



Provided by the author(s) and University of Galway in accordance with publisher policies. Please cite the published version when available.

Title	Language, ideology and power in contemporary Ireland
Author(s)	Petervary, Tamás
Publication Date	2016-09-07
Item record	http://hdl.handle.net/10379/6013

Downloaded 2024-04-24T20:02:42Z

Some rights reserved. For more information, please see the item record link above.



Language, Ideology and Power in Contemporary Ireland

Tamás Péterváry

Supervisors

Dr Tony Varley

Department of Political Science and Sociology

National University of Ireland, Galway

Prof. Conchúr Ó Giollagáin

Soillse, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig

University of the Highlands and Islands

August 2016

Contents

Summary	3
Acknowledgements.....	5
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Theory	4
2.1 Reality	4
Integrity.....	7
Meaning and belief	8
Experience.....	9
Narrative	14
2.2 Identity.....	17
From vagueness to clarity	18
Negotiation	21
Change	31
2.3 Culture, ideology and power.....	34
Culture.....	35
Ideology.....	42
Power	47
Geography and the post-geographical realm	57
2.4 Ethnic reality	59
Theoretical approaches to Ethnicity	60
Language.....	62
Ethnic cycle	63
Ethnolinguistic cycle.....	65
Formalisation	70
Chapter 3: Gaelic Identity and the Irish language.....	77
3.1 Layer V Gaelic dominance.....	78
Gaels.....	78
Galls.....	80
‘Sasanaigh’	81
‘Éireannaigh’	81
3.2 Layer IV Gaelic disempowerment	82
Gaels.....	83
Old English.....	85
New English.....	86

Irish identity	88
3.3 Layer III Gaelic retreat.....	89
Retreat of the Gaelic language	89
Gaels.....	92
The post-Gaelic Irish	94
Anglo-Irish.....	95
Irish identity	95
3.4 Layer II Gaelic Revival from the Galltacht.....	97
Gaelic League	97
(Re)constructing Gaelic identity.....	100
3.5 Layer I ‘Gaels’ as ‘Irish-Speakers’	101
Gaeltacht and the Gaels.....	102
Irish in the Galltacht.....	111
3.6 The present state of Gaelic identity.....	114
3.7 Implications.....	116
Chapter 4: Survey.....	118
4.1 Methodological context.....	120
Research method and the questionnaire	120
Pilot-testing.....	123
Fieldwork.....	123
Post-fieldwork analysis	125
Rating	125
Statistical terms used in the presentation of survey results	126
Sociological profiles of the two study areas	128
Linguistic profiles of the two study areas	134
4.2 Description of the survey results	137
Language of the survey	138
Part I Social background.....	140
Part II Sociolinguistic background	141
Part III Attitudes and beliefs	144
Part IV Social norms of language use.....	171
Part V Cultural practice	190
Part VI Defining the Gaels	194
Part VII Identity markers	199
Part VIII Self identification	220
Part IX Leadership	229

Part X Vision	236
4.3 A description of the Gaels in contemporary Ireland.....	260
Part I Social background.....	261
Part II Sociolinguistic background	264
Part III Attitudes and beliefs	266
4.4 Correlation analysis.....	275
Part IV Social norms of language use.....	282
Part V Cultural practice	288
Part VI Defining the Gaels	294
Part VII Identity markers	295
Part VIII Self identification	299
Part IX Leadership	300
Part X Vision	302
4.5 Summary	303
Comparison of the two study areas.....	304
Correlative evaluation of the <i>Gael</i>	314
Chapter 5: Conclusions	319
5.1 Research questions	319
1. How does Gaelic identity relate to the Irish language?	319
2. How does Gaelic identity relate to native-Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht?.....	321
3. How does Gaelic identity relate to native English-speakers in the Galltacht?	322
4. How does Gaelic identity relate to Irish identity?	323
5. What does Gaelic identity mean?	324
6. Is Gaelic identity based on historical continuity or is it an intellectual invention of the Gaelic Revival?	325
5.2 Gaelic ethnic reality	326
Culture.....	327
Ideology.....	330
Power	333
5.3 Gaelic ethnic reconstructionism	337
Recommendations for further research	342
Bibliography	343
Appendix 1 The questionnaire in Irish	367
Appendix 2 The questionnaire in English.....	373

I, Tamás Péterváry, certify that the Thesis is all my own work and that I have not obtained a degree in this University or elsewhere on the basis of any of this work.

Summary

This Dissertation aims to explore Gaelic identity and its relationship with the Irish language in contemporary Ireland. It consists of (1) a theoretical research of ethnic reality, (2) an historical research of ethnic identification, and a (3) description and statistical analysis of a survey. The theoretical research explores ethnic reality and its social and psychological foundations. The concept of 'identity', and the interacting concepts of 'culture', 'ideology' and 'power' are discussed. The historical research attempts to uncover layers of ethnic identification from the present into the High Medieval period. This chapter concludes that Gaelic identity was until recently the main feature of ethnic identification among native Irish-speakers in Ireland. The fieldwork consisted of a survey in a Category A Gaeltacht region and in a Galltacht region. A total of 326 interviews were conducted as part of this research. The survey provides statistical evidence that Gaelic identity is still accepted as secondary identity among Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht and it is a much less accepted identity among English-speakers in the Galltacht. The research concludes that Gaelic identification in the Gaeltacht is not a politically organising force and those who identify themselves as Gaels lack collective representation.

Acknowledgements

I thank my supervisors Dr Tony Varley and Prof. Conchúr Ó Giollagáin and my former supervisor Dr Gearóid Denvir for all their support. I also thank Dr Brian Ó Curnáin and Seosamh Mac Donnacha for their advice on various aspects of my research. I thank students at the MA course in Language Planning, especially Ciarán Lenoach, for all the constructive discussions on matters relating to the Irish language and its speakers. I owe a debt of gratitude to Saera Ní Fhinneadha for her work as a research assistant during the fieldwork phase of my research and to all people who kindly agreed to be interviewed both in the Electoral Division of *Cill Chuiminn* in the western part of County Galway and in the Electoral Divisions of Killaan and Grange in the eastern part of County Galway. This research was funded by the Irish Research Council for Government of Ireland through its Postgraduate Scholarship Scheme.

Language, Ideology and Power in Contemporary Ireland

Chapter 1 Introduction

This thesis is about Gaelic identity and the Irish language in contemporary Ireland. My research questions are on Gaelic identity in contemporary Ireland:

1. How does Gaelic identity relate to the Irish language?
2. How does Gaelic identity relate to native Irish-speakers in the Gaeltacht?
3. How does Gaelic identity relate to native English-speakers in the Galltacht?
4. How does Gaelic identity relate to Irish identity?
5. What does Gaelic identity mean?
6. Is Gaelic identity based on historical continuity or is it an intellectual invention of the Gaelic Revival?

I provide a theoretical overview of identity and its conceptual associations in Chapter 2 of the thesis. In Chapter 3 I explore the historical depth of the term ‘Gaelic’ and its connection to the Irish language. In Chapter 4 I present a statistical analysis of my Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language. In Chapter 5 I draw conclusions on Gaelic identity and its relationship with the Irish language in contemporary Ireland. The primary contribution in this dissertation to better understanding contemporary Gaelic identity is the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language. The rest of my thesis was written to provide an interpretative framework for the statistical analysis on this survey.

The aim of the survey was to analyse how beliefs and practices relate to linguistic characteristics in two sociolinguistically distinguishable areas and thus to explore how the anthropological and psychological aspects of ‘linguistic identity’ relates to speaking Irish in contemporary Ireland. The anthropological aspects consist of cultural attributes such as norms and practical markers and the psychological aspects are group related phenomena, such as collective identification and intergroup relation.

My fundamental epistemological standpoint is perspectivism. Perspective is universal and it is formed in specific cultural and ideological situations in specific contexts of power relations. In a perspectivist understanding no objective or valueless (*i.e.* non-ideological) researcher exists (which is not *per se* a denial of objective data).

Perspectivism is not the same as relativism, adherents of which hold that ‘we should not assume that our ways of understanding are necessarily any better, in terms of being any nearer the truth, than other ways’ (Burr 2002, 4). I believe that humans *do* believe that their understandings are

‘better, in terms of being any nearer the truth, than other ways’. This also applies to relativists whose views on ‘what we *should* or *should not* assume’ are views that are ‘nearer the truth, than other ways’. This relativist perspective assumes that there is a neutral observer’s position (in Thomas Nagel’s words (1986) ‘the view from *nowhere*’) from which the otherwise sympathetic judgement ‘every view is as good as every other view’ could be uttered. In reality, *i.e.* according to social experience, the world is constructed in views with value. In general ‘good views’ are those we hold to be true or beneficial and ‘bad views’ are those we hold to be false or harmful. Generally ‘our’ views tend to be ‘good views’ and it is reaffirming if others agree.

Perspectivism, at least in my understanding, is beyond intellectual post-modernism. Post-modernist philosophers talk about the impossibility of representation (see: Clifford and Marcus 1986; Marcus and Fischer 1986). I, as a perspectivist, believe in the impossibility of non-representation. Post-modernist philosophers talk about the invalidity of narration they label the ‘grand narrative’, which is narrative at a macro scale. The most celebrated intellectual of the anti-narrativist tradition is Jean Lyotard. He did not discredit narration *per se*, but expressed ‘incredulity towards metanarratives’, ‘doubting any narrative that waves a story of something’ (Lyotard 1984:xxiv). This doubting human approach is often missing in anti-narrativist narratives, as illustrated here by Burr (2002, 179):

Postmodernism rejects the idea that the world can be understood in terms of grand theories or metanarratives, and emphasises instead the co-existence of a multiplicity and variety of situation dependent ways of life.

I believe that the world can only be understood in terms of ‘grand theories’ or ‘metanarratives’ and the above sentence is an intellectually challenging example of such grand theories.

Narration is studied at a micro level described as ‘discourse’ in social constructionism. Social constructionism claims that the world is socially constructed in human discourse. I agree with this tenet. Where I differ with the post-modernist view is the locus of construction. The following post-modernist narrative places the locus of construction in the (liberating) realm of ‘social processes’ (Burr 2002, 5-6):

Since the social world, including ourselves as people, is the product of social processes, it follows that there cannot be any given, determined nature to the world or people. There are no essences (pre-given ‘content’) inside things or people that

make them what they are. [...] Social constructionism opposes the essentialism [...] because essentialism traps people inside personalities and identities that are limiting for them.

I believe the locus of construction is the narrative. This narrative is a link between the (theoretical) self and (theoretical) ‘social processes’. Narrative is existence based ultimately on being. This standpoint embraces existentialist-experientialist understandings, symbolic interactionism and non-deterministic approaches to social constructionism.

I believe, as a researcher holding perspectivist views, it is necessary to provide information about my own background in relation to the research topic. I am a Hungarian who lived in Ireland between 2004 and 2015. I hold an MA in Archaeology and worked in that field until 2007. Archaeology provided me with an anthropological perspective and a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge.

Following the collapse of commercial archaeology in Ireland, I completed an MA course in Language Planning at *Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Éireann, An Cheathrú Rua*, an Irish-medium offshoot of the National University of Ireland, Galway. My purpose was to understand the Irish-speaking culture within the framework of its own language. During the MA course in Language planning I was exposed to the intellectual influence of Conchúr Ó Giollagáin, Seosamh Mac Donnacha and Brian Ó Curnáin.

My thesis in Language Planning (Péterváry 2010) was titled *Pleanáil teanga in Éirinn: pleanáil ón taobh amuigh* (Language planning in Ireland: planning from outside). In that thesis I analysed the Irish Government’s final draft for its ‘20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language’ and concluded that cultural requirements for the sustainability of native Irish-speaking communities were peripheral in the plan. Following my studies at the *Acadamh*, I joined a research project by Prof. Conchúr Ó Giollagáin and by Prof. Brian Ó Curnáin on the bilingual ability of young native-speakers of Irish in the *Gaeltacht*. The study concluded that almost all of the respondents had better linguistic ability in English than linguistic ability in Irish (Péterváry *et al.* 2014).

I approach native speakers of the Irish language from an ethnolinguistic approach. I am interested in their peripheralisation in Ireland as evident in their lack of political representation through which they could negotiate for an appropriate framework of ethnocultural regeneration. While fortunes compelled me to leave Ireland, I feel honoured to have had a chance to connect with their story and I hope my work is of some value for them.

Chapter 2: Theory

Recently I have taken part in a study on Irish minority bilingual acquisition among school-age respondents in some of the strongest Irish-speaking communities in Ireland. The study concluded that almost all the respondents had better ability in spoken English than in spoken Irish (Péterváry *et al.* 2014). This was an interesting finding as all the respondents were from Irish-speaking homes and all of them attended Irish-medium education. When I told a middle-age fellow participant at a conference in Dublin about our findings, he/she replied: “Oh, isn’t it amazing how these young people in the Gaeltacht are now catching up with reality?” This response sparked my interest and I began to develop a more systematic understanding about the type of reality *others have (had) to catch up with*. This chapter consists of a theoretical investigation of phenomena I believe to be relevant to such reality.

2.1 Reality

Reality is both experienced and constructed in patterns through perception and interpretation. Perception is usually theorised to be a matter of biological filtering of stimuli, linked to attentive processes, such as awareness. The perceptual system is less objective than we usually assume and it is known to provide more coherence in an ambiguous situation than is found in physical reality. Interpretation based on perceptual observation is a psychosocial phenomenon that can modify biological perception. Biological theories on perception are thus conditional to what the gestalt psychologist David Thoreau summarised in his famous statement as: ‘The question is not what you look at, but what you see.’

Perception and interpretation are binarised analytical entities that are in a dialectic relationship and help describe/analyse our experience/(re)construction of the world in which a person exists as a being embodied in a self distinct in biological and socio-cultural phenomena. These theorised entities are dependent features; perception forms the basis of interpretation, and interpretation is a filter that conditions what is perceived.

Interpretation is a social process studied by social psychologists. Solomon Asch through his so-called Asch conformity experiments (1955) demonstrated how *natural* it is to be socially conditioned to expect the world to behave in certain ways. The key theme of his experiments was the influence of group pressure on opinions. I quote Ableson *et al.* (2004, 202) to provide a description on this experiment:

Asch presented a group of seven college students, sitting around a large table, with a series of pairs of large white cards. On one card was a single vertical black line (a standard). On the other card, there were three vertical black lines of different lengths (comparisons). One comparison line was exactly the same length as the standard, the other two were of different lengths. One by one, the participants announced which of the three lines (a, b, or c) was the same length as the standard. This process was repeated over 18 trials, with the standards and comparison lines varying on each trial. Simple question: how often did participants choose the correct comparison line? Under normal circumstances, individuals would state the correct line over 99% of the time; the correct match was always obvious. Yet there was something unusual about this situation—only one of the group members was a true participant! This lone participant was blissfully unaware that the other group members were confederates, coached beforehand to give unanimously wrong answers on prearranged trials. On the first trial, everyone, including the true participant who sat in the sixth position around the table, chose the correct matching line. The same thing occurred on the second trial after a new pair of cards was displayed. On the third trial, however, each of the first five confederates (whom, again, the participant had every reason to believe were also actual participants in the study) casually, but confidently, stated the wrong answer. Surprised and a bit unnerved, the participant then gave his answer. Finally, the sixth confederate gave the same wrong answer as did the five others. On 10 of the next 15 trials, the other group members again all gave wrong answers. Asch subjected each participant to this same procedure.

Asch's findings also draw attention to 'group size effect'. The experiment made it clear that the number of confederates giving an obviously erroneous answer is proportional to the inclination of the experience subject to provide an erroneous answer as well. The experiment draws attention to the way human life is structured by social norms that prescribe certain practices (you *should* think or do this) and proscribe others (you *should not* think or do that). It also shows how easy it is to create a gap between (socio)physically measurable objectified reality and socially accepted norms.

