidhlig, has pointed out that in

⁹⁶ibid

⁹⁷op cit, p. 250

⁹⁸cited in Baker, p. 252

⁹⁹op cit, p. 252

¹⁰⁰See, for example, McConnel, T., Concern after census shows drop in Gaelic, The Herald, (30.4.94), p. 7

1990-91 the figures for children attending Gaelic-medium education was 400 but that by 1994:

This has now tripled to 1200 in just four years, whilst numbers in Gaelic playgroups have almost doubled in that same period...the future growth of Gaelic is dependent upon young people and their families so it will be another generation before there is a significant change [in a declining trend].¹⁰¹

There is also a growing demand for the development of a full range of immersion-type courses for Gaelic learners and speakers.¹⁰² There is the economic argument that rising interest will create job opportunities:

A detailed study last year [1993] by Glasgow Caledonian University identified the creation of 1000 jobs through the new 'Gaelic economy' and a further contribution of £41 million to the GDP of Scotland. It also uncovered a measurable increase in self-confidence among young people as a result of recent initiatives. As new initiatives come on stream these benefits will grow.¹⁰³

Ellis and Mac a' Ghobhainn say:

The repression of small languages and cultures is due not only to a cynical expansionist policy but also to a lack of understanding of the

¹⁰¹Interview in Stornoway Gazette, *Gaelic groups defy gloom over census figures on language*, (5.5.94)

¹⁰²Feumalachdan Luchd Ionnsachaidh (Provision for Gaelic Learners) National Survey (1992), CNAG & CLI: Inverness

¹⁰³Pedersen, R.N. Development Director, Comunn na Gàidhlig, *Gaelic initiatives and benefits* in The Herald (letters page) (6.5.94)

values enshrined in small languages. It is generally believed that a language that does not possess a rich literature is a poor vehicle of expression.¹⁰⁴

Eduard Sapir states:

The most primitive South African Bushman expresses himself with the help of a rich symbolic system which in essence is quite comparable to the language of a cultured Frenchman...Many primitive languages have a richness of form, a wealth of possibilities of expression which surpasses anything known in languages of modern culture. Language, thought and culture are inseparable. No idea can exist without linguistic expression. Language and thought are but two aspects of the same thing. To change one's language is tantamount to changing one's mentality.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴op cit, p. 6

¹⁰⁵ibid

Chapter 2

The History of the Hebrew Language Revival

Introduction

This chapter will provide an historical overview of the Jewish people and will show that their history and religion contributed to the revival of the Hebrew language. Ben Yehuda's rank and role as the great reviver of the Hebrew language will also be examined. A more detailed examination of modern Hebrew language planning will be left for succeeding chapters.

1. Intellect, Interest and Israel

The Jewish nation, it has been suggested, is remarkable in three ways.¹ Its history has been continuous for four thousand years; its cultural and spiritual identity has been maintained whilst in exile for three thousand years; and its spiritual and intellectual views have been expressed not only in its own language, but also in practically all the major languages of the world.²

During its history, the Jewish people have seen the rise and fall of Pre-Roman empires as well as the Roman Empire itself; they have savoured Mohammedian civilization, the Dark Ages, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, the Industrial Revolution, the Russian pogroms, the Nazi death camps and, presently, the animosity of the Arab Nations which surround a strip of land smaller in area than Scotland.³ It is interesting to note that in the first century AD over ten per cent of the population of the Roman empire was Jewish - seven million out of seventy million.⁴ Yet, of these seven million only four million were Jewish by birth, the rest were converted Gentiles.⁵ Over the centuries captivities and diasporas caused by the successive dominions of the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans and others ensured that the Jewish culture and language was spread throughout the continents of Asia, Europe, Africa, India and the Americas.⁶ Max Dimont has made the following observation:

¹ Dimont, M.L. (1962), *Jews, God and History*, Signet: New York, p.15

² *ibid*

³ Scotland is 274 miles long at its extremities and 154 miles at its widest - Applecross to Buchan Ness; Israel is 250 miles long and 75 miles wide, with a population of 4,614,000 in 1990. Scotland's population in the 1981 census was 5,094,000

⁴ *op cit*, p.113

⁵ *ibid*

⁶ *op cit*, pp 223,118-119, 356

All civilizations we know about have left a record of their history in material things ... But we know of the Jews in ancient times mostly from ideas they taught and the impact these ideas had upon other people and other civilizations ... The paradox is that those people who left only monuments behind as a record of their existence have vanished with time, whereas the Jews, who left ideas, have survived.⁷

The influences and ideas left by Jews in religion, science, music, art, finance, and philosophy have been significant. Benjamin Disraeli (Lord Beaconsfield) on being taunted in the House of Commons for being a Jew, replied that 'he was not ashamed of his race seeing that one half of the Christian Church worshipped a Jew and the other half worshipped a Jewess.'⁸ In religion, Jewish personages include: Abraham, who is acknowledged by the Mohammedan faith as well as the Christian; Moses, the recipient of the Ten Commandments; the Lord Jesus Christ, founder of Christianity (whom Jews refer to as Jesus bar Joseph); the apostle Paul, who brought Christianity to Europe.

Of the estimated 3 billion people on Earth, less than 0.5% are Jewish (12 million), yet twelve per cent of all Nobel prizes in physics, chemistry and medicine have been awarded to Jews.⁹ Albert Abraham Michelson, famed for measuring the velocity of light and experiments on the relative motion of matter and ether, was America's first Nobel Prize winner in 1907; Isidor Isaac Rabi, was a Nobel Prize winner for his work in quantum mechanics; Albert Einstein was a Nobel Prize winner for Physics in 1921 'for your photoelectric law and your work in the field of theoretical physics.'¹⁰ In music the works

⁷op cit p.16

⁸ibid

⁹op cit, p.14

¹⁰As quoted in Enc. Brit. Vol. 18 p.156

of Mendelssohn, Offenbach, Bizet and Mahler are well known.¹¹ In finance Joseph Süss Oppenheimer (1698-1738), the Court Jew, was the prototype of today's Chancellor of the Exchequer.¹² 'The Court Jew was a revolutionary figure who heralded the coming of the radical capitalist state, which would do away with the power and privileges of the nobles.'¹³ The Court Jew gave way to the 19th century banker.¹⁴ It is said that the Rothschild family (whose name derives from the red (*rot*) shield (*Schild*) mounted on the house in the ghetto where their ancestors had once lived)¹⁵ is the most famous of all European banking dynasties.¹⁶ 'For some 200 years [they] exerted great influence on the economic and indirectly, the political history of Europe.'¹⁷ In philosophy Spinoza, the foremost exponent of 17th century Rationalism,¹⁸ is said to have influenced Marx, Freud and Einstein, who themselves were all of Jewish stock.¹⁹ The gallery of Jewish achievements listed above could be augmented and begs the question - why have Jews so influenced intellectual and financial developments in the world? Dimont suggests that their intellectualism derives from their use of the tool of education to survive in the face of persecution and discrimination. This tool, he suggests, was used in Babylonian, Persian, Grecian, Roman, Islamic and medieval times.²⁰ To overcome their handicaps of being outsiders they had to study twice as hard as others and, no matter which profession, and no matter how difficult to gain a foothold in it, individuals studied day and night for years till they became renowned in their fields:²¹

¹¹Dimont, p.329

¹²op cit, pp. 264-265

¹³op cit, p.265

¹⁴op cit, p. 339

¹⁵Enc. Brit. Vol. 10:201

¹⁶ibid

¹⁷ibid

¹⁸Enc. Brit. Vol. 11:100

¹⁹Dimont, p.331

²⁰op cit, p.340

²¹ibid

Universities could not ignore their scholastic records or their world-acclaimed achievements. Governments could not ignore their contributions to science, industry and commerce.²²

It is not unreasonable to assume that the Jewish tradition of reading the Scriptures and the detailed study of them affected their approach to secular study. Cecil Roth illustrates the intellectual discipline introduced by Rabbi Jacob Pollak of Cracow (d. 1541):

His name is especially associated with...*pilpul*...the curious method of Talmudic study which had originated in South Germany...It was considered the acme of intellectual achievement in this system to establish an artificial analogy between different themes, to create elaborate distinctions between different passages, to build up a syllogism between texts which had nothing to do with one another, or to treat the end of one tractate and the beginning of the next (relating to a different subject) as though they constituted a continuous text....The method was futile, wasteful, and from certain points of view even pernicious. But the minds of those trained in it became preternaturally sharpened; and, as the process went on, generation after generation, it produced in Polish Jewry a standard of intelligence, a mental adaptability, and a degree of acumen which has perhaps known no parallel.²³

²²op cit, p.341

²³Roth, C., (1959) A Short History of The Jewish People, Horovitz Publishing: London, pp 294-5

The financial genius of the Jew may originate, as with the intellectual, in discrimination and persecution against them. Writing of the medieval period, Israel Abrahams states:

The whole policy of the Church in the middle ages forced the Jews to become money-lenders. Restrictions on their handicrafts, on their trades, were everywhere common...it may be safely said that the Jewish trader in the later middle ages was bound hand and foot...leaving the Jews nothing to trade in but money and second hand goods, allowing them as a choice of commodities in which to deal new gold or old iron.²⁴

It was from Jews, who were not affected by medieval prohibitions on money-lending, that kings, nobles and clergy were able to get large sums of money:

Nor could the Church prevent the practice of Jewish usury, since Jews were outside of the sphere of the Canon law. Hence we find, from the twelfth century onwards, Jews as the recognized money-lenders, to whom all the upper classes of society resorted whenever they wished to build or travel, or fight; the lower classes still, for the most part, paid for their living in service or kind, and existed on a barter economy.²⁵

Thus it was that Jews were able to help finance the colonization of Ireland by Henry II and the discovery of America by Columbus.²⁶

²⁴Abrahams, Israel, (1917) *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, cited in Occupational Limitations on the Jews During the Middle Ages, Encyclopaedia Britannica Research Service, p.2

²⁵Jacobs, Joseph, *Jewish Contributions to Civilization* in op cit, p.2

²⁶Abrahams, op cit, p.2

It was not in medieval times alone that Jewish intellectual and financial genius excelled, but down through the intervening centuries to the present. On November 2, 1917 the British Government made an announcement which became known as the Balfour Declaration :

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights to existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.²⁷

This approval of Zionism had come, in part, as a result of Chaim Weizmann's assistance to the British munitions industry in 1916 which was in dire need of acetone for the manufacture of cordite. He was able to extract the solvent from maize and so 'signally aided the Zionist political negotiations he was then conducting with the British government.'²⁸

N. H. Tur-Sinai, a President of the Academy of the Hebrew Language views Israel's religious and historical past as an inevitable reason for Zionism and for the revival of the Hebrew language:

²⁷Enc. Brit., Vol. 22:141

²⁸Enc. Brit., Vol. 12:565

Israel's history as a nation and Israel's consciousness start in Palestine, and their starting point coincides with the beginning of the historical and religious developments described in the Hebrew Bible, the eternal basis of all Jewish national culture.²⁹

He explains that the revival of the Hebrew language was not a miracle and inexplicable, it was, rather, part of the intrinsic Jewish vision of Israel's return to Zion, to the land of the Bible.³⁰ It was necessary, he posits, that Hebrew become the language of the nation again:

... only by preserving the language of the Bible, in which the land had been promised to our fathers, could we secure recognition as the legal claimants to the Holy Land.³¹

Thus many Hebrew-speakers in Israel circa 2000 A.D. see themselves as the direct descendants (linguistically and culturally, if not genetically) of the first Hebrew-speakers of 2000 B.C. Tur-Sinai states that Hebrew has never been dead and that to speak of a language in such a way is to attribute human or animal qualities to that which has neither: a language can be revived or resurrected by humans though supposed dead.³²

²⁹Tur-Sinai, N.H., (1960) The Revival of the Hebrew Language, Academy of the Hebrew Language: Jerusalem p. 8

³⁰ibid

³¹ibid

³²op cit, p.15

2. From Akkadian to the Hebrew Language Academy

The Afro-Asiatic or Hamito-Semitic family of languages is the major family to be found in North Africa, the eastern horn of Africa and south-west Asia. It embraces 200 languages, spoken by nearly 200 million people.³³ There are reckoned to be six major groups in the Hamito-Semitic clan³⁴ containing the following offspring: over 100 Chadic languages, in the region of 20 Omotic languages, about 30 Cushitic languages, over 20 Berber languages, Egyptian (now extinct, but Coptic, a later development dating from around the second century A.D., is still used as a religious language by Monophysite Christians in Egypt), and Semitic which has the longest history and the largest amount of speakers.³⁵ The Semitic group, to which Hebrew belongs, may be traced back 5,000 years. The oldest member of this group is Akkadian which was spoken in Ancient Mesopotamia about 3,000 B.C.³⁶ Two dialects of Akkadian, Assyrian and Babylonian were commonly spoken in the Near East until approximately 800 B.C. when they gave way to Aramaic, which was widely used well into the Christian era and is still spoken in the Middle East by a few small groups of Jacobite and Nestorian Christians (East Aramaic) and a few villages in Lebanon (West Aramaic). With the rise of Islam in the 7th century A.D., Arabic gained prominence.³⁷ The Semitic languages also comprise Amharic, and a number of other languages of Ethiopia: Tigrinya, Tigre, Gurage, and Harari. Maltese and Syriac are also Semitic. Today, Arabic is the most powerful of the Semitic languages, being spoken by over 150 million people in more than fifteen countries.³⁸

³³Crystal, D., (1992) *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language*, University of Cambridge: Cambridge, p.316

³⁴*ibid*, (Katzner, K. (1986) *The Languages of the World* Guernsey Press:Guernsey, p.30 suggests there are five, probably subsuming Omotic into Cushitic.)

³⁵Crystal, p.316

³⁶Katzner, p.31

³⁷*ibid*

Pre-Biblical Hebrew

It is likely that the Hebrew language was closely related to Phoenician, the language of Canaan.³⁹ This was the land to which 'Abram, the Hebrew,'⁴⁰ progenitor of the Jewish nation went, in fulfilment of a divine call.⁴¹ He left Ur of the Chaldees in Mesopotamia around 1900 B.C., crossed the River Euphrates, and some time later entered the land of Canaan.⁴² The term Hebrew (*ibri*) was frequently used in Biblical times by non-Hebrews to describe Abraham and his descendants⁴³ and it is interesting to note the origin of the term:

As to the origin of this name, it is derived from the Old Testament itself from the name עִבְרַי [Heber] ...; it seems, however, to be originally an appellative, from עִבְרַי [heber] the land beyond the Euphrates; whence עִבְרִי [Hebrew] a stranger come from the other side of the Euphrates, Gen. 14:13...This word differs from Israelites (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) [bni israel], in that the latter was the patronymic derived from the ancestor of the people [Jacob later named Israel], which was used among the nation itself, ... [Hebrew] was commonly used by foreign nations...Hence Greek and Latin writers only use the name of Hebrews (or Jews).⁴⁴

³⁹ibid

³⁹Hetzron, R., (1987) "Hebrew," in *The World's Major Languages*, edited by B.Comrie. New York:Oxford University Press p.685ff

⁴⁰Genesis 14:13

⁴¹Genesis 12:1-5

⁴²Keller, W., (1988) *The Bible As History*, Bantam Doubleday Dell:New York, p.19

⁴³Genesis 39:14, Exodus 1:15, 1 Samuel 4:6,

⁴⁴Gesenius, W., (1980 printing) *Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to The Old Testament Scriptures*, Baker House:Michigan, p.604

Biblical Hebrew

The period entitled Pre-Biblical Hebrew closes around 1200 B.C. It is one of five eras (not necessarily contiguous) into which the Hebrew language has been divided according to grammar and vocabulary. Biblical, Mishnaic, Medieval, and Modern make up the other four eras. The period entitled Biblical Hebrew spans a period of approximately a thousand years (1200-200 B.C.).⁴⁵ It is not certain when Biblical Hebrew ceased to be spoken: the destruction of the First Temple of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. may have hastened its demise as a koine. However, the final vestiges of written Biblical Hebrew continued into the Christian era as evidenced by the Dead Sea Scrolls found at Qumran.⁴⁶ Biblical Hebrew is not a homogeneous dialect, but derives from various locations and eras. The literary dialect is mainly southern or Judean Hebrew. Hetzron suggests that even a document as long and as rich as the Bible cannot hope to reveal all the wealth of the Hebrew of the time and, therefore, it is not possible to know the depth and extent of the Hebrew language as spoken in Biblical times.⁴⁷

Mishnaic Hebrew

Mishnaic Hebrew followed the Biblical Hebrew period. It is regarded as the spoken language of Judea during the Late Biblical Period (circa 6th Century B.C.) crystallised into a written idiom.⁴⁸ Apart from the Mishnah⁴⁹ itself, Mishnaic Hebrew is found in some other parts of the Talmudic⁵⁰ books and in parts of the Midrashim.⁵¹ The Mishnaic

⁴⁵Hetzron, pp 690-691

⁴⁶ibid

⁴⁷ibid

⁴⁸ibid

⁴⁹Hebrew word meaning 'repetition', and is the Oral Law of interpretations of the Bible

⁵⁰An encyclopaedic collection of religious, legal and other texts

⁵¹Legal and literary commentaries on the Bible

Hebrew period ran to about 500 A.D. Although Hebrew was not the koine of the Jews after 200 A.D., scholars in the diaspora gave sermons in it, some spoke it on Sabbaths and festivals, and others spoke it in order not to be understood by Gentiles.⁵² Gradually, from 500 A.D. onwards the use of Hebrew in written form dominated the dispersed Jewish communities outside of Palestine, not only as a language of study and prayer, but also as the language of legal documents and private letters.⁵³

Medieval Hebrew

Medieval Hebrew was not entirely dead as a spoken language in the middle ages - Jews from different countries conversed in it, visiting scholars gave sermons in it, some spoke it on sabbaths and festivals, others spoke it so as not to be understood by Gentiles.⁵⁴ However, it was never considered to be a language of everyday communication,⁵⁵ although it was the vehicle for a rich literary tradition.⁵⁶ Its literary domains included both religious and secular poetry, religious theses, philosophical writings, and written correspondence where it was used as a *lingua franca*.⁵⁷

The earliest stratum of Medieval Hebrew is the language of the *Piyyut*, a type of poetry written for liturgical use from the fifth to the sixth centuries. After an hiatus, Saadiah Gaon, (892-942) a religious leader of Babylon, founded a new school of Hebrew poetry which culminated in the Hebrew poetry of Spain in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.⁵⁸ The eleventh to the fifteenth centuries saw a plethora of translations into

⁵²Fellman, J., (1973) *The Revival of a Classical Tongue, Eliezer Ben Yehuda and the Modern Hebrew Language*, Mouton: The Hague in *Contributions to the Sociology of Language* 6. p.11

⁵³ibid

⁵⁴ibid

⁵⁵Hetzron, p. 691

⁵⁶ibid

⁵⁷ibid & Fellman, p.11

Hebrew, mainly from Arabic. It is reckoned that many thousands of scientific, philosophic and philological words were added to Hebrew in this period either by making use of old roots or borrowing from other languages such as Greek and Arabic.⁵⁹ Jews, who were at this time dispersed around the peripheries of the Mediterranean Sea spoke varieties of Arabic, Spanish (later Ladino), and Yiddish.⁶⁰ It was the usual Jewish custom to speak the local language or dialect of the country in which they resided.⁶¹ Between the end of the Medieval Hebrew period and the commencement of the Modern Hebrew period writing was 'confined to religious documents.'⁶²

Modern Hebrew

The Modern Hebrew period commences with the Jewish Enlightenment or *Haskala* (from Hebrew *sekhel* reason or intellect)⁶³ around 1781.⁶⁴ The Haskala has been described as 'the Jewish Renaissance arriving three hundred years late.'⁶⁵ The impetus for the *Haskala* came from a 'relatively few "mobile Jews" (mainly merchants) and "court Jews" (agents of various rulers and princes) whose contact with European civilization had heightened their desire to become a part of society as a whole.'⁶⁶ They were convinced that Jews could be 'brought into the mainstream of European culture.'⁶⁷ Berlin was an early centre of this movement and from there it spread to Eastern Europe.⁶⁸ Dimont comments:

⁵⁹Hetzron, p. 691

⁶⁰Stern, A., *A Century of Hebrew Language Planning*, Paper for 1st International Seminar on Language Planning, Santiago de Compostela, September 1991, p.13 & Tur-Sinai, p.11

⁶¹Yiddish is a fusion of post-classical Hebrew and Aramaic, German, and Slavonic. Along with Hebrew and Aramaic, it is one of the three major literary languages in Jewish history. The earliest dated Yiddish documents are from the 12th century.

⁶²Fellman, p. 11

⁶³Hetzron, p. 691

⁶⁴Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol.5:739

⁶⁵Hetzron, p. 691

⁶⁶Dimont, p. 343

⁶⁷Enc. Brit. Vol. 5:739

⁶⁸ibid

⁶⁹ibid

In Eastern Europe, unemancipated Jews created a culture, known as the Haskala, identified with Jewish values...the Haskala produced no scientists, no musicians, no painters. It did produce a humanistic literature, written not in Russian or Polish but in Hebrew and Yiddish, one the classical, the other the folk language of the Jews.⁶⁹

The effect on the language was a Hebrew with a changed style and vocabulary to accommodate and incorporate modern life, i.e. the modern European life of eastern Europe - Odessa and Warsaw being important centres in this development.⁷⁰ Shalom J. Abramowitz (1835-1917) was arguably the most important influence. He was trained as a rabbi, became head of a traditional Talmud school at Odessa and was regarded as the leader of the new literary movement. He is recognised as the founder of modern Yiddish and modern Hebrew narrative literature.⁷¹ Apart from influencing literary developments, the *Haskala* affected religion, creating Jewish existentialism, and politics, creating Zionism.⁷² Ultimately, Zionism fused the Jews in Eastern and Western Europe with the Jews of the United States leading to the creation of the State of Israel.⁷³

In Palestine of the 19th century, Hebrew was mainly spoken at the beginning by Russian Jews, with Eliezer Ben Yehuda (1858-1922) being acknowledged as the greatest influence.⁷⁴ His first son, Itamar Ben-Avi, was the first native speaker of modern Hebrew.⁷⁵ In Jerusalem many religious Jews were opposed to Ben Yehuda, even jailing him for a while, because he was not religiously observant.⁷⁶ In addition, many who lived

⁶⁹Dimont, pp 342-3

⁷⁰Hetzron, p. 691

⁷¹Enc. Brit. Vol. 8:5

⁷²Dimont, p. 343

⁷³op cit, p. 334

⁷⁴Hetzron, p. 691

⁷⁵Fellman, p. 37

in the old communities, especially those of Ashkenazi⁷⁷ origin resisted any form of change in education and spoke Yiddish in their *hederim* (elementary schools) and *yeshivot* (Talmudic academies).⁷⁸ However, spoken Hebrew received a fillip with the coming of the **Second Aliya** ⁷⁹ in 1905. This wave of emigration was as a result of the failed Russian Revolution of 1905 which brought in its wake a series of pogroms and repressive measures and dispelled any hopes of Jewish emancipation in Eastern Europe.⁸⁰ Growing numbers of Russian Jewish youth emigrated to Palestine to live as *chaluzim* in newly founded agricultural settlements.⁸¹ These young pioneers were eager for social, nationalistic, and linguistic reform.⁸²

Another important reform of Ben Yehuda's was the introduction of Hebrew as the language of instruction in the Palestinian schools. 'As early as 1890, in all of the colonies in the Galilee, the teachers were teaching Hebrew through Hebrew'⁸³ However, other areas were not so accommodating of Hebrew, especially where Jewish settlers were dependent on funds from abroad, and where such funding institutions expected their own country's language to be the medium of instruction.⁸⁴ Slowly, nevertheless, a Hebrew school system was taking shape. Kindergartens were being founded from 1898 onwards; a Gymnasium was founded in Tel Aviv in 1906 and another in Jerusalem in 1908.⁸⁵ Perhaps the most important era for the development of Hebrew were the opening years

⁷⁶op cit, p. 114

⁷⁷Ashkenazi Jews: those whose ancestry lay in North, Central or Eastern Europe, as distinct from Sephardim of Spain and North Africa. In the Bible Ashkenaz refers to Armenia (Gen. 10:3), but the term came to be associated with Germany in medieval rabbinic literature. (Abingdon Dictionary of Living Religions, Nashville:Abingdon (1981) p.68)

⁷⁸Stern, op cit, p. 2

⁷⁹*Aliya*, a Hebrew word meaning going up, roughly equivalent to immigration. It connotes with the religious act of going up to Jerusalem.

⁸⁰Enc. Brit. Vol. 22:141

⁸¹ibid

⁸²Stern, p. 2

⁸³op cit, p. 3

⁸⁴ibid

⁸⁵ibid

of this century prior to World War I. In this period a significant sociolinguistic event took place: the first groups of native Hebrew speakers ('those brought up in the "hot-house" of the first Hebrew grade schools')⁸⁶ moved into adult society. The infancy of revived Modern Hebrew speech was over; it had 'survived infant maladies and had become a viable entity: a fact of life.'⁸⁷

Another important milestone took place in this period also, namely, the 1913-14 'language war' between the 'zealous' Hebrew teachers and the German school system *Ezrah* funded by the German Jewish Society *Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden*.⁸⁸ In the cities of Palestine, Hebrew was the medium of instruction in *Ezrah's* schools and its teacher-training college in Jerusalem. The prime objective, like many other similar institutions, was to inculcate a knowledge of a European language of culture and civilization, in other words, German. Matters came to a head when the *Hilfsverein* announced that the new technical high school which they were opening in Haifa would have all classes taught through the medium of German as Hebrew - they considered - was not yet able to cope with the demands of the sciences in the Technikum. Young teachers and students of the foundation's schools throughout Palestine boycotted the foundation in order to force the use of Hebrew.⁸⁹ But perhaps the most important action was that of the World Zionist Organisation:

The World Zionist Organization which, until then, had paid no more than lip service to the Hebrew language, went into action. In the end, the establishment of the technical institution was foiled. The Jewish

⁸⁶Sterne, p.3

⁸⁷ibid

⁸⁸ibid

⁸⁹ibid

population of Palestine acted on this occasion according to the patterns of national struggle. Thus, it would not seem off the mark to look to the 'language war' as the first proof that there had indeed come into being in Palestine, on a predominantly linguistic basis, a modern Jewish nation.⁹⁰

The progress of the Hebrew language may be gauged by the census figures for 1916-1917. These show that there were 34,000 speakers of Hebrew in Palestine. This was almost fifty per cent of the total Jewish population, most of whom were under twenty-five and zealous in the Hebrew cause.⁹¹ Cooper states:

By the end of the First World War, Hebrew had become established as the principal language of public interaction among the linguistically heterogeneous Jewish population in Palestine. This forced most subsequent Jewish immigrants to learn it in order to gain employment.⁹²

There were other important developments for the Hebrew language in the early decades of this century. Judah Leon Magnes, a Jew from New York, raised funds for The Hebrew University of Jerusalem and saw the cornerstone laid in Jerusalem in 1918. Magnes also devised the university's academic programme and became its chancellor in 1925 when classes first commenced.⁹³ The first Hebrew-language daily newspaper *Ha-Aretz* (the Land) was published in 1919. In 1922 the British Mandate granted Hebrew official status in Palestine along with English and Arabic. It is interesting to note how the British Mandate helped the Hebrew language cause:

Although English was the chief language used by the Mandatory government ... [it] did not try to disturb the linguistic status quo, though the fact that it recognized only Hebrew as the language of the

⁹⁰op cit, p.4

⁹¹ibid

⁹²Cooper, R.L. (1989), *Language planning and Social Change*. Cambridge University Press:Cambridge p. 108

⁹³Enc. Brit., Vol. 7:677

Jewish community strengthened the Hebraist movement in the country, hurt its rival (the Yiddishist movement), and helped to weaken other languages being used by Jews here.⁹⁴

Hebrew arts began to burgeon in Palestine: in 1925 the first Hebrew theatre, *Ohel*, was established; this was followed in 1928 by the relocation of the Habimah theatre from Moscow to Palestine,⁹⁵ permanently establishing itself in Tel Aviv in 1931 - it has a very wide repertory presenting Yiddish and biblical dramas as well as Israeli, classical and contemporary foreign plays.⁹⁶ Jewish writers of international repute arrived in Palestine in the 1920s and 1930s: for example, in 1924 H.N. Bialik came from the Ukraine and was 'esteemed for expressing in his verse the yearnings of the Jewish people'⁹⁷ - he was also regarded for his ability to make modern Hebrew a flexible medium of poetic expression and for the range and profundity of his themes;⁹⁸ S. Tchernikochovsky who came from the Crimea in 1931 used a biblical register and dealt with Russia, Germany and Palestine and with the themes of love and beauty in his poetry.⁹⁹

When the time came for Hebrew to become the official language of the state in 1948, it had been developing for two generations. It was during these eighty or so years of development that Hebrew grew into a modern language, able to communicate the ideas and facts of home life, school life, college and university life, work life and the administration of State and armed forces.¹⁰⁰ However, in the four years, from the birth of the State of Israel in 1948 to 1952, the population of Israel more than doubled from

⁹⁴Gold, D., *English in Israel in Language Problems & Language Planning*, University of Texas Press: Texas, Vol. 5 Number 1, Spring 1981, p. 12

⁹⁵Sterne, p. 4

⁹⁶Enc. Brit., Vol: 5:602

⁹⁷Enc. Brit., Vol. 2:192

⁹⁸Ibid

⁹⁹Enc. Brit., Vol.11:594

¹⁰⁰Tur-Sinai, p. 14

650,000 to 1,350,000. Unlike earlier immigrations, hardly any immigrants knew Hebrew and the country was in danger of becoming linguistically pluralistic:¹⁰¹ newspapers appeared in a variety of foreign languages, radio programmes were broadcast in a babel of tongues. The Government had to do something.

A network of full-time adult language institutes (*ulpanim*) was created, as well as **working *ulpanim***, where immigrants worked half-a-day and studied Hebrew the other half, and **evening *ulpanim***.¹⁰² To ensure efficiency of teaching large numbers of teachers were seconded to compile a list of the most important thousand words for the language learner. Newspapers for learners and radio programmes also were introduced and Hebrew literature was adapted for the learner.¹⁰³ (*Ulpanim* will be examined in more detail in chapters four and five.)

One of Ben Yehuda's early aspirations was finally realised in 1953 when **The Academy of the Hebrew Language** was created.¹⁰⁴ Since 1953 the Academy has published reviews, books, dictionaries, series of popular pamphlets, and illustrated publications; it works with specialists in many fields and with many academies abroad¹⁰⁵ and serves today's four million native speakers of Hebrew who reside in the land of Israel. (Chapter four of this thesis deals with the Hebrew Language Academy in more detail.)

In this section we have traced the rise and fall and rise again of the Hebrew language from 2000 B.C. to nigh 2000 A.D. We have seen that Hebrew reached its zenith in the

¹⁰¹ Stern, p. 5

¹⁰² *ibid*

¹⁰³ *ibid*

¹⁰⁴ *op cit*, p. 7

¹⁰⁵ Tur-Sinai, p. 15

period known as Biblical Hebrew (c.1200-200 B.C.) and began to decline as a koine probably after the destruction of the First Temple of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. However, the Jewish religion helped preserve the written and spoken form of the language even when it had ceased to be a koine, and in the Mishnaic Period (c. 500 B.C. - 500 A.D.) Hebrew was used as a lingua franca amongst scholars in the diaspora. During the Medieval Period the use of Hebrew as a spoken lingua franca ceased and it continued only as a literary medium. It was not until the Modern Period (commenced in the late 18th century) that Hebrew again became a secular language - Ben Yehuda being the most important influence in reviving spoken Hebrew in Palestine. We have also seen that modern Jewish/Israeli identity and nationhood was expressed and fostered through the Hebrew language. We turn, now, to study the inspirational work of Eliezer Ben Yehuda and to examine the immense difficulties and opposition which he had to overcome to revive the Hebrew language.

3. The Reviver of the Hebrew Language

It would be inappropriate to discuss the beginnings of the modern Hebrew language revival without acknowledging Eliezer Ben Yehuda: the man who, though initially scorned, ridiculed and despised, became the doughty hero in the language's revival. Few would deny Ben Yehuda his pre-eminence. David Yellin, an important figure in the revival story, eulogised him thus:

So bound up was the whole personality of our late fellow member, Ben Yehuda, with the present-day revival of Hebrew as a spoken language that we are unable to describe one without the other: if we would speak of Ben Yehuda we must speak of him principally and primarily in his capacity as the Reviver of the Hebrew Language.¹⁰⁶

Yellin continues by outlining wherein lay the greatness of Ben Yehuda's work:

... when Ben Yehuda undertook the revival of spoken Hebrew , he took upon himself two herculean tasks: (a) to promulgate a language which had ceased to be spoken by an entire people - by a people who spoke all the languages of the world except its own language; (b) to fashion all the requisite conditions for creating, out of a dead language these two thousand years, a living speech conformable to all the daily needs of life as those needs had developed in the 19th and 20th centuries.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶Yellin, D., *Ben Yehuda and the Revival of the Hebrew Language* in the *Journal of American Oriental Society*, Vol. 4 (1923) p. 7

¹⁰⁷ibid

W.F. Albright, wrote in similar vein, extolling Ben Yehuda:

His contributions to Hebrew lexicography and his great feat, the resurrection of the Hebrew language, have been ably stressed by others ... His life is indeed an inspiration to all who are contending for an ideal, against great odds. He came here more than forty years ago, without health, means, or friends, bent on the quixotic task of reviving a tongue which had been dead, so far as ordinary social intercourse is concerned, nearly twenty-five hundred years. And yet he succeeded, thanks to his unconquerable faith in his vision of a new nation, united by the bond of a common language.¹⁰⁸

There appear to be two schools of thought regarding the revival of the Hebrew language:

(1) It is miraculous and Ben Yehuda is the miracle worker or (2) by an analysis of social, historic, and linguistic situations, certain reasons may be found for the rise and success of Ben Yehuda and the revival. Perhaps there is an amount of truth in each view as we shall discover. The second school is mainly represented by professional Hebrew linguists and historians.¹⁰⁹

Stern explains that Ben Yehuda was the first who enunciated the connection between the revival of the Jewish nation and the revival of the Hebrew language in an article published in 1879 entitled *She'ela Nikhbada* (An Important Question).¹¹⁰ Yehuda understood that modern nations spurn diglossia, and saw that the Jewish people 'must

¹⁰⁸ Albright, W.F. *Eliezer Ben Yehuda (1858-1922): A Tribute* Journal of American Oriental Society 3 (1923): pp 4-5

¹⁰⁹ Fellman, pp 9-10

¹¹⁰ Stern, p. 1

pass through the stage the European nations had gone through hundreds of years ago: giving up Latin and employing their own spoken language for all purposes formerly served by Latin'.¹¹¹ What was remarkable about Ben Yehuda's venture was that he was reversing the process. All other diglossic situations had ceased when the spoken language expanded to include the written language. In Yehuda's situation, the sphere of the written language expanded to encompass that of the spoken. Stern suggests that the situation of the Jewish nation was such that 'the written Hebrew language was the unifying factor and the spoken languages a divisive force'.¹¹² Yehuda knew that only Hebrew could be the common language. Only Hebrew could enshrine 'all the historical memories of the people, and the only one on which all sections could agree'.¹¹³ It should be remembered that Yiddish, Ladino, Arabic, French and German were spoken in Palestine at this time.

Fellman¹¹⁴ holds similar views and suggests that there was a symbolic rejection of the centralised religious authority of the feudalistic medieval world in the demise of Latin during the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries. The Reformation nation-states laid emphasis on providing Scriptures in the mother tongue; this development symbolized the establishment of a new authority: an authority, not based on a common religion as previously, but on a common territory and a common national language.¹¹⁵

This was not the case with Hebrew; religion was still the main factor for its existence. Jews did not have a common territory as such, nor a common national language: their

¹¹¹op cit, p. 2

¹¹²ibid

¹¹³ibid

¹¹⁴Fellman, pp 14 -15

¹¹⁵ibid

policy always had been to speak the language of their host nation. And, since the Jews were citizens of a long-dispersed nation with no one language and land, Hebrew was not affected by the national upheavals within Europe. Therefore, Fellman suggests, it did not suffer the same fate as Latin and outlasted it as a written language.¹¹⁶ Before Ben Yehuda's contribution to the revival of the Hebrew language, some were of the opinion that Biblical Hebrew, which had a vocabulary of around seven to eight thousand words, was not suitable for modern times and should follow the path of Latin.¹¹⁷

Ben Yehuda: His Background as Eliezer Perelman

Eliezer Perelman was born on January 7, 1858 in the Lithuanian village of Luzhky. In common with most of the Jewish boys he studied Hebrew from the age of three and by the age of six had passed from Bible to Mishnah.¹¹⁸ At the age of nine he began studying the Talmud¹¹⁹ and revealed that he was the intellectual of the family. After Bar Mitzva he went to Yeshiva seminary in Polotsk and read widely in traditional Jewish literature of all periods.¹²⁰

It is evident from Ben Yehuda's Hebrew studies as a child that the language was not completely dead, and neither was it a written language alone. Whenever Jews spoke to God in prayer - three times per day, and many times more on Sabbaths and holidays - it was in the Hebrew tongue.¹²¹ All religious teaching and learning was done aloud and, as with prayer, was carried out in Hebrew with a peculiar sing-song incantation, which was

¹¹⁶ibid

¹¹⁷ibid

¹¹⁸The Jewish Oral Law

¹¹⁹The fundamental code of Jewish civil and canon law, comprising the Mishnah and the Gemara

¹²⁰Fellman, chpt 2

¹²¹Tur-Sinai p. 12

to help the students memorize words and their meaning.¹²² Most religious Jews, therefore, knew some Hebrew and possessed a reasonable vocabulary.

At Yeshiva seminary in Polotsk, Ben Yehuda came under the influence of Joseph Blucker, an 'enlightened' ¹²³ Jewish intellectual who altered the course of Perelman's life by introducing him to the Hebrew writings of the enlightenment, and thus to a modern knowledge of Europe as seen through Jewish eyes. This confirmed to Perelman that Hebrew could be used for more than religious purposes, even modern fiction.¹²⁴

Eliezer Perelman began to live a double life: as a religious Jew and as an 'enlightened' Jew. Some in his community resented this and he was forced to leave.¹²⁵ He went to Glubokia where he met his future wife, Devora Yonas, who taught him French, German and Russian. Later he went to Dunaburg, a major city in White Russia (Belorussia, also Byelorussia) and joined the *Nardoniki*, a group who stressed a return to the soil of Russia, the elevation of the Russian peasant, and the glorification of the Russian nation and language.¹²⁶ Despite the *Nardoniki* aims, he could not sever his love for the Hebrew language:

But there still remained one thread, and this thread all the forces of nihilism could not cut. This thread was love for the Hebrew language! Even when everything Jewish had become strange to me, almost repugnant, I could not separate myself from the Hebrew language, and, from time to time, wherever and whenever I happened to chance

¹²²ibid

¹²³A Jew who was not religiously observant

¹²⁴Fellman, pp 19-20

¹²⁵ibid

¹²⁶ibid

upon a book of Modern Hebrew literature, I could not summon enough will-power to overcome my desire to read it.¹²⁷

About this time Ben Yehuda began to move away from the idea that the Jews were a spiritual nation and language towards the idea that 'the Hebrew nation and language should be like all other peoples and tongues, natural, secular, living and free.'¹²⁸ He concluded that there was, therefore, a need for a homeland in Israel. The stimulus which moved him from thought to action was the Russo-Turkish War of 1878 in which the Balkans were granted independence from the Ottoman empire:

Thirstily I read about these events in the press without realising at first the connection between them and myself ... and suddenly, like lightning before my eyes, my thoughts flew across the Balkans ... to Palestine, and I heard a ... voice calling to me: the revival of Israel and its language in the land of its forefathers.¹²⁹

There were many nationalistic struggles in the 1800s in Europe and Yehuda thought that if nations, so recent in comparison with the Jewish people, could gain independence, why not the Jews? He was continuously troubled by the idea of a revival of Israel and its language.¹³⁰ He went to Paris to continue his studies and to prepare for a future career in Palestine. In 1879, he attended the Sorbonne and studied extensively, keeping in touch with important political news of the day and looking closely at patterns of diplomacy in the Ottoman Empire.¹³¹ His was a total commitment.

¹²⁷ quoted in Fellman, p. 20 from Ben-Avi (1941), 7

¹²⁸ Fellman, p. 20

¹²⁹ quoted in op cit p.21 from Ben-Avi (1941), 9

¹³⁰ Fellman, p.21

¹³¹ ibid

At the age of 21 years he published his first article in 1879 under the title: *A Serious Question*.¹³² It traced the development of nationalism in Europe and concluded that the main characteristic of the nation state was a common spoken language. He also suggested that the Ottoman Empire was in its death throes and sought to provide an argument that was acceptable to France and England [sic] for a Jewish homeland.¹³³ Other articles in various publications followed. His third article revealed a profoundly simple approach to the revival of Hebrew:

We can only revive the Hebrew language in a country where the number of Jewish inhabitants is greater than the number of Gentiles. Let us therefore increase the number of Jews in our desolate country, place the remnant of our nation in the land of our forefathers, and thus we will revive the nation, and its language too will live.¹³⁴

It was not only a desire to revive Hebrew which prompted Ben Yehuda to suggest the above, but also a desire to prevent the assimilation of younger Jews who were rejecting Judaism and thus Hebrew. Fellman suggests that from this point on Ben Yehuda:

...may be said spiritually to have left the diaspora and from then onwards he was to concentrate entirely on his future and the future of the Jewish nation in Palestine.¹³⁵

Education was a focus for other articles *Sheelat Hahinukh* (The Question of Education) and *Al Ha-Hinukh* (Concerning Education).¹³⁶ In these he was grappling with the reality

¹³² op cit, p. 22

¹³³ ibid

¹³⁴ quoted in Fellman p. 23 from Ben Avi (1941), 31

¹³⁵ op cit, p. 24

of his vision and his theme was the role of Rabbis in nurturing Hebrew as the language of instruction in every school in Palestine. He also analysed attempts to improve Palestinian Jews by restructuring their education system on the West European model. The failure of this approach, he proposed, was due to fear on the part of Palestinian Jews.¹³⁷ They were afraid to modernise lest they should cause their children to reject traditional Judaism. Ben Yehuda argued that the answer to this problem was to use Hebrew as the medium of instruction in schools. He believed that it was the Hebrew language which united the children of Israel globally and that it could do the same within Palestine. To many his articles appeared '*ein frummer Wunsch*' (a pious dream)¹³⁸ detached from the reality of the situation in Palestine. In the summer of 1881 Eliezer Ben Yehuda and his bride set out for Palestine with the aim of unifying the people and reviving the language. However, his task was not made the easier since he had 'singularly failed to appreciate the harsh realities of the conditions in Palestine.'¹³⁹

From Dream to Reality

It was said that Ben Yehuda 'left nothing untried which could serve as a means to the spreading of Hebrew as a spoken language.'¹⁴⁰ This section will outline the main ways in which Ben Yehuda sought to move from dream to reality.

There is a good degree of consensus about the areas Ben Yehuda exploited in order to spread Hebrew as a spoken language. In a detailed account of Eliezer Ben Yehuda's life

¹³⁶ibid

¹³⁷ibid

¹³⁸quoted in Fellman, p. 24

¹³⁹op cit, p. 25

¹⁴⁰Yellin, p. 100

work, David Yellin lists five areas: Education; Hebrew-Speaking Societies; Newspapers; a Dictionary of the Hebrew Language; Academic Language Committees.¹⁴¹ Fellman analyses Ben Yehuda's efforts to revive Hebrew in a series of seven steps and acknowledges that Ben Yehuda himself did not consciously set out to develop the spheres in any particular order.¹⁴² The seven areas are: The first Hebrew-speaking household; The call to the Diaspora and the local population; The Hebrew-speaking societies; Hebrew through Hebrew in the schools; The Newspaper; The Hebrew Dictionary; The Hebrew Language Council. We shall generally follow Fellman's analysis in examining Ben Yehuda's contribution to the Hebrew language revival.

The First Hebrew-Speaking Household

Ben Yehuda's home was to become the first Hebrew speaking family in 1500 years. He decided to adopt Palestinian Hebrew, which was 'pithy, supple and earthy' in contrast to the 'artificial, and puristic' intellectual Hebrew of Europe.¹⁴³ It was his belief that Hebrew could only be truly revived if it became the language spoken in the home, and that of necessity. He also knew that he would have to set the example in his own home for others to follow.¹⁴⁴ There were great trials in trying to achieve his objective. For example, when communicating with his wife he had no Hebrew words for cup, saucer, pour, and spoon. His strategy was to speak to his wife along the following lines: 'Take such and such and do like so, and bring me this and this, and I will drink.'¹⁴⁵ In this way, and through gesture and sign, he was able to communicate to his wife that he wished a

¹⁴¹ibid

¹⁴²Fellman, p. 36

¹⁴³op cit p. 37

¹⁴⁴ibid

¹⁴⁵op cit, p. 38

cup of coffee with sugar.¹⁴⁶ His first child was born in 1882, and his home became a Hebrew 'word factory'. With the trials of language which the young child brought, words had to be found for doll, cradle, blanket and so on.¹⁴⁷ On one occasion he came home unexpectedly and found his wife speaking Russian to their child. He told her in no uncertain terms that this was forbidden and that she was to continue in Hebrew.¹⁴⁸ If Hebrew could become the language of an individual, he argued, then it could become the spoken language of a community.¹⁴⁹

The Call to the Diaspora and the Local Population

Ben Yehuda had hoped to encourage many young Russian Jews like himself to come *en masse* and settle in Palestine and so advance the revival of Hebrew.¹⁵⁰ However, the Ottoman government in 1882-83 was suspicious of the immigration of even a few thousand Jews and blocked entry. He had to turn his attention away, therefore, from the diaspora to the local population of Jerusalem.¹⁵¹ His ultimate aim was that little by little the people themselves would speak Hebrew in the course of the daily routine: in the home, going for a stroll, buying in the market, and visiting friends. He believed that if it were done little by little then the language would have one spirit.¹⁵² Some families followed his example and individuals began to converse with him in Hebrew.¹⁵³ He was always aware of the difficulty of reviving Hebrew and some of his early newspaper articles were used to seek advice on such matters:

¹⁴⁶ibid

¹⁴⁷ibid

¹⁴⁸ibid

¹⁴⁹op cit, p. 89

¹⁵⁰op cit, p. 44

¹⁵¹ibid

¹⁵²op cit, p. 43

¹⁵³ibid

How can we revive the language of our fathers, how can we put it into the mouths of all this nation?¹⁵⁴

The Hebrew Speaking Societies

In 1882 in collaboration with Yehiel Mikhal Pines, Ben Yehuda established *Tehiat Yisrael* (The Revival of Israel).¹⁵⁵ At that time, when spoken Hebrew was not in any of the domains of the upper classes, the primary means of providing conversational opportunities for such people was by the formation of language societies.¹⁵⁶ Tenet 4 of the rules of *Tehiat Yisrael* read:

The members...will speak Hebrew to one another within the Society's meeting place and even in the market place and on the street, and not be ashamed. They will also set about teaching their children and everyone in their home this language. The society will also purify the language of its imperfections and make it the spoken language in the schools.¹⁵⁷

There was a gentleman's agreement with Pines that they would only speak Hebrew. Pines broke the agreement due to social pressures, except when speaking to Ben Yehuda. Ben Yehuda noted:

¹⁵⁴quoted in Fellman p. 42

¹⁵⁵ibid

¹⁵⁶Yellin, p.100

¹⁵⁷ in Fellman, p.45

They would say to him in Yiddish: 'Oh don't be a fool, speak like a normal person,' - and Pines would stop and begin to speak like a normal person - in Yiddish.¹⁵⁸

From a local point of view the Society was a failure: only five to six persons participated in the first five years. Ben Yehuda wrote in 1889 that in all Jerusalem there was no girl at all who knew anything of Hebrew.¹⁵⁹

Safa Berura (The Plain Language Society) was more succesful, although *Tehiat Yisrael* was the paradigm for many societies both in Palestine and amongst the Diaspora.¹⁶⁰ *Safa Berura* was established in 1889 by Ben Yehuda and some other prominent Jerusalemites (Yehiel Pines included). The difference between this society and the previous one was that it was consecrated to language matters solely. It is interesting to quote some of the aims of this new society:

1. The Society will hire women who know how to speak Hebrew (there are a few in Jerusalem who can do this already and they will teach especially Hebrew speech and also reading and writing to women and girls in every home that is willing, and also in the school for girls...[The Society] will also seek that in the primary schools and in the other children's schools the students will be taught and trained to speak in Hebrew.

¹⁵⁸ quoted in Fellman p. 44 from Ben Avi (1941), 189

¹⁵⁹ Fellman, p. 45

¹⁶⁰ *ibid*

2. The Society according to its financial means will publish small books of words, which will contain necessary words for everyday speech with respect to household and business matters. For this purpose the Society will select a special Literature Committee which will...check the reading books...which are brought to the attention of the Society.

3. The Literature Committee will search in the records of all of Hebrew literature and will extract all the Hebrew words...and will publish them so that they will be known to everyone. The Committee will also create new words and will contact the best grammarians and authors in our language to reach agreement on them.

4. The Society will support everyone who wishes to bring the Hebrew language into his home in all ways that it can and will seek all means to make this easier. ¹⁶¹

In this short extract from the Society's protocols we observe that emphasis was to be given to the mother tongue, with due encouragement to mothers present and future. Publishing, word-searching and neologism, and positive encouragement for Hebrew learners were important aspects of the new Society. Purification of the language was one issue treated, under the following guidelines:

...to uproot from among the Jews living in Palestine the jargons, the Ashkenazic jargon, the Sephardic, and so on, which divide the hearts of their speakers and cause them (to act) as if they were members of

¹⁶¹quoted in Fellman p. 46

different nations, causing terrible separation in opinions, manners and customs, to such an extent that the Sephardi calls only a fellow-Sephardi a Jew, and not an Ashkenazi, and the Ashkenazi calls a Jew only a fellow-Ashkenazi and not a Sephardi.... This division stands to hinder everything good and productive in our material and spiritual lives.¹⁶²

This Society, however, disbanded in 1891 through apathy and opposition, especially among Ashkenazi circles.¹⁶³ As late as 1902 there were only 10 Jerusalem families who actually spoke Hebrew in their homes and only 20 women and girls in the city who had responded to the Society's call. Through the work of the Society Hebrew had been introduced into one Sephardic school, a few Sephardic yeshivas and two Ashkenazic *hederim* (elementary schools).¹⁶⁴

Hebrew through Hebrew in the Schools

It was no easy task for Ben Yehuda to attempt to initiate the teaching of Hebrew through Hebrew in schools. The majority of parents had been resistant to his efforts, save for a small group of educated Sephardic families.¹⁶⁵ The resistance had come from all categories: the common man, the religious and the community. However his courage and determination remained undaunted:

I had nothing to do except to speak Hebrew at home with my wife and with the people I met from time to time , but this was not enough ... I

¹⁶²quoted in Fellman p. 46

¹⁶³op cit, p. 47

¹⁶⁴ibid

¹⁶⁵op cit, p. 48

felt that everything depended on the success of the language in the mouths of the children of the new generation, but this generation still did not exist.¹⁶⁶

Howbeit, in 1883 an opportunity arose for him to further his school vision. Nissim Bechar principal of the *Torah U-Metakha* School for boys of the *Alliance Israelite Universelle*, a French-Jewish philanthropic organization, entrusted children to Ben Yehuda, who took on the task of teaching the Hebrew language classes in the school provided he be permitted to teach through the medium of Hebrew. This was happily agreed to as Bechar was opposed to the translation method into Yiddish or Ladino or Arabic.¹⁶⁷

Nissim Bechar had been familiar with the **Berlitz** method¹⁶⁸ for teaching French while he had been the director of a school in Istanbul and was convinced that this method could benefit Ben Yehuda, who, indeed, quickly acknowledged its possibilities in furthering the revival.¹⁶⁹ However, after only a few months of teaching 6-8 hours a day, 6 days a week he had to resign because of ill-health. Fortuitously, two teachers who had observed Ben Yehuda were so impressed with his students' enthusiasm and his classes that they began to apply his methods in their own classes.¹⁷⁰ The method was successful. As Fellman points out:

¹⁶⁶quoted in Fellman p. 48

¹⁶⁷op cit, p. 48

¹⁶⁸Maximilian Berlitz, a Jew, had founded the Berlitz School in 1878 in the USA as a German emigre. The method consisted of demonstrations and the identification of objects, with the instructors speaking only in the language being taught.

¹⁶⁹Fellman, p. 48

¹⁷⁰op cit, p. 49

Ben Yehuda had initiated a process whose importance could not be overestimated. If children could be put into Hebrew-language classes at a sufficiently tender age and could continue with such classes throughout their years of schooling, they could in time, become quite fluent in the language - virtually monolingual - in Hebrew, whatever their parents home language happened to be. Moreover, the parents, on hearing their children conversing in Hebrew, would be more inclined to follow their example and also to speak Hebrew. In this way a new generation of fluent Hebrew speakers could be formed, and this coincided precisely with Ben Yehuda's own goal.¹⁷¹

Ben Yehuda wrote:

The Hebrew language will go from the synagogue to the House of Study [*Yeshiva*] and from the House of Study to the school and from the school it will come into the houses and...become a living language.¹⁷²

The teaching of Hebrew through Hebrew began to spread out from Jerusalem, overcoming its five principal rivals: Yiddish, Ladino, Arabic, French, and German.¹⁷³ The Hebrew through Hebrew method initiated by Ben Yehuda was especially attractive to young pioneer-teachers on the newly established agricultural communes. Indeed, Fellman attributes the success and perfecting of this method to the pioneer teachers. He records:

¹⁷¹ibid

¹⁷²ibid

¹⁷³op cit, p. 50

The credit for perfecting the technique of using Hebrew as the language of instruction, which ultimately brought about the true revival of the Hebrew language in the mouths of the new younger generation, must be awarded to these teachers, isolated and struggling on the various small agricultural colonies which began to dot the country after 1882.¹⁷⁴

Conditions for these teachers were difficult and primitive. Rabin points out: 'Untrained teachers without textbooks taught in an untried language, making up terminology as they went along.'¹⁷⁵ Yizhag Epstein, a pioneer teacher and the chief exponent of the 'Direct Method', according to Fellman,¹⁷⁶ wrote a book entitled, *With No Experience* in which he explains the method and also the use of Hebrew as the natural language of conversation between student and teacher in all subjects. Other teachers followed with their own publications. David Yellin wrote: *Hebrew through Hebrew: The Beginning of the Learning of the Language According to the Natural Method; A Book Designed for Teachers and Parents who are Teaching Hebrew to Children Four Years and Older*'(1901). It is recognised that the Epstein method was the original and that the latter was reliant on Ben Yehuda.¹⁷⁷ An important tenet of Epstein's method was:

In learning foreign languages, the 'Natural Method' will also proceed according to the ways of nature, that is, (it will) teach the first steps of language according to the way a child would learn it from his mother

¹⁷⁴Fellman, p. 51

¹⁷⁵Rabin C. (1970) *The Role of Language in Forging a Nation: The Case of Hebrew* in Fellman p. 51

¹⁷⁶op cit, p. 51

¹⁷⁷Fellman, p. 52

...without teachers and without books...not by theorizing about the language but by speaking the language itself.¹⁷⁸

After the first Hebrew-speaking kindergartens opened in 1889, Epstein was proved right. Three-year-olds, not fluent in any language, began attending Direct Method sessions and it became evident that Hebrew had formed a part of their own private world.¹⁷⁹ Epstein's recommendation was that Hebrew should be used to teach traditional subjects in schools. Young nationalists concurred that Hebrew should be the medium of instruction in the creation of a new culture. It was for them the only language which could bridge the gap between the sacred and the secular.¹⁸⁰ More and more teachers experimented with Hebrew as the language of instruction: play, song, dance, and stories - all were enacted and participated in through the medium of Hebrew.¹⁸¹ The success of Hebrew through Hebrew increased.

The Hebrew-Language Newspaper

In the previous sections we have observed Ben Yehuda's unplanned evolution of the revival of Hebrew. Commencing with an **individualist solution** (his household), he moved to a **group solution** (the call to the diaspora and the local population). From here, he sought an **adult elitist solution** (the *Tehiat Yisrael* and *Safa Berura* Societies as the bastions of Hebrew), which was followed by a **children's solution** (the attempt to introduce Hebrew through Hebrew in the schools). His next efforts were directed towards the general public through the medium of the newspaper.

¹⁷⁸Yizhag Epstein: *Ivrit Be-Ivrit* (Warsaw, 1901), 5 in Fellman p. 53

¹⁷⁹Fellman, p. 54

¹⁸⁰op cit, p. 55

¹⁸¹ibid

Prior to Ben Yehuda's time, Hebrew newspapers could be classified into two types: those which dealt with literary-philosophical issues of a scholarly nature, and those which dealt with general Hebraic and Jewish topics of a religious nature.¹⁸² Neither type, however, handled everyday matters suitably since the Hebrew used was based on the Hebrew style and lexicon of the Bible.¹⁸³ An obstacle to a newspaper in Hebrew was the objection by some of the use the sacred language for secular purposes. However, this was overcome to a good degree during the Crimean War of 1853-1856 when, strangely, the only news of the war which could be read in printed form was in Hebrew.¹⁸⁴

It was Ben Yehuda's intention to revive Hebrew as a natural language in a natural setting, to produce a newspaper directed towards a people living in its homeland, speaking its own language, and interested in all aspects of the world they lived in.¹⁸⁵ The newspaper would be similar in style to the French newspapers he was accustomed to read. He wrote:

'There is a place in it for everything that will lead to a revival in the language,'¹⁸⁶

The first edition of *Ha-Zevi* [The Deer] (24 October, 1884) contained information on Egypt, the Sudan, France, China, Russia and Argentina as well as items on Jerusalem and other areas in Palestine. Succeeding issues included scientific, cultural, medical, literary and artistic information. His aim was to create 'a comprehensive newspaper in a modern setting.'¹⁸⁷ He was the first to adopt a 'Total Hebrew' style which was based on the style

¹⁸²op cit, p. 55

¹⁸³op cit, p. 56

¹⁸⁴ibid

¹⁸⁵Fellman pp 56-57

¹⁸⁶ibid

of the Hebrew Bible, its vocabulary and also the vocabulary of the post-Biblical period. The 'Total Hebrew' language was to be a simple, everyday, natural language based in particular, on the revived style of spoken Hebrew as advocated by Ben Yehuda and his Jerusalem colleagues.¹⁸⁸ Ben Yehuda wished to create:

An almost new language which will be completely old, that is to say, (a language) in the spirit of the language of our forefathers in all its splendor and glory, its force and suppleness...For the expansion of our language and its revival in the mouth of one nation one vehicle is without doubt *Ha-Zevi*. It brings the necessary revived words without which the language could not be spoken by the people.¹⁸⁹

Only a little more than two per cent of vocabulary in Ben Yehuda's paper was of foreign origin as compared to fourteen per cent of vocabulary in a rival paper.¹⁹⁰ He also used Arabic as a source for the creation of new Hebrew words. This was a novel approach and one scoffed at by many European writers.¹⁹¹

Vocabulary was a main concern of his. There existed a wealth of words for all matters pertaining to religion, emotion, and abstract ideas. For modern living there was not such a wealth. For example, there were no words for newspaper, dictionary, street, pavement, railway, train, airplane, screwdriver, and so on. As for the animal and vegetable kingdom, less common items were labelled 'a kind of bird, a kind of vegetable, a kind of fowl'.¹⁹² Yehuda's journalism provided a means of informing the rank and file

¹⁸⁷ibid

¹⁸⁸Fellman p. 58

¹⁸⁹quoted in Fellman p. 58 and p. 61 from *Ha-Zevi* 17 (1886/87), 1 and *Ha-Zevi* 3 (1898/99), 1

¹⁹⁰Zimmerman quoted in Fellman, p. 59

¹⁹¹ibid

¹⁹²quoted in Fellman p. 61 from Medan, Meir: *The Academy of the Hebrew Language*, *Ariel* 25 (1969), 41

of newly invented words and of introducing them to his new orthography.¹⁹³ It has been estimated that Ben Yehuda introduced only in the region of 231 to 289 neologisms per thousand words of new vocabulary, and most of them have been accepted into Modern Hebrew.¹⁹⁴

In summary, Ben Yehuda's theory and practice for his Hebrew newspaper, *Ha-Zevi* comprised:

1. A **Total Hebrew** language policy - a type of Hebrew which would be spoken by the people naturally, without any elaborate adornment (There is a parallel with the Cornish language revival in which revivalists constructed a standard unified Cornish based on Middle Cornish.¹⁹⁵)
2. The provision of a medium which could introduce new terminology and which would also facilitate its use in everyday speech.
3. The practice of using very few words which were not Hebrew.

His paper was well received.¹⁹⁶

The Dictionary of the Hebrew Language

The idea for a Dictionary of the Hebrew Language was born out of Ben Yehuda's own need. His monumental work - *Thesaurus Totius Hebraicitatis* - contained only five volumes at his death in 1922. He left material for another 12 volumes, the last of which was published in 1959.¹⁹⁷ He had started this work in 1908 and when it was finished it contained 7945 pages in which words were allocated to one of four Hebrew-language

¹⁹³Yellin, p. 101

¹⁹⁴Fellman, p. 59

¹⁹⁵ See chapter three, page 123

¹⁹⁶Fellman, p. 70

¹⁹⁷Ellis & Mac a Ghobhainn, (1971) The Problem of Language Revival, Club Leabhar: Inverness, p.65

periods: Biblical, Mishnaic, Medieval and Modern.¹⁹⁸ After his first extended Hebrew conversation in Paris he wrote in his autobiography:

Hebrew from now on would be my language, not sporadically, artificially, and at arbitrary times...but my real natural language always.... This conversation convinced me immediately how difficult it was to speak Hebrew, how Hebrew was not yet fit to be an instrument of conversation for all man's regular topics of life. Then I felt the need to make a list for myself of the new Hebrew words most necessary in conversation; and I began searching and seeking in books from ages past and present. This list was the beginning of the Dictionary.¹⁹⁹

Ben Yehuda saw the Dictionary as a tool to be used by people similar to himself who were familiar with Hebrew but who needed to add to their knowledge of words to enable them to speak fluently on everyday matters.²⁰⁰ Although Ben Yehuda's dictionary received criticism on account of layout and content, and although attacks were made on Ben Yehuda's scholarly ability, Fellman concludes:

Taken as a whole, and within its total context, then, Ben Yehuda's *Dictionary* must be considered a monumental work arousing both awe and admiration. But it did not substantially further the cause of the language revival except perhaps emotionally, in that it did bring some luke warm persons to express a newly discovered pride in 'their language' and also perhaps psychologically, in that it proved to some

¹⁹⁸Rabin, Chaim *The Sociology of Normativism in Israeli Hebrew* in *IJSL* 41:44, 1974

¹⁹⁹Fellman, p. 70

²⁰⁰op cit, p. 72

skeptics that Hebrew was a language like every other language, since it now possessed a lexicon on which it could be based.²⁰¹

Yellin gives more credit to the Dictionary for its part in the story of the revival:

He began to compile the dictionary with the language revival specially in mind: in order that any who wished to use Hebrew might find the requisite words.²⁰²

Initially, Yehuda's dictionary was compiled according to subjects. Alongside any main word there was to occur every word pertaining to that subject. It was not until the work was underway that he saw a larger work before him in compiling his dictionary.²⁰³ He began to revise his dictionary afresh to include references to the various words in the literature of the various periods, thus showing the denotative changes over periods of time.²⁰⁴ The great work which he undertook made him even more aware of the need of other specialists to cooperate in this work and so The Language Council (*Waad Ha-Lashon*) was formed.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹op cit, p. 134

²⁰²Yellin, p. 102

²⁰³ibid

²⁰⁴ibid

²⁰⁵ibid

The Language Council

In 1898 Ben Yehuda inaugurated corpus planning in Israel when he established the Literature Council (*Waad Ha-Sifrut*), which was later renamed The Language Council (*Waad Ha-Lashon*), the aims of which may be broadly summarised as follows:

1. 'To gather from ancient and modern literature all the words which are not known to the public and to use them for daily needs. This is work, not science.'²⁰⁶
2. '...the creation of new words. This is science not work.'²⁰⁷
3. To fix a standardised pronunciation for the language. ²⁰⁸

Two subsidiary aims of the Council were the standardisation of Hebrew spelling and that of Hebrew grammar. To this day the spelling problem has not been fully resolved.²⁰⁹ In their efforts to provide remedial treatment for grammar they sent out a pamphlet to schools in 1911: '*Al tomar...emov*' ('Don't say...say') in which they listed 98 common errors of speech and supplied correct equivalents.²¹⁰ The Council preferred forms closest to the Bible, adopting a conservative stance. Most of the forms which they regarded as wrong are still present in informal Hebrew today thus highlighting the difficulty of trying to influence the public.²¹¹ The main problems with pronunciation were with immigrants. For example, many Slavic native-tongue speakers do not use the Hebrew sound *h* in their language.²¹² The Language Council was needed, Yehuda felt, because there was a need

²⁰⁶ quoted in Fellman p. 83 from *Zikhronot Waad Ha-Lashon* 4 (1914)

²⁰⁷ *ibid*

²⁰⁸ There was a tension between Ashkenazi and Sephardic Hebrew. Yehuda chose Sephardic for a variety of reasons:

i) It was closer to Judah; Ashkenazi had links with Samaria.

ii) Children were to be the chief carriers of the language and Sephardic was easier to use in reading texts

iii) Sephardic had more prestige. It was used in Hebrew grammars and among European Hebraists.

