

June 2, 1986

Dear Mr. Roper,

Here is a photocopy of the other English language article on Occitania which appeared in the bibliography of the World Minorities Vol. II 1978

Hope you find it of interest.

Do you think Occitania, along with Alsace, Brittany, and Corsica, are part of the Fourth World?

Included photocopies of all the ethno-linguistic maps which appeared in this book.

Sincerely,
Joseph E. Fallon

MEIC STEPHENS

Linguistic Minorities
in Western Europe

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PREFACE

This book describes the cultural and political situations of over fifty linguistic minorities in sixteen States of Western Europe. By 'linguistic minority' is meant a community where a language is spoken which is not the language of the majority of the State's citizens. The purview has been extended slightly, however, to include Norway and Luxembourg where the linguistic circumstances are in some ways exceptional. Ethnic groups such as the Cornish and Manx, whose languages are more or less extinct as spoken tongues but continue to be considered as part of their cultural identities, have also been included.

The term 'linguistic minority' should be taken, for the purposes of this book, 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. The Jews and the Rom have also been omitted, because in Western Europe their problems, for the most part, are neither linguistic nor territorial.

Within this broad definition there are two main types of linguistic minority in Western Europe today. The first comprises those communities whose language, whether it is accorded a certain status or none at all, is certainly not the official language of any State. French ethnologists like Guy Heraud know this type as '*les ethnies sans état*' and the Italians, in Sergio Salvi's words, as '*le nazioni proibite*'. Writers in English have recently begun to follow the French example of calling these communities 'internal colonies'. As examples may be cited the Bretons in France, the Frisians in the Netherlands, the Basques in Spain and the Welsh in Britain. They are, for the most part, nations in their own right which do not look beyond their own territories to ethnic homelands elsewhere.

Whether or not the languages of this first type can all be described as 'national' must depend on the extent to which their speakers have demonstrated a consciousness of being

THE OCCITANS

~~Occitania is the part of southern France where the langue d'oc is spoken.~~ Northerners, who speak *la langue d'oïl* (*oïl* and *oc* are the equivalents of *oui*), usually refer to Occitanie, as *le Midi* and to Occitans as *les Méridionaux*. The word Occitanie dates from the end of the thirteenth century but the region has also been known, inaccurately because it is only one province, as *Languedoc*. By today, largely as the result of the Deixonne Law of 1951 which made it 'official' and a growing autonomist movement, *Ocitanie* and *occitan* are well established as the names by which the region and its language are known in French.

The region, about one third of metropolitan France, includes the provinces of *Languedoc* (Occitan: *Languedoc*, Provence (Provençal), Limousin (Lemosin), Auvergne (Auvergnat), Gascogne (Gasconha), Guyenne (Gascogne) and Dauphiné (Dauphinat)—about thirty departments in all, including the Principality of Monaco but excluding, of course, the northern Basque Country and the Roussillon and Cerdagne districts of Catalonia. The principal towns of Occitanie are Toulouse (Occitan: *Tolosà*), Pau, Bordeaux (*Bordèu*), Limoges (*Lemòtges*), Clermont-Ferrand (*Clarmont*), Nîmes, Avignon (*Avinhan*), Montpellier (*Montpelhièr*), Albi, Narbonne (*Narbona*), Marseille (*Marselha*), Aix-en-Provence (*Ais*), Toulon (*Tolon*), Carcassonne (*Carcassona*), Cannes (*Canas*) and Nice (*Nica*).

About fifteen million people live in Occitanie (Occitan: *Ocitània*), a quarter of France's population. Of these around ten million have some knowledge of Occitan, if we count also the 5,000 inhabitants of the Val d'Arán (the upper valley of the Garonne) in the Catalan province of Lerida, and the 200,000 who speak the Occitan dialect of Provençal in the Piedmont valleys of Italy. It is estimated that about two million people use Occitan in their daily lives. They live for the most part in rural areas and all are also able to speak *la langue d'oïl*, the last monoglot speakers having died in the 1930s. So powerful an influence have the French educational and political systems had on the older generation that many people, when questioned about the language they

speak, believe that Occitan is no more than a local, uneducated and corrupt form of French, and that it is incapable of being written down. This is certainly not the case but it is true that, owing to the existence of a variety of dialects, no standard literary form has been universally accepted. Occitan is still divided, as might be expected over such a large territory, between the northern dialects of Limousin and Auvergne, those of Languedoc and those of Gascoigne. Their linguistic differences are complicated by ethnic and historical factors, so that local loyalties have sometimes prevented attempts to rouse the Occitans to concerted action. As Mistral, their greatest poet, once put it, 'Occitanie is not a country, it is an idea'.

Despite this variety, the language and literature of Occitanie have an illustrious history and have made an important contribution to the culture of Western Europe. Their origins are to be traced to those centuries up to the tenth when, with the triumph of Latin over the language of the Gauls, especially in their southern territories, and with the Frankish invasions in the north, the phonetic structure of Gallo-Roman began to develop differently until, as early as the eleventh century, there emerged two separate languages: *la langue d'oïl* around the Paris basin, from which modern French has developed, and *la langue d'oc*, another member of the Romance family, to the south of the *Massif Central*. The first poet to write verse in Occitan was Guillaume IX of Aquitaine (1071-1127). For three hundred years the Occitans maintained an independent civilisation of high sophistication, especially in the poetry of the troubadours and their ideals of courtly love. Through their influence on the *Minnesänger*, the poets of southern France and those of Italy, the troubadours were to take Occitan culture to all the courts of Europe. The tale of Tristan and Isolde, although it is of Celtic origin, we owe to the troubadours of Occitanie.

Defeated and invaded during the Albigensian Crusades of 1209-71, especially by Simon de Montfort, Occitanie lost its independence and was incorporated into the Kingdom of France. Simone Weil in her book *L'Enracinement* (The Need for Roots) described the French conquest of the territories below the Loire as one of the great atrocities of history: 'These

The Occitans

territories, where a high level of culture, tolerance, liberty and spiritual life existed, were inspired by intense patriotism for what they called their 'langage' (*langage*), a word by which they meant their country. The French were for them foreigners and barbarian, as the Germans are to us. In order to establish their terror, the French began by exterminating the whole town of Beziers . . . Once the country was conquered they brought in the Inquisition . . . It can be seen how strongly those regions hated the central power by the religious fervour shown at Toulouse towards the remains of the Duke of Montmorency who had been beheaded for rebellion by Richelieu'. According to Simone Weil, it was for the same reasons that the Occitans embraced the Revolution of 1789 and, later, rallied to the cause of radical socialism and anti-clericalism just as the Cathares had resisted the Inquisition.

Under the Third Republic they were no longer the adversaries of the central Government because to a large extent they were exploiting it for their own ends. As with the Corsicans, there is a widespread prejudice among the northern French against the Occitans, whom they accuse of having grabbed power and influence at the centre. If it is true, it has rarely been in the interests of Occitanie that Occitans have ruled France, however. Georges Pompidou, the former Prime Minister of France, who was fond of pointing to his origins in the Auvergne while refusing to tackle its problems by introducing a policy of regionalisation, was among the most recent—but probably not the last—Occitan to hold high office in Paris.

From the end of the thirteenth century on, the history of Occitanie was the history of its language and its culture. Indeed, it is from this time that the very name Occitanie dates, the region having taken its name from the language spoken there, as if—deprived of all political status—the language was its only means of identity. For three centuries more the language survived both in the *Jocs Floraux*, founded in Toulouse in 1323, and among the common people. But in 1539 it was banned by the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts from administrative use, with the result that many Occitans such as Brantôme, Montaigne, La Boetie and Montesquieu,

chose to write in the official northern form of French. Thus began an intellectual tradition which continued with Fénélon, De Sade, Pascal, Emile Zola, Alphonse Daudet, Francis Jammes and, in our day, with the writers Pierre Emmanuel, Jacques Reverdy, François Mauriac, Auguste Comte, Jean Giono, Antoine de Saint Exupéry, Teilhard de Chardin, André Chamson, Jean Giraudoux, Paul Valéry, Francis Ponge and René Char—these are a few of the many writers born in Occitanie and with some knowledge of its language but not enough education in it to use it for their literary work.

There followed a period of decline and decadence in Occitan literature and, under Louis XIV, an inevitable reaction against the language and its culture which continued during the Revolution of 1789 and afterwards. The Occitan language, once the vehicle of the most esteemed culture in Western Europe, was condemned as a *patois*, a regional dialect, a vulgar and provincial speech which hampered the new revolutionary ideals of centralisation and French nationalism. Yet, despite systematic discrimination at all levels, and mainly because education was not obligatory, the majority of the common people remained Occitan-speaking up to the middle of the nineteenth century. The language survived, and long enough to benefit from the Romanticism which, throughout Europe, saw merit in the Middle Ages, and admired all things picturesque such as ruins and vernaculars. Occitanie's past was 'discovered' through the work of writers like Augustin Thierry and Mary-Lafén, who wrote the first history of Occitanie in 1842. The Occitan language was now about to enter its second great period.

The poet Frédéric Mistral (1830-1914) was the man mainly responsible for the renaissance. At the age of twenty-one he decided that his aim as a writer would be 'to revive the historical sense of my people by writing in Provençal'. Around him gathered a group of young writers with similar ambitions including the six other founding members Joseph Roumanille, Théodore Aubanel, Anselme Mathieu, Jean Brunet, Alphonse Tavan and Paul Giera. On 25 May 1854 they founded the movement known as the *Félibrige*. Their intention, in the first place, was to create a standard, unified language based on the Provençal dialect which they spoke,

and then to write in it. The pioneer in this respect was the Abbé Joseph Roux of Limousin who wrote the first Occitan poems in a unified orthography based on etymological principles; he was followed by Prosper Estieu and Antonin Perbosc. Saluted by Lamartine as 'the new Homer', Mistral's contribution to European literature was recognised in 1904 when he won the Nobel Prize for his poem *Mireio* (1851).

The *Félibrige* was also intended to be a political organisation. Among its earliest members was the socialist Jean Jaurès who later became the first leading politician in France to call for the teaching of Occitan and other 'regional languages' in the Republic's schools. Another member was Charles Maurras who was responsible for drafting the movement's manifesto, in 1892, demanding cultural and political autonomy for Occitanie and Brittany in a federal France. The regionalist programme set out in this manifesto, however, proved too much for some members of the *Félibrige*, especially those whose interests were only linguistic and literary. From this moment on the movement and its founder became increasingly *passéiste*, and reactionary, out of touch and sympathy with the virile oral and popular tradition of Occitanie and soon acquiescing in the spread of tourism and folklore throughout the region. Above all they refused to take a political lead in the growing economic crisis and even suffered the Third Republic's suppression of the '*patois*'. Having failed to awaken the Occitan conscience in his own way, Mistral became a monarchist and a French nationalist and moved to the right, decrying in his elegy for Lamartine '*les chiens enragés de la démocratie*' (the angry dogs of democracy). While ordinary people moved more and more to the left between 1848 and 1914, the *Félibrige* fell under the influence of Maurras. During the controversy which followed, Maurras left the movement, although still claiming allegiance to *la petite patrie*, to found a new party, the royalist and right-wing *Action Française*. In 1907 Mistral joined him and Maurice Barrès in its ranks, but their proposal for a popular front of all the autonomist parties in France was never pursued.

The *Félibrige* continued as a cultural and linguistic organisation but even in this function it ran into serious difficulties. For it soon became clear that the reform intended for the Provençal

dialect, with a view to elevating it to the status of a language for the whole of Occitanie, was not acceptable to those of its members who spoke the numerous other dialects.

The *Felibrige*, however, survived the death of its founder and most eminent member. It still has sections throughout Occitanie and is organised in a *Consistoire* comprising fifty life-members elected by ordinary members for their literary work or contribution to Occitan studies and under the presidency of a *Capoulié*. Among its activities are the award to its members of titles such as *Maître en Gai Sabé*, *Maître d'Obro* to activists and *Soci* to friends of the Occitan language in various parts of the world. But by today, except in matters of scholarship and esoteric ritual, the *Felibrige* has lost much of its authority and its former glory has been eclipsed by more militant organisations. The schism within the *Felibrige* ended in a total break in 1919 and the formation of a group calling itself *Escola Occitana*. The aim of this new group was to employ all the dialects of Occitan in the creation of a new, synthetic literary form based on the orthography of the *troubadours*.

During the German occupation of France under the Vichy régime, the Occitan movement was for the most part in support of Pétain. Many of the regionalist magazines carried articles and reviews which praised French nationalism, even in defeat, some changing their titles to reflect their new function. Only a small group of writers, including Aragon, Eluard, Simone Weil and René Nelli, met to discuss the older democratic tradition of Occitanie. On the defeat of Hitler and the liberation of France, both camps were persecuted, the followers of Maurras and those of De Gaulle who favoured regionalist solutions for France after the War.