Perception and interpretation are constituents of perspective. Perspective functions within (1) subjective ideological dispositions, (2) contextually salient power relations, among (3) cultural phenomena (Figure 1).

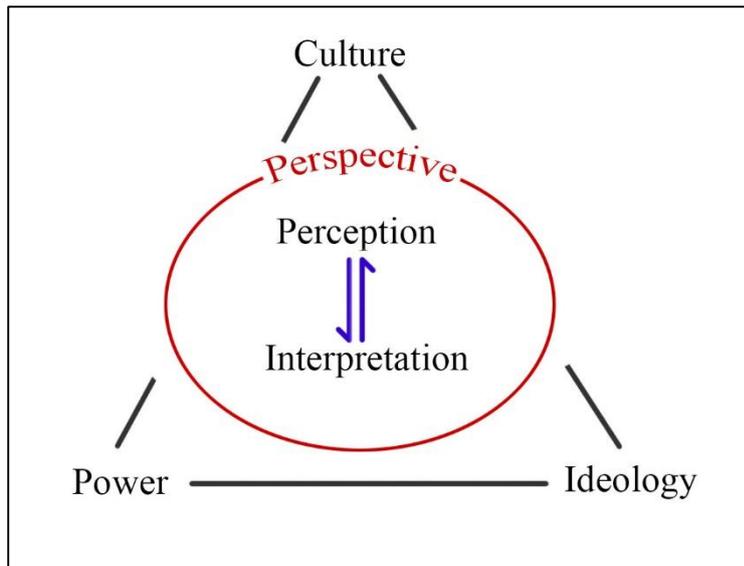


Figure 1 Constituents of perspective in context.

Reality *others have (had) to catch up with* is a reality unchallenged or unsuccessfully challenged by those who *should catch up*. This reality is based on a relationship between a party that defines norms and a party that is expected to comply to such norms. The explanatory framework, based on the concepts of ‘culture’, ‘ideology’ and ‘power’ is elaborated in detail in Chapter 2.3 of my thesis. I also discuss the relationship between the individual and the structural - or, according to a different approach, the first person and the third person – under ‘Negotiation’ in Chapter 2.2.

All perspectives are ideological and all perspectives are subjective representations with an assigned truth value in power relation. As a result of this subjectivity, all perspectives are theoretically deconstructable. The term ‘deconstruction’ reflects the intellectual heritage of Derrida and Heidegger. The term itself was coined by Derrida (1997, 25), who, in the first published version of *De la grammatologie*, used the word ‘destruction’ instead of ‘deconstruction’. The term ‘destruction’ (German *Destruktion*) was used earlier by Martin Heidegger. The eagerness with Heidegger tries to draw attention to the positive implication of ‘the project of *destruaktion*’ suggests that he was aware of its nature as a double-edged weapon (1962, 44):

[I]t has nothing to do with a vicious relativizing of ontological standpoints. But this destruction is just as far from having the negative sense of shaking off the ontological tradition. We must, on the contrary, stake out the positive possibilities of that tradition, and this means keeping it within its limits; and these in turn are given factually in the way the question is formulated at the time, and in the way the

possible field for investigation is thus bounded off. On its negative side, this destruction does not relate itself toward the past; its criticism is aimed at 'today' and at the prevalent way of treating the history of ontology. [...] But to bury the past in nullity (Nichtigkeit) is not the purpose of this destruction; its aim is positive; its negative function remains unexpressed and indirect.

My use of the term as 'de(con)struction' acknowledges the intellectual heritage of both Derrida and Heidegger and preserves the notion of deconstruction as a possible destructive tool.

De(con)struction takes place in the social world by social actors. Since nothing exists in the social world that *by nature* is resistant to de(con)struction, de(con)structibility is, indeed, of little analytical value. What is of great analytical value for those interested in power relations is *who* gets to de(con)struct *who* or *what*. Analysing the cultural, ideological and power-related context of deconstruction itself means 'de(con)structing de(con)struction'.

Integrity

A sense of integrity is a basic functional need of human existence. Integrity is constructed in narratives that link past events and events expected to happen in the future in the non-measurable theoretical entity of 'present'. Those who are unable to make a long enough narrative of cohesion and maintain a perspective cannot function in human society.¹ Integrity is also possessive and subject to conflict in power relations. Unchallenged or unsuccessfully challenged sense of integrity is the basis of taken-for-granted reality.

Integrity is a sense of being a consistent whole, which can be (and usually is) taken to mean attachment to names and characteristics (attributes) in a comparative relationship with *others* (association). The centre of experienced reality is always the experiencer, *i.e.* the subjective first person that is expressed linguistically in singular as 'I' and in its plural extension as 'we'.²

The narrative being constructed is negotiated in a dialectical relationship with *others* in perception. A successfully challenged sense of integrity usually leads to reconstruction of its underlying narrative. During such reconstruction old elements that conflict with the current

¹ A famous case of a man trapped in short-term narrative is that of Clive Wearing.

² Currently, the term 'phenomenology' is increasingly used by philosophers of mind and cognitive scientists to designate a first-person description of the 'what it is like' of experience (Shaun Gallagher and Dan Zahavi 2008, 9).

version of the personal narrative are superseded (rather than deleted) in a fashion resembling to deposition of archaeological layers.

Meaning and belief

We make sense of the world in interpretations, *i.e.* by assigning meaning to what is perceived. Meaning signifies quality of existence in context. The theoretical study of interpretation is called hermeneutics. In the social constructionist tradition interpretation is referred to as ‘belief’. An example of social constructionist definition of interpretation is provided by Scupin (2012, 18): ‘Beliefs are cultural conventions that concern true or false assumptions, specific descriptions of the nature of the universe and humanity’s place in it’. The function of belief is to provide a sense of certainty upon which a sense of agency and a sense of personal integrity can develop.

Belief can be qualified according to socially assigned value of certainty. Thus knowledge, truth, and factuality are beliefs that are socially accepted to have high value of certainty. As Van Dijk explained (1998, 34):

Factual beliefs are based on socially acknowledged truth criteria. These truth criteria or rules of evidence may be those of everyday common sense (dependable perception, reliable communication, or valid inference), those of science, those of religion, or any other evaluation basis, depending on the social domain, group or culture for which truth or factuality must be socially established.

Socially assigned value of certainty is dependent on chronological (time) and geographical (space) factors. The chronological relativity of assigned certainty was the topic of Thomas Kuhn’s famous book *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. In this book Kuhn posited that science did not progress in a linear fashion but in phases he called paradigms. Kuhn (1996, 10) defined a scientific paradigm as ‘universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of practitioners’. Paradigms are ‘incommensurable’ and science progresses through ‘paradigm shift’, which occurs when a paradigm loses its adherents.

Kuhn’s view is also consistent with historical and political approach, which claims that what counts as knowledge in any period or community is determined by who has the definitional or other truth-determining power in society (Scupin 2012, 115). Truth value is social and, therefore, it is geographical. What is considered to be true in one region may be considered to

be false in another region. The social and geographical dependence of truth value is most often associated with 'cultural relativism'. Cultural relativism is the idea that something can be understood and judged only in relation to the cultural context in which it appears (Andersen and Taylor 2007, 39).

Socially assigned value of certainty also depends on socio-cultural stratification. This stratificational relativity is highlighted in the following quotation (Berger and Luckmann 1966, 14):

One could say that the sociological understanding of 'reality' and 'knowledge' falls somewhere in the middle between that of the man in the street and that of the philosopher. The man in the street does not ordinarily trouble himself about what is 'real' to him and about what he 'knows' unless he is stopped short by some sort of problem. He takes his 'reality' and his 'knowledge' for granted.

Experience

Stevens (1995, 16) wrote: 'To be a person is to be intrinsically related to others, to exist in a social medium of meanings and customs'. Thinking is through human language and all human language interprets the world in persons. Interpretation in persons is the most fundamental divisional basis of social construction. Persons are primarily known through their qualifying attributes.

Personal reality, *i.e.* a sense of personhood, is constructed in a dynamic relationship between the internal (/internalised) and subjective (/subjectified) first person, and the external (/externalised) and objective(/objectified) third person and its familiarised extension in the second person (*others*). Third person consists of both concrete and abstract categorical phenomena that exist in their (perceived/interpreted) associations. The importance of the boundary between the first and the third person is demonstrated by Jenkins as follows (2008b, 56):

When the boundary between the self and others weakens or dissolves, the result is a range of more or less severe, and not uncommon, disruptions of secure selfhood which, in Western cultures, are conceptualized as psychiatric disorder.

The binarisation of first and third person transcends the individual vs. social mode of thinking dominant in functionalist traditions.³ Mead distinguished *I* and *me* in the first person singular on social interactionist principles. He explains this distinction as follows (1934: 174-5):

The simplest way of handling the problem would be in terms of memory. I talk to myself, and I remember what I said and perhaps the emotional content that went with it. The "I" of this moment is present in the "me" of the next moment. There again I cannot turn around quick enough to catch myself. I become a "me" in so far as I remember what I said. The "I" can be given, however, this functional relationship. It is because of the "I" that we say that we are never fully aware of what we are, that we surprise ourselves by our own action. It is as we act that we are aware of ourselves. It is in memory that the "I" is constantly present in experience. We can go back directly a few moments in our experience, and then we are dependent upon memory images for the rest. So that the "I" in memory is there as the spokesman of the self of the second, or minute, or day ago. As given, it is a "me," but it is a "me" which was the "I" at the earlier time. If you ask, then, where directly in your own experience the "I" comes in, the answer is that it comes in as a historical figure. It is what you were a second ago that is the "I" of the "me." It is another "me" that has to take that role. You cannot get the immediate response of the "I" in the process. The "I" is in a certain sense that with which we do identify ourselves. The getting of it into experience constitutes one of the problems of most of our conscious experience; it is not directly given in experience.

The binarisation of the plural into *we* vs. *them* has long gained psychological attention. The distinction is commonly characterized as *in-groups* versus *out-groups*. The concept was originally elaborated by the early sociological theorist William Isaac Thomas (1931).

Most of the remarkable studies, like the Stanford prison experiment and the Robbers Cave experiment, are about conflicts that naturally arise in division. The Stanford prison experiment was a study by Philip Zimbardo and his colleagues (Haney *et al.* 1973), which demonstrated that individuals who had been thrust into the role relationships of guards and prisoners in a

³ Society in the functionalist tradition refers to an unqualified (generally taken for granted to be national) cluster of individuals area.

simulated prison behaved in ways that reflected these positions; the guards behaved abusively and the prisoners became passive.

Realistic group conflict theory (Campbell, 1965; Sherif, 1966) posits that perceived group competition for resources produces efforts to reduce the access of other groups to the resources. This process was illustrated in The Robbers Cave experiment by Sherif and his colleagues (Sherif *et al.* 1961). The Robbers Cave experiment was an experiment on in-group relations, out-group relations and intergroup relations based on the behaviour of two groups of randomly selected young male participants. They observed that over a relatively short period of time members of the two groups showed in-group favouritism and genuine hostility arose between the groups.

An interesting study by Bourhis and Giles (1977) illustrates this conflict-based approach in an everyday setting. Bourhis and Giles assessed degree of accentedness in Welsh speakers who had overheard an English experimenter making negative comments about the Welsh language. As a result of the challenge the Welsh accents of participants with strong Welsh identities became stronger.

Social identity theory, developed by Henri Tajfel and Turner (1979), integrated enquiries on the relationship between the first person in plural ('we') and the third person in plural ('they') and enquiries on the relationship between the first person in singular ('I') and the first person in plural ('we'). Tajfel and his colleagues aimed to determine what caused in-group favouritism.

To their surprise they were unable to make a group that seemed so arbitrary or trivial that no in-group favouritism was found. This automatic preference for members of one's own group even in the absence of pragmatic benefit or personal relationship is called the minimal group effect. These findings suggest that people are normally and naturally ready to go along with dividing the world up into *us* and *them* and to adopt a negative stance toward *them* (Baumeister and Bushman (2012, 477).

The first person singular (I) and the first person plural (we) are connected through social categorisation, social identification and social comparison (Figure 2).

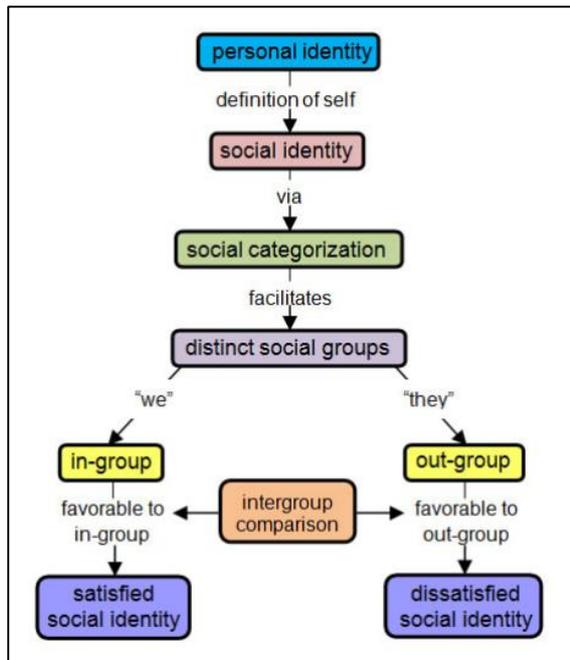


Figure 2 Model of social identity theory developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979).⁴

According to the social identity theory the self-concept contains both personal and social attributes (e.g., Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982). A person will experience higher self-esteem when his or her important social groups are valued and compare favourably to other groups (see also Rosenberg, 1979). Thus self-esteem is both a personal and social matter. It also includes a person's evaluations of the groups to which he or she belongs.

The way we connect to other experiencers is influenced by perceived similarity/dissimilarity. This has been proved by Burger *et al.* (2004, 37-9) in a series of experiments one of which is described by the authors as follows:

We manipulated incidental similarity between participant and requester in Study 1 by leading participants to believe they shared a birthday with the requester. Because we share our birthday with only 1 person in 365, this manipulation seemed sufficient to create a perceived unit relationship between the two individuals. We predicted that participants who believed they share a birthday with a requester would comply with a request more than participants not given this information. As predicted, significantly more participants complied in the similarity condition (62.2%) than in the control condition (34.2%) [...] The results from the first two studies demonstrate that people are more likely to agree to a request from someone

⁴ The source of this figure is: http://www.age-of-the-sage.org/psychology/social/social_identity_theory.html

with whom they share an incidental similarity than from someone with whom they do not. These findings are entirely in line with previous research demonstrating heuristic processing of information about requests and with Heider's notion of unit relationships and associated positive affect.

A very important aspect of the development of a sense of self is socialisation. At an early age socialisation takes place in highly unbalanced power relations and leads to internalisation of imitated and externally assigned attributes. 'If we know who we are, it is because, a long time ago, beyond the reach of conscious recall, other people told us' (Jenkins 2008b, 66; see also: Dunn 1988; Kaye 1982; Richards 1974).

Collectively assigned cultural attributes through the process of socialisation shape personal existence. It is, therefore, useful to approach the relationship between the first person in singular ('I') and the first person in plural ('we') from the point of view of socialisation. I find Jenkins' approach of 'primary socialisation' helpful in this matter (2008a, 43):

Recent post-Piagetian understandings of learning in infancy and childhood and the 'new' sociology and anthropology of childhood allow the development of cognition and the development of identification to be located side by side in primary socialisation. This further suggests that identities which are established this early in life – selfhood, humanness, gender and, under some circumstances, kinship and ethnicity – are primary identities, more robust and resilient to change in later life than other identities. Although change and mutability are fundamental to identification, some identities are more changeable and mutable than others. The primary identifications of selfhood, human-ness and gender, in addition to their deep rooting in infancy and early childhood, are definitively embodied (as local understandings of kinship and ethnicity may be too).

Socialisation begins in the family and in the community and proceeds in connection with the dominant social ideology in society in educational institutions. As Andersen (2008, 82) explains:

Schools are primarily places where young people learn skills and other knowledge. There is a hidden curriculum in schools where students learn expectations associated with race, class, and gender relations in society as influenced by the

socialization process. Schools emphasize conformity to societal needs, although not everyone internalizes these lessons to the same degree.