²⁰⁹ Fellman, p. 87

²¹⁰ *op cit*, p. 88

²¹¹ *ibid*

²¹² Fellman, p. 90

for others to arbitrate in the selection of new words.²¹³ He also saw that there was a need for a specific place to become a safe haven for Hebrew: 'We must begin to build for our language a little sanctuary, and the place best suited for it is in Jerusalem'²¹⁴ In 1889 he wrote:

Only a group of scholars together, who know the spirit of the language and all its...facets..., only they are able to form creations in this way....
As long as we do not have a body of scholars sitting in the land of our fathers, the cradle of our language, in researching and discussing these matters, our language will be like an unwalled city where every authority will...desecrate its honour and beauty.²¹⁵

During 1913, for the first time in its history, the Council was able to hold a full quota of twenty-six sessions which dealt, in turn, with words pertaining to physical education, clothing, plants, and kindergarten.²¹⁶ With the commencement of the First World War in 1914, it was not until 1917 that the Council was able to function as it should have done twenty years before.²¹⁷ However, it should be remembered that Ben Yehuda was not the sole perpetrator of the Hebrew revival, indeed many failures were his. In 1914 when he addressed the Council, he suggested the use of Arabic roots to form new words. His argument was that the two languages had formerly been one. The Council to a man rejected this idea on the grounds of it being impractical, unnatural, unrealistic and also anti-nationalistic, unpatriotic, and 'an insult to the Hebrew language.' He also attempted to form a new type of verb root. This also was rejected.²¹⁸

²¹³op cit, p. 8

²¹⁴quoted in Fellman p. 81 from *Ha-Zevi* 19 (1886/7) 1

²¹⁵quoted in Fellman p. 81 from *Ha-Zevi* 3 (1889) 12

²¹⁶Fellman, p. 93

²¹⁷ibid

The revitalisation of the Language Council to become a more effective body in the revival of the Hebrew language has been attributed to the intervention of the Teachers' Union and its teachers.²¹⁹ Indeed, Fellman suggests that the success of the language revival itself was the success of the Hebrew school,²²⁰ and that the Language Council was ineffectual.²²¹ Yehuda's claim to significance in the revival of the Hebrew language lay in two areas, according to Fellman:

1. He instigated the projects which were associated with the revival of the language, and the very idea of revival itself.
2. His personality inspired others to continue the tasks upon which he had embarked. He also displayed resources of character in persevering in his purposes and ultimately changing '*ein frummer Wunsch*' to *ein wirkende Realitat*.²²²

Cecil Roth's comment on Ben Yehuda's contribution to the Hebrew language is pithy: 'Before Ben Yehuda...Jews could speak Hebrew; after him they did.'²²³ Ben Yehuda wrote around 1909:

For everything there is needed only one wise, clever and active man, with initiative to devote all his energies to it and the matter will progress, all obstacles in the way notwithstanding....Not by cold judgment [and] precise and factual approaches of sensible people are all the steps of human progress in the world made, all the revolutions

²¹⁹ibid

²¹⁹op cit, p. 135

²²⁰op cit, p. 94

²²¹op cit, p. 137

²²²op cit, p. 139

²²³Cecil Roth, 1953, *Was Hebrew Ever A Dead Language?* in *Personalities and Events in Jewish History*, Philadelphia, p. 136 & in Fellman, p. 139

great and small. In every new event, in every step, even the smallest path of progress, it is necessary that there be found one pioneer who will lead the way without leaving any possibility of turning back.²²⁴

The above provides an apt epitaph for Ben Yehuda.

²²⁴Fellman, p. 139

Chapter 3 - Hebrew Language Planning

Introduction

This chapter commences by asking **What is Language Planning?** and attempts to provide a working definition. Three specific areas of language planning - **status, corpus and acquisition planning** - are then discussed. Following this, Hebrew language planning in Israel is examined in the three specific areas mentioned above. The whole chapter may be encapsulated in the question ***Who plans what for whom and how?***¹

¹See , Cooper, Robert, L. (1989), *Language Planning & Social Change*, Cambridge University Press:Cambridge, p.31

1. Language Planning - What is it?

'There is no single, universally accepted definition of language planning.'² There is, in fact, debate as to which term should be used to describe the exercise. The term '*language planning*' was not the earliest, and Cooper³ cites as evidence the following forerunners: *language engineering* (1950), *glottopolitics* (1951), *language development* (1967), *language regulation* (1967), and more recently *language management* (1986). *Language policy* is occasionally used as a synonym, but refers more often to the goals of language planning. Of all the terms in use today, language planning is the most frequently used.⁴

The term was first introduced at a seminar at Columbia University in 1957 by Uriel Weinreich,⁵ but was brought into usage through an article by Einar Haugen in 1959. In his article Haugen defines language planning as :

the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community.⁶

This definition was later acknowledged by him to describe outcomes of language planning rather than language planning as a whole.⁷

²Cooper, p. 29

³ibid

⁴ibid

⁵ibid

⁶*Planning for a standard language in Modern Norway*, *Anthropological Linguistics*, 1,3:8-21 in Cooper p.29

⁷Cooper, pp29-30

Definitions, Cooper suggests,⁸ which restrict language planning to the activities carried out by authoritative institutions such as governments, government agencies, or other public bodies with powers to regulate language use, deny the language planning efforts of individuals such as Ben Yehuda in Palestine, Samuel Johnston in England, Aasen in Norway, Korais in Greece, Stur in Slovakia, Mistral in Provence, Dobrovsky in Bohemia, Aavik in Estonia, and Jabloskis in Lithuania.

Cooper is not content with views which suggest that language problems may be solved simply,⁹ neither is he content with a definition of language planning which is couched in terms of communication problems. He agrees with Karam:

Regardless of the type of language planning , in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and/or religious situation.¹⁰

Cooper goes further and suggests that the above factors - political, economic, scientific, social, etc. - are the chief reasons for language planning 'inasmuch as language planning is directed ultimately toward the attainment of nonlinguistic ends'.¹¹

He proffers the following definition:

⁸op cit p.31

⁹Cooper p. 35

¹⁰Karam, Francis X. (1974), Toward a definition of language planning. In Joshua A. Fishman (Ed.) *Advances in Language Planning*. The Hague: Mouton pp 103-124 quoted in Cooper p. 35

¹¹op cit p.35

Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes.¹²

He states that his definition is intentionally non-restrictive, defining neither the type of planner, nor the type of target group, nor the type of planning to be undertaken. It will serve for a working definition of language planning in this chapter.

The next section examines two widely accepted sub-categories of language planning, **corpus planning** and **status planning**; a third category, pioneered by Cooper, **acquisition planning** will also be discussed.

2. Corpus planning

Although **corpus planning** and **status planning** have been widely accepted as two foci of language planning, a definitive description does not exist for either.¹³

Crystal¹⁴ suggests that:

In corpus planning, the changes are introduced into the structure (or 'corpus') of a language/variety - as when changes are proposed in spelling, pronunciation, grammar, or vocabulary.¹⁵

Corpus planning according to Cooper comprises:

¹²op cit p.45

¹³Cooper. p.31

¹⁴Crystal, D. Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language p.364

¹⁵ibid

...activities such as coining new terms, reforming spelling, and adopting a new script. It refers, in short, to the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, or the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code... two defining examples: the establishment of the Académie française and the feminist campaign against sexist usage.¹⁶

Fishman's description of corpus planning is summarised by Stern:

Corpus planning encompasses efforts to alter and improve the language whose status is the object of policy decisions and implementation attempts. When corpus planning is undertaken, the exact nature of this planning is then also subject to policy decisions and implementation efforts.¹⁷

T.P. Gorman refers to language planning as:

... coordinated measures taken to select, codify, and in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon.¹⁸

It is interesting to note that, although Cooper indicates that Gorman's definition is oriented towards corpus planning,¹⁹ Stern is happy to accept this definition as adequately

¹⁶Cooper, p.32

¹⁷ Stern, A., (1991) *A Century of Hebrew Language Planning*, 1st International Seminar on Language Planning, Santiago de Compostela, p.10

¹⁸Gorman, Thomas P. (1973) Language allocation and language planning in a developing nation in Rubin & Shuy (Eds), *Language Planning : Current Issues and Research*, Washington:Georgetown Univ. Press, pp 72-82 in Cooper p.30

¹⁹op cit p.32

encompassing the Hebrew language planning situation.²⁰ Perhaps a corpus planning oriented definition may be an adequate description of contemporary language planning in Israel since the status of the Hebrew language is no longer problematic.²¹

3. Status Planning

Unlike corpus planning, status planning is less interested in the mechanics of a language and more interested in the varieties of use and status of a language. Crystal proffers the following definition:

In *status planning*, changes are proposed in the way a language/variety is to be used in society (thus altering its status) - as when it is permitted for the first time in law courts or in official publications.²²

Stern refers to status planning as that which:

...encompasses governmental policy decisions concerning which language should be assigned and recognised for which purposes within a country or region, as well as the various implementation (enforcing, motivating, influencing) steps taken to support the policy that has been adopted.²³

²⁰Stern, p.10

²¹Hebrew is the language of the Knesset and all other government functions, and of the home, school, university and workplace. Hebrew is the official language in statutory, working, and symbolic contexts and has full status in the country. Stern, p.12

²²Crystal, D. Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language p.364

²³Stern, p.10

Cooper states:

...we see references to 'changes in the systems of ... speaking', changes in a language's functions, 'language use', 'use of language', and organization of a community's language resources, all of which imply or refer to what Gorman and Rubin call language allocation but which I, following the more general usage, refer to as status planning.²⁴

The promotion of Hebrew as the language of instruction in schools in Palestine, and the decision to use various previously unwritten Ethiopian languages in addition to Amharic to facilitate initial literacy in the Ethiopian mass literacy campaign are examples of status planning, according to Cooper.²⁵

The examples above illustrate the reciprocity between corpus and status planning and indicate that 'the distinction between corpus and status planning is clearer in theory than in practice'.²⁶ The decision to use Hebrew as a medium of instruction in the schools (status planning) 'required extensive elaboration of Hebrew vocabulary in order to provide terms for modern school subjects'²⁷ (corpus planning). The decision to use the diverse Ethiopian languages as a first step towards initial literacy was a status planning decision which required corpus planning decisions as to what script would be used to represent the unwritten languages, what spelling conventions would be employed, and in cases of variability in vocabulary or grammar, what forms would be chosen.²⁸

²⁴ibid

²⁵ Cooper, p.32

²⁶Cooper, p. 32

²⁷op cit p. 33

²⁸ibid

Much language planning is directed towards *language spread* (an increase in the users or the uses of a language or language variety).²⁹ Not all *language spread* planning, however, can be accommodated within status planning.³⁰ Cooper suggests, therefore, that a third focus is necessary, namely, **acquisition planning**.

4. Acquisition Planning

This third focus for language planning describes an activity which is directed towards increasing the number of users:

When planning is directed towards increasing a language's uses, it falls within the rubric of status planning. But when it is directed toward increasing the number of users - speakers, writers, listeners or readers then a separate category for the focus of language planning seems to be justified.³¹

A further justification for such a category, he suggests, occurs when the function and form of a language are affected by an increase in the number of users, for example:

... when a language spreads as a *lingua franca* as Hebrew did in Palestine or as Kiswahili in East Africa, it becomes more useful and thus attracts even more speakers. New users may influence the language through language contact, just as the structure of modern

²⁹Cooper, p.33

³⁰ibid

³¹ibid

Hebrew and Kiswahili have been influenced by their large number of non-native speakers.³²

Examples of Language Acquisition

There are many examples of acquisition planning in various regions of the world. The University of California, in 1987, initiated a programme whereby its Korean-American students could travel to Seoul National University for ten weeks Korean-language study.³³ Soviet language planners imposed the Cyrillic script on most of the Soviet minority languages to facilitate the acquisition of Russian by non-Russian nationalities.³⁴ Abroad, the British Council maintains English language libraries and provides expert advice on the teaching of English.³⁵ The Alliance française and the Goethe Institute do similar work for the promotion of French and German.

The Irish government has set up state agencies for the economic development of the Gaeltacht to halt the emigration of native speakers. To encourage Gaeilge speaking families to reside in the Gaeltacht infrastructural improvement schemes, grant aid for pupils, and housing assistance is provided.³⁶

The promotion of Mandarin as the national language of Taiwan began when China recovered the island from Japan in 1945. Japanese, the dominant language for half a century, was prohibited in all mass media and the national network of schools left by the

³²ibid

³³op cit p.157

³⁴ibid

³⁵ibid

³⁶Macdonald, Mackay & Martin, Report for European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages on Study Visit to Ireland 19-24 April 1990, pp 5-6

Japanese was used as a natural medium for the promotion of Mandarin.³⁷ To facilitate this, Mandarin speakers were imported from the Mainland to help teach the National Language and to train other teachers in the use of Mandarin. Radio and newspapers have been used to promote knowledge of Mandarin and to explain the meaning and purpose of the National Language policy.³⁸

A progressive decline in the number of Maori speakers in New Zealand caused Maori leaders to establish Maori-medium pre-schools, in which older Maoris would serve as caretakers. *Kohunga reo* or 'language nests' were set up in the early 1980's and have increased in number from four in 1982 to almost 500 in 1987 with 2,000-3,000 children now entering primary school each year having learnt Maori in the 'language nests'.³⁹ The Gaelic 'croileagan' system parallels the Maori system to a degree, but without the apparently developed use of minority language 'caretakers'.

Goals and Methods

It is evident from the above illustrations that acquisition planning is an activity which is widely practised and Cooper suggests that it may rest on two bases: ⁴⁰

1. The overt language planning goal
2. The method used to obtain the stated goal

Overt goals may be divided into three sections:

1. Second language acquisition
2. Language reacquisition
3. Language maintenance

³⁷Cooper p.158

³⁸ibid

³⁹ibid

⁴⁰op cit p. 159

Examples of the three areas above include, respectively, the acquisition of spoken Mandarin by Taiwanese; the renativization of Hebrew; and maintenance efforts in the Gaeltacht of Ireland to preserve the language for the next generation.⁴¹ Three types of method may be employed to achieve the language acquisition planning goal:⁴²

1. Methods which create or improve **the opportunity** to learn the language
2. Methods which create or improve **the incentive** to learn the language
3. Methods which simultaneously create or improve **the opportunity and the incentive** to learn the language

Methods which centre on the opportunity to learn the language may be subdivided into direct and indirect methods.⁴³ Direct methods include: classroom teaching, providing self-study materials in the target language and the production of simplified literature, newspapers, and radio and television programmes. Indirect methods comprise efforts to shape the learners' mother tongue to make it more similar to the target language, such as the Soviet imposition of Cyrillic script on non-Russian minority languages.⁴⁴

Methods which focus on the incentive to learn embrace the inclusion of English in the matriculation certificate of Israeli secondary schools, so that those who wish this certificate are provided with a spur for English language acquisition. A similar situation prevails in Ireland where all those wishing civil service jobs must have a qualification in Gaeilge, even although it is not an official working language.⁴⁵

⁴¹ibid

⁴²ibid

⁴³ibid

⁴⁴Cooper, p.159

⁴⁵Personal interview with Antoine O' Coileann, Bord na Gaeilge (24.1.91) & Cooper, p. 160

Methods which, at the same time, promote opportunity-and-incentive use the target language in situations which the student must enter or wishes to enter. Examples of this include immersion and bilingual education efforts, such as French-medium instruction for Anglophone children in Montreal, the 'language nests' of the Maoris, and the Gaelic 'croileagain' (playgroups) movement in Scotland where children must interact with adults and other children through the medium of Gaelic.

Very often the school system is used to promote second language acquisition. The success of second language acquisition in schools is greatly increased if the target language is used as a medium of instruction rather than a subject.⁴⁶ However, no matter how good results may be within school, it is unlikely students will use the second language outside of it unless there are valid reasons for doing so.⁴⁷ This is one of the lessons of the Irish experience:

When the Irish State was formed in the 1920's, the government attempted to create a cultural identity which was independent of English, through a policy of Irish for all. Such freshman-faith in the ability of the education system to Gaeilgicise Ireland was misplaced, and it became evident that it was a case of too much too soon.⁴⁸

⁴⁶Cooper, p.161

⁴⁷ibid

⁴⁸Maclean, R.G., *More facts about lesser languages*, Times Educational Supplement Scotland (3.5.91), p.13

However, the use of Hebrew in schools in Israel fared better:

...nationalist fervor may have placed Hebrew in the schools but the linguistic heterogeneity of the Jewish population helped create a vernacular role for it outside the school.⁴⁹

In mitigation of Irish efforts, Dorian suggests⁵⁰ that there may be substantial benefits in language maintenance even although the acquisition planning did not produce the desired goal. For example, efforts to sustain a threatened language can assuage negative attitudes which may have been subconsciously adopted by speakers and potential speakers of the language. The promotion of ethnic history and traditions brings self-awareness and self-confidence, as instanced by the Black community in the United States.⁵¹

Attempts to revitalize a language often bring economic benefits to the community in the form of 'jobs for teachers, teacher-aides, teacher-trainers, curriculum and material developers...' ⁵² With attempts to revive Scottish Gaelic has come £8-9 million of government funding for television as well as Scottish Office specific grants for Gaelic education which amounted to £1.6 million in year 1992-93.

From the preceding paragraphs in this section, it is evident that the case for the term **acquisition planning** has been well stated by Cooper. However, some are reluctant to

⁴⁹Cooper, p.161

⁵⁰Dorian, Nancy C. (1987), The value of language maintenance efforts which are unlikely to succeed. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 68:57-67

⁵¹Cooper, p.162

⁵²ibid

recognise this third focus of language planning, perhaps through fear of encroaching on applied linguistics territory.⁵³ Nevertheless, Cooper argues that 'it is doubtful...that language planning can be distinguished entirely from applied linguistics'.⁵⁴

The term **language acquisition planning** appears to be a category which will be helpful in the analysis of Hebrew language planning and will be used in this context in Section 11 of this chapter.

5. Who Plans Language Planning?

In the previous chapter we saw that when the State of Israel was formed the nation was in a position, within two generations of the commencement of the language revival, to conduct its business through the medium of Hebrew. This position had been arrived at through '*harnessing*' the revival.⁵⁵ However, in the beginning language planning was not carried out by any public, authorized body, and any attempts were on 'an individual, sporadic, and haphazard basis'.⁵⁶ These early attempts included efforts made by school teachers to 'standardise the conflicting innovations introduced by individual teachers in individual schools'.⁵⁷

Much work was also carried out by individuals such as Moshe Shulbaum, a nineteenth century Russian who expounded a set of principles for the elaboration of vocabulary. He stated that elaboration should involve the :

⁵³op cit pp.33-34

⁵⁴ibid

⁵⁵Stern, p.5

⁵⁶ibid

⁵⁷op cit pp. 5-6

...fusing into one unit all its [the Hebrew language] layers, levels and strata since Adam, who spoke the Holy Tongue, to the latest of the Hebrew writers throughout all generations.⁵⁸

He also stated that 'new creations should be formed in the shape of the old forms.'⁵⁹

Fainberg's summary of the principles of language elaboration informs us that all those involved in language planning at the beginning had no overall theory, but general principles only, save Moshe Shulbaum.⁶⁰ However, all the innovators stressed the sources of the Great Tradition: the Bible, the Mishna, The Talmud, and all the literature created after them. All encouraged the use of Aramaic; Arabic was contentious. There were divergent opinions on loanwords, or foreign words in original forms from Indo-European languages. Only Shulbaum and the Council of the Hebrew Language mentioned aesthetics in creating neologisms, but offered no criteria for defining an aesthetic form.

Bialik was another expounder of language elaboration theories and one who, also, desired Semitic integrity:

Only where it is absolutely necessary and obligatory should the want for words be filled up ... from external sources, wherever possible from Semitic sister languages ... only where there is no choice should sources from other languages be used. Natural elaboration of the

⁵⁸Fainberg, Yaffa Allony (1974), *Linguistic and sociodemographic factors influencing the acceptance of Hebrew neologisms in The International Journal of the Sociology of Language* vol. 41 p.11

⁵⁹ibid

⁶⁰see op cit p. 11 for list of Shulbaum's principles

language is possible only from within itself ... and not from the spirit of a foreign language, be it rich as it may.⁶¹

Piecemeal planning took place in other areas, especially those of pronunciation, spelling and lexicon.⁶² These fragmentary developments by various agents were precursors of weightier institutions such as *Waad Ha-Lashon* (The Language Council). This Council was founded by intellectuals as a branch of *Safa Berura* (the Plain Language Society). Its aim was to diffuse 'the Hebrew language and the Hebrew speech among all classes of people.'⁶³ When it was formed in Jerusalem in 1890 decisions had to be made about:

competing or conflicting forms, patterns, synonyms, and the like inherited from different layers of Hebrew; ...the urgent problems of pronunciation and spelling, and...various other grammatical problems.⁶⁴

Unfortunately, the Language Council practised for only a few months and 'there is no direct information about the subjects of its deliberations or about its resolutions.'⁶⁵ In 1903, *Agudat Hamorim* (The Hebrew Teachers' Association) was set up and as a result of this another attempt was made to create a Hebrew Language Council at the first conference of the Hebrew Teachers' Association in 1903. This objective was achieved and the Language Council met in the winter of 1904-05, with not only linguists (E. Ben Yehuda, D. Yellin, Dr. A.M. Mazya), but also representatives of the teachers' association.⁶⁶ By 1904-5, the Council had incorporated in its aims the 'elaborating of the

⁶¹in Fainberg, pp13/14

⁶²Stern, p.6

⁶³op cit p.14

⁶⁴Stern, p.6

⁶⁵ibid

⁶⁶Blau, Joshua, (1981), *The renaissance of modern Hebrew and modern standard Arabic*, University of California Press Ltd.: California p. 159

spoken language and deciding on new words.'⁶⁷ Their success in this role was evidenced by the very great number of requests for advice on neologisms which teachers themselves had coined.⁶⁸ The Council became a clearing house for terms and, in time, it published a list of terminology in arithmetic for the elementary schools and established a convention which was to mark not only the Council, but also the future Academy of the Hebrew Language. The convention initiated was:

...to deal with the terminology for whole subjects, finishing the work on each subject before proceeding to the next. This method avoided haphazard innovations and assured a terminology fitted to the requirements of its users.⁶⁹

In 1914, the Council laid down ground rules for the efficient running of its meetings. This became necessary because membership had increased and so also had the number of opinions on many issues.⁷⁰ The procedures encompassed three areas:

1. The Role of the Council
2. The Work of the Council
3. The Sources for New Terminologies

Basically, the role of the Council was to both modernise and conserve the Hebrew language. Its work was to implement their modernisation and conservation policies by communicating to the public ancient words and creating new ones; by ensuring that the

⁶⁷ibid

⁶⁸Stern, p.6

⁶⁹ibid

⁷⁰see appendix 1

language remained authentic as to pronunciation; by acting as a controlling agency in the standardisation of the language.⁷¹

Procedures for neologisms were firstly to search out all areas of Hebrew literature and gather from them; if no suitable Hebrew word was found, then Aramaic words were acceptable; the Semitic integrity of words was paramount. If existing words could not be found from either of the above two sources then it was permissible to coin words using the Hebrew language 'on the basis of grammatical rules and language analogy.' Foreign words were not acceptable, even although they had been 'accepted in all the Indo-European languages'.⁷³

Avineri, a later planner, who summarised language elaboration since the beginning of the Hebrew revival, also set down further principles for forming neologisms. The following are selections from his writings in 1946:⁷⁴

1. Revival of the ancient ... a discovery is better than an invention.
2. From personal to general ... deriving words from personal nouns.
3. From a combination to a one-word term ... as combinations cause difficulty of declination.
4. From a foreign language to Hebrew ...however, foreign words are a burden when they are in abundance, but they are a blessing when they are sparse.
5. The influence of Aramaic. Aramaic is an inexhaustible source for the elaboration of our language.

⁷¹ Stern, pp 6-7

⁷² in Fellman, pp 82-83

⁷³op cit p. 82

⁷⁴Fainberg, pp 13-14

6. The influence of Arabic ... There exists an affinity between material and shape in the two languages, but between soul and spirit - there is none.
7. Revival of *mishqualim* [morphemic paradigms] ... Only lately ... has there been a trend to revive some of the *mishqualim* thought to be dead ... there is no *mishqual* whose hour does not come.

Even prior to inaugurating the Language Council, the establishment of an Academy of the Hebrew Language was one of Ben Yehuda's great visions.⁷⁵ His vision was fulfilled by Council members who, upon seeing the creation of the State of Israel, realised that the time had come for such an institution and on August 27, 1953, the Supreme Hebrew Language Institute was officially created by act of law.

This institution was under government sponsorship⁷⁶ and received powers to:

guide the development of the Hebrew language on the basis of research into its different periods and branches. ... Decisions of the Institute as to matters of grammar, spelling, terminology or transliteration ... shall be adhered to by educational and scientific institutes, by the government and its departments and agencies, and by local authorities.⁷⁷

After lengthy discussions in the *Knesset*, the Supreme Language Institute was renamed the Academy of the Hebrew Language on July 23, 1954. In brief, the aims of the Academy were to research vocabulary of 'all periods and strata'; to research the history and evolution of Hebrew language structure; and to guide the development of the

⁷⁵Stern pp 7-8

⁷⁶The participation of the State in the budget of the Institution shall form part of the budget of the Ministry of Education and Culture' in Stern p. 8

⁷⁷in Stern p.8

Hebrew language.⁷⁸ The next section examines the work of the Academy of the Hebrew Language.

6. The Academy of the Hebrew Language

At the present time, membership of the Academy (which includes advisory members) comprises ten university teachers of linguistics, fifteen other university educators, eleven writers, and eight members from related professions. The members receive no fee. The language planning work of the Academy is carried out through committees, the majority of which are *ad hoc* terminology committees. These committees deal with a designated subject and are dissolved when the specific objective has been achieved. The terminology committees usually are composed of a majority of non-academicians who are experts in the subjects being dealt with.⁷⁹

Each committee includes at least one member of the Academy. All decisions of the *ad hoc* committees are ratified by the plenum which meets five times a year and publishes **Records of the Academy**. 'Committees of the plenum are the only forums the Academy offers for discussion on matters of language planning.'⁸⁰ A smaller number of committees discusses general language matters such as grammar (inflection, spelling, pronunciation, and punctuation), day-to-day grammatical problems, grammatical terminology, style and usage, transcription, and lexicography.⁸¹

⁷⁸see appendix 2

⁷⁹Stern, p.9

⁸⁰ibid

⁸¹ibid

The Academy publishes several types of reports and information literature:⁸²

1. *Zikhorot Ha-Aqademia La-Hashon Ha-Ivrit* (The Records of the Academy of the Hebrew Language) - this has been published annually since 1953 and contains decisions on language matters discussed at the Academy's bi-monthly Plenum sessions. It also contains pertinent materials from lectures, such as scientific ones, given by Academy members at the bi-monthly meetings.
2. *Leshonenu* (Our Language) - this quarterly journal for academics has been published since 1929 and reviews Hebrew language matter and cognate subjects (Semitics and Ancient Near Eastern Studies).
3. *Leshonenu La-Am* (Our Language for the People) - published since 1945, this monthly journal for teachers of Hebrew, students, and the enlightened layman, treats of language matters of more general interest.
4. *Lemad Leshonka* (Learn Your Language) - is a series of monthly illustrated posters. They have been distributed since 1963 and aim to inform the general public of language innovations ratified by the Academy. They appear periodically in the daily newspapers.
5. *Mekharim Leshoniyim* (Linguistic Studies) - published intermittently since 1936, they comprise papers on specialised topics which have been sponsored wholly or partly by the Academy.
6. **Dictionaries and Terminological Lists** - on average one 75 page dictionary and two or three 10-page terminology lists are published annually and are intended for use by wide sectors of the general public. Subjects which have been treated of in the previous 15 years include: law, politics, the armed forces, aeronautics, electronics, and general technology.

The present Academy's principles are to all intents those of the Hebrew Language Council: it was the Council who proposed the rules concerning neologisms and the preservation of the Semitic integrity of Hebrew.⁸³

⁸²in Stern, pp 9-10

Not all in the Academy of the Hebrew Language are pleased with contemporary interpretations of the principles for creating neologisms. Professor Mirsky said in 1973:

We lead our language tied to the behind of another language ... We take a language which we call the Holy Language and tie it to the behind of ... the English Language.⁸⁴

Perhaps he had in mind modern loanwords such as *ahmboolahns*, and *televeezyah*. The Academy is aware of the problem of setting too rigid rules for language, and defends English forms thus:

One has to beware of uniformation which causes dullness and prevents distinctions, be they ever so slight.⁸⁵

The Academy of the Hebrew Language's dictionaries contain an increasing number of English words.⁸⁶ Shelomo Morag suggests that the Policies of the Language Committee (1890-1953) were too extreme as far as not permitting 'non-semitic words, even such as are accepted in all Indo-European languages ... into the usage.'⁸⁷ He makes the observation that 'the older modern Hebrew becomes, the more tolerant is its attitude to non-Hebrew words.'⁸⁸

Writing in 1959, Morag suggests that an explanation for this tolerance may be that foreign words and languages in Israel are not such a threat now that Modern Hebrew is

⁸⁴see appendix 1

⁸⁵Fainberg, p.16

⁸⁶ Broide, member of AHL, in op cit p.17

⁸⁷Fainberg, p.17

⁸⁸Morag, S. (1959) *Planned and Unplanned Development in Modern Hebrew* in *Lingua* Vol. viii pp247-263

⁸⁹ibid

established. Until the 1930's there was an hostility and aggression - which has now disappeared - towards languages which were seen as a threat to Hebrew.⁸⁹

As far as achieving phonological standardisation, Morag highlights the difficulty of such a task in a country:

that has been formed by waves of immigrants hailing from all parts of the world. The intensity of immigratory streams has been such, that, at certain periods, the majority of the population and the overwhelming majority of the adult population were foreign born.⁹⁰

Although the Academy of the Hebrew Language is the 'supreme institute of the Hebrew language',⁹¹ there is still room for freelance innovators. Indeed, the Academy can do very little against popular forms which are used without their sanction.⁹² In 1958, Professor Saddam commenting on the lack of feedback on neologisms, stated at a meeting of the Academy of the Hebrew Language:

...without valid and successive information, the Academy as a body acted as if in a void in the life of the language and its function⁹³

Between 1972-74, Yaffa Allony Fainberg carried out a study entitled *Linguistic and sociodemographic factors influencing the acceptance of Hebrew neologisms*. This provided feedback on 25 neologisms, 23 of which were from Academy of the Hebrew

⁸⁹ibid

⁹⁰op cit pp 262-63

⁹¹Constitution of the Academy of the Hebrew Language, Article I: The Academy, Its Goals and Aims, section 1

⁹²Fainberg, pp 17-18

⁹³op cit p.9

Language posters between 1972-74.⁹⁴ The neologisms were classified according to five characteristics:

1. Length of time required in pronunciation
2. Newness of creation
3. Usage register
4. Semantic load on the root
5. Verbal paradigms associated with the root

The summary of results from the study were as follows:⁹⁵

- *Secondary school students are more open to novelty, yet they neither knew nor used neologisms the most, therefore it is most important to see that neologisms reach educational institutions, and through them the public in general.*
- *The data suggests that females accept neologisms more readily than males do.*
- *It may be assumed that for those who have left school, the mass media is the best means of dissemination*
- *Perhaps the mass media directed to women might be more helpful, as they appear to be more receptive to neologisms.*
- *People claim to know more than they actually do. However, the knowledge (or lack of) which they attribute to others, appears to be what they know themselves - a phenomenon which ought to help future language planning researchers.*
- *The more opportunity members of a speech community have to encounter neologisms, the better the neologisms will be diffused.*
- *The length of a neologism is not of considerable importance for its acceptability.*
- *It is of limited consequence that a neologism originates from a 'great tradition'.*

⁹⁴op cit p.18

⁹⁵op cit pp. 18 -39

- *Needs and want are probably the best 'diffusers,' as the register a neologism belongs to is undoubtedly strongly related to acquisition. The more a word is felt to be needed, the more it will be accepted.*
- *The semantic load carried by a root may be significant for the neologism's acceptance. The optimal number seems to be five or perhaps a little beyond it. (Basically this means that if a word has much more than five or six denotations then it is less likely to be accepted into usage.)*
- *Likewise the number of verbal paradigms associated with a root is also significant. (By means of prefixed and/or infixed letters and/or the doubling of the middle letter of a root the meaning of the Hebrew verb can be altered.)*
- *The results were consistent with the view that the Hebrew reading and speaking population in Israel knows and uses neologisms, and has favourable attitudes towards them.*

Fainberg's study on neologisms provides important data for those involved in language planning and having to form neologisms.

In summary: we have seen that the Academy of the Hebrew Language is officially recognised as the supreme court of the Hebrew language and that its functions are multifarious ranging from the publishing of illustrated monthly posters to a quarterly journal for academics. It is not dictatorial in its insistence on particular language forms and does not pursue a positive discrimination in favour of words of Semitic origin as it once did. Some commentators have regarded this as a sign of strength and maturity.⁹⁶ Ben Yehuda's great vision has been realised.

7. Hebrew Status Planning

In 1918, when Britain captured Palestine from the Ottoman Empire, it inherited two national communities: Arab and Jewish. By this time, Hebrew had emerged as 'the principal language of public discourse among the Jewish population.'⁹⁷ Arabic continued

⁹⁶ Morag, pp 247-263

⁹⁷ Stern, p. 11

to be the language of the Arab population. On July 24, 1922 when the council of the League of Nations approved a British mandate over Palestine, Winston Churchill, the British Colonial Secretary, announced that the declaration⁹⁸ did not mean the:

...imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews of other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride.⁹⁹

Churchill continued by assuring the Arab population that the British Government's intention had never been, at any time:

...the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language or culture in Palestine.¹⁰⁰

Therefore, the British declared that English, Arabic, and Hebrew - in that order - were to be the official languages of their suzerainty.¹⁰¹ Again, when Israel became a sovereign state in 1948, the question arose as to which language or languages would be officially recognised by the State of Israel, or whether there would be changes in the status of the three official languages up until then.¹⁰²

⁹⁸presumably, the Balfour Declaration is meant, which was included in the preamble to the League of Nations mandate

⁹⁹Enc. Brit. Vol. 22. p141

¹⁰⁰op cit p. 142

¹⁰¹Stern, p.11

¹⁰²ibid

In the Declaration of Independence no mention is made of the official languages of the State of Israel.¹⁰³ The first paragraph of the Declaration states:

Jews strove in every successive generation to reestablish themselves in their ancient homeland. In recent decades they returned in their masses. Pioneers, *ma' apalim* and defenders, they made deserts bloom, revived the Hebrew language, built villages and created a thriving community ...¹⁰⁴

In the Declaration, use of Hebrew is a statement of fact, other languages are discretely not mentioned. Nevertheless, the third paragraph of the Declaration says:

The State of Israel will be open for Jewish immigration and for the ingathering of the exiles...It will insure complete equality of social and political rights to all its inhabitants irrespective of their religion, conscience, language, education, and culture.¹⁰⁵

Following the inauguration of the State of Israel, all laws extant from the British rule were preserved, unless specifically revoked or modified.¹⁰⁶ The legal requirement to use English was revoked in 1948, leaving Hebrew and Arabic to remain as official languages. Today, Hebrew and Arabic have the same status in law, though Hebrew is 'the language of day-to-day government activity'.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰³Fisherman, H. & Fishman, J.A. (1975) The Official Languages of Israel: their status in law and police attitudes and knowledge concerning them in *Multilingual Political Systems: problems and solutions*. Quebec: Les Presses de L'Universite Laval, pp 497-535 in Stern, p.11

¹⁰⁴In Stern, p.11

¹⁰⁵ibid

¹⁰⁶ibid

¹⁰⁷Stern, p.12

Jacob Landau informs us that:

the only significant instance to date in which Hebrew has a legal advantage over Arabic as an official language is in the (Israeli) Order of Interpretation (*Pequdat ha-Parshannt*), whose paragraph 32 accords Hebrew superiority over Arabic in any case when different interpretations of a law or official proclamation enacted since the establishment of the State of Israel may arise due to niceties of language¹⁰⁸

Hebrew has added status also in the Citizenship Law 1952 which requires 'some knowledge of the Hebrew Language' as a condition for naturalization, and the Attorney's Law of 1961, requiring the same for registration as an apprentice in a lawyer's office.¹⁰⁹

Despite the official status of English having been removed, it is still used for many government businesses. It is used along with Hebrew and Arabic in both paper and metal currency, and on postage stamps. If roadsigns are bilingual, then the second language is more likely to be English than Arabic; the same applies to bilingual government publications such as reports by the Central Statistics Office.¹¹⁰

However, the business of the Knesset is published in both Arabic and Hebrew, with only chapter headings in English. Arabic may be used in the Knesset by members. The status of Hebrew is very high in Israel, as might be expected, with statutory, working and

¹⁰⁸Landau, J.M. (1987), Hebrew and Arabic in the State of Israel in *IJSL* Vol 67, pp 119

¹⁰⁹*ibid*

¹¹⁰Stern, p.12

symbolic uses of it. Arabic is both a statutory and a working official language, but not a symbolic official language, and English is a working official language only. Hebrew and Arabic each symbolize a nationality, but only Hebrew symbolizes the Jewish State.¹¹¹

8. Hebrew Corpus Planning

There are three main areas in the field of Hebrew corpus planning: **lexical modernisation, orthography, and phonology.**¹¹² They shall be discussed in this order. **Lexical innovation** was the most acute problem in the first stages of the revival, when Hebrew began to be spoken in the streets of Jerusalem and amongst the Jewish settlements under Turkish rule in Palestine. Fellman informs us that the Hebrew situation had no parallel in any other language. Not only was there a need for neologisms in the field of modern technology, but also in the home, workshop, and marketplace domains.¹¹³

The initial efforts at creating neologisms involved utilising existing Hebrew words. The Jewish Bible, with about 7,000-8,000 words, contains most of the grammatical structure of modern Hebrew and about 70% of the words most commonly used,¹¹⁴ yet is far outnumbered by additional vocabulary from later Hebrew writings such as the *Mishna*, the *Babylon* and *Jerusalem Talmuds* and related literature; these writings deal largely with matters of practical life and contain an extensive technical vocabulary.¹¹⁵ As we have already observed, in the history of the Hebrew language, medieval poetry created

¹¹¹ibid

¹¹²Stern, pp 14-18

¹¹³Fellman, J. (1977), The Hebrew Academy: orientation and operation, in Rubin, Jernudd, Gupta et al. *Language Planning Processes*. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 9-29 in Stern p.12

¹¹⁴Stern, p.13

¹¹⁵ibid

many thousands of words; medieval philosophy provided philosophical and scientific terms; medieval and early modern casuistic writings, which dealt with minutiae of Jewish religious law and custom, provided its share. Many of the terms from the above treasure chests were immediately usable, others had to be slightly adapted.¹¹⁶

According to the Modern Hebrew Dictionary,¹¹⁷ of its 37,000 words about 8,000 (22%) are Biblical, 8,000 (22%) are Talmudic, those of the medieval period constitute 6,000 (16%), and modern neologisms 15,000 (40%). However, researches made on modern Hebrew text¹¹⁸ show that the frequency of Biblical words is very high - about 65%; 16% are Talmudic, 5% medieval and the remaining 14% modern.

Aramaic was another major source for enlarging modern Hebrew vocabulary. Aramaic words for natural objects, social relations, and thought processes, found in both the Talmuds and various other Jewish works, were easily adapted into Hebrew form.¹¹⁹

In the initial stages of the revival it was believed that it would be possible to customise words from other Semitic languages, such as Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian. Although Ben Yehuda and his contemporaries formed some new Hebrew words from roots existing in Arabic, in the main, this intention did not prove successful. The lack of cultural contact between any of the above-mentioned Semitic languages and modern Hebrew would mean that such words, if borrowed, would be more alien than

¹¹⁶ibid

¹¹⁷Shoshan, Abraham Even, (1971) *Modern Hebrew Dictionary* in Stern p.14

¹¹⁸Sivan, R., (1980), *The Revival of the Hebrew Language*, Jerusalem: E. Rubenstein Publishing House in Stern p.15.

¹¹⁹op cit, p.13

international terms taken from European languages.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, some several dozen words have been taken from the colloquial Arabic of Palestine.¹²¹

Stern's view on Arabic word borrowing is substantiated and enlarged upon by Blau¹²² who informs us that

Ben Yehuda was wrong as to historical perspectives and he failed to evaluate judiciously the synchronic situation of Arabic. Arabic was not only subjectively alien to Jews...but was itself in a situation very much similar to that of Hebrew: both languages in their traditional form were unable to express the needs of modern society.¹²³

Therefore, he argues that Standard Arabic was, in the main, of little use to Hebrew. Regardless of this fact, and in spite of the antagonism of some members of the Hebrew Language Committee, there were those, including David Yellin, who sought to pursue Arabic sources.

Ben Yehuda went so far as to demand from the Hebrew Language Committee that they declare that

...the majority of the roots of the Arabic vocabulary were once a part of the Hebrew language and that all these roots are not alien to

¹²⁰op cit p.14

¹²¹op cit p.14

¹²²Blau, Joshua, (1981), The Renaissance of Modern Hebrew and Modern Standard Arabic : Parallels and Differences in the Revival of Two Semitic Languages, University of California Press:California

¹²³op cit p.32

Hebrew, but rather were ours, and had been lost, and now we have found them again¹²⁴

The above is a claim which lacks proper historical foundation according to Blau. Many modern scholars would hold that Arabic in its main features exhibits a late form of the Semitic languages and not Proto-Semitic.¹²⁵

Creating a term based on an indigenous root is another method of lexical modernisation.¹²⁶ Every verb or noun in Hebrew has two parts, a root and a pattern. When a Hebrew word is made to fit into a pattern hitherto unknown to the word, then a new word is created.¹²⁷ English and other European languages employ a reservoir of Greek and Latin roots to create new words (e.g. tele-vision, micro-scope,), rather than use the language itself. Hebrew draws water from its own wells and as Stern comments:

Since innovation is of course concentrated in certain fields of meaning, some roots become overloaded. Part of the effort of language planning enlargement is therefore directed towards the discovery of roots of suitable meaning not yet exploited.¹²⁸

¹²⁴Blau, p.32

¹²⁵ibid

¹²⁶Cooper, p.151

¹²⁷Stern, p.14

¹²⁸ibid

9. Hebrew Orthography

The second main goal of Hebrew corpus planning is the reforming of Hebrew orthography. Hebrew spelling has two traditions centering on the use or otherwise of **pointed** (the insertion of vowels between consonants) and **unpointed** text (the more economical use of vowels or non-use between consonants). The Bible, the Prayer Book, poetry, popular literature, and publications for children, immigrants and language learners use vowelised text which is based on orthographic conventions inaugurated in the vocalised Massoretic text¹²⁹ of the Bible at the end of the first millennium A.D. The early settlers, or pioneers as they were also called, sought to use a system which merged the two traditions and tried to stabilise the orthography with grammatical rules based on the pointed text of the Bible. Nevertheless, despite the opposition of various groups, including teachers, the orthography used more and more vowels, thus 'filling' texts.¹³⁰

In 1938, the Language Council established rules for spelling which were designed to systemize orthographic conventions. It was not until thirty years later, in 1968, that the Academy of the Hebrew Language recommended adoption of the Council's proposals in a final format.¹³¹ The goal was to make the reading of written Hebrew easier, reduce the possibility of wrongly identifying Hebrew words, and standardise the variety of past efforts. The final resolution was cautiously phrased that it might be acceptable to those who supported a pointed spelling system and, therefore, three issues which were at the root of the discussion were stated ambiguously.¹³²

¹²⁹Stern, p.15

¹³⁰ibid

¹³¹ibid

¹³²1. The consonant spelling underlying the pointing system must remain the grammatical spelling; hence, the suggestion of a 'combined' pointed-full spelling is unacceptable. 2. The alternative to fully pointed spelling is not some system of partial pointing, but full spelling. 3. The insertion of the additional *vav* and *yod* in full spelling cannot be left to the discretion of the individual user (as had been advocated in the discussions) but must be regulated, and the rules taught in schools. (*vav* and *yod* may be inserted into words to indicate

Although the Minister of Education and Culture published the decision of the above resolution in its official gazette on May 27, 1969, it was not until 1976 that this system of spelling was taught in the schools. Before this, it was the Academy's publications alone which displayed the new orthography.¹³³

Stern informs us that:

...in written publications - newspapers, books, magazines etc. - anarchy continued to reign. And yet this did not impair the functioning of the language. As recently as 1985 it was noted that there is no saying whether the experiment may not still be essentially changed, postponed or cancelled.¹³⁴

There seems to be debate still as to whether the most appropriate spelling system has been arrived at, and there are those who wonder how many more committees will meet before a definitive form of pointed spelling can be introduced into schools and which will eventually become the general norm.¹³⁵

10. Phonological Planning

At the commencement of the revival of spoken Hebrew in the nineteenth century, there were differences amongst the immigrants as to the proper pronunciation of Hebrew, an issue which persists to some degree today.¹³⁶ The differences emanated from three major

the sounds *w* and *y* respectively.)

¹³³ibid

¹³⁴in Stern, (1988) *Normativism or Standardisation in the Academy of the Hebrew Language's Activities* in Proceedings of the Second Conference on the Basque Language (San Sebastian, 1986) Vitoria-Gasteiz:Servicio Central de Publicaciones del Gobierno Vasco, Vol. 2, pp125-130

¹³⁵Stern, p. 16

¹³⁶ibid

community groupings: Ashkenazi, Sephardi and Yemenite,¹³⁷ each pronouncing the sacred texts differently. (It is interesting to note that in 1929 a Cornish revivalist, Morton Nance, constructed a 'unified Cornish' based on Middle Cornish texts . This, however, has come under fire from modern academics in recent times - 'revived Cornish, as to its spelling, an increasing part of its vocabulary, and most of its pronunciation, cannot be regarded as genuine...'¹³⁸ Only 50-100 persons are known to be able to converse in the language at any length.¹³⁹) Since Yemenite pronunciation was specific to one community and virtually unknown in Palestine and Europe at the commencement of the revival, it was set aside.¹⁴⁰

The Sephardi pronunciation was adopted for the following reasons:

Prior to the commencement of the revival some communities occasionally used Hebrew, with Sephardi pronunciation, as a conversational language. Therefore, it was believed, this pronunciation would provide a more natural, standardised foundation for the revival.¹⁴¹

Some considered that Sephardi pronunciation was more aesthetic and more historically correct than Ashkenazi. Morag informs us that Moshe Lemans in 1808 published a book entitled 'Pure Speech' in which he sought to prove Sephardi pronunciation to be the correct one.¹⁴²

The Sephardi pronunciation was a symbol for its users of the cultural renaissance, whereas Ashkenazi pronunciation was closely associated with Yiddish and the Diaspora, features of their immediate past about which they did not wish to be reminded.¹⁴³

¹³⁷ibid

¹³⁸Charles Thomas cited in Stephens p. 219

¹³⁹ Enc. Brit. 3:641 & *Indigenous Non-English Language Communities in the United Kingdom* in *Contact* Vol. 8 Nos. 2 & 3 Autumn 1991, pp 5& 6

¹⁴⁰ibid

¹⁴¹ibid

¹⁴²Morag, pp. 248-9

¹⁴³op cit p. 250

However, Haim Rosen ¹⁴⁴informs us that:

The Ashkenazi (Central and Eastern European) community, aware of the non-authenticity of its own varied traditions, at the time of the revival and for its purposes, began to consider as a prestige style another pronunciation system which, in fact, had less phonemic distinctions than its own; that style became termed Sephardic by way of contrast although neither the Sephardi nor any one of the extra-European community traditions had that phonetic shape. The **pseudo-Sephardic pronunciation had no distinction that had been lost from the Ashkenazi traditions and had less distinction in the following respects:**

The greater diversity of Ashkenazi phonemes

Table 1

Graphemes	ֹ ׁ ם ם ם			׃ ׃ ׃ ׃ ׃				
Ashkenazic	/oy/ /aw/		/o/	/a/	/t/		/s/	
Sephardic	/o/			/a/	/t/		/s/	

Rosen argues that the reason for this school of pronunciation gaining favour in Hebrew-speaking circles at the beginning of this century was:

...due to its essential consistency with the Christian theological *Schulaussprache* based largely on the Septuagint and Vulgate transcription as well as on Humanists' Hebrew, which was a phonetic

¹⁴⁴Rosen, Haiim B. (1977) *Contemporary Hebrew*. Trends in Linguistics, State-of-the-Art Reports ed. W. Winter, Mouton: The Hague

Latinisation of the Sephardi tradition prevalent in the Italian renaissance.¹⁴⁵

As a result, pseudo-Sephardic pronunciation became the basis of revived Hebrew, having served as a type of *koine* for 'intercommunity communication in Palestine.'¹⁴⁶

Of the three domains examined in this section - lexicon, orthography, and phonology, phonology has been the least responsive to language planning.¹⁴⁷ Perhaps, this is not surprising since Stern informs us that:

the essence of language imposes considerable limitations upon the possibility of planning or of any deliberate intervention in the linguistic domain. This applies mainly to phonology , morphology, and syntax; vocabulary and orthography reveal a greater degree of responsiveness...¹⁴⁸

One of the aims of the Language Council was to :

...preserve the oriental character of the language and its main features with respect to the pronunciation of the letters , the construction of its words and its style; to add to it the necessary flexibility to enable, to the fullest extent, the expression of any human thought of our time.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ op cit, p.56

¹⁴⁶ op cit, p.57

¹⁴⁷ Stern, p.16

¹⁴⁸ ibid

¹⁴⁹ See Appendix 1, I.2

The Language Council, which did so much in making Hebrew a spoken language, could not impose upon it a pronunciation with oriental characteristics. The difficulty lay in the great numbers of immigrants who came from all over the world bringing with them their own phonology. Morag comments:

The intensity of immigration streams has been such that , at certain periods, the majority of the population and the overwhelming population of the adult population - were foreign born.¹⁵⁰

We have seen how Sephardi pronunciation was preferred to Askenazi because of supposed historical, religious and modern, cultural renaissance considerations. We have also observed that the diverse ethnic origins of the Israeli immigrant population has meant that Hebrew is spoken with a variety of pronunciations. We now turn to Cooper's third category - acquisition planning - to complete our overview of Hebrew language planning.

11. Acquisition Planning

Acquisition planning in Israel is organized at many levels. Immigrants receive help from the Ministry of Immigration and Absorption in the form of a five month grant to attend language classes organised by the Ministry of Education and Culture. Intensive and non-intensive classes are also provided for other interested groups by municipalities. Universities offer language courses for foreign students (in particular, those from the United States) as well as for immigrant staff and their spouses. Immigrant children are

¹⁵⁰Morag, pp262-3

offered classes in Hebrew as a second language: pupils form a class if there are sufficient numbers, otherwise, children are extracted from class for individual instruction for a few hours per week.

Hebrew literature is provided in a simplified form for learners known as Hebrew Lite.¹⁵¹ There are teletext courses for easy Hebrew and at specific times news items on the media are simplified and read at a slower pace. In the 1970's a television series in simplified Hebrew was made and is rebroadcast from time to time.¹⁵² It is also possible to give lectures on Israeli history and culture using this easy Hebrew.¹⁵³ We shall now examine in more detail acquisition goals¹⁵⁴ and methodology from Government level through to university and *ulpan* level.

The Immigration and Absorption Department

The overt language planning goal in Hebrew language acquisition may best be understood by detailing the Ministry of Absorption and Immigration¹⁵⁵ and the Ministry of Education's¹⁵⁶ policies for learners of Hebrew. **The Immigration and Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency, Tel Aviv**¹⁵⁷ considers the learning of Hebrew to be a crucial part of the process of absorption into Israeli society. Their objective is to have immigrants graduating from *ulpan* who will be able to read a newspaper, attend a job

¹⁵¹ A system devised by teachers and others which involves simple constructions and a prescribed vocabulary.

¹⁵² Personal interview with Ophir Pins, Deputy Director General, Immigration and Absorption Department, Jewish Agency, Tel Aviv (29.12.91), in author's tape library. See also Cooper p.157

¹⁵³ Personal interview with Asher Stern, President MILEL (24.12.91) in author's tape library.

¹⁵⁴ see section 4.8

¹⁵⁵ Personal interview with Ophir Pins (29.12.91)

¹⁵⁶ Personal interviews with Riva Pashin Perlmutter, Director, The Hebrew Language Department, Ministry of Education and Culture, Division of Adult Education, Jerusalem (1.1.92) & Dr Avraham Solomonik, *Ulpan* Inspector in charge of methodology in teaching of Hebrew to immigrants, The Hebrew Language Department, Ministry of Education and Culture, Division of Adult Education, Jerusalem (25.12.91) in author's tape library.

¹⁵⁷ The Jewish Agency of Israel was created in 1929 by Chaim Weizmann with headquarters in Jerusalem to assist and encourage Jews worldwide to help develop and settle Israel. Since 1948, its remit covers immigration, settlement, the Youth Aliyah (founded in 1933 to rescue Jewish Youth from Nazi Germany. Today 18,000 pupils are resident in Youth Aliyah educational institutions), propaganda, and the cultural education of Jews outside Israel.

interview, and interact with others. To realise this aim, the Government Immigration and Absorption Department organise a programme of absorption into Israeli society¹⁵⁸ in which *ulpan* courses play an important part. *Ulpanim*¹⁵⁹ courses have two main thrusts: firstly, **Hebrew lessons** which are considered crucial for the immigrants' daily survival; and secondly, **soft or social absorption** comprising: the history and geography of Israel; visits to important sites; information on Judaism, politics, the economic system, government policy, the army, and Israel's borders.

In partnership with the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Jewish Agency operate about 1200 classes per year. There are various types of *ulpanim* to which immigrants may be directed:

Absorption Centres

There are about 400 classes in absorption centres which cater mainly for Ethiopians and which usually provide live-in facilities. Such classes continue for eleven months as opposed to the regular five months. Ethiopian immigrants require a longer period of instruction in order to overcome a high incidence of illiteracy and also to allow them to acclimatise to modern Israeli society which is the antithesis of their former pastoral lifestyle. They need to be taught, amongst other things, how to live in a flat and use modern kitchen implements, how a w.c. functions, and how to shop in a supermarket.

¹⁵⁸Ophir Pins is responsible for ensuring that the Jewish Agency's role in *aliyah* (immigration) is carried out.

¹⁵⁹An *ulpan* is a language institute, *ulpanim* is the plural form.

Advanced Classes

These classes are normally for those who for one reason or another have not found employment after initial absorption and would benefit from more language learning. At present, five hundred students attend advanced ulpan classes.

Classes for people aged 17-35

There are about 450 Hebrew classes for young people aged 17-35. Most immigrants in this group attend day *ulpan*. However, some classes take place on kibbutzim where the student's day is divided into work for one half of the day and Hebrew language study for the other half. Those younger than 17 study with their families, or attend high school or elementary school. There are also Youth Villages for those aged 11-17.

The Municipalities

The municipalities (similar to local authorities in this country) run about 200 classes in conjunction with the Ministry of Education.

It is fairly certain that the Ethiopians do not know enough Hebrew after 11 months to read a newspaper, attend a job interview, or interact with others. They have great difficulty not only in understanding Hebrew, but also in pronouncing the words. 'Those who are over 50 know a miniscule amount on leaving the ulpan and even the young ones find it hard. Perhaps five hundred out of a thousand may do well,' according to Ophir Pins. Russians fare much better than any other group but, again, the Department is

uncertain as to their proficiency after the five month period. Albanians, Canadians, Americans and English do not know enough Hebrew to achieve the basic goals of the Ministry of Absorption and the Ministry of Education and Culture after the five months of instruction.

It has been theorized that those who have English as a first or second language may have less motivation to learn Hebrew since it is a simple matter to live in Israel speaking only English. Another reason offered for the varying rates of progress by Ophir Pins was that the skill to learn a new language may vary from country to country. Not enough is known as yet concerning this, he indicated, but it is presently being researched in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

*The Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem*¹⁶⁰

The Ministry of Education is responsible for curriculum, syllabus, staffing, training, and pedagogy. The *per capita* allowance for five months is NIS 220, about £55.00, which covers overall items such as books, audio-visual equipment, and chalk. There is a partnership between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Absorption whereby the Ministry of Education receives from the Ministry of Absorption suitable buildings for classes, payment of rents and costs of upkeep of the buildings, and funding for cultural excursions. Text book purchase is the domain of the Jewish Agency, although, it relies on lists of recommended texts provided by the Department of Education.

¹⁶⁰ Personal interview with Riva Pashin Perlmutter, Hebrew Language Director, Ministry of Education (1.1.92) in author's tape library.

The head of the Division of Adult Education in the Ministry of Education is responsible for running two subdivisions: the Department of Hebrew Language and the Department for the Illiterate. The Department of Adult Education administers four regions, each with its own inspector for *ulpanim*: Haifa in the north, Tel Aviv in the centre, Jerusalem in the east, and Beer Sheva in the south. There are a variety of types of *ulpanim* within the Ministry of Education's **primary framework**:

- **Morning *Ulpan***
- **Afternoon *Ulpan* / Evening *Ulpan***
- **Special *Ulpan* for special populations:**
 - **Golden Age *Ulpan*** which started in June 1991 for people aged fifty-five plus. This category is not potentially employable, and they include some with physical difficulties eg hearing problems
 - ***Ulpan* for the deaf** - the laser technology used involves the same technology as for simultaneous translation equipment
 - ***Ulpan* for the blind in Jerusalem**
 - ***Ulpan* for those in mental institutions**
 - ***Ulpan* in the kibbutzim (*ulpaneï avodah*)** - four hours work & four hours study
 - **Religious *Ulpan*** for those who wish to convert to Judaism
 - ***Ulpan* for teachers**

In 1990 the *ulpan* student population was around 5,000; in 1992, it had increased to 100,000 because of the vast numbers of *olim*.¹⁶¹ It is not possible now to send all to absorption centres as was done two years ago. Instead, many go directly to government flats and therefore have to fend for themselves to a greater degree. The result is that attendance at language classes is poorer with higher non-completion rates for the five month period. To overcome this, a network of **secondary *ulpanim*** was started in which students may study 8-14 hours a week throughout the year. It is optional and subsidised

¹⁶¹ *Olim* is the Hebrew for immigrants, those who make *aliyah*.

by the Jewish Agency. There are other higher grade courses in the secondary *ulpan* framework, entrance to which is restricted. To qualify, a student must be a professional, and unemployed but potentially employable. Courses for immigrant engineers, teachers and yeshiva students (those undertaking studies in Judaism) are provided.

In 1992 there were about 1500 doctors, mostly from Russia, who were attending special *ulpan* for doctors. Every immigrant doctor under fifty years of age has to undergo a special nine-month course in medicine to practise as a doctor in Israel. Part of the course involves passing a test in Hebrew medical terminology prepared by the Department of Education. (Doctors above fifty years old are not eligible because the medical course is very expensive and they are considered too old for integration into the system.)

One of the difficulties in planning for teacher-training is immigration. A new wave of immigrants may come at any time, two-thirds of whom are likely to be adults. There is no knowing from which country they will come, when they will come, or how many will come. In December 1990, 37,000 immigrants (mainly Russian) entered Israel and teachers who had previously been paid-off had to be re-hired. Of the 4000 teachers they may call upon, only 400 are permanent. Such is the shortage of proper teaching staff when immigrants come in great numbers that hairdressers and cosmeticians have been hired. If they speak Hebrew, if they have a pleasant personality, if they are willing to learn: these are the qualifications required of teachers in such extremities.

Training of Teachers

There are two ways in which teachers are trained: **short term and long term**. For short-term training there are two-week courses involving 56 hours of study. For every 112 hours study completed by temporary teachers they receive 1% of a salary increase up to a limit of 15 per cent. Training is carried out regionally and courses deal with the basics of adult education, psychology, how to teach adult language learners, and how to teach vocabulary. Not all who come on the two-week training course turn out to be suitable, and there are also problems with teaching highly qualified immigrants from Russia using young hairdressers whose intellectual and communicative skills are limited. In the summer of 1992, 300 girl soldiers in the army's teaching corps were being prepared to teach Hebrew to immigrants. However, under normal circumstances a BA or Teachers' Certificate is a prerequisite for a place on adult education training courses.

The long term strategy is to prepare a teacher reserve. Student teachers undergo a 250 hour, year-long, certificated training programme at one of Israel's four teachers' colleges. Qualified teachers of subjects other than Hebrew on sabbatical also participate. Due to the great variations in immigration figures from year to year, it is not possible to guarantee jobs at the end of the course. The Hebrew Language Department provides in-service courses for directors of *ulpanim* three times a year, where they may receive training in areas such as decision-making and team management. There are also special courses for inspectors.

The Department is in the process of introducing a new curriculum for Hebrew language teaching at first *ulpan* and second *ulpan* level, and also a new curriculum for teaching

Judaism and Israeli values to new immigrants. In a new venture, it is organising the writing and publication of its own Hebrew text book for immigrants.

A battery of national tests to evaluate the effectiveness of Hebrew teaching by the end of five months at *ulpan* is being devised. Because the students are being prepared for life, the test evaluates functional reading and writing levels. Immigrants are asked to understand such items as telephone bills, notices on buses and adverts, and to perform writing tasks such as a note for a child's teacher at school or for the supermarket bulletin board. Some of the testing will be externally set, involving the Department, and some of the testing will be internally assessed with directors of *ulpanim* participating in the evaluation programme. Tools are being developed for the evaluation of institutions through portfolios, diaries, staff evaluations and peer evaluation.

Two of the tests, reading comprehension and functional writing, are ready for use. However, just as the Department was preparing to use them nationally on January 27, 1991 the Minister of Education, for political reasons, postponed them: previously, there had been a reading comprehension test for third graders¹⁶² in schools throughout the country and the results were so alarming that it would have been politically damaging to have a repeat at *ulpan* level. It was from his morning newspaper, and while being driven to work, that the Education Minister learned about the proposed tests. Such was his anxiety that he used his car phone to halt them. *Ulpan* inspectors apprehensive of the national test are regarded as being responsible for the leak to journalists. The upshot

¹⁶² lower primary school

was that members of the Department had to appear before the education committee of the parliament to convince them that the tests were necessary.

The Department of Adult Education admits that it also is apprehensive of the possible findings, especially if it transpires that students can not read a telephone bill or write a note. Their philosophy is stoical: they recognise that the testing is an exercise which must be carried out whatever the consequences. Equipment shortages are another hindrance to the full utilisation of learning resources in *ulpanim*. For example, special software programs have been prepared by a number of countries for Israel, but due to funding shortages there are not enough computers to use the programs.

Mother tongue neutralisation is another difficulty which is cited.¹⁶³ It is believed that if immigrants' mother tongue dominance could be reduced or neutralised then Hebrew would be used more often and integration would take place more quickly. It is a knotty problem and the Department recognises that immigrants cannot be denied their rights to express their identity through their original language and culture. Dr Solomonik, who has responsibility for Hebrew language methodology within the Department, believes that awareness of national identity is an important factor when reviving a language and a factor to be built in to courses. Dr Solomonik's point was expressed by Ben Yehuda and others involved in the development of Hebrew as a koine, who closely linked **land, language and identity**.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶³ Personal interview with Dr Avraham Solomonik, *Ulpan* Inspector in charge of methodology in teaching of Hebrew to immigrants, The Hebrew Language Department, Ministry of Education and Culture, Division of Adult Education, Jerusalem (25.12.91) in author's tape library. Dr Solomonik is an Adult Education specialist with a doctorate in Adult Education who came to Israel from Russia in 1974. In 1985, he spent four months in Wales studying the administrative system for the teaching of Welsh.