In 1945 the *Société d'Etudes Occitanes*, founded fifteen years previously, became the *Institut d'Estudis Occitans* under the leadership of Jean Cassou. Among its early members were Max Rouquette, René Nelli and Tristan Tzara who had formulated new regionalist principles for Occitanie, in *Cahiers du Sud*, during the War, and who now began publishing an important magazine entitled *Oc*. The *I.O.E.* did much valuable work in the linguistic field, publishing a large number of texts, dictionaries and grammars. It also

gave a new direction to the Occitan movement by accusing the *Felibrige* of provincialism, conservatism, clericalism, folklore, defeatism and of associating the cause of the language with the cult of Mistral and reactionary politics. On the other hand, the *Felibrige* denounced the *I.O.E.* as Marxist and revolutionary. What is clear is that up to 1962 the Occitan movement consisted mainly of poets and novelists with little political experience or ambitions and, it sometimes appeared, who were more interested in interminable ideological feuds than in taking practical steps in the cause of the Occitan language and its culture. Nevertheless, the post-war years were not without their fruits for it is to this period that the beginning of regionalist ideas in Occitanie must be traced.

The renaissance of Occitan poetry has continued with the publication of the work of poets like Pierre Rouquette (born 1898), Pierre Bec (born 1921), Robert Lalont (born 1923), Yves Rouquette (born 1936) and his brother Jean (pseudonym of Jean Larzac, born 1938) and many others. One of the problems which these writers have had to face is the tradition of '*méridionalisme*' in which Occitan has often been used for comic purposes. Ever since Daudet and his Tartin, through Marcel Pagnol's *Topaze* (1928) and Fernandel, the Occitans have been considered by Northerners as lazy, untrustworthy, cowardly, garrulous, boastful and emotional, usually caricatured as wearing the wide-brimmed hat and loosely-tied bow popularised by Mistral and the Republican students of 1848. This misrepresentation of *le type du Midi* has also been based on various Occitans such as Edouard Daladier and Paul Reynaud, who have held high political office, and on Philippe Pétain who, although a Northerner, was a disciple of Mistral's, was advised by Maurras and headed the collaborationist Vichy régime during the Second World War.

Meanwhile, the decline in the economic life of Occitanie has continued to an extent now generally regarded throughout France as serious in the extreme. In fact, the region has been neglected and exploited since the eighteenth century. Even under the Second Empire in the heyday of the *Felibrige*, there was widespread depression in both industry and agriculture,

especially in the vineyards on which the economy depends. In 1907, faced with the likelihood of being ruined, the wine-growers revolted and Languedoc was put under military control by Clemenceau. During the crisis the *Fédération* was asked to support the workers by their leader Ernest Ferroul, a former Communist, but Mistral—by now far to the right—refused and the rising came to an end with nothing gained for Occitans.

Occitanie's economic problems are familiar enough to anyone acquainted with the peripheral areas of France: foreign capital is invested in industry which is already near bankruptcy; depression and closures follow, the local population is forced to leave, companies go into liquidation and are replaced by military sites and arsenals which are controlled from Paris. As a result, regional enterprise and local capital have almost completely disappeared and many areas of Occitanie are completely deserted. The process of 'interior colonisation' is exacerbated by tourism and, in particular, by the existence of innumerable 'holiday homes' in all parts of the region. Like most other minorities in Western Europe, the Occitans are of the opinion that tourism, as it is administered by the centralist, capitalist State, is among the most pernicious influence on the region's economy and culture and on the personality of its people. The *Côte d'Argent*, for example, has been developed by purchase of land at low prices, the exclusion of regional companies, the clearing out of the local population or their employment in the seasonal trade at the most-mental level, followed by massive immigration by wealthy families from Italy, Germany and the Netherlands. The continuing crisis in the wine-growing industry has led to many strikes and other disturbances during the last ten years, so that the growing cultural consciousness of Occitanie has been reinforced by workers who, although more concerned with wages, conditions and subventions, have made common cause with the Occitan movement. With the Basques and the Catalans, the Occitan autonomists are among the minorities who have succeeded most in uniting proletariat and middle-class in their opposition to the State.

It is little wonder that, during the last fifteen years, there

has been a crisis in the political and cultural conscience of Occitanie. On the cultural plane there has clearly been a growing awareness of the need for the teaching of Occitan in the schools and colleges and, among the young, a new interest in the region's history, language and literature. But Occitan is not taught at primary level, it is only an optional subject for the oral examination at the *baccalauréat*. In 1972, the number of people choosing to take the oral examination in Occitan were as follows: Aix 457, Bordeaux 1,038, Clermont 160, Limoges 205, Montpellier 1,334, Nice 120 and Toulouse 1,217. An Occitan Summer School is held annually at Montpellier and Villeneuve-sur-Lot, with the aim of developing the language in science, technology and education, and of teaching the history, literature and music of Occitanie; a *Festival d'Oc* is also held annually as part of the *Festival d'Avignon*. But the language has not yet been accorded official recognition of any kind. There has been too a vigorous revival in Occitan poetry and song—the singers Claude Marty, Mans de Breish and Patric have played a leading role here—with the publication of many anthologies and records by such companies as *Ventador*.

In political terms, however, Occitanie is in a state of flux at the present time, with a bewildering proliferation of groups and organisations, none of which has won the substantial support of any section of the electorate. The fact remains that the majority of Occitan activists choose to work through the main French political parties, especially those of the left.

The only group calling itself nationalist in the political sense is the *Parti Nationaliste Occitan (P.N.O.)*, founded in 1959 and led by François Fontan. The P.N.O. refuses all commitment to either the left or right while working for an independent Occitan Republic. Fontan, the general secretary, owes more to Maurras than to Marx, having belonged in his time to the *Action Française*. Some of his theories about 'ethnism' are properly regarded as bogus by other organisations in the region; certainly, many of his more extreme declarations amount to racialism. The P.N.O. has also attracted members of right-wing convictions

such as Pierre Maclouf, editor of *Lu Lugar*, and former members of *Languedoc* and *Auvergne Combat*. The party has not yet taken part in elections and has only a few dozen members; their activities are said to be confined to painting slogans on walls (a contribution taken seriously for its propagandist value in Occitanie) and to making press statements on various aspects of the region's situation. It was most in the news from 1959 up to the strikes in the mines at Décazeville in 1962. But by 1974 it had not developed beyond the status of being 'groupusculaire'. Although it has attracted much attention to the Occitan problem the P.N.O. and its leader are mistrusted by most other groups, especially those on the left. A characteristic of almost all accounts by Occitan writers of the situation in Occitanie is that they attack with the most ferocious ideological bitterness not only the P.N.O. but all other groups in the spectrum of opinion throughout the region. A recent book by Robert Lafont, *La Revendication Occitane* (1975) appears to be among the most reasonable, if *engagés*, assessments to be published so far.

More worthy of serious consideration is the movement known as *Comitat Occitan d'Estudis e d'Action* (Occitan Committee for Study and Action). This group, which includes all the most important figures in the Occitan movement, bases its activities on the principles of socialism, regionalism and support for Occitan culture in all its manifestations. Its director, who was formerly president of *I.O.E.*, is the distinguished philologist and author Robert Lafont whose contribution to the progress of regionalist and ethnic-political thinking in France has been of major importance. The term 'colonialisme intérieur', which has gained widespread currency in France, was first popularised in a manifesto signed by Lafont and others in December 1961. The C.O.E.A. coordinates the work of a large number of its branches in association with local trade union councils and agricultural co-operatives. In 1968 it took part in the Sorbonne conference with *Jeunesse Etudiante Bretonne* and the *Front Régionaliste Corse*, of which the *Comité pour la Révolution Socialiste des Régions* (Committee for the Socialist Revolution in the Regions) was formed. From its formation the C.O.E.A. has demanded the abolition of the *département* as an ad-

ministrative unit, inter-regional planning powers for the smaller unit of the commune, and the creation of three main Occitan regions: a Mediterranean region, the region of Aquitaine (Bordeaux-Toulouse) and the region of Auvergne-Limousins included in its programme is autonomous status for Corsica, North Catalonia and the Northern Basque provinces. Each region would have its own Assembly. The organ of C.O.E.A. is the magazine *Vivra* (To Live). Many of its members are involved in the organisation of folk-concerts and in street theatre which, since 1970, have enjoyed tremendous success in the villages of the region. In 1971 the C.O.E.A. was taken over by a small revolutionary group known as *Lutte Occitane* whose main aim is to create in Occitanie an autonomous region based on working-class solidarity in which the people will be able to realise their potential in cultural and political terms.

The function of C.O.E.A. has been largely that of a catalyst in the creation of a consciousness. *Occitane*. Many of its members were students and writers under the age of thirty who took part in the events of May 1968. It was at this time that productions like *Mort et résurrection de M. Occitania* (The Death and Resurrection of Mr Occitanie) and *La Guerre du Vin* (The Wine War) had enormous popular success throughout the region. But the excitement was to last for only two years before the C.O.E.A. showed signs of seismism once more, particularly between the younger generation and the middle-aged. The ideological conflict came to a head at its conference of 1971, when, under pressure from younger members wishing to move to the left, C.O.E.A. changed its name to *Lutte Occitane*. This small revolutionary group aims to create in Occitanie an autonomous region based on working-class solidarity in which the people will be able to realise their potential in cultural and political terms.

Among the basic tenets of *Lutte Occitane* (*Jeunesse Occitane*), which remains the principal political organisation, with a regionalist commitment to Occitanie at the present time, are that the region has its own linguistic and cultural character and its own history of resistance to the French hegemony; that it suffers from capitalist exploitation of a colonial type by means of which the French State is in the process of

liquidating a national minority, especially its working-class; and that this situation calls for a regionalist rather than a nationalist ideology, making common cause with the working classes of the regions of France. The movement's aims are therefore defined as those of the class-struggle led by Occitan workers against both capitalist and national exploitation; it seeks to win for the Occitan working-class the right to live and work in its own districts and the power to resist 'interior colonialism' by which is understood the pillage of the region's material and human resources. 'The question', its manifesto states, 'is therefore not one of Occitan nationalism or of European federalism or of regionalism, but the destruction of the French capitalist State; the role of the popular Occitan movement in this destruction is . . . the abolition of the imperialist system by the Internationale of the proletariat and oppressed peoples'. That such declarations are not only youthful rhetoric is suggested by the fact that *Lutte Occitane* has won a wide measure of active support during the last five years and by now has become the flame-bearer of the Occitan movement. It was this organisation which led the famous campaign in 1971-2 against the use for military purposes of agricultural areas around Larzac. Its newspaper *Que Faire* sells 8,000 copies monthly and it is attracting members all over Occitanie, from the *J.O.E.* and other left-wing groups such as the *P.S.U.*, the *S.F.I.O.* and the *P.C.F.* Whether it can unite the Occitan movement, and the other *groupuscules* such as the *Parti Socialiste Occitan* founded in 1967, the *Fédération Anarchiste Communiste d'Occitanie* (*F.A.C.O.*) founded in 1969 and *Pöble d'Oc*, remains to be seen but such a *rapprochement* seems most unlikely, given the polarisation of the movement and the polemical nature of the debate.