A noteworthy consequence of the division between the first and the third person is the so-called Fundamental Attribution Error. The Fundamental Attribution Error deals with the subjective construction of causation. The subjective construction of causation shows a clear balance between assigning internal and external causes of action or behaviour: most people explain their success in terms of themselves and their failure in terms of the situation (Ross and Flechter 1985).

A related theory of attribution error was formulated at a group level by Thomas Pettigrew (1979). According to this related theory ultimate attribution error occurs when in-group members (1) attribute negative outgroup behaviour to dispositional causes, and (2) attribute positive outgroup behaviour to one or more of the following causes: (a) a fluke or exceptional case, (b) luck or special advantage, (c) high motivation and effort, and (d) situational factors.

Narrative

Anthony Giddens wrote the following lines in his book *Modernity and Self-Identity* (1991, 54):

A person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor — important though this is — in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. The individual's biography, if she is to maintain regular interaction with others in the day-to-day world, cannot be wholly fictive. It must continually integrate events which occur in the external world, and sort them into the ongoing 'story' about the self." We create, maintain and revise a set of biographical narratives, social roles and lifestyles – the story of who we are, and how we came to be where we are now.

Narration is (re)construction of not just how things *are* but also how things *have been*. Past is a creation of the present in perception (physical memory) and interpretation.⁵ (For the dialectic between perception/interpretation and the 'structural realm' see: Negotiation in Chapter 2.2). Re-evaluation depends on level of attachment, influenced by ideological factors and power relations.

⁵ As stated by the eminent cognitive neuroscientist Michel Gazzaniga: 'Everything in life is memory, save for the thin edge of the present' (in Goldstein 2007, 136)

In an existential interpretation, memory (*i.e.* narration of the past) serves as a chronological extension of the self. It is a highly salient marker of identity as it provides the ‘material’ for evaluating our sense of self in the present. Memory is greatly influenced by belonging. A common sense proof of this is constantly provided by members of teams. Supporters of two different football teams, for example, tend to report the same ‘factual’ events in a football match in a markedly different way (Foster 2009, 12). A simple illustration of how our reality is affected by affiliation was provided by Hastorf and Cantril’s (1954):

Princeton and Dartmouth students [...] watched a film of a game of basketball between the two schools. The event is described as follows: Both sets of students watched the same film. The students were instructed to watch carefully for rule infractions by each team. The results were that the Princeton students reported twice as many rule infractions involving the Dartmouth team as the Dartmouth students saw. The Dartmouth students saw about twice as many rule infractions by Princeton as the Princeton students saw! Remember that they all saw exactly the same game—the same “facts”.

Due to an existential need for certainty in a form of self-assurance, ‘experimental evidence suggests that people process and remember information selectively so that they are more likely to arrive at system-serving conclusions’ (Jost and Toorn 2011, 651).

It has also been shown in empirical research that a strong collective narrative of a family is existentially beneficial in facing challenging situation in the present (*e.g.* Saltzman *et al.* 2013; Fivush *et al.* 2015; Duke *et al.* 2015). This, I believe, is also true about groups constructed on a sense of familiarity. The narrative of belonging provides meaning. Meaning and memory are, therefore, intrinsically linked.

Remembering is contextual. The idea that experiencers structure past event by imposing meaning in context of their own environment is well known in the so-called Bartlett tradition of psychological research on memory. Bartlett in his book *Remembering* (1932) presented his experiments on narration and memory. His experiment is recounted by Foster (2009, 11-2) as follows:

[His] subjects were asked to read a story to themselves and then tried to recall the story later [...] Bartlett found that individuals recalled each story in their own idiosyncratic way, but he also discovered some general trends among his findings

among which that people seemed to make sense of unfamiliar material by linking this material to their pre-existing ideas, general knowledge and cultural expectations is important for our social understanding [...] Bartlett argued that what people remember is, to some extent, mediated by their emotional and personal commitment to – and investment in – the original to-be-remembered event. Bartlett referred to this key characteristic of memory as ‘reconstructive’, as opposed to ‘reproductive’. In other words, instead of reproducing the original event or story, we derive a reconstruction based on our existing presuppositions, expectations and our ‘mental set’.

Narrative always has a de(con)structable self-justifying primordial basis that may or may not be acknowledged by the experiencer(s). This is well illustrated in the following debunking quotation by Miller (2006, 539):

At least half-aware of this, citizens in contemporary liberal societies often embrace the national story in their hearts while their heads tell them that it contains elements of fiction. If the needs that national identities meet are real ones, however, this seems no more irrational than, for example, believing at one level that your child is the cutest baby ever born while at the same time recognizing that all parents think the same.

Another related topic in memory research is forgetting. Forgetting, viewed as an active process, occurs because ‘memory traces are disrupted, obscured or overlaid by other memories. In other words, forgetting occurs as a consequence of interference’ (Foster 2009, 62). This process of forgetting was empirically validated recently by Maria Wimber at University of Birmingham and her colleagues. They have concluded that ‘[f]orgetting arises when other competing traces interfere with retrieval and inhibitory control mechanisms are engaged to suppress the distraction they cause. This form of forgetting is considered to be adaptive because it reduces future interference’ (Wimber *et al.* 2015, 582).

Postmodernists refer to the *per se* subjective sequence of memories as the grand narrative. This term, mainly in reference to memory/narration at the structural/collective level, was brought into prominence by Jean-François Lyotard (1984). It is widely regarded as the most powerful theoretical expression of postmodernism and it is based on distrust of the *grand narrative(s)* and their reliance on some form of ‘transcendent and universal truth’ (Lyotard 1984, XXIV-V). In this view any tradition can be demonstrated to be an ‘invented tradition’ (Hobsbawm

and Ranger 1983), or, in a more humanistic phrasing, a ‘myth to live by’ (Samuel and Thompson 1990).

Lyotard’s de(con)struction of the grand narrative is a great analytical tool of analysing power relations (who gets to define a narrative). It, as the whole of de(con)structionism itself, is based on the paradox of providing a metanarrative about the lack of truth in metanarratives (no human group/cluster is formed without shared/convergent memories). This paradox, outside the circle of theoretical philosophy, can be mitigated by de(con)structing the de(con)structionist, *i.e.* by revealing the ideology and power relations of those who de(con)struct the metanarrative of others.

2.2 Identity

Experience links the Heideggerian gap between being and existence. Experience itself is not transcendable and, therefore, it is whole. An ‘experiencer’ invests this *psychological* sense of integrity in his/her self that exists in phenomena in a world constructed in divisions, change and passing. A sense of integrity in the self is achieved by attempting to organise the experienced phenomena and their associations through categorisation. The process of categorisation takes place in a dialectic between experience in the first person and *others* (those in the third person or its familiarised extension in the second person). Categorisation is socially consequential and can be studied according to the analytical framework of culture, ideology and power (see: Chapter 2.3).

Categorisation requires cognitive and/or emotional investment. Emotion, as a psychological field of study, is often disregarded in categorisation in the social sciences. Rogers Brubaker, for example, holds that ethnicity, a vague but emotionally highly salient category, is merely a cognitive matter of classification and categorisation (Brubaker 2004, 64–87; Brubaker *et al.* 2004). Other researchers, however, recognise that emotion, as an adherent phenomenon of existence, is an attribute of identification (Ashton *et al.* 2004, 90–92). The relevance of emotion to cognition was expressed by As Carroll E. Izard as follows (1991, 21):

When emotions become linked to mental image, symbol, or thought, the result is a thought-feeling bond, or an affective–cognitive structure. Affective–cognitive structures can also involve drive–cognition or drive–emotion–cognition combinations.

Emotion, therefore, is not only a potential element of categorisation/identification, but may indeed be one of its significant influencing factors.

The amount of cognitive and emotional investment depends on the perceived relevance of certain phenomena to the experiencer's sense of self and integrity. Cognitive and emotional investment is also subject to (1) the experiencer's power resources to defend his sense of self and integrity in negotiation with *others* and/or (2) the experiencer's flexibility to reimagine his/her self and integrity with a diminished sense of relevance/attachment to contested phenomena. Diminishing relevance/attachment of the self to phenomena results in their peripheralisation. Phenomena that are peripheral in the self-narrative of one experiencer may be central or also peripheral in the self-narrative of *other* experiencers. Phenomena with a diminished relevance to experiencers may linger on in social memory (collective narrative/heritage) in order to fulfil peripheral/contextual functions.

From vagueness to clarity

The word *category* comes from the Greek *κατηγορία*, meaning 'accusation, assertion, predication'. Categories are both descriptive and evaluative entities. They are experienced/constructed under a name and some description based on certain attributes. Having a name and some description based on certain attributes is also a valid definition for 'identity'.

Categorisation is the process of constructing a category. Categorisation can be analysed in the conceptual framework of culture, ideology and power as illustrated in the following questions:

- What cultural terms and understanding categorisation is made upon?
- What values categories are constructed on?
- Who gets to (re)construct (socially consequential) categories?

Categories can be differentiated according to their (1) level of complexity and, from an experiential point of view, according to the (2) level of importance they are invested with by those who (re)construct them. Conflict arises if categorisation is perceived to be a matter of subtractive power relation by at least one categoriser/definer. Subtractive power relation threatens the validity of certain *truths* held by an experiencer about himself/herself and about his/her world. The more one associates his/her sense of self with such *truths*, the more threat external (re)definition is perceived to convey.

Definitions of categories are linguistic entities and exist (*i.e.* originate, change and terminate) in discourse.⁶ All phenomena of existence are known/constructed in categories, *i.e.* in a name and a set of related attributes. What categories are valid under what name, description and conditions is a matter of negotiation in power relations. As the social anthropologist Jenkins pointed out (Jenkins 2008a, 6):

The matter is made more complex, however, by the fact that knowing who's who isn't merely a matter of neutral classification. Or, rather, classification is rarely neutral [...] It is powerful societies who have the means to study and publish and get audience and make other people believe that through acting neutrally, they are above classification themselves.

All that exist is in (sensory and mental) experience and all exist by virtue of division through delineation. Delineation means drawing boundaries. Boundaries are subjective entities drawn on a map of (natural or social) structural features. The dialectic relationship of structural influence and subjectivity is based on the principles of sustainability. Vagueness in boundary construction is mitigated subjectively in power relations.

Categories are vague at their boundaries and in the hierarchical value of their attributes. Vagueness at the boundary is described in quantitative terms and vagueness in the hierarchical value of attributes is described in qualitative terms. These quantitative and qualitative considerations are illustrated in the following questions:

- What are attributes that make up (/that fall *inside*) a category and what are attributes that do not make up (/that fall *outside*) a category?
- What are the core defining features and what are the peripheral defining features of a category?

Experiencers do not perceive vagueness to be an equal property of all categories. Structural features also influence perception. Structural features are non-experiencing emergent features with their own ontological status. Another interesting way of explaining the varied vague quality of categories and attributes is offered through the theory of complexity. In the 1960s, the mathematician Andrey Kolmogorov defined the complexity of something as the length of

⁶ Cognitive linguistics focuses on how linguistic objects and structures reflect the manner in which human beings perceive, categorize and conceptualize the world. An argument could be made that categories can exist based on shape. If this is the case, categorisation may be cognitively achieved outside the linguistic/discourse domain.

the shortest description that captures everything relevant about that thing (Kolmogorov 1963). It seems, therefore, that the more complex a category is (*i.e.* the more attributes we need to rely on in providing a definition), the vaguer its boundary becomes.

Social interactionists offer a more socially focused approach to studying vagueness. Some of the main themes in social interactionism are ‘dialect’ and ‘consensus’. The American sociologist Herbert Blumer (1969), for example, described vagueness by the degree of shared meaning. He differentiates between three different levels of entities/objects: (1) physical object, (2) social objects and (3) abstract objects. As we move from physical objects to abstract objects, the more difficult it becomes to rely on shared meanings.

Culture, ideology and power are complex abstract terms demonstrating a high degree of definitional vagueness. In fact many other key concepts of my work, such as ‘society’, ‘group’, ‘language’, ‘ethnicity’, are highly vague terms. In his most influential work *Critique of Pure Reason* he stated (1781, 139) that a category is not a classificatory division, as the word is commonly used. It is, instead, the ‘condition of the possibility of objects in general’.

The idea of vagueness in categorisation has long been in the centre of philosophical interest. The problem was already considered by ancient Greek thinkers. In fact, the best illustration of vagueness comes from this period. The so-called *Sorites paradox*, attributed to Eubulides of Miletus, captures the essence of vagueness in its most simple form. The paradox is described as such: if the removal of one grain from a heap of grains always leaves a heap, then the successive removal of every grain still leaves a heap. So the question is ‘when is it no longer a heap?’ (Williamson 1994, 4).

The Sorites paradox is a good illustration of a *quantitative* approach to vagueness. Vagueness, however, can also be approached in a *qualitative* manner. The qualitative approach to vagueness focuses on the ascribed importance of attributes of a category. It is obvious that some attributes of a category are more contestable than others. This means that attributes of categories can be hierarchically modelled using core-periphery mapping. The hierarchical position of an attribute in categorisation can be qualified according to a conceptual framework in which measurement is given. Such conceptual frameworks include formal/institutional, functional, morphological, critical, geographical approaches. From an experiential point of view, however, qualitative analysis of categories should focus on the overarching issue of relevance.

Of the conceptual frameworks of qualification listed above the formal/institutional measurement is of particular relevance to power in categorisation. Formal/institutional influence on categorisation, combined with power of enforcement, can overwrite the truth value of non-formal/non-institutional definitions (see: Formalisation in Chapter 2.4).

Categories have names, a differentiated content of attributes and a context. Since categories are social constructions, their name and differentiated content is based on shared meaning. It is possible that two categories with (quantitatively and/or qualitatively) distinguishable contents are grouped together under the same name. Conditional to the level of communication that exists between the two clusters of definers, power-based negotiation of meaning may proceed towards a resolution of the conflict in some form of a consensus. Consensus is achieved through a (quantitative and/or qualitative) rearrangement of attributes. Dependent on how central certain attributes perceived to be, the process of their rearrangement may prove to be existentially difficult for those who have to comply. The existential difficulty to which I refer here is misrepresentation, *i.e.* when an experiencer has to accept a description about his/herself in which he/she does not recognise his/herself.

Negotiation

I have previously discussed that the function of categorisation is sense making by delineating vagueness. I have also stated that categorisation is a relational, social matter and, as such, it can be measured in terms of culture, ideology and power. In this part of the thesis I explore how categories relate in a part-whole fashion and how such a hierarchical relationship is concerned from an experiencer's point of view.

In organising the world we group things. Grouping, however, is not a self-evident process. In mathematics the simplest grouping is addition. Digits are idealistic units outside the sphere of existential matter. Non-mathematical components of groups, however, are based on a myriad of values which renders grouping to be a vague process achieved with a great deal a subjectivity.

Each category is a group of its attributes. When categories are grouped they become attributes of the group. Such group is a category itself and it also acts as an attribute when grouped in a more general category. The idea that in a hierarchical organisation all categories may be perceived as attributes and all attributes may also be perceived as categories is referred to as *recurrence*. Hierarchical organisation of categories in this recurrent part-whole fashion is a means of constructing the world in a coherent subjective narrative.

In social theory recurrent classification of categories are most explicit in the so-called general systems theory. This theory has its roots in the natural and physical sciences. According to this thinking all phenomena are linked, from entire societies right down to the atom. Ludwig von Bertalanffy referred to these phenomena as systems made up of different interrelated and interdependent parts (Hatch 1997, p35). General systems theory views the organisation as a system made up of many subsystems and the interrelationship of these subsystems create a dynamic and unique whole that is more than the sum of its parts.