¹⁶⁴ Fellman, p. 41

It is interesting to note that the masthead of the West Highland Free Press echoes the triad above - AN TIR, AN CANAN 'SNA DAOINE (a quotation from the days of the land leaguers meaning, The Land, the Language, and the People). Highlands and Islands Enterprise, in their development plan for Gaelic, also recommend a triple approach involving the economy (the land), the language, and the culture (identity).¹⁶⁵ Irish language revivers too are aware of the importance of national identity in language acquisition, especially if the language is a minority one. One such language reviver, Domhnall O Lubhlai, views Irish as 'a language in captivity' and states that he teaches Irish to give Irish men and women a national identity.¹⁶⁶

In addition to fostering a national identity, it would be necessary, according to Dr Solomonik to set up an organization which would coordinate acquisition planning efforts, such as:

- The training of teachers
- The publishing of teaching materials
- The solving of problems which arise

He believes that such a body is necessary before a language strategy can be devised. A language strategy would involve organizing the teaching system so that a whole generation from kindergarten up to university level could be provided for. However, it is not wise to begin in all areas at once, he stated, but firstly to establish the kindergarten level providing all the resources necessary, and then to move to the next stage only after

¹⁶⁵ Highlands & Islands Enterprise Development Plan for Gaelic 1992

¹⁶⁶ Personal interview with D. O Lubhlai (21.1.91) in author's tape library.

the first level has developed its own momentum. In practice, however, one would anticipate that the process would be less clear cut, and that stages would of necessity overlap.

Methodology

In teaching Hebrew as a second language, the methods used by the Hebrew Language Department are traditional and eclectic, being immersive, intensive and communicative. The minimum number of hours per week is 25, any less being considered inefficient. Bombardment with the language is essential; it is a methodological cornerstone. The five month period is not mandatory, but from their experience is considered to be the most suitable for grasping enough of the language to function at a basic level and for permitting the immigrants to gain a savour of Israeli society.

The pedagogical aims are the development of talking, listening, reading and writing skills, with the emphasis on the spoken mode. However, Dr Solomonik believes that more attention needs to be paid to reading since *olim* appear to be wanting in this skill at the end of the course.

Five months is not enough time to allow professionals such as lawyers, teachers or journalists to function adequately, therefore, if they do not find employment after some months they may return to the *ulpan* for another four months to commence secondary *ulpan* which concentrates on providing them with a professional terminology. Level two classes are heterogeneous vocationally, and specialist vocabulary is taught individually.

For those who do find work after primary *ulpan*, language training usually continues in some form through the employer. Dr Solomonik cited his own situation, where on emigrating from Russia he was employed by the Israeli Ministry of Education; his Hebrew was poor and for one to two years he considered himself not up to the mark, but was given assistance by the Ministry to improve his Hebrew through attending special classes.

Ulpanim methods are not chiselled in stone and new methods are always considered. Presently, Dr Solomonik is reviewing the suggestopedia method pioneered by Professor Gorgi Lozanov from Bulgaria. The method is founded on the view that the brain has great unused potential which can be exploited through the power of suggestion. In their introductory lesson or 'concert' students are presented with large amounts of the new language. The text is translated and then read aloud in a dramatic way to a background of classical music. The aim is to provide an aura of total relaxation and enjoyment in which learning is incidental. By using a large amount of linguistic material, the suggestion is conveyed that language learning is easy and natural. In a later session the students use the material in a variety of communicative activities. It is claimed that learners learn far more than would be expected in a traditional immersion course.¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁷Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language, p375

Outline of Ministry of Education Syllabus for the first stage of Ulpanim¹⁶⁸

The Ministry of Education has produced a detailed syllabus for the 500 hours of the first stage of *ulpan*. Twenty topics may be covered by the teachers:

Syllabus topics in Ministry of Education Handbook Table 2

TITLES OF TOPICS			
1	Getting acquainted	11	At home
2	In the class	12	Post Office
3	The Family	13	Shopping
4	Time	14	Health
5	Daily schedule	15	Weather
6	Meals	16	Leisure time
7	Shabbat	17	Education
8	Travel	18	Kibbutz and Moshav
9	Immigration to Israel	19	Jerusalem
10	Work	20	Jewish holidays

Lesson plans are provided and include: the goals for each topic, a list of teaching materials supplied, and the methodology to be used. The parts of speech, the idioms and the expressions to be taught are set down with examples of language patterns. The first topic Getting Acquainted, for example, has eleven language patterns for the student to learn, such as:

- pronoun plus personal name - Ani Shmoel, *I am Samuel*
- pronoun plus preposition plus place of origin - Ani mi Anglia, *I am from England.*

¹⁶⁸Translated from Hebrew with assistance from Asher Stern, President, MILEL.(19/8/92). There is no English version.

This is the method for each topic in the first stage. It is very detailed and the teacher has all necessary materials provided. A subject index categorises all the expressions and idioms which appear in the 20 units.

Another section of the handbook lists the most widely used words in radio and television, containing:

Frequency of parts of speech of most frequently used words in language

Table 3

70 Nouns	48 Verbs	16 Adjectives	21 Adverbs/Conjunctions
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Second Stage

The **second stage** lays greater emphasis on published materials and on listening to and watching the media. The handbook is in two parts: 1. Language, 2. Appendix.

Language

The language part of the second stage handbook comprises a skills list:

1. Reading a newspaper
2. Reading a text - books
3. Listening to news programmes on radio and television
4. Oral expression
5. Written expression
6. Grammar
7. Verb
8. Noun
9. Adverb
10. Syntax

Also included in the language section is a table indicating the amount of time which should be spent on each skill at different kinds of ulpan:

Time To Be Spent On Various Skills At Different Types Of Ulpan

Table 4

	SKILL	Type of ulpan 28 hours/week	Type of ulpan 12-16 hrs/week	Type of ulpan 6-8 hours/week
1	Reading newspaper	4	3	2
2	Reading textbook	2	2	1
3	Aural	2	1	1
4	Oral expression	4	3	1
5	Grammar	3	2	1
6	Written expression	3	2	1
7	Citizenship	2	2	1
8	Geography of Israel	2	-	-
9	History of Israel	2	-	-
10	Bible	2	2	-
11	Review of weekly work	2	-	-
		28	16	8

The Ministry of Education Handbook - Section 2

In the second part of the handbook for the **second stage** there is an appendix with a list of approved subjects for oral expression, and a lesson help for each suggested topic.

For example, the topic '**Settlement in Israel**' includes:

1. Short description of settlements

- Vocabulary list
- Methodological remarks
- How to teach the topic
- Subjects for further discussion
- Books to help

Sample lesson plans contain goals, patterns of teaching, and exercises for class and home. The final section of the handbook contains a list of verbs and a syllabi for special programmes such as:

- How to teach Bible
- How to teach literature
- How to teach history
- Syllabi and list of books for various professions

From the above it can be deduced that the method of teaching *Ivrit b'Ivrit* (Hebrew in Hebrew) is designed not only to provide Hebrew language lessons, but also to transmit traditional customs and modern culture with the aim of assimilating immigrants and providing them with a new Israeli identity.

Summary

In surveying Hebrew language acquisition planning in Israel the following factors have emerged.

1. Acquisition planning in Israel is organized and provided at many levels: Government, University, *Ulpan*, and School.
2. The Academy of the Hebrew Language is the supreme institute in language research and guidance.
3. Television, radio and newspaper media are widely used to help learners acquire the language.
4. The Department of Immigration and Absorption of the Jewish Agency has overall responsibility for the learning of Hebrew as a second language, and aims to provide functional courses which will allow immigrants to assimilate quickly into Israeli society. Assimilation includes Hebrew lessons, and soft and social absorption.
5. There are two levels of *ulpanim*. Primary *ulpan* provides courses for such as the illiterate, the hard of hearing, the blind, the dumb, immigrant teachers who wish to teach in Israeli schools; secondary *ulpan* operates at a higher level and provides courses for such people as journalists, lawyers and doctors.
6. In-service training is provided for *ulpan* directors.
7. National testing is about to be initiated in *ulpanim*.
8. Orthography and phonology have posed some problems which have not been easily resolved.
9. The methodology is traditional and eclectic, being immersive, intensive and communicative.
10. The Department of Education has built up expertise over the years and provides *ulpan* teachers with a detailed methodology and class materials.

11. The methodological aim is to provide language skills, access to modern Israeli society, and an Israeli identity.

In the next chapter we shall review the history of the *ulpan* method.

Chapter 4 - The Ulpan

Introduction

This chapter answers the question **What is an *Ulpan*?** and provides an account of *ulpan* history and pedagogy. Appendix 2 furnishes examples of specific *ulpan* approaches at university, regular *ulpanim* and special *ulpanim* levels. It is intended that the appendix, which constitutes reports of personal visits to *ulpanim* in Israel, should add colour and depth to the information provided in the body of chapter 4.

By Babel's Streams

In 1948, the population of Israel was three-quarters of a million people, almost half-a-million of whom had been born outwith Israel. Four hundred and fifty thousand of the country's inhabitants, therefore, would have had to learn Hebrew as a second language.¹ In the years up until 1948 there had been no nationally organised authority responsible for teaching Hebrew as a second language.² In the four years after independence (1948-1952) the population of Israel doubled. With a population of one and a half million, the vast majority of whom were non-Hebrew speakers, Israel was in danger of becoming a multilingual state.³ There is little doubt that *ulpan* courses for adults prevented the country from becoming a Babel of tongues.

In Israel presently the alphabet (illiterate) Ethiopians, who have no tradition of literacy, are the main language problem. In the fifties, there was a similar problem with immigrants coming from Arab countries and it has been postulated that perhaps the great number of alphabets was the reason for the success of *ulpanim*: no books could be used with them and teachers had to teach through talk.⁴

What is an Ulpan?

Israeli commentators are fairly closely agreed as to the purpose and function of an *ulpan*. The Encyclopaedia Judaica defines it as a:

¹Stern, *A Century of Hebrew Language Planning* (1991) p.5

²Personal interview with Asher Stern (24.12. 91) in author's tape library

³*ibid* (The cultural diversity of Israel today is demonstrated by the fact that there are 26 different languages broadcast on Israeli radio, including spoken Moroccan (which is done nowhere else in the world), and Berber and Circassian.)

⁴*ibid*

...center for intensive study by adults, especially of Hebrew, by newcomers to Israel. The term comes from an Aramaic word meaning custom, training, instruction, law.... The term was coined in 1949 when the first center for intensive adult Hebrew study by immigrants was opened at the Ezion immigrants' camp in Jerusalem and was called an *ulpan* in distinction to *bet sefer*⁵, the usual term for a school.... Mass immigration in the early years of the state brought a babel of tongues, and it became imperative to provide centers where the new arrivals could acquire Hebrew and a knowledge of the Jewish culture. The Ministry of Education and Culture and the Absorption Department of the Jewish Agency set up the Ezion *ulpan* as a pilot project....The *ulpan* network became one of Israel's most significant features, essential in aiding immigrant settlement.⁶

In fact, the first *ulpan* was not Ezion, but one established by the army in 1948 during Israel's fight against the British for independence.⁷ They opened intensive 2-3 week *ulpanim* at Camp Marcus to teach immigrant soldiers the basics of the Hebrew language. The principal of *Ulpan Ezion*, Dr Mordecai Kamrat believed that an *ulpan's* purpose was to help immigrants identify with the land, the State, and its institutions; absorb Israeli culture and spirit; and acquire and improve oral and written language skills.⁸ Dr Kamrat's report of the first term's operations is as follows:⁹

⁵Bet Sefer is used now to refer to an elementary school for children

⁶Encyclopaedia Judaica, 1972 ed., s.v. *ulpan*

⁷Weinberg, E., (1979) trans. by Gilia Brand, *The Ulpan for Teaching Hebrew to Adults as a Second Language* Section G, and Ver Strate Calvin, D. (1991) *An Evaluation of the Affective Components of the Intensive Language Program Experience at Ulpan Akiva*, p.3

⁸In Ver Strate Calvin p.17

⁹Ginsburgh, S.J., *An Historical Study of Adult Hebrew Language Instruction in Palestine from 1917 to 1948 and of Its Continuation in Israel's Ulpanim 1948 to 1960* (Ph.D. diss.) in Ver Strate Calvin p17

The students were rapidly becoming integrated into wholesome groupings from the point of view of closely-knit educational-social classes. Teachers and pupils both worked beyond 'the call of duty'. Their achievements surprised every observer, even the critics. The total illiteracy disappeared in the first few weeks. The cultural activities injected pleasure and relaxation into the program. A unified national spirit began to emerge.

Dr Kamrat recommended a cultural programme component as follows:¹⁰

1. Only activities that bear a relationship to the educational program should be planned
2. The secondary aim should be to relax the students from their learning tenseness
3. The overall aims should be to engender the spirit of Israel and the Jewish State.

Thirty years later an official government publication describes the general objectives of an *ulpan* thus:

The *ulpan* aims to impart a knowledge of the Hebrew language sufficient for him [the immigrant] to be absorbed in his chosen profession.... in addition to the basics of the Hebrew language, we try to create in him an understanding of fundamental Jewish and Israeli values. A command of Hebrew is the gateway towards a grasp of how Israeli society functions.... In this way the *ulpan* helps the immigrant to

¹⁰ibid

become acclimatized more quickly and to integrate into Israeli economic and social life with greater ease.¹¹

Ver Strate Calvin states:

*An ulpan (ulpanim, plural) is a training institute for the intensive study of languages, designed originally to teach Hebrew to Jews in Israel.*¹²

Dr. Shelomo Kodesh, a former director of the Department of Hebrew and Elementary Education for Adults writes:

The *Ulpan* was created soon after the establishment of the State of Israel. It is a school in which adult immigrants, and visitors from foreign countries, are taught Hebrew, usually as boarders but sometimes also as external day students. Soon after its inception the *ulpan* had to veer away from its purpose as originally formulated by its founders and had to adapt itself to the exigencies of life in Israel and deal with problems of a much larger scope.¹³

The 'problems of a much larger scope' are elaborated in Shlomo Haramati's description of how the *ulpan* system was formed:

With the re-establishment of the State and the attendant immigration from numerous countries (Israel's Jewish population doubled between 1949 and 1951), it became necessary to reconsider the entire project

¹¹Weinberg (1979), Section A

¹²Ver Strate Calvin (1991), p.1

¹³Kodesh (1963), p.4

and base it on firm organisational and educational foundations. There was an urgent need to discover some less time-consuming method by which to impart to the masses, and particularly to members of the professions, the ability to communicate in Hebrew so as to facilitate their integration into the economy of the country and their cultural absorption into the new Israel. It was resolved, therefore, to introduce an intensive system of study with Hebrew, basic Jewish cultural values and good citizenship at its core. The institution for such purposes came into being in 1949; it was called *ulpan* (plural: *ulpanim*) - meaning school, a unique school.¹⁴

In summary we may state that the *ulpan* was born out of necessity in the late 1940s and early 1950s because of the tremendous population increases as a result of immigration. It is an institute where intensive Hebrew language learning takes place to provide immigrants with sufficient language skills to permit assimilation into Israeli society, and as part of this assimilation, which includes the creation of an Israeli identity for immigrants, fundamental Jewish and Israeli customs are taught.

The Background to the Israeli Intensive Method

When the *ulpan* method was devised in 1948 there were few resources to create a complicated methodology. The **grammar-translation methods** which relied on translating, reading, memorising vocabulary, rote learning of grammatical rules and the declining of nouns and verbs had already been put aside.¹⁵ The **direct method** (also

¹⁴Haramati (circa 1970), p.7

¹⁵Evans, p.2

known as the oral or the natural method) was in vogue. This method requires the active involvement of the learner in speaking and listening using realistic everyday situations. The mother tongue is not used and students are required to think in the target language rather than translate into it or out of it. Emphasis is placed on good pronunciation and a grammatical approach is avoided.¹⁶

The development of the **intensive method** may be traced to the U.S. Defense Language Institute in Monterey where American military personnel were given intensive training in spoken languages during the Second World War.¹⁷ The emphasis was on everyday spoken conversation and correct pronunciation. Structural language patterns concerning everyday situations were drilled (first chorally and then individually). Language was seen as a process of habit formation and the aim was to make a student's responses automatic. There was little discussion of grammar. In class, the daily order of work was to hear the language, to speak it and then to see it in written form before writing it. Personnel achieved a high degree of listening and speaking skills in a relatively short time.¹⁸

The following excerpt ¹⁹ describing the U.S. Army method is of interest:

1. [There were] a large number of contact hours in a relatively short period, that is six hours a day, five days a week, with three hours homework per day. (This meant that most of a person's consciously directed time was spent doing this one thing.)
2. There were usually only ten students per class.

¹⁶Evans, p.3

¹⁷Personal interview with Sara Israeli, Head of Hebrew Studies Department, Rothberg School of Overseas Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (26.12.91) in author's tape library and Crystal, p.374

¹⁸ibid

¹⁹As cited in Evans p.3

3. There was a combination of language structure teaching and conversational practice. In the one, situational-based dialogues were practised and memorized, followed by oral skills, consisting of sentences illustrating the major syntactic patterns. These drill sessions were conducted either by a linguist familiar with the language or by a native speaker trained by a linguist. The dialogue drill sessions were then followed by conversation sessions with a native speaker; these were usually constructed around real situations, often those of the dialogues.
4. Phonemic analysis and transcription were taught.
5. It was ensured that the learners had a command of the colloquial forms of the language.

The U.S. Army principles above were combined with the direct method to produce what is known as **audio-lingualism**²⁰ whose principles comprised:

1. **Realism** - New material (lexical and grammatical) to be presented in dialogues which represent items of real communication;
2. **Drilling** - A series of pattern drills in which the structures and vocabulary introduced in the dialogue would be manipulated until they became unconscious habits for the students;
3. **Recombination** - Recombination response material in which the student has to apply the newly acquired structure in guided semi-conversation. The student, it is hoped, would arrive at the stage where the structures and phonological system would be established as habits and the message could be focused to allow real communication in the target language.²¹

In the sixties Noam Chomsky discredited Behaviourist theories such as the audio-lingual one referred to above. He argued that the Behaviourist explanation of language acquisition as a process of imitation and rote learning was inadequate²² because it did

²⁰Evans, p.3

²¹ibid

not take into account the complex levels of grammatical structure and meaning in language. For example, at surface level the two sentences *John is eager to please* and *John is easy to please* can be analysed structurally in an identical way. However, in the first John wishes to please someone, whereas in the second someone else is to please John - two quite different meanings.²³ Chomsky wished to take account of underlying meaning and drew a distinction between a person's actual knowledge of the rules of a language and their actual use of that language in real situations. The knowledge of rules he referred to as **competence**; the other as **performance**.²⁴

However, even before Chomsky voiced his criticisms of Behavioural theories and despite Hamarati's references to language learning being a skill (a Behaviourist approach, see page 10), the contemporary communicative approach to language learning was always present in *ulpan* methodology,²⁵ as was the concern to transmit an appreciation of culture, considered essential in modern language learning.²⁶ In addition, the exigencies of massive waves of immigrations determined that vocabulary in class should be practical and of immediate use to students, thus making the syllabus situational. The multilingual mix of *ulpan* students determined that *Ivrit b'Ivrit* (teaching Hebrew through Hebrew) be used, a principle adopted by Ben Yehuda in the beginning of the revival. The need for translating items was unnecessary because vocabulary was presented within a context which illustrated the meaning. All these features, which have been part of *ulpan* methodology for many years as a result of

²³Cummins, J., *Understanding Language Acquisition and Bilingualism in Another Window on the World*, HTV Publication: Wales (n.d.)

²⁴After Crystal, p. 409

²⁵After Crystal, pp 374 & 409

²⁶Evans, p.6

²⁷ibid

pragmatic decisions, are now being used in many intensive, immersive courses.²⁷ The *ulpan* has made some changes to accommodate new language research, but the basic pattern remains. Systems change very slowly, especially if the system appears to have been successful.²⁸

It appears, therefore, that the 'highly successful and eclectic'²⁹ *ulpan* approach emerged naturally rather than by design. Paula Lieber records in her observations of an *ulpan*:

On the whole, from actual observation, one would assume that the teachers have been trained in linguistics, particularly the methods of transformational grammar. In actuality, very few teachers have any background in linguistics, and many will emphatically deny their teaching includes or is influenced by such studies.³⁰

Numerous writers state that the *ulpan* intensive method produces better results and more quickly:

Experience gained in the *ulpan* has proved beyond any doubt that the intensive way of teaching a language to adults is the most economical process for both the individual and the group. A few weeks' work may yield results of considerable value if the effort is devoted by the adult to one objective only, the learning of the language.³¹

²⁷Evans, p. 6

²⁸Evans, p.6

²⁹ibid

³⁰Lieber, Paula (1970), Jewish Education in Evans p. 7

³¹Kodesh, p.8

It has become quite obvious to the author, who has long taught foreign languages - Hebrew in particular - that the best method for studying a foreign language in natural surroundings is the intensive method. You devote all your time and efforts to learning the language and put aside all your other problems, say, for a period of perhaps from three to six months. Students who adopt this approach are less likely to flounder. Those who do not, often study Hebrew for many years, moving along leisurely and without any visible signs of success.³²

The Gaelic 'perpetual learner' is a well-known phenomenon which, as Dr Solomonik points out above for Hebrew 'perpetual learners', may be remedied through immersion methodology. Not only Hebrew but also Arabic has been taught intensively in *ulpanim* and equally demonstrates the success of the intensive method:

...Two other Arabic classes are offered at the *ulpan* [Akiva]: one for Israeli civil servants who are introduced to Arabic culture and customs; the second caters for twenty Israeli girl soldiers who have been selected from 400 applicants for a specialist course in written and spoken Arabic, and teacher-training in the language. The eight month course is so intensive that it is equivalent to two years at a teacher-training college and is recognised as such by the Ministry of Education.³³

³²Solomonik pp 5-6

³³Maclean, *The Key to Israel*, Ken in *The Herald* (Glasgow), April 16 1992 p. 24

Teaching Methods

In earlier *ulpan* days the 'right' Hebrew was taught which created a form of diglossia for, at that time, a person who had just finished *ulpan* could be easily identified, not because their Hebrew was bad but because it was too good - 'too clean'.³⁴ It was not until the beginning of the 1960s that didactical methods were properly developed.³⁵ In 1963 Kodesh wrote:

The department [The Ministry of Education] ... is not yet prepared to admit that it has developed a 'method' of its own because it never had the means, material and personnel, at its disposal which are required for working out and testing scientifically a 'method' on classical lines. Whatever has been achieved in that direction has been done by teachers at work, particularly those with a flair for methodology and with a sense of responsibility towards their mission.... The department does not possess a scientific answer. It is not even possible to boast of a well formulated and new 'Israeli method' or technique. Israel has, however, had more experience than any other country in inculcating a new language to large numbers of adults in a relatively short stretch of time.³⁶

This greater experience of Israeli language practitioners has enabled them to hone their methods and materials to meet the needs of immigrants who

³⁴ibid

³⁵Stern, personal interview 21.12.91

³⁶Kodesh, p.8

come into the country and who need Hebrew language skills to assimilate. Thus, the *ulpan* has evolved out of pragmatism:

The *ulpan* was not so much a natural approach ... but an approach which emerged naturally to cover such ground as situational and topical matters, communicative competence and contrastive and error analysis. And always care has been taken to imbue an appreciation of culture and appropriate language use along with learning.³⁷

Haramati informs us of the founding principles of the *ulpan* teaching method.³⁸

Since the establishment of the *ulpan* classes, the form of instruction has been the "natural method" otherwise known as the "direct method." The Department [of Education] laid down from the start certain binding basic principles:

- a) The use of Hebrew as the sole language of instruction
- b) The introduction of conversation as the central feature of the lesson.
- c) The study of functional grammar through inductive means; and practice through dramatisation.

Otherwise, each teacher is free to improvise and employ whatever methods he considers suited to the pupils - all within the framework of the binding principles.

³⁷Evans, p.6

³⁸Haramati, pp15-17

Haramati goes on to explain that 'a new and eclectic teaching method was recently introduced' (1964) ... on the basis of the experience gained, and in the light of the latest research findings in the realm of structural linguistics and the psychology of language instruction.³⁹ This 'new and eclectic teaching method' combines three basic theories:⁴⁰

1. **Language learning is a skill** - thus, properly graded exercises have to be planned for each aspect of the language (hearing, speaking, reading, writing). The bulk (80%) of the language lesson has to be devoted to actual practice of the aspect taught.
2. **Language is a means of communication** - an emphasis is therefore laid on listening and speaking, particularly in the early stages. Language is a vehicle of communication and the main aim of its study is acquiring skill in its use as opposed to "knowing" the language. Speech is more useful than script, and it is the former which constitutes the basis for learning the written word. In other words in the *ulpan* method of study one begins by practising hearing and speaking (no textbook is used during the first fortnight), the pupils being permitted to record in their copybooks whatever they think useful. Hearing, like speech, requires guidance and practice.
3. **Second language acquisition is different to mother tongue acquisition** - adults possess engrained language patterns which impede second language (L²) acquisition. To minimise mother tongue (L¹) interference new L² patterns are presented gradually and methodically: a limited number of common, useful words are taught; lesson by lesson the student's active vocabulary and word forms are increased; grammar is taught systematically using sample sentences containing vocabulary already known to the student.⁴¹

Whereas older language learning methods used translation, reading, memorization, rote learning of grammatical rules, and declension of nouns and conjugation of verbs, the

³⁹op cit, p. 15

⁴⁰Weinberg, Section F

⁴¹Weinberg, Section F

ulpan method has always used materials which are presented within a context and which make clear the meaning of new vocabulary so that the need for translation is eliminated.⁴² Grammar is taught by constant repetition of useful sentences. The practical mastery of linguistic structures is stressed so that students may absorb them into their language store.⁴³

Minimal use is made of the mother tongue in beginners' classes with the focus of attention being on Hebrew. However, if the teacher judges that a translation is necessary it will be provided. It is considered that translation is not as effective a method for teaching vocabulary as illustrating the meaning through functional uses.⁴⁴ In this way it is expected that students will grasp meaning through active use of the vocabulary. People speak in complete sentences - not isolated words. The teaching unit in the *ulpan* is the sentence.⁴⁵

Students are expected to participate in their own learning to form speech habits. At first, active involvement is through mechanical repetition of pattern and sentence transformations, both individually and in unison. However, much more emphasis is placed on communicative ability than on mechanical repetition. Conversation in all its forms is dealt with to enable the student to use grammatical structures and vocabulary in contexts other than those he has learned in the class. For example, dialogue may be memorized, guided, prepared or spontaneous. Question and answer sessions, descriptions and storytelling are also employed.⁴⁶ In addition to the blackboard, audio

⁴²Evans, p.4

⁴³ibid

⁴⁴Weinbeg Section F

⁴⁵Weinberg, Section F

⁴⁶ibid

visual aids are employed, such as drawings, posters, slides, tape cassettes, video players, and handbooks. The tape recorder is used for listening exercises, drilling of sample sentences, dialogues and in conjunction with 'sight and sound' methods.⁴⁷

Teachers are also trained to identify distinctive study disabilities which hamper the students, particularly the common problem of muddled speech which stems from the confusion of mother-tongue words with Hebrew terms (a result of literal translation). Lists of characteristic word disorders have been drawn up which cover almost all languages and will serve as a guide for the teacher in assisting students.⁴⁸

There is regular assessment of students' progress to determine whether study objectives have been met, and to spot teaching deficiencies. Beginners on five month *ulpan* have an exam at the end of each month and a final oral exam at the end of the course. On completion of studies the *ulpan* supervisor will present students with certificates.⁴⁹

Student Groupings - A Melting Pot Approach

The aim of the *ulpan* system, as we have noted, is to assimilate immigrants by teaching them the Hebrew language, the 'Key to Israel'.⁵⁰ Whilst many other countries would consider it desirable to have a homogeneous class composed of students of the same age, background and attainments, the *ulpan* does not, since its aim is to assimilate and to create a new identity for the immigrant. When immigrants of different backgrounds sit together in an *ulpan* class, they are replicating the social conditions in what Kodesh calls

⁴⁷ibid

⁴⁸Haramati, p.16

⁴⁹Weinberg, Section F [no page numbers]

⁵⁰Weinberg, Section A

'our *social laboratory* of a country.'⁵¹ If possible, students of the same mother tongue, age, educational and social backgrounds are put into separate classes.⁵² Equality of age is considered 'a drawback in an absorption class and in a social integration unit.'⁵³ The mixing of ages in a class, which may have students from as many as ten to fifteen countries, has been shown to create a family atmosphere which encourages all members to take an active part.⁵⁴

Before students begin an *ulpan* course they are given pre-tests to determine their starting level. They may be assigned to one of three stages: beginners, intermediate or advanced.⁵⁵ In the pre-tests applicants are probed as to their general knowledge of Hebrew and Judaism and it has been reported that students who had declared their total ignorance of the Hebrew language had been shown that they knew many hundreds of Hebrew words connected with religious feasts and practices, popular proverbs and so on.⁵⁶ (The concepts of Judaism are often expressed in Hebrew terminology.) If the student speaks Yiddish or Ladino, then it is even more likely that their passive knowledge of Hebrew will be significant.⁵⁷

Ability ranges vary widely and students who have problems keeping up are given as much individual assistance as possible. It is important that students play their part in attending classes regularly since irregular appearances will mar the congenial family-type atmosphere sought in the class.⁵⁸ There is a twofold challenge to teachers in the *ulpan*.

⁵¹op cit p.5

⁵²Kodesh, p.9

⁵³Kodesh, p.5

⁵⁴ibid

⁵⁵op cit Section C

⁵⁶Kodesh, pp 9-10

⁵⁷ibid

⁵⁸op cit, Section D

Firstly, a professional challenge to teach adults a new language, and secondly a social challenge to be responsible for unifying a class of different cultures and tongues. The successful teacher creates a congenial, relaxed atmosphere for group learning.⁵⁹

Study Frameworks

There are up to eight different frameworks⁶⁰ which students may access to study Hebrew in a way and at a time that is convenient to themselves.

- 1. **The Absorption Centre** - here immigrants live in for five months and receive 28 hours per week teaching in Hebrew. All provision is made for them so that they have no worries as regards food, lodgings and other requirements. Many Ethiopians have followed this framework.
- 2. **The Immigrants' Hostel *Ulpan*** - students receive the same amount of instruction as in 1, but are responsible for their own catering and other necessities.
- 3. **Kibbutz *Ulpan*** - this caters for 17-35 year olds. Students work for half a day and study for half a day. The kibbutz provides food, board and other services. There are approximately 60 kibbutz *ulpanim*.
- 4. **Non-Resident *Ulpan*** - these are usually run by the Ministry of Absorption, or the Jewish Agency in conjunction with local authorities. Non-resident *ulpan* permits working while learning Hebrew and also permits immigrants to live at home. The choice of morning or evening courses is given. Courses are as follows:

Non-Resident Ulpanim: Hours		Table 1
5 Months	28 classes per week	
5 Months	25 classes per week	
5 Months	16 classes per week	
1 Year	15 - 24 classes per week	

- 5. **Vocational Retraining *Ulpan*** - this type of *ulpan* is for those requiring vocational Hebrew because they wish to take up work in their original field, or are retraining

⁵⁹ibid
⁶⁰see Weinberg Section H, Kodesh pp 23-27, & Haramati pp 7-12

in a new one. It may be attended by doctors, nurses, engineers, accountants, marketing personnel, dentists, teachers, social workers technicians and so on. The duration of the course depends on the study level and the needs of the student. They are run by the Ministry of Absorption, the Ministry of Labour, and various other absorption bodies.⁶¹

6. *Ulpanit* (the diminutive form of *ulpan*) - these classes are less frequent and therefore less intensive than the *ulpan*. The number of lessons varies from 4-6 per week; if the number of lessons reach twelve, the institute is called *ulpan amami* (popular *ulpan*). The length of the course is indeterminate. Students come from a variety of sources: most are new immigrants who failed to gain access to a regular *ulpan* because of shortage of accommodation, or because of a lack of intellectual ability or because they could not afford the time, perhaps for work reasons. In addition to the new immigrants, those of longer standing may come in to brush up on their Hebrew. Civil servants may also come, usually new immigrants.⁶²

7. **Study Months** - these are attended by long-term immigrants, and also by government ministry employees. These courses provide enrichment in Hebrew history and students participate in social and cultural events. They are non-residential.

The Importance of Newspapers And Dictionaries For Learners in the *Ulpan*

Newspapers

Ulpanim make much use of newspapers which are especially designed for learners and are written in 'easy Hebrew'. In ascending order of difficulty they are: *Lamatchil*, *Shaar* and *Omer*. They have been likened to three stairs which have to be climbed in order to be able to read the general press.⁶³

⁶¹see Weinberg Section H, Kodesh pp 23-27, & Haramati pp 7-12

⁶²Weinberg, Section H & Kodesh pp 24-25

⁶³Solomonik, A. (1978) *Studying Hebrew in Israel*, p.40

*Lamatchil*⁶⁴ is a weekly eight page newspaper published especially for new immigrants by the Department for Adult Education of the Ministry of Education and Culture. Sections of the paper are suitable for new *ulpan* students, with words and expressions taken from the *ulpan* syllabus. The newspaper contains editorials, reports of political and economic interest, advertisements, and so on. On the easiest language level there are often short items of special interest for those studying Hebrew.

Lamatchil aims to interest all kinds of readers: there are sections for children, for adolescents and for women, as well as "do it yourself" corners, crosswords and other puzzles. Articles about Israel, *aliyah*, absorption, and readers' letters also appear. Sometimes articles provide help in reading the Hebrew script⁶⁵ and then continue without these helps. These are aimed at capturing the reader's attention so that he is prepared to continue reading without leaning on crutches. Difficult words may be explained in brackets by means of a simpler word or by one borrowed from another language which is generally familiar.

Shaar, also a weekly, is published by the Department for Adult Education. It is the second of the three stairs and is intended for those Israelis who can speak Hebrew but are unable to read or write it. To encourage such to read newspaper articles, and to accustom them to absorbing information and items on current social and political events, *Shaar* publishes the news using easy words and helps. *Shaar* differs from *Lamatchil* in that it concentrates on short items in different fields of knowledge, short stories, amusing events, and political and social happenings. This popular paper has a circulation of more

⁶⁴op cit p. 40

⁶⁵vowel helps

than forty thousand and is an invaluable source of information to newcomers. Because of its popularity it has increased in size from eight pages to 12-16 pages, providing sufficient material for easy reading for the whole week. The new immigrant is able to read *Shaar* at quite an early stage in his studies since the paper does not represent as many language difficulties as does *Lamatchil* which caters for a wider ability spectrum.

The third stair to be climbed in reading newspapers in easy Hebrew is provided by *Omer*,⁶⁶ a daily paper published by the *Histadrut*, Israel's General Labour Federation. The editions generally consist of four pages, printed in small letters with helps. An expanded edition (12 pages) appears on Fridays. Its main purpose is to provide fresh news and information on topical national and international events. When students have overcome the difficulty of reading *Omer* they are ready to begin reading the general Israeli press.⁶⁷

Dictionaries

There are many types of dictionary available to the learner ranging through English-Hebrew, Hebrew-English, Hebrew-English-French-German to professional technical dictionaries. In the appendix to this chapter,⁶⁸ The Employment Guidance Centre, Tel Aviv provides an example as to how the variety of dictionaries may be employed in the upper levels of *ulpan*. On the following page is a list of some of the technical dictionaries available. This illustrates the efforts put into teaching Hebrew as a second language and the variety of occupations immigrants have.⁶⁹

⁶⁶Solomonik, pp 41-42

⁶⁷Solomonik, pp 40-41 & Kodesh p. 13

⁶⁸Appendix to chapter 5, section 4

⁶⁹Solomonik, pp 21-23

**Dictionary of
Anatomical Terms,**
(Hebrew-Latin), The
Hebrew Academy,
Jerusalem, 1957.

**Dictionary of Bakery
Terms,**
(Hebrew-English-
French-German). The
Hebrew Academy,
1956-57. Ben Ezra D.

**Dictionary of
Botanical Terms,**
(Hebrew-Latin)
Masada, T.A., 1955,
985 terms

**Dictionary of
Cement,**
(Hebrew-English-
French-German)
Hebrew Academy and
Technion, 1969, 388
terms.

**Dictionary of
Insurance Terms,**
(Hebrew-English-
French-German), The
Hebrew Academy,
1961 .

**Dictionary of
Sewerage and
Sanitary Installation
Terms,** The Hebrew
Academy and Technion,
1965, 517 terms.

**Animals found in
Israel,**
(Hebrew-Latin-English
-French-German), The
Hebrew Academy,
1965.

Geographical Terms,
(Hebrew-English-
French-German)The
Hebrew Academy,
1971.

**Dictionary of
Hydrological Terms,**
(Hebrew-English-
French-German), The
Hebrew Academy and
Technion, 1971, 566
terms.

**Dictionary of
Strength of
Materials,**
(Hebrew-English-
French- German), The
Hebrew Academy and
Technion, 1968 472
terms.

**Dictionary of
Pedagogical Terms ,**
(Hebrew-English-
French- German), The
Hebrew Academy,
1961 Nashri, Zevi.

**Dictionary for
Physical Culture
Teachers,**
(Hebrew-English-
German), T.A., 1970.

**Dictionary of
Book-Keeping,**
(Hebrew-English), The
Hebrew
Academy, 1962.

**Dictionary of General
Technical Terms,**
(Hebrew-English-
French-German), The
Hebrew Academy,
1962.

3. *Ulpan Akiva* - A Special Case

*Ulpan Akiva*⁷⁰ in Netanya is worthy of a separate section because of its variety of study programmes.⁷¹ This *ulpan* was founded on 15 January 1951 in Nahariya and was one of the first three *ulpan* in Israel. Since its inception, Shulamith Katznelson its founder and director has been its guiding spirit. She is one of the leading pioneering figures in Israeli adult education, and has done much in removing barriers between Jews themselves and between Jews and members of different peoples and religions.

When the *Ulpan* moved from Nahariya to Netanya, shortly after it was founded, it was decided that it should be called *Ulpan Akiva* after an illiterate shepherd of the Roman era who, despite much opposition, learned to read and write at the age of forty and to become Rabbi Akiva 'one of the most respected figures in all Jewish history'.⁷² The story of Rabbi Akiva is regarded as a symbol for the students that it is never too late to learn and that perseverance profits. In its Hebrew teaching programme the *Ulpan* works in cooperation with and receives assistance from the Department of Adult Education of the Ministry of Education and Culture. The *Ulpan* also carries out special educational projects in cooperation with governmental and public bodies and with voluntary organisations from Israel and abroad. After the Six Day War in 1967, spoken Arabic and the Arab and Druze way of life were added to the study programme.

Since *Ulpan Akiva* commenced in 1951, more than 55,000 students from 127 countries have passed through its doors. From September 1990 to August 1991, 1462 students

⁷⁰Information gathered from personal interviews with Shulamitz Katznelson, Director of *Ulpan Akiva* (24.12.91), Asher Stern, Pedagogic Director *Ulpan Akiva* (24.12.91) in author's tape library and from *Ulpan Akiva in the 1980s* in *Am-Vasepher* [Nation & Book Magazine], Jerusalem, Vol. 3 1984 - translated from Hebrew by A. Stern

⁷¹Weinberg, Section G

⁷²Jalsor, N., *Ulpan Akiva's Scandinavian Connection*, (nd) from *Ulpan Akiva's* files, Netanya.

from 52 countries speaking languages as diverse as Amharic and Norwegian enrolled in the *Ulpan*. About 60% of these students were *olim* (immigrants) from what was formerly known as the Soviet Union.

Ulpan Akiva Student Profile 1990-1991 Table 2

COURSE OF STUDY	STATUS IN ISRAEL	AGE RANGE
<u>Hebrew Courses:</u>	New Immigrant 876	16 and under 456
20 Weeks 455	Resident 344	17 - 29 424
16 Weeks 114	Tourist 242	30 - 39 207
12 Weeks 374		40 - 49 230
8 Weeks 121	<u>Ulpan Residence</u>	50 - 59 103
24 Days 252	Students living in	60 and above 42
<u>Arabic Courses:</u>	415	Oldest student 78
123	Students commuting	Youngest 12
<u>Young Women Soldiers:</u>	1047	
23		

It is interesting to note the response of Ms Katznelson, the Director, to the question whether she thought that *olim* had greater motivation for learning a language than students in other nations?

Russian students coming into Israel were human beings deprived of identity. They think they are learning for the sake of coping with living in Israeli society, but when their subconscious is touched there is such an awakening of an inner spark. That is the secret of the Hebrew language revival.⁷³

Ulpan Akiva is an international centre for adult education whose primary purpose is:⁷⁴

⁷³Personal interview
⁷⁴Stern (1984) no page numbers, typescript of translation from Hebrew

A. To teach the Hebrew language, Jewish culture, knowledge of the Jewish people and the land of Israel at different levels and within various formats intended for a varied student audience of Israelis, tourists, temporary residents and new immigrants.

B. To create a learning community built upon study, teamwork and the encounter between Israeli Jews and diaspora Jews, between Jewish and non-Jewish Israelis, between Jews and non-Jews, all this within the framework of a shared social and cultural experience.

Lengths and Types of Courses

The *Ulpan's* Hebrew courses are based on regular courses lasting twenty-four days. Eleven such courses are held during a year. The *Ulpan's* full course lasts twenty weeks (five months) in accordance with the study programme of the Adult Education Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture. However, there is the opportunity to choose shorter courses of twelve weeks, eight weeks or 24 days, which courses are integral parts of the full course. All the classes function within a shared framework and cater for all levels of study, from complete beginners to advanced students.⁷⁵

An example of a special course is the **Hebrew for Hebrew Speakers Course**⁷⁶, which was originally created in *Ulpan Akiva* over twenty years ago and is designed for veteran

⁷⁵op cit

⁷⁶Akiva Prospectus 1992/93

(long standing) immigrants and for the native born Israeli (*Sabra*). It consists of parallel and integrated options:

- ☐ Reading comprehension
- ☐ Oral comprehension
- ☐ Improvement of written and oral self expression including grammar and elements of style
- ☐ Study of selected passages from Hebrew literature and the Bible
- ☐ Vocabulary
- ☐ Idioms and proverbs
- ☐ Reading of newspapers and other texts
- ☐ Spelling
- ☐ Cultural and social activities

On request the *Ulpan* can provide special advanced study courses, such as those for teachers of Hebrew as a second language, and courses for teachers from abroad who wish to follow the *Ulpan's* methodology.⁷⁷

Akiva Study Programmes⁷⁸

Classes take place each morning and last five hours. Four hours are devoted to language study and the fifth to lectures on topics such as Judaism, History of Zionism, History of the Hebrew language, folklore, Israeli folk dancing or Hebrew songs. Classes may also take place in the evenings on these topics. Speakers include politicians, scientists, experts on specific subjects, teachers and lecturers. The lectures are given in Hebrew and in English and when needed, in French, Spanish, Arabic, Russian and other languages. The timing of the lecture is fixed in accordance with the didactic needs of each class. More advanced classes have their Hebrew lectures before the mid-morning break, whereas the beginners classes have theirs immediately after the mid-morning break.

⁷⁷Stern, (1984) and Akiva Prospectus 1992-93

⁷⁸op cit

Ulpan Akiva Time Table***Table 4***

8.00-9.30am	Teacher conversation
9.40-10.30am	Writing new words
11.00-12.00pm	Cultural lecture or singing
12.10-1.00pm	Reading/conversation
1.00-2.00pm	Lunch
2.00-3.00pm	Conversation

Twice a week each class studies for two extra hours in the afternoon. In addition, study activities for Hebrew language learning are conducted in study groups a number of times a week in the afternoons and evenings. There are groups for speech, conversation, comprehension, watching closed circuit television (such as the series *Ivrit b'Siman Tov*) and for watching the news and other suitable programmes. Once a month students go on a one or two day trip to one of the regions of Israel such as Jerusalem, the Carmel, the Galilee, or the Golan. The average number of students in each class is ten, and a class never contains more than fifteen students. When the need arises, some students receive individual tuition from special teachers.

Textbooks and Teaching Aids⁷⁹

The basic teaching materials in the classes are a very wide selection of work papers which the teachers themselves have prepared. All the nationally accepted text books are used: those produced by the Adult Education Department of the Ministry of Education and Culture, those produced by the various universities, and those produced privately.

⁷⁹Stern, (1984) and personal interview with Ms Katznelson and Asher Stern

Once a month the *Ulpan* holds an exhibition of text books and reading books for home study. The students visit the exhibition together with their teachers and receive a detailed explanation of what to buy and how to use it. At the same time, displays of various publishing houses are shown. This enables the students to purchase, on the spot, books on a wide range of subjects pertaining to Israel. The students also make use of Hebrew newspapers of all standards provided by the *Upan*, ranging from *Shaar, LaMatchil* and *Omar* to the daily newspapers. There is a wide selection of teaching aids for teachers including pictures, overhead transparencies, slides, film-strips, films, and audio cassettes, and the use of video and closed circuit television.

***The Akiva Method*⁸⁰**

In the field of Israeli linguistic education, the term *Ulpan Akiva's method* has been widely used.⁸¹ When Ms Katznelson accepted the principalship in 1951 she said that she would attempt to inculcate a fresh spirit and motivation in her teaching method. She believed that speaking, reading and writing the language of the country, although of vital importance, were only a small part of the whole course. The sense of citizenship, the love of humanity and the desire to turn Israel into a shining example among the nations were equally important in her estimation.⁸²

The Akiva approach has been called 'socio-cultural',⁸³ and 'an intensive language program with particular emphasis on the affective domain of learning a language.'⁸⁴ The term 'affective domain' in this context includes the manner in which the

⁸⁰Stern, (1984) and personal interviews with Ms Katznelson and Asher Stern, and Weinberg Section H

⁸¹Sterne (1984) p.10 in translation of *Am-VaSepher* article

⁸²Ginsburgh, S.J., in Ver Strate Calvin p. 16

⁸³Stern (1984), p.10

⁸⁴Ver Strate Calvin, p.14

students' attitudes towards Israel (the country and the culture) are affected by the intensive course. The originality in the method lies in what occurs outside the classroom and in the integration of the material studied in the class and the outside-class activities.

In the *Ulpan* the student is given the opportunity not only to receive but also to give. It is believed that every student has more or less hidden talents, and by this unique approach these talents rise to the surface at some stage and provide him with considerable additional motivation. Some students are gifted singers, others are gifted at poetry, others have lived unusually interesting lives. All of these are given full expression in the approach adopted by *Ulpan Akiva*, when the classroom framework is too narrow to allow each person to express himself fully.⁸⁵

The study groups and the individual tuition outside the classroom enable the *Ulpan* to strengthen those needing more help. Some students need a greater emphasis on grammatical structures, others need more translation, and so on. Since these methods cannot be provided in the regular classroom framework, they are made available to those interested by means of personal meetings with the teacher. The broad development of the individual tuition method in the *Ulpan* is perhaps one of the original elements of the approach as applied to teaching staff. Today in the light of the great deal of experience that they have accumulated, a number of teachers have become experts in this subject and serve as regular support teachers. These 'private' lessons are given within the regular teaching periods or outside them - in accordance with the needs of the student.⁸⁶

⁸⁵Stern (1984)

⁸⁶op cit and personal interview with Ms Katznelson

Stern suggests that the secret of '*Ulpan Akiva's* method' is the ability to create a unique and special learning atmosphere.⁸⁷

Links with the Basques

Links with the Basques and *Ulpan Akiva* go back to 1976 when the Deputy Director General of the Israeli Ministry of Education and Culture, Arie Shoval, encouraged two prominent figures in the revival of the Basque language to come to Israel. One of these was a Franciscan monk, Imanol Berriatua, who was born and raised in the Basque Country and fought in the Civil War in Spain, after which he fled to Cuba for thirteen years. On his return he sought to maintain and preserve Euskara by teaching it to youngsters on a clandestine basis in the monastery where he lived. In the late 70s, when events in post-Franco Spain were still highly confused, *Ulpan Akiva* awarded Imanol a scholarship for three months' study at the *Ulpan*. This had far-reaching effects.⁸⁸

The following is an excerpt from a radio programme of 1 April 1989 in which Arie Shoval, Deputy Director General of the Ministry of Education and Culture, in an interview with Benny Hendel⁸⁹ tells of his contacts with the Basques:

Shoval: I made a proposal to Imanol Berriatua and Xavier Kinatana that we should serve as "a light unto the nations" - in other words, we would make them party to our own experience in the revival of the Hebrew language and would host them at one of our *Ulpans* so that they could learn our methodology. It was arranged that they would come to Israel two months

⁸⁷ibid

⁸⁸op cit pp.3-4

⁸⁹Transcript of radio programme from *Ulpan Akiva's* files

later and I came to the conclusion that if I went through formal channels, I wouldn't be able to help them very much, especially because of the political problems connected with the Basque region. So I thought to myself that I had to find an informal institution and my mind turned to Shulamith Katznelson, a winner of the Israel prize and Principal of Ulpan Akiva in Netanya. I went off to Netanya and met with Shulamith, told her the story of my visit to the Basque region and the contacts I had made there.

Hendel: She became awfully enthusiastic - that you don't have to tell me ...

Shoval: Naturally! I told Shulamith that we had to get Israel onto the international map (like in basketball ...).

Hendel: What year are you talking about?

Shoval: In 1977. She agreed immediately and said: I am prepared to entertain them here for three months' at the ulpan's expense so that they can learn Hebrew for purposes of studying the methodology of teaching a second language and seeing the concept and the method behind it, which they can put into practice in the Basque region.

Hendel: In a word - the method used by the ulpan is to teach the language through that same language and not by going via some other language?

Shoval: Correct. Imanol and Xavier came to Israel, met at my home with members of the Academy for the Hebrew Language and were overjoyed.

Imanol stayed here for three months, studied Hebrew at *Ulpan Akiva* and anyone who hasn't heard of the Zionistic speech made in Hebrew - at the end of three months of study of the language - by the Catholic monk, Imanol, in which he sang the praises of Israel, of *Ulpan Akiva*, of Shulamith Katznelson and of the State of Israel - has never heard a song of praise in his life!

Following his time at the *Ulpan*, Berriatua wrote a Basque language textbook for adults called 'A Student in Israel' which takes the form of a visit to Israel, with Lesson No. 6 being dedicated to *Ulpan Akiva* and to Shulamit Katznelson. Berriatua also wrote a number of articles in Basque about Israel and about *Ulpan Akiva*.⁹⁰

In the summer of 1982 at the time when the Basque Region had declared its autonomy, a group of 50 Basque educators came for an eight day visit to Israel, led by Imanol Berriatua. These future leaders in the fields of education and culture spent one and a half days at *Ulpan Akiva*. Later that year, the Basque Academy informed *Ulpan Akiva* that it had decided on the award of three scholarships, in addition to the two given by the *Ulpan* itself. As a result, five of the leading figures in the revival of the Basque language arrived in Israel for a six week seminar in September 1982. The syllabus for the seminar included the study of Hebrew in *ulpan* classes and the investigation of methods for teaching a second language. The most highly regarded teachers and lecturers in Israel, Professor Chaim Rabin, Professor Andrew Cohen, and Professor Rafael Nir provided assistance, as did the Israeli education system, including the Hebrew Language Academy,

⁹⁰The *Basque Connection*, The Jerusalem Post, Thursday December 16, 1982, p.5 & *Ulpan Akiva* publicity sheet

Educational Television, and the Adult Education Department at the Ministry of Education and Culture.⁹¹

On Wednesday, 12th April 1989 *Ulpan Akiva* took responsibility for hosting a delegation of seven members of the Government of the Basque Region of Spain and organising an itinerary for them. They included the Minister of Culture and Tourism, Joseba Argi, and Mrs Carmen Hermandia from the Prime Minister's office, who is in charge of the revival of the Basque language. This was the first time that a top level delegation from the Basque region involved in aspects of language, culture and tourism had visited Israel.⁹²

In consequence of these activities, the *Ulpan* has formed links with other minority languages, including Breton, Occitan, Catalan, Welsh, Irish and now Gaelic. This set of contacts has found expression in short reciprocal visits, specializations in minority languages by teachers at the *Ulpan*, the participation of the *Ulpan* Study Programme Coordinator, Asher Stern, in international conferences devoted to minority languages.⁹³

⁹¹Stern, (1989) p.5

⁹²Stern, A., press release Senior Delegation from the Basque Region on a Study Tour of Israel, April 1989, p.1

⁹³op cit p.6

Summary

In this chapter we have seen that there is general agreement as to the definition of an *ulpan*: that it is an institute for the intensive teaching of Hebrew, mainly for immigrants, to provide sufficient skills and knowledge - communicative, cultural and civic - to permit assimilation into Israeli society. Many *ulpan* features are now used in other intensive immersion courses outside of Israel.

Some changes have been made to *ulpan* methodology over the years, but the basic pattern remains: *Ivrit b'Ivrit* (Hebrew through Hebrew); conversation as the main feature of the lesson; the study of grammar through the use of structures, normally a complete sentence, and the reinforcement of these structures through dramatisation in class where the emphasis is on communicative ability rather than on mechanical repetition. Pre-course testing is always carried out, as well as in-course and end of course assessment to assist both learner and teacher.

Optimal conditions for rapid language learning in the *ulpan* are small classes of between 10-15 students, receiving 16-28 lessons per week. Frequently there are two teachers to a class, and in *Ulpan Akiva* a special tutor is available to permit slower learners to keep up with the rest of the class. The teaching method has evolved out of necessity and expediency rather than deliberate pre-planning and the mixing of ages in class has been shown to create a relaxed family atmosphere, which is important for the assimilative aspect of the course, as well as being good teaching practice. The five month

Government grants also take away much of the stress that new immigrants would otherwise suffer if having to look for employment whilst learning the language.

The *ulpan* has a highly practical and relevant content with a variety of study frameworks to cater for the varying circumstances and needs of students, and is not only a cognitive but also an affective learning experience.

Chapter 5 - Minority Language Exemplars

Introduction

In this chapter we shall examine language planning in three minority languages, Basque, Welsh and Irish, adopting as far as is suitable the threefold analytical structure used for the examination of Hebrew language planning: status planning, corpus planning and acquisition planning. The chapter commences with the Autonomous Community of the Basques in the north of Spain who, as mentioned in chapter 4, were greatly influenced by *ulpan* methodology. Following this, the Welsh situation is examined and it will be seen that Israeli methodology influences Welsh intensive courses. Irish is the third minority language looked at and whilst there is no developed intensive learning system for adults, Israeli influences may be seen in what intensive provision there is.

Euskara

1. Status Planning

There are some 2,095,200 people living in the Basque Autonomous Community in the north of Spain. Of this number, 500,000 (24.5%) say they are fluent and literate in Euskara, and a mixed multitude of 300,000 (14.3%) say they have difficulty in speaking or reading or writing Euskara.¹

The post civil war revival of Basque began in earnest in the 1950s² with the return to activity of the Academy (Royal Academy from 1976) of the Basque Language and the first post-war clandestine *ikastolas*.³ After the death of Franco in 1975 the Basque people enjoyed greater freedom to promote their culture and language and public demonstrations and documents of the time were particularly concerned with three areas of Basque language revival: education, mass media and administration.⁴ Educational demands included the extension of Basque medium and/or subject teaching to the whole of primary and secondary teaching in the state sector especially. Full university provision in Basque was also demanded. As regards the mass-media, the most pressing demands were for Basque language television, newspapers and more radio time.⁵ In the domain of public administration there was a general desire that Basques should be able to carry out transactions in their native language.⁶ Therefore, the language planning goals which were most desired post-Franco were status planning ones. Gardner states that 'very language oriented Basques'⁷ desired corpus planning goals such as a new standard grammar and dictionary, more technical dictionaries and more development work to be

¹Sagardoy, Pablo and Urdangarin, Josean (1990) Collection of Data for a Language Planning Map, Department of Education, Universities and Research, Basque Government: Vitoria - Gasteiz.

²Gardner, N., Language Planning in the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country 1975-89, Gobierno Vasco: Vitoria, p.2

³*Ikastolas* are private schools which were proscribed in Franco's time.

⁴Gardner, op cit, p.4

⁵ibid

⁶ibid

⁷op cit p..5

done on the new written standard known as *batua*. However, he suggests that these demands were regarded as day-dreams by many.⁸

The three areas, education, mass media and administration, benefited from various legislative measures enacted by the Government, the most basic being:⁹

1. The 1978 Spanish Constitution which permits local native languages to be declared official;
2. The 1979 Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country;
3. The 1982 Law for the Normalisation of Basque.

Article 15 of The Basic Law for the Normalisation of the Use of Basque states:

The Parliament and Government will adopt those measures necessary which will tend to the progressive generalisation of bilingualism in the educational system of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country.¹⁰

The Government will adopt those measures that will lead to a guarantee of a real possibility, in equality of conditions, of possessing sufficient practical knowledge of Basque at the end of the period of compulsory schooling and that will ensure the official use of Basque, making the same a vehicle of normal expression, both in internal and external activities, and in administrative acts and documents.¹¹

⁸ibid

⁹Gardner op cit, p.6

¹⁰Article 15 of the Basic Law of the Standardisation of the Use of Basque, (1982), p.13 (English version)

¹¹Article 17 of the Basic Law of the Standardisation of the Use of Basque, p.14 (English version)

To fulfil the requirements of the law, the education department of the Basque Government sees itself as having two roles:¹² firstly, duties it must carry out on its own with its own resources, and secondly, the influence it must have on other institutions, companies and societies as adviser, guide and promoter. Officials perceive their first duty to be that of information gatherer in order to obtain an accurate assessment of the language atmosphere of schools.

The following criteria are used to determine the language atmosphere of a school:¹³

- The usual language of communication of students outside the classroom
- An index of teachers' language competence and peer language
- Students' competence in Spanish and Basque
- Language data about students' families: dominant language and percentages
- Basque language sensitivity and dynamism: student involvement with Basque

The above information may be gathered at differing levels and intra-school and extra-school comparisons made. From the information gathered, it may be possible to identify meaningful activities and to aid schools who lack them.

The second of the education department's roles is to influence, and the following areas were identified as areas for development:¹⁴

- **Other government departments:** provide language criteria for their activities

¹²Personal interview with Jose Mari Berasategi, Government Officer responsible for the application of the Law for the Normalisation of Basque, Vitoria-Gasteiz (11.2.91) in author's tape library & in Artola & Berasategi, (June 1986) Basquising School Atmosphere, Gasteiz: Department of Education, Basque Government. p.3

¹³Artola & Berasategi, p.4

¹⁴op cit pp 7-8

- **Provincial Councils:** give criteria for language matters in council organized activities, eg summer camps, sports, cultural performances.
- **Town Councils:** show them the importance of investing in activities which can affect school atmosphere.
- **Parents' Associations and Federations:** spread information that activities (sports, handcrafts etc) are more important than organizing Basque lessons.
- **Cultural Associations:** provide aid
- **Companies and Societies:** remind them of the official status of both Spanish and Basque.
- **Parents' Basque Sensitization:** decide upon the sort of theoretical and practical information to spread to parents to give them better understanding and acceptance of bilingualism, and make it possible for that information to reach parents.

Other areas in which the Education Department fulfils its role of influencing are in:¹⁵

- providing bilingual signs, without any pictographic system;
- ensuring that instructions and visible messages of new technologies (computers etc) are bilingual;
- specifying minimal language conditions to be fulfilled in documents sent out from the Department of Education.

Some specific examples of Government provision for Basque are the commencement of Basque writing competitions for the 14-18 age group with 120 prizes of holidays with 20,000 pesetas (approximately £100) spending money. The Education Department has started a boarding school to offer children whose usual atmosphere is Spanish, the opportunity to spend two weeks 'living' in Basque.¹⁶

¹⁵op cit p. 13-14

¹⁶Personal interview with Jose Mari Berasategi, Government Officer responsible for the application of the Law for the Normalisation of Basque, Vitoria-Gasteiz (11.2.91) in author's tape library

It is evident that the Government Department of Education is playing an active role in status planning.

2. Euskara Corpus Planning

The Royal Academy of the Basque Language holds an important place in corpus planning:

Corpus planning is nowadays largely carried out by linguists and, where necessary, subject specialists and this is certainly what is happening in the Basque Country where the Royal Academy of the Basque Language is regarded as the ultimate arbiter on language-internal matters.¹⁷

The final products of corpus planning are writing systems, dictionaries, word-lists, standard grammars and style-books.¹⁸ Such products, of course, are of little use unless they are published, promoted and used: this is one of the ways in which status and corpus planning interact in the Basque Country:

... but, of course, status planners also need the corpus planners: almost every new status planning project in the Basque Country (whether it is producing bilingual official forms, school signing or a Basque language television channel) has required some corpus planning, at the very least to provide a suitable vocabulary.¹⁹

¹⁷Gardner, N. (1990), Goodwill, Language Policies and Language Planning, Gobierno Vasco: Vitoria p.21

¹⁸ibid

¹⁹op cit, p.22

There are three language planning bodies which provide a service for the whole of the Basque country as regards corpus matters:

1. The Royal Academy of the Basque Language, which has already been referred to and which is presently preparing a series of new general dictionaries;
2. UZEI, which is primarily concerned with specialized dictionaries, and has acted as a coordinating body for specific subject areas;
3. A central coordinating body of the Basque Government which provides terminologies for administrative bodies.²⁰

3. Euskara Acquisition Planning

The Basque Government has been very active in providing opportunities for children and adults to acquire the Basque language, and whilst it would have been an interesting exercise to discuss how official school language policy for Basque language acquisition could inform present Gaelic language acquisition in schools time does not permit, and the following description illustrating the workings of one primary and one secondary school must suffice, after which we shall continue to pursue the main focus of our study by examining the work of HABE in the adult learning sector.

According to official language policy within the Autonomous Community all students up to university level have to carry out their studies in one of three bilingual teaching models:²¹

1. Model A = Spanish medium schooling with Basque as subject
2. Model B = Both Spanish and Basque as medium and subject

²⁰Gardner, (1990) p. 26

²¹Data on the implantation in Primary and Secondary schools of teaching of and in the official languages (Basque and Spanish) of the Autonomous Community of the Basque Country (30.10.90), Dept. of Education, Gobierno Vasco: Vitoria p.1

3. Model D = Basque medium teaching with Spanish as subject.

Model X is used to refer to school programmes only in Spanish: this model is no longer permitted for whole classes. Those receiving model X education are individual exemptions. Models A,B, and D above can inform the Gaelic school context.

Amari Berri Primary School

Amari Berri Primary School in San Sebastian²² is a show-case school with innovative approaches. It classes itself as a model B school (a bilingual school) The stated aim of the school is to provide children with a wide education and to ensure they are well-balanced personally and socially. Most of the pupils entering the school are not Basque speakers, but the school believes that such children achieve as well as, if not better than children put into model D (Basque medium) in other schools. The school staff do not believe in stressing the children by forcing them into a totally Basque environment where they would be insecure and confused. The philosophy is not to promote the language at the expense of the child.

Amari Berri also uses a variety of strategies for teaching Basque:

- **Radio Station:** The school has its own radio station, which broadcasts each school day. Every morning a particular class is responsible for broadcasting the news on the school radio - which may also be picked up by locals in the neighbourhood. Sometimes the broadcasts are in Spanish. Sketches or other pieces of work done in class may be performed on the radio.
- **Puppets:** Puppets are used to enact simple personal problems in Basque that might confront the children in class and elsewhere, eg when a child accidentally knocks someone's pencil off a desk.

²²Personal interview with Eli Alba Head Teacher in San Sebastian (15.2.91) in author's tape library and in Maclean, *More Facts About Lesser Languages*, *TES* (5.3.91) p.13 and Maclean, *Euskara le Gàire*, *The Scotsman Weekend* (13.4.91) p.11

- **Cartoons:** These cartoons have no words, but do have a taped accompaniment. Sketches based on the cartoons are enacted when the children have become sufficiently familiar and confident with the material.
- **Video Watching and Dubbing:** Pupils watch a Basque video - it may be anything from a soap to a film. After viewing the video, they dub their own words onto it.
- **Video Making:** Sketches are recorded on video in the recording studio.