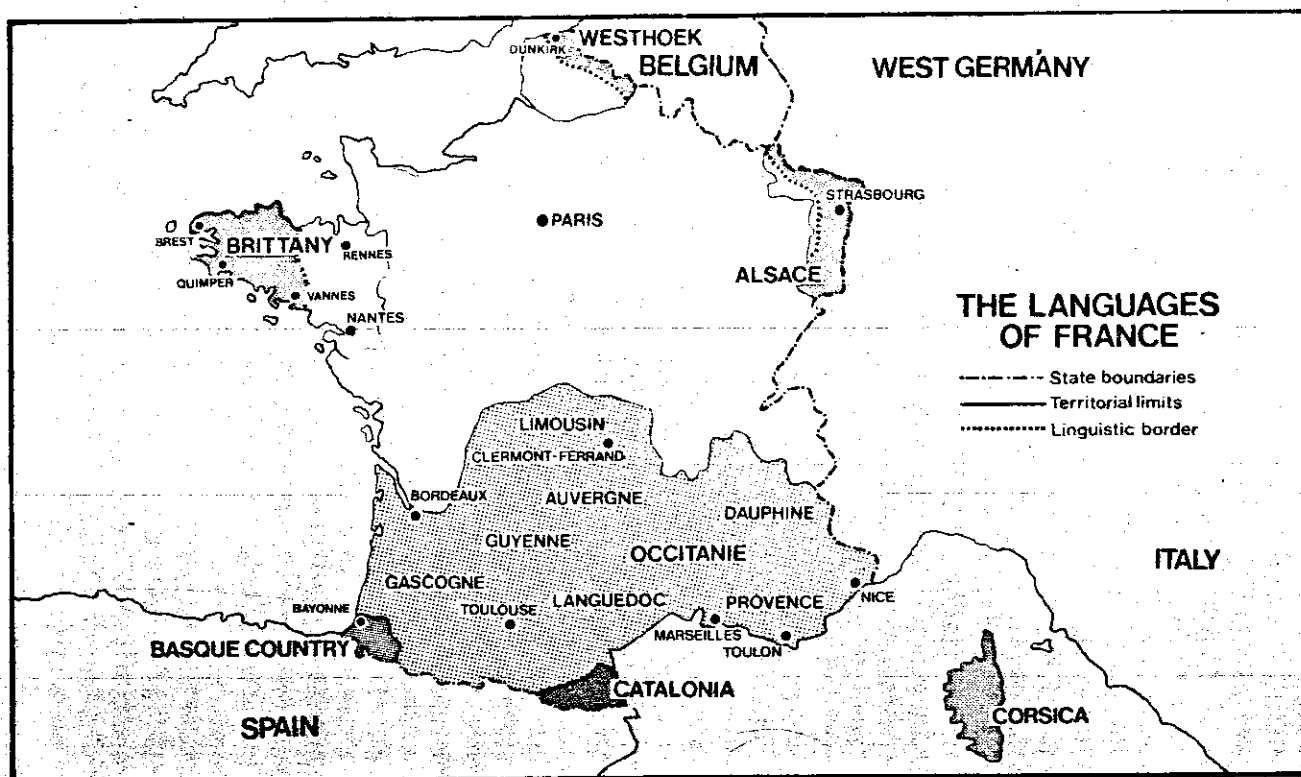
It is more probable that, while the Occitan regionalists, the autonomists, the federalists, the nationalists and the revolutionaries continue to argue and thus to make their contribution to public discussion of the Occitan problem, the major French political parties—which the majority of the people still support—will be persuaded, or obliged, to introduce a greater measure of devolution into the government of France. That they have refused to do so up to the present says more about the Republic's Jacobin tradition than about the demands made upon it by the Occitans.

THE CATALANS OF ROUSSILLON

Like the Basques, their counterparts in the Western Pyrenées, the Catalans are to be found on both sides of the frontier between the French and Spanish States, but are more numerous to the south where, in the *Principat of Catalunya*, they number approximately eight and a half million*. There are however, about 260,000 Catalans on the northern side of the frontier who are citizens of France. They live in the districts of Roussillon and Cerdagne, in the department of *Pyrenées Orientales*, of which Perpignan (Catalan: *Perpinyà*) is the principal town and which has a total population of approximately 299,400 (1975). Although the State frontier lies between them, the Northern Catalans and their compatriots in Spain are ethnically one people speaking the same language, *català*. This language, which belongs to the Romance family, is also spoken in the Republic of Andorra (population: 22,000) where it is used for official purposes with French, and in the Balearic Islands.

French interest in the Roussillon (*Rosselló*) and Cerdagne (*Cerdanya*) began two hundred years before these districts were annexed to France by the Treaty of the Pyrenées in 1659. They were occupied by the army of Gaston IV, Count of Foix, in 1462, only to be ceded in 1475 by Juan II, King of Aragon, to Louis XI who put them under military control; twenty years later they were handed back to Spain by Charles VIII. The Castilian suppression of the area then began, mainly because the Catalans had become francophiles during the French occupation. So oppressive was the Spanish Crown's policy in Roussillon, particularly under Phillip II, that the district was strongly in favour of re-unification with France. In 1642 the town of Perpignan was besieged and finally fell to the French. Having failed to annex the whole of Catalonia, the French Army retreated to Roussillon, accompanied by many Catalans from Barcelona who had fought with it against the Castilians. Seven years later, however, as the Treaty of the Pyrenées was about to be signed, the greater part of the local aristocracy,

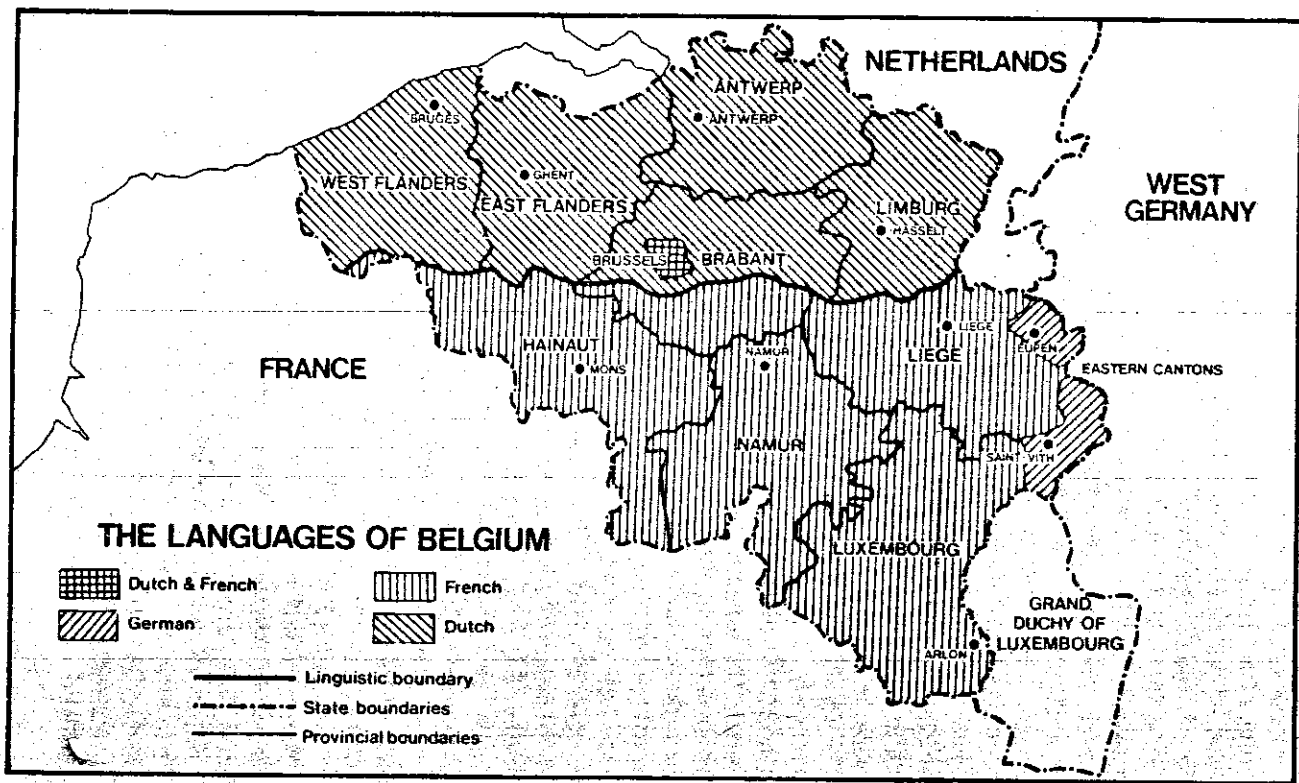
* As the history of the Catalan people is described in Chapter 14, the present account will deal mainly with the Northern Catalans since the Treaty of the Pyrenées in 1659.



The Alsatians 349

as the language of a foreign and recently hostile power. Having enjoyed a certain autonomy within the German Empire, they found difficulty in growing accustomed to the highly centralised institutions of the French Republic, especially when it became clear that there was to be no permanent administrative autonomy for Alsace. Whereas under the German Empire, there had been a French-language press in Alsace and French had been taught in the schools, the French Government now set about the prohibition of German in the three departments where it was the language of the majority, only to have many of its decisions reversed by President Poincaré who authorised the teaching of German at primary level after protests had been made. These misgivings came to a head with the arrival of Edouard Herriot as Prime Minister of France, when a strong current of regionalist feeling surged through large sections of the population after it was announced in June 1924 that the Republic's laws on the separation of Church and State were to be extended to Alsace, so that religious instruction would disappear from the syllabus. The force of Alsatian opinion, both Catholic and Protestant, prevented this move, however.

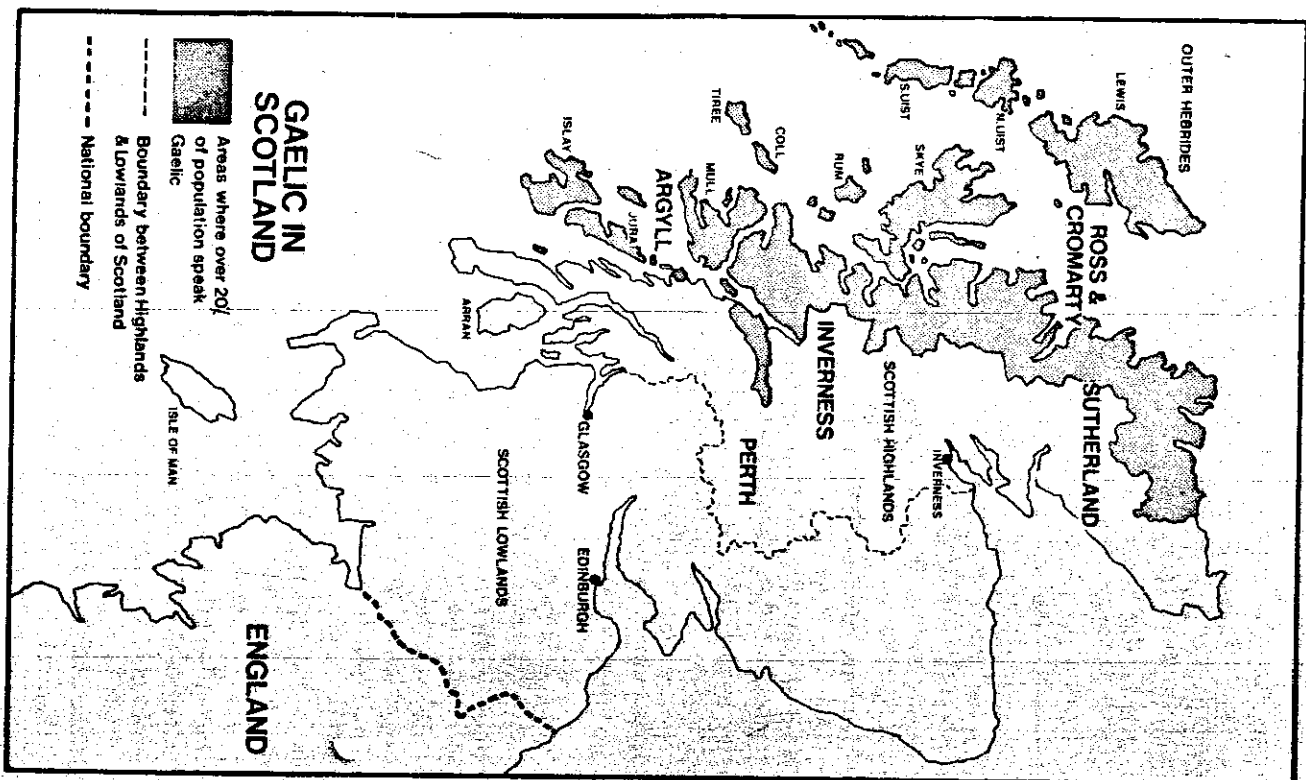
By now the French Government's mistakes in administrative, religious and linguistic matters had caused what in Parisian political circles was known as *le malaise alsacien*. Political parties began to emerge which were autonomist in their demands, such as the *Landespartei* and the *Elsässische Fortschrittspartei*, the latter founded by the radical George Wolf, and which began calling not for reunification with Germany, as the French claimed, but for legislative and administrative devolution for Alsace. Even the main party in the region, the Populaire Republicain Party, included the creation of regional institutions and the introduction of official bilingualism amongst its policies, while the Alsatian Communist Party denounced French imperialism and supported the movement for self-government. Although Maurice Thorez, leader of the French Communist Party, was to express approval of the Alsatian movement even if it meant complete separation from France, at the seventh Congress of the French Communist Party in 1932, the Communists later reversed their position with the rise of Hitler



was secured in 1844, and Conscience was later appointed Dutch tutor to the children of King Leopold I. By 1849 it had become possible to hold philological conferences with the Dutch and to publish a dictionary with the aim of stabilising orthography, grammar and syntax. Despite opposition from the Flemish writers of the day, who lamented the passing of colourful dialect forms, over the next generation the language of Flanders—at least in its written form and as educated speech—became indistinguishable from the Dutch of Holland. By today there are no sections of the population where the language spoken differs in any way, except in local accent.

Now that the Dutch of Flanders was standardised, the next step was to secure parity with French. In 1873 the use of Dutch was made obligatory in all Flemish courts and in public administration five years later. Although the teaching of Dutch as a second language in all State secondary schools had been introduced in 1850, a shortage of qualified teachers caused delay in the implementation of this law until 1874 when Dutch-speakers began to leave the universities in sufficient numbers. In 1883 teaching through the medium of Dutch became compulsory in all the schools of Flanders; and in 1898 Dutch took its place besides French as an official language of the region.

