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## Language as an Element of National Identity - of Collective Memory

One of the basic factors for distinguishing a community is language, defined as “a means for human communication, spoken or written, using words in an agreed manner”<sup>1</sup>. Language is a group of symbols organised according to specific rules, which allow us to receive a message and statements in the form of words and to interpret their meaning<sup>2</sup>. According to a definition by Eduard Sapir,

*Language is a purely human, non-instinctive way of communicating thoughts, feelings and desires with the help of a system of purposefully produced symbols which, in their primitive, basic form have an aural character and are produced by vocal organs. [...] Language is an excellent means of communication and expression in every known human unit*<sup>3</sup>.

Its use requires a collective element. In order to fulfil its role, it requires sounds, symbols, syntax, etc. in order to be understood by a specific community. This means that the same language can constitute a means of communication of one community and can be, at the same time, an instrument of preventing people, who do not belong to that community, from understanding its specific content. In the process, language becomes an element of structural-conscious and psycho-social connection which shapes group awareness and collective identity. It manifests itself in, among other ways, essential social and cultural elements and constitutive features which allow a demarcation line to be drawn between those whom we determine as “us” and those whom we call “them”. In other words, those whom we impulsively categorise as “we” and those whom we describe using the pronoun “they”.

Language constitutes the strongest factor for singling out an ethnic group. It is a markedly stronger factor, although less enduring, than religion<sup>4</sup>.

*Features which distinguish members of a group from others have an ethnic identification character, thanks to which it is possible to make subjective and objective findings identifying the boundaries of ethnic membership. Most often, these are common national origins, geography, a common language, culture, customs, ceremonies, religion, racial similarity, a sense of community, social status, common values and group ethos*<sup>5</sup>.

From an ethnicity perspective, language constitutes one of the most important factors in distinguishing an ethnic group. This is true even when an ethnic group does

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<sup>1</sup> J.J. Preece, *Prawa mniejszości (The Rights of Minorities)*, Warsaw 2007., p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> S.P. Morreale, B.H. Spitzberg, J.K. Barge: *Komunikacja między ludźmi - motywacja, wiedza i umiejętności (Human Communication – Motivation, Competence and Ability)*, Warsaw 2007., p.141.

<sup>3</sup> *Encyklopedia kultury polskiej XX wieku. Pojęcia i problemy wiedzy o kulturze (Encyclopedia of 20th Century Polish Culture)*, ed. A. Kłoskowska. Wrocław 1991. p. 87.

<sup>4</sup> W. Żelazny, *Etniczność. Ład - konflikt – sprawiedliwość (Ethnicity. Order – Conflict-Justice)*, Poznań 2006. p. 132.

<sup>5</sup> J. Nikitorowicz, *Grupy etniczne w wielokulturowym świecie (Ethnic Groups in a Multicultural World)*, Sopot 2010. p 26.

not have its own language. In such a situation, an awareness of its existence in the past is an unusually important element in the shaping of a collective identity, enabling an auto-identification by members of this community, maintaining symbolic and mythical values<sup>6</sup>.

*Language is an element of culture and a basic carrier of the spiritual legacy of a nation, its collective experiences – in which stereotypes of national identity are consolidated, and so operate in the social awareness as a picture of reality, formed in a traditional manner of looking at the world<sup>7</sup>.*

Apart from the already mentioned factors aimed at the demarcation of a community, a good symbolic culture is a carrier of values which are essential in guaranteeing the continuity of a community's existence. On the one hand, the community maintains these values. On the other hand, it is supported by them. In this way, a sense of community is evident to, not only to the external observer, but also internally. These values allow the community to clearly determine its difference and specific character, but at the same time defines and auto-identifies members of that community. Collective identity becomes the basis for individual identity<sup>8</sup>.

Language is not merely a simple method of human communication. It constitutes a medium for the passing on of norms, by which the individual and the community comprehend the world and their place within it. Each member builds his/her own image of the *universe*, filtered through a sieve of his/her own language and culture, irrespective of their awareness of this continuous process.