*Secondary School: Elgoibar*²³

This area of the Basque country is a stronghold of *Euskara*. The secondary school is a state one founded about twelve years ago by teachers from about a half-dozen *ikastolas* (private Basque schools) round about. The *ikastola* teachers were encouraged to sit the state exams and become civil servants permitting them to teach in the state school. Because of the different administrative superstructure in Spain it was possible to elect a Basque speaking headteacher and it became a Basque school. The school philosophy towards the promotion of the language is one of consultation and goodwill towards the parents, and never force.

Twelve years ago, all teaching was through the medium of Spanish; today it has three model D classes in first year, one model A, and one model A in name, which in reality is a model B.

²³Personal interview with Andres Aberdi, Head of Basque Language, Elgoibar Secondary School (14.2.91) in author's tape library

The following is a breakdown of the classes in this school as at January 1991:

Breakdown of classes Elgoibar Secondary School

Table1

Year	Model D	Model B	Model A
1 (15yrs)	3 classes (78 pupils)	1 class (16)	1 class (30)
2 (16yrs)	2 (70)	-	1 (38)
3 (17yrs)	3 (100)	-	2 (48)
4 (Upper 6th)	2 (50)	-	1 (42)
No. of classes	10	1	5

As pupils work their way up the bilingual primary system the number of Model B pupils will increase. The teachers hoped that it would be possible for Model B pupils to integrate into Model D after 2/3 years. With another 12 secondary schools in the area hoping to run Model B programmes the outlook for the survival of Basque is optimistic.

The Basque language teaching methodology in Elgoibar is in the process of change, because of educational reforms underway. In 1991 the school was an academic one, but with new government proposals underway a wider range of pupils will come to the school and an eclectic approach will then be more suitable.

HABE

HABE, which stands for *Helduen Euskalduntze Eta Berreuskaldunterzerako Erakundea* - Institute for the *Alfabetizacion*²⁴ and *Reeuskaldunizacion*²⁵ of Adults, was created on 4 October 1981. It is funded by the Basque Government and is an autonomous public organization which comes under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Culture of the Basque Government.²⁶

The Government thought that efforts to recover the language should move in two directions: the educational system and the adult population.²⁷ To fulfil the second initiative HABE was formed:

The new organisation would only have one concern, the teaching of Basque and Basque literacy to adults. That is to say people who have already left [school] and that never had a chance to learn Basque let alone become literate in the language.²⁸

On 25 November 1983, soon after its inception, HABE underwent a significant change when the Basque Parliament approved legislation which permitted the creation of an institute of Basque teaching and literacy to adults, and the regulation of Basque teaching centres. The target group HABE was to be involved with was:

²⁴making people literate in Basque

²⁵teaching of Basque to those who do not speak it

²⁶HABE - information pack (1989), HABE:Donostia - San Sebastian , p. 11

²⁷HABE - Personal interview with Josu Perales, HABE Inspector in HABE head offices, San Sebastian (12.2.91) and unfinished internal document from HABE p.2 , photocopy in author's possession

²⁸ibid

...people who have turned sixteen, especially civil servants, university students, working people, youngsters who have not got their first occupation, housewives etc.²⁹

Since its creation HABE has created its own *euskaltegis* - Basque language learning centres for adults - and provided material for teaching and assessment in the *alfabetizacion* and *reeuskaldunizacion* programmes, and offers assistance to other *euskaltegis* not directly run by HABE. It has also created its own group of teachers and provides assistance to other teaching staffs.³⁰

To achieve its goals, HABE relies on two governmental bodies: the Main Board and the Academic Council. The General Director and President of HABE are members of both bodies. The Main Board, among other things, ensures that HABE's objectives are met. The Academic Council makes proposals of an academic and pedagogic nature to the Main Board and the General Director. The General Director is directly responsible for the daily activities of HABE and is the Cultural Adviser in the Basque Government.

HABE provides three services:³¹ The Applied Glotodidactic Service, The Service of Inspection, Economy and Administration, and The Service of Juridical Matters.

1. **The Applied Glotodidactic Service:** This service deals with the programming of the various stages of the learning of Basque; the didactic assistance given to the teachers and directors of the *Euskaltegis*; the creating of pedagogic material used in the various stages of learning; and the publishing of magazines and audiovisual

²⁹ibid

³⁰ibid

³¹op cit p.13

material for teachers and students. The Applied Glotodidactic Service is made up of four sections: *Euskaldunizacio*n, *Alfabetizacio*n, Publications, and Resources.

2. **The Service of Inspection, Economy and Administration:** The Service of Inspection, Economy and Administration consists of two Sections and its functions include: inspecting and supervising the running of the *Euskaltegis*; coordinating the policy regarding subsidies; promoting new *Euskaltegis*.³²
3. **The Service of Juridical Matters:** The Service of Juridical-Matters deals with the various legal and labour aspects of HABE.³³

Publications

As part of *euskaldunizacio*n and revival of the language for adults, HABE produces and offers an abundance of didactic material and a wide selection of back-up resources. The didactic material can be divided into two categories. In the first, HABE publishes information about the *alfabetizacio*n and *euskaldunizacio*n programmes and the didactic material that teachers and students may use at each stage of the learning of the language. In the second category, HABE produces a vast selection of written and audiovisual material to be used as back-up resources in the learning of Basque. This includes five magazines, published to aid teachers and students. In addition, HABE offers perhaps the best-equipped library in language teaching in the Basque Country with a selection of 8,000 books, and more than two hundred magazine subscriptions.³⁴ Below is a brief description of the magazines and the audiovisual materials:

³²ibid

³³ibid

³⁴HABE, p.13

Magazines³⁵

1. **HABE** - is a bi-monthly magazine, mainly for students with articles written in varying degrees of difficulty.
2. **HABEKO MIK** - is a bi-monthly comic magazine, with two special editions published yearly, and is claimed to be very useful in the learning of Basque.
3. **ZUTABE** - is published quarterly and is primarily for teachers of Basque. It contains articles dealing with subjects related to language teaching, and may be referred to as the main outlet in the Basque Country for information on the most recent investigations that have been conducted world-wide.
4. **UNESCOREN ALBISTARIA** - this monthly publication is the Basque version of the Unesco Post and is aimed both at those interested in furthering their proficiency in the Basque language, and those interested in extending their knowledge in science and technology.
5. **ITZULPEN SAILA** - is a quarterly magazine in which the most recent contributions from world-wide research in language learning, pedagogy, sociolinguistics, etc. are published.

Audiovisual Materials³⁶

Audiovisual materials are produced to supplement material in the learning and extension of Basque. Although part of this material is available for anyone to use, the bulk of it is offered in loan format to the *euskaltegis* on request. This audiovisual material consists of songs, poems, documentaries and comics.

The video programme BAIHORIXE was produced for adults who have recently begun to learn Basque. It is made up of thirty units half an hour long, and is intended for those students who have just completed level one of *euskaldunizacìon*. The video programme,

³⁵HABE, p.19

³⁶op cit, p. 21

which was produced primarily for those attending *euskaltegis*, has also been developed for television.

Subsidies

A large sum of money has been invested in the *alfabetizacion* and *euskaldunizacion* programmes.³⁷

HABE Funding		Table 2
Year	Pesetas (millions)	
1984	490	
1985	700	
1986	1,000	
1987	1,146	
1988	1,236	

There are different kinds of subsidies³⁸ depending on the type of *euskaltegi*. **Public *Euskaltegis*** include the four which are owned and controlled by HABE, one of which is a boarding school. **Municipal *Euskaltegis*** are included in this category and in their case HABE contributes substantially by paying teachers' salaries' costs, as well as the cost of the didactic material. The students contribute 20% of the costs. HABE have estimated that the average subsidy in 1988 was 181 pesetas per hour of class for each student in Public *Euskaltegis*.³⁹ **Official Private *Euskaltegis*** are controlled by private concerns and enjoy a similar relationship with HABE as the Municipalities. The Official Private *Euskaltegis*' subsidy depends on the number of students and class hours. However, students pay 50% of the cost. A **Free Private *Euskaltegi*** is one which is established

³⁷HABE, p.17
³⁸HABE, p.23
³⁹ibid

by an independent group other than HABE or the Municipalities. The Free Private *Euskaltegis*, in which students pay 60% of the cost, are subsidised according to the number of students and class hours. Their number is declining.

The following table illustrates the help given by HABE to *euskaltegis* and the tremendous increase in language learning in the Basque region of Spain:

HABE 1981-1988

Number of *Euskaltegis* and Enrolments⁴⁰

Table 3

Year	HABE	Municipal	Official Private	Special Agreement	Free Private	Total	Enrolments	Hours
1981-1982	4	3	-	3	191	201	18,000	4,160,570
1982-1983	4	12	9	4	161	190	25,000	6,418,485
1983-1984	4	14	12	4	177	211	40,000	9,831,207
1985-1986	4	19	11	7	175	216	45,000	11,386,883
1986-1987	4	28	15	12	173	232	50,000	12,900,625
1987-1988	4	34	20	12	161	231	77,488	13,644,674
1988-1989	4	37	23	14	108	186	58,582	13,258,435

Each Learning Centre has to fulfil certain conditions⁴¹ before it can be accredited by HABE. As well as Health and Safety requirements the Centre must have at least three rooms, a teachers' staffroom, and an assembly hall, each of 20sq metres minimum size. There must be four qualified teachers, with twenty hours teaching per teacher per week. The minimum class size is twelve and the maximum fifteen for *alfabetizacion*, and twelve minimum and twenty-five maximum for *euskaldunizacion*.

Each Centre must provide a syllabus for *alfabetizacion* for all twelve stages, and where a new centre wishes to commence, the staff hold discussions with HABE for about a month before any students come in. The methodology used in each *euskaltegi* is

⁴⁰HABE information brochure 1989, p.17

⁴¹Personal interview with Josu Perales, HABE Inspector in HABE head offices, San Sebastian (12.2.91) in author's tape library and in Maclean, R.G., *A dh'Ionnsaidh Cùrsa Bhogaidh Ghàidhlig*, An Comunn Gaidhealach: Stornoway (1993) p.15

decided by the staff. There is usually a balance between a grammatical approach and a communicative one.⁴²

One *euskaltegi* in San Sebastian adopted the following plan:⁴³

Sample Euskaltegi Syllabus

Table 4

CORPUS		
Grammar	Function	Accuracy
(Structures)	(Situations)	(Spelling etc.)
FLUENCY:	Free Practice Controlled Practice (Creative Speech) (Rehearsed speech)	:REGISTERS
COMMUNICATIVE ACTS		
Integration of 4 skills of Reading, Writing, Listening, Talking		

Since the creation of HABE *euskaltegis* have become better organized and directed, and the teaching staff more professional and stable so that there are now more than 1,500 teachers who teach Basque to adults. In 1988, HABE provided 1,236 million pesetas (about £6.5 million) in subsidies.⁴⁴

Prior to the creation of HABE, many efforts had been made to promote the *alfabetizacion* and *euskaldunizacion* of adults. These initiatives were attempted with

⁴²ibid
⁴³Personal interview with Josu Perales, HABE Inspector in HABE head offices, San Sebastian (12.2.91) and in Maclean (1993) p.15
⁴⁴HABE, p.23

very little help and very few resources. The teachers gave themselves to their work and consciousness of the Basque language was greatly raised.⁴⁵ However, the learning rate was slow. With two hours of classes daily (a system that was very common even in the early years of HABE) six or seven years were needed to complete the process of *euskaldunizacion*. Now, with the introduction of intensive and communicative methods an adult can complete the process of *euskaldunizacion* in a period of one to two years.⁴⁶

Reeuskaldunizacion

For *Reeuskaldunizacion* (the learners' programme) the 12 stages are divided into 4 levels.⁴⁷

Learning Basque: 12 Stages (4 Levels)

Table 5

12		
11		
10	400-500 hours	EGA Certificate
9		
8th stage	100-125 hours	
7th stage	100-125 hours	C Level
6th stage	100-125 hours	
5th stage	100-125 hours	B Level
4th stage	100-125 hours	
3rd stage	100-125 hours	A Level
2nd stage	100-125 hours	
1st stage	100-125 hours	

Level A - The student achieves a threshold level: he understands quite a lot and is able to speak in 'easy' Basque.

⁴⁵ibid
⁴⁶ibid
⁴⁷Personal interview in Basque Government Buildings Vitoria (11.2.91) with N. Gardener, Basque Education Department - Examinations and Teachers, in author's tape library and in Maclean (1993) pp 13-14

Level B - This is a step further towards deeper and better understanding. Students become better at writing as well.

Level C - Students approach the level of native speakers. Some mistakes are still made, some gaps must be filled and speaking must be improved.

EGA (*Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria*): Proficiency in Basque - Students reach the level of native speakers. On average, it has been found that students can attain this level after between 1200 - 1500 hours, but it is up to students to accelerate or slow down their own pace.

There are exams every 125 hours and it is estimated it will take about 1500 hours to complete the process of *Reeuskaldunizac*ion.

***Alfabetizac*ion**

There are two levels for Basque speakers who wish to become literate in order to attain the EGA, an examination akin to the English 'A' level.⁴⁸ It is reckoned that 400 hours of classroom instruction are necessary to achieve the EGA standard. The two levels of *Alfabetizac*ion are designed to meet the varying requirements of students: some are more cultivated in the language than others and wish a high degree of literacy; some may require reading skills for pleasure, others for job requirements.

First Level - The First Level course takes the student to the level where he or she can communicate adequately. It is sufficient for those who do not need to use Basque in their jobs.

Second Level - This course takes a student to a point where he can give an answer to matters of general culture in the domains of the four language skills. If the student passes his exam, he will get the EGA.

⁴⁸ibid

20Language Courses

HABE offers the following courses:⁴⁹

1. **Intensive** - five hours per day and one stage per month. In theory it would take a student one year to achieve the level of native speaker.
2. **Semi-intensive** - Two to three hours per day. It would take a student about three years to reach native speaker level.

The following permutations are being implemented:

1. **Twelve Months:** Two intensive courses of five months duration each. One of them to be at a boarding centre for an Intensive Summer Course.
2. **Eighteen Months:** Two intensive courses of five months each, with an Intensive Summer Course in between.
3. **Two Years:** Two intensive courses of five months duration each, and two semi-intensive courses of five months each.
4. **Three Years:** Six courses of five months duration each.

⁴⁹Personal interview with Josu Perales, HABE Inspector in HABE head offices, San Sebastian (12.2.91), unpublished internal paper from HABE and in Maclean (1993) p.15

Summary

In this section of the chapter we have discussed Basque language planning and examined developments in status, corpus and acquisition planning. It is evident that the granting of autonomy to the Basque Community and of official status to their language permitted resources to be allocated and programmes to be developed which greatly enhanced, amongst other things, the uptake of the learning of Basque as a second language.

However, legislation by itself is not sufficient cause to maintain a minority language - *leges sine moribus vanae* - the will of a society is necessary to fulfil the outcomes which a law may permit or demand.

The intensive courses consisting of five hours per day, five days per week emulate the methodological cornerstone of Hebrew language learning, which indicates the influence of the *ulpan* approach amongst the Basques. Indeed, it is interesting to note the similarities and contrasts between the two approaches:

Similarities:

1. Each language has official status both as a statutory language and an official working language
2. Each has government-sponsored language learning
3. Each has an overarching body to care for and control language learning
4. Each has a language academy
5. Each has adopted a 'straight-through' system where students may begin at level zero or slot in further up the structure according to ability levels. There is no learner-native speaker divide.

6. Each country has a variety of learning frameworks to meet students' needs
7. Each uses the target language as the language of instruction
8. Each tests students formally every 125 hours or approximately each month
9. Each has published both general and terminological dictionaries
10. Each has published materials which cater for different levels of language ability - the Israeli newspapers, the Basque magazines and comics
11. Each has produced a video/television series for learners

Contrasts:

One important difference is that the Basques do not appear to emphasise assimilation, perhaps no great surprise for they are an autonomous area with no influx of outsiders to upset language balances. Another interesting difference is that, in the past, the Basque people and language were persecuted, whereas for the Jewish people persecution does not appear to have been directed at the language *per se*, but at themselves and their religion.

Welsh

The principality of Wales with a resident population of 2,835,073 in 1991⁵⁰ and an area of 8,019 square miles has some 508,098 (18.7%) speakers of Welsh according to the 1991 Census, a fall of 45.3% since 1901 (929,824) and 48% since 1911 (977,366).⁵¹ The decline in numbers of Welsh speakers may be attributed to seasons of prosperity and poverty. The prosperity of the South Wales coalfields in the early 1900s 'attracted an influx of immigrants to work in the area with consequent anglicising influences on many of the mining valleys.'⁵² The poverty of the depression years of the 1920s and 1930s forced 'thousands of Welsh men and women to leave the country in search of work in England and beyond.'⁵³ As a result, between 1911 (977,366) and 1951 (714,688) the total number of Welsh-speakers decreased by over a quarter of a million (262,680).⁵⁴ The overall picture, therefore, since the beginning of the century is of a steady and sharp decline in the number of Welsh-speakers until 1971 when the rate of decline was 'spectacularly arrested because of a very substantial growth in adult Welsh learners.'⁵⁵ The substantial growth in learners can be linked to the emergence of courses on a full-time basis.⁵⁶

4. Welsh Status Planning

Welsh in theory has validity with English in law and administration.⁵⁷ In public administration, official forms are generally available in Welsh, signposts and traffic

⁵⁰1991 Census Report for Wales

⁵¹1901 & 1911 National Census Reports.

⁵²Jones, E., *Economic Change and the Survival of a Minority Language* in *Lesser Used Languages - Assimilating Newcomers* (1992), Joint working Party on Bilingualism: Dyfed, p. 12

⁵³ibid

⁵⁴ibid

⁵⁵Jones, G., R., *Contemporary Writing in the Welsh Language*, in *For a Celtic Future* (1983) Ed. Ó Luain, The Celtic League: Dublin, p.156

⁵⁶Personal interview with Helen Prosser, Welsh for Adults National Coordinator, in Welsh Joint Education Committee buildings Cardiff (29.4.93) in author's tape library

⁵⁷McCrum, R., Cran and MacNeil (1992) *The Story of English*, Faber & Faber: London, p.49

notices are bilingual, and the language is used in the courts. The Welsh Courts Act of 1942 permitted Welsh persons to use Welsh in a court of law, albeit that the evidence had to be translated into English. Since 1945 Welsh identity has been strengthened through the creation of various institutions and agencies such as the Welsh Office, the Welsh Arts Council, the Welsh Books Council, and the Welsh Development Agency.⁵⁸ The Welsh Language Society, founded in 1962, brought a measure of militancy to the cause of preserving the language and was instrumental in reviving awareness of its serious plight.⁵⁹ In 1964 the Labour Government honoured a pledge to appoint a secretary of State for Wales with departmental responsibility, and subsequent Labour and Conservative administrations promoted an extensive transfer of functions to the Welsh Office.⁶⁰ The Hughes-Parry Report of 1965 recommended that Welsh should be admitted in government and administration according to the principle of equal validity with English, but not equal status, which would have allowed its use for all official purposes.⁶¹ In 1967 the Welsh Language Act was enacted, following which there was remarkable growth in Welsh language education and wider use of Welsh by the media.⁶² The Act, amongst other things, decreed that official forms from central and local government be made available in Welsh or bilingually; that any person may communicate with government departments in Welsh and receive a reply in Welsh. The 1967 Act is regarded as a milestone, but it is observed that 'Welsh still has a very inferior status as compared with English.'⁶³ A second Welsh Language Act in 1993 set up the Welsh Language Board, but some are disappointed that Welsh was not declared the official language of Wales and that utilities (BT, Gas, Electricity etc.) were excluded although the WLB has power to prepare guidelines for these bodies.⁶⁴

⁵⁸Enc. Brit. Vol 29 p.128

⁵⁹ibid

⁶⁰Enc. Brit. Vol 29 p.128

⁶¹Stephens, p. 175

⁶²ibid

⁶³ibid

⁶⁴Telephone interview with Hugh Owen, Welsh Language Board Officer (18.4.94) & *New Welsh Language Board* in *Contact Bulletin* Vol. 10: No. 3 p. 2

A referendum in 1979 to give Wales the opportunity of an elected single-chamber national assembly produced only an eleven per cent *Yes* vote. The massive defeat was attributed to concerns on the part of many non-Welsh speakers that a Welsh Assembly would be dominated by an 'all-Welsh professional lobby which would impose language requirements for all public employment and so blight the employment prospects of their children in Wales.'⁶⁵ In the 1980s, increased immigration of employment-seeking monolingual English speakers into rural Wales⁶⁶ created heightened awareness of the vulnerability of the language when set against the free play of market forces.

Not only have demographic changes influenced the number of Welsh speakers, but also the advent of mass media and the improvement of communication routes, with the resulting accessibility of rural communities. Despite the demographic changes, there were in 1983 about 65 Welsh language neighbourhood papers, each with an average circulation of about 1,000, with a combined readership of some 150,000.⁶⁷ Ó Luain states:

On the whole, the *papurau bro* [the Welsh newspapers] represent what Professor Bobi Jones is fond of referring to as a patois culture, but it disseminates a sense of Welshness, a feeling of belonging, among a wide cross section of Welshmen.⁶⁸

Wales has its own television channel broadcasting mainly in Welsh. Language activists, however, have pointed out that whilst a British state finances *Sianel Pedwar Cymru* (S4C), and whilst there is a television set in nearly every home in Wales, the dominant language of this medium is English.⁶⁹

⁶⁵Hindley, p.224

⁶⁶Enc. Brit. Vol 29 p.128

⁶⁷Cathal Ó Luain, p.170

⁶⁸op cit p. 171

⁶⁹Hindley, p.222

Provision for Welsh-medium teaching to secondary level is now good wherever it is desired⁷⁰ and the state supports 'all-Welsh' schools wherever sufficient parents request them in English-speaking districts.⁷¹ In 1990 a new curriculum required the teaching of the Welsh language in parallel with English up to age 16. In rural western Wales, schools controlled by Welsh nationalist activists made Welsh the sole medium of instruction in the lower primary, which drew objections from families who spoke English at home.⁷²

As was acknowledged by the Basques, educational policy no matter how effective 'can only generate ability for a potential use of language'⁷³ and whilst schools and adult classes are important sources of bilinguals, the Welsh recognise that they do not determine the domain distribution of language.⁷⁴ What is desired is the stabilisation of societal bilingualism by ensuring that areas where Welsh is spoken are protected and strengthened through policies which 'reduce to a minimum domains in which English presence is spreading.'⁷⁵ This may be carried out through employment policies, the control of the siting and the size of factories, the control of housing developments, the planned development of the language in public administration and on television.⁷⁶ 'It is a decision by Welsh men and women that the native language is essential to their authenticity as a distinct people and must therefore be re-established in a central rather than a marginal position.'⁷⁷

⁷⁰Hindley, p.223

⁷¹ibid

⁷²Enc. Brit. World Data Annual 1990. p.182

⁷³Jones, Bedwyr Lewis, *Welsh: Linguistic Conservatism and Shifting Bilingualism in Minority Languages Today* (1990 revision) eds. Haugen, Maclure & Thomson, Edinburgh University Press: Edinburgh p.50

⁷⁴ibid

⁷⁵ibid

⁷⁶ibid

⁷⁷ibid

5. Welsh Corpus Planning

The main body for orthographic regulation in Wales is the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales. Their publications include a standard orthography (1920) which was revised in 1987,⁷⁸ a comprehensive dictionary of Welsh, published in parts, and which has been ongoing for many years, and a compact dictionary recently published. The University of Bangor has completed a spellchecker in Welsh for computer use. The Welsh Joint Education Council in Cardiff publishes vocabularies on a variety of subjects ranging from cookery to physics.⁷⁹

The BBC used to maintain a terminology database; as this is no longer the case they rely to a large extent on the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales. However, the BBC have greatly expanded Welsh terminology because of their reporting of news, current affairs, and sport in Welsh.⁸⁰ This is especially so in the area of rugby terms where in Saturday evening sports' programmes rugby games are discussed using terminology which would not have existed ten or so years ago. This aspect of corpus planning also has acquisition planning benefits because schoolchildren discuss in Welsh the Welsh language sports' programmes.⁸¹

6. Welsh Acquisition Planning

Thus far we have observed that attempts to prevent the downslide in the number of Welsh speakers have focused on education, the media and the legal status of Welsh.⁸² The Welsh language has equal status with English in law, if not in actual practice; the

⁷⁸Telephone interview with Cenard Davis, Director of Language Studies Centre, University of Glamorgan (22.11.93)

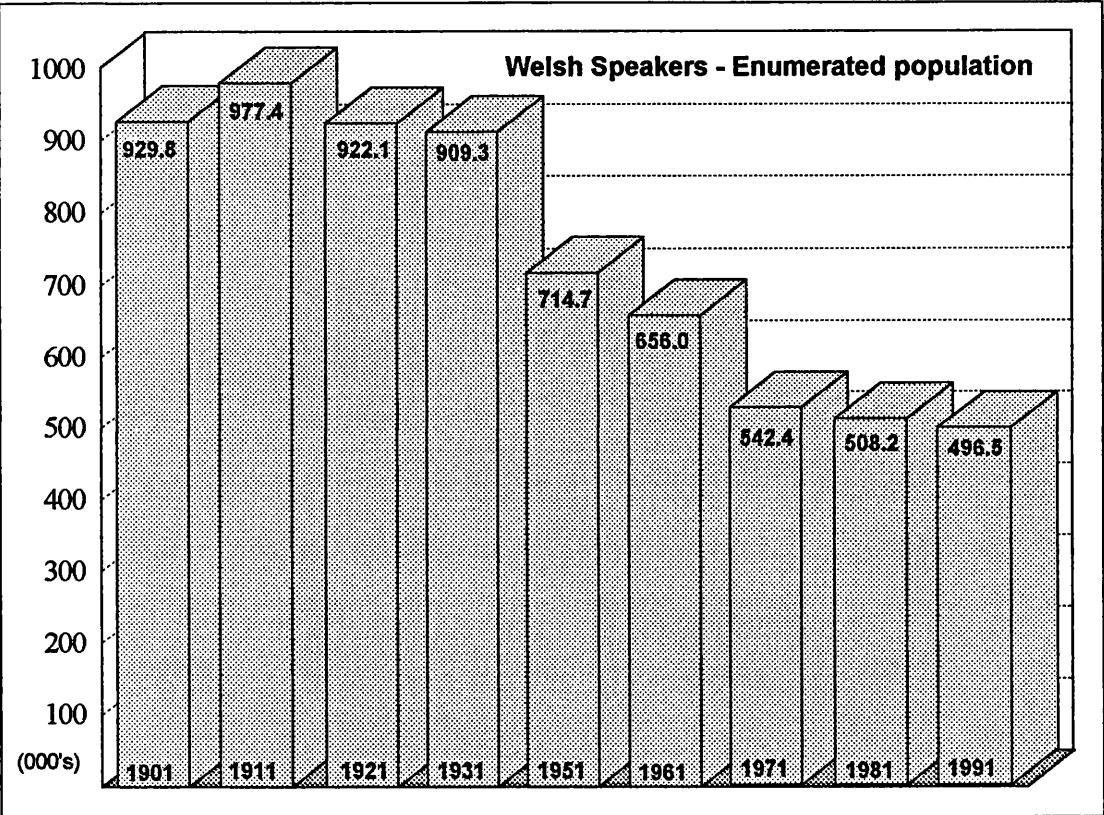
⁷⁹ibid

⁸⁰ibid

⁸¹ibid

⁸²ibid

Table 6



Source: Office of Population and Censuses and Surveys in Ambrose & Williams in Minority Languages Today (p.56) and 1991 Census Report for Wales

media, television in particular, have contributed to maintaining 'Welshness' and expanding the lexis. The precipitous decline of Welsh speakers (see graph) has apparently been halted through language learning schemes, which we shall now examine.

In April 1964, The Department of Education and Science in Wales held a national conference in Cardiff to discuss the teaching of Welsh as a second language, 'in the light of the dramatic effect the introduction of language laboratories and audio-visual courses was supposed to be having on the teaching of modern languages.'⁸³ There was concern that children exposed to these new methods for learning French would regard Welsh as outdated and subordinate. Representatives of local education authorities, university education departments, teachers' bodies and representatives from radio and television school broadcasting attended.⁸⁴

Evans⁸⁵ records that:

During the conference it became apparent that the preparation of audio-visual materials for Welsh would entail considerable expense and that it would therefore prove impracticable to provide more than one course for each age group. National courses were therefore the only possibility and the language used would have to be acceptable throughout the whole of Wales.

Following the conference, recommendations were put forward to the Welsh Joint Education Council (WJEC) which resulted in two working parties being established: one

⁸³Evans, E. p.18

⁸⁴ibid

⁸⁵ibid

consisting of Welsh scholars and teachers to produce a temporary model of spoken Welsh, and the other to conduct experiments to assess the suitability of audio-visual materials for children aged seven.⁸⁶ (It was believed that audio-visual materials were best suited to the early stages of language learning and it was decided to concentrate on primary schools.⁸⁷)

The findings of the working party investigating oral Welsh appeared as a booklet *Cymraeg Byw* (Living Welsh), which although not well received in certain academic circles was welcomed on the whole by teachers.⁸⁸

The working party investigating the role of audio-visual materials came to the conclusion that this method would be less suitable for school implementation for the following reasons:⁸⁹very few primary schools and secondary schools had audio-visual rooms and equipment would have to be moved from classroom to classroom, which was not satisfactory; the linguistic competence required of class teachers, many of whom have an imperfect command of Welsh and are not language specialists, would have been excessive.

Audiovisual techniques, therefore, would have been problematic in terms of equipment and teacher expertise. In addition, some of the main figures in Welsh language teaching were dubious of the direct method's success, and were being attracted to experiments which had been conducted in some primary schools in Glamorgan using techniques developed by a Mr. C J Dodson at University College Aberystwyth; similar techniques

⁸⁶op cit p.19

⁸⁷ibid

⁸⁸ibid

⁸⁹Evans,E., p. 19

had also been developed in North Wales and in secondary schools countrywide.⁹⁰ Evans records:

The evidence from these experiments showed conclusively that rapid interpretation drills were popular and successful in introducing structures and vocabulary, and (when properly used) could lead on to more traditional direct method activities. The working party decided therefore to base its trial materials on the rapid interpretation technique.⁹¹

Benefits from this approach were that classroom teachers knew in advance of a lesson precisely the language range required at every stage of the course and this freed them from the inhibitions the direct method might have caused.

The conference in April 1964 had also suggested a National Language Unit be established as soon as possible. The National Language Unit was opened in September, 1968 at Nant Gwrtheyrn in purpose-built premises, comprising a recording studio, a tape/cassette copying installation, an artist's studio, a language laboratory, a lecture room and teachers' work rooms. Apart from creating resources such as tapes and filmstrips, and a self-instructional course for primary school children, the Language Unit provided Welsh language learning courses for teachers to enable them to teach primary school pupils. Courses on language teaching methodology were also run both in the Unit and in schools.⁹²

⁹⁰ibid

⁹¹ibid

⁹²Evans, E.,p.20

About the same time as the creation of the National Language Unit there was a great interest in the learning of Welsh by adults and to meet the needs for this group of learners a conference was held at the Language Unit in 1971, attended by all the bodies who had an interest in adult education.⁹³

As a result the WJEC formed a special panel for teaching Welsh to adults which resulted in the preparation of an audio-visual course with various types of supplementary tapes to cater both for learners attending classes and for those studying at home.⁹⁴ A survey made by the Welsh Language Council in 1975 revealed that in the predominantly English speaking counties of Clwyd and Mid-Glamorgan, Welsh was the most popular language in evening classes. In Clwyd there were 58 classes for Welsh and eleven for other languages, and in Mid-Glamorgan 69 Welsh classes and 27 for other languages. Welsh was the most popular subject in evening classes apart from dressmaking.⁹⁵

Another very important development was the burgeoning of week-end and summer courses. The Language Unit itself began to conduct week-end courses on behalf of three LEAs in Wales: other authorities organised their own. The Language Unit also undertook responsibility for two one-week summer schools to supplement the provision made by the University of Wales, Coleg Harlech and the MidGlamorgan Summer School. In 1978 there were eight official centres providing summer courses for Welsh learners as well as those organised by voluntary bodies, eg *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* (the Welsh League of Youth), *Merched y Wawr*, (Welsh Women's Institute), *Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg* (Welsh Language Society):⁹⁶ in the summer of 1993 there were 25

⁹³ibid

⁹⁴ibid

⁹⁵ibid

⁹⁶Evans, E., p.20

separate summer and residential courses for Welsh learners.⁹⁷ In 1988, 8,000 learners were officially registered in classes, in 1990/91 the figure was 11,000. Trends indicate that this figure will be increased for year 1991/92.⁹⁸ It is also estimated that 80,000 regular viewers follow Welsh language learning programmes on television.⁹⁹

Customarily, extra-mural departments of universities and higher education establishments have provided intensive or Wlpan courses. The Local Education Authorities and other bodies have offered mainly the one session per week course over two to three years.¹⁰⁰ At present, Welsh language learning may be divided into intensive courses and non-intensive courses.¹⁰¹ Intensive provision has been defined as:

...a course which is held three times a week or more, and which extends over a specific period of time providing in excess of 100 contact hours with the language. The popular name for this type of course is 'wlpan', a loan word from Hebrew.¹⁰²

Intensive courses are the responsibility of the Extra-Mural Departments of the University of Wales, The Polytechnic of Wales/University of Glamorgan and some of the Colleges of Higher Education. Language centres are also developing intensive courses.¹⁰³ Recent important developments have been not only the wlpan courses of 100-150 hours over 12-16 weeks, but also 300 hour initial courses.¹⁰⁴ At the University of Glamorgan, for example, the 300 hour course runs for four mornings per week throughout the academic

⁹⁷Summer and Residential Courses for Welsh Learners '93, WJEC information leaflet

⁹⁸The Way Forward, Report of the WJEC Welsh for Adults Panel (1992), WJEC:Cardiff, p.1

⁹⁹ibid

¹⁰⁰Report by H.M. Inspectors: REVIEW OF TEACHING WELSH FOR ADULTS DURING THE PERIOD 1987-1992, Welsh Office 1993, p.4

¹⁰¹op cit p.2 & personal interview with Helen Prosser, Welsh for Adults National Coordinator, in WJEC buildings Cardiff (29.4.93) in author's tape library

¹⁰²op cit, p. 7

¹⁰³op cit, p.2

¹⁰⁴personal interview with H. Prosser

year. In the second year it is reduced to two sessions per week and one session in the third year. This is a pattern which other centres are seeking to emulate. In North Wales two institutions provide daily courses which continue for three months. Quite a number have been attracted to this format, especially a number of unemployed people funded by Training and Enterprise Councils because Welsh language learning has helped such find employment.¹⁰⁵

Non-intensive courses are defined as 'courses where students meet once or twice a week'¹⁰⁶ and are the responsibility of Further Education Colleges in areas where they are providers. However, Education Authorities also work in conjunction with the Workers' Education Association to ensure county wide coverage of classes. Generally speaking, the non-intensive sector also includes individual and voluntary group contributions.¹⁰⁷

The Language Centre at Nant Gwrtheyrn is also a provider of courses and there are summer residential courses organised by various bodies (see page 28). Another type of course is provided by CYD (*Cymdeitheas y Dysgwyr*, 'Learners' Society'), an organisation which provides social contexts for learners to practise their Welsh. Open provision for language learning is shared by the BBC and Acen. BBC Wales runs the popular daily programme for Welsh learners 'CATCHPRASE' which consists of short lessons of approximately five minutes duration using a well-known Welsh personality who learns Welsh along with listeners.¹⁰⁸ Acen are responsible for the very successful 'Now You're Talking'¹⁰⁹ television series upon which the Scottish Gaelic 'Speaking Our

¹⁰⁵ *ibid*

¹⁰⁶ *ibid*

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*

¹⁰⁸ BBC Wales pamphlet on CATCHPRASE

¹⁰⁹ The Way Forward, p.10

Language' series is based. The Polytechnic of Wales/University of Glamorgan and the National Extension College provide correspondence courses. Linguaphone also has a course in Welsh.¹¹⁰

In 1988 the **WJEC Welsh for Adults Panel** submitted a four year strategy for Welsh and have recently published a report covering the years 1988-1992. They comment that the 'whole field of Welsh for Adults has been transformed.'¹¹¹ One major change has been the Further and Higher education Act of April 1 1992 which transferred responsibility for non-intensive provision from Education Authorities to Further Education Colleges.¹¹² The introduction of the National Curriculum in schools has also affected adult learners. Many parents realise it is important to support their children who are receiving Welsh medium education by learning the language themselves and the increase in Welsh education at school level has brought about an increase in the number of parents who wish to learn the language.¹¹³ Changes have also been taking place at community level. Areas which were traditionally Welsh-speaking have seen an unprecedented immigration of non-Welsh speakers and the less Welsh-speaking areas have paradoxically seen an upsurge of interest in the Welsh language.¹¹⁴ The WJEC see 'a substantial increase in the number of full time workers in the field as being the only way of seriously tackling the crisis facing the language.'¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰The Way Forward, p.3

¹¹¹ibid

¹¹²op cit p. 2 & personal interview with H. Prosser

¹¹³op cit p.4

¹¹⁴op cit p. 1

¹¹⁵Roberts, Glenys, M. Welsh for Adults Officer, WJEC in personal letter (9.1.91)

The biggest language learning growth area in 1992 has been Welsh in the work place.¹¹⁶ Welsh is now recognised as being essential for a large number of jobs, particularly where employees have to deal with the public.¹¹⁷ The WJEC state:

It seems likely as a result of the proposed Welsh Language Act that there will be an even greater demand for courses in both the public and private sectors. It is interesting to note the number of shops which are now arranging for their staff to learn Welsh since that [sic] the ability to offer service in Welsh is now seen to be of advantage to them.¹¹⁸

National Coordination

The post of National Coordinator of Welsh for Adults is based at the WJEC Welsh Department and is funded by the Welsh Office. The national coordinator is responsible to the Welsh for Adults Panel whose duties include:¹¹⁹

- acting as an identification and prioritisation panel for requirements in the area of Welsh for Adults
- providing objectives and direction for the work on a national level
- coordination of the work undertaken on a national level
- the administration of comprehensive and popular assessment schemes for both learners and tutors
- ensuring publicity on a national scale
- the preparation and commissioning of teaching materials
- the provision of an in-service training facility for tutors throughout Wales

¹¹⁶personal interview with H. Prosser

¹¹⁷The Way Forward, p..5

¹¹⁸ibid

¹¹⁹ibid p.3

- the promotion of activities for learners within the National Eisteddfod
- acting as the public representative of Welsh for Adults

Up until the beginning of 1992, all the language centres were operating without any formal links, therefore, the Language Centres Working Party (LCWP) was added to the WJEC Welsh for Adults Panel. The LCWP includes representatives from Nant Gwrtheyrn, Clwyd, Gregynog, Merthyr, Clwb Ifor Bach and Ty Tawe language centres.¹²⁰ The main feature of each of these centres is that they are important domains for the Welsh language nationally and locally. Since the WJEC acts as a national coordinating body and has access to a large number of educational institutions, the need for a single body with responsibility for Welsh for Adults has been removed.¹²¹

¹²⁰op cit p.11

¹²¹op cit, p.4

Tutor Training

In the past two to three years training has been developed to a high degree so that there are now three categories:¹²²

1. Training for inexperienced and prospective tutors
2. In-Service training for part-time and full-time tutors
3. Specialist training for full-time tutors

The dearth of tutors is still a problem in some areas, especially in the teaching of advanced courses. The new framework for training has helped considerably in attracting new tutors and also ensures an acceptable standard of education in classes¹²³

Certification and Assessment

There are a variety of assessment and certification schemes available which are designed to meet the diffuse needs of students. They may be regarded as comprising five steps with the **Communicative Objectives Scheme** taking up three of the steps and **The Use of Welsh Examination** and the **Advanced Use of Welsh Examination** providing the fourth and fifth steps respectively. It is hoped that these qualifications will be able to fit at an appropriate level within a five- level NVQ framework being prepared by the Language Lead Body.¹²⁴

WJEC Communicative Objectives Scheme, Levels 1, 2, and 3

This a scheme set up to help adult learners gauge their own progress. Certificates are awarded by the WJEC. However, it is not necessary to attend a class to achieve the levels: self-study and listening to language learning media programmes are sufficient.

¹²²op cit p.12

¹²³ibid

¹²⁴ibid

The assessment for Level 1, for example, comprises a check list of eight things that a student should be able to do through the medium of Welsh.¹²⁵ On attaining Level 3 the WJEC suggests that students may consider GCSE as a 'realistic next step'.¹²⁶ The current Gaelic television series *Speaking Our Language* offers learners the opportunity to receive a telephone assessment, but without formal certification. A similar system to the Communicative Objectives Scheme would meet a need for adult Gaelic learners.

Use of Welsh Examination, WJEC Certificate

This is an independent WJEC Welsh Department Examination the standard of which is similar to GCSE, but is more formal than Level 3 of the Communicative Objectives Scheme.¹²⁷

Advanced Use of Welsh Examination and University of Wales Certificate

The emphasis is on the use of Welsh and is equivalent to an A Level in Welsh for second language students. The University of Wales Certificate in Welsh as a Second Language for Adults is equivalent to the Advanced Use of Welsh Examination.¹²⁸

Having examined the overall framework of Welsh Language Learning for Adults it is appropriate now to examine in some more detail the development of intensive courses, especially those of the *wlpan* type.

¹²⁵ Communicative Objectives For Adults (Notes for Students), WJEC, p.1

¹²⁶ *ibid*

¹²⁷ *The Way Forward*, p.15

¹²⁸ *ibid*

7. *Wlpan*¹²⁹

There is an amusing story of a group of Welsh teachers on a visit to Israel in the late 1980s who were amazed to find that the Israelis also called their intensive adult language classes *ulpan*.¹³⁰ Of course, the reason why Welsh intensive language classes are named *wlpan* is because they were introduced to Wales during the early seventies and based on the adult language institutes which had been established in Israel in the fifties. It is well established that concentrated language learning over a short period is more effective than diluted contact over a long period and that the more intensive type of course is preferred by students.¹³¹ The 1984 HMI Report on The Teaching of Welsh as a Second Language to Adults stated:

The appearance of Ulpan courses is the most important development in the field of Welsh teaching to adults during the last ten years¹³²

The Report by H.M. Inspectors for the period 1987-1992 in the section reviewing standards of work comments on the *wlpan* courses:

In the intensive foundation courses (*wlpan*) the students quickly become familiar with hearing Welsh used as the language of the class, for exchange of greeting and social interaction, for organising and directing work, and to a large extent, for explanation and discussion of points of grammar which arise....The oral progress of over three quarters of the members of intensive classes is satisfactory or better.¹³³

In 1984 C. Campbell¹³⁴ stated that the adult learner had 'a significant role in the immense task of resurrecting the Welsh heartland and previous bastions of the language.' Jones comments that the statement is more potent today and declares:

¹²⁹Welsh spelling of *ulpan*

¹³⁰Fischler cited in Ó Laoire, M. *Seal Ar Ulpan*, Language Teacher Vol 3 Autumn 1990, Multilingual Matters.

¹³¹Frank, T.E. cited in Jones, C.M., *The Ulpan in Wales: A Study in Motivation* in *The Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* Vol.12 no.3, 1991, p.184 & Jones, p.187

¹³²cited in Jones, C.M., p.184

¹³³REVIEW OF TEACHING WELSH FOR ADULTS DURING THE PERIOD 1987-1992, p.10

¹³⁴cited in Jones C.M., p.184

It is no wonder that this decade has been declared '*degawd y dysgwr*', the decade of the Welsh learner.¹³⁵

Intensive Wlpan Courses

We have already established the framework and methodology of the Israeli *ulpan* in chapters four and five and observed that the assimilation of immigrants was an important part of the methodology. The situation in Wales is different:

We find the rarely documented circumstance of the learning of a minority tongue by speakers of the majority language. Welsh learners represent a reverse trend in language acquisition; they are not generally motivated by practical intensity.¹³⁶

If learners of Welsh who attend intensive courses are not motivated by a bilingualism of necessity, but rather of desire then why do they wish to learn a minority language, and why attend an *wlpan* course? Jones' study *The Ulpan in Wales: A Study in Motivation*¹³⁷ tried to answer these questions through a study at Wales' only residential *wlpan* course, held annually at St David's University College, Lampeter, Dyfed. This is an eight week, 400 hundred hour intensive Welsh language course which attracts national and international students. In the summer of 1989 Jones distributed a questionnaire which tried to discover students' motivation for learning Welsh and their reasons for choosing such an intensive course as the one at St David's. She found that the main attraction of the intensive course (35%) was in 'the accelerated pace of the learning and the emphasis on the development of oral skills.'¹³⁸ The next major reason (20%) for attending this intensive course was that students felt that it was 'the best way to learn a language.'¹³⁹

Jones' findings regarding reasons for learning Welsh were based on the answers to 24 questions. Learners were asked to respond to as many or as few of the reasons as they wished. The final results were:

¹³⁵Jones, C.M., p.184

¹³⁶op cit, p. 185

¹³⁷op cit, pp185-192

¹³⁸op cit, p.187

¹³⁹ibid

Reasons for Learning Welsh

To keep the language alive	7.6%
I like the language	7.6%
I am interested in Wales, its background and history	7.6%
Welsh will be useful in my work	5.8%
I want to live in Wales	5.3%
I've got Welsh-speaking friends	5.3%
I live in Wales and I ought to learn Welsh	4.8%
Improved job prospects	4.8%
I want to read and study Welsh literature	4.5%
To fulfil a dream	4.5%
In order to read light novels and magazines	4.5%
To follow Welsh radio/television programmes	4.5%
A general interest in Celtic languages/ minority languages	4.3%
To attend cultural events	4.0%
I will be a more complete Welsh person	3.8%
I live in an area where the majority of people speak Welsh	3.5%
I am Welsh	3.5%
I like to learn about other cultures	2.8%
I enjoy coming to Wales on holiday	2.5%
My parents were Welsh-speaking	1.8%
To join Welsh societies	1.0%
My children attend a Welsh school	0.7%
I want to help my children learn Welsh	0.5%
Welsh is the mother tongue of my spouse/boy or girlfriend	0.5%

Jones comments that the sample was small (40 students) and that no definite conclusions can be drawn. However, she found it noteworthy that the main reasons for learning the language when the students were asked to state only **one** of the 24 reasons above were: 'the feeling of belonging to a Nation, of identity, and of a duty to learn Welsh.'¹⁴⁰ This paralleled the findings of a national survey of the linguistic needs of adults undertaken by the North East Wales Institute of Further Education in 1987.¹⁴¹

Jones also discusses factors which affect student performance on intensive courses¹⁴² and notes that motivation is not the sole factor guaranteeing success. She cites Caroll¹⁴³ who

¹⁴⁰op cit, p.188

¹⁴¹ibid

¹⁴²ibid

¹⁴³ Caroll, J.B. (1974) *Learning theory for the classroom teacher* in Jones p.187

stresses the speed of acquisition as being the most important factor in language learning, and also cites Lamson¹⁴⁴ who has acknowledged that accommodation of students who learn a language slowly as being the single largest problem in intensive instruction. (This point highlights the need to provide, as *Ulpan Akiva* did, a tutor who specialises in providing slower learners with extra tuition.)

Jones, in the introduction to her study,¹⁴⁵ states that the Welsh *wlpan* is based on the Israeli *ulpan* courses and in a summary of her findings concludes:

Intensive instruction in an immersion setting was felt by the course participants to result in superior language proficiency, thus easing integration into the Welsh community...one cannot learn Welsh without entering in a significant way into the culture of Welsh-Wales.¹⁴⁶

University of Wales, Cardiff

However, Chris Rees, Director of the University of Wales' Centre for Teaching Welsh to Adults in Cardiff was not prepared to say that Israeli methods were used in the University:

What the *ulpan* represents to us is more of an idea than a teaching method. It is the fact that the intensive method should be introduced into the adult sector that we have taken on board. The methods are really our own rather than Israeli. My ignorance of Hebrew was a great obstacle to me when I was in Israel so that I could not really comprehend what was going on in the classroom.¹⁴⁷

He also emphasised the differing social positions of Welsh and Hebrew:

¹⁴⁴Lamson, H., (1974), *Intensive language and cultural immersion* in Jones p. 187

¹⁴⁵Jones, C.M., pp 183-184

¹⁴⁶op cit, p.183

¹⁴⁷ Personal interview with Chris Rees, Head of Centre for Teaching Welsh to Adults, Department of Continuing Education, University of Wales, Cardiff in author's tape library (28 April 1993)

In Israel Hebrew is the language of the community. This is not the case in Cardiff. Although there are thousands of Welsh speakers in Cardiff and a good amount of Welsh language, in a city of a population of a quarter of a million there are about 12-15,000 speakers of Welsh, which is not a very high percentage...Welsh and Gaelic are marginalised languages where social skills are needed rather than survival skills. It is feasible to use bilingual drills in Wales because people's first language is English. This is not the case in Israel where the second language is only used in basic classes

Mr Rees' methods are generally based on the methods of Dr C J Dodson¹⁴⁸ who published a book called The Bilingual Method, which assumes that students' first language is English and that the teacher will use a certain amount of English during teaching and language drilling. The basic structures of Welsh are covered in the 180 hour course, which is equivalent to 15 hours of class teaching per week, or 7.5 hours if students take two terms. There is a set pattern for every lesson for the 60 units of the basic course. Students doing three hours per day spend the first hour on revision, followed by a half-hour break in which they should speak Welsh with the teacher, and then half an hour revision using a minilab. The tape material is almost the same as the class pattern: a repetition exercise, a translation exercise and a substitution exercise. Students may purchase the tapes if they wish. The final hour treats of new material. After this they can progress to an advanced course, the majority of which are intensive, but only nine hours per week. After 400 hours of Welsh learning, which includes the basic and the advanced courses, students approximate to 'A' level Welsh for learners

¹⁴⁸see page 26

standard. The University's teaching Welsh to Adults Centre has seen offshoots begin in Swansea, Lampeter and Bangor.¹⁴⁹

The Polytechnic of Wales/University of Glamorgan

The Polytechnic of Wales/University of Glamorgan has an intensive two year Welsh course for which Basil Davies has responsibility.¹⁵⁰ In year one the students are taught for three hours per day (9:30am - 12.30pm) from Monday to Thursday, a total of twelve hours per week. In the second year of the course students attend for two hours on a Tuesday afternoon and three hours on a Friday morning, a total of five hours per week. At the end of the second year they sit the University of Glamorgan diploma. There is an intake of approximately 40 students which includes those who have no knowledge of Welsh and those who have been to evening classes. Basil Davies stated that:

We interview every student and we have no problem regarding the recruitment. In actual fact we always have a waiting list.¹⁵¹

At the interview stage students' motivation is assessed and those whose commitment is considered low are discarded. Most of the students are women of between 30-45 years of age who have children attending Welsh-speaking schools. Older people also come, normally grandparents who have sent their own children to Welsh-speaking schools. The second generation in turn send their children to Welsh-speaking schools and the result is that the grandparents are the only ones who can not speak Welsh. Although, there is a growing tendency for grandparents (usually aged between 50-60 years old) to want to come to Glamorgan Polytechnic they tend not to be accepted onto the course, because it

¹⁴⁹Roberts, Glenys, M., Welsh for Adults Officer, personal letter (9.1.91)

¹⁵⁰Personal interview with Basil Davies at Glamorgan Polytechnic/ University of Wales on 30.4.93 in author's tape library

¹⁵¹ibid

is believed that the process of learning a language is far too difficult for those between 50-55 and over.

Basil Davies also stated:¹⁵²

We emphasise to the students during interview stage and at all times that if you are here to learn Welsh we want to hear you speak more Welsh progressively. We don't feel: " Right, since it's coffee time you can switch off, you can now start English." There is no such time as switching off and therefore as the term progresses there is greater pressure on them to speak Welsh all the time and, miraculously, it happens every year, but it is hard work on the part of everyone... Consequently, by Christmas time speaking English only is frowned upon.

Like Chris Rees, Basil Davies was reluctant to admit that they had borrowed any techniques from Israeli methodology:

R. Maclean: I have been across to Israel looking at *ulpanim* .

Did you borrow anything from there?

B. Davies: No. We have prepared our own material here on the basis of many, many years of teaching and, therefore, we have written our own material and what I do emphasise is that in a

¹⁵²op cit

morning of three hours we spend one hour revising every single day. We feel that revision is extremely important because it is not a matter of what you try to teach them but the question is '*How much can they retain?*'¹⁵³

Despite Mr Davies' reluctance, it is evident that the Israeli ulpan framework has had some effect on Welsh methodology. Even the title *wlpan* suggests this.¹⁵⁴ However, there appears to be more emphasis on drilling in the Welsh method:

I believe very, very strongly in drilling. It's a dirty word in some people's vocabulary but I feel that you cannot teach a language accidentally, you cannot learn a language, rather, accidentally....Now what we do, therefore, is that we learn patterns. We draw attention to patterns and we fit communication skills to those patterns. Therefore, we try to isolate not only the patterns themselves but also what people want to talk about and consequently we hope that socially at least our students are able to survive in a very short period of time.¹⁵⁵

Welsh television programmes both for learners and proficient speakers are used. Five minute extracts are viewed and analysed for difficulties such as speed of speaker, structural complexity, or vocabulary, percentage of understanding. In the second year, on Friday afternoons students hear a special visitor from different walks of life and participate in discussion with them. Cultural visits are also part of the curriculum.

¹⁵³Personal interview with B. Davies in Glamorgan. See also appendix 3

¹⁵⁴See Jones & also Rees in this chapter, p. 35

¹⁵⁵Personal interview with B. Davies in Glamorgan. See also appendix 3

The WJEC notes in its report entitled the The Way Forward¹⁵⁶ that:

Intensive courses are one of the most significant developments in the Welsh learning pattern during recent years.¹⁵⁷

The WJEC report also indicates that in some locations there is 'the good practice of holding introductory meetings.'¹⁵⁸ These give prospective students the opportunity to learn about the nature of the course and tutors can informally assess 'the learner's achievements.'¹⁵⁹

The experience of tutors indicates that intensive courses have to be well planned to ensure continued student interest.¹⁶⁰ However, intensive courses have 'had tremendous success in keeping their students.'¹⁶¹ It is reckoned that the average drop out rate in Wales from language classes is 34.7 per cent,¹⁶² whilst for the intensive courses drop out rates vary from 25 to seven per cent:

Wlpan Courses: retention of numbers Table no 7

Year	Centre	Number at Outset	Number completing
1991/92	Polytechnic of Wales/University of Glamorgan	45	41
1991/92	Trinity College	12	9
1990/91	Wlpan Courses SW Wales	140	109

¹⁵⁶pp 7-8
¹⁵⁷The Way Forward, p.7
¹⁵⁸ibid
¹⁵⁹op cit pp 7-8
¹⁶⁰op cit, p.8
¹⁶¹ibid
¹⁶²ibid

Summary

Despite the reticence of some, the Welsh intensive language learning system is indebted to the Israeli *ulpan* system, even to the naming of their *wlpan* courses. We have seen that the Welsh language in common with Hebrew and Basque has:

1. Status in law and administration
2. Government sponsorship of language learning
3. An overarching body to care for and control language learning in the WJEC
4. A language academy, albeit nascent, in the Board of Celtic Studies of the University of Wales
5. A variety of learning frameworks to meet students' needs
6. Instruction through the target language
7. General dictionaries and terminological dictionaries
8. A variety of Welsh newspapers and published materials
9. Welsh medium radio and television broadcasting
10. A radio and television series for learners

However, unlike Hebrew and Basque frameworks, there is a differentiation in certification between learner and native speaker and there does not, as yet, appear to be a national integrated system which allows learners to proceed from zero to proficiency. However, there are individual centres which offer their own courses. We also noted that the NVQ certification required by the Language Lead Body will impose a five-level structure on language learning, a matter which is being addressed by the WJEC. Further, Welsh unlike Hebrew is a minority official language and poses problems for the

immersion of the student outwith the classroom environment. However, C.M. Jones' study has suggested that, in common with Israeli *ulpan*, nationality and identity needs require to be met in Welsh intensive language courses.

Gaeilge

8. Status Planning

The Republic of Ireland has a population of about 3,000,000, of whom approximately one third claim to have an ability in Gaeilge.¹⁶³ Presently, there are probably more people able to read Irish (about 300,000) than at any other time;¹⁶⁴ one estimate suggests that only about 50 people were literate in Irish in the 1880s.¹⁶⁵ Irish is a compulsory subject in all schools and is also a requirement for civil service and some other posts.¹⁶⁶ However, in the western areas of Ireland where Irish is the traditional speech there are fewer than 50,000 (5% of the population) for whom Irish is a mother tongue, and it is unlikely that there are many, if any, monoglot Irish speakers.¹⁶⁷

At the end of the sixteenth century the English language had barely encroached on the eastern seaboard of Ireland.¹⁶⁸ However, Henry VIII of England's plantation schemes ousted the Irish aristocracy and formed an English landlord class which, over the next two centuries, was the cause of the great increase in the number of English speakers. As a result English moved inexorably westward with the towns being especially susceptible to anglicisation.¹⁶⁹

At the beginning of the nineteenth century it is probable that the number of English speakers equalled the number of Irish speakers.¹⁷⁰ However, the Great Famine of the

¹⁶³Maclean, TES (5.3.91), p.13

¹⁶⁴Enc. Brit. Vol 22:688-9

¹⁶⁵Edwards, J., *The Irish Revival: Success or Failure?*, A Paper to the International Conference on Language Revival in Honour of the Centenary of Modern Hebrew, Jerusalem 1990. Typescript from author, p.6

¹⁶⁶ibid

¹⁶⁷Enc. Brit. Vol 22:688-9

¹⁶⁸Ó Riagáin, P., *Reviving the Irish Language: Assessing The First One Hundred Years* typescript from author, Linguistic Institute of Ireland: Dublin p. 2 (Originally given at Conference on Language Revival in Honour of the Centenary of Modern Hebrew, Jerusalem 1990)

¹⁶⁹ibid

¹⁷⁰ibid

1840s and the subsequent emigrations decimated the speakers of Irish. The famine wreaked its worst on the western areas of Ireland and it is estimated that most of the two and a half million people who died or emigrated came from the poorer Irish-speaking western regions.¹⁷¹ By the time of the first census in 1851 the total number of Irish speakers was reduced to twenty-three per cent (1,524,286) of the population and amongst the twenty-three per cent only 319,602 were monolingual Irish speakers.¹⁷²

When the Gaelic League (*Conradh na Gaeilge*) was founded in 1893, Irish was spoken by no more than 15.2 per cent of the population of the whole of Ireland, or 19.2 per cent of the population of the area which was later to secede from the United Kingdom to become the Irish Free State.¹⁷³

Ó Riagáin suggests that *Conradh na Gaeilge* at its inception was influenced by the ideology of the Romantic movement which was permeating Europe and thus saw Ireland as two cultures in opposition. The culture of 'community, naturalness, spontaneity, and spirituality'¹⁷⁴ was deemed to be preserved in 'socially, spatially or historically remote societies such as the Celtic fringes.'¹⁷⁵ This Romantic notion contrasted strongly with the industrial urban societies which were considered to have lost this original naturalness. The distinctive character of Ireland, therefore, was seen by Irish intellectuals to reside primarily in the rural communities of the west and which were in immediate and obvious contrast to industrialised and urban England.¹⁷⁶ Ó Riagáin¹⁷⁷ cites John Wilson Foster:

¹⁷¹Ó Riagáin, (1990)p.3

¹⁷²ibid

¹⁷³Ó Murchu, p.485

¹⁷⁴Ó Riagáin, (1990)p.4

¹⁷⁵ibid

¹⁷⁶ibid

¹⁷⁷ibid

As the Gaelic revival and new nationalism gained momentum, western islands such as the Arans and Blaskets ... came to represent Ireland's mythic unity before the chaos of conquest: there at once were the vestige and the symbolic entirety of an undivided nation.

In the fifteen years up until 1908, *Conradh na Gaeilge* established 950 branches and its influence within the political independence movement grew substantially.¹⁷⁸ The League's ideal of re-Gaelicizing Ireland was being increasingly accepted.¹⁷⁹

At the formation of the Irish State in 1922 one of the reasons why Gaeilge was elevated to official status was because it was thought that it could provide an identity which was culturally independent of English.¹⁸⁰ Also at this time, the State devised a three-pronged strategy for language development, which is in essence the framework of present policy. The triplet of objectives was:

1. To maintain the Irish language where it was still a community language
2. To revive the language and increase the number of speakers through the education system
3. To provide the necessary supportive infrastructure for language maintenance, eg constitutional and legal status for Irish, the standardisation and modernisation of the language¹⁸¹

However, the projects devised at that time in the domains of education and public administration did not, as was intended, make the language 'within a generation ...one of

¹⁷⁸ibid

¹⁷⁹Ó Murchu, p.485

¹⁸⁰Maclean, TES (5.3.91), p.13

¹⁸¹Ó Riagáin, (1990)p.5

the common vernaculars of the land'.¹⁸² It was conceivably a case of too much too soon.¹⁸³

Lack of Research in Early Stages

Ireland in the 1920s and 1930s had no research findings to draw upon and no proper evaluation of bilingual programmes. Whilst language planning today, such as in Canada and the Basque Region of Spain, conforms closely to the following six step procedure,¹⁸⁴

Cummins suggests that it was in steps four and five especially - **implementation and evaluation** - that the Irish language planning process broke down.¹⁸⁵

1. Identify problem plus subproblems
2. Generate hypotheses about causes of problem in light of research and theory
3. Plan interventions and programmes designed to resolve problems
4. Implement interventions
5. Evaluate programmes and conduct relevant background research
6. Communicate research results to relevant audiences

Cummins comments as regards implementation:

Programs were frequently implemented in ways which alienated teachers (and pupils) rather than generating their enthusiasm. For example, teachers were often evaluated only on how well **they** [emphasis mine] could speak and teach Irish.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸²Ó Murchu, M., *Aspects of the Societal Status of Modern Irish* in *The Celtic Languages*, ed. Ball, M. (1993), Routledge: London p. 485

¹⁸³Maclea, (5.3.91), p.13

¹⁸⁴Cummins, J., *Research and Theory in Bilingual Education: The Basque Perspective*, *Conference on the Basque Language* Basque Government: Vitoria 1988, p. 206

¹⁸⁵ibid

¹⁸⁶Cummins, 1988, p. 207

And through lack of evaluation, no evidence could be given to refute the unfounded worries of parents and teachers that instruction through Irish would harm their children's English. Because of this, less effective Irish language teaching programmes were introduced, with Irish being taught, more or less, as a subject rather than as a medium of instruction.¹⁸⁷ The suspicion of a bilingual deficit continued until the mid-sixties when Macnamara's study in 1966 showed that children in all-Irish schools had academic records for English as competent as those who received their instruction through English.¹⁸⁸

In the 1940s some began to react against Romantic imagery and considered it unhelpful to have Irish associated with rural impoverishment, deprivation and a semi-artificial folk-lore and wanted to promote the revival of Gaeilge in a modern urban context.¹⁸⁹ Since the 1970s there has emerged a more sophisticated understanding of the cultural significance of Irish.¹⁹⁰ Cummins elaborates this theme and suggests that if there are a number of bodies involved in social and economic development in the Gaeltacht, for example, then it must be ensured that these agencies are involved in the language maintenance process, as well as the bespoke language maintenance bodies.¹⁹¹ Ó Riagáin says that there is the need to:

...situate language policy in the wider social and policy context in order to understand its operation and import.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁷ibid

¹⁸⁸ibid

¹⁸⁹Ó Riagáin, (1990) p.11

¹⁹⁰op cit, p.12

¹⁹¹Cummings, P., *Socio-economic development and language maintenance in the Gaeltacht* in *IJSL*, Vol. 70, 1988, p.26

¹⁹²ibid

According to Pádraig Ó Riagáin Irish has not been successfully maintained in the Irish-speaking areas. And even although it is still used as an everyday language in some Irish-speaking districts, only 5-10 per cent of the population elsewhere use Irish frequently in daily social intercourse.¹⁹³ This situation exists against positive research results: the Committee on Language Attitudes Research in 1975¹⁹⁴ stated that there was a strong link between ability in and subsequent use of Irish with the duration and intensity of Irish language programmes.¹⁹⁵ The findings of Macnamara in 1966 and Cummins in 1977 showed that those who received bilingual or immersion type teaching of Irish were ten times more likely to use Irish than those who had been taught Irish as a subject only, and that this competence in Irish was at no cost to English.¹⁹⁶ That the long term future of the Irish language is not any more secure now than it was seventy years ago, may be seen from the shifting of overall goals of policy from revival, to bilingualism, to maintenance or even survival.¹⁹⁷ The soft underbelly of Gaeilge is exposed to English.