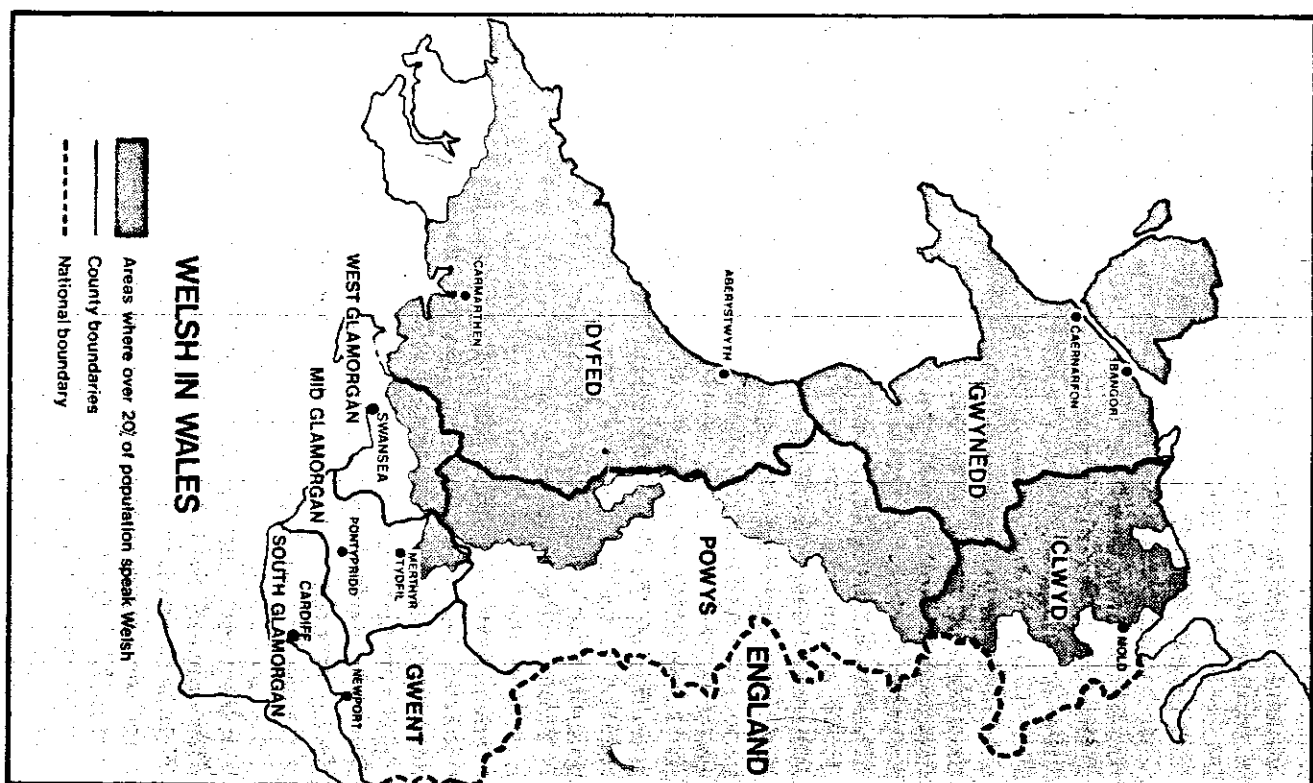
All these measures in favour of Dutch were due to the defeat of the Liberals by the Catholics in the elections of 1884, a defeat which kept the Catholics in power until after the First World War. The Catholics owed their triumph during these years to the massive support of the Flemish provinces which were bitterly opposed to the French radicalism of the day. It was thus that political issues and questions of religious belief became inter-mixed with the language problem. Radicalism flourished in the heavily industrialised Walloon provinces while the Flemish provinces remained largely agricultural and essentially conservative. The great famine of 1847-50, due to the failure of the potato crop, and the decline of the linen industry, the basis of the Flemish economy, had left Flanders impoverished and bitter. Flemish society was dominated by the clergy, the landowners, all French-speaking, and by the Liberal Party. It was not until the end of the century in the



The Gaels of Scotland

Although historians still argue as to whether Gaelic was ever the common language of all Scotland, it is clear from the Gaelic element in place-names that it was spoken over a wide area, first as a prestige language associated with Christianity and later as the medium of political power, to the east, the north and the south, reaching as far as Renfrewshire, Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire and Galloway. Only in the Lothians, where the speech was Teutonic, did Gaelic not become the predominant language. In the islands of Shetland and Orkney the Vikings established Norse speech which survived into the modern period, but wherever else they settled, for example in the Hebrides, the Vikings were effectively Gaelicised. The influence of Gaelic in the Church survived the Synod of Whitby and the eventual recognition of Rome's supremacy in Scotland, while the baronial orders continued to flourish. By the eleventh century Gaelic was predominant throughout northern Britain, the language of a Scottish State and the major cultural force of its time, both religious and secular. Through Gaelic the art of writing and scholarship had been restored to a large part of Britain and Europe as far as Italy and Kiev. The Gaels who today live in the Highlands, or what was approximately the ancient Kingdom of Dalriada, are therefore the remnants of a people who once occupied almost all of Scotland, as well as parts of what are now the English counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, perhaps even all the land north of the river Tyne.

How then did the decline of Gaelic begin, or why did Gaelic fail to maintain itself as the national language of Scotland? Up to late medieval times, the fortunes of the language depended on the ebb and flow of power in Scotland and its consolidation in the hands of a French-speaking and, later on, an English-speaking aristocracy. An early blow was struck in the year 1070 when the King of the Scots and Picts, Malcolm Canmore (*Colum Ceann Mòr*), a widower, married the English princess Margaret. She had fled to Edinburgh with her brother, Edward Atheling, a representative of the Saxon royal house, at the time of the Norman invasion of England in 1066. Up to then English was known only to a few Scots who had contacts with kingdoms to the south. But the first linguistically mixed marriage of Gaelic Scotland was to have



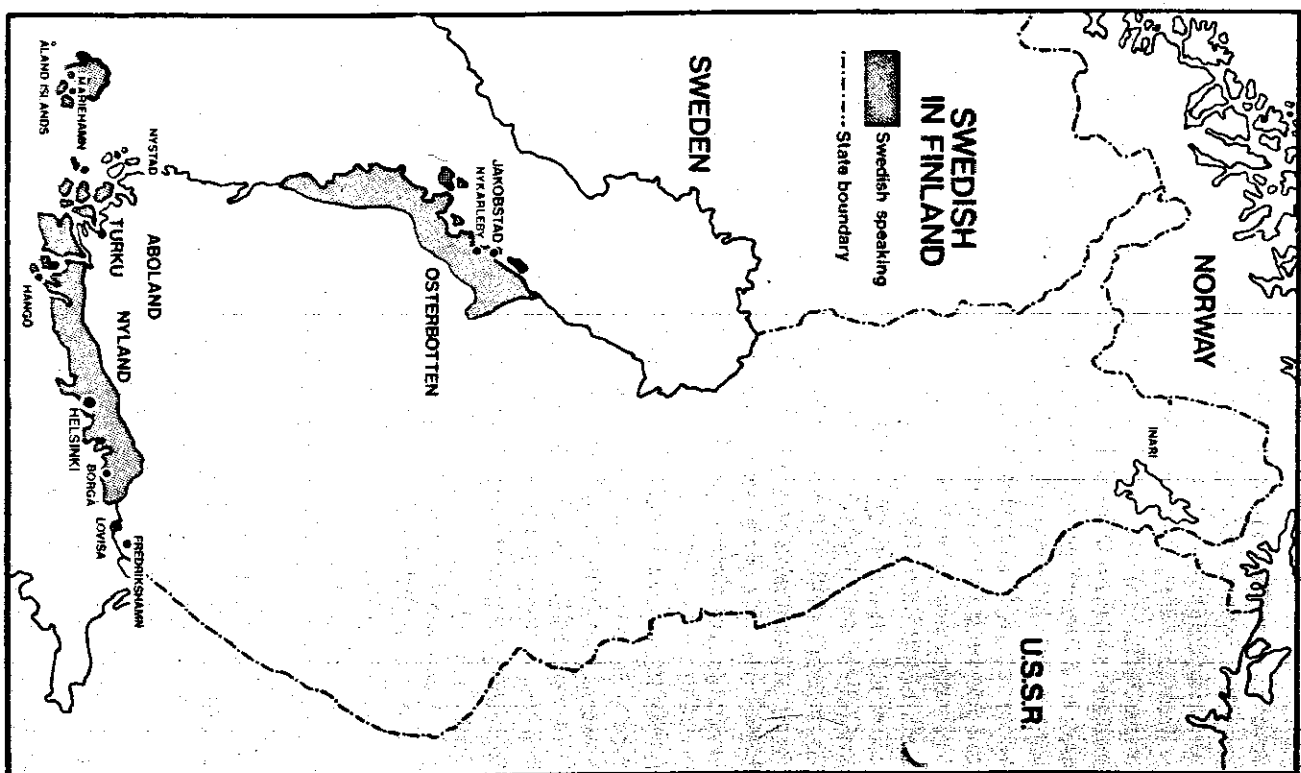
The Welsh

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and its Celtic neighbours to the east and south were close and fruitful, with art and music flourishing. As the monasteries keeping alive the scholarship which had almost extinguished by the barbarians in the rest of Europe, at the same time the Welsh were continuously under attack from their neighbours. At last, around 740, the border between Wales and England was marked by the dyke built by Offa, King of Mercia. Still the Welsh were obliged to defend themselves against the Norsemen, which they did valiantly under the leadership of King of Gwynedd and ruler of two thirds of Wales, Idris.

The earliest Welsh literature dates from this time; the end of the sixth century, although it was afterwards written down until three hundred years later. The poet Taliesin tells of the prowess in battle of Ulfen, King of Rhagedd, a province in southern Scotland, and refers to the tribute paid by him to the bards at his court. Another poem, *Y Gododdin*, attributed to Aneirin, praises the heroism of a tribe whose capital, Caer Eiddyn, stood in the neighbourhood of modern Edinburgh: their war-band was wiped out by Saxon forces at Catraeth, Catterick in modern Yorkshire. The courage of the Welsh in defending their land is celebrated in the lament of Llywarch Hen who lost all but one of his twenty-four sons in wars against the invaders. Unlike Breton, Welsh thus became a literary language at a very early stage in its history. The Welsh literary tradition, unbroken and nearly fourteen centuries old, is therefore among the most ancient in Europe.

It has often been remarked that, from the sixth century to the present time, the history of Wales is the history of the Welsh language. Indeed, in medieval times the Welsh word for 'language', *iaith*, was used synonymously with *cenedl*, 'nation'. From its beginnings and throughout the period of Welsh independence, Welsh was the language of government, administration and law. Several historians have shown that Welsh in Wales enjoyed a higher prestige than any of the other vernacular languages of Europe in the same period. Down to the time of the Norman Conquest of England, the Kingdom of Wales retained its political and legal independence. The laws of Hywel Dda, a tenth century prince, were administered in the courts and Welsh, with Latin, was the language used. From these laws it is clear that the status



by the re-constituted Diet of Finland, gradually improved the position of Finnish in administration.

The progress of Finnish did not take place without conflict, however. The Finnish language movement had found widespread support from among the more liberal elements of the Swedish-speaking upper classes; some 2% of the population. As long as pro-Finnish sentiments could be expressed in Swedish all was well, but now the law required that all documents be produced in Finnish and that the schools should teach in the language. Many Swedish-speakers began to change their minds and to suspect that perhaps they were Swedes after all. But the Swedish language was considered to be too deeply rooted in Finnish history and too valuable a link with the other Scandinavian countries to be ousted from Finnish public life. The existence of a considerable Swedish-speaking population on the western coast gave this opinion a necessary democratic validity.