A good example of recurrence (of the self) at various levels of social identification was provided by Jenkins, who also draws attention to intrinsic vagueness of such a classification, or, as he put it, '[i]t is also only one way to cut this particular cake' (2008b, 43). This hierarchical categorisation is also subjective and it is established on a varying degree of vagueness. I find two points about categorical recurrence especially relevant to the subject of my study: (1) power influences the salience of a level of classification/organisation (2) the core-periphery value of an element (attribute or category) of classification changes from one level to another.

How various levels of classification relate to one another is also of interest. A fundamental idea in structuralist thinking is that a category is not simply a sum of its parts. A ground-breaking contribution to this understanding was provided by Ferdinand de Saussure who distinguished between 'langue' and 'parole'. The term 'langue' refers to the natural language as a structure, or system and the term 'parole' refers to individual speech acts, or acts of language as a process. This conceptual pair introduces the distinction between language as it exists as a more or less coherent structure and language as it is practised by an experiencer (Lechte 1994, 180).

Language in Saussure's understanding is an attribute of the individual and parole is an attribute of the social. What is of particular interest from the point of view of *recurrence* is the dialectical (rather than simply deterministic) relationship that exists between *langue* (the structural level) and *parole* (the level of experience). We, for example, use words from a common source of available vocabulary, and also contribute to changes in this vocabulary. Our own personal vocabulary (of *parole*), though it reflects the social vocabulary (*langue*), only represents a *part* of the *whole* of available number and usage of words.

The way the two analytical levels of experience and structure relate is a matter of considerable debate. An influential explanation on the relationship between these levels of categorisation was provided by Ludwig Wittgenstein in his book *Philosophical Investigations* (2009 [1953]).

This is essentially an anti-essentialist non-experiential account known as Wittgenstein's theory of 'family resemblance'. I quote Michael Freedén's description of this theory (2003, 43):

Wittgenstein's argument was that sets of features may be broadly similar without being identical in all respects. To explain that he used the phrase 'family resemblances'. It indicated that there were overlapping characteristics of a special kind among members of the same set. Say that the family resemblances included a wide forehead, thin lips, brown eyes, and fair hair. Family members would not necessarily have all these features, but in a large family any member would share something in common with some other members (if I had fair hair, another would too). However, there could still be two members who shared nothing in common (the one having a wide forehead, thin lips, blue eyes and ginger hair, the other having a narrow forehead, thick lips, brown eyes, and fair hair).

So far I have distinguished phenomena according to the level of attachment that a person experiences about them. In turning to social issues, however, it is useful to distinguish between categories of phenomena on the basis of involvement (or, more formally, membership). I refer to a category to which experiencers relate in terms of (voluntarily or externally) assigned membership as 'social category' in this thesis. An experiencer can take the following positions on his/her involvement in a social category (1) claim it, (2) reject it, express either (3) ambiguity or (4) a neutral/agnostic position about it.

Involvement works on the same principles as categorisation does. It is a processual matter constructed in the dialectic relationship with *others*. Jenkins metaphorically compared social identities with maps and stated (Jenkins 2008b, 13):

People work with various 'maps' or hierarchies of identification, these hierarchies of identification are never clear cut, unambiguous or in consistent agreement with each other, and the relationship between interests and identification is too complex for individual behaviour to be predictable in these terms.

Social identity we claim to belong to provides an attachment point and an extension for the self and, depending on the degree of attachment, it may be experienced as a cognitively/emotionally salient feature. The cognitive/emotional salience of membership is influenced by contextual factors and it is fuelled by attachment and the existential need for a sense of integrity.

Identification with (*i.e.* involvement) or rejection of (*i.e.* non-involvement) a social category is described in anthropology in the ‘emic-etic’ binary formula. The terms ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ were first employed by Kenneth L. Pike in his book, *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior* (1967). The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology describes the ‘emic-etic’ distinction in the following manner (Barnard and Spencer 1996, 221-2):

The terms ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ were widely used in the American anthropology of the 1960s and 1970s, and the distinction between ‘emic’ and ‘etic’ levels of analysis was a commonplace in the areas of linguistic anthropology [...] ‘Emic’ and ‘etic’ (derived respectively from ‘phonemic’ and ‘phonetic’) designate two contrasting levels of data or methods of analysis. An emic model is one which explains the ideology or behaviour of members of a culture according to indigenous definitions. An etic model is one which is based on criteria from outside a particular culture.

Barnard and Spencer made the following points on the emic-etic distinction (*ibid.*):

- Etic models are held to be universal; emic models are culture-specific;
- Emic models are not in themselves ‘the native model’, though anthropologists often loosely identify them in this way;
- An emic model is not necessarily a model held consciously by indigenous thinkers.

They also highlight the relationship between the emic and the etic explanatory levels according to the structuralist distinction developed in its linguistic form by Saussure (*ibid.*):

Just as no native speaker, simply as a native speaker, can coherently describe the phonological system of his or her language, similarly no indigenous thinker can usually present a complete emic analysis of his actions or of a culturally significant semantic field of his language.

Saussure’s structuralist understanding can, in fact, be used to provide a coherent explanation of society. Traditional social science in the western intellectual tradition is based on the individual as its basic unit of analysis. Its focus tends to be either the individual or the social/emergent phenomena. Some compelling theories also have been published with a focus on trying to join the two levels of analysis in one model. Such approaches are often referred to as *multi-dimensional* theories. A good summary on a *multi-dimensional* theory based on

individual-social distinction can be found in the work of Maykel Verkuyten (2005). He presents an adapted version of figures originally developed by Coté and Levine (2002), which is closely related to Berger and Luckmann's (1966) discussion of the social construction of reality.

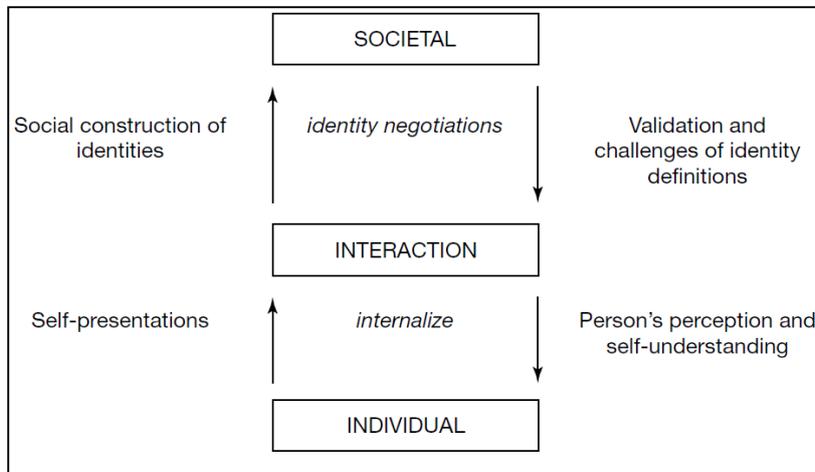


Figure 3 Multi-dimensional theory of individual-social distinction (Jenkins 2008:a, 39).

This model illustrates how the individual and the social realm connects through the realm of interaction. Jenkins explains these three realms as follows (Jenkins 2008:a, 39; Figure 3):

- The individual order is the human world as made up of embodied individuals and what-goes-on-in-their-heads;
- The interaction order is the human world as constituted in relationships between individuals, in what-goes-on-between-people;
- The institutional order is the human world of pattern and organisation, of established-ways-of-doing-things.

This model can be used to explain the different social psychological approaches to social identity and ethnic identity in particular. The three levels are interdependent, yet each level is analytically different from the other two.

Social sciences tend to approach society from a structuralist perspective. This structuralist perspective was propagated in sociology by Durkheim. In one of his major works, the *Division of Labour* (1984 [1893]), he described his sociological approach as 'society *sui generis*' (or society as a thing by itself), meaning that society is a subject to be studied separately from the sum of the individuals who compose it. In his view society takes on a life of its own.

In the same work Durkheim also shared his idea of ‘collective consciousness’. This plural extension of Locke’s individual consciousness is also of interest from an experiential perspective. A description of Durkheim’s understanding of collective consciousness highlights its relationship with formal categorisation (Andersen and Taylor 2007:102):

[T]he body of beliefs common to a community or society that gives people a sense of belonging and a feeling of moral obligation to its demands and values. This collective consciousness stems from people’s participation in common activities, such as work, family, education, and religion – in short, society’s institutions.

Durkheim, however, did not distinguish between emic and etic approaches to ‘collective conscience’. He rather saw ‘collective conscience’ only as an etic phenomenon that is ‘external to the individuals of a society: it pre-exists them and it persists after they have died’ (Scott 2006: 33). As opposed to Durkheim’s sociological approach, many thinkers in anthropology emphasise that cultural understandings are not shared equally by all members of a society and that personal versions of ideologies, beliefs and knowledge accounts for the frequently found individual differences/contradictions in empirical research (Fox and King 2002; de Munck 2000).

The theoretical divergence of the disciplines of sociology and anthropology are based in their varied orientations; sociology tends to focus on issues at the ‘micro’ level and anthropology tends to focus on issues at the ‘micro’ level of social phenomena. A key concept in the multidimensional model is, however, that the structural level and the individual level of analysis are non-reducible into one another (Turner 2013, 405):

At the heart of the issue is how explanations of population-level or societal-level phenomena are to be reconciled with explanations about behaviour and interpersonal processes. Once this turn is taken, the problems of linking the macro and micro, or of filling the micro-macro ‘gap’, become evermore salient.

Reductionism is the idea that an existing entity is nothing more than the existence of certain other kinds of things. This is in stark contrast to what the complexity theorists call ‘emergence’. Philip Anderson, who introduced the philosophical term emergence, repeated the structuralist claim that ‘more is different’ (1972). Though many thinkers accept the idea of non-reducible emergence, its distinct ontological status is a matter of debate. The seemingly far-flung idea that emergent features can exhibit signs of consciousness that is separate from its composing

elements was raised following the experiments of Toshiyuki Nakagaki with slime mould. His experiment was summarised by Johnson (2001) as follows:

Nakagaki had placed the mold in a small maze comprising four possible routes and planted pieces of food at two of the exits. Despite its being an incredibly primitive organism (a close relative of ordinary fungi) with no centralized brain whatsoever, the slime mold managed to plot the most efficient route to the food, stretching its body through the maze so that it connected directly to the two food sources. Without any apparent cognitive resources, the slime mold had "solved" the maze puzzle.

The case of lime moulds is interesting, as it could be paralleled with a much more sophisticated organism, the human brain, which consists of great number of neurons that communicate and produce consciousness. Social psychology warns us against stopping at this level and directs our attention to many of the emergent behavioural features humans develop in social life. This is in accordance with structuralist theory on groups which state that a group is more, or I would rather say different, to the sum of its parts; an entity itself at its particular level of analysis.

Another, from an experiential point of view more relevant way of phrasing the micro vs. macro dilemma is the so-called agency vs.determinism debate. Those arguing for the primacy of human agency typically see humans as having some degree of free will, whereas those pushing the more structural side will tend to see human action as highly circumscribed by cultural and structural parameters.

While I do not wish to dwell on the agency vs. determinism debate, I make an experiential distinction between determination and constraint. Of the phenomena, described in science as having determining effects on our lives, many are not experienced to be constraining at all. At the same time the experiencer may perceive many phenomena that otherwise may not be described as inflicting a determining force on his/her life to have a constraining effect.

All existent being experience reality with limitations/constrains. Berger and Luckmann (1966, 13) defined this reality as ‘a quality appertaining to phenomena that we recognize as having a being independent of our own volition (we cannot ‘wish them away’)’. In this experienced reality dialectical relationship is the creative link between structure and agency. The early social constructionist view that ‘[r]eality constructs the person and that the person constructs reality’ is elaborated by Verkuyten in the following manner (2004, 28):

The starting point for this position is that knowledge is always a relationship between description and the world. This means, on the one hand, that we should not prioritize 'reality' and assume that it is possible to have unmediated access to how the world really is or that knowledge is a mirror or reflection of it. However, on the other hand, it does not mean that we should assume that there is no connection between description and the world. Nor should we prioritize the 'person' and assume that no correspondence with reality is possible. A rejection of the idea that language mirrors or reflects things in the world does not entail a complete rejection of representation or truth as correspondence. Just because the world as we know it is a construct of our language does not mean that it is an arbitrary construct.

Many thinkers have repeated Berger's and Luckmann's middle way conception of actors and structure (e.g. Morris 1997). The two most prominent intellectuals who contributed to the development of the study of structural constraint are Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu. Giddens in his theory of structuration describes agency and structure as a duality that cannot be conceived of apart from one another and in which primacy is granted to neither (Giddens 1984). At a basic level, this means that people make society, but are at the same time constrained by it. I quote Ritzer's description of this theory (Ritzer 2003, 255):

Action and structure cannot be analysed separately, as structures are created, maintained and changed through actions, while actions are given meaningful form only through the background of the structure: the line of causality runs in both directions.

The theory of structuration provides a two directional explanation for change. Structures (e.g. tradition and institutions or any 'established ways of doing things') are generally quite stable, but can be changed through the unintended consequences of action. These unintended consequences of action arise when people start to ignore or replace 'established ways of doing things'.

Pierre Bourdieu also developed a framework of explanation that sees structure and agency as complementary forces in which structure influences human behaviour and humans are capable of changing the social structures they inhabit. Bourdieu refers to the "opposition" between subjectivism and objectivism as dividing the social sciences and as being 'the most fundamental, and the most ruinous' (1990:25). Both are essential, yet both offer only one side

of an epistemology that is necessary to understand the social world. In other words ‘The world cannot be reduced to phenomenology or social physics; both must be employed in order to constitute an authentic ‘theory of practice’’ (Grenfell 1990: 43).

Bourdieu elaborated his most relevant concepts, habitus and field, in his book *An Outline of the Theory of Practice* (1977). By habitus ‘Bourdieu denotes certain properties that are embedded within the minds and bodies of human beings. These properties he defined as the ‘transposable and durable dispositions through which people perceive, think, appreciate, act and judge in the world’ (Scott 2006, 79). By dispositions Bourdieu means ‘the variety of enduring orientations, skills and forms of ‘know-how’ that people simply pick-up by being socialised into particular cultures and subcultures’ (Scott 2006, 79). In other words ‘[t]his concept signifies the ‘generative schemes’ (themselves structured and structuring) acquired in the course of individual life trajectories’ (Grenfell 2008, 47).

Other key concepts in Bourdieu's legacy are ‘field’ and ‘capital’. The place of socialisation is the ‘field’, where various forms of "capital" are available. The field is ‘the objective network or configuration of relations (again structuring and structured) to be found in any social space or particular context (Grenfell 2008, 47). The internalised relationships and habitual expectations and relationships in the field is what develops the *habitus*. Separately they represent the subjective (field) and the objective (habitus) aspects of social phenomena.

I now turn back to the basic phenomenological tenet that an experiencer exists in a self embodied in experienced/constructed phenomena. It is useful to analyse these phenomena in two intertwined categories; in biological terms and in social terms. This distinction also reflects a classical intellectual tradition in the Western intellectual tradition, namely the nature *vs.* nurture debate.

The binarisation of the nature and nurture continuum is a useful analytical tool. Its vagueness, however is evident and can be illustrated by the fact that most inner learner attributes (*e.g.*, attitudes, motivation and aptitude) are the result of interplay between biological and socio-psychological factors. The self is, therefore, existent in a dialectic with both natural and social constraints. This dialectic can also be described in terms of power. There is a useful metaphor that explains the dialectic, power-based relationship that exists between the natural and the social. This metaphor compares the relationship between the natural and the social with the relationship that exists between the natural landscape and human habitation patterns; some areas are more difficult to conquer/domesticate than others. This metaphor also shifts discourse

from contemporary post-modernist focus on *possibility* to a more ecology-based focus on *sustainability*.