Bord na Gaeilge

Bord na Gaeilge is the 'state language planning authority'¹⁹⁸ and was established in 1978 as an independent state body 'to promote Irish as an everyday language of the community'.¹⁹⁹ It liaises with all groups involved with Irish and sees itself as 'language planner, catalyst and co-ordinator in its task of developing a bilingual Ireland'.²⁰⁰ Its functions are defined in The Bord na Gaeilge Act 1978:

¹⁹³ Ó Riagáin, P., (ed) *Language Planning in Ireland*, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, Vol.70, 1980, p.7

¹⁹⁴ Cited in *EIFE 2: Influence of Factors on the learning of Basque*, Basque Government:Gasteiz, 1989, p.16

¹⁹⁵ *ibid*

¹⁹⁶ *ibid*

¹⁹⁷ Ó Riagáin, (1990), p.14

¹⁹⁸ *Bord na Gaeilge - key to the future of the Irish language*, Bord na Gaeilge: Dublin 1989, p. 3

¹⁹⁹ *ibid*

²⁰⁰ Bord na Gaeilge information leaflet

The Bord may do anything it considers appropriate in accord with the general policy authorised by the Minister...It shall have the general function of developing, co-ordinating, reviewing and assisting measures and procedures relating to the Irish language...advise a Minister of the Government...advise, assist and co-operate with a Department of State...make a grant...or advance money to any person.²⁰¹

Its objectives are wide ranging:

To plan, guide and deploy the appropriate resources for the implementation of a comprehensive strategy for the creation of an effectively bilingual society in Ireland by the end of the century

- One in which a substantial section of the community has Irish as their main or preferred language; and the balance, though mainly English speaking, have a basic knowledge of Irish and make occasional use of it, at least;
- Where bilingual service is on offer in all the main areas of life, giving practical expression to the constitutional status of Irish as the "*national*" and '*first official language*' of the state.

To further develop public support for the view that some ability in speaking Irish is a key factor in Irish identity.²⁰²

Bord na Gaeilge's strategies to implement these objectives include central planning to avoid disparate developments and to ensure a focus on what is presently expedient; the encouragement of public figures to make wider use of the language; the expansion of networks - playgroups, schools, theatres, community centres, Irish counters in shops - in

²⁰¹op cit, p.31

²⁰²op cit, p.5

which Irish is the accepted medium of communication; the increased public exposure of Irish through developments in the world of business, commerce, sport, leisure and the arts.²⁰³

The Gaeltachd is given a separate paragraph in their strategy and is seen as an area of priority action; the Irish language is to have greater prominence in economic and educational developments.²⁰⁴ In schools throughout Ireland, Irish is to be given optimum resources and pupils are to have a 'satisfactory level of competence in Irish as a living vernacular'.²⁰⁵ Bord na Gaeilge is also committed to promoting Irish through newsletters, films, lectures, special events in Irish, competitions and so on. 'Gaeilge 90', which was a countrywide week-long programme of seminars, music, arts and cultural events in Irish, is an example of this type of initiative.²⁰⁶

To many it appears that the Government is paying only lip-service to Gaeilge, supporting it more at a ceremonial level than at an everyday one. For example, it pays £600 extra to teachers who teach through the medium of Gaeilge, and yet has no official policy for the training of Irish medium teachers. Perhaps, this highlights the reason why many believe - including officials in Bord na Gaeilge²⁰⁷ - that the Government's commitment is unconvincing and is an issue which needs to be addressed more vigorously.

²⁰³op cit. p.7

²⁰⁴op cit, p.8

²⁰⁵ibid

²⁰⁶ibid

²⁰⁷Personal interview with Anton O' Coilean, Senior Official, Bord na Gaeilge, Dublin (24.1.91) in author's tape library and Bord na Gaeilge - key to the future of the Irish language, p. 29

However, the government does provide finance for Gaeilge and supports not a few language bodies. Strange as it may seem, the future development of the language, many think, lies in the all-Irish schools in the urban, predominantly English-speaking areas, especially Dublin.²⁰⁸ The reason is that most of the children who rise to positions of responsibility in the government and civil service come from middle-class urban areas. With the development of all-Irish schools in Dublin, many of these future MPs, lawyers and civil servants, it is argued, are presently receiving Irish-medium education which many believe augurs well for the language.²⁰⁹

Greene acknowledges that the results of the language maintenance policy of the Irish State have been disappointing, but also sees some hope in the number of Irish speakers and the positive attitudes which exist towards the language by most Irish people.²¹⁰ Overall however, he feels that O' Rahilly's pronouncement on the permanent effects of bilingualism on the Manx language may also apply to Irish:²¹¹

From the beginning of its career as a written language English influence played havoc with its syntax, and it could be said without exaggeration that some of the Manx that has been printed is merely English disguised in a Manx vocabulary. Manx hardly deserved to live. When a language surrenders itself to foreign idiom, and when all its speakers become bilingual, the penalty is death.

Ó Murchu is able to discern genuine results from the State maintenance policy.²¹²

²⁰⁸ Maclean, TES (5.3.91), p.13

²⁰⁹ *ibid*

²¹⁰ Greene, D. (1990 revision) *The atlantic group: neo-Celtic and Faroese*, in Haugen, McClure and D. Thomson (eds), *Minority Languages Today*, Edinburgh:Edinburgh University Press, p.6

²¹¹ *op cit*, pp 2 & 6

²¹² Ó Murchu, p. 485

1. Secondary bilinguals were added in significant numbers to the population of Irish speakers.
2. Because literacy in Irish and at least a passive competence in the spoken language were gradually disseminated throughout the community, it became increasingly practical to use Irish for wider communication and this facilitated its restoration to public domains.
3. Considerable support was provided by the State for the planning necessary to adapt the language for its newly acquired functions.
4. The perception of Irish as a mark of distinctive ethnic identity was sustained through half a century of far-reaching social and economic change which might easily have obliterated it.

The present constitutional status of Irish as declared in **The Constitution of Ireland 1937** (*Bunreacht na hÉireann*), Article 8.1, is that 'the Irish language as the national language is the first official language'.²¹³ Article 8.2 then states that 'the English language is recognised as a second official language'.²¹⁴ (All official documents are published in both Irish and English.²¹⁵)

Ó Murchu comments:

Even if these pronouncements are assumed to have been sincerely meant, they are obviously not a straightforward reflection of sociolinguistic reality, either as it existed in 1937 in the Republic of Ireland, or as it has subsequently evolved.²¹⁶

He continues by stating that English is predominantly the language of the State and has been since its inception, that Irish is spoken by a small number of the population only

²¹³op cit, p. 471

²¹⁴ibid

²¹⁵Enc. Brit. Vol.21:955a

²¹⁶ibid

and, apart from education, 'is used to no more than a minimal degree in public domains.'²¹⁷ Ó Murchu believes, however, that despite increasing English influence over the last two centuries, 'the Irish language has retained sociopolitical, or ethnic, functions which reflect an earlier societal strength and are, in fact, consistent with its high constitutional status.'²¹⁸

Desmond Fennell²¹⁹ has focused on the failure of the Irish Government to arouse the will of the people of the Gaeltacht to save themselves. Fennell and others²²⁰ have charged the general language movement in Ireland with abandoning its responsibilities by placing its faith in the state apparatus to save the Gaeltacht. He reports:

But what of the language movement? Since it was this movement which infused the Irish state, and a succession of governments, with the will to save the Gaeltacht why did it not infuse the Gaeltacht people with the will to save themselves? The answer is partly that the language movement arose outside the Gaeltacht, was centered chiefly in Dublin, and saw its role principally as one of reviving Irish in English-speaking Ireland.

However, the most important point Fennell believes is that:

...the language movement shared the government's assumption that the state apparatus could save the Gaeltacht.²²¹

²¹⁷ibid

²¹⁸ibid

²¹⁹Fennell, D., *Can A Shrinking Linguistic Minority Be Saved?* in *Minority Languages Today*, pp 38-39

²²⁰Ó Cuinneagain cited in *The Great Irish Revival*, *The Irish Times*, 22.6.93

²²¹Fennel, p..38

He believes that the language movement has been marked by indifference to the Gaeltacht and concludes his analysis of the failure to maintain the Irish language in the Gaeltacht area in particular, by stating that Ireland was the first country in which:

...a state and its resources were committed to the task. In the circumstances it was inevitable that we would not know how to use these assets, and the language movement, in a successful combination.²²²

He draws some interesting conclusions from the Irish situation suggesting that 'well-wishers' who do not belong to the minority in question, nor a benevolent state, but only a motivated minority itself supplied with the necessary infrastructures may prevent a language shrinking.²²³ He further remarks, with echoes of the Israeli revival:

The basic prerequisite is that they acquire the will to stop their disappearance as a linguistic community, and they can acquire this through the agency of a prophetic individual or group who either arises among themselves or comes to them from outside, lives with them, and identifies with them...Consequently, we can say in summary, that a shrinking linguistic minority can be saved from extinction only by itself; and on condition that it acquires the will to save itself, and is not prevented from taking appropriate measures but assisted in doing so.²²⁴

²²²op cit p. 39

²²³ibid

²²⁴ibid

9. Language Corpus Planning

At the beginning of the movement for the revival in the nineteenth century some desired the language to be retained in its classical form, but the majority wanted the living language as spoken in the Irish speaking areas to be promoted.²²⁵ The result was that the three main dialects of Munster, Connacht and Ulster were accepted with the attendant orthographic problems, especially in the production of school texts.²²⁶ In 1962 new orthographic guidelines (*Litriú Nua*) were published to 'bring the language nearer to daily speech'.²²⁷

De Bhaldraithe's English-Irish dictionary was published in 1959 and Ó Dónaill's Irish-English dictionary in 1978 and in the 1980s a pronouncing pocket dictionary was published. The Royal Irish Academy's Dictionary of the Irish language encompassing earlier Irish language was published in 1975 and the Academy's dictionary of the modern language is in hand.²²⁸ The Academy also publishes terminological dictionaries for subjects such as computing, biology, flora and fauna, physiology and hygiene, geography and planning, home economics, dairying, music, agriculture, business studies and many others.²²⁹

There are language related bodies which function under the auspices of Bord na Gaeilge such as **Comhar na Muinteoiri Gaeilge** (Gaeilge Teachers Resource Body), and **Gaelscoileanna** (a body which advises and helps parents in the setting up of all-Irish schools).²³⁰ Irish textbooks are under the constant supervision of bodies such as the

²²⁵McRory, *Irish in The Older Mother Tongues of the United Kingdom*, ed. James (1978) CILT:London, p.37

²²⁶ibid

²²⁷ibid

²²⁸ibid

²²⁹List of publications in *Computer Terminology Dictionary* (1990), An Gúm:Dublin

²³⁰Personal interview with Antoin O' Coilean (24.1.91)

Department of Education's Syllabus Committees, the Linguistics Institute of Ireland, and Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge. The Department of Education has also established and staffed a special committee to co-ordinate provision with regard to terminology. Bord na Gaeilge and Radio na Gaeltachta along with Irish medium programmes on television provide a nationwide forum for the language.²³¹

10. Acquisition Planning

*Irish Qualifications for all Teachers*²³²

All teachers at second level (equivalent to Scottish secondary school level) who wish to obtain permanent employment in the Irish State education system must have either one of two Irish language qualifications - there is one qualification for teachers of Irish as a subject and another for those whose teaching subject is not Irish. The general course lasts for 125 hours over three years. This entails practical language work with an emphasis on oral communication within a limited range of topics, and written work as demanded by the Department of Education written test; a three week Gaeltacht course is undergone at the end of year one.

Thomond College of Education: Limerick

Thomond College of Education, Limerick was established in 1973 as a college for the education and training of teachers of physical education for the post primary sector (12-18). Its brief was expanded in 1979 to cater for trainee teachers of other areas of the curriculum, i.e. Wood and Building Technology; Metal and Engineering Technology;

²³¹Ó Murchu , p.5

²³²Personal interview with Liam O' Dochartaigh, Senior Lecturer & Head of Gaeilge, Thomond College in Limerick (23.1.91) in author's tape library

Rural and General Science and Business Studies.²³³ Students at Thomond are required to choose and study a second subject to degree level. Some choose Irish as their second option, and the objective of the Irish degree course is to enable students to teach Irish throughout post-primary schools on graduation from the College.

For the most part, the students are themselves learners of the language - fewer than one in five are native speakers of Irish - and prior to entering the College they will have achieved minimum levels of competence in Irish.²³⁴ The degree course in Irish comprises the following elements:

- language competence - consolidation, improvement, enrichment
- literary studies - modern Irish mainly
- linguistics - socio-linguistics in particular
- folklore - including traditional song

This gives a total of 440 hours over four years. Over and above this, there are:

- nine weeks of residence in a Gaeltacht area over four years
- 112 hours of language teaching methodology, and curriculum studies related to the teaching of Irish
- the teaching of a minimum of 104 Irish lessons over four years, at levels ranging from upper primary classes to senior secondary classes

Teacher Training for Irish Medium Schools

Although there is no provision for training native speakers of Irish to teach through the medium of Irish, it is hoped that this may be remedied. If a course in Irish medium

²³³ Thomond College of Education, Limerick 1990-91 Calendar, pp 1-4 & personal interview with Liam Ó Dochartaigh

²³⁴ Liam Ó Dochartaigh (23.1.91)

education is to be forthcoming, Thomond College of Education, a University College, see a need for research in three areas:²³⁵

- review of past achievement and the existing situation
- analysis of classroom discourse in Irish-medium schools (in a range of lesson types and subject areas)
- problems among teachers and pupils related to the acceptance or rejection of Irish as a teaching medium for certain subjects

If the resources were forthcoming for such a course, it is envisaged that it would comprise the following elements:²³⁶

- language work (remedial and developmental)
- lectures based on research (see above)
- specially designed Gaeltacht courses
- micro teaching and education technology courses
- practice teaching through Irish
- dissertation or project to be written in Irish

Áras Chrónáin Second Level All-Irish School: Dublin

It is reckoned that the main indication of the revival of Irish is the growth of all-Irish schools. Twenty years ago there were eleven of them outside the Gaeltacht, now there are 92.²³⁷ The new movement within the language is coming from the grass roots as group after group of parents struggle to get all-Irish schools off the ground.²³⁸ There are a variety of reasons why parents send their children to such schools. Parents:

- wish their children to have Irish as a language of communication

²³⁵ibid

²³⁶ibid & Maclean, (1991) *A Dh'Ionnsaidh Cursa Bhogaidh Ghàidhlig*

²³⁷*The Great Irish Revival, The Irish Times* (22.6.93)

²³⁸Jae Ní Fhearghusa of Gaeilscoileanna cited in *The Great Irish Revival, The Irish Times* (22.6.93)

- wish their children to be bilingual
- realise their children receive a more complete view of the world through bilingual education
- wish the Irish language to continue and develop
- realise that there is a greater awareness of Irish culture in All- Irish schools
- wish support in bringing up their children through Irish²³⁹

Such parents are also responsible for other developments. Áras Chrónáin in Clondalkin, Dublin is an Irish cultural centre which grew from the enthusiasm of parents. There is a sound studio, seven musical instruments are taught, and there are Irish classes as well as classes in other subjects such as art.²⁴⁰ The two teachers below interviewed at *Colaiste Chilliain*, Dublin have been involved in the developments at Clondalkin.

Proinnsias O hAilin and Domhnall O Lubhlai teach Irish through Irish in *Colaiste Chilliain*, an all-Irish school and have devised an immersive method which is used in many institutions in Ireland. Domhnaill O Lubhlai is perhaps the one to whom much of the thinking behind the method may be attributed. There are 12 constituent parts to this immersive approach which is mainly communicative.²⁴¹

1. **Comhra Beag** - small conversation involving active verbs
2. **Agallamha Reamhdheanta** - pre-arranged interviews
3. **Buntús na Teanga** - basics of grammar, using active methods
4. **Storytelling**
5. **Bealoideas** - Folklore (blessings, habits, customs)
6. **Agallamh Togalach** - Interview, Conversation (composed with the help of the class)
7. **Comhra Mor** - Big Conversation (the actions involved in making a bed, or making breakfast - objects, utensils used in teaching)
8. **Amhranaíocht** - Songs

²³⁹ *Gaelscoileanna*, typewritten informational handout received from Gaelscoileanna Offices and personal interview with Deirbhile Nic Raith, Gaelscoileanna Coordinator in Dublin (22.2.91) in author's tape library

²⁴⁰ *The Great Irish Revival*, *The Irish Times* (22.6.93)

²⁴¹ Personal interview with Proinnsias O hAilin and Domhnall O Lubhlai at *Colaiste Chilliain*, Dublin (21.1.91) in author's tape library

9. **Ceachtanna Eolais** - Information lesson on a topic, eg jet engine

10. **Language Instigation Situations** (5-10 mins.):

- Free speech
- Court Situation
- How do you say ...?
- Miming
- Parliament
- What does the panel think?

11 **Language atmosphere enhanced in class**, e.g. posters

12 **Back up forces** (eg media usage)

Their school functions entirely in Gaeilge - those with little or no Irish, coming in at first year, are taught by immersion, and have to sink or swim - after about six months they would be beginning to hold their heads above water. Domhnall O Lubhlai's observed that minority language learners needed to be made aware (in the cases of Irish and Scottish Gaelic) of the worth and rich academic past of their languages in order to restore confidence in tongues which are in captivity to English language and culture.

University Level

Whilst Irish as a subject has been taught at tertiary level since the nineteenth century, it has also had a history as a medium of instruction. In 1926, University College Dublin and University College Cork were funded to teach a number of undergraduate courses through Irish.²⁴² In 1927 University College Galway received a greater amount of funding to develop 'extensive undergraduate teaching through Irish'²⁴³ and positions in commerce, history and mathematics were established. Generally, these arrangements did not flourish although some aspects of these developments have continued to the

²⁴²Ó Murchu p. 481

²⁴³ibid

present.²⁴⁴ University College Galway in 1967, for example, taught fifteen subjects in arts and sciences through Irish; the figure has reduced somewhat since that time, however.²⁴⁵ In 1945 special financial provision was made to produce university text books in Irish: by 1963 only six had appeared. Ó Murchu opines:

The task had been far greater than anyone had imagined. That the Irish-speaking community, like other small language communities, was unable to keep pace in its own language with the explosion of knowledge and rapid intellectual development which this century has experienced is hardly surprising but, even in Irish Studies, textbooks and reference materials for advanced courses have continued to be predominantly in English.²⁴⁶

11. Adult Education and Intensive Provision

Gael-linn

Whilst there has always been opportunity for adults to take a traditional type class in Irish whether at ordinary or higher level, the position regarding intensive provision is in its formative stages. Gael-Linn is one of the main organisations in the Irish Language Movement and the only body operating intensive courses in Irish on a professional basis throughout the year.²⁴⁷ Foras na Gaeilge, an integral part of Gael-Linn, runs these courses and Áine Ó Cuireáin, a director, states:²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ibid

²⁴⁵ibid

²⁴⁶ibid

²⁴⁷Letter of reply to author from A. Ó Cuireáin, (1.12.93)

²⁴⁸ibid

We also have morning courses on a demand supply basis. For the past few years these have been running almost as frequently as the evening courses. We also provide many specialised courses for companies, government departments and cultural bodies

All our courses ...are orally based, constructed on communicative principles and informed by research done in Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éirinn, in particular work done by Joe Shields for the Commission of Europe.

Gael-Linn's courses are on three levels ranging from complete beginner (Level 1) to those who have 'some understanding of the language'²⁴⁹ (Level 2) to those who are fairly proficient and wish to advance language skills in a variety of domains (Level 3).

Their intensive courses are never shorter than six hours per week, with the most intensive being a nine day refresher course running from 9.00 am to 9.00 pm for nine days consecutively.²⁵⁰ There is no pre-testing. It is explained to students the types of courses available and they are permitted to choose the one they wish to go on. The 'direct method' is employed and singing is banned since many of the adult learning classes in Ireland were little more than singing and dancing classes in Irish.²⁵¹ The importance of formal, semi-formal and informal speech registers are taught and communication skills for the dining room etc are taught for residential courses. The bricks of the intensive course are a sounds course which teaches 50 phonemes in Irish, lexicon, grammar and utterance structures.

²⁴⁹Gael-Linn brochure, *Courses in Spoken Irish for Adults 1994*

²⁵⁰Ó Donnchadha, D., *Adult Learners of Irish in Lesser Used Languages and the Communicative Needs of Adult Learners*, The European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, Proceedings of a conference held in Dublin 21-23 March 1986, p.18

²⁵¹ibid

Ó Donnchadha is critical of many of the present courses including the communicative approach because they do not 'contain a comprehensive section on the sound systems of the language,¹²⁵² neither do they adequately treat of 'grammar as part of the communicative process¹²⁵³ and the 'treatment of structure is inadequate.¹²⁵⁴ He states:

The fact that the communicative tide is in flood should remind us that there have been other tides - audio-lingual, audio-visual and so on. Those tides have ebbed. They have left a profound mark on modern language teaching. It was a pity they were promoted uncritically as they flowed.²⁵⁵

Oideas Gael

Oideas Gael, a language institution based in Donegal, has for the past decade been offering courses for adults in Irish language and culture at all learning levels.²⁵⁶ It was founded in 1983 'to promote the learning and use of Irish and to foster Irish Culture within the Gaeltacht and elsewhere.¹²⁵⁷ The language courses last for one week with some 45-50 hours of tutored sessions per course. Beginners, intermediate and advanced levels are catered for, with intensive sessions both morning and afternoon. The aim for each course, save certain units at the advanced level, is to promote spoken Irish. An interesting development in 1991 was the establishment of the first purpose-built Irish language learning centre in Ireland, *Foras Cultúir Uladh* with classrooms, learning facilities, library, bookshop, archaeological resource centre, art gallery and restaurant. In parallel with the Irish language courses there are cultural activity holidays in hillwalking,

¹²⁵²op cit, p.20

¹²⁵³ibid

¹²⁵⁴ibid

¹²⁵⁵ibid

¹²⁵⁶Oideas Gael brochure, *Oideas Gael 1984-1994*

¹²⁵⁷ibid

traditional dances of Ireland, painting and archaeology.²⁵⁸ Liam Ó Cuinneagáin, director at Oideas Gael says:

*Tá ár gcoras bunaithe ar Ulpan agus an modh díreach, le athrá,
freagras, ceasteanna, le overhead, etc. gan Béarla a úsáid*

(Our course is based on Ulpan and the direct method, with repetition,
questions and answers, with overhead etc. without using English.)²⁵⁹

There is also research on-going by Muiris Ó Laoire at the Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éirinn on the teaching of Hebrew as a second language in Israel.²⁶⁰ His area of interest is a comparative analysis of the sociolinguistic and educational factors which were present in the revival of Hebrew 1880-1948 and in the contemporaneous efforts to restore Irish in Ireland. To date his research has encouraged him 'to be dubious as to the efficacy of any methodology which does not take the sociolinguistic background into account.'²⁶¹

²⁵⁸Oideas Gael brochure, *Oideas Gael 1984-1994*

²⁵⁹Letter of reply from Liam Ó Cuinneagáin, Oideas Gael (3.12.93) & Letter of reply from Muiris Ó Laoire (20.12.93)

²⁶⁰Muiris Ó Laoire (20.12.93)

²⁶¹ibid

Summary

Although the Irish language received official status and government funding many years before Hebrew, its situation does not appear as well advanced as Hebrew nor the other minority languages dealt with. The reasons for this are complex. Some have suggested that the Hebrew language survived and revived because it was in exile for many centuries; had it remained in Israel it would have been overwhelmed by Aramaic or Arabic.²⁶² Gaeilge has remained in its own land and suffered the depredations of persecution, famine, poverty, and English language and culture. However, Euskara also suffered in its terrain and appears to have progressed more. Others suggest that a language which was revived for mainly symbolic reasons by the government cannot hope to be revived or reinstated as a communicative medium, without great difficulty.²⁶³ Some commentators are glad that Irish has managed to survive to the extent it has.

The Language Movement in Ireland has been blamed for placing too much confidence in government stratagems and for not exhorting the Gaeltachd especially to take responsibility for its own destiny. Bord na Gaeilge is currently committed to achieving a bilingual Ireland by the end of this century, and to ensuring that any economic and educational developments in the Gaeltachd are matched by supporting language developments.

Irish status planning appears to be stable and active; corpus planners have seen a new orthography, new dictionaries and radio and television programmes introduced, although

²⁶²Mandel, George, Dr., *The Revival of Hebrew - A Sociolinguistic Anomaly*, unpublished typescript received from author 2.12.93

²⁶³Edwards, J. p.15

Irish medium television is not far advanced. In acquisition planning, the new all-Irish schools are the most important development to date and appear to auger well for the future. Although there is an abundance of traditional certificated Irish courses for adults at ordinary and higher levels, the provision of intensive courses is inchoate, which is not as one might have expected for a country with such weighty language legislation.

Intensive courses covered in the chapter acknowledge the influence of Israeli ulpan methods and especially the direct method. In comparing the Irish adult language learning situation with the other languages studied, the following points of similarity emerge:

- Irish has official status as a statutory language, yet is given little place as an official working language
- There is government sponsorship of language learning
- There is an overarching body to care for and control language acquisition
- There is a language academy
- General dictionaries and terminologies have been published
- There is literature available in magazine and book format, but no Irish language daily newspapers, although three daily newspapers publish approximately 1000 words of Irish per edition.²⁶⁴ There is one Irish language Sunday newspaper. There is also an Irish language newspaper published in Northern Ireland on a weekly basis, *An Lá*.
- Television and radio are used to maintain the language

On the negative side:

- There is no national framework for intensive courses for adults
- There is no 'straight through system' encompassing learners and fluent speakers

²⁶⁴MacRuairí, Tomás, *Ireland: The Irish Language* in *Contact Bulletin* Vol. 8 Nos. 2& 3 Autumn 1991.

Chapter 6 - The Pedigree of a Nation

A Short History of the Gaelic Language

Introduction

Dr Samuel Johnson, 'a harmless drudge', according to his own definition of a lexicographer has suggested that languages are the pedigrees of nations.¹ This chapter researches the pedigree of the Gaelic language prior to its arrival in the British Isles and its subsequent development.

¹ in Meic Stephens p. 61

1. Gaelic in the Garden of Eden?

Last century Gaelic had protagonists who claimed primordial status for the language.²

One poet expressed his conviction on the matter thus:

*By Adam it was spoken
In Eden I believe
And sweetly flowed the Gaelic
From the lovely lips of Eve³*

Is it not a twinge ironic (and improbable) that in an experiment to ascertain the primordial tongue⁴ James IV (1488-1513) - the last Gaelic-speaking king of Scotland and an amateur linguist - raised two infants from birth without language contact of any sort and recorded after two years had passed that they 'spak very guid Ebrew'?

There were attempts in the 17th century to prove that Gaelic and Hebrew were linked:

Our native scholars,...were busily engaged for many years in endeavouring to prove an intimate connection between the Celtic languages and the Semitic family.⁵

To try and prove the connection between Gaelic and Hebrew the Hebrew word *Heber* (עבר - HBR) meaning 'one who has crossed over',⁶ was linked to the Gaelic *oinbr* where *oin* or *ain* means a river and *bar* or *bhar* means beyond. It is accounted that *Heber*, the great-grandson of Shem, the son of Noah, crossed over to the east side of the Euphrates 'from the tumultuous assembly of Nimrod on the western bank in

² Ross, W., *Survey of the Celtic Languages* in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, Vol. 1:56 (1872)

³ cited in MacNeill, N., (1929) *The Literature of The Highlanders*, Mackay: Stirling, p.29

⁴ Stern, A., (1988) *L' HEBREU 'LANGUE-MERE' PARMI LES CHRETIENS EN EUROPE APRES LE MOYEN AGE*, Extrait Du Les Juifs Dans Le Regard De L'autre, Presses Universitaires Du Mirail: Vent Terral

⁵ Ross, p.58.

⁶ Gesenius, *Hebrew-Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament*, Baker Book House: Grand Rapids, Michigan (1980 edition) p. 604

Babylon.'⁷ Correspondingly, the Gaelic words *Inver*, *Inverich*, *Iberich* or Iberians and *Ebirich* or Ebrideans are all reckoned to be expressive of isolation or being on the other side of water.⁸

Linguists from other nations were also busy endeavouring to show that their native tongues were primordial.⁹ Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) the Welsh polymath and Celtic scholar was a notable exception and indicated in his 'British Etymologicon' the connection between Celtic and the Indo-European languages known at that time.¹⁰ However, it is Sir William Jones' paper to the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1786 which is generally regarded as 'the first clear statement asserting the existence of Indo-European'.¹¹

The Sanskrit language, whatever may be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure: more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than could have been produced by accident; so strong, indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists. There is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the Gothic and the Celtic, though blended with a different idiom, had the same origin with the Sanskrit.¹²

⁷ Maclean, L., (1840), *The History of the Celtic Languages*, Smith, Elder & Co.: London, p. xvii

⁸ op cit, pp. xi. xvii and 26. Scott, links the term Iber with the Ebro river in North Spain, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, Vol. xxxiv, p318

⁹ Ross, W., *Survey of the Celtic Languages*, p. 58

¹⁰ ibid

¹¹ Crystal, p. 296

¹² Crystal, p. 296 & Ross, p.59

It was not until 1808 that Celtic was set in its rightful place. Prior to that date it was generally deemed that there was no kinship linguistically or ethnically between Hindustan in the East and Europe in the West.¹³

2. Indo-European Origins

There are fifty-five recognised Indo-European language varieties contained in ten families: Albanian, Anatolian, Armenian, Balto-Slavic, Celtic, Germanic, Greek, Indo-Iranian, Italic, and Tocharian (now extinct).¹⁴ Gaelic belongs to the Celtic group of languages.¹⁵ The parent tongue widely known as Proto-Indo-European was thought to have been spoken in an area between the Indian and European continents around 3000 B.C. probably in the steppe region of southern Russia.¹⁶ Some believe the forebears of the Celts to be related to the Scythians,¹⁷ a nomadic people originally of Iranian stock,¹⁸ and have suggested that **Scotia**, the Latin name for Scotland, derives from **Scythia**.¹⁹ These forebears of the Celts, located around the Black Sea, began migrating regularly and in large numbers, about the time Moses was leading the children of Israel out of Egypt (1491 B.C.).²⁰ Some moved past the Caspian Sea towards Iran about 1500 B.C., and the Iranian province of **Gilan**²¹ is reckoned to be testimony to their being there.

The Celts, the first Indo-Europeans to diffuse throughout Europe,²² possessed many characteristics, not least their ability to move rapidly. They were as much at home on the

¹³ Ross, p.58
¹⁴ Crystal, pp 300-301¹⁵ MacBain, A., (1909) Outlines of Gaelic Etymology, Mackay:Stirling p.i¹⁶ *ibid* & Crystal, p. 296¹⁷ Gregor, D.B., (1980) Celtic: a Comparative Study, Oleander Press:Cambridge, p.88¹⁸ Enc. Brit. Vol. 10:576¹⁹ I am grateful to Dr David Brown of Glasgow University Scottish History Department for this information²⁰ Scott, Archibald, Rev. (1928) The Historical Sequence of the Celtic People in Scotland, in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness, Vol. xxxiv, p315²¹ Grimble, Ian (1985) Scottish Islands, BBC: London, p.6 (I assume he supposes Gilan to be related to Gaul or Gaidheal.)²² Crystal, p.302

back of a horse as they were in the bow of a boat²³ and as these highly skilled warriors and craftsmen spread out in search of land and plunder their language began to split up into different dialects. The Celts who settled in the Balkans and in Asia Minor were called *Galatae* by the Greeks and Galatian speech remained in use until the 5th century AD.²⁴ Jerome stated in the 4th century AD that Galatian reminded him of the Gaulish dialect of the *Treveri*, and is recorded as saying (presumably with appropriate *gravitas*) 'Why can't they speak Greek like everyone else?'²⁵ In the migration westwards one group trailed the Danube Valley and another the River Save in northern Italy. The Celts from the Danube Valley eventually reached Britain bringing with them the Brythonic form of language called P-Celtic.²⁶ The other flow of emigrants, in its path up the Save and the Valley of the Po, entered the Iberian peninsula, and some believe it was they who brought to Ireland the Goidelic form of language known as Q-Celtic.²⁷ The Celts who occupied Spain were known as the Celtiberi, and their language has been left on inscriptions in north and east Spain.²⁸ The part of Spain that they later occupied is known as Galicia.²⁹

The main migration by Celts was into northern Italy, France, and the north of Europe - a people whom Julius Caesar knew as Gauls or *Galli*.³⁰ The Greeks called them *Keltoi*,³¹ and this was the term chosen by the sixteenth-century scholar George Buchanan to define people who spoke any of the family of Celtic languages.³² It is now generally

²³ Scott, p. 316

²⁴ Crystal, p. 302

²⁵ Fife, J. in *The Celtic Languages*, p.4 & Gregor, D.B. (1980), *Celtic: a comparative study*, p.15

²⁶ Scott, p.315

²⁷ *ibid*

²⁸ Crystal, p.302

²⁹ Grimble, p.6

³⁰ *ibid* and Ball, p.3

³¹ Ball, p.4

³² *ibid*

accepted that the Roman term *Galli* and the Greek *Keltoi* refer to the same people.³³ The term Celtic, however, may have at least eight meanings:³⁴

1. The people whom the Romans and Greeks called Celtic
2. The people who called themselves Celts. (Perhaps it is appropriate here to explain the variety of names given to the Celts: *Celts* = fighters and was a name they attributed to themselves; *Gauls* = warriors or foreigners and was a name the Romans gave them.³⁵ *Goidel* is from the Old Irish *Gael* derived from the Welsh *Gwyddel* = raider.³⁶ There is a legend initially perpetrated by the Fíli, a learned class of poets, that the terms *Gael* and *Scot* came as a result of a progenitor named *Gael Glas* marrying *Scota* daughter of Pharaoh.³⁷ It is generally accepted that there is no substance to this origin legend and is treated as invented history.³⁸)
3. A language group as defined by linguists
4. An archaeological complex in west central Europe encompassing a number of cultures, such as Marnian of north France
5. An art style: the earlier Halstatt period dated from about 800 BC to about 400 BC, and the later La Tène period from about 400 BC onwards³⁹
6. A warlike independent spirit
7. The art and the church emanating from Ireland in the first millennium AD
8. Qualities or features which have been transmitted and form what contemporary society may call the Celtic heritage

Our present interest in the term is as a language group.

³³ *ibid*

³⁴ Renfrew, C., (1987), *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*, Cape: London, p.214

³⁵ Celtic Languages (1979), Exeter Tapes, I.Press: University of Exeter

³⁶ Gregor, p.17

³⁷ *Gael: The story of the first Scots*, p.14

³⁸ Telephone interview with Dr David Brown, Scottish History Department, Glasgow University (11.1.94)

³⁹ Watson, Prof. WJ, *The Celts in Britain*, *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 36:244

3. What is a Celtic Language?

This chapter is mainly concerned with the term Celtic as it is applied to languages. This is not straightforward. How may we define what constitutes a Celtic language? Traditionally there are two main ways of classifying languages: the **typological** and the **genetic**.⁴⁰ An **ethnological** approach is another method, but is considered less helpful for linguists.⁴¹ In the ethnological approach Celtic is taken as referring to the languages of the peoples descended from the *Galli* and the *Keltoi*; however, following this method implicitly we arrive at a situation where modern French may be termed a Celtic language.⁴²

The **typological classification** is based on a comparison of 'formal similarities'⁴³ which exist between languages and tries to group languages into structural types according to phonology, grammar, or vocabulary. For a meaningful 'typological' discussion of what constitutes a Celtic language it has been suggested that only neo-Celtic languages, that is the Celtic languages 'attested in the post-Roman era,' are suitable for study because 'knowledge of the great bulk of the grammatical features of any of the Continental languages is too limited to make any reliable generalizations.'⁴⁴

The **genetic classification** is based on the assumption that languages have derived from a common ancestor.⁴⁵ It has been the main method of classification since its introduction in the 18th century and 'provides the framework within which all world-wide linguistic

⁴⁰ Crystal, p.293

⁴¹ Fyfe in Ball, p.5

⁴² op cit, p.4

⁴³ Crystal, p.293

⁴⁴ Ball, p.7

⁴⁵ Crystal, p.293

surveys to date have been carried out.⁴⁶ This approach treats as Celtic any language related to the reconstructed proto-language and whilst it relies to a degree on 'the mechanism of inheritance' its focus has been turned on 'specifically linguistic features instead of populations or cultures.'⁴⁷ This is the classification used in this chapter.

4. Continental and Insular Celtic

The mass of Celtic dialects on the continent of Europe has been termed **Continental Celtic** and was spoken in an area which reached from Gaul in the north to Iberia in the south and across to Galatia in the east, from around 500 BC - 500 AD.⁴⁸ These dialects have been considered to comprise Gaulish, Celtiberian, Lepontic, and Galatian.⁴⁹ Galatian remained until around the 5th century AD; the other languages, under Roman domination, succumbed to Latin much earlier.⁵⁰

Insular Celtic refers to the dialects which came to be spoken in the British Isles and Brittany. The bulk of information concerning Celtic languages comes from Insular Celtic as there is little written documentation for Continental Celtic.⁵¹ Insular Celtic has two branches: the Goidelic or Gaelic branch (Q-Celtic) and the Brythonic or British branch (P-Celtic). The Goidelic Q-Celtic is so called because it is believed to have retained the /kw-/ sound of Proto-Indo-European, writing it as *q*, and later as *c*. The Brythonic P-Celtic group is so called because /kw-/ developed into /p-/.⁵² The two branches are seen in the Gaelic for four - *ceithir*, and the Welsh - *pedwar*. The Neo-Brythonic

⁴⁶ Crystal, p.293

⁴⁷ Ball, p.5

⁴⁸ Celtic Languages (1979), Exeter Tapes, I.Press:University of Exeter & Enc. Brit Vol. 3:16

⁴⁹ op cit, p.6

⁵⁰ ibid

⁵¹ Crystal, p.302

⁵² ibid

languages - Welsh, Cornish and Breton - can be dated from the 6th century.⁵³ Goidelic was spoken in Ireland at least as early as the 5th century AD and the other two branches, Scottish Gaelic and Manx resulted from Irish colonization in these countries around the 5th century.⁵⁴ In Scotland and the Isle of Man British dialects were replaced by Irish.⁵⁵

Some believe that there are strong non-Indo-European elements in Insular Celtic, arguing that the relatively small band of Celtic invaders from the Continent 'must have been influenced strongly by the speaking habits of a predominantly non-Celtic population.'⁵⁶ They furnish as proof the ways in which Insular Celtic differs from other Indo-European languages. One such proof is the use of periphrastic conjugations such as the Manx **jin gol ta:i!** - go home! (lit. do going home!). These periphrastic conjugations amongst other items caused Wagner⁵⁷ to form a link between the Celtic languages and Basque, and eventually North African and Middle Eastern languages such as Berber, Egyptian, Arabic and Hebrew. Wagner states:

... North-Eastern Africa must have been, in prehistoric as well as in early historical times, a regular target for nomadic invaders from Arabia, Syria and also from east and north-east. As a result of these invasions, Hamitic and Proto-Hamitic speech was spread - on the evidence of Egyptian from a very early date - not only all over North Africa but also, if my reading of the linguistic affinities of Ancient

⁵³ Celtic Languages (1979), Exeter Tapes, I.Press:University of Exeter

⁵⁴ Enc. Brit. 3:16

⁵⁵ ibid

⁵⁶ Wagner, H., *Near Eastern and African Connections with the Celtic World* in The Celtic Consciousness, (1982), Canongate:Edinburgh, p.51

⁵⁷ op cit, pp 51-63

Iberian, Basque and the substratum of Insular Celtic is correct, to Western Europe.⁵⁸

5. The Celts Come to Britain

The most extensive influx of Celts into Britain took place around 800 B.C. across the Straits of Dover, including it is thought the Danubian P-Celts.⁵⁹ It is claimed that the place-names on both sides of the Straits indicate that this was the chief Celtic crossing-point to Britain (*dwfr* the Welsh for water - or two seas - became the English, Dover⁶⁰ cf Gaelic *dà mhuir*). There were three main septs which made the crossing: *the Belgae*, *the Damnonioi* and *the Brigantes*. Many of the Belgae continued to Ireland, where they became known as *Fir Bolg*; a smaller number reached as far as the Moray Firth in Scotland.⁶¹ They are recorded as being soldiers, cultivators, mariners, and traders. The *Damnonioi*, who were a pastoral people, sought the southern plains but were later pushed west into Somerset, Devon and Cornwall. Some crossed over to Ireland, occupying three-quarters of it and becoming known as *Fir Domnann*; a smaller number moved from Southern England into Lanarkshire and Fife. *The Brigantes* were cultivators and pastoralists.⁶² Their military caste was the most expert among the Celts for building stone fortifications and they inhabited Britain and Ireland.⁶³

6. The Gaels Go to Ireland

There are differing interpretations of the history of the British and Irish Celtic tribal movements. Scott suggests that about 400 B.C. Iberian Celts or Gaels arrived in Ireland

⁵⁸ Wagner, p.63

⁵⁹ *ibid*

⁶⁰ *ibid*, also *The Story of English*, McCrum, Cran & MacNeil, p56

⁶¹ Scott, p. 317

⁶² *ibid*

⁶³ *ibid*

from the Iberian peninsula and settled where the Iro-Britains had not.⁶⁴ He deduces from their name *Iber* that they had contact with the River Ebro in Spain,⁶⁵ and that they had left Celtiberia having passed through Galicia bringing with them Q-Celtic. He also associates the movement of a small colony of Brythonic Celts (P-Celtic) from Ireland to Scotland around 350 BC with the expansion of the newly arrived Gaels (Q-Celtic) in South-Western Ireland.⁶⁶

Gregor,⁶⁷ however, suggests that the Q-Celts originally came from Gaul citing the tribe occupying the area between the Rhône and the Rhine called *Sequani* as evidence of Q-Celtic. There may also have been other Q-Celtic tribes, such as the Helvetii and he gives Caesar's arrival in Gaul as reason enough for them to emigrate to Ireland between 58 and 50 BC. It is known that the Helvetii and related tribes moved towards the western coast of Gaul in 58 BC with 92,000 fighting men and a total number of 368,000.⁶⁸ At the Battle of Amercy 130,000 surrendered, according to Caesar, leaving at least 146,000 (assuming that most of the 92,000 fighting men had been slain). This 146,000 needed a refuge and Ireland beckoned.⁶⁹ Gregor informs us that these newcomers called themselves *Feni*⁷⁰ 'in the sense of free landholders' and their language *Bélre Fene* came to stand for 'pure, archaic Irish'.⁷¹ With the influx of these Goidelic refugees Hibernia eventually became completely Goidelic speaking. The Isle of Man also received some of these emigres.⁷² It was not until the 6th century, he suggests, that the Gaels of Ireland emigrated to Scotland.⁷³

⁶⁴ op. cit., p318

⁶⁵ Scott, p. 318 & 336

⁶⁶ ibid

⁶⁷ Gregor, pp 22-23

⁶⁸ ibid

⁶⁹ Watson, op cit, pp255-256 suggests that they returned home and not to Ireland.

⁷⁰ Gregor, p.23

⁷¹ ibid

⁷² Gregor, p.25

It is interesting to observe that the Iro-British (P-Celtic), irrespective of their tribal orientation, were called *Cruithne* by the Gaels (Q-Celtic).⁷⁴ According to Scott, the basic Goidelic lettering of *Cruithne* is *Quriten* with the Brythonic equivalent being *Britann* or *Pritan(n)*. In this Gregor⁷⁵ agrees stating that the Irish name for the inhabitants of Britain was *Cruithin*, the Welsh name being *Prydyn*, and that both these terms were later used to mean Picts. The Scottish Gaelic for Picts today is *Cruithnich*. Gregor relates:

It is an irresistible deduction that these earliest inhabitants of Britain and Ireland were, therefore, Picts. Unfortunately, it is not so certain that the Picts were Celts⁷⁶

There is strong evidence for an 'all-Celto-Brittonic' population in Northern Britain ruled by Britons in the centuries before the birth of Christ.⁷⁷ Scott cites that around 300 BC Pytheas of Marseilles, a Gallo-Greek voyager, designated Britain as one of the 'Prettanic Isles'.⁷⁸ From Diviciacus, *Gallic War* ii 4, 6-7, Scott reminds us that Caesar, who came to Britain in 55 BC, knew the southern Britons and their relations among the Belgae by contact, and the other Britons - who regarded themselves as aboriginals - only by hearsay.⁷⁹ It is also recorded that there was a Celtic Sovereign who governed a large part of Gaul and Britain prior to Caesar's restructuring. One of the most conclusive documents concerning an all-Celtic Britain, spreading from Totnes (Devon) to Burra Head (Shetland), is Ptolemy's *Geographike Uphegesis* which was written before 150 AD

⁷³ *ibid*

⁷⁴ *op. cit.*, p336

⁷⁵ Gregor, p.17

⁷⁶ *ibid*

⁷⁷ *ibid*

⁷⁸ *ibid*

⁷⁹ *ibid*

at Alexandria from data collected prior to 136 AD.⁸⁰ It gave the tribal positions in Scotland at AD 136 as:⁸¹

- **The Brigantes** - all that is now Northern England above the Mersey-Humber line
- **The Noouantai and Selgoouai** (hunters) - the Solway to the lower Firth of Clyde
- **The Kaledonii** - dwelt in the wooded lands between Dumfriesshire through Mentieth and Atholl to the Moray Firth
- **Damnoni** (Devonians) - central Southern Scotland, from the Clyde uplands to the Ochils
- **Otadini** - filled the Lothians
- **Ouenikones** - Fife
- **Epidii, Kerones and Karnonakai** - pastoral tribes reaching from Argyll along the West Coast to North-Western Sutherland.
- **Ouakomagoi** (plain dwellers) - occupied fertile lands from Earn, through Strathmore, Mearns, Mar and the valley of the Deveron
- **Taixaloi** - Aberdeen coast, from Girdleness to Kinnaird Head on the breast of the land
- **Kornaoui** - were at the head of the land, Caithness
- **Lougoi** - East Sutherland, from Ord to Dornoch
- **Decantai** - whose main body had once been in Northern Wales were in Easter Ross and Black Isle
- **Smertai** - interior of Sutherland of Ross

In addition the term **Picts**, Scott⁸² suggests, was an invention of Eumenius, secretary to Septimus Severus, designed to mislead the Roman Augusti into believing that a new enemy was hindering the progress of Constantius, father of Constantine. He claims that the nickname 'Picts' became a literary convention among Latin-writing chroniclers for all unsubdued Britons, and was used by scribes 'to fool the world through mediaeval times into the modern period.'⁸³ Eumenius applied the term 'Picts' only to those Northern Britons who came down from the districts around Stirling and Perth to attack Hadrian's

⁸⁰ Scott, p.321

⁸¹ *ibid*

⁸² Scott, p.324

⁸³ *op cit*, p.325

Wall and later York. These Britons appeared with tribal identification marks which he had seen once before in his home-town of Autun when the Pictones of Gaul formed the Celtic garrison there. When, once again, Eumenius saw these tribal markings he called them Picts for lack of exact tribal names. Scott suggests that no proper Roman allowed the appellation 'Briton' to describe any of the unsubmitted - it was reserved for the submitted.⁸⁴

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles⁸⁵ written from 880 AD - 1154 AD suggest another version of events leading up to Gaelic speaking Scotland:

Here on this island are five languages: English, Brito-Welsh, Scottish, Pictish and Latin. The first inhabitants of this land were the Britons, who came from Armorica,⁸⁶ and at first occupied the south of Britain. Then it happened that the Picts came from Scythia⁸⁷ in the south, with longships, not many, and came at first to Northern Hibernia. They asked the Scots if they might live there, but they would not let them, because they said they could not all live together there. The Scots said, 'We can give you advice, nevertheless; we know of another island east of here where you may dwell if you wish, and if anyone withstands you, we will help you, so that you may accomplish it.' Then the Picts went into this land, to the north, and in the south the British had it. The Picts asked for wives from the Scots and this was granted on the condition that their royal ancestry always be traced from the woman's

⁸⁴ op cit p. 325. See also Watson, op cit, pp 260 ff for proposition that Picts were Britons

⁸⁵ Savage, Anne, (1983) *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (Translated and Collated), Phillips:London, p.18

⁸⁶ Latin name for the north-western extremity of Gaul

⁸⁷ Ancient name of a great part of European and Asiatic Russia

side; they have long since held to this. After some years it happened that some of the Scots went from Hibernia to Britain and overcame part of the land. Their war- leader was named Reoda, and because of him they were called Daelreodi.⁸⁸

If this account be followed, then it is naively tempting to suggest that if the Scottish wives brought up their children to speak Goidelic rather than Brythonic, in a short time the majority of the Pictish people would have spoken Q-Celtic rather than P-Celtic, especially if the royal line was to be continued through a Goidelic speaking distaff. (An intriguing method of language planning.) Alluring as this line of reasoning may be, the Chronicles indicate⁸⁹ that the Pictish language was till extant in the 9th century; this is also borne out by the fact that 27 Pictish oghams are dated to the 7th and 9th centuries.⁹⁰ The enigma of the Picts and the Pictish language still remains unresolved.

The strands of the Goidelic and Brythonic languages in Scotland are well ravelled and it would take more than this present foray into the matter to unravell them. Nevertheless, these strands indicate to us that Scottish Gaelic is very likely an amalgam of: a) an unknown indigenous language perhaps similar to Basque; b) Pictish; c) the language of the Scoti, who may originally have come to Ireland from either Gaul or Iberia before entering Scotland.

⁸⁸ Savage's translation of Anglo-Saxon chronicles, p.18

⁸⁹ 'Here on this island are five languages: English, Brito-Welsh, Scottish, Pictish and Latin.', op cit, p.18

⁹⁰ Thomson, D., ed *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (1983) Blackwell:Oxford, p.220

7. The Spread of Gaelic in Scotland

In the early centuries AD the picture concerning Gaelic becomes a little clearer. As the Roman power weakened in the third century, the Gaelic speaking Celts or Scoti as they were known began to cross from Ireland to mainland Scotland. A body of Dalriadic Scoti from Antrim who called themselves 'Clan Erc' crossed to North Britain between 498 and 506 AD.⁹¹ Their aim, according to Scott, was to control the pastoral Britonic Epidoi tribe in Argyll and to clear the ruling Cruithne composed of Iro-Britons.⁹² These Dalriads were a small portion of the population, but were allegedly able to keep the pastoral Britons of Argyll in subjugation, because of their superior weaponry and aggression.⁹³ The name Argyll itself - *Airir Goidheal*,⁹⁴ 'the coast of the Gael' - records the presence of these Gaels who extended their father Erc's kingdom to Scotland, naming it also as Dalriada with its local capital at Dunadd on the Moss of Crinan.⁹⁵ It was Fergus, Mac Erc who brought Gaelic and the term 'Scot' to Northern Britain. It was also from the Scots that the art of writing came, bringing 'the Scottish islands into the light of history'.⁹⁶ From Mac Erc's base in Argyll the Gaelic language began to permeate the Picts.

When Columba came to Scotland from Ireland in 563 AD he would have found himself amongst fellow countrymen who had arrived with the Dalriadan Fergus Mac Erc. It is possible that there was a substantial number of Gaels already settled in western Scotland before the arrival of Fergus Mac Erc⁹⁷, and that by his time it was politically realistic for

⁹¹ *ibid*

⁹² Scott, p.326

⁹³ *ibid*

⁹⁴ Mackinnon, (1974) uses the modern spelling *Oirthir Gàidheil* - more easily recognisable as the Coast of the Gael, p. 13

⁹⁵ *Gael: The Story of the First Scots*, (1986), An Comunn Gaidhealach: Inverness, p.16

⁹⁶ Grimble, p.8

⁹⁷ Lynch, M., (1992) *SCOTLAND, A New History*, Pimlico: London, p. 17

him to relocate his throne from Ireland to Argyll about 500 A.D. As a consequence Columba would have been in a position to establish his power base in Dalriada around 563 AD because of the large number of Gaels who had settled in this area. The spread of Gaelic was also quickened by other missionaries who landed in Iona with Columba in 563 AD. 'At any rate,' states Thomson, 'the ensuing Gaelic dominance of much of Pictland and of the former British speaking kingdoms, seems to have come largely from the prestige accrued to Gaelic from its association with successful political and ecclesiastical systems.'⁹⁸ Thomson⁹⁹ doubts that the spread of Gaelic in Scotland was necessarily a military one since there had been in existence early settlements of Gaels in southern Pictland who had come originally as mercenaries to help the Picts against the Romans, and that there would have been community links between the two groups. Others, however, believe that it was the Iro-British who helped the Picts against the Romans, and not the Gaels who, some consider, were enemies of the Northern Britons.¹⁰⁰

8. The Gaelic-Speaking Celtic Church

It has been proposed that Pictland in the north-east of Scotland had embraced Christianity some 300 years before Columba was born (521 AD) and that, in fact, Christianity had passed from Britain to Ireland and not, as is often assumed, the reverse.¹⁰¹ There are arguments also for the ornamentation of the Irish manuscripts being based on Pictish design. Matheson states that 'the art of the Pictish stones closely resembles that of the manuscripts'¹⁰² and 'the only explanation is that the ornament of the

⁹⁸ Thomson, DS,(ed),*Gaelic in Scotland: The Background in Gaelic in Scotland*, (1976) Gairm: Glasgow, pp.2-3

⁹⁹ op cit, p.7

¹⁰⁰ Scott, p. 326

¹⁰¹ Matheson, N., *Our Forgotten Celtic Heritage in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, Vol.42, 1956, p. 140

¹⁰² ibid

Irish manuscripts is the offspring of the art of East Pictland of Scotland.'¹⁰³ (However, the travelling Celtic monks may have seen these designs on their journeys and copied them.) Further proof for this alternative flow theory is taken from the great influence of Ninian's church at Whithorn (*Candida Casa*) which was founded in 397AD. Saint Patrick of Ireland's father, Calphurnius, and grandfather were members of the church in Strathclyde which had come 'from the bosom of the Gaelic church of Ninian'.¹⁰⁴ Calphurnius is reckoned to have resided in Banavem probably not far from Kilpatrick on the banks of the Clyde where Patrick is reckoned to have been born in the 5th century.¹⁰⁵ It is recorded that Patrick had to change his speech from Welsh (Brythonic) to Gaelic (Goidelic) in order to preach to the Irish.¹⁰⁶ Professor Watson has indicated that long before Iona was founded by Columba, Whithorn had formed a very important link between Ireland and Scotland.¹⁰⁷

Ninian, deemed to be the founder of Whithorn, belonged to Strathclyde and received training at the famous church of St Martin in Tours, which was then the 'Celtic Mecca of Western Europe'.¹⁰⁸ At the beginning of the 5th century Teutonic barbarians sacked Western Europe, eventually destroying Rome in 455 and enshrouding Western Europe in intellectual darkness.¹⁰⁹ St Martin's church was destroyed by them early in the 5th century and as a result Ninian's church in Whithorn became 'the acknowledged mother-church of the Celtic West'.¹¹⁰ Students arrived in their hundreds from Scotland, Ireland, and Wales until Whithorn became 'a city of Celtic monks'.¹¹¹ By the 6th century

¹⁰³ Bain in op cit, p. 140

¹⁰⁴ op cit, pp 61-67

¹⁰⁵ MacNeill, p. 61

¹⁰⁶ Grimble, op cit, p. 9

¹⁰⁷ ibid

¹⁰⁸ Matheson, p. 141

¹⁰⁹ ibid

¹¹⁰ op cit, p. 142

¹¹¹ ibid

the Celtic West was 'afame with missionary enthusiasm'¹¹² and 'all of these great missionary scholars were indebted directly, or indirectly, to the learning which emanated from Ninian's monastery on the Solway.'¹¹³ Monks who had received a Whithorn education formed other establishments in Scotland, Ireland, England and abroad:

Even today there are over sixty towns and villages in Europe where special customs and festivals still commemorate the early Celtic missions, which can be traced as far east as Kiev in Russia and as far south as Tarentum in Italy.¹¹⁴

As a result of these endeavours there are Latin and Celtic manuscripts written by Celtic monks in various libraries on the Continent:

In St. Gall, Milan, Wutzburg and Carlsruhe, Zeuss found those Celtic manuscripts on which he based his great work the 'Grammatica Celtica'.¹¹⁵

The **Iona Chronicle** compiled on Iona (c.686-c.740) is an important source of information on the Scots of Dalriada and their neighbours; it also includes records of events associated with the monastery.¹¹⁶ It has been suggested that Iona, which was founded by Columba circa 563 AD, reached its zenith in the 7th century.¹¹⁷ It was famous in three ways: it had become the nerve centre of a vast area of missionary activity; it was a renowned theological school; it was a distinguished seat of learning.¹¹⁸

¹¹² op cit, p. 142

¹¹³ ibid

¹¹⁴ op cit, p.143

¹¹⁵ Matheson, p. 141

¹¹⁶ Thomson, *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, p. 138

¹¹⁷ Matheson, N., *Our Forgotten Celtic Heritage* in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, Vol.42, 1956, p. 140

¹¹⁸ ibid

The influence of the Gaelic-speaking Celtic church spread throughout Scotland.

Columba, a prince of the Uí Néill line, visited kings of Dalriada and Pictland.¹¹⁹ He was granted Iona by Conall, King of the Gaels, whose domain was largely Christian before the monk's advent.¹²⁰ He also gained the approval of Brudei mac Maelchon, King of the Picts, and visited him frequently at his fortress at the mouth of the river Ness.¹²¹ He attended the Convention of Druim Cett (575) in County Derry where relations between Irish and Scottish Dalriada were discussed.¹²² Mackinnon records:

Before the reversal of influence of the Gaelic church at the Synod of Whitby [664], Gaelic had become a principal *lingua franca* of northern Britain.¹²³

Columba influenced the north of England by setting up a church and 'bringing with him and handing down the poetry and learning of Ireland.'¹²⁴ King Aldfrith of Northumbria received his education in Ireland and Iona; the school he later founded in Northumbria is where the Venerable Bede presided.¹²⁵ Gibbon refers in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* to the excellence of the classical library at Iona, which is said to have included the complete works of Livy, all of which no doubt perished along with many other items during the Viking raids.¹²⁶ Alcuin, a pupil of an Irish monk, became head of the palace school of Charlemagne; the refugee monks fleeing from the Sack of Iona were welcomed at Charlemagne's court. They were among the Celtic 'culture-bearers who restored civilisation to Europe.'¹²⁷

¹¹⁹ Thomson, *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, p.48

¹²⁰ MacNeill, pp108-9

¹²¹ *ibid*

¹²² Thomson, *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, p.48

¹²³ MacKinnon, K., (1991) *Gaelic - A Past & Future Prospect*, p.21 - stated on the authority of Jackson and other scholars.

¹²⁴ *ibid*

¹²⁵ Matheson, p.144

¹²⁶ *op cit*, p.143

Between 794 and 806 Iona was raided three times by the Norse, who slew 68 members of the community on one incursion. There is little doubt that many treasures and documents perished.¹²⁸ The island itself was quit in 807 because of the Viking threat.¹²⁹ In 849 Columba's relics were divided for safekeeping, some to Ireland, some to Dunkeld. In Scotland the followers of Columba moved with Kenneth mac Alpin to 'the royal and religious centre which he established at Dunkeld.'¹³⁰ There were two main religious centres in Scotland, one at Dunkeld, the other at St Andrews, each dedicated to different saints - Columba and Andrew. The Gaelic Kings of Scotland were relocating from their traditional territories in *Oirthir Ghaidheal* and the various capitals at Dunfermline, Stirling and Edinburgh indicate that the political and cultural balance of the country was moving from the west and north to the south and east.¹³¹ The further south it went the more exposed it became to Anglicising influences. In the 9th century Gaelic-named Pictish kings still chose to be buried in the sacred place of Iona.¹³² Lynch comments:

The very nature of ninth-and-tenth-century kingship was composite; so was its church. Not surprisingly, the dual imagery of this Church - of Picts and Scots - was also reflected in its organisation.¹³³

Donald Ban, brother of Malcolm Canmore, was the last Scottish king to be buried in Iona in 1097. From 1107 the usual burial place of Scottish kings was Dunfermline, rather than St Andrews.¹³⁴

¹²⁷ MacKinnon, K., (1974), *The Lion's Tongue*, Club Leabhar: Inbhirnis, p.15 & Matheson, p.143

¹²⁸ Matheson, p.140

¹²⁹ Lynch, M., (1992) *Scotland, A New History*, Pimlico: London, p.37

¹³⁰ *ibid*

¹³¹ Kaye, B., (1988) *Scots - The Mither Tongue*, Grafton: London, pp 30-31

¹³² Lynch, M., (1992), p.37

¹³³ *ibid*

¹³⁴ *op cit*, p. 94

9. The Union of Picts and Scots

The united kingship of both the Picts and the Scots, in a way that is not certain, fell to Kenneth mac Alpin. He was crowned in Scone in 843. Under his rule Gaelic appears to have replaced the Pictish language and with the kingdoms of the Picts and the Scots united under one king Gaelic spread into Brythonic Strathclyde, and later into the Angle-speaking Lothians, the Battle of Carham being pivotal.¹³⁵ Mackinnon states:

Following the Battle of Carham (1018) the Gaelic Scots had achieved pre-eminence throughout the area we know today as Scotland and - for a time - beyond, into Cumbria and Northumberland. The occurrence of Gaelic speech in these areas is witnessed by surviving placenames.¹³⁶

The following reasons for the union of the Pictish and Scottish crowns have been suggested:¹³⁷ a) It was a necessary defensive act because of the Viking attacks towards the end of the 8th century, and their settlement, at first in the Northern Isles and afterwards in the northern and western seaboard of the Scottish mainland. (However, it is surmised that the mac Alpin Kings were not beyond using Viking kings to further their own ends, when Kenneth may have so allied himself against his rivals in Dalriada in the 830s.¹³⁸ Constantine I (862-77) also was willing to conciliate through marriage by permitting his daughter to wed the pagan Viking King of Dublin, Olaf III.¹³⁹); b) There was the precedent of the intermarriage of previous Pictish and Dalriadan families which

¹³⁵ Mackinnon, (1991) *Gaelic, A Past and Future Prospect*, Saltire: Edinburgh, p. 21

¹³⁶ *ibid*

¹³⁷ Thomson, *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, p. 226

¹³⁸ Lynch, p. 44

¹³⁹ Lynch, p. 44

produced two successive kings between 789 and 839 who had valid claims to be both King of Picts and Scots; c) The collapse of Northumbrian Christianity under heathen Danish onslaught allowed the post-Columban church of the Scots to reassert its dominance.

Whatever the reasons, Gaelic gained the ascendancy. Lynch suggests that the great achievement of the mac Alpin dynasty was to become accepted as undisputed high kings 'within a generation or so of the troubled reign of Kenneth.'¹⁴⁰ This development had important repercussions for a new name was given to the region over which they held sway: Alba (Gaelic) or Scotia (Latin). Further, in the early tenth century the *Senchus fer nAlban* (History of the Men of Scotland) created a new origin legend not only for the mac Alpin kings but also for their subjects who were seen as men of Alba, rather than Dalriada.¹⁴¹ The subjects of Gaelic-speaking Constantine II went into battle in 918 against the Vikings with the cry of 'Albanaich!'¹⁴² Lynch informs us of the significant change in meaning of the word Alba:

Before 900 it had been synonymous with the whole of Britain; after 900 it became increasingly identified with the land over which the kings of Scots ruled and in which their people lived. By 1034, when Malcolm at his death was hailed as 'King of Scotia' or 'Scotland', the process was virtually complete. A compelling trinity of king, people and land had been coined; it would last for centuries.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ op cit, p. 48

¹⁴¹ op cit, p.49

¹⁴² ibid

¹⁴³ ibid

The makers of this new identity for king and people may have been 'from the learned orders of the clergy of the dual church of the Picts and Scots, whose status depended on the king remaining in power.'¹⁴⁴ Lynch supposes that the Kings of Scots not only relied on their pedigree for their authority, but also upon the twin notions - carefully cultivated by the learned orders - of 'the Scottish people' and their territory named Alba or Scotia.¹⁴⁵

The Gaelic language was the communicative medium used in the newly unified Kingdom of Scots. It had come a long way from the days of the Dalriadan settlers in the early centuries AD. Since that time Gaelic had been the medium used to bring Christianity to many parts of northern Britain. It was the vernacular of the monks who had preserved classical learning whilst Europe was being enshrouded by the Teutonic barbarians. And it was these Gaelic-speaking monks who had reinstated the culture of civilised Europe, and who had also brought their own Gaelic-coloured Christian culture to England, Europe and beyond. By the 11th century Gaelic was the language of the royal court, of the government, of administration, of learning and of the church.¹⁴⁶ The only area where Gaelic declined in the period up to the 11th century was in the northwest, where Viking settlements established Norse speech in the Northern Isles, Hebrides and the northwest seaboard.¹⁴⁷ However, these Norse settlers to the Hebrides and northwest seaboard of mainland Scotland were assimilated and Gaelicised and as MacKinnon points out:

It is in fact the descendants of these people who are the present-day surviving Gaelic speech community.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁴ *ibid*

¹⁴⁵ *ibid*

¹⁴⁶ MacKinnon, (1991), p.22

¹⁴⁷ *op cit*, p.21

This era from around the 3rd century AD to the 11th century has been well-named **The Celtic period**.¹⁴⁹ How was it then that Gaelic, having reached its zenith, began to decline in influence and vigour?