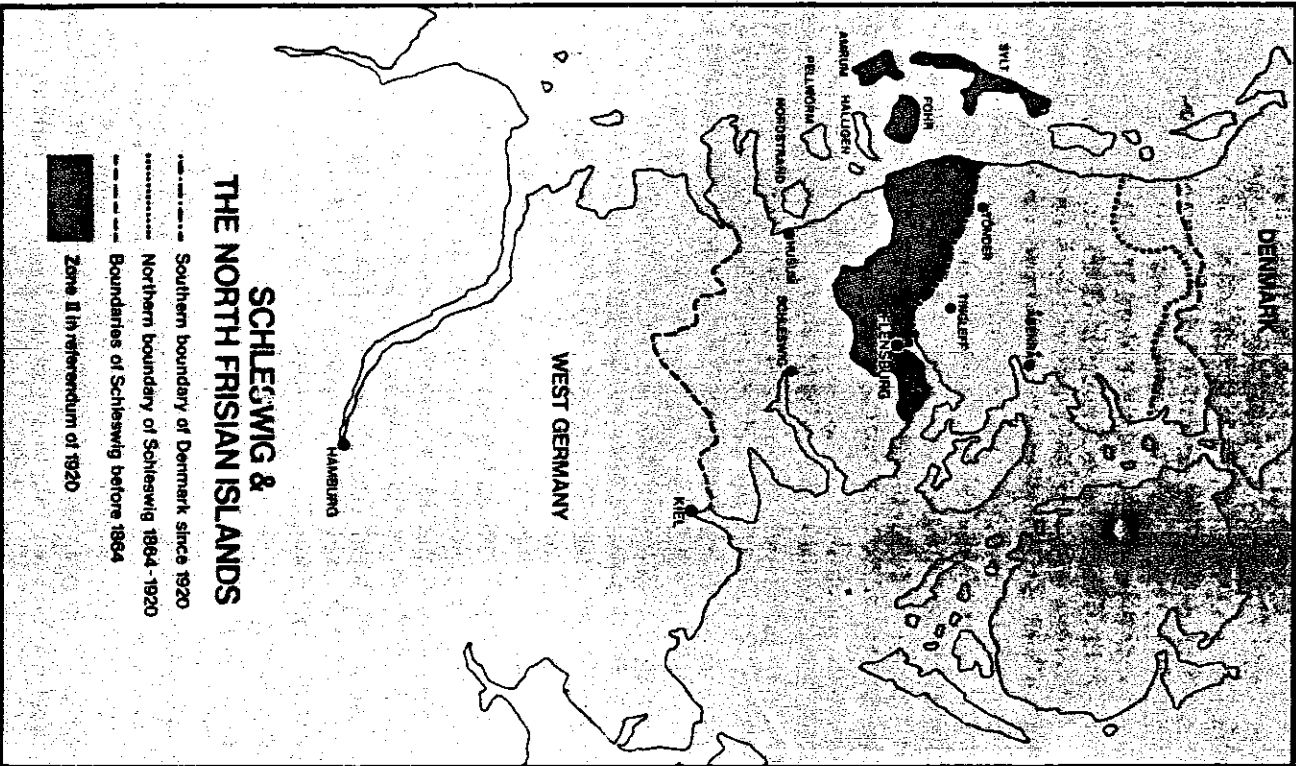
So, while the protagonists of Finnish, known as the *Fennomen*, organised their own political party, the *Svecomen*, the defenders of Swedish—spoken by about 10% of the population at the time—also closed their ranks, under the leadership of a Swedish journalist August Sohlman (1824-74). There was a danger at this time that Finland, like Belgium, might be torn apart by the mounting tension, but this did not happen. Finns and Swedes had become so intermingled over the centuries that, in the end, the Swedish-speakers decided that they too belonged to the Finnish nation. United in their resistance to Russia, the Finns might be divided over the language question but were in no doubt, in the end, that they were all Finns.

Although the linguistic strife continued, with varying intensity, from 1880 up to the Second World War, it was never a major problem. The liberalisation of economic and social life brought rapid changes and by the turn of the century the Finnish-speaking educated classes outnumbered the educated Swedes. Many families were bilingual, with linguistically mixed marriages having little effect on the number who spoke Swedish at this time. One great advantage of the new *modus vivendi* was that the educational tradition—Finnish in content but Swedish in language—could be shared by both groups so

The North Frisians live in the *Land of Schleswig-Holstein*, on the coastal strip between the rivers Eider in the south and the Wiedau in the north. They also inhabit the adjacent islands of Föhr, Amrum, Sylt, Norstrand, Pellworm, the ten islands which form the Halligen group, and the island of Helgoland. This area of about 800 square miles corresponds to the administrative units of Eiderstedt, Husum and Südtondern, amalgamated in 1970 and now known as the *Kreis of Nordfrisland*. It had a total population of 154,302 in 1970, about 6% of Schleswig Holstein's, and 13% of its area.

Although about 60,000 inhabitants of North Frisland consider themselves to be of Frisian origin, only about 10,000 still have a knowledge of the language. They speak dialects which belong with West and East Frisian to the Anglo-Frisian branch of the West Germanic languages but which are unintelligible, outside their own communities, to all but a few educated speakers of West Frisian, the language spoken in the province of the Netherlands. Unlike the language of West Frisland, the North Frisian dialects have no clearly defined and officially recognised standard forms, so that the Frisians who live on the islands usually have to converse with those on the mainland in Low Saxon. Their numbers are dwindling rapidly. On the island of Sylt, for example, where 150 years ago the entire population spoke Frisian, only one third spoke it in 1927 and no more than a thousand out of 25,000 in 1970.

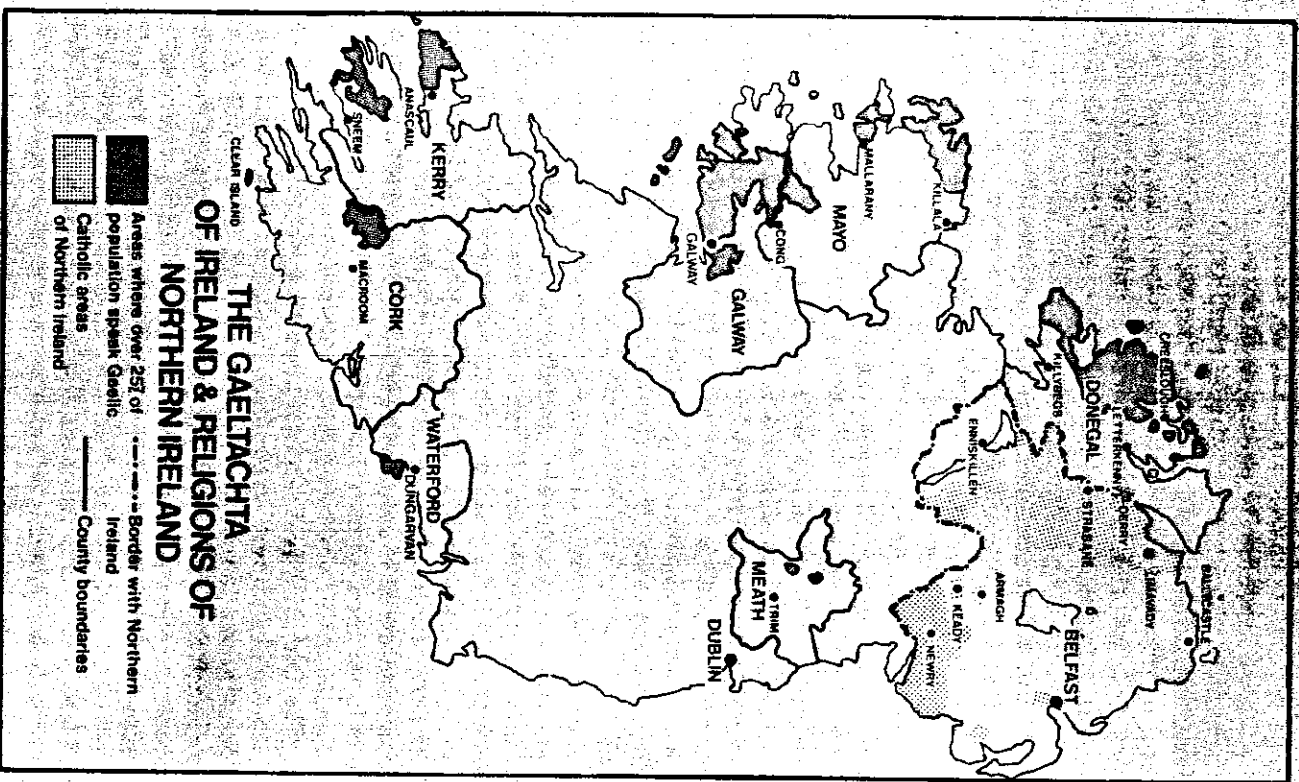
Little is known about the early history of the North Frisians except that the first settlers arrived peacefully between the eighth and eleventh centuries. In 1362 they were followed by others after storms had submerged the marshy areas of the North Sea to the south. On the 'dry islands' (German: *Geestinseln*) of Föhr, Amrum and Sylt they met a very sparse population of Jutes, with whom they mixed. Although subjects of the Kings of Denmark and later of the Dukes of Schleswig, the Frisians kept their own laws based on *Jyske Lov*, the Jute Law-books, throughout the Middle Ages. But their attempts to win independence—they had won a battle at Oldenswort in 1252—were thwarted after their defeat at Langsundtoft in 1344.

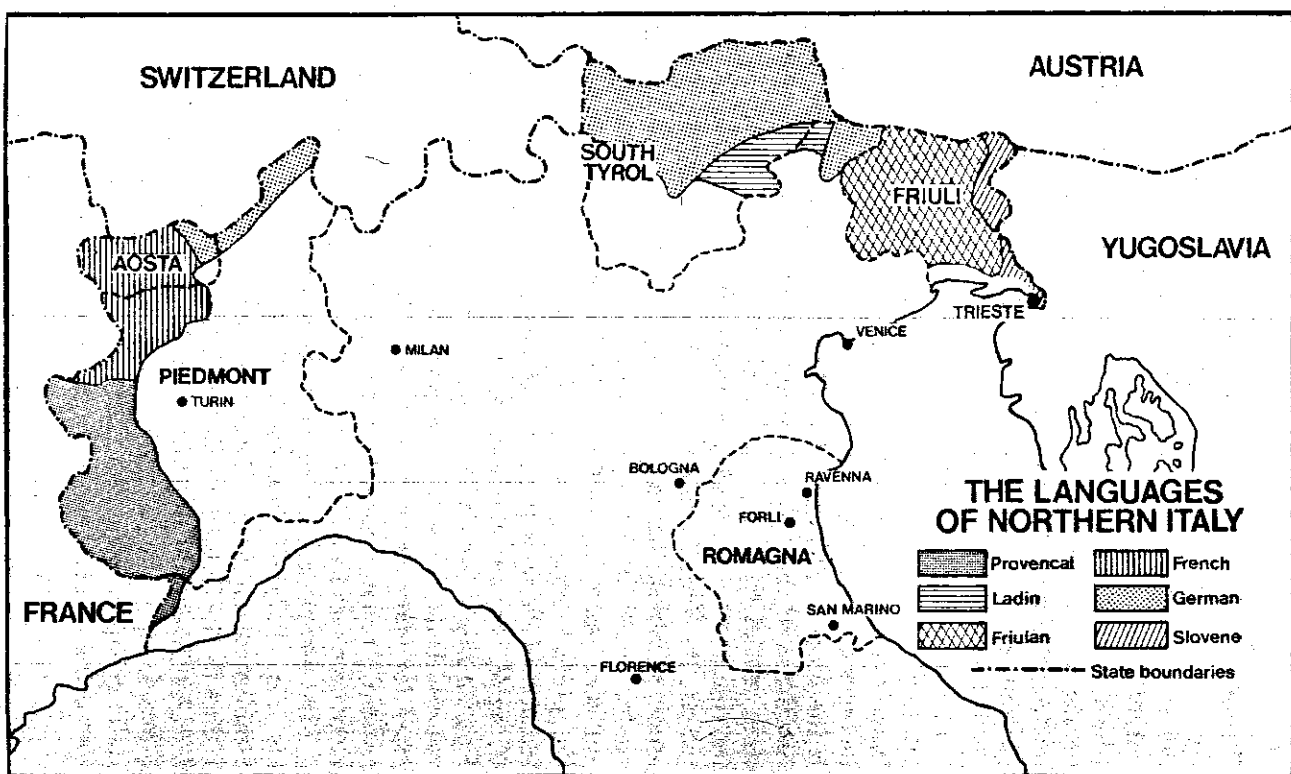


Waterford (*Port Láirge*) and Meath (*Mí*). The total population of the *Gaeltacht* in 1971 was 66,840, of whom 54,940 were Irish-speakers. Excluding the 500 Irish-speakers enumerated in Meath by the 1971 Census (because figures for this area were not available in 1961), this total shows a decrease of 9,335 (3.3%) in the Irish-speaking population of the *Gaeltacht* between 1961 and 1971. During the same decade the number of non-Irish speakers increased from 9,986 to 11,042.

The *Gaeltacht*, now reduced to small, peripheral, poor and isolated communities in the far west of the country, are the last vestiges of a time, twelve centuries ago, when Irish (*Gaeilge*) was the language of the whole of Ireland and when all Irishmen were Gaels.