*Our perception of reality and image of the world relies on the structure of the language by which we establish borders. Thought becomes reality on the basis of, and with the aid of, a defined language. We think as we speak and we speak as we think<sup>9</sup>.*

The words we use help us to make sense of the social world – those which we use to characterise people, events and situations not only point out specific aspects relating to those people, events and situations, but also provide information allowing us to understand the meaning of specific behaviour.

*Language determines forms of thought. It is an essential element of social interaction. It constitutes an important component of symbolic culture, contributing, directly or indirectly, to announcements, being the essence of that culture<sup>10</sup>.*

In this sense, language is a specific way of thinking, shared only amongst members of a separate community<sup>11</sup>. Membership of it means constructing a vision of the world through a filter of one's own language, constituting an integral element of the culture. That which is understood in one language can never be perceived in the

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<sup>6</sup> W. Żelazny, *Etniczność (Ethnicity) ...op.cit.* 137.

<sup>7</sup> *Słownik pojęć i tekstów kultury (Dictionary of Cultural Ideas and Texts)*, Ed. E. Szczęsna. Warsaw 2002. p. 129. hasło: język

<sup>8</sup> Z. Bokszański, *Tożsamości zbiorowe (Collective Identity)*, Warsaw 2006. pp.65-66.

<sup>9</sup> J. Nikitorowicz, *Grupy etniczne w wielokulturowym świecie (Ethnic Groups in a Multicultural World)*, Sopot 2010, p. 27.

<sup>10</sup> Z. Bokszański, A.Piotrowski, M. Ziółkowski: *Socjologia języka (The Sociology of Language)*, Warsaw 1977, p. 6.

<sup>11</sup> E. Sapir, *Język: wprowadzenie do badań nad mową (Language: Conducting Research into Speech)*, Kraków 2010, pp. 219-231.

same way in another language. An authentic, specific, cultural meaning is untranslatable. This feature gives permanence and a sense of being<sup>12</sup>.

In this manner, language constitutes an expression (effect) of the evolution and the development of a community, and is an evident sign of its continuity.

*Language and memory are strongly intertwined, both at the level of individual memory as well as on an institutionalised scale of collective experience. Within human life, language is the principle and basic tool which divides the time and space within human activity beyond the immediate and direct animal experience. Language is a time machine which enables the regeneration of social practices from generation to generation, while at the same time differentiating between the past, the present and the future. The spoken word is a transmitter, a track which allows a transience which finds completion, in an enduring sense, in time and space thanks to man taking control of the language's structural properties. The spoken word is inseparably linked with tradition<sup>13</sup>.*

In summary, it is possible to accept that language is

*a social creation and, similarly to other phenomena which arise in social acts, maintains in its essence a mark of collective origin: individuals cannot create it randomly, its individual usage is dependent upon its collective usage<sup>14</sup> and, being simultaneously a means of communication, it also constitutes a means of interpreting reality which means, as a consequence, it conditions both individual and collective behaviour<sup>15</sup>.*

The dominant view, universally, is that the links between language and socio-political reality are locked within the language-nation-state relationship. Their mutual dependency is developed together with a cultural (ethnic) or political (state) understanding of a people. The first listed model stresses the weight and meaning of cultural factors - language, customs, religion, rituals and historical collective memory – in the process of forming a nation or state, and runs according to the following plan: a cultural-civilised and linguistic community, a national community, a state community<sup>16</sup>. According to researchers, it is the characteristic model for the majority of Central and Eastern European countries, and for some Western European countries (Italy, Germany, Ireland, Portugal, the Netherlands and Norway). J. Chlebowczyk and M. Hroch distinguish the sequence of language, people and state.<sup>17</sup>