A fundamental aspect of socio-cultural constraints is internalisation. In Bourdieu's thinking it is *habitus* that brings together both objective social structure and subjective personal experiences in "the dialectic of the internalization of externality and the externalization of internality" (1977b: 72). Internalisation is also a theme in developmental psychology. In sociology and anthropology the same phenomena is described under the terms *socialisation* and *enculturation*. Socialization is fundamentally reflective; that is, it involves self-conscious human beings seeing and reacting to the expectations of others (Andersen and Taylor 2012, 73). In socialisation and enculturation each generation learns the culture of its ancestors and transmits it to the next generation, creating a chain of transmitted beliefs called *tradition* (the word derives from Latin *tradere*, which means 'to transmit'). Each experiencer re-evaluates the socio-cultural legacy of the former generations in a dialect with his/her own context. This context can be described in the conceptual framework of culture, ideology and power. Thus, any new knowledge or behaviour acquired by one generation is potentially available to future generations while some of it is lost or replaced with each generation.

The structural model based on Saussure's distinction of language and parole is a useful way of theorising the dynamics that exist between an experiencer and his/her environment. The self of the experiencer in this model is portrayed to be in dialectical synthesis of internal and external definitions. Among the external definitions are other experiencers and structural features. Experiencers shape structural phenomena and structural phenomena influence experiencers. Their relationship is through the medium of discourse with other experiencer(s) and its location is fundamentally *the* experiencer. An experiencer identifies with his/her own version of structural phenomena in the first person. Attachment to structural phenomena in the first person is expressed in the possessive markers *my* and *our*. Structural phenomena in the first person are in a dynamic relationship with structural phenomena in the third person (Figure 4).

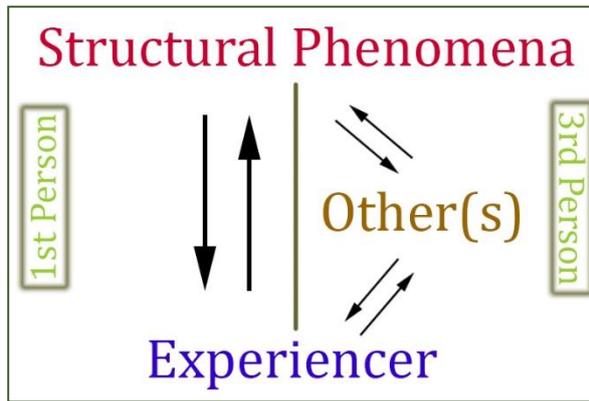


Figure 4 Multi-dimensional model of personal perspective in relation to experiencer vs. structural phenomena.

As mentioned earlier the experiencer is in a constant and dynamic relationship with others, *i.e.* experiencers and structures in the third person. Whatever happens at the structural level and among those other experiencers who bear the *parole* of a structure affects the experiencer (as the ultimate locus of all [experientially] attainable information). The experiencer's position on a certain structural concept and on those associated with it is also consequential on the way phenomena in the third person change. The degree to which the experiencer's position is consequential in this regard depends on his/her degree of (positive or negative) personal attachment and motivation/intent along with the amount of power he/she holds in order to inflict change.

Change

The term *category* is brought into a chronological context by referring to it as *identity*. Chronological context means change and change is a metaphysical issue. The basic questions about category/categorisation and identity/identification in this context is under what conditions, if any, an entity retains its sameness/identity (based on the Latin adjective *idem* meaning 'same') throughout the passage of time.

Interest in questions of identity and change is usually traced back to the time of the ancient Greek philosophers. Plato and Aristotle laid down the foundations of two different approaches to the issue of sameness in time. Plato theorised that all existent phenomena are reflections of essential ideal shapes beyond the confines of change. Aristotle, in contrast, worked on attributes that could frame sameness by elaborating 'the classes of the things that exist' (Barnes 2000, 66). The greatest difference between the approaches of Plato and Aristotle is whether the key to understanding sameness is *beyond* or *within* measurable phenomena. Defining sameness on grounds that are beyond measurable phenomena remained a key issue in Descartes's explanation based on the soul and Lock's explanation based on consciousness and memory.

Understanding sameness *beyond* or *within* measurable phenomena was framed in one theoretical framework in Barth's distinction (1969) between 'boundary' and 'content'. Barth emphasized that ethnic identity is generated, confirmed or transformed in the course of interaction and transaction between decision-making, strategizing individuals. This theory is rooted in interactionist sociology, stretching back through Goffman, to Hughes, Simmel and Weber. It is also related to the Chicago School of George Herbert Mead and Charles Horton Cooley who were interested in how society shaped the mind and identity of people.

Barth drew attention to the difficulties associated with functional/structuralist thinking in anthropology, which theorised culture [as a social category] as discontinuous and that 'interconnected differences [...] distinguish each such discrete culture [as a social category] from all others' (Barth 1969, 9). In Jenkins's words structural functionalists 'understand of the human world as a system of more or less unproblematic, more or less firmly bounded, societies [as social categories] or social groups [as social categories], which existed as 'social facts', and were, pace Durkheim, to be treated or understood as 'things'' (Jenkins 2008b, 12). Barth, instead, propagated a view that is known today to belong to *interactional contextualism*. Barth's thinking can be summarised in his own words (Barth 1969a: 14):⁷

It is important to recognize that although ethnic categories [~social categories] take cultural differences into account, we can assume no simple one-to-one relationship between ethnic units [~social categories] and cultural [~categorical] similarities and differences. The features that are taken into account are not the sum of 'objective' differences, but only those which the actors themselves regard as significant [...] [S]ome cultural features [~social categorical attributes] are used by the actors as signals and emblems of differences, others are ignored, and in some relationships radical differences are played down and denied.

Context affects meaning through influencing salience of categories and their attributes. Context is also important in influencing what categories in a hierarchy get more attention. Problem arises when context is interpreted as a determining factor leaving no room for choice, creativity and self-organisation, or, in other words, a constructive experience of self in the first person.

⁷ I inserted notes in square brackets to show that Barth's message is not specific to the ethnic phenomena but can be applied at a more general theoretical level as well.

The contextualist view is often placed in binary opposition with essentialism. Essentialism is generally taken to be a view that, for any specific entity (such as an animal, a group of people, a physical object, a concept), there is a set of attributes which are necessary to its identity and function (Cartwright 1968). Wittgenstein's theory of family resemblance is an emblem of anti-essentialism. As it often happens with human artificial constructs of binary opposition, the two sides 'do not speak the same language'.

As a researcher influenced by Heideggerian thinking, I do not regard essence to exist in existing phenomena. I hold that essence is our sense of an undivided 'being' in divided existence. The problem with Wittgenstein's approach is that it has no analytical value because it cannot define. A category based on attributes according to Wittgenstein 'family resemblance' is limitless as all attributes in the world can be joined together by some type of 'family resemblance'. It is only through essentialism, namely existentialist essentialism, that subjective delineation of vagueness can be achieved. Without such delineation no categorisation is possible. De(con)structionism itself is useful reminder that outside subjectivity all collapse into a continuum. All experiencers in the world form phenomena into categories both through perception and through interpretation. These categories do not stand without the experiencer's subjectivity. Essentialist thinking, fuelled by a need for a sense of integrity and predictability, is, therefore, an existential property shared by all experiencers.

It might be theoretically useful to distinguish between identity as an emergent feature and identities, *i.e.* cultural markers that the self is attached to. The first refers to a 'relatively context-free personal identity (which may be a composition of various social identities) or personal self' and the latter refers to 'the actual, situated practices of social actors that may be seen as manifestations of (some aspects of) personal identity' (Dijk 1998, 119).

It is evident at this point that identity carries both psychological and social significations. This disciplinary dualism is apparent in studies of identity from the early 1960s. I quote Wetherell on the subject 'Bifurcation into the personal and the social created the most central puzzle in identity studies from the 1960s onwards – how are subjectivity and social relations yoked together.' (Wetherell 2010, 10). I believe that the essentialist constructionist debate can only be taken seriously with a disregard to this disciplinary dualism.

Essentialism, approached in relation to an experiencer's existential need for a sense of integrity, offers a way to study identity from psychological rather than a sociological perspective. A central feature of a sense of integrity is the self and its readjustment/reconstruction of its

attachment points (properties/characteristics) in a dialect with external stimuli that arise from the emergent level of structures reflected in *others*.

All in this world, including the (Kantian) framework of time and space, undergo change. Change in phenomena, *i.e.* perceived entities (including concepts) or properties of such, happen at a varied pace in time, which is also experienced in subjectivity. In striving for a sense of integrity, categories that are perceived/interpreted to change meaning at a relatively slow pace are perceived to be ‘objective’, ‘real’, ‘factual’, ‘true’, *etc.*

The perception of a category/phenomena as *real* or *objective* has a constraining effect. Constraints, which have no intrinsic value, are assessed along the oppressing/affirming continuum. The salience of constraint depends on its perceived location in the core-periphery map of relevance to identity and the value of constrains depends on intent. Intent feeds a sense of agency, which is an essential component of subjectivity. If change is intended, change perceived to be slow (or none) is oppressing, and change perceived to be fast is reaffirming. If change is not intended, change perceived to be slow (or none) is reaffirming and change perceived to be fast is oppressing. The intensity of a sense of reaffirmation and the intensity of a sense of oppression depends on the (positive or negative) intensity of intent (Table 1).

		Perceived pace	
		slow	fast
intent	positive	oppressing	reaffirming
	negative	reaffirming	oppressing

Table 1 Evaluative perception of change.

I believe no study of categories to which people subscribe or to which people are assigned to can be complete without taking both the sociological and the psychological insights, *i.e.* the both contextualist and the essentialist perspectives into consideration. Psychological – by which I mean the experiential – perspective should be justified on grounds of the universal human need of a continuous reaffirming (re)construction of the self in existence.

2.3 Culture, ideology and power

Reality is experienced and constructed simultaneously through perception and interpretation by an experiencer embedded in a biological/social self. This experienced reality can be described in terms of culture, ideology, and power (Figure 5). This threefold conceptualisation

of reality is not a philosophical conceptualisation *per se* but a pragmatic tool based on the philosophical principle of critical thinking. It provides a means to measure/map for *all* that is experienced, including *all* experienced experiencers.

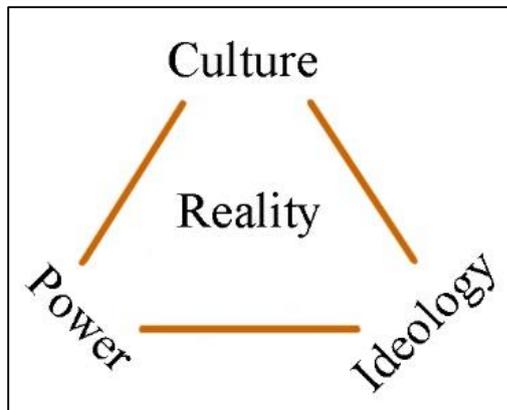


Figure 5 Reality in the threefold conceptual framework of culture, ideology and power.

The realms of culture, power and ideology blend into one another. Culture comprises the material of attachment for the self, ideology refers to the value assigned to this material, and power provides centres of attention that in time results in changing patterns of cultural attachment. Reality, measured in the analytical concepts of culture, ideology and power is experienced in discourse, and in geographical and virtual space.

Culture

Culture is all phenomena in which a collective sense of self is substantialised. The most often cited definition of culture was provided by E.B. Tylor, who described culture as ‘that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society’ (Tylor 1871:1).⁸ This is known today as the broad definition or as a general-purpose model of culture – as the definitive characteristic of human beings, the capacity for which unites us all in essential similarity (Jenkins 2008b, 14). The model coincides with the historical view in which culture was defined in opposition to nature. The narrow model of culture focuses on all cultural aspects that are used in identification. It is ‘based in variation of language, religion, cosmology, symbolism, morality, ideology, and so on. It is a model that leads occasionally to the problematic appearance that culture is different from, say, politics or economic activity (when, in fact, they are all ‘cultural’ phenomena in Tylor’s sense)’ (*ibid*).

⁸ For a collection of definitions about culture see: http://varenne.tc.columbia.edu/hv/clt/and/culture_def.html.

Sociological theory provides different perspectives on the significance of culture. ‘*Functionalist theory* emphasizes the influence of values, norms, and beliefs on the whole society. *Conflict theorists* see culture as influenced by economic interests and power relations in society. *Symbolic interactionists* emphasize that culture is socially constructed. This has influenced new cultural studies, which interpret culture as a series of images that can be analysed from the viewpoint of different observers’ (Andersen and Taylor 2012, 51).

Since cultural markers are diverse, further categorisation is needed in order to understand what role certain categories play in identification. Despite the availability of existing categorisations of cultural markers (e.g.: Deaux *et al.* 1995), I elaborate my own understanding based on salience and power.⁹ Salience is a concept based on two interacting factors: (1) context, which trigger attachment to certain cultural attributes and provide a stage for their politically modified representation/expression, (2) concealability and changeability, *i.e.* how easy it is to refrain markers to ‘go on stage’, *i.e.* to function and how easy it is to change their meaning and their content in order to be presented for interaction. According the existential theme of this thesis a function of attachment is to provide a sense of certainty, which is the same as a sense of integrity and distinction in the first person (along the singular-plural continuum).

I divide cultural markers into the following three categories (1) physical markers, (2) cultural markers and (3) formal markers.¹⁰ The first two of these are about what we think we perceive and the third is about what we decide to happen by reference to formarily codified authority. Obviously this model reduces the contemporary centrality of economics in public discourse into a secondary position but this secondary position could also be understood as the foundation course of this model.

Physical and cultural markers can be grouped as ‘organic’ attributes (in reference to actual, *i.e.* ‘known’, physical or cultural phenomena) in comparison (and in dynamic relationship) with formal markers. The salience of the three most important organic markers are charted as follows (Table 2):

⁹ Here I agree with Jenkins when he referred to the highly vague term ‘culture’ as ‘[It] is, at best, a cumbersome concept, difficult to define in any rigorous manner and difficult to distinguish in any sensible fashion from its conceptual close cousins ‘society’ and ‘the social’ (Jenkins 2008b, 14).

¹⁰ Of course all three categories are cultural in a sense that their perceived meaning is a cultural construction (in which the strong tells/writes the truth).

Saliency	Refrain	Change
Physical	no	with difficulty
Language	no	with difficulty
Religion	context-dependent	context-dependent

Table 2 Saliency of physical markers, language and religion in identification.

Physical and language attributes are the most salient of all the markers. It is impossible to refrain from having physical markers or linguistic markers. In a person's lifetime some physical and linguistic markers can be changed, but many can only be changed with great difficulty and often dubious success. Religion can also be highly salient, dependent on its association with power struggles.

Another aspect that binds these markers together is familiarity. Physical markers, language, and, in a more traditional setting, religion are acquired through primary socialisation, *i.e.* in early years of development and within the family. This means that these shared markers can bind people in the family and beyond, in the extended realm of 'familiarity'.

Physical markers

Physical attributes tend to be the most difficult to conceal. Among these are stable features, such as racial background and family traits, along with the fundamental sociological variables of age, sex and health. Stable features of physical characteristics are due to genetic heredity. Geographically they show a continuous variation influenced by marriage customs such as endogamy of a population that identifies itself as one people. Physical appearance is especially salient when it reflects social stratification.

Cultural Markers

Among the many cultural markers I discuss language, religion, ancestry and symbols. Occasional and everyday practical markers (*e.g.* songs, music, dance, sport, cloth, cuisine), though they are salient in identification, are omitted from my thesis.

Parallel to physical appearance, language and (at least traditionally) religion are the two most salient markers of belonging. The important boundary-marking function of language is frequently emphasised in the relevant literature (*e.g.* Tabouret-Keller, 1997; Bucholtz and Hall, 2004; Fought, 2006). Language is both the 'software' (*i.e.* means) of cognition and a marker of belonging that is remarkably difficult to conceal. Language is a set of symbols and rules that, through the cognition of the experiencer(s) provides a basis of culture formation. Learning

a language is essential to becoming part of a society, and it is one of the first things children do.