There is no agreement among scholars about the precise date at which the Irish language, or Gaelic, arrived in Ireland but recent archaeological surveys suggest that the first Irish historians, writing in the eighth century, were fairly accurate in their belief that the coming of the Gaels, a Celtic people, took place in the same period as the conquests of Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. They found another Celtic culture known as the Ivernic, already there, but brought their own oral traditions and language. The word 'Celtic' in this context is only a linguistic term, of course, referring to that Indo-European family of languages which spread over Europe and parts of Asia during the two thousand years before Christ. It is therefore known that many different ethnic strains must have been amalgamated in the solidly Irish-speaking population which existed in Ireland when written records began in the fifth century A.D., and when the Latin alphabet was introduced with Christianity. Up to then the Irish had developed an alphabet of their own, the Ogham script, which was written mainly on stone. As most of these inscriptions consist mostly of proper names in the genitive case they are of little historical value, although they reveal a certain amount about the language used. These forms are to later Irish what Latin is to French and belong to a period before the arrival of Christian missionaries but also to one when Latin grammar had reached as far as Ireland. They were abandoned in the seventh century, together with

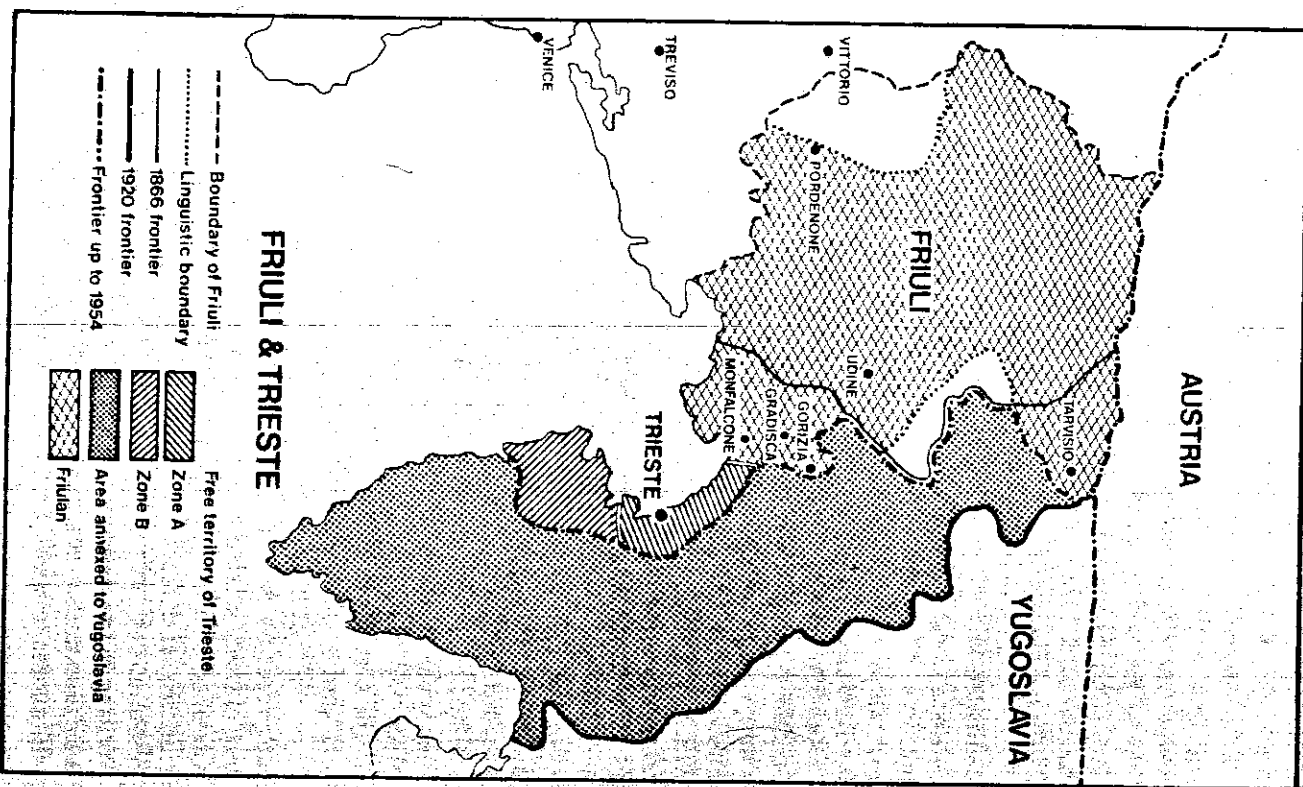




More recently, the Catalan ethnologist Guu Sobielacanitz has suggested in *Le Peuple Piedmontais* that the area in which the Gallo-Italic dialects are spoken should be given the name *Médiolanie* in recognition of the distinct ethnic character of its inhabitants, and after the Latin name for Milan, *Mediolanum*. The name *Médiolanie* has been accepted by several ethnologists in Italy and France, including Guy Heraud. Of this group, while Lombards, Emilians and Ligurians have expressed their cultural identities, through Italian, the Piedmontese (with the Romagnols) have developed their own literature in a modest but uninterrupted way since the twelfth century.

The area in which Piedmontese is spoken has a population of approximately 3 million. Its northern limit is near Monte Rosa on the border with Switzerland where, apart from the German-speaking village of Landi, the upper basin of the Sesia as far as Grignasch speaks Piedmontese. Further south, towards the river Po, the towns of Lissandria, Agui, Mondovì, Cuneo, Suluzzo, Pinerola, Ivrea and Biella are all included in the linguistic area. Although not corresponding to the new administrative boundaries of Piedmont, being smaller, this area has always been a natural geographical unit which served as a corridor, from the thirteenth century, between Rome and Paris, between Milan and Barcelona, and has prospered as a commercial centre accordingly.

United under the Holy Roman Empire by Count Amadeo VI (1343-83), Piedmont was given a university at Turin and its own autonomy which, despite continuous attacks by the French throughout the next two centuries, was developed by the Dukes of Savoy until it was virtually an independent State. During the eighteenth century under Duke Vittorio Amadeo, the region's independence was again defended against French and Spanish invasions, notably in 1747 when the Piedmontese won a famous victory at Assietta in the Susa Valley. From this time dates the beginning of a sophisticated literature in Piedmontese, including a dictionary and grammar, and the first strings of the region's social conscience as illustrated in the writings of the reformer Vittorio Alfieri. That Piedmont had its own character and status is suggested by the saying, still to be heard these days, that the traveller from Turin passing



The Friulans

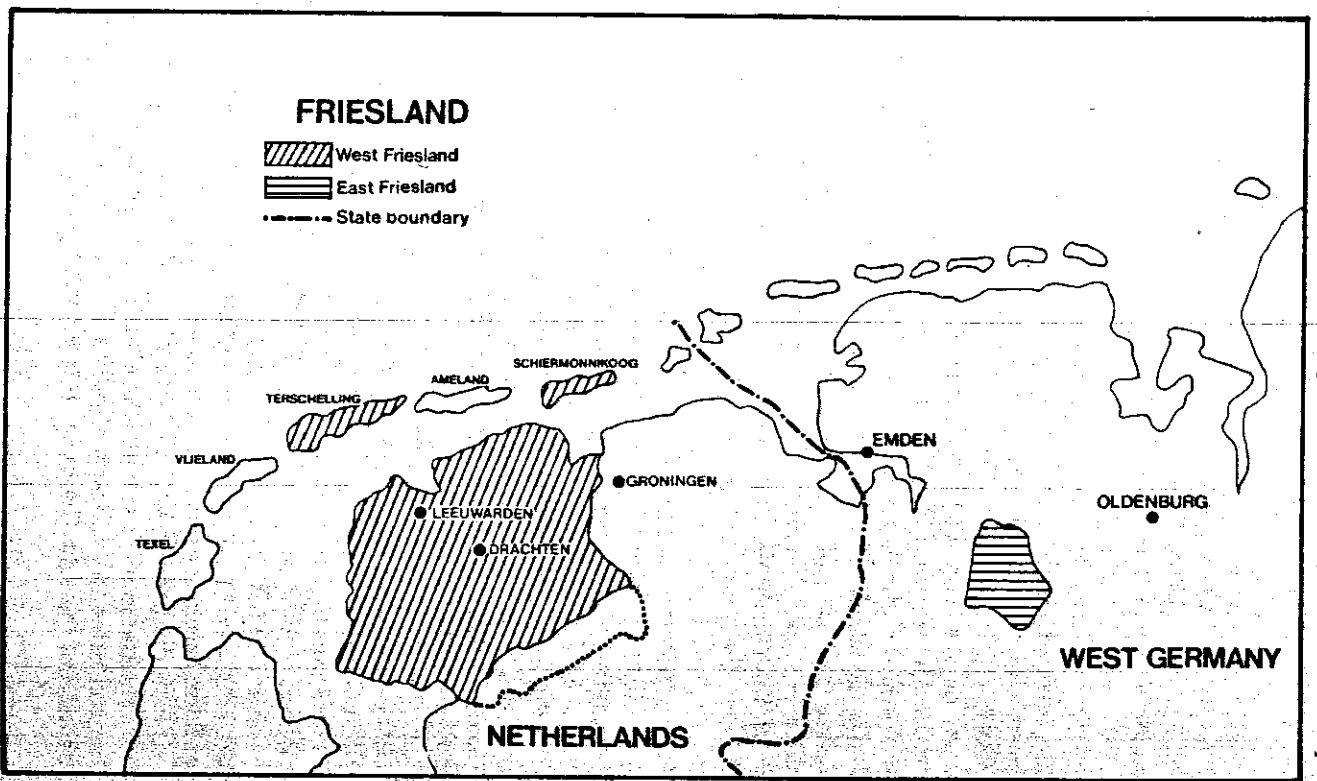
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unambiguous symptom of a whole complex of pitiable qualities, lack of principle, spiritual weakness, servility, mental inconsistency and so on. It is the clear index of that widespread evil which makes men ashamed to be what they are. . . . It is the index of our gradual bastardization, our moral decadence, our perversity as a people ethnically distinct and autonomous. If we fail to apply a brake to this subtle form of cowardice we may as well give up hope of a Friulan renaissance!

There is no university in the province. Two daily newspapers are published, each of which carries a page in Friulan. Radio programmes in the language are occasionally broadcast from Trieste and there is regional news on television in Italian. The theatre continues to flourish in Friulan. Local culture now consists mainly of a rich heritage of songs, the poetic form known as the *villotte*, dances and customs which include the *Mass of Spadone*, celebrated at Epiphany and followed by fires on the hills, and the bird festival of Saclé.

Friuli has never been economically prosperous. The textile industry of Udine, the docks at Monfalcone and the breeding of silk-worms have not been sufficient to absorb the local labour force, which is famous for its diligence. On the other hand, the region is not poor, and the high rainfall and greenness of the countryside give it a mild, fertile aspect. Farming and stock-rearing are the principal occupations in rural areas, but there are also lead and tin mines, marble quarries and marl-pits which supply the province's cement and ceramic factories. The hydro-electricity industry, delayed after the War, is now fully operational and there is a major wharf for ships at Monfalcone, as well as important paper, clock, sweets, beer, clothes and chemical factories. Saw mills and furniture workshops are numerous, while in the higher villages, such as Manigo, Pesaris and Gamporosso the toys, cutlery and baskets made during the winter months are famous in Italy. The presence of large tracts of woodland has supported some of these industries since medieval times.

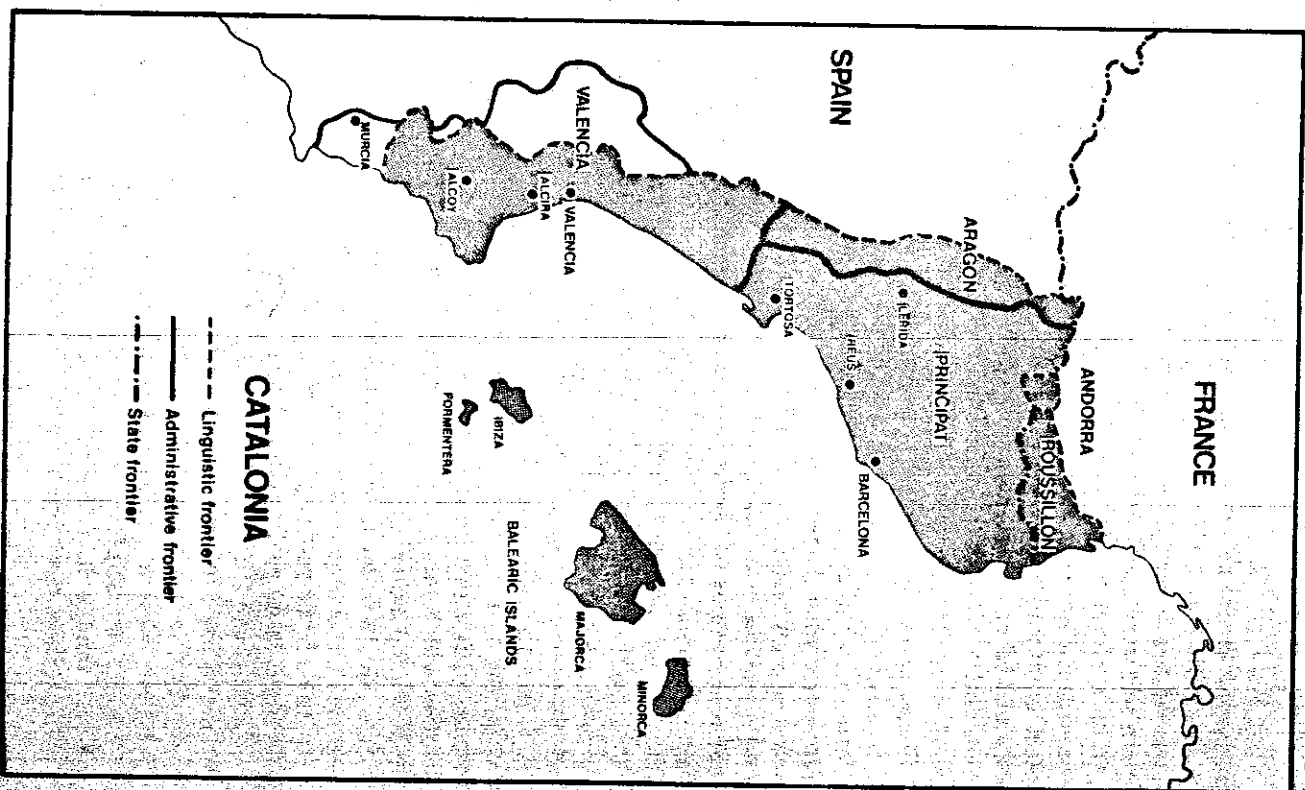
Relations between Friulans and the Slovenes and German-speaking minorities, established in the area since the twelfth century, are good, mainly because the latter, who live in the



Renaissance humanists called him *Frisius* or *Friso*, it was always the same; he may have lost part of his territory, but never his national identity. He was in imperial Rome, paying tribute to Caesar in oxen skins; in the ninth century he invaded England with the Danes and throughout the Middle Ages he traded in wool and livestock all over Europe—his coins have been found in France and in Russia. By the twelfth century Friesland was one of the most prosperous countries in Western Europe, and its people famous as a pugnacious, justice-loving, yet a most unwarlike breed.