In the second listed model, a leading role on the way to the formation of a nation is the attribute of a state which, during the course of evolution, fulfils the expectations of its citizens (subjects) and results in the creation of a special bond between citizen and state. An increasing interest by citizens in supporting the state, and a developing need for maintaining a loyalty towards it, creates the concept of a nation as a community of citizens – a political nation (state). Simply, it is possible to accept that, in this model, the order of events is: a state community, a linguistic community, a national community. The process of creating nations and states in Western Europe (France, Great Britain, Spain), as well as Russia, Japan, China and Turkey, is an example of this model.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Szerzej, J. Chlebowczyk, *O prawie do bytu małych i młodych narodów. Kwesta narodowa i procesy narodotwórcze we wschodniej Europie Środkowej w dobie kapitalizmu (od schyłku XVIII do początków XX w.)*, Warsaw 1983; M. Hroch, *Małe narody Europy (Europe's Small Nations)*, Wrocław 2003.

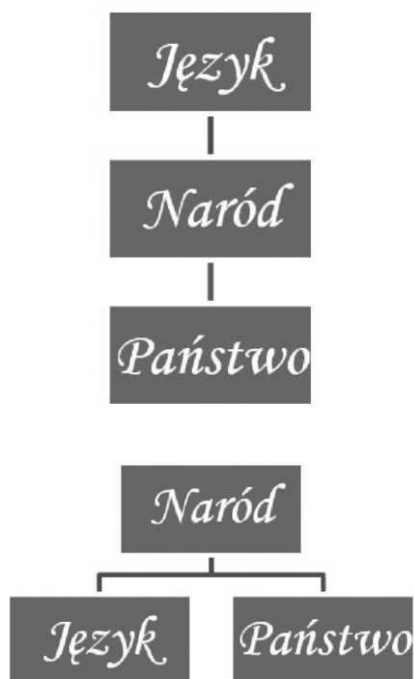
<sup>18</sup> R. Szul, *Język, naród, państwo.. (Language, Nation, State ...)*, op.cit. pp. 48-49.

Independent of the character of the nation-creation process, as well as the role and meaning of the cultural-linguistic factors during its course, a significant influence of the dynamics of the internal processes in the formation of a national community also occurred in the nearer and more distant socio-political areas. It is universally accepted that, among factors situated outside the community, but having a direct influence on the acceleration/delaying of the process of nation creation, are:

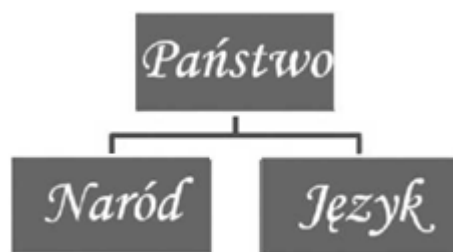
1. Real external dangers:
  - a. Cultural (intensive, political, assimilative),
  - b. Military-political (the threat of aggression or political dominance),
  - c. Socio-economic (the threat of marginalisation, conflicts of interest),
2. The implementation of models flowing in from the outside – the diffusion and imitation of ideas and national/state institutions (inspirational roles are subject to constant change),
3. The suppression and blocking of national/state aspirations in various ways, among them, by force,
4. The supporting of national/state ideas (political, military, economic) formed within other nations. <sup>19</sup>.

In discussing the three types of relationships between language, nation and state, it is possible to distinguish three types of behaviours in the following manner

**(Język = Language) (Naród = Nation or People) Państwo = State or Country)**



<sup>19</sup> Ibidem, p. 66.



**Figure 1: Types of dependencies between language nation and state**

Source: The author's own work based upon R. Szul: *Język, naród, państwo. Język jako zjawisko polityczne* (Language, Nation, State: Language as a Political Phenomenon), Warsaw 2009. p 66.