Language is also the vehicle of connecting with the past (Fishman 1991). It is through language that the knowledge of one person's mind is transmitted into the mind of another person. Many elements of tradition, such as storytelling/history, literature, songs, *etc.*, are linguistic features. 'Since so much of any culture is linguistically constituted (its songs and prayers, its laws and proverbs, its history, philosophy and teachings), there are parts of every culture that are expressed, implemented and realized via the language with which that culture is most closely associated' (Fishman 1991, 24).¹¹

Despite the fact that languages change, language provides the means for extending (rooting) our sense of self into the past. 'Language [...] is the principal conveyor of ideas and thoughts, our primary means of expressing what is familiar and intimate [...] Language also has deep roots, going back to earliest times. In this sense, language can be thought of as more central to culture than perhaps any other trait' (Ostergren and Le Boss 2011, 135).

The salience of language as an attachment point for the self is captured in the following quotation (Margalit and Halbertal 1994, 505):

People who speak a particular language [...] consider it important to preserve their language not because giving it up would mean giving up the use of language altogether, but because their culture is phrased in terms of the language, and they find particular linguistic treasures in it which they could not find in any other language.

In case of multilingual experiencers, attachment to the spoken language may be of different quality as noted by Gibbon: '[(a cluster of) experiencers] may have a symbolic attachment to an associated language, but may use another more utilitarian language instead' (Gibson 2004, 4). In such a multilingual bilingual scenario a language (or languages) may be of core value

¹¹ This view is similar, though not identical, to that expressed in the structurally deterministic Sapir-Worfian hypothesis (see Chapter 2.3.3 for an analysis of the relationship between structure and agency). The Sapir-Worfian hypothesis is well summarised in the following quote from Sapire (1964, 68–69) himself: '[Language] powerfully conditions all our thinking about social problems and processes. Human beings do not live in the objective world alone, nor alone in the world of social activity as ordinarily understood but are very much at the mercy of the particular language which has become the medium of expression for their society [...] The fact of the matter is that the "real world" is to a large extent unconsciously built up on the language habits of the group [...] The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached'.

(reflecting actual language use) and other language (languages) may be of peripheral value (reflecting symbolic language use) for a sense of existence.

Despite obvious contextual dependence of its value, it is interesting to know that some sociolinguists hold that ‘particular languages are peripheral to one's identity’ (May 2013, 25). This is in stark contrast with the view that ‘when we hear someone speak, we immediately make guesses about gender, education level, age, profession, and place of origin. Beyond this individual matter, a language is a powerful symbol of national and ethnic identity (Spolsky 1999, 181).

Language is a strong marker of membership at various levels of identification. The most salient location of division is in the zone marked by the intelligibility-unintelligible continuum. This zone is defined by the speakers’ ability to exchange information in a practically sufficient manner in a language. Within the realm marked by perceived intelligibility linguistic variation offers areas of division into various regional and social clusters in a non-linear hierarchical chain of emergent categories. One level of intralinguistic differences is called accent, which also ‘may reveal the social group to which a person belongs’ (Mesthrie 2000:6).

Another location of division is in the zone marked by the native-speaker/non-native-speaker dichotomy. All people learn their first language at home during their early years of socialisation and some learn a second language at a later stage. Language acquired through the first type of learning is called first language (L1) and language acquired through the second type of learning is called second language (L2). Many people learn more than one language during their early years of socialisation in a bilingual or multilingual context. But even in this situation ability in one language tends to be better than ability in other languages.

A speaker of a language can be categorised according to his/her (1) ability in speaking the language and the (2) frequency of speaking that language. A person with insufficient ability to participate in non-formal communication, or a person who is well able to speak a language but never exercises that skill, can hardly be called a ‘speaker’ of that language. To refer to an analogy, it is difficult to call a person a chess-player if that person does not know how to play chess or if the person does know how to play chess but either never plays the game or resigns from playing after a few moves.

Religion is a highly salient marker of belonging. Religion in a traditional social setting is practiced in a socially all-embracing fashion (Dillon 2008, 409). Its social importance is testified by the fact that much of the world’s most celebrated art, architecture, and music has

its origins in religion. 'From the functionalist perspective of sociological theory, religion is an integrative force in society because it has the power to shape collective beliefs' (Andersen and Taylor 2012, 327).

The idea of religion as an integrative force was elaborated by Durkheim (1915). According to his view the main function of religion in a society was to promote social solidarity. He believed that religion had the power of bringing people together and enhancing their sense of unity, cohesion, and reliance on their society's customs. Groups of people who share the same beliefs and who gather periodically to perform common rituals experience a feeling of oneness and harmony.

Religion is an important location of self-insurance that world is meaningful and that events have a place in the grand scheme of things (Geertz 1965). Beliefs about transcendent assuring forces are, however, not the only dimension of religion. Religion are also normative and include includes rituals/customs and linguistic elements. Rituals are often geographically and chronologically defined, occurring at certain times in certain places that have symbolic significance to the performers. Linguistic elements of rituals include teachings, prayers, incantations and recitations often combined with music. Non-linguistic elements may consist of special clothing, visual arts, body arts (including mutations) and dance.

Linguistic elements of religion are known to be resilient and conservative. Many ancient languages survived in religious form and function. The religious domain has also been empirically demonstrated to be the most resilient domain of a disappearing language in context of language shift in contemporary Europe (Gal 1979).

Ancestry is a cultural marker that is clearly associated with belonging. Descent refers to relatedness based on common ancestry. Because of its cultural loading, descent is essentially a social concept and varies widely in significance in different societies (Barnard and Spencer, 1996, 186). Ancestry is a highly salient identifier and can create strong solidarity in society.

A symbol is something (like an object or an action) that represents, connotes, or calls to mind something else. Symbols, such as flags or public signs, can be cognitively and emotionally salient in identification. Symbols can be audiolised/visualised or enacted. Public ritual is an enacted symbol. According to Durkheim, public rituals have a special purpose in society, creating social solidarity, referring to the bonds that link the members of a group (Durkheim 1915).

Formal Markers

Formal markers are those cultural traits that are created and maintained through institutionalised authority. Formal markers are defined through legislation. Formal interpretations of phenomena may clash with non-formal interpretations as illustrated by the following dialogue from Ted Demme's 2001 movie *Blown*:

George: [stands] Alright. Well, in all honesty, I don't feel that what I've done is a crime. And I think it's illogical and irresponsible for you to sentence me to prison. Because, when you think about it, what did I really do? I crossed an imaginary line with a bunch of plants [...]

Judge: Yeah... Gosh, you know, your concepts are really interesting, Mister Jung.

George: Thank you.

Judge: Unfortunately for you, the line you crossed was real and the plants you brought with you were illegal, so your bail is twenty thousand dollars.

Formal markers create sociological 'facts'. Formality determines which group is officially acknowledged or denied, which language has an official status, who has rights, which are highly salient features of a society. Formal markers are intrinsically related to power. The following list contains examples of formal markers and their contrasting less formal equivalents (Table 3):

Formalised	Less formalised
Nation	Ethnic group
Marriage	Co-habitation
Church	Metaphysical belief
Educational institution	Vernacular knowledge
Military	Street violence
Industry	Self-sustenance
Membership	Involvement

Table 3 Examples of formal markers and their contrasting less formal equivalents.

Institutions are based on a degree of formality. Scott defines institutions as follows (2006, 90):

Institutions are systems of interrelated norms that are rooted in shared values and are generalised across a particular society or social group as its common ways of

acting, thinking, and feeling. They are deeply embedded in social life and generate the recurrent social practices through which most social activity is undertaken. As such, institutions are central to the idea of social structure and to the structural organisation of human activities.

Because of their centrality to ‘social structure and to the structural organisation of human activities’, institutions are normative, and as such, are salient in matters of ideology and power relations.

Ideology

The term ‘ideology’ means the study/science of idea. ‘Idea’ is a Platonic term that refers to unchanging pure forms. According to Platonic thinking humans could have access to these forms were their attention not locked in looking at (analysing) the projected shadows of the ideal forms.¹² Ideas in Platonic thinking serve as the link between the human and the transcendent world.

The term was coined by Destutt de Tracy around the end of the eighteenth century to indicate a new sensualist ‘science of ideas’ that would be critical of religion and metaphysics. ‘Ideology’, however, soon came to acquire a negative colloquial meaning and it was used to refer to strange or false thinking that *others* have.

It was through Marx’s intellectual contribution that the term gained sociological currency. Marx used the term ideology to refer to a distorted/false consciousness that masked the contradictions of society and so contributed to the reproduction of the system (Scott 2006, 86). Marx’s claim that the capitalist understanding of the world is based on an illusion rested on his confidence that non-illusory knowledge is attainable (Freedon 2003, 13). Even today many see ideology ‘as a system of wrong, false, distorted or otherwise misguided beliefs, typically associated with our social or political opponents’ (Van Dijk 1998, 2).

After Marx the concept of ideology was further developed by Mannheim, Gramsci and Althusser. Mannheim was influenced by both Marxist and phenomenologist thinking. To him ideology had both social and psychological manifestations. His greatest contribution to the study of ideology was his recognition of the contextual location of thought and of the absence of absolute truth in social and historical matters. This universally applicable ‘weapon’ of

¹² Plato’s idea is best formulated in his Allegory of the Cave provided in his work *The Republic*.

‘unmasking’ is sometimes referred to as ‘Mannheim’s paradox’. In his own words (Mannheim 1954, 37):

To-day, however, we have reached a stage in which this weapon of the reciprocal unmasking and laying bare of the unconscious sources of intellectual existence has become the property not of one group among many but of all of them.

Mannheim's paradox holds that we cannot expose a viewpoint as ideological without ourselves adopting an ideological viewpoint.

Mannheim also elaborated on Thomas More’s concept of utopia. For him utopia consisted of ‘those complexes of ideas which tend to generate activities toward changes of the prevailing order’ (Mannheim 1954, XXIII). He approached this issue from a dominant point of view, as evident in his account (*ibid.*, 36):

The concept of utopian thinking reflects the opposite discovery of the political struggle, namely that certain oppressed groups are intellectually so strongly interested in the destruction and transformation of a given condition of society that they unwittingly see only those elements in the situation which tend to negate it.

According to Freedon (2003, 13) ‘[w]hat Mannheim termed Utopia we would now call a progressive or transformative ideology’.

Gramsci elaborated the concept of ideology in conjunction with the concept of power. He is best known to students of ideology for his notion of hegemony. Ideological hegemony could be exercised by a dominant class, the bourgeoisie, not only through exerting state force but through various cultural means (Freedon 2003, 20). As Bates (1975: 351) put it: ‘the basic premise of the theory of hegemony [...] is [...] that man is not ruled by force alone, but also by ideas’.

Althusser considered ideology to be reality rather than the obscuring of reality. In his essay *Ideological State Apparatuses* he elaborated his theoretical perceptions on ideology (1970, 1984). Ideological state apparatuses are located in religious, legal, and cultural structures, in the mass media and the family, and especially in the educational system. Althusser also held that people produce an imaginary account of how they relate to the real world. Ideology was a representation, an image, of those relations. This way Althusser imagined ideology as something that happens *in us* as well as *to us*. He held that ‘Ideology is internal; We are its affects; We cite it unwittingly every time we say the ‘obvious’’ (Belsey 2002: 39).

From an experiential/phenomenologist perspective ideology is an evaluative framework of phenomena; it signals how an experiencer relates to certain phenomena from the perspective of his/her sense as an integrative self. As Stevens (1995, 16) expressed:

We look for patterns and consistency, for ways of making sense of our multiple experience and levels of identification. We find models of thinking, these are called ideologies. These relate to groups, either ethnic or academic, and those with access to power get to control it through the control of discourse.

If identity relates to attributes about who one is and ideology relates to the evaluative organising force of these attributes, then identity and ideology are two sides of the same coin, namely that of existence. The relationship between experiencers and ideologies is the same as that between experiencers and social identities. This relationship is illuminated in a metaphor provided by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz, who in 1964 wrote:

[Ideologies] are, most distinctively, maps of problematic social reality and matrices for the creation of collective conscience. Whether, in any particular case, the map is accurate or the conscience creditable is a separate question.

Because much of the evaluative framework is inherited in the intimacy of home during early socialisation, ideology is sensitive and often does not yield itself easily to logical interrogation. It's sensitive because much of it is about attachment way beyond individual rational. As Judd *et al.* (1995, 479) concluded in a discussion on ethnicity: 'perceptions are guided not only by the fundamental cognitive processes that we have come to understand reasonably well in our laboratories but are also guided by ideological beliefs that our society has taught us all [...]'

Van Dijk in his book *Ideology: a multidisciplinary approach* distinguishes explicit and latent (taken for granted) ideology (1998, 33). Experiencers attempt to rationalise ideology if they are provoked/contested to do so. The more an experiencer's ideology is contested, the more rationalisation he/she is required to provide to defend his/her position. Due to the non-rational basis of ideology, however, its rationalisation may become de(con)structive and adverse to the sense of certainty of the experiencer. Experiencers who are less contested can more easily maintain a sense of integrity and neutrality, *i.e.* a sense that their self transcends ideology (*i.e.* the opinion that ideology is something *others* have).

Ideology is normative and consequential, as it affects perception and interpretation. Gestalt psychologist would express this normative consequentiality as 'what one actually sees depends

on what one expects to see'. This normative framework provides guidance on how things *should be* in the past, around the present, and/or in the future. As ideology is normative, it also provides an interpretative context to how things *are*. Prescription and description are, therefore, not easily separable entities.

Norms and attitudes are not the same as ideology. To illuminate the difference between these entities I return to Geertz's symbolic metaphor. This metaphor compared ideology to a map. If we accept that ideology can be compared to a map, then norms refer to the habit of what maps we tend to use to find our way in various situations and attitudes refer to our thoughts about what is the best map for that given situation.

Norm, as society's rules of right and wrong behaviour, serve as the practical prescriptive facet of ideology. According to Peoples and Bailey (2011, 30-1) norm implies that (1) there is widespread agreement that people ought to adhere to certain standards of behaviour, (2) other people judge the behaviour of a person according to how closely it adheres to those standards, and (3) people who repeatedly fail to follow the standards face some kind of negative reaction from other members of the group. Norms are useful instructions on how to do something in such a way that others know what you are doing and accept your actions as 'normal.'

Ideology is normative and, therefore, it is politically very salient. Ideology, as a political tool, can be used for controlling knowledge. This control may be provided with the best of interest, and may lead to conflict and more explicit control in case the receptive party challenges the norms provided.

Attitude is a context-based opinion that is linked to ideology. It is assumed that attitudes have three components: cognition, affect, and behaviour (Breckler 1984). The three components and the way they relate to one another are described in by Robbins and Judge as follows:

The statement "My pay is low" is the cognitive component of an attitude— a description of or belief in the way things are. It sets the stage for the more critical part of an attitude—its affective component. Affect is the emotional or feeling segment of an attitude and is reflected in the statement "I am angry over how little I'm paid." Finally, affect can lead to behavioral outcomes. The behavioral component of an attitude describes an intention to behave in a certain way toward someone or something—to continue the example, "I'm going to look for another job that pays better." Viewing attitudes as having three components—cognition,

affect, and behaviour—is helpful in understanding their complexity and the potential relationship between attitudes and behaviour (2012, 70).

The consequential link between cognition and affect on the one side and behaviour on the other side has been challenged by various researcher (Wicker 1969). On the contrary a number of research concluded that people do *seek* consistency among their attitudes and between their attitudes and their behaviour (*e.g.* Fabrigar *et al.* 2006; Schleicher *et al.* 2004; Glasman and Albarracín 2006; Ajzen 2001; Riketta 2008)

A compelling explanation of why would people *seek* consistency among their attitudes and between their attitudes and their behaviour is provided in Festinger's theory of Cognitive Dissonance (1957). According to this theory, people have a general need to bring their beliefs about what is correct into conformity with 'objective' reality and will work to reduce dissonance either by modifying their beliefs or by attempting to modify reality. (Jost and Toorn 2011, 650). Festinger argued that any form of inconsistency is uncomfortable and that individuals will therefore attempt to reduce it. They will seek a stable state, which is a minimum of dissonance. He proposed (Robbins and Judge 2012, 72):

[T]he desire to reduce dissonance depends on moderating factors, including the importance of the elements creating it and the degree of influence we believe we have over them. Individuals will be more motivated to reduce dissonance when the attitudes or behaviour are important or when they believe the dissonance is due to something they can control. A third factor is the rewards of dissonance; high rewards accompanying high dissonance tend to reduce the tension inherent in the dissonance.