The reputation of Friesland as a bulwark of freedom dates from this time. Under the threat of invasion by feudal lords whose system was spreading across the whole continent, the Frisians of the northern coastal areas, trusting in the natural sanctuaries of the marshlands there, successfully resisted all attempts by princes, counts, bishops and even the Holy Roman Emperor, to subjugate them. These stock-men, who sent their sons to sea on mercantile adventures, were reputed to be completely free from servility, unlike their compatriots to the south, who were tied to their land and thus particularly vulnerable in times of war or economic crisis. This spirit of independence is still considered by the Dutch as one of the most prominent characteristics of the Frisian people.

Friesland maintained its status as a loosely associated group of Free Republics until 1498 when it was taken into the Habsburg Empire. Through the even greater opportunities for commerce which followed, and under the influence of Benedictine and Cistercian abbots which fostered the national culture and developed agricultural methods, Friesland went on prospering and its common people speaking their own language. By this time, however, German and Dutch had begun to replace Frisian as the language of law, government, the church and learning. Although Friesland's fortunes began to deteriorate after 1648, when it joined the United Republic of the Netherlands, the Frisians persisted in considering themselves as a free people within what was a strongly federal State. The beginnings of the modern Frisian Movement can be traced to this period. Among the pioneers who spread a new interest in the Frisian language and its literature, notably in the works of the poet Gysbert Japicx (1603-66), who is now regarded as Friesland's



The Catalans

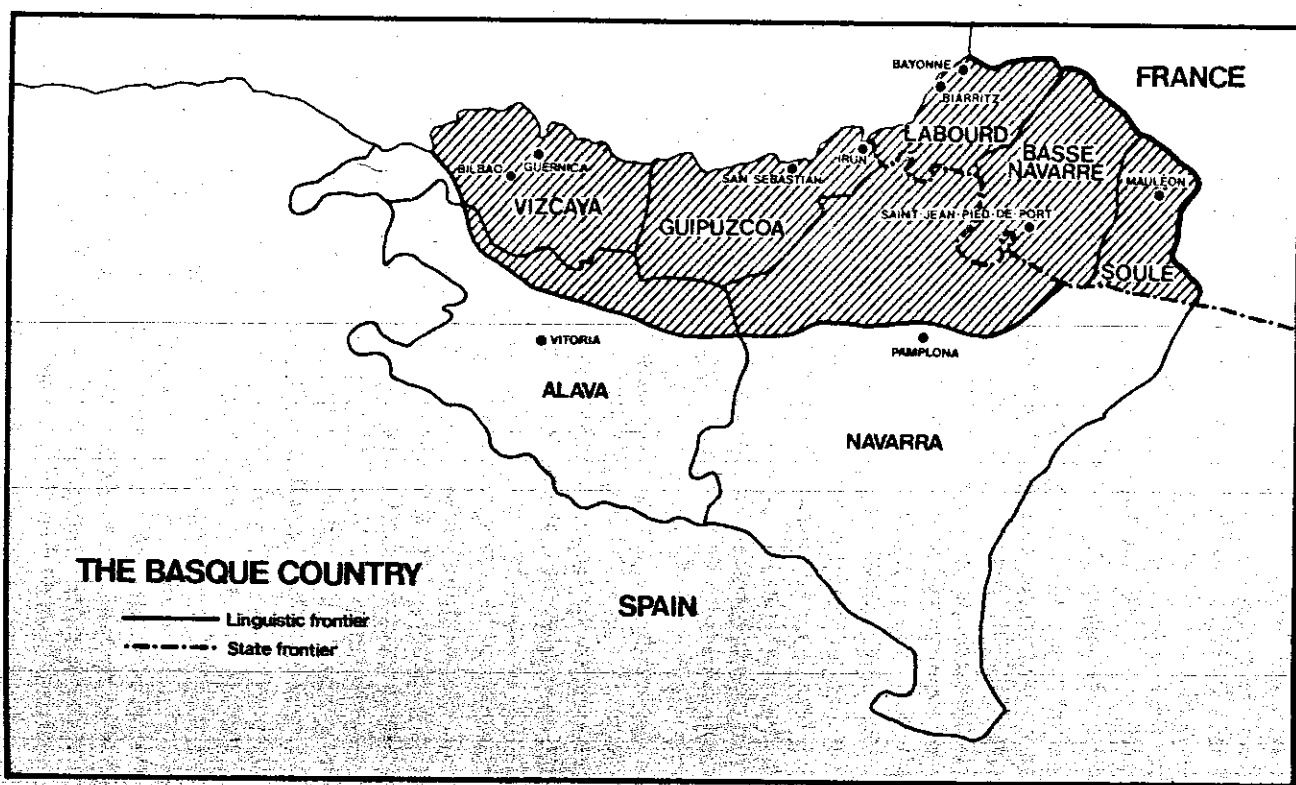
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has with Catalan. Catalan is described by W. J. Entwistle in *The Spanish Language* (London, 1936) as 'a separate language, the expression of a community which enjoys a culture with some pretension to permanence and possessing equipoise with reference to a cultural centre (i.e. Barcelona) independent of any other'.

The reason why Catalan belongs to the Gallo-Romance group is that, having an early cultural link with the south of France which was not broken until about 1250, the language began to take on a separate identity during the eleventh century. Linked politically with the town of Béziers, in Languedoc, and with Narbonne for ecclesiastical purposes, Catalan was pulled away from the Ibero-Romance group to the south and west in the direction of its Gallo-Romance neighbours. The speech of Aragon, Catalonia's neighbouring province, is a zone of transition between Castilian Spanish and the western dialect of Catalan.

Compared with French or Spanish, Catalan has a strong consonantal quality and sounds, in W. J. Entwistle's word, more 'abrupt' than either. It sounds rough, even at its most sophisticated, mainly because it has lost post-tonic vowels other than *e* and the spontaneous diphthongs so characteristic of Spanish (e.g. *cielo*) do not occur in Catalan (cf. *cell*). This roughness is regarded by Catalan writers not as a primitive feature of their language but as a source of vitality, so that any attempt to eradicate it would seriously impair the literary form. Catalan has been more conservative than Provençal in its sound-changes but has borrowed many words from Occitan. Contact between Occitanic and Catalonia has been frequent but sporadic since the medieval period and were particularly fruitful in the hey-day of Mistral and the *Felibrige*.

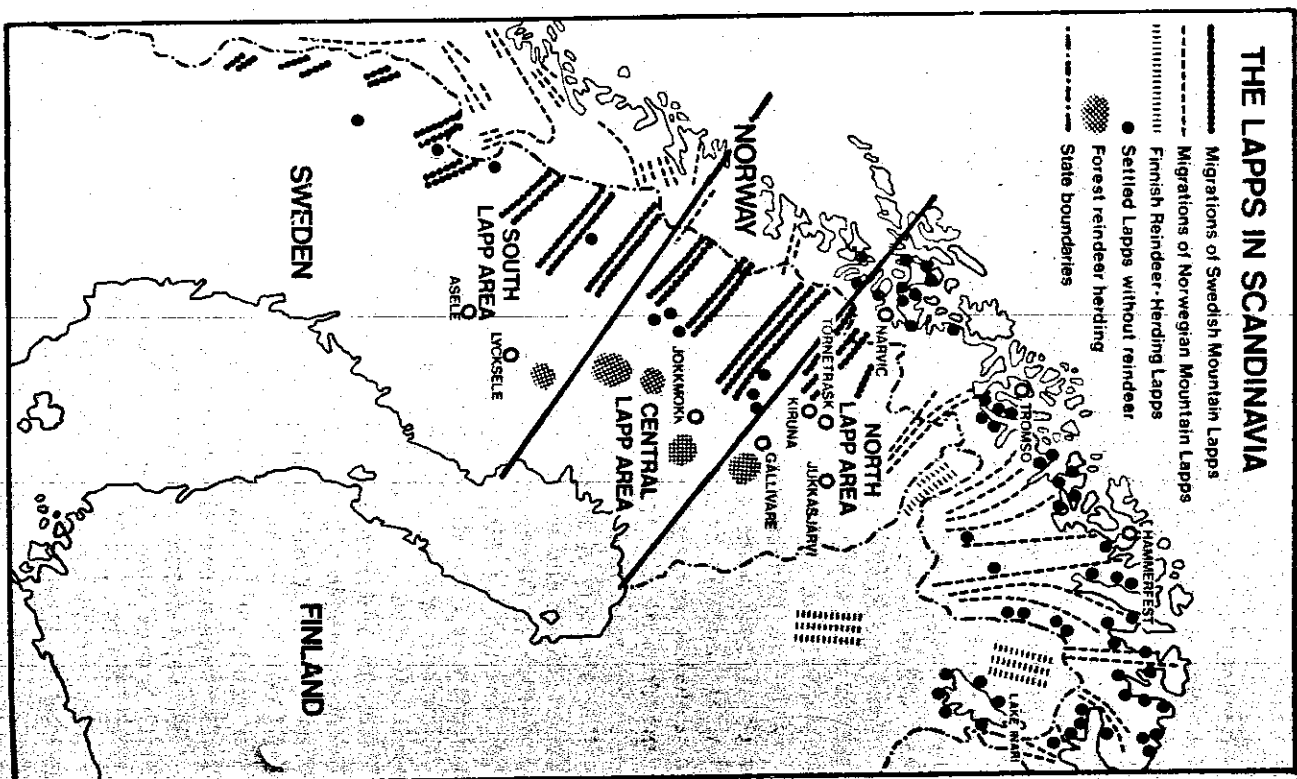
The political history of Catalonia adds another dimension to the development of its language. A little after A.D. 800, after the Moorish invasion of the Iberian peninsula, the county was recognised by the Turks and divided into administrative units. In the year 864 these were re-grouped to form the *Marca Hispanica*, (the Spanish March), which was intended to be a buffer state between France and Spain. By 900 the Frankish influence had dwindled and strong native



the Basque population, especially the preponderance of type O and the Rhesus negative factor over all others, supports the archeological and philological evidence that the Basques are not only ethnically different from their neighbours but they are, in fact, unique among the peoples of Europe, the direct descendants of the cave-dwellers whose art was discovered at Altamira and Lascaux. The Basque language is unrelated to the Indo-European family; it is believed to be a pre-Aryan or paleolithic language which, everywhere else, has become extinct. Similarities of vocabulary with certain Caucasian languages suggest that it is descended from a pre-historic family of languages which was spoken as far east as Tibet.

It was in the seventh century B.C. that the Vascon tribes gave their name Vasconia to the inhabitants of the upper Ebro valley, today's Navarra. The area became the cradle of Basque culture, although Navarra was to lose its language before the other six provinces. In the first century B.C. Vasconia extended from Bordeaux to Saragossa, from Santander to Toulouse. When the Romans conquered Aquitaine they did not penetrate the mountains so that the region of Pau and Oloron-Sainte-Marie, under their command and known today as the Béarn, became separated culturally from the Basques to the west. Then in the fifth century A.D. as the Visigoths over-ran Spain, the Vascons moved to the northern slopes of the Pyrénées, as far as the Garonne. Vasconia adopted a Latin speech which was later to become Occitan while those who settled in the mountains continued to speak Basque.