The first of the above models presents an extremely popular view of the formation of a nation and a state, with the effect of integrating and mobilising the function of language. According to this, people living in the same territory create a specific means of communication internally applicable to a given community. In the process, language becomes a part of awareness connections which designate a collective identity<sup>20</sup>. However, certain stipulations should be applied here. Language performs its function of integration within a community, provided that there is a widespread knowledge of the language within that community.<sup>21</sup> Apart from that, a linguistic bond constitutes, within that, an element of a broader set of cultural nation-building factors, besides religion and historic memory. With some reservations, it is possible to recognise such a model of nation formation can be applied to Germany, Italy, Slovakia, Romania, Slovenia, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Ukraine and Albania<sup>22</sup>.

The second model defines the nation as a causative factor in the creation of both a language and a state. Here, the nation is the primal occurrence and takes a central position in the relationship between nation, language and state. The national bond develops as the result of nation-building factors other than language and state. That function could be performed by religion, race, collective memory or other factors<sup>23</sup>.

The relationship between language and nation are conditional upon whether that bond contains a national wish to use one or many languages. With regard to monolingual nations, and where a people do not have their own language, they use another people's language in colloquial and official situations and have a positive attitude towards it. Observing socio-political reality leads one to the conclusion that this was how colonising states' languages were accepted in the colonies of the past in America, England, Australia and South Africa. This was the case for English (British, American and Canadian versions), Portuguese (Brazilian version) and, in Europe, Serbo-Croatian<sup>24</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Ibidem, p. 69.

<sup>21</sup> Z. Bokszański, *Tożsamości zbiorowe... (Collective Identity ...)* op.cit., p. 66.

<sup>22</sup> Szerzej, R. Szul, *Język, naród, państwo... (Language, Nation, State ...)* op.cit., pp. 70-125.

<sup>23</sup> Ibidem, p. 127.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem, s. 129.

Mutual interaction between language and nation develops differently in a situation where that nation utilises many languages. In this context, multilingualism is the result of using different languages as the means of communication within a community aspiring to be a people, but can also be the result of two languages being simultaneously accepted – one treated as the ritual language of ancestors and the other being used in the communication process. In both these cases, where a community forms aspires to be a nation and aspires to having its own state, a choice must be made as to which language is used (and recognised) as the national language. Deciding this question, in large measure, is dependent upon tradition and the conditions under which that ethnic community was established and how it has endured through the ages. Multilingual ethnic groups, with a relatively short history, in which the concept of a nation is accompanied by a concept of national language (e.g. Norwegians, the Basque people Filipinos, Indonesians), are forced to make a decision to choose or create a national language. The situation is much more complicated amongst those ethnic groups where one of the languages in use (in a symbolic manner or as a means of communication) becomes one of the many frequently changing nation-creating factors in the history of that community.

Despite the strong sense of difference with regard to race, religion, territory, political organisation or economics, historical circumstances (e.g. geographic dispersion) meant that, at the moment of birth of the idea of nationhood, the community would have a multilingual character, at least in the area of language as a means of communication. That specific community has, most often, a retained, shared, symbolic language, most associated with religion and liturgy (Jews, Greeks, Armenians)<sup>25</sup>.

The last model of relations, which occur between state, nation and language, involves the state playing a leading role in the formation of a national identity. It first manifests itself in the shaping, amongst those living within its territory, of a language as a means of inter-group communication. With the passage of time, it becomes one of the recognisable, symbols of state, alongside a flag and an emblem. So, the state, constituting the primal structure of nation and language, becomes the cement of national identity. Furthermore, the formation of a community in this way utilises a determined language, a knowledge of which decides membership of that community and, in extreme circumstances, can survive even should the state fall<sup>26</sup>.

Within the above models, we know three of its varieties whose criteria of difference are connected with the state as a political-legal creation, enduring through the ages. The type of relationship between state, language and nation, formed amongst the peoples of Western Europe, distinguishes the endurance of the state. Being established and settled within a given territory, the state, through an integration and/or assimilation policy directed towards that category of the population which does not demonstrate the linguistic and cultural features of the community, and does not have an awareness of separateness, creates a political-cultural-linguistic reality as

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<sup>25</sup> Ibidem, pp. 127-128.