Another interesting topic in the study of ideology is where ideologies come from. Van Dijk (1998, 174) provided the following view on this subject:

Historical evidence suggests that many ideologies first seem to be invented and propagated top-down: a small number of conscious and articulate leaders, intellectuals tend to formulate the ideological principles of the group. Then through various forms of intra-group discourse (debate, meetings, propaganda, publication) and other organisational and institutional practices, such ideologies are slowly propagated among group members and society at large.

Another related issue concerns ethics. Ethics is the theory of what is right or wrong in general. ‘It determines what we find acceptable or unacceptable, admirable or contemptible’ (Blackburn 2001, 1). Such definitions, however, leave the distinction between ethics and ideology very vague. One way of distinguishing between (and linking in the same time) these two theoretical entities is by qualifying ethics as a formal facet of ideology. Ethics is, in a way, a more codified version of an accepted moral theory.

Power

Under this subheading I explore the concept of power from a discursive, a psychological and a sociological point of view.

Discursive approach

Reality is experienced/constructed in discourse. Discourse takes place via social networks or, in a unilateral direction, in mass media. A social network is a set of links between individuals, between groups, or between other social units, such as bureaucratic organizations or even entire nations (Aldrich and Ruef 2006). Social representations, social relations and social structures are often constituted, constructed, validated, normalized, evaluated and legitimated in and by discourse through networks (Van Dijk 1998, 6).

Ideologies are reproduced in and by text and talk in families, peer groups, schools, media, churches, social movements, *etc.* Understanding of how ideas flow in a population and by what factors or agency can be a valuable source of information. This indication of power is useful for psychological, political, and critical sociological studies.

Ideologies affect attachment of the self to cultural attributes, *i.e.* the degree to which people want to associate with or disassociate from certain cultural traits. Ideologies and the level of association with cultural traits are negotiated in power relations. The more intimate a cultural trait is to the experiencers’ sense of self, the more its existence is dependent on these associations, expressed and shaped in discourse. By controlling discourse – what is said and how it is said – individuals and groups attempt to control public opinions. Those who control the content of messages potentially control the information available to other people.

Discourse is communication and its social vehicle is the communication network. A network is the sum of connections between individuals or organizations in a given locale or sector of activity (John 2011, 444). Network is traditionally based on family, community and friendship. Individuals in this traditional setting usually have relationships with people they know over a

reasonably long period of time. Networks can be theorised as being node based. Networks are indirectly interconnected, as shown by the so-called small world experiment (Jeffrey and Milgram 1969).

Traditional person-to-person communication is heavily influenced by traditional media. Traditional media, in contrast to social-media, is a one way discursive channel. Its dominant medium is television, though other channels are also available both in their traditional (radio, printed media) or internet-based format. Traditional media is a resource of power through influence for those who control its content. From this perspective, one can distinguish between dominant discourse (discourse in the media) and subordinate discourse (discourse not or rarely in the media).

The relative importance of discursive studies on power is expressed by Brown in the following quotation (Brown 2006, 66):

If power operates through norms, and not only through law and force, and if norms are borne by words, images, and the built environment, then popular discourses, market interpellations, and spatial organization are as much a vehicle for power as are troops, bosses, prime ministers, or police.

Power in discourse relates to the ability of (1) (re)constructing meaning and (2) making it dominant in communication. This relationship between discourse and power is illustrated in an early post-structuralist work *Through the Looking Glass* by Lewis Carroll (1962, 75):

'When I use a word', Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful tone, 'it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more nor less.'

'The question is', said Alice, 'whether you can make words mean different things.'

'The question is', said Humpty Dumpty, 'which is to be the master – that's all.'

Meaning and categorisation are two facets of existence. A category has meaning in its name, its content (quantity and quality of attributes) and its association with other categories. Categorization may not necessarily change the name or boundary of an identity, it may simply (re)construct what it means and what it is associated with.

Definition, whether challenged or not, is always a matter of power. A Potter (1996, 47) pointed out: 'Descriptions are not just about something but they are also doing something: that is, they are not merely representing some facet of the world, they are also involved in that world in

some practical way'. From this critical approach description is not in binary opposition with prescription but the two can be taken as distant synonyms.

Integrity and normativity are also related concepts. Questioning/deconstructing the 'normal' is foolish. Those who are accepted as normal in a society are, therefore, more immune of deconstruction (the definer is 'normal' and should not to be defined). Billig (1996, 6) describes this phenomenon, in his account in relation to nationalism, the following way:

Gaps in political language are rarely innocent. The case of 'nationalism' is no exception. By being semantically restricted to small sizes and exotic colours, 'nationalism' becomes identified as a problem: it occurs 'there' on the periphery, not 'here' at the centre. The separatists, the fascists and the guerrillas are the problem of nationalism. The ideological habits, by which 'our' nations are reproduced as nations, are unnamed and, thereby, unnoticed. The national flag hanging outside a public building in the United States attracts no special attention. It belongs to no special, sociological genus. Having no name, it cannot be identified as a problem. Nor, by implication, is the daily reproduction of the United States a problem.

Humans at the edge of normativity have to face deconstruction as part of their daily lives. This can lead to internalisation of external norms and self-deconstruction. The internalisation of external norms is analysed in social psychology. The system justification theory was originally proposed by John Jost and Mahzarin Banaji to account for the many observed deviations from hypotheses derived from prevalent theories of social attitudes, intergroup relations, and political psychology (Jost *et al.* 2004; Joist *et al.* 2009; Jost and Hunyady 2002; Jost and Hunyady 2005). I quote Jost and Toorn (2011, 650) to provide an explanation of this theory:

System justification theory is a social–psychological perspective that addresses how and why people defend and bolster prevailing social, economic, and political arrangements. The theory holds that there is an abstract system-justifying goal or motive that leads people to see the status quo as fair, legitimate, and just. This goal is a powerful determinant of thoughts, feelings, and behaviors because it satisfies several social and psychological needs, including epistemic needs for consistency, certainty, and meaning; existential needs to manage threat and distress; and relational needs to achieve shared reality with others. [...] System justification theory has been particularly successful in helping to explain why people in

powerless or disadvantaged social positions would support a status quo that is neither in their own nor in their group's objective interest.

Psychological approach

A theory about the psychological bases of power was developed by John R. P. French and Bertram Raven, two American scholars working in social psychology. They identified the following six bases of power (1959; 1993):

- Coercive power;
- Reward power;
- Legitimate Power;
- Information power;
- Expert power;
- Referent power.

I follow Gold's (2011, 67-8) descriptions in order to provide an explanation on each these bases of power:

- **Coercive power** is the ability to threaten someone with punishment. Punishment can be manifold; it may consist of the withdrawal of certain resources (*e.g.* occupational position, institutional support, *etc.*) that the party in power perceives as privileges provided by them. Coercion is a highly vague term without a reference to a moral theory. It can even be perceived as a necessary, and, at least temporarily, good thing by the coerced(s).
- **Reward power** stems from the agent's ability to grant some reward to the target, such as a promise of promotion or offering of certain privileges for complying with a request.
- **Legitimate power** is based on social norms, such that the target feels an obligation to comply with the requests by the agent. Legitimate power depends on the target's acceptance of the right of the influencing agent to require the changed behaviour, and the target's sense of obligation to comply. Legitimate Power is based on formal or informal contracts.
- **Informational power** has the property of being a socially independent source of influence. It is based on the information or logical argument that the agent can present to the target.

- **Expert Power** is a form of power that shares some of the positive qualities of informational power in that it can result in a transformation of a person's beliefs, with the resulting personal acceptance of the change. It differs from informational power in that the target does not need to be convinced by argument or rationale for the change *per se*. Indeed, with effective use of expert power, no argument or rationale is necessary. Instead, the target accepts on faith the accuracy and propriety of the suggestions or advice, trusting in the superior knowledge or ability and truthfulness of the influencing agent.
- **Referent power** is based on the target of influence positively identifying with the influencing agent. If the influencing agent possesses referent power, this leads the target to have a sense of "oneness" and mutuality, or a desire for such a relationship. So if the influencing agent is someone that the target likes, admires, or feels very positive about, this gives the influencing agent referent power with respect to that target.

Bertram Raven (1992, 1993, 2001, 2004) later also presented the interpersonal power interaction model, in which he further differentiated the six bases of power. Most relevant to my thesis is his differentiation of legitimate power into the following four categories (here I follow Pierro *et al.* 2008, 67-8):

- **Position Power**; based on a social norm requiring obedience to people who are in a superior position in a formal or informal social structure;
- **Power of Reciprocity**; based on a social norm requiring that when someone does something for us, then we should feel obligated to do something for them in return (Cialdini, 1993; Gouldner, 1960);
- **Power of Equity**; based on the equity (or compensatory) norm requiring obedience to compensate someone who has suffered or worked hard, or someone whom we have harmed in some way (Walster *et al.* 1978);
- **Power of Responsibility**; based on a social responsibility norm that obliges compliance with requests of someone who is in need of assistance (Berkowitz and Daniels, 1963). This form of legitimacy has also been called the power of dependence, or the legitimate power of the powerless (Gold 2011, 69).

Raven and his colleagues also developed the useful analytical notions of hard and soft power bases (Raven *et al.* 1998, 315). Among soft bases are credibility, reference and legitimate dependence, and among harsh bases are legitimate equity, impersonal sanction, personal

sanctions, and legitimate position. They also showed that compliance with soft power strategies is positively related to intrinsic motivation, desire for control, “getting-ahead” style, and self-esteem; and negatively related to the “getting-along” style. Compliance with hard power strategies is positively related to extrinsic motivation and to the “getting-along” style, but negatively related to intrinsic motivation, desire for control, and self-esteem (Pierro 2008, 1930).

Sociological approach

The measurement of power in society is most relevant to the field of sociology. ‘Sociologists are most interested in how power is structured in society: who has it, how it is used, and how it is built into institutions such as the state’ (Andersen and Taylor 2007, 513). I find conflict theory to be the most relevant sociological approach for my thesis.

Conflict theory emphasizes ability to exercise influence and control over others in (re)constructing social order. The basis of power in conflict theory is the possession of resources. Social change is caused by power struggles between conflicting groups for such resources. Those who control resources influence ideology (and ultimately culture).

It was through Marxist thinking that proper attention was given to the way social forces shape social order. In *German Ideology* Marx and Engels (1970 [1845], 64) theorised that the segment of the society which has the means of material production at its disposal, also has control over the means of mental production:

The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e. the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it. The ruling ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relationships, the dominant material relationships grasped as ideas.

This means that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to the ideas of those who control the means of mental production. In this view the political, legal, educational, family, religious, and cultural institutions promote ideas and practices that support the dominant segment of society and suppress those that might in any way challenge the this

status quo, i.e. the power relations as they are (Dillon 2009, 109). In protection of the *status quo*, the dominant segment of society advocates the policy of *laissez-faire*. *Laissez-faire* is the ideology of free competition. Free competition is not a fair competition, as it is among parties of highly unequal resources. *Laissez-faire* is an ideological move that may simply act to reinforce the hegemony of the dominant group and its culture. Peter Morriss (1987: 202) has pointed out that:

[C]onservatism is always helped by muddled thinking; real radicalism requires clarity [...] the onus of proof, in short, lies firmly on the shoulders of those who advance the essential contestability thesis.

The social forces in Marxist thinking are taken to work on an impersonal, systematic manner in the theoretical construct of systemic power. Bosworth (2011, 655) explains this theoretical construct as:

Systemic power 'is a form of power that indirectly and impersonally privileges one group at the expense of another. One group sees its power to attain desirable outcomes increase at the expense of another group's power because of the way policy makers are influenced by the socioeconomic system. By virtue of the societal position of their jobs, policy makers are more dependent on some interests than others. The pressures to keep their jobs, to have successful careers, and to create effective policy make them more attentive to the upper strata of society. These biases are not identical with cultural biases, but are specific to policy makers because of their situational location as policy makers in the social system.

In this view the group that benefits does not intentionally act to create or maintain its privileged position.

Internalisation is a concept that helps to understand why people, in seemingly unfair position, contribute to the maintenance of the *status quo*. Internalisation is a central concept in the Gramscian notion of hegemony. Antonio Gramsci (1971) drew a distinction between rule, where the exercise of power is obvious or known, and hegemony, where the exercise of power is so disguised as to involve rule with the consent of the governed. Hegemony is the power of the ruling class to convince other classes that their interests are the interests of all. As explained by Aschcroft *et al.* (2003: 106-7):

Domination is thus exerted not by force, nor even necessarily by active persuasion, but by a more subtle and inclusive power over the economy, and over state apparatuses such as education and the media, by which the ruling class's interest is presented as the common interest and thus comes to be taken for granted. The term is useful for describing the success of imperial power over a colonized people who may far outnumber any occupying military force, but whose desire for self-determination has been suppressed by a hegemonic notion of the greater good, often couched in terms of social order, stability and advancement, all of which are defined by the colonizing power.

One of the ideological vehicle of hegemony is universalism. Universalism is politically advocated by neo-liberalist thinkers and stakeholders, which according to Aschcroft *et al.* (2003:216):

[O]ffers a hegemonic view of existence by which the experiences, values and expectations of a dominant culture are held to be true for all humanity. For this reason, it is a crucial feature of imperial hegemony, because its assumption (or assertion) of a common humanity – its failure to acknowledge or value cultural difference – underlies the promulgation of imperial discourse for the 'advancement' or 'improvement' of the colonized, goals that thus mask the extensive and multifaceted exploitation of the colony.

It is not uncommon in neoliberal discourse for the universalist stance to result in a local hegemony conniving at a more widespread dominance. Despite efforts to propagate universalism as a global discourse, it is in effect a particular experience being successfully ascribed to other cultural contexts with weaker social salience.

This view is also supported by Barthes (1993: 143) who argued that 'the success of ideology is to be measured by the degree of its naturalisation, that is, by how certain meanings and practices are almost universally seen as normal and natural.'

The German classical sociologist Max Weber (1978, 53) defined power as: 'the probability that one actor within a relationship will be able to carry out its own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests'. Weber, therefore, also regarded power as the fundamental concept in relations of inequality. Weber (*ibid.*, 212-3) believed that '[E]very form of domination implies a minimum of voluntary compliance, that is, an interest [...] in obedience [...] and] every system attempts to establish [...] a belief in its legitimacy.

Weber differentiated between authority and power. We can only talk about power in the context of social relations; similarly, authority, by definition, can only be said to exist in its legitimation by others (Smith 1960, 15–33). Authority is, therefore the formal facet of power; it is associated with legal or normative right to issue commands and be obeyed. Authority emerges not from the exercise of power, but from the belief of constituents that the power is legitimate (Andersen and Taylor 2007, 360).

Weber made a distinction between three different types of authority: traditional, charismatic, and rational-legal. Traditional authority is bestowed on an agent because of some convention or tradition. It is characterised by ‘belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of those exercising authority under them’ (Weber 1978, 215). Charismatic authority occurs where the exceptional abilities of a person cause members of a community to obey or follow that person as their leader. It is characterised by ‘devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of a person’ (Weber 1978, 215, 241-2, 1114-5). The rational-legal authority of an agent gives that person a right to command and expect compliance because of the office or role the person fills in society.

The next topic of interest about conflict is Pierre Bourdieu’s studies on various forms of capitals and violence (2010). Bourdieu’s work focused on the dynamics of power in society. He outlined the following four types of resources or ‘capital’ available for human beings:

- Economic capital;
- Cultural capital;
- Social capital;
- Symbolic capital.