10. The Scots Tongue - Inglis or Erse?

In the 11th century, because of its 'political prestige and nationalist associations'¹⁵⁰ Gaelic was known as the Scottish language,¹⁵¹ and was predominant from the Tweed to the Pentland Firth. The 'Scot's tongue', until the 16th century, always meant Gaelic.¹⁵² Malcolm III (1058-93), also known as Canmore (from the Gaelic *ceann mòr* meaning chief rather than large head,) is the King who has the dishonour of effecting the demise of the Gaelic language and the burgeoning of the Anglo-Saxon tongue in Scotland, and all through marrying an English wife. Margaret, whom he married in 1070, was Malcolm's second wife - his first having died some years previously - and the sister of Prince Edgar who had fled to Scotland after Norman forces of William I had overrun northern England.¹⁵³ Certainly, it was not the bringing of the Anglo-Saxon tongue into the Scottish Court which was alone responsible for the demise of Gaelic, but also Queen Margaret's advancement of the Roman Church system. MacNeill records:

She pretended to reform, but only managed to enthrall the native church, whose clergy she summoned to a Council in 1074. The Gaelic language was the only language the clergy could speak - they

¹⁴⁸ op cit, p.22

¹⁴⁹ MacNeill, p.38

¹⁵⁰ Withers, CJ(1988), *Gaelic Scotland, The Transformation of a Culture Region*, Routledge: London, p.4

¹⁵¹ ibid

¹⁵² Professor Rait, *The Gael in Scottish History* in *Voices From The Hills*, ed J. Macdonald, An Comunn Gaidhealach: Glasgow (1927), p.78

¹⁵³ Lynch, p.77

had a professional knowledge of Latin - so King Malcolm, her husband, acted as her interpreter. They refused to recognise the absolute supremacy of the great Roman father; they were unable to speak English; and the Queen set herself piously to rectify these abuses and shortcomings.¹⁵⁴

Margaret died in 1093, stricken with grief, four days after the ambush and assassination of her husband and her eldest son.¹⁵⁵ However, Scotland was not free of Margaret's influence. After the reigns of Malcolm Canmore's brother Donald Ban and later Duncan, Malcolm's son by his first wife, Margaret's three youngest sons reigned one after another and increased the Roman Catholic and Norman-English influence at the Scottish court.¹⁵⁶ Duncan had been enthroned only 'on condition that he should never again introduce English or French into the land.'¹⁵⁷ Edgar, the first of Margaret's sons to reign, made no such promise.¹⁵⁸ Her youngest son, David (d.1153) began to reign in 1124. He had been educated in England and after his sister's marriage to Henry I became a member of the English royal household and was regarded as 'the epitome of Norman knighthood.'¹⁵⁹ The Roman Catholic influence at Court increased until it 'was filled with his Anglican and Norman vassals.'¹⁶⁰

It should be remembered that Norman culture was 'enjoying tremendous prestige'¹⁶¹ throughout Europe in the 11th and 12th centuries and was 'instrumental in reorganising

¹⁵⁴ MacNeill, p.123

¹⁵⁵ Lynch, p.76

¹⁵⁶ MacNeill, p.123 & Lynch, p.78

¹⁵⁷ Lynch, p.78

¹⁵⁸ *ibid*

¹⁵⁹ *op cit*, p.79

¹⁶⁰ cited in MacNeill, p.123

¹⁶¹ Kay, *op cit*, p31

ideas of government, laws and literature from Sicily to Scandinavia.¹⁶² It was with a view to developing Scotland along these new lines that David I, regarded as the 'first wholly feudal King of Scotland,'¹⁶³ granted lands to Norman families who hailed mainly from the north of England. As a result the Celtic court was gradually replaced by a Norman one. It was David I who granted the huge lands of Annandale to the Norman *de Brus* family, one of whose descendants was to repel Edward's army at Bannockburn in 1314.¹⁶⁴ Balliol, Grant and Fraser are other Norman noble families from northern England who were granted lands in the Lowland area.¹⁶⁵ New families from France, from Flanders and from Normandy were also settling in Scotland: Fleming, Bremner and Wyper are surnames still present in Scotland and may be dated to this period.¹⁶⁶ Royal charters of the period (originally written in Latin but later translated into *Inglis*¹⁶⁷) were addressed to the King's citizens '*Francis et Anglis, Scotis et Flemmingis*'¹⁶⁸ indicating the pluralistic society (and plurality of languages) in the Kingdom of the Scots. By the reign of Alexander II (1214-49), 'Scotland had been divided into baronies and knights' 'fees' or 'feus'.¹⁶⁹

With the demise of the Celtic princes began the demise of the Celtic church which had enjoyed, until then, royal support and the attendant privileges; seven hundred years of ecclesiastical independence in Scotland were ebbing. Alba was heading for linguistic, ecclesiastic, and political assimilation with English, Roman Catholicism, and Norman feudalism. It should be noted, however, that the transition to English was not

¹⁶² *ibid*

¹⁶³ MacNeill, p.124

¹⁶⁴ Lynch, p.80

¹⁶⁵ Kay, p.33

¹⁶⁶ Daiches, p.323 & Kay, p.33

¹⁶⁷ Kay, p.32

¹⁶⁸ Kay, p.31

¹⁶⁹ *ibid*

uninterrupted, because for a time French gained ascendancy as the Scottish Court language. MacKinnon declares:

As Norman-French speech gave way to English among the landed classes in England, so it may be imagined a similar shift occurred amongst their kinsfolk in Scotland. That French gained ascendancy in the Scottish court is clear. There was no direct shift from Gaelic to English.¹⁷⁰

David created at least fifteen burghs in his reign, including Edinburgh, Perth and Stirling, attracting Flemings and Angles and further weakening Gaelic.¹⁷¹ The burghs have been likened to 'a cross between pioneer outposts and new towns, a melting pot in which Inglis became the lingua franca.'¹⁷² English had to be learnt by the local Gaelic-speaking populations if they wished to gain from the considerable trade benefits offered to the incomers.¹⁷³ burgh settlers were permitted two years tax-free allowance in order to build houses and were given 'a virtual monopoly ...in the essentials of local and international commerce.'¹⁷⁴ 'As urbanisation progressed, therefore, *Inglis* spread also, at the expense of Gaelic.'¹⁷⁵ The King and his Normans, however, did not get a smooth passage; there were unsuccessful rebellions by Gaels, notably in Galloway and the province of Moray, where the king in retribution planted English-speaking settlers.¹⁷⁶ Kay informs us that:

¹⁷⁰ MacKinnon, (1991), p.29

¹⁷¹ *ibid*

¹⁷² Kay, p.31

¹⁷³ *ibid*

¹⁷⁴ *op cit*, pp31-32

¹⁷⁵ Grant, N & Docherty, F.J., *Language Policy and education - some Scottish-Catalan comparisons* typescript of article which appeared in *Comparative Education*, June, 1992, p.5

¹⁷⁶ MacKinnon, (1974), p.22

By the 14th century, Inglis had become the principal spoken language of all of Lowland Scotland, with the exception of Galloway where Gaelic survived until the turn of the 18th century.¹⁷⁷

Gaelic had passed its zenith. Malcolm Canmore and Margaret's sons had shrunk the sinew of Gaelic-speaking Scotland and caused its Gaelic-speaking Celtic church, its Gaelic laws and its Gaelic tongue to hirple. Alexander III died in 1286, the last of the house of Canmore to maintain Gaelic customs:¹⁷⁸ his accession ceremony had included the reciting in Gaelic of the king's genealogy back to the mythical and eponymous Scota, daughter of Pharaoh.¹⁷⁹ Following his death, the Kings of the Scots, were 'in language, culture and sympathy, almost wholly French.'¹⁸⁰

Robert the Bruce (1274-1329), however, appears to be an exception.¹⁸¹ He received 'Highland' assistance at Bannockburn; carried the *Breccbennach* of Columba - the most sacred relic of Gaelic Scotland - into battle; gave a place to Gaelic in his court and army; called a parliament at Ardchattan, the proceedings of which were in Gaelic; encouraged the Irish to take up arms with the Gaels against the English, 'reminding them that they shared common origins, customs and language.'¹⁸²

Bruce would certainly have known that there was a Gaelic territory stretching from the south of Ireland to this side of the Pentland Firth, and which included the Hebrides. The Scottish Gaeldom was under the domain of the Lord of the Isles, originally the Gaelic *Ri*

¹⁷⁷ Kay, p.32

¹⁷⁸ Stephens, M., p.57

¹⁷⁹ Lynch, p.89

¹⁸⁰ Cited from William of Newburgh in Stephens, op cit, p.57

¹⁸¹ ibid & MacKinnon, (1991) p.35

¹⁸² Stephens, p.57

Innse Gall (King of the Foreigners' Isles, ie the Norsemen). This political entity, 'more Scandinavian than Gaelic at the first', stretched 'from the Butt of Lewis to the Calf of Man'¹⁸³ and can be traced back to the 9th century.¹⁸⁴ It was not until 1266 that Norway finally relinquished title to the Hebrides in the Treaty of Perth. After this date the 'island princes owed undivided though uneasy homage to the king of Scots.'¹⁸⁵ There was continual contact between Gaelic Scotland and Gaelic Ireland, and with Ulster in particular, which was the most Gaelic of the provinces.¹⁸⁶ It is said that Scotland's medieval Gaelic poets, clerics, judges, musicians and doctors were as much acclaimed in Ireland as in Scotland.¹⁸⁷ Language, lore and garb were common. (It was not until the sixteenth century that the literary languages of both peoples began to diverge, although dialectal differences would have appeared prior to this.¹⁸⁸) Despite the internecine strife amongst clans at this time, 'members of literary and learned orders could travel throughout Gaeldom unmolested and expect hospitality and a welcome at every great house they reached.'¹⁸⁹

The clan system was similar to but distinct from the feudal system which the rest of Scotland had adopted. The clan system had at its head a chief who was followed for reasons of kinship. The rights of the clan chief did not lie in his possessions, but in his position: he was the hereditary lord of all who belonged to his *clann* or family wherever they dwelt or whatever lands they occupied. The feudal system on the other hand had at its head a lord to whom military service was owed for respective portions of land

¹⁸³ Thomson, (1983), p.156

¹⁸⁴ *ibid*

¹⁸⁵ *ibid*

¹⁸⁶ Stephens, p.58 & MacKinnon, (1991), p.36

¹⁸⁷ Stephens, p. 58

¹⁸⁸ MacKinnon, (1991), p. 37

¹⁸⁹ *ibid*

received. His dignity was territorial and loss of lands meant for him loss of title and service from inferiors. Both feudal and clan systems had similarities: immense power belonged to each chief or lord; both leaders required unfailing obedience from their followers to whom they were landlord, military leader and judge.¹⁹⁰ It is interesting to note that the Lordship of the Isles maintained a 'flexible Celtic kinship': the conformist Campbells, 'the most feudal of Celtic kindreds,' adopted a 'lightly naturalised feudalism.'¹⁹¹

In the Highlands and Islands, particularly where the Lordship of the Isles was influential, Celtic law survived longer than in the rest of Scotland where it gradually fused with the mainstream of Scots law.¹⁹² For example, whilst Alexander II was the last King of Scots to have a succession service according to Celtic law, the Lords of the Isles continued the custom, with the MacVurich bard recounting the genealogy of the incumbent to-be.¹⁹³ In addition, Gaeldom usually settled its legal affairs internally, with the law being administered by hereditary families of judges,¹⁹⁴ the most famous being the Morrison brieves in Lewis.¹⁹⁵ If the judge could not provide a judgement then there was recourse to the Council of the Isles, the eponym for today's *Comhairle nan Eilean* or Western Isles Islands' Council. MacKinnon states that traditional justice was vested in the chiefs until 1747.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁰ MacNeill, p.233

¹⁹¹ Lynch, p. 67

¹⁹² Thomson, (1983), p.147

¹⁹³ *ibid*

¹⁹⁴ Gael, p.52

¹⁹⁵ Thomson, (1983), p.148

¹⁹⁶ MacKinnon, (1991), p. 38

From John of Islay, who styled himself *Dominus Insulare* in 1354, the succeeding Lords of the Isles were increasingly at variance with the Crown. Another John, Lord of the Isles, assumed semi-regal powers and entered into the Treaty of Westminster-Ardtornish in 1462 with Edward IV of England; with Edward he plotted the dismemberment of the kingdom of Scotland.¹⁹⁷ An indication of the threat of the Macdonald clan may be evidenced from the fact that every reign between that of James III and VI faced a rebellion from the Gaelic-speaking west.¹⁹⁸ Even in the 16th century the Lordship held sway from Lewis in the north to Islay in the south.

One of the most serious attempts to re-establish a Clanranald Lord of the Isles involved a meeting with Henry VIII of England's commissioners on Islay in July 1545.¹⁹⁹ Four thousand Islesmen rallied to Donald Dubh's claims for the title, but his death at the end of the year cancelled the threat of an invasion from the West and also put paid to Henry VIII's plans to destabilise Scotland. Gaelic Scotland was not endearing itself to Crown or Commonwealth.

Even by the time of the first Lord of the Isles in the 14th century the Gael was being treated as an alien and the trend of de-Celticisation was intensifying. John of Fordoun in the late 14th century wrote of distinctions in culture, dress and customs between Highlander and Lowlander, and as regards language he recorded:²⁰⁰

The manners and customs of the Scots vary with the diversity of their speech. For two languages are spoken amongst them, the Scottish

¹⁹⁷ *ibid*

¹⁹⁸ Lynch, p.167-8

¹⁹⁹ *ibid*

²⁰⁰ *op cit*, p.67

[Gaelic] and the Teutonic [English]; the latter of which is the language of those who occupy the seaboard and plains, while the race of Scottish speech inhabits the Highlands and outlying islands. The people of the coast are of domestic and civilised habits...The Highlanders and people of the islands, on the other hand, are a savage and untamed race, rude and independent.²⁰¹

The education acts of 1494/96 required all lairds and chiefs to send their children to learn Latin, 'art' and law in schools in the Lowlands²⁰² and it has been validly pointed out that this meant that:

...the formative years of the children of the leading citizens of Gaeldom were to be spent in an alien environment - a feature of Highland education which recurs throughout the educational history of Gaelic Scotland.²⁰³

James IV (1488-1513), an all-round renaissance king, and last Gaelic-speaking King of Scots (he learned the language)²⁰⁴ received a visit from the Spanish ambassador. The ambassador who, in recording James polyglottism, states tellingly:

The King speaks, besides, the language of the savages who live in the northern parts of his kingdom and on the islands.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Lynch, pp 67-8

²⁰² Mackinnon, (1991) p.42

²⁰³ *ibid*

²⁰⁴ Steele, T., (1984) *Scotland's Story: A New Perspective*, Collins:London, p.56

²⁰⁵ Grant, (1992) p.6

By 1450 Inglis-speaking Lowlanders were calling Gaelic **Erse** rather than **Scottish** - no doubt with the aim of alienating the Gaels. Inglis and Scottish had become synonymous titles by 1500.²⁰⁶ The Lowlanders' intellection of Gaelic was changing.²⁰⁷ Most Lowlanders, despite being of Celtic stock, assented to a Norman system of land tenure, enjoyed the benefits of burghs, a town-based life-style and foreign trade. They regarded the Gaelic way of life 'with its warfare and cattle raiding as barbaric and despicable.'²⁰⁸ This view was not altered between 1500 and 1700, a period which has been termed in Gaelic *Linn nan Creach* (Age of Forays). This was 'the traditional name for the age when centralized government had not properly succeeded in winning control over the Highland area.'²⁰⁹ It was at this time that the term 'blackmail' is said to have originated:

Meal for food, was regularly levied from Lowlanders whose estates bordered on the Highlands in exchange for a promise not to steal livestock or harvests. Blackmail, the exaction of black meal, began in the Highlands of Scotland.²¹⁰

The Highland predilection for cateran raids is illuminated by Edmund Burt writing around 1730:

They have an adherence to one another as Highlanders, in opposition to the people of the Low-Country, whom they despise as inferior to them in Courage, and believe they have a right to plunder them

²⁰⁶ Lynch, p. 68 & Grant (1992), p. 6

²⁰⁷ Lynch, pp 67-8

²⁰⁸ Kay, p.34

²⁰⁹ Thomson, D.S., (1974) p.99

²¹⁰ Steele,(1984), p.97

whenever it is in their Power. This last arises from a Tradition, that the Lowlands, in old Times were the possession of their Ancestors.²¹¹

Invective in verse by the Lowlander denigrated such Highland breaches of the eighth commandment:

*Quod God to the helandman quhair wilt thou now
I will down to the lawland Lord, and their steill a cow...
ffy quod sanct peter thow will nevir do weill
and thow bot new made sa sone gais to steill
Umff quod the helandman & swere be yon kirk
Sa lang as I may geir [possessions] gett to steill, will I nevir work.*²¹²

The Lowland intellection was of a divided Scotland: Irish speaking in the Highlands and islands, Scottish-speaking in the Lowlands. The Gaels on the other hand still perceived Scotland as part of a larger Gaeldom which extended to Ireland, and also saw themselves as owing allegiance to the King of Scots and Scotland.²¹³ This Weltanschauung is particularized in a Gaelic poem written on the eve of Flodden in 1513, a clash between James IV's Scotland and Henry VIII's England:²¹⁴

*To fight the Saxons is right,
no rising followed by flight;
edge of sword, point of spear,
let us ply them with good cheer.*

*Against Saxons, I say to you,
Lest they rule our country too;
fight roughly, like the Irish Gael,
We will have no English pale.*

...

²¹¹ cited in MacInnes, J., *The Gaelic Perception of the Lowlands* in *Gaelic and Scotland*, p.93

²¹² Alexander Montgomerie, late 16th century, in Kay, p.34

²¹³ Lynch, p.68

²¹⁴ Lynch, p. 68, poem Thomson, D., (1974) *An Introduction to Gaelic Poetry*, Gollancz: London, pp31-32

*Send your summons east and west,
let Ireland come at your behest;
drive Saxons back across the sea,
let Scotland not divided be.*

...

*Remember, cheek of raspeberry hue,
that Saxons lord it over you;
keep in memory their spite
as Saxon power has grown in might.*

The poem is all the more conspicuous in that it was addressed to Archibald the 2nd Earl of Argyll, Chancellor of Scotland, the most Anglicised of the clan chiefs. It has been described as 'one of the most remarkable examples of pre-Flodden nationalism.'²¹⁵ It is interesting to note that to this day the Gaelic for England is *Sasainn* and an Englishman is a *Sasannach* (a Saxon). And further, the Gaelic for Scotland is *Alba* and a Scots person no matter from which airt is called an *Albannach*. However, a Lowland English-speaking Scot is always a *Gall* and never a *Sasannach*. 'The sharpness and distinction that Gaelic tradition draws between Lowlander and Englishman is not always appreciated to the full by non-Gaels.'²¹⁶

Between the 11th and 15th centuries Gaelic-speaking Scotland had suffered the introduction of an English-speaking Royal Court; the inauguration of an English-Norman system of land tenure; the displacement of a Gaelic-speaking Celtic church for an English model based on Roman rites; an increase in trade and commerce with England; the opposition of the Stuart kings; and the reclassifying of Gaelic as Irish. The ensuing centuries would see the trend of de-Celticisation intensify and the Highland-Lowland divide widen.

²¹⁵ Thomson, (1974), p. 31

²¹⁶ MacInnes in op cit in Gaelic and Scotland, p.92

11. Reformation, Repression, & Rebellion

The history of the Highlands from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries is one of attempts by churches, charities and governments to control and civilise the area and its people. These groups believed that Gaelic was one of the main reasons for the 'Highland Problem' and much of their efforts went into extirpating the language.

The Scottish Reformation of the 16th century critically widened the divide between *Gaidheal* and *Gall* by removing 'the one common cultural and social institution shared by both the Highlands and the Lowlands - the Roman Catholic Church.'²¹⁷ After 1560 the Highlands apart from Argyll remained Catholic. With this new distinguishing mark between Highlander and Lowlander, Gaelic became identified in the Lowland mind with corrupt religion, savages and rebels. A period of persecution directed at the Gaelic language began after the Reformation, which some have associated with the persecution of Catholicism.²¹⁸

The Reformers proposed a nation-wide system of education, inspired 'by the vision of a Godly Commonwealth - a society on earth which could mirror the perfection of a heavenly kingdom.'²¹⁹ There was to be a partnership between civil and ecclesiastical powers who were to be 'most careful for the virtuous education and Godly upbringing of the youth of this Realm.'²²⁰ Civil and ecclesiastical powers had cooperated before in Scotland: the Gaelic-speaking Royal Court and the Gaelic-speaking Celtic Church between the mid-ninth and eleventh centuries is an instance and later, the conjunction of the increasingly English and Norman-French speaking Court of Malcolm and the Roman

²¹⁷ Durkacz, p.4

²¹⁸ *ibid*

²¹⁹ cited in Douglas, A., (1985) Church and School in Scotland, Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew's Press, p.23

²²⁰ *op cit*, p.23

Catholic Church; now the partnership was between an English-speaking Lowland Court and an English-speaking Protestant Church.

In Scotland the political form of the Reformation was such that the Church influenced the State; in England it was practically the reverse.²²¹ In 1567 the Scottish Parliament yielded to the Kirk's plea to have control over all teachers in parish and burgh schools, and in all universities and colleges.²²² One minister of the time stated:

The schools are the seed of the Kirk and the Commonwealth and our children are the hope of posterity.²²³

One of the motivating factors for establishing schools, and indeed of the Reformation, was that all people should have an education which would permit them to read the Scriptures in their own tongue. In March 1543 an act was passed which sanctioned:

lieges to hailf...baith the New Testament and the Auld in the vulgar tounge'.²²⁴

The '*vulgar tounge*' was, of course, English and the translation used was that of William Tyndale, brought into the country by merchants, 'especially those of Dundee, Leith and Montrose, who carried on trade with England and the Continent'.²²⁵ Since Malcolm Canmore's time (1058-93) political and ecclesiastical trends had not been in Gaelic's favour and now the proposed educational system was to be English-language based,

²²¹ Grant, N.G. (1989), Historical Case Study 3: The Renaissance and the Reformation, Glasgow University Education Dept. M.Ed. Course, p. 5

²²² Douglas, p.23

²²³ op cit, p.25

²²⁴ Lynch, p. 204

²²⁵ McCrie, p.17

without any consideration for the Gaelic language. The ambivalence of the Reformers towards Gaelic is evident: they justifiably complained that under Rome 'the religious service was mumbled in a dead language'²²⁶ and that 'the use of the mother tongue was forbidden under the severest penalties,'²²⁷ yet, the Gaels were the last to receive a Bible in their mother tongue. Non-Catholic Wales had its own Bible before the end of the 16th century, even Irish-speaking Ireland had Bedell's Bible in 1685, but the complete Scottish Gaelic Bible did not appear until 1801; the New Testament was published in 1767.

The ready availability of the Scriptures in English indicated the outworking of the spirit of the Reformation in a growing literacy amongst the populace:

The fact that laymen were beginning to acquire literary skills for themselves was not just a natural development from a state of non-culture to a state of culture. It was a massive and even revolutionary change in the value-judgments of a whole society.²²⁸

It has been suggested that Gaelic society failed to make or was not permitted to make this transition from medieval to modern culture because of its associations with Roman Catholicism, Jacobitism, barbarity and rebellion.²²⁹

Because the times allowed no political or religious compromise, no cultural or linguistic compromise was possible either. Thus the possibility of a smooth transition from the indigenous bardic cultural

²²⁶ McCrie, p. 10

²²⁷ *ibid*

²²⁸ Wormald cited in Douglas, p. 19

²²⁹ Durkacz, p. 5

tradition to the universal literacy demanded by Protestantism...was lost.²³⁰

There were those who saw the benefits of anglicising the Gaidhealtachd through establishing English-medium schools. Sir Thomas Craig, 'the learned Scottish lawyer and statesman of the reign of James VI'²³¹ for example, writing in *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus* (London, 1605) stated:

If schools are established, I have not the slightest doubt that before the century is over, Gaelic will no longer be spoken on the mainland and islands of Scotland.²³²

The first Gaelic book in print, at John Knox's instigation,²³³ was Bishop Carswell's translation of Knox's **Book of Common Order** (*Foirm na n-Urrnuidheadh*) in 1567. The Bishop has been charged with helping to displace the old order of *bards* and *seanchaidhs* through his opposition to them as stumbling blocks to the Reformed faith:

Carsuel in the sixteenth century, under the pressure of Reformation doctrines, was the first to touch unkindly the hoary locks of the ancient bard. The Féinne and their singer, however, survived in the affections and traditions of the population, until the Gospel according to the English Puritans and our Scottish Covenanters began to outroot entirely the semi-heathen and Finian ideals of the people.²³⁴

²³⁰ *ibid*

²³¹ cited in Gillies, A. Doctoral Thesis, Glasgow University, p. 19

²³² Withers 1984, p. 30

²³³ Mackenzie, J., *Education in the Highlands in the Olden Times*, in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness Vol.xvii:254 (1908-1911)

²³⁴ MacNeill, p.343

It was around Carswell's time that Scottish Gaelic began to manifest itself in a written form distinct from Irish literary Gaelic. Although Carswell's *Foirm na n-Urrmuidheadh* was written in the standard literary Irish of the time, in the catechism which he added 'Scottish syntax and vocabulary are in evidence.'²³⁵ It is around this period that there is a general recognition of Scottish Gaelic emerging in its own right.²³⁶

Carswell in his preface addresses on a number of occasions *fir Alban agus Eireann*, (the men of Scotland and Ireland) revealing an acknowledgement of the links between the two countries. He also refers to their 'common tradition, the mythological and heroic cycles of tales, the history of the settlement of Ireland, and the stories about Finn and his companions.'²³⁷ Further into the translation, we read:

Aga is mor an doile agus an dorchadas peacaidh, agus aineolais agus indtleachda do lucht deachtaidh agus acriobhta agus chumdaigh na gaoidhleige, gurab mó is mian leo agus gurab mó ghnathuidheas siad eachd-radha dimhaoineacha buaidheartha bregacha saoghalta do cumadh ar thuathaibh dédhanond agus air mhacaibh mileadh agus arna curadhaibh agus fhind mhac cumhaill gona fhianaibh agus ar mhoran eile noch airbhim.

And great is the blindness and sinful darkness and ignorance and evil design, of such as teach and write, and cultivate the Gaelic language, that, with the view of obtaining for themselves the vain rewards of this

²³⁵ Thomson, D.S., (1988), p.37

²³⁶ op cit, p.95

²³⁷ Thomson, R.L. *The Emergence of Scottish Gaelic in Bards and Makars*, Aitken, A.J., Matthew McDiarmid and Derick S. Thomson eds. University of Glasgow Press: Glasgow, p. 127-128

world, they are more desirous, and more accustomed, to compose vain, tempting, worldly histories, concerning the Tuath de Danann band, [*and concerning the sons of Mile, and*] concerning warriors and champions, and Finn the son of Cumhail, with his heroes, and concerning many others which I will not at present enumerate.²³⁸

It has been argued that the failure of Carswell's translation to spark a Gaelic Protestant literary tradition and so to draw the Gaelic language into the current of the Reformation was a serious blow to the Gaelic language.²³⁹ There was not another Gaelic book printed for nigh on seventy years.²⁴⁰

James VI (1567-1625), like many of his predecessors, had little liking for the Highlands and Islands and 'by the 1590s a counter-culture - of **British** identity - had already emerged at the Stewart court, which looked askance at Gaelic culture.²⁴¹ After 1603, a succession of British histories appeared as well as the introduction of the emblems of British identity such as a union flag - at least eight attempts to create an acceptable one were made between 1603-1606 - and a new design for the King's Great Seal.²⁴² A poet of the time mocked the Irish legends of the origins of the Scottish kings:

*How the first Helandman, of God was maid,
of a horse turd, in Argyle, it is said.*²⁴³

King James VI himself said of the Inhabitants of the Highlands and Islands, that there were those:

²³⁸ MacNeill, p. 344 (MacNeill omits the words in the square brackets)

²³⁹ Durckacz, p.15

²⁴⁰ Withers, (1984), *Gaelic in Scotland, 1698-1981, The Geographical History of a Language* John Donald: Edinburgh, p.33

²⁴¹ Lynch, p.241

²⁴² op cit, p.239

²⁴³ Montgomerie cited in Lynch, p.241

...that dwelleth in our mainland, that are barbarous for the most part, and yet mixed with some show of civility; the other, that dwelleth in the Isles, and are utterly barbarous, without any sort or show of civility.²⁴⁴

James had few scruples about his attempts to civilise the Gaels - 'blackmailing, kidnapping, or legal sharp practice'²⁴⁵ were all used. The first endeavour to plant the Isles was in 1598 when King James granted a charter to the 'Fife Adventurers' for the Island of Lewis. The intention was to settle it with douce Lowlanders. It is suggested that this decision by James was due to his annoyance at the Islanders' 'constant interference with the fishing industry, so depriving the nation, and especially His Majesty, of much needed revenue, as well as flouting the country's laws.'²⁴⁶ His attempted plantation of the Isles was much less successful than his plantation of Ulster where by the beginning of the 18th century about a hundred thousand Scots Protestants had settled.²⁴⁷ Nothing came of the plantation attempts in the Isles.

The removal of the Scottish court to London in 1603 was another downward step in the misfortunes of Gaelic. James saw himself as being 'preordained to bring about the blessed Protestant 'Ile' ²⁴⁸ and a Roman Catholic Gaelic culture which threatened a Protestant English-speaking British culture was not going to be looked upon favourably.²⁴⁹ In a speech in 1604 James made mention of how God had 'united these two Kingdomes...in Language, Religion and similitude of manners,'²⁵⁰ wishful thinking

²⁴⁴ op cit, p.241

²⁴⁵ ibid

²⁴⁶ Macdonald, D. (1990 ed.), Lewis, A History of the Island, Gordon Wright: Edinburgh, p.100

²⁴⁷ Daiches (1981), p.333

²⁴⁸ Lynch, p.239

²⁴⁹ op cit, p.241

²⁵⁰ Withers (1984), p.28

on the king's part as far as Gaeldom was concerned. It is of little surprise, therefore, to learn that in 1609 James enticed twelve Highland and Hebridean chiefs aboard a ship under the pretence that they were to hear a religious sermon; instead, they were taken to the Lowlands and after a period of imprisonment were forced to agree to the legislation of **The Statutes of Iona** to:

'...provide provision and support for Protestant ministers in Highland parishes; to establish hostelries; to outlaw beggars; to prohibit traditional hospitality and strong drink; to educate their heirs in Lowland schools where they '*may be found able sufficiently to speik, reid and wryte Inglische*'; to agree to a limitation on the use of arms; to outlaw bards and other bearers of the traditional culture.'

²⁵¹

The Gaelic language, already dislocated from Court and Church in Malcolm and Margaret's time, was to be further denigrated and disinherited. Thomson says:

The Statutes of Iona in 1609, and succeeding Privy Council enactments, helped to sap the power of the clan system by a policy of denationalizing of the clan leaders: ensuring that they were schooled in the Lowlands, and through English.²⁵²

The Act itself did not greatly affect formal education in the Highlands but was, however, the harbinger of future legislative attempts to suppress Gaelic culture.²⁵³ The Statutes of Iona did not civilise the Highlands and Islands as James intended: the use of the Clan

²⁵¹ Mackinnon, (1991), p46

²⁵² Thomson, D.S.(1974)p.116

²⁵³ *ibid*

Campbell, 'Trojan horses in Gaeldom',²⁵⁴ was more successful. It was the old policy of utilising the enmity that existed between clans to further Government control: by 1625 various branches of the clan Campbell had subdued the Macdonalds of Kintyre and the Isles, the Macdonalds of Ardnamurchan, as well as the Clan Gregor.²⁵⁵

Although the Statutes of 1609 did not achieve what the king had hoped, they were the means of the breakdown of the Gaelic order of bards, musicians and historians and thus Gaelic's 'native high culture.'²⁵⁶ Links with Ireland were broken and Gaelic-speaking Scotland was increasingly drawn into an English Lowland cultural system.²⁵⁷ The substitution of traditional Scottish overseas economic links with Lowland ones further broke down Highland independence.²⁵⁸ The Statutes of Iona were ratified by an Act of the Privy Council in its Education Act of 1616 which explicitly associated the Gaelic language with a lack of true religion, civility, godliness, and knowledge and learning.²⁵⁹ The Act sought to rectify these deficiencies by establishing English as the common language of schools. In 1646 the Church of Scotland passed a resolution (later that year it became an Act) to enforce the Statutes of Iona and to establish English schools in each Highland Parish; they were sure people could not be educated through Gaelic, which was seen as a marker of ignorance.²⁶⁰ In 1662 the Act was repealed by the Restoration Parliament. Between the end of the Commonwealth (1660) and the accession of William and Mary (1689) the anti-Gaelic education acts were repealed and Gaelic society enjoyed some respite during Charles II's reign.²⁶¹

²⁵⁴ Lynch, p. 242

²⁵⁵ *ibid*

²⁵⁶ Mackinnon, (1991), p.48

²⁵⁷ *ibid*

²⁵⁸ *op cit*, p.49

²⁵⁹ Mackinnon, (1991), p. 47

²⁶⁰ *op cit*, p.50

²⁶¹ Mackinnon, (1991)p.51

After the Revolution of 1688 rents from the bishoprics of Argyll and Dunkeld were utilised for the 'erecting of English Schools for rooting out the Irish language and other pious uses.'²⁶² In 1695, the military were authorised to aid bishops in collecting their dues.²⁶³ In 1696, the 1646 Act was again restored to the Statute Book as the 'Act of Settling Schools' which was the basis of the parish system of education until 1872.²⁶⁴ The 1696 Act did not take immediate effect. The 'Highland parish was generally too extensive in area, and the population too widely distributed for one school to be an effective educational unit'.²⁶⁵ Various organisations therefore came into being 'for the purpose of bringing a knowledge of letters to the illiterate, though not uneducated population of the Gaelic area'.²⁶⁶ Macleod says:

It is unfortunate, though typical of the spirit of the time, that for the next century the efforts of these various societies to enlighten the illiterate population of the Highlands were based upon the unenlightened premise that a knowledge of reading could not be imparted to the Gaelic speaker in his own language.²⁶⁷

In 1694 the Church of Scotland established a 'Commission for the North' which was to oversee the Church's business in the Highlands and was expected, amongst other matters, to resolve the problem of supplying Gaelic preachers, who were in short supply.²⁶⁸ The Gaels still did not have a copy of the Bible in their own language and:

²⁶² op cit, p50

²⁶³ Withers, C.W.J. (1988), *Gaelic Scotland, The Transformation of a Culture Region*, Routledge: London, p.114

²⁶⁴ ibid

²⁶⁵ Macleod, M. (1962), p.308

²⁶⁶ ibid

²⁶⁷ ibid

²⁶⁸ Durkacz, p.10

In retrospect it is clear that the failure to print a Gaelic Bible before the Scottish Charity School Movement began was one of the greatest lost opportunities in Gaelic history.²⁶⁹

The 17th century was the last in which there is documentation of cultural exchanges of bards and musicians between Scotland and Ireland.²⁷⁰ The transmission of Gaelic culture continued through the family, in the main, which resulted in 'the medieval high culture of Gaelic Scotland' becoming 'transmuted into a folk-art.'²⁷¹ As the 18th century began to dawn the civilising of the Highlands was now to take place through evangelical missions, legislative, military and economic efforts having failed to a great degree.²⁷²

The synod of Glasgow and Ayr were arguing in 1703 that:

If the People were...brought to Religion, Humanity, Industry, and the Low Country language...they might yet become a noble accession to the Commonwealth.²⁷³

Thus far we have seen that the differences between *Gael* and *Gall* had burgeoned since Malcolm and Margaret's time. The Gaels had been set aside ecclesiastically, politically, economically and linguistically. The *Gael* and *Gall* cultures were based on differing premises: the one on kinship and personal loyalty to the clan chief, the other on land titles and feudal obligations to a landlord; the one was historically linked with the Gaelic

²⁶⁹ op cit, p.15

²⁷⁰ Mackinnon, (1991) p.51

²⁷¹ ibid

²⁷² op cit, p.50

²⁷³ Durkacz, V.E., (1983), The Decline of the Celtic Languages, John Donald: Edinburgh, p. 49

language and fellow Gaels in Ireland, the other with Anglo-Saxon and Norman from England; the one recognised the king but kept greater allegiance for the clan chief, the other honoured the king and saw the Gaels as rebels; the one dressed in plaid and tartan, the other in Lowland trews.

The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) was founded in 1709 to spread the gospel in the Highlands and Islands through education, and spent 60 years trying to destroy Gaelic. In 1720 the SSPCK declared its purpose was:

...not to continue the Irish tongue but to wear it out and learn the people the English tongue.²⁷⁴

Very little progress was made in education. Teachers who taught pupils to read Gaelic were reprimanded, and pupils who spoke it in school were punished.²⁷⁵ The SSPCK linguistic attack on Gaelic originated, it is suggested, in the theory which informed its language policy, namely, the widely-held association of Gaelic with Jacobitism, Catholicism, and barbarity, and of English with Hanoverian loyalty, Protestantism, and decency.²⁷⁶

It was the Church of Scotland who first mooted the idea of a charity school movement²⁷⁷ and hoped through it not only to teach 'the English language, the Presbyterian religion, church music and arithmetic,' but also to break the bond between clan and chief through the teaching out of Gaelic.²⁷⁸ They were also charged, as Bishop Carswell was, with

²⁷⁴ Mackenzie, D.W. (1992) *The Worthy Translator*, Society of Friends of Killin and Ardeonaig Parish Church: Killin, p.17

²⁷⁵ Durkacz, pp 64-5

²⁷⁶ op cit, p.49

²⁷⁷ op cit, p.47

²⁷⁸ Mackinnon, (1991) p.55

hostility towards the folk traditions and indigenous culture of the Gaels; this, however, may simply have been an incompatibility between pagan myth and the Christian religion.

It should not be forgotten that there was another church in Scotland in the 18th century, the Scottish Episcopal Church. It is claimed that the Jacobite rising of 1715 clearly demonstrated the close link between Scottish Episcopalianism and Jacobitism: there was 'the politically suicidal practice of having the exiled King James confirming appointments of bishops.'²⁷⁹ This aroused the anger of the Hanoverians who passed a law with the penalty of a six month prison sentence which stated that:

No person should be permitted to officiate in an Episcopal meeting house where nine or more persons are present in addition to the minister's household, unless they prayed by name for King George.²⁸⁰

The Provost of Oban's Episcopal Cathedral has said:

In the Highlands, as elsewhere, while the Episcopalian/Presbyterian divide was about systems of church government, it was also about adherence to the Stuarts. The two went hand in hand. Those who tended to support the Stuarts were Episcopalian, unless they were among the small number of RCs. There is a great misunderstanding about this. The vast majority of Jacobite clansmen were Episcopalian, not Catholic.²⁸¹

²⁷⁹ Ross, David, Condemned By A Myth, in *The Herald*, (4.12.93), pp 8-9

²⁸⁰ *op cit*, p.9

²⁸¹ *op cit*, p.8

Certainly, the Duke of Cumberland or 'stinking Billy,' as he was affectionately known by the clansmen, burnt Episcopalian meeting houses in the aftermath of the '45, 'whether they prayed for his father or not.'²⁸²

What proportion of the population of Scotland was Gaelic-speaking in the late 1600s and early 1700s can not be ascertained with confidence and a certain amount of guesswork is involved. Withers suggests that 900,000 persons for the population of Scotland is not unreasonable of whom as many as twenty-five to thirty per cent (225,000 - 297,000) may have been Gaelic-speakers.²⁸³ There is evidence that Gaelic was still widely spoken in the eastern Grampians around 1732,²⁸⁴ and that in 1735 'in five or six out of the ten parishes into which Caithness is divided, 'English' was the mother tongue, and, though Gaelic was spoken in the other four, it existed side by side with the local Scot's dialect.'²⁸⁵ By the 1750s Gaelic had lost ground in Caithness, five of the parishes spoke English 'after the Scottish dialect'²⁸⁶ and the other five 'a corrupt kind of Irish tho' the English is daily gaining ground.'²⁸⁷ The general picture for the Gaelic-speaking mainland of Scotland at this time was of a mixture of language-types in an area: there were areas which spoke Gaelic-only, or Gaelic and English, or English only.²⁸⁸ Around 1750 about half the population of Scotland lived 'north and west of the Highland Line; by the end of the 19th, the proportion was down to less than ten per cent, as the Gaels were scattered to Glasgow, Australia, Canada and elsewhere.'²⁸⁹

²⁸² *op cit*, p.9

²⁸³ Withers, (1984), p. 53

²⁸⁴ *op cit*, p.63

²⁸⁵ Withers, (1984), p. 63

²⁸⁶ *ibid*

²⁸⁷ *ibid*

²⁸⁸ *ibid*

²⁸⁹ Grant & Docherty, p.7

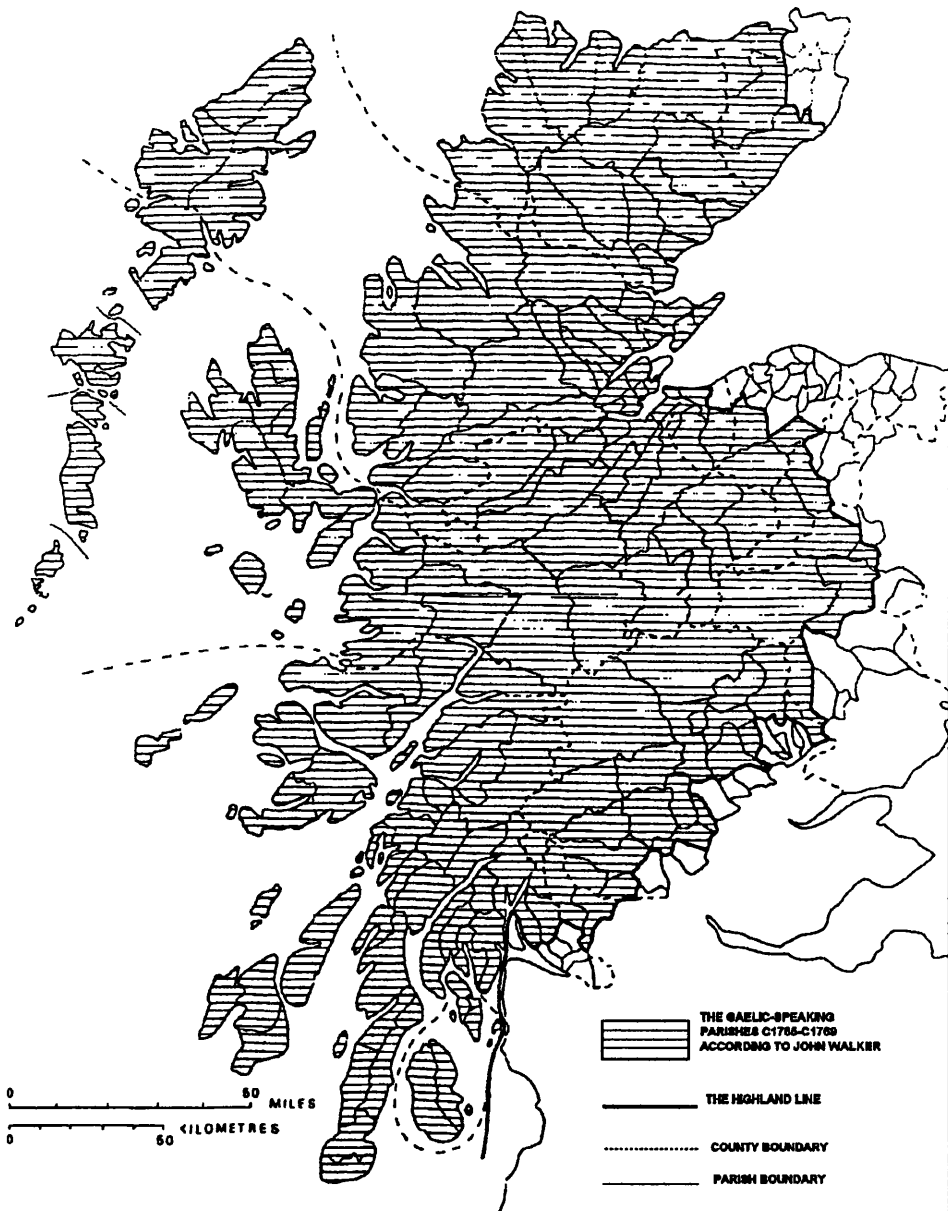


Figure 1 The Gaidhealtachd in 1765²⁹⁰

Systematic promotion of Protestantism in the Highlands by the Government commenced after 1725 when a grant to the General Assembly, the **Royal Bounty**, began on an annual basis.²⁹¹ Part of the grant was used to support itinerant ministers. By 1764, however, there were only ten travelling ministers. The same number of priests were

²⁹⁰ Source: Withers, 1984, p.70

²⁹¹ Lynch, p. 364

employed by the Roman Catholic Highland Mission.²⁹² More significant for Protestantism in the Highlands were the catechists, who were 'the footsoldiers of the Kirk,²⁹³ of whom about seventy were appointed between 1725 and 1728. The Gaelic-speaking catechists met the people 'every Sabbath, to read the Scriptures, and to join with them in psalms and prayers.²⁹⁴

The aims of the SSPCK and the Royal Bounty, although similar, were not in full accord and they fell into dispute with one another in 1758:

The avowed purpose of the SSPCK was to 'wear out' Gaelic and 'learn the people the English tongue'; it spurned the Gaelic catechism and psalter produced by the Synod of Argyll in the 1650s. The General Assembly was not so consistently dogmatic, requiring that only part of every sermon be heard in English, and its catechists were Gaelic speakers.²⁹⁵

One illustration of the experience of the SSPCK teacher in St Kilda may suffice to illustrate their anti-Gaelic policy:

After fourteen years on St Kilda, it emerged from his epistles to Edinburgh that his school was having no success. This was because, in a community in which fewer than four or five adults had as much as a smattering of English, he was forbidden to instruct the people in their

²⁹² *ibid*

²⁹³ *ibid*

²⁹⁴ cited in Lynch, p.364

²⁹⁵ *op cit*, p.364

mother tongue. Typically, the committee of the SSPCK forbade him to teach any Gaelic whatsoever.²⁹⁶

However, the Church of Scotland's antipathy towards Gaelic and the Gael was not far behind, as this report of 1760 to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland shows (emphases mine):

In the western Highlands and islands, the inhabitants universally speak the Gaelic language, and are generally unacquainted with that which is used in other parts of **Great Britain**. This defect alone lays them under great disadvantages, both with regard to religion and to civil life... The common people can carry on no transactions with the more southern part of **Great Britain**, without the intervention of their superiors, who know the English language, and are thereby kept in that undue dependence, and unacquaintance with the arts of life, which have long been the misery of these countries. Till the partition arising from different languages be removed, and the common language of **Great Britain** be diffused over the Highlands, the inhabitants will never enjoy, in their full extent, the benefits of religion and civil government.²⁹⁷

The fever of Britishism seems to have been gripping the Lowlands, perhaps as Europeanism does today, and with as many gradations of acceptance. The question arises as to whether Gaelic will be better able to survive in a multilingual and

²⁹⁶ Durkacz, p. 60

²⁹⁷ cited in Withers (1988), p.15

multicultural European Union than it has in a monolingual English-based culture in which bilingualism and biculturalism did not form a part. Perhaps Gaelic and other minority languages may provide a model for a multicultural and multilingual Euro-Britain.²⁹⁸

Thus far, we have seen that in the late 16th century the Reformers wanted a 'Godly Commonwealth' in Scotland and that the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders were regarded as stumblingblocks and saboteurs of this hope. In the late 16th and the early 17th century King James VI thought of himself as a king preordained to bring about a Protestant Isle. Early 18th century militant presbyterianism sought, with Government help, to sever the bond between chief, clan and Catholic priest and to ban the Gaelic language in the charity schools. The Government supported Protestantism through various Acts including the Royal Bounty. The Gaelic language was regarded as a stumblingblock to a united Protestant British-speaking nation.

²⁹⁸ See Mackinnon in *Local Speech Communities in Lesser Used Languages - Assimilating Newcomers*, pp 52-3

12. Conquerers, Sheep and Tourists

In the early 18th century there was a growing resentment in Scotland towards a Government whose policies were pressing for greater adoption of English mores and speech. The resentment increased with the Union of 1707 and the abolition of the Scottish parliament. The Jacobite rising of 1715 followed and more emphatically that of 1745.²⁹⁹ The 1745 was better supported by Clan Chiefs who paid a heavy toll for their part in the uprising. In the policy of 'pacification' which followed the defeat at Culloden many Jacobite chiefs were executed or driven into exile, and their lands forfeited. The **Commissioners of the Annexed Estates** appointed by the Government to administer some forty Jacobite estates first met in June 1755.³⁰⁰ It is interesting to note that factors whom the Commissioners had appointed to its estates had amongst their recommendations the need for more schools and the wider dissemination of the English language.³⁰¹ The interest in education and English no doubt emanated from His Majesty's letter of commission:

...power is also given to us, our heirs and successors, to erect public schools on the said Estates, or in other parts of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, for instructing Young persons in reading and writing the English language.³⁰²

Most of Prince Charles' support had come from the Gaelic speaking Highlands, therefore all action taken after Culloden in 1746 was an attempt to control this trouble spot. The wearing of tartan, plaids, and kilts; the carrying of weapons; and the playing of the

²⁹⁹ op cit, p.61

³⁰⁰ Lynch, p.363

³⁰¹ Durkacz, p.70-71

³⁰² Durkacz, p.71

bagpipes were all proscribed. One clansman was executed at Carlisle for 'playing the bagpipes a weapon of war'.³⁰³ The aim of the Disarming Acts was to make the Highlanders disregard not only warfare, but also the clan itself, of which matters the colour of their plaid and the pipe tunes would always remind them. The clan chiefs who survived the purges were required to become landlords employing tenants: the old kinship ties were to be destroyed and 'replaced by an economy based on money'.³⁰⁴

From this time on the decline of Gaelic can be explained in socio-economic terms which are usually applied to the era of the Industrial Revolution. Enforced clearance of the indigenous population was followed by unemployment and emigration on a huge scale from the Gaelic speaking areas. The Highlands were opened up for commercial exploitation and new trades such as sheep-farming, forestry, charcoal-burning, civil engineering and iron-smelting, were introduced. With the new economy the English language was everywhere predominant: the Gael became alienated from his leaders and from his own culture which grew increasingly redundant, as Scotland became more and more absorbed politically, into the British State.³⁰⁵

The clan system was wracked and the speaking of Gaelic was to be discouraged by whatever means necessary.

³⁰³ MacKichan, F. (1977) *The Highland Clearances*, Longman: London p12.

³⁰⁴ Stephens, p. 61

³⁰⁵ D.S. Thompson cited in Stephens pp 61-62

Strangely, it was Dr Samuel Johnson who, according to Boswell, shamed the SSPCK into changing its stance and producing a Gaelic version of the New Testament. Johnson wrote of the Gaels in 1766:

Of what they had before the late conquest of their country there remains only their language and their poverty. Their language is attacked on every side. Schools are erected in which English only is taught and there were lately some who thought it reasonable to refuse them a version of the Holy Scriptures, that they might have no monument of their mother tongue.³⁰⁶

By 1754 the SSPCK had relented in its hardline tactics towards Gaelic and had sponsored the printing of a Bible with Gaelic and English on facing pages.³⁰⁷ However, Johnson also believed that when the Highlanders learned to read in their native Gaelic then they would go on to learn to read it in English.³⁰⁸

Although the SSPCK had 149 schools in 1792, the bulk of them were in the southern edge of the Highlands or in Moray and Easter Ross: only 22 were in the Isles. It was the advent of the Gaelic Society Schools after 1811 which intensified the spread of schools in the Western Highlands and Islands.³⁰⁹ The Catholic-run hedge schools were the only Gaelic-medium schools of the time,³¹⁰ and this despite the majority of the SSPCK's school population coming from Gaelic-speaking homes. There was little change in the educational system until after the Battle of Culloden in 1746.³¹¹

³⁰⁶ *ibid*

³⁰⁷ Lynch, p.364

³⁰⁸ Mackenzie, D.W. (1992) *The Worthy Translator*, Society of Friends of Killin and Ardeonaig Parish Church: Killin, p.18

³⁰⁹ *ibid*

³¹⁰ Stephens, p.60

In 1782, **The Gaelic Society of London** (founded in 1777) helped to secure the repeal of the Disarming Acts of 1746 thus re-legalising Highland culture. The Gaelic Society of London also provided a translation service for the Government,³¹² translating Government texts for proclamation in the Highlands. It may be argued that this gave a 'modicum of official status for the language.'³¹³

After Culloden the Highlands became of curiosity value. Burns toured the Highlands in 1787 perhaps drawn by the publicity surrounding the 'works' of MacPherson's Ossian in 1760, as well as the historical attractions.³¹⁴ By 1792 there was 'an established tourist trail' which embraced Loch Lomond, Ben Nevis and Fingal's Cave and was detailed in a two-volume guide to the Highlands by English clergyman William Gilpin.³¹⁵ William and Dorothy Wordsworth used Gilpin's book³¹⁶ when touring the Highlands first in 1803. Wordsworth avoided writing of the noble Highland savage and wrote instead of a:

Sweet Highland Girl...
For never saw I mien or face in which I could trace
Benignity and home-bred sense
Ripening in perfect innocence...
With no restraint, but such as springs
From quick and eager visitings
Of thoughts that lie beyond the reach
*Of thy few words of English speech.*³¹⁷

In 'The Reaper' also he does not appear to be overly-disturbed by the barbarous tongue:

³¹¹ *ibid*

³¹² *ibid*

³¹³ *ibid*

³¹⁴ Lynch, p.362

³¹⁵ *ibid*

³¹⁶ *ibid*

³¹⁷ 'To The Highland Girl of Inversneyde' in Palgrave, F.T., *The Golden Treasury* (1965), Oxford University Press, p. 253

Will no one tell me what she sings?

Perhaps the plaintive numbers flow

For old, unhappy, far-off things

*And battles long ago.*³¹⁸

By the beginning of the 19th century the Gaelic language was entering a period of further change. The printing of the New Testament in Gaelic in 1767 and then the full Bible in 1803 were steps towards the improvement of the lot of Gaelic. It had taken a long time for the Reformation, with its emphasis on vernacular Scriptures, to reach Gaelic-speakers. It has already been mentioned that the Welsh had their own Bible by the end of the sixteenth century, and Ireland had its Bible by 1685. Gaelic evidently had paid the price for so close an association with Jacobitism and Catholicism.

In the opening years of the 19th century the population of the Gaidhealtachd was approximately 335,000 of whom some 300,000 were monoglot Gaelic-speakers as a result, it has been suggested, of the SSPCK's failure to achieve general literacy in English.³¹⁹ Many Gaels had emigrated to industrial towns in the south and had made good there; as a result they wished to help their fellow Gaels in the Gaidhealtachd and set up various institutions. For example, **The Edinburgh Society for the Support of Gaelic Schools** was founded in 1811 and aimed 'to teach the scriptures solely through the medium of Gaelic and later through English'³²⁰ in the Highlands. By 1861 the Edinburgh Society, popularly known as *Sgoiltean Chrìosd* (Christ's Schools), was reckoned to have enabled some 100,000 people to read, and had also given out 200,000 Gaelic Bibles.³²¹

³¹⁸ op cit, p.255

³¹⁹ Stephens, p.62

³²⁰ ibid

³²¹ ibid

Whilst many bodies sought to assist the Gaelic-speaking population of the Highlands in the 19th century, there were those who continued to exploit the Highlands and impoverish the people. Somhairle Maclean suggests that four-fifths of the emigration from 1780 to 1880 was as a direct result of the Clearances, or by Clearance related activities such as 'rack-renting and appropriations, by landlords, of the best agricultural and pastoral land.³²² Edwards³²³ notes that:

The major settlement of Nova Scotia by Scots began in the 1770s. The emigrants, mostly Highlanders, came voluntarily during the eighteenth century; after 1800, however, most came as victims of the Scottish clearances...'the case for landlord heartlessness is much stronger after 1815 than before.'

The Gaelic poetry of the time, as might be expected, was taken up with emigration in the main.³²⁴ Maclean suggests that the legislation following the '45:

...turned Highland chiefs purely and simply into landlords. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that, without the intervening feudal stage, the Highland people had to exchange a tribal economy for a landlord economy, and as is inevitable in the telescoping of historical processes, the upheaval and suffering was immense.³²⁵

³²² Maclean, S., *The Poetry of the Clearances* in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, Vol. xxxviii: 293-4

³²³ Edwards, J., *Gaelic in Nova Scotia* in *Linguistic Minorities, Society and Territory*, Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters, 1991 pp. 269-297

³²⁴ Maclean op cit, p. 294

³²⁵ op cit. p. 295

We have the 19th century irony of Gaelic Societies springing up to enable education through the medium of Gaelic, and at the same time as this long-needed development was being implemented vast numbers of Gaelic-speakers were being cleared from the land. Dr MacIachlan of Morven in a Gaelic volume published in 1868 wrote:

*Not sweet the sound that waked me from my slumber,
coming down to me from the mountain tops:
the Lowland shepherd whose tongue displeases,
shouting there at his lazy dog.*

*In May, on rising at early morning
there's no birds' music nor moorland lowing,
only creatures screeching in English,
calling dogs, setting deer a-scramper.*³²⁶

(translation by D.S. Thomson)

The clearance of the Gaels meant also the disappearance of the sound of the Gaelic language from the glens. Although no accurate figure can be given for numbers removed from the Highlands through clearance, Withers provides an estimate. He suggests that the total leaving the Highlands for North America and the West Indies in the period between 1785 and 1793 was 6,000³²⁷ and that the figure between 1841 and 1854 was 60,000, over one third of the population.³²⁸ Many of the emigrants spoke only Gaelic or had very little English.³²⁹ Emigration was seen by some as a useful tool to drive out Gaelic:

Under questioning from the Select Committee on Emigration in 1841,
John Bowie admitted circulating pamphlets amongst Highlanders

³²⁶ Thomson, (1974) p. 227

³²⁷ Withers, 1984, p.110

³²⁸ Withers, 1988, p. 190

³²⁹ Withers, 1984, p.110

urging them to forsake Gaelic for their own good and continued: 'I do most anxiously desire how soon the Gaelic language may be exploded to this extent, that it may become a dead language, and that the English language may be the prevailing language from one end of the country to the other.'³³⁰

Most of the principal tenants of land when served notice to quit accepted the hopelessness of their position in law and vacated their farms at the end of the term.³³¹ It is recorded, however, that some of the poor Highlanders delayed vacating their land in the hope that the landlord, whom they still regarded as their chief, would show compassion towards them,³³² as was in keeping with the traditional concept of the chief holding the land in heritable trusteeship.³³³ They also believed they had rights to the land according to the old Brehon Law of Gaelic Ireland and Scotland, notwithstanding the Law of Scotland.³³⁴ It was these people who delayed removal who were forcibly evicted following a 'properly served' summons to quit.³³⁵

The potato blight of 1846 further helped to empty glens of Gaels and Gaelic. Many had no choice but to 'quit the Highlands or starve.'³³⁶ The clearances continued until 1886 when the first Crofters Act came into being. **The Crofters' Holdings Act** of 1886 was based on the Irish Land Act of 1881 and was based on the 'three Fs' - fixity of tenure, free sale and fair rent.³³⁷ The Clearances had caused a drift to the Central belt for

³³⁰ *ibid*

³³¹ Mackay, I.R. (1971), *The Highland Clearances*, An Comunn Gaidhealach: Inverness, p. 3

³³² *ibid*

³³³ Lynch, p.368 and Mackay, *ibid*

³³⁴ *ibid*

³³⁵ *ibid*

³³⁶ Withers, 1984, p.110

³³⁷ Lynch, p.376

employment and led to pockets of Gaelic speakers, especially in Glasgow.³³⁸ To gain employment in these industrial times required an ability in the English language and:

...the cleared Highlander very soon learned that Gaelic would 'hold him back from success'. Nevertheless, Gaelic was usually the language of the family and children at play...³³⁹

Many Highland societies and institutions were formed in the late 19th century to assist Lowland Gaels. The Comunn Gaidhealach, for example, was founded in 1891 and it rapidly developed as a pressure group in education and as a publishing agency.³⁴⁰

Dr Nigel MacNeill writing in 1892 states that the total number of Gaelic speakers is 'not much under half-a-million' of whom 300,000 resided within 'the geographical limits of the Highlands, the area of which is upwards of three-fifths of Scotland.'³⁴¹ He continues:

There is a larger Gaelic population in Glasgow than the whole population of Greenock. The Gaelic bard of today has thus as large an audience to whom to sing his lays as the great Ossian himself had in ancient Albin.³⁴²

Another factor in the demise of Gaelic in the 19th century was the nearer encroachment of a railway network and an expansion in steam navigation which brought Gaeldom into closer relation with the English-speaking world.³⁴³ Indeed, Durkacz claims that the

³³⁸ Mulholland, Gwen (1980) *The Struggle for a Language*, Rank & File: Edinburgh, p.10

³³⁹ *ibid*

³⁴⁰ Stephens, p.64

³⁴¹ MacNeill, p.43

³⁴² *ibid*

³⁴³ *ibid*

English language gained greater footholds through the market place than through the school.³⁴⁴ He reports that 'every change in farming techniques, every commercial development, brought an increased use of English.'³⁴⁵ It appears that trips '*doon the waa-ur*' by Lowland Scots were linguistically damaging:

The *New Statistical Account*, compiled in the 1840s, presents a picture of accelerating retreat. Gaelic was now receding rapidly in all the mainland areas of the Highlands: it appeared to be stable in the Outer Hebrides, but in the Firth of Clyde the steamboats had within a few years turned Gaelic villages on Arran and Bute into English ports.³⁴⁶

Parental attitudes towards Gaelic were another factor in the use of Gaelic. The annual report of the **Edinburgh Gaelic School Society** in 1839 states:

So ignorant are the parents that it is difficult to convince them that it can be of any benefit to their children to learn Gaelic, though they are all anxious, if they could, to have them learn English.³⁴⁷

Is it little wonder that parents should want their children to have the language of success and prosperity? *Getting on*, as has often been quoted,³⁴⁸ meant *getting out* and *staying out*, and to *stay out* in the South, English was needed. A minister in 1824 said:

I have no prejudice against the Gaelic language...but the most ardent lover of Gaelic cannot fail to admit that the possession of a knowledge

³⁴⁴ Durkacz, p.216

³⁴⁵ *ibid*

³⁴⁶ *ibid*

³⁴⁷ *op cit*, p.224

³⁴⁸ *eg Grant, 1992, p.7*

of English is indispensable to any poor Islander who wishes to learn a trade or to earn his bread beyond the limits of his native isle.³⁴⁹

There was a language dichotomy: English was perceived as the speech of worldly advancement, Gaelic the language of spiritual affairs.