<sup>26</sup> Ibidem, p. 165.

part of the nation-state. In this instance, the state has a uni-national character<sup>27</sup>. A typical example of the model where the state forms the nation and the linguistic reality is France. That nation is the product of the state and it determines the cultural model<sup>28</sup>.

Central and eastern European nations, which had lost their states – mainly in the 19th century - concentrated their efforts mainly on regaining it through actions aimed at shattering the current legal-political order. Reinstatement of statehood meant acceptance of the road of Western European states in the area of relations between language, nation and state. Failure meant the necessity to revise views on the set of criteria for belonging to a nation which was to return to that state. The situation becomes more complex amongst those communities whose relations with the past state underwent a weakening to such a degree, that it was no longer a sufficient reason to make the effort of reconstructing the state. In such circumstances, in determining national consciousness, additional linguistic, religious and social factors were used. This simultaneously allowed for the arousal of an aspiration to create a state amongst those nations which had never had their own separate state. Efforts at seeking a tradition of statehood, amongst nations which had never had their own state, were extremely popular.

Adopting the above perspective in determining the relationship between state and nation (determined not only in the context of belonging to a state, but also as part of a cultural-linguistic entirety) becomes the beginning of accepting a separation between state and nation and accepting the view that a nation can exist without a state. Furthermore, the battle of central and eastern European nations for their own state was an inspiration for eastern European ethno-regional movements, stressing their differences as part of the state-nation framework, visible even in the Catalan and Basque national independence movements<sup>29</sup>.

Another type of relationship between state and nation was formed amongst former colonial states and those states that were never, formally, colonies, but their dependence on large and dominant state organisms was so great that they became their peripheral areas. Their territorial shape, their accepted official language and their ethnic structure always formed apart from their own centres of government. In a situation where, as a result of these external decisions, they became autonomous national states, this opened up the issue of identification and the formation of those social connections which defined a nation.

The success of the above efforts was dependent, in large measure, not only on external geopolitical conditions, but also on the internal political and ethno-cultural situation. Most often, however, post-colonial countries relied on building a nation-state according to the western European standard of a uni-national state in which the ethnicity of its citizens was of secondary importance to the state itself. An exception here is the formation of new states following the collapse of the USSR and

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<sup>27</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>28</sup> Szerzej, R. Szul, *Język, naród, państwo...* (*Language, Nation, State ...*) op. cit., pp. 174-182.

<sup>29</sup> Ibidem, p. 166.

Yugoslavia where the model typical of central and eastern European countries was accepted, based on linguistic-cultural criteria<sup>30</sup>.

One of the most interesting development processes of a relationship between nation, language and state, and most worthy of deeper analysis, is that which occurred during the course of formation of the Jewish nation and the State of Israel. According to accepted typology, the Jewish nation is classified as one with a long history. The beginnings of its ethnicity can be found during the reigns of the biblical kings David and Solomon, i.e. millennia BCE. At that time, its constitutive features included, above all, the Jewish religion, a common land (the Promised Land), national organisation and the conviction that they all shared a common ancestor (the children of Abraham).<sup>31</sup> As the result of Babylonian captivity, the Jewish nation lost its own state. But more important, in the context of this paper's subject matter, the Aramaic language became the language of communication, whereas the Hebrew language became the language of religion. In the process, for the first time in Jewish culture, there was a separate language of communication (at that time Aramaic served this function) used colloquially, and a religious language which has forever remained Hebrew. The destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in the 2nd century CE, and their expulsion from the country, meant that the Jews had finally become nomads. That syndrome of expulsion was to become a feature of Jewish ethnicity over centuries.<sup>32</sup>