While it is known that the Basques defended themselves against Normans, Franks, Carthaginians, Romans and Visigoths, their first recorded exploit in historic times was when, in the year 778, they were reputed to have crushed the rear-guard of Charlemagne at Roncesvalles on the slopes of Altabizar: they were said to be the *Sarrasins*, or foreigners, described in *La Chanson de Roland*. For the next five hundred years, however, little was heard of them, except insofar as the French and Spanish Kings took an interest in their territories. In 1306 King Philippe-le-Bel, who had married the Queen of Navarre in 1284, annexed Soule, Labourd was conquered by Henry Plantagenet who, as Henry II of



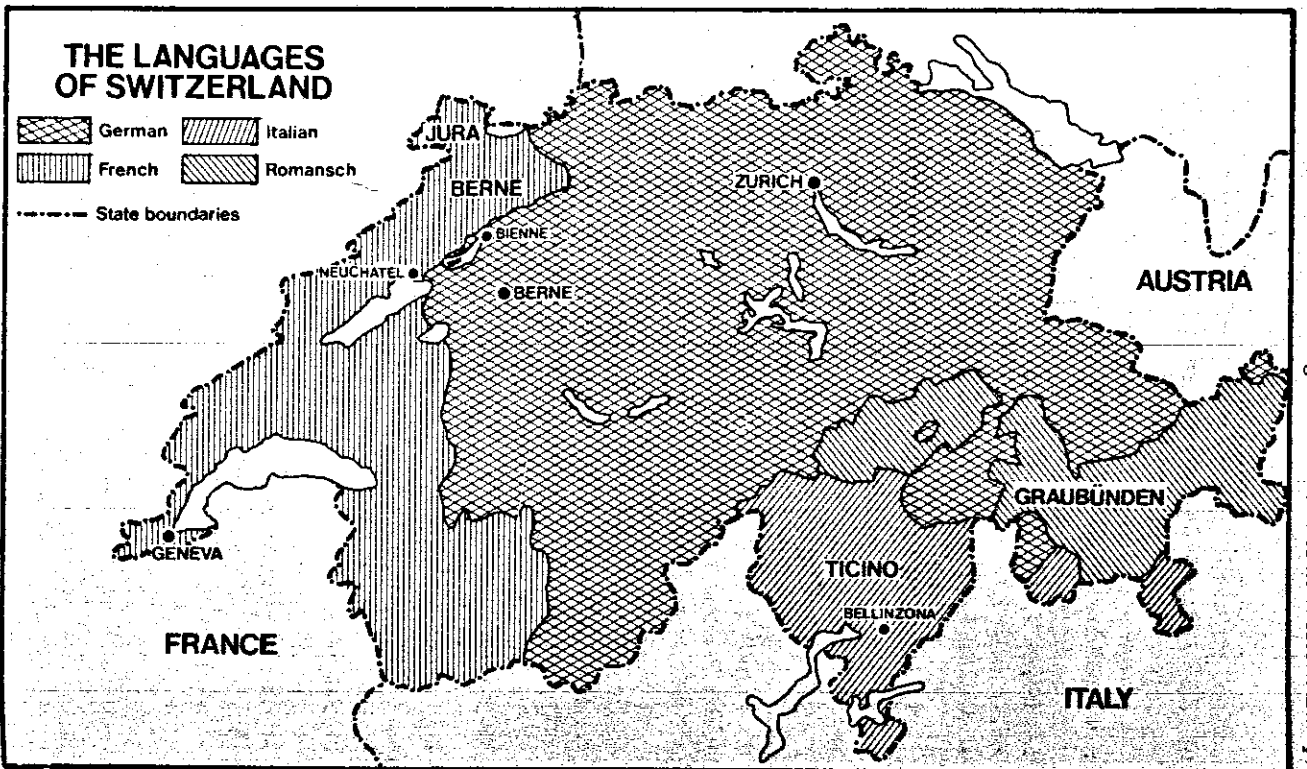
The Lapps

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Although the pre-history of the Lapps is shrouded in mystery, it is clear that a number of loan-words in Lappish prove that they must have lived in close contact with the ancestors of the Baltic-Finns during the latter part of the Bronze Age, and that they were therefore living much further east and south than in modern times. Numerous place-names around the north of the Gulf of Bothnia in Finland also suggest that at some early date the Lapps must have occupied large parts of that country. Indeed, there is no doubt that the Lapps were not only the original inhabitants of Finland but that they were probably the autochthonous population of the whole of northern Scandinavia.

The Lapps are mentioned for the first time in history by the Roman historian Cornelius Tacitus. In the first century A. D., who called them *fenni*, just as Norwegians call them *fimme* to the present day. With the expansion of the Baltic Finns, the southern limits of the area inhabited by the Lapps had been pushed steadily northwards and now they came into contact, for the first time, with other peoples of the North—Finnish, Norwegian and Russian stock, as farmers, fishermen, and later as farmers and stockmen. In the year 866, when King Alfred of England heard an account of the Lapps, when Onthiere, a wealthy farmer from Helgeland, told him of all Norwegian he dwelt the farthest north, explaining how he collected tributes—skins, down, walrus tusks and ship's ropes made of whale or seal hide—from the inhabitants of the northernmost parts of Norway. Gradually trade with the Lapps was taken over by Finns, the *burewts*, who formed companies in the various territories, known as *Lappmarks*, such as the Kemi, Torne, Lule, Pite and Ume *Lappmarks* of modern Sweden.

During the reign of Gustav Vasa in the sixteenth century the Swedish Crown began to lay claim to the *Lappmarks*, even those in Finland and Russia. In an attempt to win the fur trade of the *burewts* Gustav's son, Karl IX, also wished to extend Sweden's dominion over the entire Lapp territories as far as the Arctic Ocean and the White Sea, calling himself 'King of the Lapps in the Northern Lands'. One of the causes of the Kalmar War between Sweden-Finland and Denmark-Norway, from 1611 to 1613, was the rivalry of these countries over the Lapps. The son of Karl IX, Gustavus Adolphus

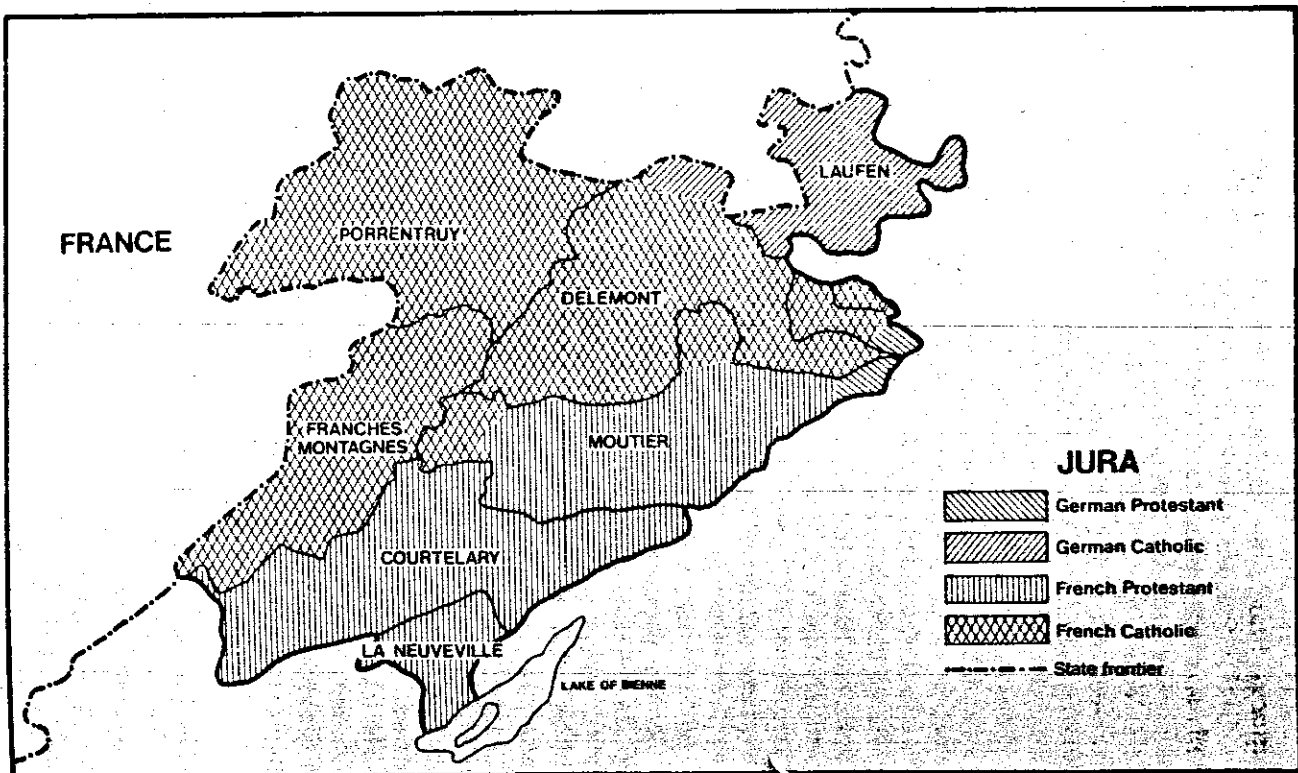


Linguistic Minorities in Western Europe

The Ticinese from invaders. The Ticinese thus survived the first major crisis in their history, keeping their language and their Roman Catholic religion.

The Swiss desire for nonimperial expansion, however, to some extent, a return to their Confederate origins. The birth-place of Confederate thought was in Ticino; the ideal of communal independence on the part of democratic-thinking communities and the growth of the *Schwarzbund* movement of political organization, were first pioneered in the region. As early as 1182 the Leventina had joined with Bern in the Oath of Tarre to prevent the building of any line of fortresses by the native aristocracy, most of whom had been driven away by this time. The new laws which were then agreed formed the embryo of the first Swiss Confederation and the communal idea continued to exert its influence even after that society's collapse in 1213. There were risings in the Leventina between 1290 and 1292 against foreign judges and for six months the Valley was ruled by the people as an independent Republic. Even the Visconti who, as Dukes of Milan, set up a powerful state in Upper Italy, had to respect the Ticinese love of independence, which they lost only in 1423 after the battle of Arbedo. This was the first heavy defeat of the Confederates who were thrown back onto the heights of the Gotthard. Twenty years later they won back the Leventina after 'the surrender of Milan', at which the Valley was taken under the protection of Uri. Still their autonomy was respected; they had complete internal self-government, went to battle under their own officers and elected their own representatives. There was no German-speaking administration in the Valley apart from the Governor, and the Ticinese were always addressed by the authorities in Uri as *'cari fedeli apparenti com-patrioti'*.

Thus in the course of two decades, the Maggio Valley and Locarno having fallen to the Confederates in 1513 and the Blenio Valley in 1496, the whole of Ticino had become Swiss, partly through voluntary union and partly by conquest. It was not yet united, however, into a single canton; the eight provinces remained isolated from each other, each with its own statute, and under the protectorate of different sovereigns. As a result of this annexation, for that is what it was except in the



The Jura 719

German, which is used only as the official language and for that reason is often described as *Schweizerdeutsch*. The dialects, known collectively as *Nordwestschweizerdeutsch* (Swiss German), are to be heard not only in everyday conversation but also on public occasions, in administration and in churches. They are an ancient residue of the Middle High German of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, having preserved much of their original pronunciation and vocabulary, particularly in the higher valleys. For the child, standard German is therefore more or less a different if not a foreign language. As different from Swiss German as High German is from Low, Dutch. Indeed, the dialects are such an important factor in the Swiss-German identity that they did much to strengthen the people's resistance to pan-Germanism and the Third Reich.

It is said sometimes that there is no Swiss *Umgangssprache*, (language of everyday use) for the man from Bern speaks *Berndeutsch* and the man from Zürich *Zürcherdeutsch*. The only common form among speakers of Swiss German is *Grossschweizerdeutsch*—the German of county councillors—but this, in fact, is written High German spoken according to the rules of dialect. It may therefore also be said that there is no Swiss German language, only an endless variety of dialects which are used according to geographical situations, class considerations and age-group. Nevertheless, the dialects show no signs of dying out. When, in the 1860s, the Swiss Dialect Dictionary was being planned, the object was to preserve the local peculiarities for the delight of later generations: the future, most believed, lay with High German. Yet by today more people speak Swiss German than ever before. The dialects are widely spoken in the Army, on radio, in law-courts, local councils, in churches and even in the schools. Despite this tenacity as a spoken form, Swiss German has only a smallish literature. The dramatist C. F. Hebel (1813-63), although not a Swiss, wrote lyrics in it and Rudolph von Tavel (1866-1934) wrote novels in Bernese. The novelist Jeremias Gotthelf (1797-1854) also broke into Bernese from time to time and his style is suffused by it. But the problem—that Swiss German is extremely difficult to write consistently—remains. This problem is not shared by French-

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