In the 18th century Gaelic had become the language of the Church in the Highlands and a strong Protestant tradition had developed through the diffusion of the Gaelic Scriptures and the metrical psalms.³⁵⁰ After the Disruption of 1843 the Free Church became the church of the crofter. It was said that two things had enabled the Free Church to gain such a foothold in the Highlands: 'grace and Gaelic.'³⁵¹ It regarded Gaelic as one of the languages which God had given and was therefore to be cherished even if 'a barrier to the progress of English.'³⁵² 'Gaelic reading was cultivated both in the Gaelic circulating schools, and in the day schools run by Free Church teachers.'³⁵³

Developments in education in the late 19th century were to further dilute the Gaelic language. In the 1860s a national system of education was considered and a commission was set up to inquire into the state of Scottish education. Three persons involved were Sheriff Nicolson, the Rev. Dr. Mackintosh Mackay (Free Church Minister in Harris) and W.J. Menzies secretary of the SSPCK.³⁵⁴ During the inquiry it was evident that the Sheriff had sympathies for the plight of the Gaelic speakers. However, Dr. Mackay stated:

³⁴⁹ Withers, 1988, p. 153

³⁵⁰ *op cit*, p.63

³⁵¹ Durkacz, p.133

³⁵² *ibid*

³⁵³ *ibid*

³⁵⁴ Mulholland, pp.10-11

I consider it an advantage decidedly, that Gaelic should cease. Gaelic schools the people will not have³⁵⁵

Mr Menzies, in similar vein, wished that the people should have 'a good education' and encouraged them to emigrate. It is, therefore, not surprising that the Education Act of 1872 made no mention of Gaelic whatsoever.³⁵⁶ There was no attempt to devise a system of education which would favour those who would choose to stay in the Highlands and who may have wished a knowledge of their own history and culture.³⁵⁷ It was argued by the Gaelophobes that there would be insufficient time to study any other language in school apart from English.³⁵⁸ In addition, they believed that a greater proportion of teachers for scattered island populations would be required and it would be impossible to provide one for every school where Gaelic was spoken. One inspector spoke in terms of the 'Gaelic nuisance'.³⁵⁹ The result was that the language was persecuted and discouraged more than before the 1872 Act.³⁶⁰ The *maide-crochaidh*, a stick on a cord hung around the neck, was used by English-speaking teachers to punish and stigmatise children for speaking Gaelic - it may have been used in Lewis as late as the 1930s.³⁶¹ Before the 1872 Education Act, the Free Church had opened 712 schools in which Gaelic was the predominant language.³⁶² After the Act all the schools previously administered by the Free Church, the SSPCK, the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Gaelic Schools Societies were taken over by School Boards and the advances in Gaelic provision were lost.³⁶³

³⁵⁵ op cit, p.11

³⁵⁶ Stephens, p.63

³⁵⁷ ibid

³⁵⁸ Mulholland, p.11

³⁵⁹ Stephens, p.63

³⁶⁰ ibid

³⁶¹ ibid

³⁶² ibid

³⁶³ ibid

There were those who spoke up for the language towards the end of the century: the Report of the Crofters' Commission in 1884 was the first occasion upon which a public document protested against the 'unpatriotic folly and unintelligence of the official anti-Gaelic policy in Highland Education'.³⁶⁴ The Gaelic Society of Inverness, established in 1871, protested and sought help of MPs, but to little effect.³⁶⁵ They also circulated a letter in 1875 to Highland newspapers and Highland School Boards in an effort to encourage the use of Gaelic.³⁶⁶ In 1876 the Scotch Education Department sent out a circular and questionnaire to Highland School Boards. Of the 103 sent out, 90 replies were received and of these 65 favoured Gaelic teaching.³⁶⁷ The E.I.S. in 1871 gave unambiguous support for Gaelic to be taught in Highland schools.³⁶⁸ The Napier Commission reporting in 1884-85 said:

We think it desirable that all children whose mother-tongue is Gaelic should be taught to read that language...We think that the discouragement and neglect of the native language in the education of Gaelic-speaking children, which has hitherto so largely influenced the system practised in the Highlands, ought to cease, and that a knowledge of that language ought to be considered one of the primary qualifications of every person engaged in the carrying out of the national system of education in Gaelic-speaking districts, whether as school inspectors, teachers or compulsory officers.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁴ cited in Mulholland, p.11

³⁶⁵ Stephens, p.63

³⁶⁶ *ibid*

³⁶⁷ Macleod, M., *Gaelic in Highland Education in Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, Vol.XLIII:321

³⁶⁸ Mulholland, p.11

³⁶⁹ cited in Withers, 1984, pp. 159-60

And yet, despite the evident demand for Gaelic in Education the Education Acts of 1892, 1901, 1908 and the draft Bill of 1918 made no provision for Gaelic education.³⁷⁰ There were positive aspects, however, to the survival of Gaelic in the 19th century. In 1882 a Chair of Celtic was established at Edinburgh University, lectures on Celtic literature commenced in Glasgow University in 1900, although Gaelic classes had been conducted within the University since 1876 under the auspices of the Free Church College.³⁷¹ Gaelic publishing increased in the 19th century.³⁷²

Location of Publishers and Numbers of Gaelic Publications in 19th Century

Table 1

Edinburgh	378	Aberdeen	4	Stornoway	2	Kilmarnock	1	Wick	1
Glasgow	339	Elgin	2	Tain	2	Leipzig	1		
Inverness	146	Oban	2	Campbeltown	1	Liverpool	1	America and Canada	38
London	37	Aberfeldy	2	Chelsea	1	Montrose	1		
Perth	12	Dingwall	2	Forres	1	Parkhill	1		
Paisley	9	Killin	2	Govan	1	Partick	1		
Greenock	7	Kirkcaldy	2	Huntly	1	Pultneytown	1		
Stirling	6	Leith	2	Invergordon	1	Sandbank	1	TOTAL	1024

Nine hundred new Gaelic publications were produced between 1830 and 1900.³⁷³ Gaelic weekly newspapers were established such as *An Gaidheal* in this country and *Mac Talla* in Cape Breton.³⁷⁴ Nevertheless, publishing successes apart, as Gaelic entered the 20th century it was to encounter the continued antipathy of one of the strongest socialising forces,³⁷⁵ the education system. One writer has dubbed this 'the teaching-out of Gaelic'.³⁷⁶

³⁷⁰ *ibid*³⁷¹ *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, pp.290-91³⁷² *op cit*, pp.245-6³⁷³ *op cit*, p.62-63³⁷⁴ *ibid*

13. A Blank Jigsaw Puzzle

The twentieth century has been a paradox of change for Gaelic with the wheel turning full circle from prohibition to positive encouragement.³⁷⁷ Official recognition in education was given to Gaelic in the 1918 Education Act. Although Gaelic had been made a 'specific subject' in 1885, it was merely intended to be:

The means whereby Gaelic-speaking children may most speedily overcome the difficulties of mastering English, and whereby such encouragement may be given to the teaching of Gaelic as may eventually provide a body of certificated teachers specially fitted, by a knowledge of the vernacular, to take charge of schools in Gaelic-speaking districts.³⁷⁸

Gaelic had also received some official recognition in 1915 with the introduction of Gaelic as a certificating subject, but this was for older pupils and nothing was provided for primary school children.³⁷⁹

It was through the pressure of *An Comunn Gaidhealach* that a mandatory clause was inserted into the 1918 Education Act. In 1917 they had petitioned various Highland societies in the Highlands and the Lowlands to support four proposals that:³⁸⁰

³⁷⁵ Mulholland, p.12

³⁷⁶ Mackinnon, (1991) p.74

³⁷⁷ Withers, 1984, p.246

³⁷⁸ op cit, p.242

³⁷⁹ Macleod, op cit, p.324

³⁸⁰ Withers, 1984, p.243-4

1. In all schools in the Highlands attended mainly by Gaelic-speaking children, Gaelic should be an essential subject of instruction and should be available also to those who wanted it in other Highland schools attended by Gaelic speakers;
2. Provisions be made for the training of Gaelic-speaking teachers capable of teaching the lower and higher stages of the language;
3. Salaries be increased to induce such teachers to remain in or return to the Highlands;
4. An Education Board for the Highlands be set up with sufficient funds available to make the whole scheme viable.

These proposals were presented to the Secretary of State and turned down, but with additional pressure from An Comunn Gaidhealach, politicians, churchmen, Highland Societies and the public an amendment was included in the 1918 Act which ensured that Gaelic was a compulsory subject at all levels of education in the chiefly Gaelic-speaking areas.³⁸¹ However, because the amendment treated Gaelic as a subject and not as a language on a par with English there was no sure way of implementing the clause.³⁸² In institutions where Gaelic was taught after the 'Gaelic Clause' in the 1918 Act it is reported to have been taught as a dead language and not as a medium of instruction.³⁸³

Mackinnon states:

In the 20th century the school, an intrusive institution within Gaelic Society, became an important agent for change in (or even control of) the social structure of Gaelic in Scotland. The school encouraged attitudes towards the native language which ran counter to its maintenance...introduced new forms of knowledge into the intellectual

³⁸¹ Withers, 1984, p.244

³⁸² *ibid*

³⁸³ Mulholland, p.12

life of the Gael which rarely linked up in any coherent way with the surviving elements of their culture. Thus, school subjects, taught through English, came to enjoy prestige and the interpretation of history from English textbooks generally from an English point of view accepted as received truth...³⁸⁴

In 1936 *The Report of the Special Committee of An Comunn Gaidhealach* described the teaching of Gaelic:

... 'arid, academic' and given through the medium of English and depending heavily on the attitude of the teacher towards the language, since the H.M.I.s tended to overlook it. The text books were dull and prosy.³⁸⁵

Christine Smith sponsored by the **Scottish Council for Research in Education's Committee on Bilingualism** carried out a survey in 1943-44 which aimed at measuring intelligence in Gaelic and English among Gaelic-speaking children in rural Lewis. She reported that the main cause of the rapid decline in Gaelic in the 20th century 'has its genesis in the tacit assumption that Gaelic-speaking Scots form such a small minority that no special administration is needed.'³⁸⁶ She also echoed the findings of the Napier Commission³⁸⁷ of a previous century that there was a cultural mismatch of much of the content of the education syllabus.³⁸⁸

³⁸⁴ Mackinnon, 1991, p. 81

³⁸⁵ Mulholland, p.12

³⁸⁶ cited in Stephens, p.65

³⁸⁷ see p. 48 of this chapter

³⁸⁸ op cit, p.66

The Second World War had its effects on the slight upturn of interest in Gaelic matters.

In a BBC broadcast, Sir Walter Layton said:

This war will have been fought in vain unless certain democratic rights are established throughout Europe including freedom of speech ...and of minorities to use their mother tongue.³⁸⁹

Interestingly George Orwell living in the then Gaelic-speaking Jura recorded in his press column in 1947:

At one time I would have said that it is absurd to keep alive an archaic language like Gaelic, spoken by only a few hundred thousand people. Now I am not so sure. To begin with, if people feel that they have a special culture which ought to be preserved, and that language is part of it, difficulties should not be put in their way when they want their children to learn properly. Secondly, it is probable that the effort of being bilingual is a valuable education in itself.³⁹⁰

In the 1950s the Scottish Education Department's attitude changed. Some have regarded the softening with cynicism and have noted:

It may have been that the S.E.D. felt the Gaelic community to be virtually destroyed (with the 1950's came the virtual disappearance of monoglot Gaelic speakers) and they could now safely ease up on the persecution of the language.³⁹¹

³⁸⁹ cited in Gillies, A., Doctoral Thesis, Glasgow University, p.18

³⁹⁰ cited in Crichton, Torquil, *Gaelic's future is now in the people's own hands*, Herald (Glasgow) 16.10.1992, p.8

Noting 'the general decline in the number of Gaelic-speakers,³⁹² further surveys were commissioned by the Committee on Bilingualism of the Scottish Council for Research in Education in 1957 (Gaelic-speaking amongst primary children, especially infants) and 1959 (first year secondary pupils having knowledge of Gaelic).³⁹³ The results were published in 1961 and the process of anglicisation in the Gaelic-speaking area of the Hebrides was described as follows:

The process of anglicisation begins historically around the official centres of transport on the east side of the island opposite the mainland. Thereafter, an English 'pale' develops inland from the bridge or pierhead. It may be some time before the development makes any marked advance inland. This is still true of Stornoway in Lewis...In Skye, on the other hand, as can be seen around Portree and Kyleakin, the development once begun soon spreads...localities that were traditionally Gaelic, tend to become anglicised for various local reasons, and then the whole front proceeds to break up. That process is now nearing completion in Mull and Islay.³⁹⁴

The decline in Gaelic-speakers since 1881 was noted in SCRE's 1961 published report. In 1881 231,594 people (6.76%) claimed 'habitually' to speak Gaelic out of a Scottish population of 3,425,151 aged three and over.³⁹⁵ By 1951 the ratio was 95,447 (1.98%) Gaelic-speakers out of a Scottish population of 4,826,814 and in 1961 it was 80,978 (1.66%) out of 4,892,882. Mackinnon reminds us that the Gaelic-speaking area circa

³⁹¹ *op cit*, p.13

³⁹² Stephens, p.66

³⁹³ Mackinnon, 1991, p.90

³⁹⁴ Stephens, p.66

³⁹⁵ Mackinnon, 1991, p. 90

1881 covered the Highlands and the Hebrides. Within the Highlands and the Hebrides locations with less than 50% of a Gaelic-speaking population were found 'only in Caithness, urban areas around the Moray Firth and the extremities, eastern and southern, of the Grampians, the south end of Kintyre, eastern Arran and Bute.'³⁹⁶ By 1951 the position had changed significantly: the areas with more than 50% Gaelic-speakers were 'the western margins of Sutherland and Ross-shire, excluding Lochalsh and including only the peninsular area of western Invernesshire and north Argyll between Lochs Morar and Sunart. The Hebrides remained within the 50% plus area with the exception of northern and eastern Mull.'³⁹⁷ The survey also pointed out that 'present educational provision for the teaching of Gaelic has failed to increase the number of Gaelic speakers. It is apparently powerless, at least in its present form, to prevent the continued fall in the number.'³⁹⁸

However, there were optimistic observations. Stephens suggests that there was a turning point in the fortunes of Gaelic in the fifties.³⁹⁹ The 1930s and 1940s had already seen the emergence of two Gaelic poets of European stature - Sorley Maclean and George Campbell Hay and others had joined them in creating a contemporary Gaelic literature. The quarterly Gaelic magazine *Gairm* was launched in 1952 and provided a forum for new writing.⁴⁰⁰ Educated Gaels began to have an influence within the education service, the county education authorities and the Civil Service.⁴⁰¹ The introduction of bilingual primary education from 1958 in some primary schools in the Highland and Islands was

³⁹⁶ Mackinnon, p.90

³⁹⁷ op cit, pp. 90-91

³⁹⁸ Murray, John, *Gaelic Patterns: Development 1973-1993* in *Scotland's Languages*, Alter 2nd Issue, Jordanhill College of Education, 1994, p.20

³⁹⁹ ibid

⁴⁰⁰ Murray, 1994, op cit, p.20

⁴⁰¹ ibid

a step forward. In 1959 Gaelic broadcasting was increased from two to three hours per week.⁴⁰²

In 1962 learners papers were introduced in the Scottish Leaving Certificate examinations. 'The learner' of Scottish Gaelic had been formally recognised.⁴⁰³ This was 'an important encouragement to those who were not native speakers but who wanted to learn the language.'⁴⁰⁴ In 1965 the Government increased financial support for *An Comunn Gaidhealach* which resulted in the appointment of two full-time officers.⁴⁰⁵ *An Comann Leabhraichean* (The Gaelic Books Council) was founded in 1968 in the Celtic Department of Glasgow University to administer the Gaelic Books Grant awarded by the Scottish Education Department to the University to 'subsidize the publication of new and original works in Gaelic.'⁴⁰⁶ It increased the volume of Gaelic publications from five per year in the early sixties to over twenty.⁴⁰⁷

A major political boost for Gaelic came with the **Local Government (Scotland) Act** of 1975 and the formation of *Comhairle nan Eilean* (Western Isles Islands' Council). This gave the Isles a single authority for the first time in centuries.⁴⁰⁸ The declared aim of *Comhairle nan Eilean*, having given itself a Gaelic title, was that the islands should be:

...a fundamentally bilingual community in which Gaelic and English are used concurrently as languages of communication, so that the people

⁴⁰² op cit, p.67

⁴⁰³ Thomson, 1983, p 261

⁴⁰⁴ Grant, 1992, p8

⁴⁰⁵ Stephens, p.68

⁴⁰⁶ Thomson, 1983, P. 108-9

⁴⁰⁷ Murray, op cit, p.20

⁴⁰⁸ Grant, 1992, p.8

of the area can have the choice of language in as many situations as possible...⁴⁰⁹

Many believe that Comhairle nan Eilean's development projects 'greatly strengthened the position of Gaelic at a critical time.'⁴¹⁰ From 1975 to 1981 a primary school **Bilingual Education Project** was established in conjunction with Jordanhill College and the Scottish Education Department. The first phase (1975-8) involved a group of twenty primary schools, increased to 34 in the second phase (1978-81); a similar project commenced in Skye in 1978. The aim was to promote equal status for Gaelic and English in the primary school.⁴¹¹ Between 1976 and 1982 a **Community Education Project** in partnership with the Bernard Van Leer Foundation examined parental and pre-school issues in collaboration with the Bilingual Education Project.⁴¹² In 1977 the Scottish Film Council and others established **Cinema Sgìre**, a community cinema and video project to give community skills in programme making; it ended in 1981. The first professional Gaelic drama company, **Fir-Chlis**, was formed in 1978, but folded in 1982. Nineteen seventy-seven saw the founding of **Acair**, a bilingual publishing company which was in partnership with the Highlands and Islands Development Board and An Comunn Gaidhealach. Acair is the leading Gaelic publishing company and has broadened the range of Gaelic books available including a considerable amount of educational materials.⁴¹³ After much persuasion and the offer of help from Comhairle nan Eilean,⁴¹⁴ the **BBC** - who had first broadcast in Gaelic in 1923 - launched a new bilingual community radio station, **Radio nan Eilean**, in Stornoway in 1979. The first children's

⁴⁰⁹ Bilingual Policy,(1986) Comhairle nan Eilean, p. 1

⁴¹⁰ Murray, op cit., p.20

⁴¹¹ Dunn, C.M. & Robertson, A.G. Boyd, *Gaelic in Education in Gaelic and Scotland*, (1989), Edinburgh: Univ. Press., p. 45

⁴¹² ibid

⁴¹³ Directory of Gaelic Organisations (1992), Comunn na Gàidhlig: Inverness

⁴¹⁴ Murray, p.20

television programme in Gaelic was broadcast by Grampian in 1976. The BBC ran *Can Seo* a successful learners' programme on BBC television in 1979. Sir Iain Noble provided funding for a feasibility study in 1979 into parental attitudes to be carried out by the University of Glasgow, which paved the way for the commencement of a Glasgow Gaelic medium primary school unit.⁴¹⁵ Gaelic was breathing 20th century air and surviving.

Although a turning point came in the 1980s regarding many strategic developments it was the previous decade which had laid the foundations for the reversal of a terminal trend.⁴¹⁶ **Sabhal Mòr Ostaig**, the Gaelic College of Higher Education, founded in Sleat on the Isle of Skye in 1973 developed from being a summer school providing courses in Gaelic language and music to being a Gaelic medium college teaching business studies, information technology, media training courses and Gaidhealtachd studies to HND level. The initiation of full-time Business Studies courses through the medium of Gaelic at Sabhal Mòr Ostaig in 1983 was followed in 1985 by the announcement of the Secretary of State for Scotland of a budget of £250,000 for specific grants towards educational projects.⁴¹⁷ The **Grants for Gaelic Language Regulations 1986** make provision for a scheme of specific grants for Gaelic education administered by SOED under which payments are made to local Education Authorities for projects connected with the teaching of Gaelic. The Government provided £1,716,000 in the Specific Grants scheme in the 1993-94 financial year which is used to support a variety of educational services in Gaelic.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁵ Interview with Professor Nigel Grant, Dept. of Education, Glasgow University. (7/2/94)

⁴¹⁶ Crichton, p.8

⁴¹⁷ Murray, 1994 p.21

⁴¹⁸ Gaelic in Scotland, Scottish Office Education Department, Gaelic Factsheet 1994, p.1

Further Government support came in Section 23 of the National Heritage Scotland Act 1985. Through the Act various groups including *Comunn na Gàidhlig*, *An Comunn Gaidhealach*, *Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* and *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich* which 'do much to promote and develop the Gaelic language and culture' receive Government financial support.⁴¹⁹ *Comhairle nan Sgoiltean Araich* (CNSA) started as a community based support group in 1982 with 4 Gaelic medium play groups and 40 children. Its roots lie in a significant development in the late seventies when *cròileagain* or Gaelic playgroups were set up by parents concerned about the incursions television and other modern media were having on children's Gaelic speech ability.⁴²⁰ The CNSA Annual Report for 1992/93 states that there are about 123 groups catering for around 2065 children. As of June 1994 there were 142 groups with 2480 children.⁴²¹ CNSA provides three types of nursery provision: parent and child groups for under-two's; playgroups for the three plus age group; and pre-five groups.⁴²²

In August 1985 pioneering developments took place in two urban locations, Inverness and Glasgow. At Inverness the 'first official Gaelic-medium teaching programme was introduced by Highland regional Council and Strathclyde Regional Council established a Primary 1-5 bilingual unit in a Glasgow city school.'⁴²³ It was through parental action that both these developments came about.⁴²⁴ The number of Gaelic medium units in primary schools throughout Scotland has risen to 45, with 1080 pupils in 1993/94.⁴²⁵ The yearly intake has increased from 39 in 1986 to 244 in 1992.⁴²⁶ Highland Region has 17 units

⁴¹⁹ *ibid*

⁴²⁰ Dunn & Robertson, *Gaelic in Education in Gaelic and Scotland*, (1989), Edinburgh: University Press., p. .53

⁴²¹ CNSA (Head Office Inverness) figures as at 26.8.94

⁴²² *ibid*

⁴²³ Dunn & Robertson, p. 45

⁴²⁴ *ibid*

⁴²⁵ *Solarachadh na Gàidhlig ann am Foghlam ann an Albainn*, Earr-ràdh 4, Scottish Office Education Dept., p. 69

⁴²⁶ Macdonald, M. section 2:12

(425 pupils), Western Isles 20 (365), Strathclyde 5 (231) and Lothian (37) and Grampian (16) and Tayside (6) each have one unit.⁴²⁷

There are some 43 secondary schools (50, if SCOTVEC modules are included)⁴²⁸ in Scotland which teach Gaelic as a subject: Western Isles (16), Highland Region (13), Strathclyde (6), Lothian (1), Tayside (2), Grampian (3), Central (2).⁴²⁹ Both Western Isles and Highland Region have around 1000 pupils in the six-year secondary range. The number achieving Higher grade level is much smaller - around 60 per year in Highland Region and 90 in the Western Isles.⁴³⁰ Geography, history, and some science and technical subjects are also being taught through the medium of Gaelic in Highland, Western Isles and Strathclyde Regions⁴³¹ - the outworking of Gaelic-medium education in the primary schools.

In tertiary education, Lews Castle College in Stornoway has provided Gaelic classes over the last few decades and is expanding its Gaelic provision. There are teacher-training colleges in Glasgow and Aberdeen where Gaelic is seen as 'an addendum to conventional English-medium training courses rather than requiring a separate approach.'⁴³² The universities of Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Glasgow and more recently Strathclyde (with the addition of Jordanhill College) have Celtic departments and offer academic courses for students of Gaelic but are 'still geared largely to the traditional educational system where

⁴²⁷ Appendices 1 & 4 Provision for Gaelic Education in Scotland & Table of Gaelic Medium Units in Primary Schools & Pupil Numbers, provided by DJ MacIver, WIIC Bilingual Policy Adviser August 1994

⁴²⁸ Maclean, TES, p.13

⁴²⁹ Appendix 1 of Provision for Gaelic Education in Scotland

⁴³⁰ Macdonald, M., section 2:15

⁴³¹ op cit, section 2.16 - A more detailed breakdown of subjects is given on p. 343

⁴³² op cit, section 2.21

the language is a subject of study rather than the emerging system of Gaelic-medium education.⁴³³

Comunn na Gaidhlig (Cnag) was founded in 1984 as a principal recommendation of the Cor Na Gàidhlig Report that An Comunn Gaidhealach was not addressing issues which needed to be addressed for the maintenance of Gaelic. It is now the main body for Gaelic development with the aim of bringing together all those who promote the language. Cnag has set up youth clubs; played a major part in securing the money for Gaelic television; helped in the setting up of the National Gaelic Arts Project and other educational, cultural, social and economic projects.⁴³⁴ In August 1992 it commissioned perhaps the most detailed national survey to date on provision for Gaelic learners; the recommendations will be examined in chapter eight.

Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh is a Gaelic adult learners' support group which was set up in 1984. It aims to co-ordinate and extend support, to produce learning materials, and to get more people involved in learning, teaching and using the language.⁴³⁵

The National Gaelic Arts Project was set up in 1989. The NGAP's development and promotional role embraces a wide range of activity concerned with traditional and contemporary arts, including youth drama, feisean, exhibitions, publications, recordings, film and television projects, and community arts initiatives.⁴³⁶ It articulates with most organisations involved in aspects of Gaelic promotion for particular projects, 'including local authorities, development bodies and arts organisations, and ranging from community level in the Highlands to EC level.'⁴³⁷ Once these ideas and projects have

⁴³³ *ibid*

⁴³⁴ Mac Ille Chiar, I., *Adult Learners of Gaelic and Welsh in Lesser Used Languages and the Communicative Needs of Adult Learners*, Dublin:1986, p.33

⁴³⁵ *ibid*

⁴³⁶ Macdonald, M., *Gaelic: Ten Years' Progress*, A Report for CNAG, May 1993, section 4

⁴³⁷ *op cit*, section 4

become strong enough they are left to develop at their own pace. Feisean or festivals started with Feis Bharraigh in 1981. In 1992 there were 20 of these non-competitive performing festivals, with a charitable company Feisean nan Gaidheal being formed in 1991.⁴³⁸

It was Comunn na Gaidhlig who lobbied the Government for help in Gaelic television broadcasting and in 1989, a **Gaelic Television Fund** was announced which would finance an extra 200 hours of television per annum with a sum of £9.5 million.

There are no **newspapers** which are totally in Gaelic. However, Gaelic articles do appear in several national and local newspapers: The Scotsman, The Press & Journal, The Evening Times, The Stornoway Gazette, The Oban Times, and The West Highland Free Press. Recently, a Gaelic comic for youngsters has emerged - *Smathsin*. There had been one produced by An Comunn Gaidhealach called Sradag 20-30 years ago. The Times Educational Supplement Scotland has also published short Gaelic articles within the last two to three years. The Church of Scotland, the Free Church and the Free Presbyterian Church publish magazines with Gaelic content.

Gaelic language and culture has seen other developments in recent years including active support from **Highlands and Islands Enterprise** who state in their Gaelic Strategy consultation document that their aim is the:

Development of the Gaelic language and culture as a means of raising self-confidence and stimulating economic and social development.⁴³⁹

More specifically, HIE's objectives are to:

1. Raise the profile and image of Gaelic nationally and internationally.
2. Consolidate the Gaelic infrastructure to allow for more Gaelic development
3. Integrate the initiatives with economic, social and environmental development.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁸ Murray, p.21

⁴³⁹ Iomairt na Gaidhlig, (1991) Consultation Paper, The Gaelic Strategy for the HIE Network, p.1

The 1991 Census indicates that there are some 65,978 Gaelic-speakers in Scotland (about 1.4% of the population) compared with the 1981 figure of 79,307 (1.6%).⁴⁴¹ These figures came as a surprise to many who had expected the decline to settle around 71,000.⁴⁴² Mr Finlay Macleod of CNSA thought the figures were predictable and stated that it would be about fifteen years before the real effect of playgroups on the census figures would be seen.⁴⁴³ Cnag director Allan Campbell attributed the fall to the continuing exodus of Gaels from the heartland for employment, a trend he determines to reverse by lobbying local authorities to expand Gaelic-medium education and by seeking to heighten Gaelic's profile in the business sector and public life.⁴⁴⁴

Mr Campbell's reaction displays the pro-active approach to language planning which is now being adopted. There appears to have been an important turning point in the Gaels' attitude to language revival in the seventies and eighties. However, the relatively small number of speakers creates difficulties for language planners, especially since Scots and English are also used as media of communication and compete with and against Gaelic.

John Murray aptly summarises changes in the Gaelic world over the last twenty years:

...it is almost impossible to keep abreast of the changes which have occurred - and are happening as I write - especially in education and the arts. One is in danger of being dazzled by the kaleidoscope and forgetting that there is not a secure legal foundation for it all. For the experienced Gaelic innovator, all this activity is like assembling a blank jigsaw puzzle on which, a Gaelic Language Act can be drawn.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁰ op cit, p. 21

⁴⁴¹ 1991 Census Gaelic Language Scotland, HMSO Edinburgh, Table 3, p. 41

⁴⁴² Cnag 'An Aghaidh Nan Creag' Report, Mackinnon (1992) & Gloom descends on Mod as census reveals extent of Gaelic decline, WHFP, 16.10.92, p. 1

⁴⁴³ *ibid*

⁴⁴⁴ *ibid*

⁴⁴⁵ Murray, p.21

Chapter 7 - Gaelic Language Planning

Introduction

This chapter examines Gaelic language planning under three headings: Status, Corpus and Acquisition. Whilst this medium brush approach is sufficient to provide a picture for the other language situations we examined, I wish to adopt an approach suggested by Dr Abraham Solomonik, National Inspector in Adult Education at the Ministry of Education in Jerusalem, to give a slightly more detailed texture to the Gaelic picture. He has suggested that 'the state of a language in revival at a definite point of its development' may be measured; this he calls the **Language Situation**.¹ To do this the language situation is divided into three large units: social aspect, educational aspect and linguistic aspect. We shall deal with the first two in the section on Gaelic status planning and the third under corpus planning.

¹Solomonik, A., *Appraisal of Language Revivals*, in Abstracts and Programs, Ministry of Education and Culture, Division of Adult Education, International Conference on Language Revival, Jerusalem, October 15-18 1990, p.41

Gaelic

1. Gaelic Status Planning

The social aspect² of the language situation comprises: *laws relating to the language's revival; language of the administration; language of the courts; language of the mass media; the language academy as a supervising body; written language in public areas* and I will add another aspect, *the language of religion* which is possibly an indicator in such a traditionally religious area as the Gaidhealtachd.

Laws Relating to the Language's Revival

As indicated in the previous chapter there is no Language Act for Gaelic, as exists for Welsh, that gives it 'equal validity' with English.³ To date there has been little legislation enacted to bolster the status of Gaelic: 'Bilingual road signs may be erected on the specific authorisation of the Secretary of State in terms of the **Road Traffic Regulations Act 1984**.⁴ 'Section 12 (4) of the Statutory Instrument, **The Traffic Signs Regulations and General Directions 1981** permits, subject to certain conditions, the use of particular types of sign with information in both English and Welsh. The Instrument does not refer to Gaelic, but allows the Secretary of State to authorise traffic signs which are not prescribed by the order.⁵

Government Ministers have the authority to prescribe forms in Gaelic; it is not the norm to provide Gaelic versions of official forms, but local authorities may provide forms in Gaelic if they so wish.⁶ Surprisingly, the British Nationality Act 1981 allows Gaelic as

²Copies of overhead projector overlays given to writer by Dr Solomonik from 1990 conference above

³See chapter 6, p. 334 and chapter 5, p. 203

⁴Scottish Office Education Department, Gaelic in Scotland Factsheet 1994, p.1

⁵ibid

an alternative language to Welsh or English as one of the conditions for naturalisation as a British citizen.⁷ The Small Landholders (Scotland) Act 1911 requires that one member of the Land Court be a Gaelic Speaker - the Crofters (Scotland) Act 1955 has a similar requirement. Whilst the 1911 Act permits Gaelic to be used before the Land Court, written proceedings have never been recorded in Gaelic.⁸ The Broadcasting Act 1990, although not specifying the number of hours, ensures that Gaelic language programmes be broadcast;⁹ ITC franchises with television companies do specify the number of hours, but this is a secondary dimension to the Act.¹⁰ Successive Governments have done but a little to promote the revival of Gaelic through legislation.

Language of the Administration

Gaelic is not an official language and is not used in any official or working language capacity by Government or Government Ministers. However, some local authorities have adopted Gaelic strategies to support the language. In 1982 Comhairle nan Eilean adopted a bilingual policy for the Western Isles which aimed to ensure:

that the Western Isles be a fundamentally bilingual community in which Gaelic and English are used concurrently as the languages of communication, so that people of the area can have the choice of the language in as many situations as possible.¹¹

⁶ibid

⁷ibid

⁸ibid

⁹ibid & Telephone interview with A. Mackay, Corporate Affairs Manager, CTG, Stornoway, (7.3.94)

¹⁰Telephone interview with A. Mackay, Corporate Affairs Manager, CTG, Stornoway, (7.3.94)

¹¹Bilingual Policy Document, (1986) Comhairle nan Eilean, p.1

The use of Gaelic in committee meetings is encouraged and simultaneous interpretation facilities are provided for non-Gaelic speakers. All bilingual committees have their papers produced in both Gaelic and English. The Council employs a Gaelic Officer to service the bilingual committees and it also provides language classes for employees.

Highland Regional Council also has a policy to 'support and sustain' Gaelic.¹² The only committee that holds bilingual proceedings with interpretation facilities is the Gaelic Language and Culture Committee. Minutes of the meetings are produced in both Gaelic and English. Government policy will permit the erection of bilingual roadsigns only where there is a significant number of Gaelic speakers in the area;¹³ at present Skye and Lochalsh and part of the Ardnamurchan Peninsula qualify. Other applications are being processed.¹⁴ Highland Regional Council's Training Unit provides Gaelic classes for council employees. Strathclyde Regional Council, Lothian and Grampian Councils are also committed to developing Gaelic to varying degrees.¹⁵

Language of the Courts

Court proceedings are not conducted in Gaelic. The only situation where Gaelic would be permitted in a court in Scotland would be in the case of a monolingual Gaelic speaker. If such a situation ever arose, which is almost certainly impossible now, then the services of an interpreter would be provided as happens for speakers of foreign languages.¹⁶ A test case - involving Iain Taylor, charged with defacing English-language road-signs on

¹²Telephone interview with Ann MacLafferty, Principal Administrator, Law & Administration, Highland Regional Council, (7.3.94) and in Buidhnean Gàidhlig, Directory of Gaelic Organisations, Local & Regional Authorities section, Comunn na Gàidhlig 1992

¹³Telephone interview with Ann MacLafferty, Principal Administrator, Law & Administration, Highland Regional Council, (7.3.94)

¹⁴ibid

¹⁵Directory of Gaelic Organisations, Local & Regional Authorities section, Comunn na Gàidhlig 1992

¹⁶SOED Factsheet, p.1

the Isle of Skye - was rejected in 1984 at Portree Sheriff Court on the grounds that 'the witness could speak English with perfect distinctness.'¹⁷

Language of the Mass Media

Gaelic broadcasting in the last ten years has seen large advances, the most evident being the £9.5 million awarded by the Government to Comataidh Telebhisean na Gàidhlig in 1992. As mentioned, the Broadcasting Act 1990 ensures the provision of Gaelic-language broadcasts but does not stipulate the number of hours. In 1993, 200 hours of Gaelic-language programming were provided.¹⁸ It has been estimated that the economic benefit to the Gaelic industry has been the creation of 1000 jobs (not all to Gaelic-speakers) in the year 1993, with a total contribution to the Scottish economy of £41 million.¹⁹ The Sproull Report also indicates that as a result of increased television programming the status of the language has been raised in the Gaelic community, especially amongst the young.²⁰ 'Machair', the Gaelic soap opera, with its mix of English and Gaelic dialogue is watched by an estimated 377,000 viewers, and the learners' programme 'Speaking Our Language' is watched by an estimated 85,000. This has enhanced the status of the language throughout Scotland.²¹ Other programmes such as 'Haggis Agus' are reckoned to have more viewers than Reporting Scotland (500,000).²²

Radio has also played its part. In a BBC report of 1982 an objective of 30 hours Gaelic-language provision per week within five years was aimed for.²³ This was achieved,

¹⁷Mackinnon, 1991, p.112-3

¹⁸Macdonald, M., *Gaelic: Ten Years Progress, A Report for Cnag* (1993) Section 3

¹⁹Sproull, A., with Ashcroft, B. (May 1993), *The Economics of Gaelic Language Development, A Report for HIE & CTG with Cnag*, summary document, p.iii.

²⁰op cit, p.vi & Macdonald Section 3.01-3.03

²¹*Ro-Innleachd Na Gàidhlig aig Lionbheairt Iomairt na Gaidhealtachd*, Iomairt na Gaidhealtachd : Inverness (March 1993), p. 10

²²ibid

²³Macdonald, op cit, Section 3.06

although not quite on schedule.²⁴ Main studios are in Inverness and Stornoway with smaller studios in Portree, Balivanich and Oban to provide opt-outs from Radio Scotland. These opt-outs are 'structured so that 100% are heard on the western seaboard, 60% in the rest of the Highlands and 24% in the rest of Scotland.'²⁵ With the rapid expansion of Gaelic television a substantial number of experienced personnel left Gaelic radio causing a cutback in programming at the beginning of 1993.²⁶ It is interesting to note that the 400,000 speakers of Frisian in the Dutch province of Friesland are on the brink of greater television programming with a budget of £1.7 million and an expectation of an hour and a half per week as opposed to the present 50 minutes. The Frisian public broadcasting authority (Omrop Fryslan) have noted Radio nan Gaidheal's difficulties and have decided to allow only three people to switch from radio to television.²⁷ The BBC plans further changes to Radio nan Gaidheal but 'the aim of a national comprehensive Gaelic service on a single frequency is still very far from achievement.'²⁸

The Language Academy as a Supervising Body

Gaelic as yet has no language academy. However, various bodies contrive to oversee Gaelic orthography and to create neologisms. This will be dealt with in the next section under corpus planning.

Written Language in Public Areas

Martin Macdonald comments in his report for Cnag:

²⁴ibid

²⁵op cit, Section 3.07

²⁶op cit, Section 3.11

²⁷Falkena, O.P., *Comparing notes on minority-language broadcasting in The West Highland Free Press*, 25.6.93, p.17

²⁸Macdonald, M., *Gaelic: Ten Years' Progress*, A Report for CNAG, May 1993, Section 3.12

The contribution of private sector business and commerce to Gaelic development over the last decade is less easy to identify and quantify. There seems to have been an increase in the use of Gaelic in company names, logos, signs and leaflets in the Highlands, thus raising the level of awareness of the language.²⁹

In addition, there seems to have been an increase in the number of Gaelic-language adverts in the situations vacant columns of local and national newspapers over the past decade, perhaps indicating both the increase in job opportunities for Gaelic-speakers and the growing confidence in the language. Such adverts were rare or non-existent over twenty-five years ago. However, there is room for much expansion in the sphere of written language in public areas. The Director of Comunn na Gàidhlig is reported in the West Highland Free Press:

Campbell cites the ridiculous situation where a Gaelic-speaking child is educated through the language every day in a Gaelic-medium unit and yet as soon as he or she leaves the school premises sees little or no Gaelic on shop-fronts or public signs. Cnag hope to encourage businesses and other bodies such as councils to use Gaelic as widely as possible. Campbell praises the 'far-sightedness' of the Stornoway businessman who had the sign 'Buth Sheumais' painted over the window of a shop he had just bought, in recognition of its everyday name in the community.³⁰

²⁹ Macdonald, M., (1993) Section 5:10

³⁰ Campbell, N., *Why Gaelic has to start ringing tills in '93* in The West Highland Free Press (8.1.93), p.5

Many schools in the Gaidhealtachd now have bilingual signs within the schools, the Nicolson Institute in Stornoway and Sgoil Lionacleit in Uist being examples.

The Educational Aspect of the Language Situation encompasses the following areas:
whether the language is taught in school; whether it is a means of teaching all subjects; teaching aids; teacher training.

Whether the Language is Taught in School and Whether it is a means of Teaching All Subjects

Gaelic is not a core subject in Scotland's national school system. Nevertheless, it is possible to receive a Gaelic-medium education from pre-school to P7 in selected areas in Scotland. CNSA provides pre-school Gaelic-medium nursery provision for under-2s (parent and child groups), for the three plus age group, and for the pre-5 age group, amounting to some 120 groups throughout Scotland in total.³¹ In the primary school sector there are 39 Gaelic-medium units, with some Gaelic-medium intakes in the islands being larger than the English-medium intake.³² The Western Isles differs from Highland, Strathclyde, and Lothian Regions in that pupils transfer at P4 to the English stream (apart from Breasclete Primary School where all pupils to date entering the school have opted for Gaelic medium); this has been an area of contention with parents and is under review. In the Western Isles almost every school from 1981 has implemented the Council's bilingual policy to varying degrees.³³ Mackinnon comments that in all these cases:

³¹Macdonald, Section 2.01-.03

³²op cit, Section 2.12

³³Mackinnon, K. *Scottish Gaelic Today* in Ball (ed.) p. 515

...the effects of primary Gaelic teaching schemes, whether bilingual or second-language can be shown to have some stabilizing effect upon the speech community and to enhance the local profile of the language.³⁴

Some 50 secondary schools teach Gaelic as a subject either through SEB Certificates or SCOTVEC modules.³⁵ Teaching through the medium of Gaelic at secondary school level is in its initial stages. Pupils in the Western Isles may be taught geography, history, home economics, mathematics, religious education, technical subjects, art, and science through the medium of Gaelic.³⁶ In Highland Region pupils in Portree High School, Skye may receive instruction through Gaelic in history, home economics, and science.³⁷ In Millburn Academy, Inverness geography, history and art are provided through the medium of Gaelic. Secondary schools in Plockton, Gairloch, Lochaber, Ullapool, Dingwall and Kingussie will be providing subjects through the medium of Gaelic within the next two to three years as Gaelic-medium pupils work their way up the primary school system.³⁸ Strathclyde Region provides history through the medium of Gaelic in Hillpark School, Glasgow.³⁹ Tiree High School will be receiving Gaelic-medium pupils within the next three years and at present it is likely the curriculum will offer Gaelic language and literature plus one other subject through the medium of Gaelic.⁴⁰ In Lothian Region pupils from the Gaelic-medium unit in Edinburgh will be entering secondary education in August 1994 and it is likely they will receive Gaelic and history instruction through the medium of Gaelic.⁴¹

³⁴ibid

³⁵see chapter 6, p. 331

³⁶Interview with DJ MacIver, Bilingual Policy Adviser, Western Isles (8.3.94)

³⁷Telephone interview with Dr DJ Macleod, Gaelic Adviser, Highland Regional Council (10.3.94)

³⁸ibid

³⁹Telephone interview Strathclyde Regional Council Advisorate Offices, Glasgow (8.3.94)

⁴⁰Telephone interview with M. Mackay, Gaelic Teacher, Tiree High School (10.3.94)

At tertiary level, Lews Castle College of Further Education provides Gaelic medium teaching in Communications and Business Communications up to HN level. It also runs a Gaelic Television Course which is bilingual. Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, the Gaelic College of Higher Education in Skye teaches through the medium of Gaelic only (by charter) and offers courses in business subjects, computing, rural and Highland development, information technology and Gaelic broadcasting. The College is also a focus for a number of Gaelic research and commercial agencies, including *Barail* (an independent institute for Highland policy studies); *Lèirsinn* (a Gaelic research centre); *Cànan* (a Gaelic media support facility providing sub-titling and transcription facilities; it also services the Speaking Our Language Gaelic learners' project).⁴² Celtic departments at universities provide academic courses, but with Gaelic as a subject of study rather than as a medium of instruction.⁴³ However, some are now delivering courses through the medium of Gaelic, Aberdeen in particular.

Teaching Aids

The Grants for Gaelic Language Education Regulations 1986 make provision for the funding of local education authority projects which are specifically Gaelic related.⁴⁴ In practice this has meant that dictionaries have been commissioned, work-packs compiled, textbooks published and multi-media projects initiated. In the primary sphere English textbooks are frequently pasted over with Gaelic text; however, there is a wide range of primary school literature available ranging from a Gaelic children's Bible to an environmental pack which won the Saltire Award in 1993. Acair, the Stornoway-based

⁴¹Telephone interview with Mr Wheeldon, Languages Adviser, Lothian Regional Council, (10.3.94)

⁴²Macdonald, M., Section 2.17-.19

⁴³ibid

⁴⁴SOED Factsheet, p2

publishing company are the main publishers of Gaelic educational texts. The translation of textbooks and materials for the Gaelic medium secondary school subjects may be funded from the specific grants programme and shared on an inter-authority basis.⁴⁵

Teacher Training

There are three main Colleges of Education in Scotland which provide teacher training for Gaelic at primary school and secondary school levels. However, there is not yet a specific course for training teachers to teach through the medium of Gaelic.

Jordanhill College of Education: Glasgow (now Jordanhill Campus, University of Strathclyde)

At Jordanhill College Campus, the following Gaelic related courses are offered:⁴⁶

1. B.Ed.: A training element is included for those who may teach in Gaelic medium units in primary schools. The module includes work on orthography, awareness of resources in schools, methodology, terminology acquaintance, grammar, and language and literacy. In the fourth year of the B. Ed. course a major project may be carried out in Gaelic or about Gaelic.
2. B.Ed.Celtic Studies: this is an option within the normal primary training course.
3. Postgraduate one year course for primary teaching which involves a Gaelic placement and modules providing an introduction to Gaelic and to aspects of Gaelic Culture.
4. Postgraduate one year course for secondary teaching, with a Gaelic placement. There are also options for those who wish to teach an agreed subject through the medium of Gaelic.

⁴⁵Interview with Catriona Dunn Gaelic Adviser, Comhairle nan Eilean (14.3.94)

⁴⁶Telephone interview with Boyd Robertson, Head of Gaelic department, Jordanhill College, (8.3.94) Maclean, R.G. (1991) Paper to Central Bureau for Teacher Exchanges, Study Visit to Ireland & the Basque Country, p.16

5. ATQ (Additional Teaching Qualification) for teachers of other subjects who wish to obtain an additional teaching qualification in Gaelic.
6. The College also has an arrangement with *Comhairle nan Eilean* whereby up to ten places are kept for those wishing to train as Gaelic medium teachers in primary schools. Whilst some may have minimal qualifications acceptance is granted on the recommendation of *Comhairle nan Eilean's* Director of Education.

St Andrews College, in Glasgow, provides some Gaelic primary school training for native speakers, mainly Roman Catholic students from Uist and Barra.

The Northern College: Aberdeen

The Northern College in Aberdeen also provides teacher training for Gaelic. The Gaelic section of the Northern College suggested in an internal paper in 1991:

The ideal for training teachers for Gaelic medium education would be a college operating totally through the medium of Gaelic itself. We are obviously far from being that!⁴⁷

The paper also suggests that College staff should be made aware of the needs of student teachers of Gaelic medium education, and for Gaelic students themselves to be placed together in one section for linguistic cohesion.

⁴⁷Telephone interview with Northern College of Education Gaelic Section (8.3.94) & Maclean, R.G. Paper to Central Bureau for Teacher Exchanges, Study Visit to Ireland & the Basque Country, pp 16-17

At present the Northern College offers two Gaelic classes weekly to students in addition to the core B.Ed. course. It is part of their Gaelic 'Pathway' policy. One class is of a linguistic or literary nature to enable students to maintain and broaden their fluency, vocabulary, literacy and knowledge of their own culture. The other class is geared specifically to: 'shadow' aspects of the normal B.Ed. course in the five component parts; examine materials relevant to these areas; discuss aspects which may differ in emphasis in Gaelic medium schools; and, in general, give the students experience and confidence in these fields of study. A class at an intermediate level is also held for B.Ed. students who learned Gaelic at school to Standard Grade/Higher (Learner) level. The Northern College also provides ATQ courses in Gaelic.

The Language of Religion

The Church of Scotland has charges which are designated 'Gaelic essential' (29) and 'Gaelic desirable,' (42) but in recent years has had difficulty filling 'Gaelic desirable' charges through lack of Gaelic-speaking ministers.⁴⁸ The Free Church of Scotland has approximately 40 Gaelic charges⁴⁹ and the Free Presbyterian Church of Scotland now has only seven locations where Gaelic is preached or used in services.⁵⁰ The Protestant presbyterian churches with their emphasis on the reading of the word of God by the individual (a major Reformation doctrine) at home as well as at church has maintained a high religious literacy amongst their adherents. The Episcopalian church is now weak as regards Gaelic although a revised Gaelic mass was authorized in 1974 and 'occasional Gaelic services have been held.'⁵¹ The Roman Catholic Authorities are able to place Gaelic-speaking priests to the Gaelic-speaking charges in the diocese of Argyll and

⁴⁸Latest figures available, 1979 - presently being reviewed - source Church of Scotland Handbook Appendix II, pp 258-9

⁴⁹Figures from Head Office, Edinburgh (August 1994)

⁵⁰Source Dr R. Dickie, Stornoway FP Church, (5.9.94)

⁵¹Mackinnon, K., *Scottish Gaelic Today* in Ball (ed.), pp 518-519

the Isles. They revised their Gaelic liturgy in 1963 and there has been 'the universal introduction of the Gaelic mass, and the adoption of Gaelic as the language of worship for Gaelic congregations.'⁵²

2. Corpus Planning

The linguistic aspect of 'language situation' is the third tool which may be used to measure language revival. Linguistic aspect has three components: *modernization*; *graphization*; *standardization*. Modernization has been defined as 'the development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of topics and forms of discourse characteristic of industrialized, secularized, structurally differentiated, 'modern' societies.'⁵³ Graphization means the reduction of a language to writing: its alphabetization and codification.⁵⁴ Standardization is the 'development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects.'⁵⁵ Gaelic corpus planning will be examined under these headings in this section.

Modernization

The Gaelic language as with any language over a period has had to adapt to changing circumstances in society in various fields whether it be technology, business, education or religion. These changing circumstances often call for new coinages to describe them. Gaelic has had to catch up in many areas, and especially within the last twenty to thirty years with the wider use of Gaelic in non-traditional domains. Although there is no one body to oversee and authorise Gaelic neological and lexical development, many groups

⁵²ibid

⁵³cited in Cooper p.125

⁵⁴Solomonik, A., *Appraisal of Language Revivals*, p.41

⁵⁵ibid

have contributed. Perhaps one of the most potent providers of lexical matter has been Gaelic radio where words have to be found and coined to translate, for example: summit meeting (*àrd-choinneamh*), sexual harassment (*sàrachadh drùiseach*), Highlands and Islands Enterprise (*Iomairt na Gaidhealtachd*), Local Enterprise Companies (*Companaidhean Iomairt*), exclusion zones (*àrainnean bacte*), and co-lateral damage (*iadh-call*). More recently with the advent of the Gaelic television news programme *Telefios*, television is playing a larger role in lexical development of the language.

The introduction of Gaelic medium education has meant the creation or rediscovery of a number of terms ranging from triangle (*triantan*) to rhomboid (*turbaid*), from information technology (*fios-tec*) to feedback (*fiosrais*). Sabhal Mòr Ostaig who hold a database of Gaelic terminologies has recently published a comprehensive list of terms gathered from local authorities, colleges of further and higher education, universities, broadcasting companies and others. MacKinnon has welcomed the database project commenting that 'such a development was long overdue as academic departments of Celtic had tended to concentrate on historical rather than contemporary lexicography.'⁵⁶ Newspapers which carry Gaelic items also help to spread new terminology. There is no public apparatus, as in Israel or Wales for example, for displaying or advertising new Gaelic words. These are picked up and at times made up on the hoof. This can avoid the tension which may arise from language academy pronouncements. Contrast, for example, the lofty aspirations of the *Académie française* (founded 1635):

⁵⁶Mackinnon, K. *Scottish Gaelic Today* in Ball (ed.)p.517

to labour with all possible care and diligence to give definite rules to our language, and to render it pure, eloquent, and capable of treating the arts and sciences.⁵⁷

with the French predilection for *le weekend* and various edibles *sûr toast*. Daniel Defoe, in favour of an English Language Academy in the 17th century pronounced that 'it would be as criminal then [after the founding of such an academy] to coin words as money.' Dr Johnson, perhaps more wisely, commented that:

...we laugh at the elixir that promises to prolong life to a thousand years; and with equal justice may the lexicographer be derided, who being able to produce no example of a nation that has preserved their words and phrases from mutability, shall imagine that his dictionary can embalm his language, and secure it from corruption and decay ...⁵⁸

Whilst few imagine that Gaelic dictionaries will save their language from 'corruption and decay', there are a number which are widely used at present.⁵⁹ The most consulted is probably Dwelly's **Illustrated Gaelic to English Dictionary** which was published in 1901 and has gone through several editions. Another well-used tome is **A Pronouncing And Etymological Dictionary Of Scottish Gaelic** (Gaelic/English and English/Gaelic) first published by Malcolm MacLennan in 1925. In 1932 Henry Cyril Dieckhoff, a Russian monk at Fort Augustus Abbey produced **A Pronouncing Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic, based on the Glengarry Dialect** (Gaelic/English), which is still in print. More recent dictionaries include *Abair Facail* (Gaelic/English and English/Gaelic)

⁵⁷Crystal, p.4

⁵⁸cited in Crystal p. 4

⁵⁹Details of the dictionaries come from Thomson, 1983, p. 62

published in 1979 by J. A. Macdonald and R. Renton and **A New English-Gaelic Dictionary** by D.S. Thomson in 1981. Work was commenced on **An Historical Dictionary of Scottish Gaelic** in 1966 under Professor Thomson of Glasgow University and still continues. In 1991 Richard Cox edited the first modern Gaelic-Gaelic dictionary **Brìgh nam Facal** and more recently the Times Educational Supplement reported the development of a children's Gaelic dictionary to be produced in the Celtic Department of Aberdeen University.⁶⁰

Graphization

The historical development of Scottish Gaelic orthography has not been researched as yet.⁶¹ The Gaelic alphabet presently contains eighteen letters: *a b c d e f g (h) i l m n o p r s t u*. (There is evidence of the use of *v* for *mh* and *bh* in inscriptions of the 13th century.)⁶² *H* is the mark of aspiration and is never found alone in a word but always after the letters *b c d f g m p s t*. Modern Scottish Gaelic orthography is essentially an etymologically based system,⁶³ and unlike Manx Gaelic is grounded on Classical Irish usage of the Early Modern Period (12th-17th centuries).⁶⁴ The Manx writing system was devised using an Early Modern English-based orthography.⁶⁵ The following poem imitating the blackbird's song may illustrate the differing orthographic conventions:⁶⁶

⁶⁰Macleod, D.J., *Newest lesson in the book*, Times Educational Supplement EXTRA (4.3.94), p.v

⁶¹Thomson, 1983, p. 99

⁶²ibid

⁶³ibid

⁶⁴Gillies, W. *Scottish Gaelic* in Ball (ed) (1993), p. 147

⁶⁵Broderick, G. *Manx* in Ball (1993), p. 230

⁶⁶MacRitchie, D., *Notes on Manx Language and Literature*, in *Transactions of Gaelic Society of Inverness* (1919-22) XXX:214-215

English	Manx	Gaelic
Red Head, Red Head, Black Apron, Black Apron Are you coming? Are you coming? Tired waiting, Tired waiting, Blackbird, Blackbird	Kione jiarg, Kione jiarg, Apyrn dhoo, Apyrn dhoo, Vel oo cheet? Vel oo cheet? Skee fieau, Skee fieau, Lhondoo, Lhondoo	Ceann dearg, Ceann dearg, Aparan dubh, Aparan dubh, Bhell thu a'teachd? Bhell thu a'teachd? Sgith a' feitheamh, Sgith a' feitheamh, Lon-dubh, Lon-dubh.

The above example demonstrates the resilience of Scottish Gaelic against strong anglicising forces, which Manx was unable to resist. Cooper has pointed out that 'subjugated minorities often want their languages to be written in a system that looks as much as possible like the system in use by their rulers, whether or not this system is technically accurate to represent their own languages.'⁶⁷ This accusation has never been directed at Gaelic. Gaelic orthography reflects both the phonological realization of the word and the grammatical form more consistently than English orthography. MacRitchie suggests that:

The differences between the spelling and the pronunciation of the English language are tenfold greater than those of Gaelic.⁶⁸

For example, in English we have the use of *-ough* to represent at least five different sounds in the words 'cough', 'bough', 'borough' and 'hough' and 'furlough'. Further, the plurals 'boys' and 'cats' which although having similar forms, are sounded differently (*boy/z/* and *cat/s/*). In the English system the reader has to recognise more frequently the correspondence between symbol and meaning rather than that between symbol and

⁶⁷Cooper, p.129
⁶⁸MacRitchie, op cit, p. 207

sound - not necessarily a fault. Venezky suggests that for persons wishing to become literate 'an orthography should indicate the sound of the words', but for those who are more advanced readers 'an orthography should indicate meanings rather than sounds.' Thus while there may be an initial difficulty for English speakers in grasping Gaelic orthography, there does not appear to be any valid reason for simplifying or anglicising the orthography on the ground that 'it is too difficult for learners to grasp.' And especially, in the light of Venetzky's findings: 'when attempts are made to compare reading abilities across cultures, one of the few valid observations which can be made is that *regardless of the phonemic regularity of the orthography*, a significant percentage of children in all countries will be classed as remedial readers, and within this group most will come from lower socio-economic environments.'⁷⁰

The main stabilizing influence on Gaelic orthography in the 18th century was the Gaelic New Testament (1767) which adopted 'a carefully considered system'⁷¹ and which had in its preface 'Rules for Reading the Galic [sic] Language'.⁷² D.S. Thomson says that the present century has seen 'a gradual tidying up of minor features of the spelling system'.⁷³ The 'minor features' include the restoration of some historical forms (eg *adhbhar* in tandem with *aobhar*, *dachaigh* with *dachaidh*); the standardizing of *u/a* and *io/ea* (eg from *dorus* to *doras*, *boirionn* to *boireann*, and *timchioll* to *timcheall*); the decimation of apostrophes (some years ago it would have been unacceptable to omit apostrophes in forms such as '*s an* (in the), now it may be acceptably written as *san*); the joining of bound forms by a hyphen when stress is on the second element (*a-mach*, *a-null*, *an-dè*

⁶⁹cited in Cooper, p.126

⁷⁰cited in Cooper, p. 128

⁷¹Thomson, 1983, p.100

⁷²ibid

⁷³op cit, p.101

etc); the more universal indication of consonant quality by use of the appropriate vowel (eg *tigh* to *taigh*, *so* to *seo*); the giving of guidelines for spelling borrowed words (eg *naidhlean* (nylon), *deàs* (jazz), *dìnichean* (jeans)); and the use of only the grave accent to indicate vowel length has been implemented. Some of these reforms have been admitted through the Gaelic magazine *Gairm* (established 1952), and the examples listed above 'were formally adopted as a package by a special Committee on Gaelic Orthography set up by the Scottish Certificate of Education Examination Board (1978; with minor modifications 1980)⁷⁴ and promptly implemented in *Gairm*. In its efforts to standardize the written language, the Examination Board has required all candidates to use their orthographic conventions or be penalised. The Scottish Examination Board has greatly influenced Gaelic orthography in general. A new edition of the Gaelic Bible was published in 1992 by the National Bible Society of Scotland whose foreword states:

Chaidh litreachadh a' Bhiobaill ùrachadh gu ìre riaghailtean
Bòrd-Sgrùdaidh an S.C.E.
(*The orthography of the Bible has been modernized to the
standards required by the S.C.E. Examination Board.*)⁷⁵

Standardization of Grammar and Dialects

Gillies informs us that:

The main agents of change at work in the contemporary Scottish
Gaelic context are (a) the disappearance of dialects in peripheral areas,

⁷⁴ibid

⁷⁵Foreword of 1992 edition of the National Bible of Scotland Gaelic Bible by Fergus Macdonald.

leading to change in the centre of gravity of Gaelic speaking and its consistency; (b) the decline of an old literary and high-register language founded on traditional religious and literary norms, and its replacement with a new model owing more to education, commerce/technology and the media; and (c) increased penetration of English into the fabric of Gaelic speaking.⁷⁶

The overriding effect of the contraction of the Gaidhealtachd has been the prominence given to the dialects of the Hebrides.⁷⁷ This has had 'a stabilizing effect on the norms of public and written Gaelic.'⁷⁸ The decline in use of the 'old literacy' has led according to Gillies to an impoverishment of language, uncertainty as to correct forms and a good deal of simplification and hypercorrection. Calquing and switching are an increasing problem.⁷⁹ Younger Gaels appear to be discarding or simplifying grammatical aspects. For example the use of the genitive and dative case-forms is lessening with the noun being left in the nominative form, which 'may be part of the price to be paid if Gaelic is to be spoken in the next century.'⁸⁰

⁷⁶in Ball (ed) (1993), p. 221

⁷⁷ibid

⁷⁸ibid

⁷⁹Thomson, (1983) pp. 91 & 105

⁸⁰ibid

3. Acquisition Planning

Acquisition planning as we noted in chapter 5 may be divided into three areas:⁸¹

(a) methods which create or improve **the opportunity** to learn the language; (b) methods which create or improve **the incentive** to learn the language; (c) methods which create or improve **both the opportunity and the incentive** to learn the language. Gaelic acquisition planning will be examined under these headings.

Methods which create or improve the opportunity to learn the language

In the 1970s there were sporadic developments in provision of materials for Gaelic learners. Roderick MacKinnon provided the text for **Teach Yourself Gaelic** in 1971. *Gàidhlig Bheò*, a postal course written by J. A. Macdonald for the National Extension College, Cambridge in 1976 provided a home-based 'O' Grade learners' course. This was widely acclaimed at the time and although still extensively used it is now outdated in style, content and methodology, being based on acrofting life-style and tending to a grammatical approach. Mr Macdonald, Head of Gaelic at Jordanhill College of Education, also pioneered a very successful immersion-type course which ran for several weeknights over a period of weeks in the mid-seventies; the experiment was never repeated. In 1979 the BBC *Can Seo* series showed the power of the media in language learning raising the profile of Gaelic and the demand for classes throughout Scotland. It was estimated that 200,000 viewers followed the programme. It has been suggested that if one twentieth of this number had continued to fluency then, *ipso facto*, the Census figures would have been 10,000 speakers greater.⁸² The Gaelic world at this time had not planned nor prepared for language acquisition: there was no follow through to the *Can*

⁸¹p.9

⁸²MacIver, Mrgt, Gaelic Education Officer, Cnag at Cnag Gaelic Conference in Inverness on 12.11.92, author's notes.

Seo series; no structures were in place to assist learners to gain proficiency in the language; the system was fragmented and a major opportunity was lost.

In the 1980s there were positive developments for Gaelic. The old grammar-based Gaelic SCE 'H' and 'O' Grades were replaced by new Highers and Standard Grades and with the introduction of these new examinations came a new methodology designed to increase spoken abilities. However, 'S' Grades were designed for school pupils and it was not possible to administer them in the traditional adult night class situation. There was, therefore, a great need for adult language learning provision based on modern communicative methods. In 1984 Comann an Luchd-Ionnsachaidh was set up to serve the needs of Gaelic learners throughout Scotland and beyond. CLI along with Cnag, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig and Acair developed the 'Siuthad' courses for adults. This was the first time organisations had worked together on such a project and this coordination 'brought forth the realisation of how little had been done and what the potential was.'⁸³ In 1990 an open-learning course based on communicative methods and linking with SCOTVEC National Certificate modules was devised by the author.

As a result of the developments among Cnag, CLI and Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, it was realised that a national survey was needed to assess more accurately the needs of adult learners of Gaelic. Cnag with CLI jointly commissioned a National Survey of Gaelic Adult Learning which was completed in August 1992. The introduction to this report says:

⁸³ibid

The need for such a survey arose following the successful uptake of the new learners' course **SIUTHAD**. As numerous classes emerged throughout Scotland, the need for further resources and training in language teaching methodology became increasingly obvious.⁸⁴

The aims of the report were twofold:

to establish the current provision for adult Gaelic learners nationally and to identify the improvements required in that provision in terms of resources, training, and facilities.⁸⁵

The findings of this report⁸⁶ which had 85% returns were:

- It is clear that there is a high level of commitment and motivation to be found amongst tutors of adult Gaelic learners. It is very clear that tutors are operating under great difficulties, with lack of resources and support identified as the main problem in attempting to satisfy the steadily increasing demand for Gaelic tuition.
- The paucity and inadequacy of resource materials is the latest single factor inhibiting the development of provision for adult Gaelic learners. This applies to all stages of learning.
- There is a pressing need to address training for Gaelic tutors since nearly half of the tutors responding to Part 1 of the National Survey were inexperienced. There is a clearly identified need for a structured comprehensive training programme, with a parallel development of support facilities.
- Provision for adult Gaelic learners is fragmented, and lacks a coordinated, structured approach.
- The composite nature of classes poses added problems for the Gaelic tutor. This together with the lack of resources compounds the difficulty.
- Local authority funding is crucial to the provision of facilities for adult Gaelic tuition. Should this funding be diminished in any way, the development of provision for adult Gaelic learners would be severely curtailed.
- There appears to be considerable support for the development of an accredited certification scheme for adult Gaelic learners.