As the result of large waves of migration, Jews found their way, through Italy and Germany, to northern, central and eastern Europe – including Poland. That group was called *Ashkenazim*. Their common feature was the use of the Yiddish language, being a mixture of Middle Ages German, with elements of Hebrew, Aramaic and Slavic vocabulary, written in Hebrew script. Its function was mainly the passing on of the Jewish religion and traditions, above all to women and uneducated men (men belonging to the wealthier classes used the Hebrew language). Both a religious and secular literature also developed in Yiddish.<sup>33</sup>

The other large group of refugees from Israel, together with Arabs, found their way to the Iberian Peninsula in the early Middle Ages. They became the *Sephardim*. Large groups of them lived in northern Spain and Portugal where they experienced a blossoming of their culture, which collapsed when the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492 and from Portugal in 1497. The *Sephardim* used the Ladino language (Judeo-Spanish), it being a blend of the Catalan dialect with elements of Hebrew and Turkish. In the beginning, it was written in Hebrew script. However, with the passage of time, this changed to the Latin alphabet. Similarly to the Yiddish language, Ladino was used in both religious and secular literature. Popular culture also developed in this language. The *Sephardim* were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in the middle of the 15th century. They travelled through the Baltic Peninsula, arriving in Italy, northern Europe and the New World.<sup>34</sup> It is a great simplification to assume that

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<sup>30</sup> Ibidem, pp. 166-167.

<sup>31</sup> A. Maryański, *Narodowości świata (The Nationality of the World)*. Warsaw 1998. p. 122.

<sup>32</sup> R. Szul, *Język, naród, państwo... (Language, Nation, State ...)* op.cit., pp. 133-134.

<sup>33</sup> J. Nikitorowicz, *Grupy etniczne w wielokulturowym... (Ethnic Groups in Multicultural ...)* op. cit., pp. 245-246.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, pp. 246-247.

*Sephardim* are Jews from the Middle East, northern Africa and Western Europe, whereas *Ashkenazim* come from Central and Eastern Europe. It is commonly acknowledged that, in the United States, Orthodox Jews are *Sephardim*, while *Ashkenazim* belong to Conservative and Reform Jewish communities.<sup>35</sup> Both these groups are linked by faith and by the central role played by the Talmud, as well as by certain basic principles and practices of Judaism. The differences stem from ancient Babylon (the *Sephardim*) and from the Palestinian tradition (the *Ashkenazim*), which are directly linked to different interpretations of religious principles regarding food restrictions and details in the performance of worship.<sup>36</sup>

During Jewish migration over the centuries, apart from the Hebrew, Yiddish and Ladino languages, languages frequently changed as a means of communication, which were most often the languages used in the environment in which they were staying. Without doubt, however, Jews chose to retain a Hebrew linguistic awareness (broadened by Yiddish and Ladino), which means that, in the sense of communication, languages applied colloquially have an exclusively functional advantage, enforced by the socio-political situation of Jews in the international arena<sup>37</sup>.

Confirmation of the above thesis is the universally accepted value which Jews placed upon language. The lowest value was always placed on the local language with which the Jews communicated with the local population. Yiddish and Ladino were used by the Jewish community to communicate in informal situations and, consequently, had a low prestige assigned to them, as well as to the people who used them. Mothers were largely responsible for their transmission. However, Hebrew was considered the elite language and knowledge of it allowed one to be counted amongst the intellectual-religious elite. Its high prestige is confirmed by its function in liturgy, as well as in communication and the advantages it created, higher than those of the colloquial language. Apart from that, the Hebrew language was taught in religious schools to which, however, only boys had access. Here was the beginning of a large discrepancy, between the sexes, of knowledge of the Hebrew language which, additionally, limited the use of this language amongst the Jewish population.<sup>38</sup>

And so, during the period of the Diaspora, language became one of the many elements, next to religious belief, cultural specificity, social-professional position, racial difference and appearance, as well as distinct Jewish residential borders which allowed for an awareness of difference (and sometimes even a feeling of alienation and superiority) towards the surrounding world. To form that social integrity, in that manner, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was an overlapping formation of a contemporary national concept which granted Jews the status not only of religious or socio-professional groups, but also as a nation (next to the Germans, Poles, Russians and other contemporary nations). Theodore Herzl is regarded as its chief ideologue. He

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<sup>36</sup> E. Lewandowski, *Pejzaż etniczny Europy (The Ethnic Landscape of Europe)*. Warsaw 2005. p. 414; ibidem. p. 247.

<sup>37</sup> R. Szul, *Język, naród, państwo... (Language, Nation, State ...)* op.cit., p. 134.

<sup>38</sup> Ibidem, p. 136.

propagated the view that someone could simultaneously be a Jew (a member of the Jewish nation) without being a believer in the Jewish religion.<sup>39</sup>

A serious issue on the road to the blooming of the concept of nationhood amongst the Jewish population was that this social group was multilingual. The dispute largely concerned which would be the national language of the Jews – Hebrew or Yiddish. This dispute was directly connected with the need, in the mid-19th century, for social and economic freedom for the lowest social classes (including the Yiddish-speaking Jewish poor), and the accompanying national Zionist ideal of returning to the Promised Land and the establishment of the State of Israel which would adopt the Hebrew language.<sup>40</sup> More and more often, supporters of this ideal emigrated to Palestine where, with great effort, Hebrew was restored as the colloquial language, mainly with the help of a modernised school system.

The establishment of the State of Israel in 1948<sup>41</sup> indeed hastened this process of recognising Hebrew as the official language. It slowly became the language of public communication and, at least in part, of private life (in parallel with the language used by immigrants).<sup>42</sup> The Hebrew language (reconstructed and, indeed, modernised from that which was used in biblical times), over the course of half a century, became Israel's national language.

Irrespective of the character of a state coming into existence or its origins, language constitutes an extremely essential indicator of national identity. There is a mutually penetrating connection between language and the formation of a nation: a nation improves its language, while the language is an expression of the maturity of national identity. In the process, the dispute over the primal or secondary character of language and nation remains unresolved. Linguistic experts are passionate advocates for the theory that language is independent from all forms of national identity, regarding it as being spontaneous. Whereas, there are supporters of the national ideal who universally accept that language constitutes the base upon which national identity is formed.<sup>43</sup> Irrespective of the result of that dispute, there is no doubt that a national language performs four basic functions:

1. Unifying – enabling identification of individuals within a wider national community,
2. Separating – confronting a given national language with another national language, determining the nationality of the users of a given language, contributing to the emotional bonds within the communication of a national community,
3. Prestigious – attesting to the superiority of a given national community, using a given standard language amongst themselves which does not produce such a code of communication, attesting to the existence of a national state or determination supporting the creation of such a state, enabling the granting of equal rights to a given language in relation to other national languages,

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<sup>39</sup> Ibidem, pp. 135-137.

<sup>40</sup> Ibidem, pp. 136-137.

<sup>41</sup> E. Lewandowski, *Pejzaż etniczny Europy...* (*The Ethnic Landscape of Europe*). op. cit., pp. 420-423.

<sup>42</sup> A. Maryański, *Narodowości świata...* (*The Nationality of the World*) op. cit., pp. 123-124.

<sup>43</sup> R. Szul, *Język, naród, państwo ...* (*Language, Nation, State ...*) op. cit., p. 47.

4. Normative – determining the correct, efficient, ethical and aesthetic principles of linguistic communication in a given national language.<sup>44</sup>

It is possible to explicitly state that language constituted and constitutes one of the main determinants in the formation of ethnic and national groups which has a direct, albeit not automatic, influence on the process of creating states in their modern form.

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<sup>44</sup> A. Piotrowski; M. Ziółkowski, *Zróżnicowanie językowe a struktura społeczna (Linguistic Diversity and the Structure of Society)*, Warsaw 1976, p. 120.