⁸⁴Feumalachdan Luchd Ionnsachaidh (Provision for Gaelic Learners) National Survey (1992), CNAG & CLI: Inverness

⁸⁵ibid

⁸⁶op cit, p. 39

The National Survey also recorded:

There appears to be a definite demand for the provision of 'immersion'-type courses. Students clearly felt that the formal class situation was not intense enough to enable them to fulfil their own potential, particularly if they did not have access to native speakers who could help them. They thus felt that they would benefit most from the opportunity to attend more intensive types of courses where they could reinforce the learning they were doing elsewhere and enhance their progress.⁸⁷

Finlay Macleod, Director, CNSA published a paper on Total Immersion Language Learning (TILL)⁸⁸ at the 1991 Mod and received a mixed reception. The suggestions are pragmatic and sensible. The report covers such areas as:

1. Creating the first training team who would teach tutors in immersion techniques
2. The need to flesh out a one year Gaelic immersion course
3. The prospective destination of students who complete TILL courses: EEC, tourism, the arts, playgroups, nurseries, voluntary organisations, local and national radio, business, the professions, schools, universities, colleges, local and national government agencies, television companies.⁸⁹

⁸⁷Cnag National Survey, p.59

⁸⁸Macleod, F., & Farber, J., Total Immersion Language Learning Centre, CNSA:Inverness

⁸⁹op cit, p.21

Mr Macleod states:

We know for a fact, there are some 100,000 people eager to learn the Gaelic language. Of that number 3,000-4,000 would enrol at a T.I.L.L. Centre instantly, if suitable courses and a centre existed.⁹⁰

To date little has been done to progress Mr Macleod's proposals: perhaps it is a case of 'a prophet without honour' or even of 'too much too soon.' He stated in an interview with **The Herald**:⁹¹

There is still no place in Scotland where an adult can go to start a course and emerge from it a year later fluent in Gaelic. Most adults try to learn the language in two hours a week at a night class and it would take them between 30 and 60 years that way.

In Israel, adults learning Hebrew have a minimum of 25 hours a week.

Something like this will have to come: it must come sometime.

The interest in Gaelic immersion courses is gaining momentum, yet immersion practice in Gaelic is embryonic. It was only in February 1993 that Sabhal Mòr Ostaig piloted a course with input from findings contained in this thesis pertaining to the Basque Country and to Israel. Discussions are on-going. *Lìon*, a Cnag sub-committee are investigating possible immersion developments, and the author was invited to present his views on Gaelic immersion course possibilities. *Lèirsinn*, the research facility at Sabhal Mòr

⁹⁰op cit, p.24

⁹¹Ross, D., *Chance to grow up with Gaelic* The Herald (Glasgow), 15.5.92

Ostaig is undertaking an international survey to inform Gaelic immersion developments. Findings from this thesis are being used to inform Leirsinn's survey.

Methods Which Create Or Improve The Incentive To Learn The Language

This aspect of language acquisition planning is being increasingly addressed by Cnag. In February 1994 they held a Gaelic Job Opportunities Conference in Lochaber which highlighted the Gaelic-related occupations open to young people. Cnag also published, in 1991, a booklet entitled *Cothroman Cosnaidh* which outlines career pathways open to young people in Gaelic. Sabhal Mòr Ostaig is an example of an institution which creates incentives to learn the Gaelic language for job opportunities. For example, one student who entered the College as a learner now works with BBC Radio nan Gaidheal in Inverness as a reporter, another learner works with *Lèirsinn*. HIE may also be included in this category. Their linking of economic, social and environmental ⁹² concerns with Gaelic projects is a major development for the language and an incentive for the young to acquire proficiency in it. Roy Pedersen in a paper presented at Cowlumbridge in May 1993 suggests that Gaelic-related jobs could grow from a 1991 total of 1800 to an estimated 3500 by 2001.⁹³ Interestingly, the Cnag National Survey indicates that 'a significant number of students are now learning Gaelic for employment purposes.'⁹⁴ Gaelic-related job opportunities would benefit 'native speakers' in the main, nevertheless the incentive would exist for learners or 'semi-learners' (perhaps the most important category of Gaelic student) to aim for proficiency in the language.

⁹²Ro-Innleachd na Gàidhlig aig Lionbheairt Iomairt na Gàidhealtachd, (March 1993), HIE:Inverness

⁹³Pedersen, R., *Air Adhart le Gàidhlig: Forward with Gaelic, The Dynamics of Gaelic Development*, HIE:Inverness Appendix 4

⁹⁴Cnag National Survey, p.7

***Methods Which Create Or Improve Both The Opportunity
And The Incentive To Learn The Language***

At present there are no known areas in the Gaelic context which directly create or improve both the opportunity and the incentive to learn the language for adults. If for example, regional authorities in the Gaidhealtachd, as well as providing language classes, stipulated that all new council employees should obtain a certain proficiency in Gaelic within a specified time or lose a pay increment, then this would provide both opportunity and incentive to learn the language. For pre-school and primary school children the 'croileagan' and the Gaelic Medium Unit provide both opportunity and incentive to learn the language.

Summary

In both the social and educational aspect Gaelic is for the most part astern of other language situations we have examined. This is not surprising considering the low status awarded Gaelic by the powers-that-be since the time of Malcolm Canmore onwards. Gaelic is also the smallest language community examined in this thesis by about 440,000 people - Welsh has approximately 500,000 speakers. The educational aspects show that Gaelic is burgeoning from the roots up. However, it is not so well-favoured as Hebrew, Euskara, Welsh, or Irish through which languages it is possible to teach all school subjects. Gaelic has no language academy, yet it can be argued that a national orthographic convention exists in SCE Examination Board regulations. The media play their part in creating new lexical units, as happens in other countries (*vide* Wales and television sports programmes). Sabhal Mòr Ostaig in the Isle of Skye in its database project is helping in a limited way to disseminate terminologies from a variety of sources. To all intents and puposes there is a standard written and spoken Gaelic which is readily understood in education, commerce and the media. Grammatical forms are simplifying, which is not unusual in a language (cf English's loss of case endings). Gaelic acquisition planning is in its early stages. There is no national structure and no national body overseeing Gaelic immersion learning for adults; the potential exists, but the apparatus has still to be designed.

Chapter 8 - Conclusions

Summary and Observations

Chapter one of this thesis indicated that bilingualism (and multilingualism) was the norm amongst the nations of the world. The social, cultural, educational and intellectual benefits of bilingualism were also outlined. European Community articles were referred to which demonstrated EC concern for the maintenance of the varieties of mother tongues and cultures in and among member states. These matters are important for this thesis because they give weight to efforts to maintain Gaelic. It was suggested that bilingualism was not 'an all-or-none property', but 'an individual characteristic that may exist to degrees varying from minimal competency to complete mastery of more than one language.' It was also recognised that the linguistic and social elements of language - **ability and use** - were components which were useful in more accurately assessing bilingual competencies. The assessment of competency was seen to be necessary for students, both pre-and-post immersion course and Baker's self-rating assessments were recognised as a useful tool in tandem with traditional linguistic tests.

Biculturalism was seen as an issue which could interfere with the language learning process. Domhnall O Lubhlai observed that minority language learners (particularly in the cases of Irish and Scottish Gaelic) needed to be made aware of the worth and rich academic past of their languages in the face of English-language dominance. This would appear to be a useful statement to remember when designing an immersion course outline for Gaelic. It was observed that language, thought and culture had an important part to play in the lives of individuals. One author stated that: 'Each human mind is formed by a natural language, which, in turn, is a vehicle for the history of a specific

culture ... natural languages are irrevocably tied to history.' The Israeli situation substantiated this statement. Chapters two, three and four revealed that Hebrew is a marker of Israeli identity and is bound up in the nation's history. The history of the Hebrew people can only truly be unlocked through a knowledge of the Hebrew language - 'the key to Israel'. Similarly, the identity of the Gaelic people is bound up in the Gaelic language and they and, indeed, the Scots' nation may only truly unlock the totality of their rich cultural and historical past through a knowledge of the Gaelic language - the main-door key to Scotland.

Chapter two traced the history of the revival of the Hebrew language and whilst it was not suggested that an individual could claim responsibility for reviving the Hebrew language, it was acknowledged that Eliezer Ben Yehuda was inspirational and prominently involved in all the major developments of his time. The main steps in the revival of Hebrew from the late 19th century are acknowledged to be:

1. Ben Yehuda's insistence on Hebrew being the language of his home - his son being the first native Hebrew-speaking child for perhaps 1700 years;
2. The emulation of Yehuda's Hebrew-speaking household by other families;
3. The introduction of Hebrew-medium teaching in the schools;
4. The inauguration of language societies in Israel to provide a network to allow Jews to speak Hebrew;
5. The introduction of Hebrew-language newspapers;
6. The commencement of the Dictionary of the Hebrew Language;

7. The Language Council whose purpose included the construction of a database of terms, the creation of neologisms, the standardisation of pronunciation, spelling and grammar.

Other achievements attributed to Ben Yehuda were his realisation that: modern nations spurn diglossia; Hebrew had to be the unifying language in a country which had a confusion of tongues; the revival of the Hebrew language was bound up with the revival of the Jewish nation. The emphases on the home situation, networking, instruction through the medium of the target language, journalistic publications, dictionaries and a regulating body for language are all issues which are relevant to the revival of the Gaelic language. Neither is it unreasonable to conclude that Gaelic would revive the quicker if an official *Gaeltacht* (i.e. on the Irish model) were to be declared in which Gaelic would have official status with English.

In chapters three, four and five language planning efforts in Israel, The Autonomous Community of the Basques, Wales and Ireland were examined. The main factors identified are displayed in a table below and contrasted with Gaelic language planning provisions.

Main Factors Identified in Language Planning

Table 1

		Hebrew	Euskara	Welsh	Irish	Gaelic
Status	Official Language	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Official Working Language	Yes	Yes	Yes	(Yes)	No
	Language Academy	Yes	Yes	(Yes)	Yes	No
Corpus	General Dictionaries	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Specific Terminological Dictionaries	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	National Coordination	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
Acquisition	National Framework for Adult Learners	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Immersion Courses Within National Framework	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
	Immersion courses Leading From Zero Knowledge to Proficiency	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Distinction Between Native Speaker and Proficient Learner in Certification	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Radio & TV Used to Support Learners	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Newspapers in Target Language	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No
	Graded Newspapers in Target Language	Yes	No	No	No	No
	Graded Reading Materials for Learners	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No

From table one it may be seen that Gaelic is the least protected in law, the least advanced in language planning and the only language examined which does not have official status. It is obvious that an important step in the maintenance of Gaelic would be to achieve official status for the language and to provide Gaelic with similar rights to Welsh. An interesting letter from Germany appeared in the West Highland Free Press saying:

The reason why the Scottish language is still ... dependent on political constellations and the right people in the corridors of power, is of course that the language has no legal status: it has no official status. Thus the whole Scottish language revival is based on feet of clay which easily might crumble, at the whim of the government ... or respective departments or councils.¹

Gaelic alone lacks specific terminological dictionaries. Topics such as computing, broadcasting, business, secretarial, and school subjects are not provided for. In the area of national coordination Gaelic is out of step. There is no overarching body, as Dr Solomonik urged, responsible for Gaelic language-learning provision throughout the land. Neither Irish nor Gaelic has a national framework for adult learners, and neither has immersion courses within a national framework. However, *Gael-linn* in Ireland has recently started to provide immersion courses which permit a progression from nil proficiency to competency. Only Israel has graded newspapers for learners, and only Gaelic does not have a dedicated language newspaper to communicate contemporary events.

¹Wöll, H., Letter to the Editor - Official Status For Gaelic Is The Key To Success, WHFP (11.3.94), p.7

The two most active countries in language revival, Israel and the Autonomous Basque Community, make no distinction in course provision between learners and native speakers - students are sorted on a multi-point scale according to proficiency. This permits differentiation and progression. Gaelic immersion course planners could avoid the present native-speaker/learner divide by recognising that a variety of ability levels exist across the four language modes of reading, writing, speaking and listening - even amongst 'native-speakers.' If this strategy is followed, learners may, at an appropriate stage (as is also done in Friesland),² integrate with 'native speakers', thus enriching the learning situation. The removal of the native-speaker/learner categorisation would also remove the associated assumption that learners may never become as proficient as native-speakers.

The danger of a comparative study is to import strategies without understanding the cultural and political hands which keep these strategies in place. However, accepting this *caveat*, it may be argued that there are structures which if put in place should benefit the Gaelic language situation. Specifically they are:

1. Official status for Gaelic at Government level
2. A national coordinating body for the Gaelic language
3. A national framework for adult learners
4. A national immersion course within the above framework
5. A teaching and certification system which treats students according to levels of proficiency rather than categorizing them as native-speakers or learners.
6. A journalistic publication with graded articles communicating contemporary events

²Personal interview with Gjalt Jelsma of General Frisian Education Committee (AFUK) in Leeuwarden (22.3.94) in author's notes.

7. Terminological Dictionaries

A Gaelic Immersion Course Within A National Framework

Pedagogy

We have seen that *ulpan* methodology is immersive, intensive and mainly communicative, but not chiselled in stone. Pre-testing is carried out to assess students' ability levels. It is considered a misuse of time and effort to mix different ability levels. In the early stages the formula for teaching is to concentrate on a language situation (eg at the bus station) and for the class, first of all, to **listen** to the vocabulary items being introduced. This may take up to an hour and a half. Following this, the words and expressions being taught are **written** down, and grammar points may be dealt with. The next stage is to **read** the passage related to the language situation, and then to engage in **active talk** about it. As the students progress more literature and graded newspapers are introduced and the structure of the lesson becomes less rigid. Class exercises and up to three hours of homework are given each day.

The number of hours per week considered most effective for immersion learning is about 25. However, there are classes which run for 12-16 hours or 6-8 hours per week because of the circumstances of the students. The Basques follow a similar pattern of 25 hours per week for full-time immersion courses. Both the Israelis and the Basques have a single system which encompasses beginners at one end and proficient speakers at the other. They do not have discrete systems for 'learners' and 'native speakers'.

The Ministry of Education in Israel oversees the teaching of Hebrew to adults, providing an inspectorate, handbooks, methodologies, in-service training and materials. The government in most instances pays teacher salaries. In the Autonomous Community of the Basques HABE, a Government funded organisation for adult learners, provides an inspectorate, lays down standards for language schools, and provides learners' materials. If these approaches, with the necessary modifications, are to be translated into the Gaelic situation, then an overarching body will be necessary to supervise the introduction of a national system for the teaching of Gaelic; audit the quality assurance of courses; oversee teacher training, teaching methods, production of materials and any other requisites.

The SCOTVEC Modern Language and Communication modules may provide an initial stimulus for a system which encompasses the beginner at one end and the proficient speaker at the other. The Basques, closely following the *ulpan* system, divided their 12 grades into four main sections: A, B, C, and D. Existing SCOTVEC Gaelic and Gàidhlig modules could provide a similar pattern as illustrated in the following table:

Table 2

Basque Level

Level A - The student achieves a threshold level: he understands quite a lot and is able to speak in 'easy' Basque.

Level B - This is a step further towards deeper and better understanding. Students become better at writing as well.

Level C - Students approach the level of native speakers. Some mistakes are still made, some gaps must be filled and speaking must be improved.

EGA(*Euskararen Gaitasun Agiria*): Proficiency in Basque - Students reach the level of native speakers. On average, it has been found that students can attain this level after between 1200 - 1500 hours, but it is up to students to accelerate or slow down their own pace.

Proposed Gaelic Levels

Level A - Modern Language
Modules 1-3 The student progresses from 'survival skills' to a level approaching credit in 'S' Grade Learners.

Level B - Modern Language
Module 4 The student is approaching a semi-fluency.

Level C - Communication
Modules Gàidhlig 2 & 3 The student is approaching fluency.

Level D - Communication
Module Gàidhlig 4 The student is able to communicate proficiently in all four areas of speaking, writing, reading and listening.

The above scheme is to be seen as suggestive rather than prescriptive, and as utilising existing structures. Ideally, a bespoke structure should be devised within the SCOTVEC modular framework to permit national and international recognition of the national immersion course qualifications.

Options

There are many options for immersion-type courses for Gaelic:

1. **In-work:** 9.00-11.00am, certain bodies may permit employees to participate in intensive lessons in blocks of three to four weeks. This could include medical workers, care assistants and home-helps.
2. **Pre-work:** 7.00-9.00am, five days per week, as above.
3. **Pre-work & In-work:** 8.00-10.00am, as above.
4. **Night Class modification:** At present the majority of Gaelic adult learning takes place in the evenings through night-class provision. The normal pattern is one night per week for up to ten weeks per academic term to a total of 20 hours of language instruction per term. The multiplier effect of immersion techniques is well known and if instead of spreading the course over ten weeks it was concentrated into two weeks (6-8 hours or 12-16 hours per week) then a sizable improvement in language learning would take place. Those presently teaching these classes could be given basic immersion training and provided with structured and graded materials along the lines of the Israeli Handbook.
5. **During holidays:** two, three, or four week intensive courses. This could embrace cultural tourism.
6. **Kibbutz-type courses:** two to three months intensively in the summer. This type of course may suit university students, teacher-training students, or Gaelic TV trainees. Participants could work at a variety of Gaelic related occupations one part of the day and learn in the other.
7. **Block release:** personnel from bodies such as WIIC, HIE, HRC, the BBC,³ independent television companies, Gaelic television training courses, university students, teacher training colleges, business and clerical occupations, could be released for a specific period to undergo intensive teaching.

³see appendix 5

8. **One year courses:** This type of course could be offered at a Gaelic language centre such as Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. It would benefit those who needed to gain Gaelic fluency for occupational reasons or as part of a new approach to Gaelic undergraduate courses at university, which would require students (as modern language courses do at present) to spend a year in a Gaelic environment. Immersion courses could not only cater for those with very little or no Gaelic but also for proficient speakers who wish advanced oral, reading and writing skills.

Teachers

The teacher is the most important resource. Dr Solomonik listed the requisites for an immersion course in the following order: a) teachers b) materials c) suitable locations. There are few, if any, Gaelic-speakers with the necessary immersion training skills and therefore short teacher-training courses in immersion methodology from experts in other language areas would be necessary. It is noted from Gordon Wells' experience⁴ that the more rigid the course (as with the Berlitz method) the less personal input there is from the teacher, which in the long term may demotivate the teacher. On the plus side, a rigid course may guarantee a reasonable student the certainty of obtaining a specified degree of proficiency within a stated time.

Materials

There is a plethora of materials for teaching English as a foreign language: Gaelic is not so favoured. And whilst some existing materials may be used or adapted, new graded materials would be necessary to provide appropriate and sufficient class and homework exercises. The production of a course handbook similar in detail to the Israeli handbook would be a very useful item. To do this it would be necessary for a number of

⁴Appendix 6

practitioners to come together and produce a working draft which could be altered (as was Israeli practice) in the light of experience.

Motivation

It is recognised that the Hebrew situation is different from the Gaelic one. For Israeli immigrants, the learning of Hebrew as a second language is a bilingualism of necessity. In Scotland, the learning of Gaelic as a second language is a bilingualism of desire. The motivation for Israeli immigrants is much greater, and, therefore, results may be better and achieved more quickly. Further, Hebrew is the main official language and is encountered daily in the street and in the media: learners of Gaelic are not so favoured. However, motivation for learning Gaelic would appear to be strong if the viewing figures of 85,000 presented by Grampian Television for the 'Speaking our Language' series is accurate. Finlay Macleod has indicated that there are some 100,000 eager to learn Gaelic and some 3,000-4,000 willing to commence immediately a Gaelic immersion course if such were available. It is interesting to note that Gaelic learners may fit into each of the three categories identified by Dulay, Burt and Krashen for wanting to learn a second language:

1. **Integral motivation** - learning the target language to participate in a particular community
2. **Instrumental motivation** - learning the target language for utilitarian reasons, such as gaining employment
3. **Social group identification** - learning the target language in order to identify with a particular social group.⁵

⁵ cited in Evans, J., Language Teaching for Immigrants, The Anglo-Israeli Association: London 1989, p. 2

Reflections and areas for further study

The aim of this thesis has been to identify ulpan methodology and to examine whether it might inform Gaelic language immersion courses. It is considered that it would and that Gaelic language maintenance efforts would benefit, as other minority languages have, through the adoption of the intensive immersive system known as *ulpan*. In addition, the adoption of a system which allows students to commence at an appropriate level and proceed to proficiency and advanced levels - irrespective of perceived 'learner/native-speaker' status - would permit learners to believe that proficiency is achievable. At present there is no visible structure for progressing in language competence in Gaelic.

In the light of the present study further research would be helpful in the area of the training of tutors in immersion techniques; this would help lay the basis for an informed and professional approach to Gaelic adult language learning. In addition, it may be useful to investigate means of introducing immersive techniques into the secondary school sector; whilst this would be innovative it might possibly influence whole-school language learning methodology. Finally, comparative studies could be carried out to inform assessment and certification policy within a proposed national framework of immersion courses to ensure that such is valid, reliable and achievable.

Appendix 1 - Hebrew Language Council

I. The Role of the Council

The role of the Language Council is:

1. To prepare the Hebrew language for use as a spoken language in all facets of life - in the home, the school, public life, trade and commerce, industry and art, science and technology;
2. To preserve the oriental character of the language and its main features with respect to the pronunciation of the letters, the construction of its words and its style; to add to it the necessary flexibility to enable, to the fullest extent, the expression of any human thought of our time.

II. The Work of the Council

In order to achieve the double purpose alluded to, the Council deals with these matters:

1. Making available to the public the words found in Hebrew literature, from its beginnings to the present day, which are not generally known;
2. To compensate for that which is lacking in the language by creating new words;
3. To try to instil within the language the oriental pronunciation (which gives the language its oriental colouring) [and] which emphasizes to a greater extent the difference in the sounds of all the letters of the alphabet;
4. The Council standardizes spelling, determines new terms for linguistic usage, brings order in the usage of punctuation marks, and points out mistakes and errors that enter speech and style.

III. The Sources

1. The Council will search all areas of Hebrew literature gathering from them:
 - a. All the ancient Hebrew words as well as those formed through the ages. Note: if a doubt as to the meaning of any word should exist, or if there be disagreement among the interpreters, the Council shall endeavour to decide and to determine its meaning on the basis of scientific principles and proofs as well as on the basis of common sense. However, if it is unable to make a

determination that is acceptable, the Council will opt to form a new word which would allow no room for controversy;

b. Aramaic words, to the extent that they are required, when there is no Hebrew word for a given concept. The Council give these words Hebraic form according to their grammar and pattern. If a word is already current in the language in an Aramaic form, the Language Council will retain its current spoken form while altering its *written* form to Hebrew, changing, if necessary, the gender from masculine to feminine, or vice versa. But, if the word is no longer current, the Council will also alter the word's spoken form in accordance with its Aramaic pattern while retaining the gender it has in Aramaic;

c. The Council sees no need to employ words which are non-Semitic in their roots, even if they be found in Hebraic sources, unless they possess a Hebrew form or have already entered the language and are very common in it.

2. To fill the remaining gap in the language the Council will coin words on the basis of grammatical rules and language analogy:

a. To the extent possible, from Hebraic roots in the Bible and in Talmudic literature;

b. On a second level, from Semitic roots - Aramaic, Caananite, Egyptian and in particular, Arabic;

c. The Council has no need for foreign words from non-Semitic languages, even if they have been accepted in all the Indo-European languages; rather, the Council will endeavour, to the extent possible, to form new words for all concepts from Semitic roots;

d. With respect to the scientific concepts for terms which had not yet been coined in ancient literature, the Council will endeavour to coin words for them according to the scientific nature of the concept, and not according to the outward meaning of the terms that has been assigned them in the Indo-European languages;

e. The Council will try to see to it that the word creations are not only grammatically correct, but that they are also pleasing in their external form and timbre, and grounded in the spirit of the language.

Appendix 2 - The Ulpan in Practice

An account of some ulpanim visited in Israel

This appendix furnishes examples of specific *ulpan* approaches at university, regular *ulpanim* and special *ulpanim* level. It is intended that each *ulpan* discussed should add colour and depth to the information provided in the body of chapter 4.

1. The Hebrew University, Jerusalem

The Hebrew Studies Department of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem¹ specialises in teaching Hebrew as a second language. Immigrants form the bulk of the learner population, along with students from Canada and the United States who come on a one year programme. Students can be taken from zero to university level in three to four terms depending on the ability of the student. Courses are very intensive and normally start in the summer recess, continuing for 9-10 weeks, with a teaching time of 25 hours per week (five hours per day, five days per week). Students receive about 240 hours of Hebrew in total during the summer recess. The Hebrew Department at the University has been devising its own text books and methods for the past twenty-three years. In this time much of the material has been altered to accommodate changes in language and to keep materials current.

Most students are Russian immigrants who comprise two groups - those whose academic qualifications would normally be accepted at university but whose Hebrew

¹Taped interview with Sara Israeli, Head of Hebrew Studies Department Rothberg School of Overseas Education(26.12.1991) in author's tape library

level is not adequate; and those whose qualifications are below that required for university entrance, but who are accepted on a preparatory year programme. Both groups study Hebrew together. Hebrew studies are divided into six levels. A prerequisite of the university is that all students complete three of the six levels to remain at the institution. Law school students require passes in all six levels.

The Six Levels

Zero: This level caters for people who may or may not know the Hebrew alphabet, may or may not know a few words, or may know the alphabet but cannot read. About twenty is the ideal class size for this group, although sometimes it rises to twenty-five. The numbers cannot be much less than twenty for economic reasons. There are sublevels within each level and if someone is a fast learner it is possible to move up a sublevel, and move down if slow. By the end of this level students know how to recognise and read Hebrew letters.

Students speak before they write. The method used is for the teacher to create a situation where a particular word must be used; she gives the class the word, and then teaches them how to use it through individual, group, pair or choral repetition. For example, using the statement, '*He drinks water*' - the word to be learned is '*drinks*'. One group will ask, '*Does he drink water?*' the other will say, '*No he does not drink water.*' and another will say, '*Yes, he does drink water*'.

Teachers try not to exceed 20 words of vocabulary per lesson and seek to create a situation where the word occurs organically permitting the student to guess what the word means. Teachers act, mimic, show pictures. They do not translate, nor do they give word lists. Even for an abstract word, a situation is created to illustrate the word. This is usually done in steps; for example, a concept such as **love** may be taught using a bar of chocolate - **I like/love chocolate** is easily understood by gesture and expression, and it is but a small step to move from material objects to human relations. When students *know* the words they write them, read them, and then use them.

Level 1: At this level students have a very limited vocabulary and read very basic matter. They can write whatever they can read; they can speak much more than they can write or read. They can cope with the basic functions of life - food, bus directions, doctor; it is a stage more than survival skills. Towards the end of the first level students can cope with the very easy Hebrew page in the newspaper for learners. This level may run for 220 hours (about 8-9 weeks) during the summer recess and for 14 weeks involving 17 hours per week during term time.

There are alternate teachers for every class. To facilitate the co-teaching the two teachers must liaise on a day to day basis. There are a number of reasons for having two teachers:

- ☐ It is too great a load for one teacher
- ☐ It is not good for a class to hear the one person all the time
- ☐ If the class does not like one teacher then they have the opportunity of a change the next day. They are not stuck with one person five days a week.

In Israel there are individual accents, stresses, ways of speaking, and paces - it helps the students when they do go out into the street to hear these differences in class

Level 2: There are the same number of hours in this level as the first. Students proceed in the easy newspaper, which is used continuously at this level. Students are also supplied with simplified stories but not literature, because the purpose is to train the students for university essay writing and not for literature appreciation.

This level encompasses a vocabulary which includes politics and which allows students to react to political events. The media are extremely important in Israel, especially radio; most Israelis start and close the day by listening to it. Students are deliberately exposed to the radio because the same vocabulary, structures, and terminology are repeated regularly which reinforces the language.

Level 3: Hebrew has a lot of structures which are synonomous, but at different levels of difficulty. For example, there are six to eight different words for **because**. In level one, one word for **because** is taught, in level two two words and so on up the levels. The same method holds for the teaching of time, concession, and conditional sentences. A richer vocabulary is also introduced in this stage.

Students are oriented towards a daily newspaper in level 3 . The gap between an easy newspaper and a real one is very hard. The university uses tabloids, although the quality of journalism is not so good, to enable students to 'climb the stairs'. Because some newspapers do not adhere to fixed forms for spelling and put in more or fewer vowels than necessary, difficulties are created for students.

For newspaper work, two or three articles dealing with the same subject matter and using roughly the same vocabulary may be used. The headlines are removed and students are then asked to say what they think the passages are about. Similarly students may be asked to read the end or the introduction of a passage which contains the gist of an article. Other strategies involve cutting up an article into paragraphs and asking the class to put them in the correct order. This does two things: it forces the students to work out the meaning of each cutting, and also to work out the chronological or logical order of the passage.

The verb is a special subject in itself in Hebrew. Verb forms are highly structured and are taught according to a constructed level of difficulty. If the pattern is known, then it is relatively simple to conjugate any verb in Hebrew. There are ten forms for the Hebrew verb because each of the persons has a masculine and a feminine form. Functional grammar is taught because the aim is to enable immigrant students to produce university standard essays and to understand lectures in Hebrew. Level 3 students attend classes four days per week during term time, as opposed to the five days per week for the previous levels. The aim of level 3 is to get as close as possible to normal Hebrew. However, it is still simple Hebrew.

Level 4: Level 4 takes the student from easy to normal Hebrew. There is no adaptation or rewriting of material. In the summer recess four days per week and five hours per day is the norm, and during term time it reduces to four days per week. Level 4 requires 170-180 hours.

Level 5: Level 5 students read extracts from the 'quality' press. Exercises from grammar books are also given. This grade lasts 126 hours and students attend 3 days per week.

Level 6: This is the final level. Students must be able to read all varieties of written material in level 6. Idiomatic expressions are taught, difficult verbs scrutinized, and allusions and other nuances discussed. Literature is not taught *per se*, but the teacher may use an excerpt from plays or novels. Home reading of literature is encouraged, since there is very little time for it in class due to the intensive nature of the course. During term time students study the history of the Israeli State from 1880 to the present covering the rules of the Turks and the British, the inception of the State of Israel, the Wars. Maths and Jewish history are also covered. Immigrant students can also take introductory courses for subjects which they hope to study. These introductory courses are given in four languages: Russian, French, Spanish, and English. Germans are expected to attend the courses in English, and Portuguese students, the courses in Spanish. In the second term all students, whether immigrant or *sabra*² take their classes through the medium of Hebrew. There are lecturers who teach maths, physics, and history in easy Hebrew.

The Assessment Test: Tests are set for each of the six levels and are designed by a committee from the Hebrew Department of the University. New tests have to be designed each year which makes the work of the committee onerous.

²native born Israelis

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem Test

Table 1

Reading: There is a text to read and comprehension questions to answer in multiple choice, yes-no, open, and semi-open format.	40 points for both grammar and reading
Grammar: Verb and syntax - preciseness is very important.	
Cloze procedure: 10 words to fill in	10 points
Writing: composition and grammar	50 points

In the **Writing** section of the test, grammar takes more prominence in the lower levels, while composition does in the higher levels where it comprises about a third of the test. In the lowest level composition forms a fifth of the writing test and grammar the larger portion. In the lower levels, examiners are normally more concerned with coherence than style. In the higher level, correct Hebrew structure, clarity, and Hebrew sweetness are looked for. On occasion, immigrant students and overseas students can not cope, and remedial help is given by the university.

2. Tel Aviv University

Edna Lauden is responsible for the teaching of Hebrew as a second language at Tel Aviv University.³ She and a colleague have recently published a Hebrew to Hebrew dictionary for learners and a set of everyday Hebrew dialogues. She has also developed a special dictionary for learners in eight languages and has provided vocabularies for technology, school children and other areas. She has been involved in the writing of a special book for Russian immigrants based on contrastive analysis. Her department is responsible for the teaching of Hebrew as a second language, and services all the other departments in the University. There are differing programmes to suit the multiplicity of students

The university has a two term year (October to mid-January, mid-February to June) and students must complete their Hebrew studies within two years. It is not unusual for beginners to take three terms to reach the university requirements for Hebrew. There are six levels, each with two sublevels giving twelve grades in total. Students are sorted according to level and placed in ability groups, if possible. On occasion, there may be beginners and advanced students in the same class, making language instruction very difficult. Immigrants with no Hebrew take a preliminary year in Hebrew language learning before they start regular studies at the university. The Hebrew Department also has an intensive course of 8 weeks during the summer lasting 200 hours: 5 hours per day and 5 days per week. Usually there is a maximum of 24-25 in a class, sometimes a little less, depending on the level and the numbers after sorting. Because of the five-month

³Personal interview with Edna Lauden, Head Of Hebrew Studies Department, Tel Aviv University (29.12.1991) in author's library.

government grants, the university enrolls more intermediate and advanced students and fewer beginners; previously, the converse was true.

After the initial summer course, students have two terms of Hebrew at a less intense level. The first term's programme is 16-20 hours per week with the emphasis still on talking. Instruction is usually four hours per day, four to five days per week. Simple newspaper articles are used as much as possible in conjunction with conversation on everyday matters. Students also have to study other subjects apart from Hebrew including English, maths and history and, like the Hebrew University, classes may take place in easy Hebrew. Maths is the least difficult because the vocabulary is limited and the symbols are international. Ms Lauden reckons that after the first term students are reasonably fluent in speaking about everyday needs. It is more difficult to meet the level of university requirements for literacy. After the second term more emphasis is put on writing and reading, and there is some grammar as well as speech.

Overseas Students: Overseas students come to study for one year, mainly from the United States. They join a summer *ulpan* for eight weeks, undergo classification tests and receive language instruction for five days per week. During the university year they receive 6-8 hours per week. American Universities are satisfied with a communicative ability for their students in Hebrew as a second language for a credit. At the end of the year overseas students communicate well at survival level, but less well than immigrants. Some overseas students come for half a year taking a four week intensive course during the break between the first and second terms and then continue with studies for the

second term. The four week course runs for five days per week with 5-6 hours of classes per day.

Classroom methods: The methods employed during term time are teacher-talk, tapes, and books with the teacher as the most important resource. There are normally two teachers per class to make it easier on both teachers and taught. Language and culture are incorporated in all courses. Thematic approaches are adopted and it is usual to commence with the presentation of vocabulary to be learned, followed by photocopied material, conversations, grammar, exercises in speaking and writing, culminating in students preparing a talk. Language laboratories are too expensive, but audio cassettes and video tapes are used.

Teaching for special purposes: American students taking medicine as a degree subject in Israel require 'Hebrew for Hospital' in order to talk to patients or listen to other doctors. There is an eight hours per week course and special Hebrew language books provided for them by the University. There are courses for immigrants who wish to become teachers of physics or mathematics, a one year course for social workers, and a course for psychiatrists, mainly Russian.

Immigrant doctors from Russia may undertake a course at Tel Aviv University to increase their knowledge of the official Hebrew and colloquial terms of drug and alcohol dependents. The class runs for four hours per morning, four days per week. The doctors who undergo this programme have already completed five months *ulpan*.

Teaching material is drawn from all types of literature which deal with drug or alcohol addiction. The Hebrew Department has collected and adapted material from addiction centres, school pamphlets, and professional papers.

3. *Ulpan Meir, Tel Aviv*

*Ulpan Meir*⁴ is situated in Tel Aviv and is one of the largest Hebrew language schools. It teaches Hebrew at seven levels ranging from complete beginners to fluent professionals who wish to enhance their language skills. The teaching programmes are under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and include not only language classes, but also seminars, lectures, cultural events and tours. Most students are first level, but many veterans who have not had the time to study Hebrew heritage and literature attend, as do diplomats from countries such as Egypt, France, the Philippines and China. Overseas visitors and divinity students also visit the *ulpan*.

Shoshana Tenen, the *ulpan* Director, and responsible for pedagogy believes the teacher is central to success. If the teacher can not lead the class to the stated objectives, then no matter how good the methods are the results will always be unsatisfactory. No one strategy or method is strictly followed at Meir; teachers' methods are dependent on the situation or the population of the class, whether it be mixed ability, mixed age, or mixed nationalities. Because of the great influx of Russians and their ignorance of Israeli culture, forty to fifty per cent of teaching time is devoted to Hebrew heritage. They are taught in Hebrew as soon as possible, but begin with lectures and material in their own language. However, some students can be very rigid in their expectations - they do not want heritage, because they do not see their need - and the teacher has to labour to break down this opposition. The fifteen teachers on the staff at *Ulpan Meir* share the eleven classes which run through the day, each class has two teachers which, as with the

⁴Interview with Shoshana Tenen Pedagogic Director of *ulpan Meir* (29.12.91) in author's tape library

universities, permits different personalities, voices, accents, pace, way of speaking to be experienced by the students.

Types of Classes: The twenty-week Government funded classes which beginners attend are in reality 16-17 week courses because of holidays (for example, passover holiday in October is about 18 days). Higher level classes run, in descending order of rigor, for 20 hours, 12 hours and 8 hours per week respectively. For those already in employment, four hours' evening classes are provided for up to five nights per week. They commence at 4.15pm and finish at 8.15pm with one break around 6.15pm for 15 minutes. Homework is given sparingly to the evening classes, since those in employment are limited in the time they can spend on it after four hours of lessons per night.

Table 2 People Attending Ulpan Meir By Academic Ability 1990-91

People Attending Ulpan Meir By Academic Ability	Percentage Of Population Of 1034
Elementary Education	2%
High School/Vocational	25.82%
High School/Professional	7.35%
Academic Work Hitec/Univ	64.8%

Types of Student Attending ulpan Meir 1990-1991

Table 3

PERIOD	October '90 - January '91		January '91 - August '91	
Description	Number	%	Number	%
Immigrant up to 1 year	99	34	173	65
Immigrant up to 5 years	83	29	36	13
Old Timers 6 years +	25	9	11	4
Tourists (Jewish)	63	22	35	13
Tourists (Non-Jewish)	19	6	12	5
TOTAL	289	100	267	100

Number of Languages Each Student Attending Ulpan Meir had 1990-91

Table 4

Country of Origin	Total	1		2		3	
	Learners	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.
USSR	568	50	281	36	207	11	65
USA	110	41	52	39	43	12	13
SOUTH AMERICA	66	21	14	42	28	26	17
FRANCE/ITALY/ SWITZERLAND	59	12	7	34	20	34	20
ENGLAND	40	62.5	25	17.5	7	15	6
EASTERN EUROPE	35	14	5	26	9	40	14
BALKANS	28	7	2	22	6	54	15
GERMANY	25	4	1	52	13	36	9
NEAR & MIDDLE EAST	21	19	4	28.5	6	28.5	6
FAR EAST	19	-	-	74	14	26	5
SCANDINAVIA	16	-	-	19	3	44	7
HOLLAND/BELGIUM	14	-	-	14	2	57	8
AUSTRALIA/ ZEALAND	14	50	7	29	4	21	3
SOUTH AFRICA	11	82	9	18	2	-	-
AFRICA	6		1		2		3
SPAIN	1	-	-	20	2	-	-
ICELAND	1	-	-	-	-	30	3
TOTAL POPULATION	1034						

4. Employment Guidance Centre, Tel Aviv

Some *ulpanim* specialise in teaching the second stage of the Government syllabus. Below is a description of an approach used at such an *ulpan* in an employment guidance centre.⁵ Students who enrol have already finished the first *ulpan* of 500 hours and receive a further 100 hours of Hebrew language learning in these institutions. Normally, there are about 20-22 in a group.

The curriculum is oriented towards helping immigrants find a job. The type of student is varied. Twice a year, commencing in November and January, classes are run for doctors; there are also classes which provide terminology for bookkeeping and accounting, engineering, computing, office skills, banking, sales and marketing, and terminology for engineers who wish to become maths or physics teachers.

The pattern of attendance for these specialist courses is as follows:

Sunday - Thursday: 8.30 am - 2.30 pm, except for the days they work for five hours
when the finish at 1.45 pm

Hours: Sunday, Tuesday and Wednesday (6 hours); Monday and Thursday (5 hours).

The lesson content of this sixty day course includes grammar, textbooks, stories and articles from newspapers. Newspaper articles are graded and attached to large index cards which have interpretation questions on them. The teacher also prepares the students in specialised vocabulary and dialogues for job interviews. Twice a week classes spend two hours self-study in a bespoke room to increase their specialist vocabulary. This time is considered very important for the student.

⁵Personal interview with Iafa Zegeun, *ulpan* Director and Nira Shutz, Depute Manager (21.7.92) in author's tape library.

The Intensive Lesson

Nira Shutz, the Depute Manager of the Centre, explained the way in which she approaches an intensive lesson for students sponsored by IBM to receive training in computing terminology.

DAY 1

- 1 On the first day there is a **question and answer session**. This is the period where the new words to be taught for that day are introduced. The question and answer session can last up to 2 hours.
- 2 After the question and answer session, **all the words are written on the blackboard**. They are then gone over for meaning, pronunciation and correct use in a sentence.
- 3 The prepared text which contains the new vocabulary is given out and a **portion is read aloud by each student** in turn.
- 4 **Specific questions related to the text** are put to the students. All answers must come from the text and it is permissible to quote directly.
- 5 **Written exercises** are now done in the student's jotter. Other specific exercises are earmarked for homework.
- 6 The answers to the exercises done in class are gone over and read aloud.

DAY 2

- 1 The previous day's text is read again. This time the students should be more fluent.
- 2 Homework is gone over.
- 3 The prepared text is summarised orally by the students.
- 4 After this, some syntax from the passage which may not have been covered to date is dealt with. This would last about 30-40 minutes.
- 5 The class proceeds to a new subject. The same sequence as for day 1 is followed

Group methods are also used within the above sequence and two spelling sessions per week of about 15-20 minutes are used to repeat and reinforce recent vocabulary. Hebrew technical vocabulary is drawn from IBM manuals and is woven into a story format such as an information leaflet or advertisement for computers. Twenty to twenty-five new words are imparted every day, whatever the profession.

5. *Ulpan* for Young Ethiopians, *Neurim*

This centre⁶ teaches young Ethiopians from 18 - 30 years of age. There is a great range of abilities, but all have to be given, in five months, a basic schooling which equates to five years in primary school. Only five per cent of all Ethiopians, whether Jewish or non-Jewish are literate, therefore the problem is immense. The Ethiopians were a pastoral people used to rising when it was light and retiring when it was dark. The winter months were spent travelling around the country visiting relations. For the young men, it was the time to find a spouse.

The transition from an African village culture to a modern Israeli lifestyle is abrupt and traumatic. Children in Ethiopia are treated as workers, and the larger the family (especially boys) then the greater the work output, and the better off the family. However, when an Ethiopian family emigrates to Israel only the father works, and often for a very small salary; the mother and children stay at home unable to provide the previous labour input. Another sociological difficulty is that in Ethiopia the priest answered all their problems. In Israel, the priests do not have all the answers to the problems of living in a modern society. Their situation is pitiful.

Under present regulations Ethiopian children attend the local Israeli school until the age of twelve; after this age they attend boarding school. There are added difficulties in that they cannot be given suitable diagnostic tests to assess their intellectual abilities as

⁶Personal interview with Sylvia Brandes local *ulpan* inspector (23.7.92) in author's tape library

the Israeli tests are set in the context of the Western World. Teachers' know that certain students are slow learners, but to define why a particular Ethiopian child is such is difficult because of the lack of assessment instruments.

In Neurim, the weekly course for young Ethiopians aged 18-30 years of age is 30 hours per week, 45 minutes per lesson. Four hours per week are spent on arithmetic, twenty-six on Hebrew, with homework being done in the afternoons. An examination is set every two weeks (which students enjoy) and which teachers find helpful in gauging student progress. At the end of the whole ten month⁷ period they receive a certificate which indicates whether they have attained the equivalent of eight, nine or ten years of study in school. They also receive a trade certificate from the Ministry of Labour. A certificate testifying to the achievement of the equivalent of ten years of school in Israel is coveted, because it allows the holder to matriculate at a university if he or she wishes.

In Ethiopia, the village system of learning was one that required only the listening faculty since the priest made them learn by heart. To help them cope with a written examination, the class teacher spends time assisting them to understand both the question and the answer before they work on their own. According to Sylvia Brandes, the Ethiopian mind-set is such that it bows very readily to authority, so that when a teacher asks if a point has been understood the automatic answer is yes rather than no. Teachers keep a close eye on the curriculum and student progress by meeting every Sunday for two hours to plan out the strategy for the following week.

6. *Ulpan for the Blind, Ashdod*

This initiative began in January 1992 in the Blind Club in Ashdod.⁸ Hebrew lessons are given to immigrants who are visually impaired. Funding is limited: the government pays about half and charitable bodies provide the remainder. On the day of the visit all of the seventeen students in the class were new immigrants from Russia who work

⁷Ethiopians receive a ten month grant because of their illiteracy problems, rather than the normal five.

⁸Personal interview with Vera Abramov, *ulpan* teacher for the blind (22.7.92) in author's tape library

mornings and come to the *ulpan* in the afternoon. They meet twice weekly on Mondays and Wednesdays for two hours, and are taught to speak and to listen in Hebrew. There is no attempt to teach them to read or to write. The teacher speaks Russian and provides explanations where necessary. Students study for a six month period and progress rapidly in spoken Hebrew because they do not have to learn to read or write Hebrew.

Lesson Structure

The lesson observed took the following format:

Introduction - a discussion with the social worker who was present about future developments for the class such as trips to summer concerts, sports activities with specialist teachers, and talks, again from specialist teachers. After discussing with the class the new initiatives:

- ☐ vocabulary from a previous lesson was revised:
- ☐ The past tense was looked at. It was explained firstly in Russian and then the class was tested in Hebrew.
- ☐ Homework was given on verbs
- ☐ The verb **to be** was conjugated in the past tense
- ☐ A song was given.

Many of the songs in Israel come from Russia and are Hebrew translations of the Russian original. It is interesting and suitable for the Russian immigrants to use them to improve their Hebrew. Each verse was explained and sung in sequence. The class usually finishes in this way. Normally a tape of the song is played and stopped every so often and the class identifies a verb, which they have to give in its past, present and future forms. The song has to be memorised for homework. Before the class finished, opposites of nouns were given (dry-wet, happy-unhappy) which were to be memorised and used in sentences as homework.

It was interesting, but perhaps self-evident, to observe that the blind progressed much more quickly in speaking the language in the limited amount of time available to them, than the sighted olim (4 hours compared with 25 hours per week). One obvious reason for their rapid oral advance is that they do not have to spend time learning to read or write, but concentrate their efforts on the spoken and aural aspects of the language. It is also possible that because of their visual impairment the blind students have heightened aural and retentive faculties. It is feasible that this this may be an approach to adopt with sighted students who wish to learn rapidly how to speak.

7. *Ulpan for Deaf and the Dumb, Helen Keller House, Tel Aviv*

This evening *ulpan*⁹ runs for five months. Most of the students were from Russia, except a boy of about nineteen who had come from Serbia one week previously, and a young woman from London who emigrated with her husband four years ago. The lesson on the evening of the visit dealt with feelings and experiences. Each word mentioned was also provided with its opposite, eg, silent-loud, nervous-confident, like-dislike. The structure of the lesson was identical to other *ulpan* lessons, save that the members of the class could not hear. The lesson began with a question and answer session lasting approximately three-quarters of an hour. Following this was a session recognising and discussing words on flashcards. The words were also written on the blackboard. After this, cards with words written on them were handed round the class and pronounced by the students in turn. Finally, individual cards with pictures were arranged in their correct sequence on the floor.

The students had learned sign language in their own respective countries. However, none of them had been encouraged to talk, something which the teacher had persevered with. Most of the students voiced with a good measure of distinction.

⁹Personal interview with Zigui Nahum, *ulpan* teacher for the deaf and dumb (21.7.92) in author's tape collection

Appendix 3 - Kendon Smith, English Language Institute, Colombia

Personal Interview (7.1.93)

Kendon Smith, from Stornoway, set up an English Language Institute in Colombia as a commercial company 10 years ago.¹⁰ His experience provides an interesting alternative to the Basque, Welsh and Irish situations since most of his clients receive face to face, one to one tuition.

The Immersion Course

Before a student commences a course he or she is always given a detailed evaluation test to diagnose the correct level. The test comprises:

- ☐ 50 question grammar test
- ☐ 20 question reading comprehension
- ☐ written section
- ☐ listening test
- ☐ conversation.

After ascertaining a student's level, personal objectives for the immersion course are discussed. For example, if someone wishes to go to the USA to study postgraduate medicine, medical terminology would be included in the course.

The methodology is intensive, student centred, and communicative. Grammar is taught only if specifically requested by the student. Mr Smith advocates an eclectic approach. 'If the most effective way of learning something is by doing a drill or repetition exercise, then it should be done,' he stated. 'Why take 20 minutes to do something

¹⁰Personal interview with Kendon Smith Principal of an English Language Institute, Colombia in Stornoway (7.1.93) in author's tape library

communicatively, when you can do it in 5 by another method? When you are in the frontline, what matters is what works.'

Hours - Immersion classes run from 8.00am - 6.00pm. A 10 hour day is worked with teachers changing class every 2 hours. Teachers are drawn from normal classes to provide the necessary two hour slot for the immersion classes. Each two hour session is divided into sections, eg 20 minutes writing; 20 minutes listening comprehension; 30 minutes of structure based conversation and some free time. Usually, there are about 20 minutes free in each class to allow time for reinforcement, a coffee break and for talk on items without the syllabus. There is a break for tea or coffee every hour. Students lunch with the teacher and discussion is in the target language. No Spanish may be spoken.

Class sizes - one student per teacher is the preferred class size, although larger groupings are taught. Mixed ability groupings are regarded as unhelpful to students. Those at a higher level have to go over work already known and become demotivated.

Teaching Materials - twelve or more different sources are drawn on. The reason for this is to give the class teacher breadth of material without having to go outside the syllabus provided. Students do not become bored when doing the same language point from a different source: it is repetition in disguise. Homework is given each day; this frequently takes the form of watching a video at home.

The Normal Institute Schedule - 7.00-9.00am are the peak hours. About 20 teachers work in the institute in this part of the day delivering pre-work courses to business and professional people.

9.00-11.00am - these classes mainly comprise mothers of school children. About 7-8 teachers work this part of the day.

Lunchtime - classes of one hour for business people are provided. These are regarded as less effective since the rate of progress is disproportionate to the effort. They run for two years.

2.00-4.00pm - usually university students.

4.30-5.30pm - children's classes.

6.30-8.30pm - professional adults who prefer to learn in the evenings rather than the mornings.

Teachers' Training and Conditions - Most of the teachers at the school are not trained teachers before coming to the institute. The Principal provides in-house training, which benefits the Institute because all teachers have the same methodology. New starts receive two hours' training per week for three weeks. After three weeks new teachers are given a small front line class where theory is put into practice. The Principal prepares a very detailed class plan with the student teacher, instructions such as 'lift finger here' being noted. After a while the teacher makes up his/her own class plans, which the Principal checks. At this stage the new teacher is only teaching two hours per day.

A Team-Teaching Task - Immersion is regarded as a team-teaching task at the Institute. Teachers are given their general plan the day before to allow them to prepare.

Detailed instructions are given prior to each class: the teacher receives a piece of paper with details of which books are to be used, and the exact number of pages to be covered in the two hour period. When the lesson finishes, the teacher reports to the Principal on the work covered. The next teacher sits in on the report and is given appropriate materials by the Principal. Mr Smith has compiled a master plan listing all the objectives for each class that is taught.

The core teachers must have the right personality and be:

- ☐ active in class
- ☐ good at motivating students
- ☐ able to put students at their ease
- ☐ easy to get on with.

All teachers are paid hourly. There is no one on a salary and some teachers may teach 14 hours in the day if they wish.

Further Details of the Course - Mr Smith has divided the English language into six levels for the purposes of teaching. The first four levels are more structured; the remaining two, more functional.

There are three main components:

- 1 **Grammatical** objectives.
- 2 **Functional** activities, eg level 1 - student tells about everyday activities and things done in recent past.
- 3 **Themes** - airport, personal identification, the bank.

Communication is the backbone of the course with language always used in a context. The traditional method of learning a word list with no context in which to use the words is avoided. Students attend for seven days a week. A weekend break is considered too long in this kind of intensive course.

Student Progress - a student beginning at level zero is reasonably fluent after the 20 day immersion course, if he or she is of average intelligence. By the close, a student should have enough English to handle a trip to the United States unaided.

The immersion course achieves in 200/220 hours what the normal Institute courses (pre-work or post-work, for example) achieve in 480 hours. There is a multiplication factor with immersion. Mr Smith has had a very motivated student move from zero knowledge of English to a high degree of fluency in 6 weeks. A fair degree of intellectual infrastructure is assumed of the student and is a factor in the speed of learning. At the end of the course the Principal gives each student a very detailed evaluation of performance and the student gives an evaluation of the teachers, the materials, and the services supplied at the Institute.

Appendix 4 - Hugh Owen, Welsh Language Board Officer

Telephone Interview (18/4/94)

The Welsh Language Board was originally the Advisory Welsh language Board set up in 1988 by the Secretary of State as a result of the progress that the Welsh language had made. Its remit was to gather together 7-8 of the leading figures in the Welsh language world to advise the Government in order to aid the growth of the Welsh language. It was realised that there was little statutory support for the Welsh language. Therefore, recommendations were made that a new Welsh Language Act be enacted which ensured that bilingualism be the language of the public sector (BT, Gas, Electricity Board etc) and also that The Welsh Language Board (WLB) be set up with responsibility for overseeing language developments.

On December 21, 1993, some of the recommendations became law. However, there were 2 disappointments: i) there was no clear definition of Welsh Language Status as regards equality with English, ie Welsh was not declared the official language of Wales; ii) the utilities (BT etc) were excluded from the new Act. However, the WLB has power to prepare guidelines for public bodies who in turn have to supply schemes for introducing bilingualism. If the public bodies do not cooperate, then financial penalties may be imposed by the Government.

The remit of the WLB is wide ranging covering every aspect of Welsh language development, ranging from strategic responsibility for the Welsh language curriculum in schools to encouraging and advising private sector companies to use more Welsh in signs and packaging of products. To date the private sector use of Welsh has been very encouraging - one major tea company has seen sales rise 25% in a declining tea market through having completely bilingual packaging. Welsh people who are not Welsh-speakers have shown a very positive response to this development - identity is thought to feature large in their reaction. The banks have strong bilingual policies. Shell Oil Company have used the experience gained from their bilingual policy throughout Canada. Macdonalds are also involved in developing bilingual policies in Wales.

The reasons for sponsoring the language vary: some are out of sentiment, some from fear and wish to promote a Welsh identity for their company, others have carried out market research and have proved that it is commercially worthwhile. Customer complaints against British Telecom in Wales have decreased 60% since they introduced their bilingual policy.

A computer spell checker and electronic thesaurus are other developments in which they have been involved. Community initiatives are also aided by the WLB. What is done on a macro level is carried out on a micro level in communities. Simultaneous translation facilities are provided for public meetings in villages to permit them to take place through the medium of Welsh. Shops are encouraged to use Welsh signs.

Appendix 5 - Maggie Cunningham, Head of BBC Radio nan Gaidheal

Telephone Interview (17.3.94)

Gaelic training for journalists at present

BBC Radio nan Gaidheal employ, ideally, trainee journalists who are fully fluent in Gaelic. This is not always possible; individuals may have useful broadcasting skills but not be fully proficient in Gaelic. This is where an immersion course would be useful in two ways: the BBC could require that a certificate from such a course be mandatory pre-employment, or require that individuals with good broadcasting skills but less fluent Gaelic attend such a course for up to six months. The BBC may be able to provide a little funding for such a course.

Radio nan Gaidheal journalists need to be fluent with good use of idiom, an absence of English constructions, and a good understanding of the grammar of the language. Credibility is at stake if journalists can not interview or discuss serious matters in good Gaelic.

Present Certification

There is no certificate in existence (at school, teacher training college, or university level) which guarantees that the person who holds it is a fluent Gaelic speaker. There is a need, therefore, for a certificated course which guarantees that graduates have fluency in Gaelic to a standard necessary for BBC requirements. The BBC would be willing to

send personnel on such courses for a period ranging from one to six months. They would also be willing to send experienced personnel on specialist courses dealing with idiom, old poetry etc to enrich their Gaelic and retrieve words which may have been lost to the Gaelic-speaking world in general. In this respect it was suggested that a Gaelic thesaurus would be a useful tool. The main need was seen to be a certificated course which was credible and which guaranteed the fluency the certificate stated, as none of the existing courses did so.

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Appendix 6 - Interview with G. Wells 14.3.94

Position: Senior Lecturer Languages with specific reference the teaching of English to speakers of other languages.

Experience of immersion courses: As a student in India at the Central Institute of Hindi - teaching was through the medium of Hindi. The methods were eclectic and according to the needs of the student. He was not placed in the beginners class because he had done Hindi at university. This was an 8-month course, 6 hours/day, 5 days/week. Little homework. Came out reasonably fluent. Difficulty of practising Hindi with others as most would speak English in the area. As a teacher in Japan - taught the Berlitz method. Stultifying, rigid course for teacher to follow, usually on one-one basis, very expensive. Student received as much tuition as he could pay for. Could last as long as student was willing to pay. Good for beginners: endless drilling, introduces the code of the language.

At present he teaches students from abroad, preparing them for entry to Scottish universities. They are taught 4-5 'H' grade subjects 5 days per week in English (9.00-4.45). One fifth of their time is spent on 'English Access Exam' (approx. 'H' Grade) language classes. The students are supposed to come with the bones of English, ie they have some grammatical knowledge of the language. Mr Wells agreed that probably the most effective part of the course was the learning-through-doing where they were learning other subjects through the medium of English. He commented that this may be why some students go to SMO, not merely to learn about Business Studies through

Gaelic, but to acquire their primary goal, proficiency in the target language. The teaching is immersive since the students live through the target language at the college. It is also communicative and topic based and looks to the needs of students for university: study skills, written skills, listening to lectures, presenting papers for seminars etc. Most of the teachers in his section have a postgraduate teaching qualification in modern languages or TESL/TESOL qualifications.

Class sizes - 12 ideal, 15 a bit large for individual attention.

ASSESSMENT - Make a distinction between different types of assessment. Is it for pre-testing? (diagnostic) /certification? In the context of the native speaker-learner divide, he thought tests should test what you can do no matter how you achieved it. Levels of proficiency may vary across the modes of reading, writing, talking, eg 'native' speaker may be excellent orally but poor in literacy skills or 'learner' may be good grammatically and in literacy skills but unable to speak fluently. At the end of the day the reason why adults learn a language is because they wish to use it - no usefulness in dividing into separate categories - proficiency is what is important. General points in Gaelic immersive situation: one difficulty is getting as Gaelic an atmosphere as possible. This is not a problem peculiar to Gaelic. Perhaps it could be generally said that the more rigid the teaching course (eg Berlitz) then the less need for teacher training. The downside is that where courses are too rigid the teacher suffers from boredom and lack of creative input. Assessment would be an area requiring thought.

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- Alba, Eli, Head Teacher, Amarra Berri Primary School, San Sebastian (15.2.91)
- Aubrey, Gwen, Welsh linguist, and lecturer with University of Wales extra-mural department, Cardiff (28.4.93)
- Bacon, Sara, Director, Absorption Centre, Ra'anana, near Netanya (22.7.92)
- Berasategi, Jose Mari, Government Officer responsible for the application of the Law for the Normalisation of Basque, Vitoria-Gasteiz (11.2.91)
- Brandes, Sylvia, Local Inspector, Neurim Youth Village near Netanya (23.7.92)
- Breathnach, Diarmaid, European Bureau for Lesser Used Languages, Dublin (21.1.91)
- Davies, Basil, Tutor for 300 hour Intensive Welsh Courses, Glamorgan Polytechnic/ University of Wales (30.4.93)
- Dunn, Catriona, Gaelic Adviser, Comhairle nan Eilean (14.3.94)
- Gardener, N., Basque Education Department - Examinations and Teachers in Basque Government Buildings Vitoria (11.2.91)
- Garmenzia, Jesus, Head of Eskoriatza Teacher Training College (13.2.91)
- Grant, Professor Nigel , Dept. of Education, Glasgow University (7.2.94)
- Harris, J., Irish Language Institute, Dublin (24.1.91)
- Israeli, Sarah, Head of Hebrew Studies Department, Rothberg School of Overseas Education, Hebrew University, Jerusalem (26.12.91)
- Jelsma, Gjalt, General Frisian Education Committee (AFUK) in Leeuwarden (22.3.94)
- Katznelson, Shulamit , Director Ulpan Akiva at *Ulpan Akiva* (24.12.91; 30.12.91)
- Lauden, Edna, Head of Hebrew Studies, Tel Aviv University (29.12.91)
- Lev, Malka, Director Ulpan Aked, Netanya (20.7.92)
- Luisa Mari Puertas Pedagogi Aholkularitzatogia (Teacher Centre), Bilbao (14.2.91)
- MacIver, DJ, Bilingual Policy Adviser, Western Isles (8.3.94)
- MacLochlainn, Mgr., Head Teacher, Colaiste Mhuire, Dublin (24.1.91)
- Nahum, Zigui, Teacher, Ulpan for the Deaf and the Dumb, Tel Aviv (21.7.92)
- Ni Mhuirthile, S., Senior Lecturer, Mary Immaculate (First Level) Teacher Training College, Limerick (23.1.91)

- Nic Raith, Deirbhile, Gaelscoileanna Coordinator in Dublin (22.2.91)
- Ó Murchu, Helen, Director Comhair na Muinteoiri Gaeilge, Dublin (21.1.91)
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- Ó Dochartaigh, Liam, Senior Lecturer & Head of Gaeilge, Thomond College in Limerick (23.1.91)
- Ó Lubhlai, D., Irish language teacher and activist, Dublin (21.1.91)
- Ó hAilin, Proinnsias, Headmaster, Colaiste Chilliaín, Dublin (21.1.91)
- Ó Ciosain, Helen, Pre-school Organiser, Dublin (25.1.93)
- Ó Laidhin, S., Colaiste Eoin All-Irish School, Dublin (22.1.91)
- O' Coileann, Antoine, Senior Staff Member, Bord na Gaeilge, Dublin (24.1.91)
- O' Coilean, Anton, Senior Official, Bord na Gaeilge, Dublin (24.1.91)
- Orr, Atara, Manager, Employment Guidance Centre, Tel Aviv (21.7.92)
- Perales, Josu, HABE Inspector in HABE head offices, San Sebastian (12.2.91) and visit to Euskaltegis in San Sebastian
- Perlmutter, Riva Pashin, Director, The Hebrew Language Department, Ministry of Education and Culture, Division of Adult Education, Jerusalem (1.1.92)
- Pins, Ophir, Deputy Director General, Immigration and Absorption Department, Jewish Agency, Tel Aviv (29.12.91)
- Prosser, Helen, Adult Education Coordinator, WJEC, Cathes Road, Cardiff (29.4.93)
- Rees, Chris, Head of Centre for Teaching Welsh to Adults, Department of Continuing Education, University of Wales, Cardiff (28.4.93)
- Shutz, Nira, Depute Manager, Employment Guidance Centre, Tel Aviv (21.7.92)
- Sierra, Josu and Olaziregi, Ibon, Basque language researchers, Department of Education, Basque Government Buildings, Vitoria-Gasteiz (11.2.91)
- Smith, Kendon, Principal of an English Language Institute, Colombia in Stornoway (7.1.93)
- Solomonik, Dr Avraham, *Ulpan* Inspector in charge of methodology in teaching of Hebrew to immigrants, The Hebrew Language Department, Ministry of Education and Culture, Division of Adult Education, Jerusalem (25.12.91)
- Stern, Asher, President MILEL, Israel Center for Multilingualism, Netanya (19.8.92) on Circassians and *Ulpanim*
- Stern, Asher, Pedagogic Director at Ulpan Akiva (24.12.91)
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- Tenin, Shoshana, Pedagogic Director Ulpan Meir, Tel Aviv (29.12.91)
- Zalbilde, Mikel, Head of the Basque Service of the Department of Education, Basque Government Buildings, Vitoria-Gasteiz (11.2.91)

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