Economic capital refers to wealth in material and financial resources, cultural capital refers to knowledge (such as knowledge of elite culture), skill and education, social capital refers to social connections and group membership, and symbolic capital refers to prestige and honour.¹³

Following the thought of Max Weber on the role of legitimation in domination, Bourdieu argued that neither brute force nor material possessions are sufficient for the effective exercise of power (Swartz 2011, 38). The language of symbolic power and violence emphasizes the ways that legitimate understandings of the social world are imposed by dominant groups and deeply

¹³ An interesting study that proved the positive relationship between social capital and economic capital is that by Knack and Keefer (1997).

internalized by subordinate groups in the form of practical, taken-for-granted understandings (*ibid.*). Language in Bourdieu's thinking is not just about communicating; it is also a medium of power through which people get their story heard and pursue their own interests (1991).

Steven Lukes (2005) introduced the idea of the three dimensions (also referred to as 'the three faces') of power. His three dimensions are as follows:

- Decision making power;
- Non decision making power;
- Domination.

Decision making power focuses on actual behaviour and specific outcomes of decision-making processes. In this view, power is in the hands of those who prevail in decision making. Non decision making power is the power that groups and individuals have to control the agenda in debates and make certain issues unacceptable for discussion in moderate public forums. Domination is a power that works to influence the thoughts and desires of individuals so that they will want things that they would otherwise oppose in the absence of power structures. This third dimension of power relates to defenders of the *status quo* who 'may be so secure and pervasive that they are unaware of any potential challengers to their position and thus of any alternatives to the existing political process, whose bias they work to maintain' (Lukes 2005, 25).

The phrase non-decision making was introduced by Peter Bachrach and Morton Baratz. They defined a non-decision as 'a decision that results in the suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values and interest of the decision maker' (Bachrach & Baratz, 1970, 44; quoted in Angolano 2011, 664). Non-decision making is responsible for 'demands for change on the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community to be suffocated before they are even voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena; or failing all these things, maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process' (*ibid.*).

A very important aspect of how power spreads the norms and expectations of dominant ideologies in a society was provided by Althusser. In his essay *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* Althusser holds that education system is the main ideological apparatus. He, therefore, connects the interest in upholding the *status quo* with internalisation of dominant

ideology with socialisation in an educational setting. Althusser's argument was that (Belsey 2002, 37):

[...] schools and universities not only eject a proportion of the young prepared to take up occupations at every level of the economic structure, but in the process of teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic they also provide instruction in obedience, deference, elementary psychology, the virtues of liberal democracy, how to give orders, and how to serve the community. In short, educational institutions inculcate discipline, and the self-discipline that encourages their pupils to go out into society and 'work by themselves' to maintain the status quo.

Power connects and power divides society. 'The deepest effect of power everywhere is *inequality*, as power differentiates and selects, includes and excludes' (Blommart 2005, 2). From an experiential point of view the way division is valued depends on the experiencer's perspective; his place in power relation and his ideological background. When an experiencer connects with those in power in the first person, the *status quo* tends to be more positively valued than in a situation when an experiencer relates with those in power in the third person.

Geography and the post-geographical realm

Sociological features are both cultural markers and attributes of power. Two of the most poignant points of connections between sociological features and power are demography and density. Demography is relevant to (re)constructing emergent entities from the perspective of political geography. Density influences the quantity and quality of communication among members of a group.

Political geography is fundamentally about formal boundaries. The political boundaries of a social entity can (re)define the given entity at the level of identity and at the level of political representation. Political misrepresentation can be achieved through administrative boundaries that do not conform to the geographical characteristics of a group. Boundaries may separate a group into smaller units or they may demarcate a territory in which a group is only represented as a minority. Gerrymandering is a good example for the way boundaries may effect political representation. Gerrymandering is a practice that attempts to establish a political advantage for a particular party or group by manipulating boundaries to create districts that are politically advantageous for those who have the power to manipulate district boundaries. Power to set boundaries and (re)defines (what the functionalist vaguely call) 'society', is a substantial political weapon in the hands of those in power.

A relevant example of the mismatch of assigning a delineating boundary to an ethnolinguistic group can be found in Ó Giollagáin's (2006) analysis of the criteria which was used to set down the Gaeltacht boundary in 1956. His analysis indicates that the designated Gaeltacht areas from this initial phase contained large populations of monolingual English speakers. This, in turn, was to prove problematic to efforts to establish a political base for sanctioning initiatives on behalf of the Gaelic minority in the Gaeltacht.

Culture, ideology and power are social and, therefore, geographical concepts. Mapping such concepts in anthropology is described by some cognitive theorists as the epidemiological approach (Sperber 1996, Ross 2004). According to this cognitive approach culture propagates like a contagious disease from one person to another. Thus cultural and ideological ideas spread among people existing in power-relationship in a shared (traditional or globalised) environment through chains of communication.

A remarkable change in geographical approaches to social reality and its construction in discourse was brought about by globalisation. Globalization is the process that signifies 'a social condition characterized by the existence of global economic, political, cultural, and environmental interconnections and flows that make many of the currently existing borders and boundaries irrelevant' (Steger 2003).

Globalisation is not a new phenomenon. Contemporary globalisation, however, differs from any historical globalising tendencies in its reliance on technology-based virtual, post-geographical space. Virtual space increases the possibility of democratic participation by allowing the open discussion and transmittal of information (Ferdinand 2000) and facilitates world-wide surveillance (*i.e.* control) of social media users at the same time. It is for this reason that globalisation is encouraged by neo-liberal thinkers. Despite the fact that virtual space is dependent on real space, some intellectuals visualise the demise of social aspects associated with real space. As Richard Jenkins notes (Jenkins 2008b: 26):

John Urry, for example, argues that the impacts of globalization mean that it no longer makes sense for the basic unit of sociological analysis to be the spatially and socially bounded set of locally focused institutions that we call 'a society' (Urry 2000a, 2000b). He argues, instead, that, entering a new epoch in which the old rules no longer apply, we must shift our focus away from boundaries and towards individual and collective patterns of spatial and social 'mobilities'. He is, in effect, arguing that there are no more 'societies'. 'nation-state' model of human groups

does not correspond particularly well to the long-run observable realities of the human world. It has probably never been the only, or even the dominant, form of collective human organization.

One consequence of globalisation, is the diffusion of a cultural layer throughout the world, which is referred to as ‘global culture’. The development of ‘global culture’ is aided by technology. Global culture consists of cultural elements ranging from occasional cultural phenomena, such as food and music, to more constant cultural phenomena, such as language (Global English) and religion (atheism, agnosticism or spiritualism).

2.4 Ethnic reality

Ethnicity is an interpretative framework for a sense of self to be experienced in its plural, familiarity-based extension. It is similar to other social categories in being a geographically definable emergent social entity marked by cultural and ideological attributes and locus in power relations. Affiliation with an ethnic group, like affiliation with any groups, is based on perceived similarity, common interest, and a sense of having a legitimate role and place in the group’s ‘grand narrative’. The narrative of an ethnic group, like the narrative of any group with members with an emic view, is based on ‘a “we feeling,” a sense of community or oneness within one’s own in-group versus other out-groups’ (Scupin 2012, 519).

Ethnicity differs from other social categories by its holistic narrative. This narrative is not simply about occasions, events or situations, but also about how these occasions, events and situations are linked into a coherent shared life story retold/re-evaluated in the present. Handelman’s words (1977: 190), as summarised by Jenkins (2008b, 111), are of relevance in this regard:

They [i.e. cultural attributes] tell a story about ‘why the category is substantial and legitimate’, providing group members with ‘the elements of a “social biography” which connects “culture” and behaviour, and the past to the present.

A sense of ethnic belonging is based on the most salient cultural markers available in the cultural realm of the group. Among these (cultural interpretations of physical), linguistic and religious attributes dominate. Ethnic belonging is provided through an internal (emic) narrative (or, more formally, history), usually with a geographical dimension (a sacred location or homeland functioning as the centre of ethnic cosmos) (see: Smith 1986, 2009).

Ethnic belonging is challenged in power relations. Many people relating to dominant ethnic narratives consider ethnic belonging to be an ideological feature of *others*, as illustrated in the following quotation (Hall 1997: 21):

One of the things which happens in England is the long discussion, which is just beginning, to try to convince the English that they are, after all, just another ethnic group. I mean a very interesting ethnic group, just hovering off the edge of Europe, with their own language, their own peculiar customs, their rituals, their myths. Like any other native peoples they have something which can be said in their favor, and of their long history.

As a result of its subjective content and contextual influence, ethnicity is difficult to define with accuracy. Indeed, Isajaw (1979), who studied twenty-seven definitions of ethnicity in the United State, noted a high diversity of definitive elements. Despite its analytical vagueness, ethnicity is not altogether a matter of subjective choice, as sometimes it is portrayed in post-modernist thinking, as noted by Billig (1995, 139):

One can eat Chinese tomorrow and Turkish the day after: one can even dress in Chinese or Turkish styles. But being Chinese or Turkish are not commercially available options.

Theoretical approaches to Ethnicity

Theoretical approaches describing ethnicity are often sorted into three categories:

- primordialism (or essentialism);
- instrumentalism; and
- constructivism.

Primordialist theories are essentialist theories that assert that ethnic identification is based on deep, 'primordial' attachments to a group or culture; instrumentalist approaches treat ethnicity as a political instrument exploited by leaders and others in pragmatic pursuit of their own interests; and constructivist approaches are situationalist approaches that emphasize the contingency and fluidity of ethnic identity, treating it as something which is made in specific social and historical contexts, rather than as something 'given' (Barnard and Spencer 1996, 240)

Narrative, *i.e.* the process of linking events to form a coherent story, is a primordialist phenomenon. This primordialist model was best formulated by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz in 1963. Here I follow Scupin's description of the primordialist model to summarise Geertz's ideas (Scupin 2012, 354). Geertz pointed out that:

- Ethnic attachments based upon assumed kinship and other social ties and on religious traditions are deeply rooted within the individual through the enculturation process;
- Ethnic affiliation persists because it is fundamental to a person's identity;
- People may form deep (positive or negative) emotional attachments to the particular ethnic group in which they are enculturated;
- Emotional sentiments are sometimes evident through ethnic boundary markers (such as religion, dress, language or dialect, and other visible symbols), which distinguish one ethnic group from another.

Geertz tended to focus on the intense internal aspects of ethnicity and the deep subjective "feeling of belonging" to a particular ethnic group. He emphasized how the "assumed givens" are subjective perceptions of attributes such as blood ties and ancestry, which may or may not coincide with the actual circumstances of one's birth. Geertz's model of primordialist thinking approaches ethnicity from a psychological perspective which, I believe, is in a dialectic relationship with a sociological situationalist perspective.

A frequently quoted intellectual in the situationalist tradition is the anthropologist Fredrik Barth. Barth (1969) emphasized the interaction between ethnic groups and how people identify with different elements of their own ethnicity and express or repress these elements and characteristics in different circumstances for economic, political, or other practical reasons.

Ethnic groups are sometimes distinguished from ethnolinguistic and from ethnocultural groups. The former means ethnic groups that are defined through their language. What the term 'ethnocultural' means, however, is analytically not distinguishable from what the term 'ethnic' means. The following definition by Jeff Spinner-Halev (2006, 546) certainly does not justify such a distinction:

[Ethnocultural groups] are often ethnic and national cultural groups—intergenerational communities that have some shared practices and history that members believe are constitutive of the group.

Language

Ethnic identity, like all identities, functions to provide a sense of certainty. This sense of certainty is achieved through embedding of the self in cultural attributes that are evident to all. Of such markers physical attributes, language, and, at least in a traditional setting, religion are most likely to dominate ethnic identification. The salience of ethnic attributes are also influenced by other ethnic groups in a political context. Political alliance trigger narratives about a shared sense of 'we' in tandem with ideologies of assimilation and integration. Assimilation and integration is always in the direction of the stronger party. Assimilation or integration proceeds until a common sense of destiny is upheld or until the weaker party in the alliance loses its cultural distinctiveness and its accompanying ethnic narrative.

Language, in competition or compliance with physical traits and religion, is the most salient cultural marker to provide an attachment for our collective, familiarity-based sense of self.

Language is important for identification because it is:

- acquired through primary socialisation;
- ubiquitous (we all have at least one language);
- difficult to replace with another language not acquired in early socialisation;
- the basis for many other (occasionally performed) cultural markers, such as those studied in literature, ceremonial and other collective representations.

The importance of language for marking ethnicity is recognised by Peoples and Bailey (2011; 368):

Differences in language, religion, physical appearance, or particular cultural traits serve as ethnic boundary markers. Speech style and language are symbols of personal identity: We send covert messages about the kind of person we are by how we speak. Language, therefore, frequently serves as an ethnic boundary marker. A person's native language is the primary indicator of ethnic group identity in many areas of the world.

Those, who downplay the importance of language in identification represent a more *contingent* understanding of linguistic identity. Among these authors John Edwards (1994, 2010) and Janina Brutt-Griffler (2002) argue that language does not define us, and may not be an important feature, or indeed even a necessary one, in the construction of our identities, either at an individual or at a collective level of identification (quoted in May 2008, 9). Another

author, Carol Eastman, even asserted (1984: 275): ‘there is no need to worry about preserving ethnic identity, so long as the only change being made is in what language we use’.

While the contextualist thinking is valid as an intellectual exercise, it is difficult not to note that it is mainly associated with those whose identity, embedded in a safe and powerful majority culture, is rarely contested at a level of what language they use. Change of the most salient collective identity markers may appear to be innocent or even beneficial (*e.g.* in the interest of progressing humankind¹⁴) as long as this change happens outside their comfort zone, *i.e.* it is not they who have suffer the existential consequences of enforced change.

A language cannot survive without a group to (re)construct it and it only survives at a level to which it is (re)constructed. Language provides a highly versatile, and thus existentially beneficial, ‘body’ for a collective sense of self. While language and linguistic features in general do not compel us to unite, they certainly invite groups to develop a shared sense of belonging by providing an intimate/familiarity-based and versatile means for a group to ‘materialise’ their sense of common belonging (this is in reference to Ernest Renan; see: May 2008, 129). An ethnic group that anchors its collective identity in a language may be referred to as an ethno-linguistic community.

Ethnic cycle

Ethnicity is based on a sense of familiarity constructed through our existential need to belong. This construction, like any construction, is through defining, *i.e.* through limitation and boundary (re)construction. Definition is a dynamic, dialectic process. The expression of the existential need to belong is in a dialectic relationship with physical and cultural attributes we (are interpreted to) exhibit. The political context determines our level of freedom to decide to which social entities we belong. This level of freedom, however, is not simply a matter of choice. Our choice is mediated through (1) other experiencers, (2) socialisation, and (3) the emergent (structural) ontological level.

Ethnicity is an emergent ontological feature constructed and deconstructed by (/and in a dynamic relationship with) experiencers. The construction of ethnicity is through claiming/accepting belonging and essentialising existence through (versions) of a

¹⁴ ‘By stressing the transformative cultural, linguistic and political impacts on both the colonized and the colonizer, it has been regarded as replicating assimilationist policies by masking or ‘whitewashing’ cultural differences’ (Ashcroft *et al.* 2003, 109).

metanarrative. The life of ethnicity begins when experiencers start to construct it and ends when experiencers refrain from its construction. This construction takes place in a dynamic relationship with phenomena in the third person. Death is a gradual process. Life ends when narrative in the first person ends. The life of any social category is over when there is no 'we' in it, *i.e.* when 'we' has shifted to construct another social category with a similar ontological status. The name of the ethnic group is either forgotten or treated as an 'empty shell' filled with 'third party' historical interpretation.

Birth means dissimilation (*existere* = to stand out) from the environment and death means assimilation with the environment. Death of an ethnic group means assimilation with the environment, where the environment is other ethnic groups. Death at an emergent ontological level may or may not coincide with the biological termination of its associated (constructing) experiencers. When a sense of 'we' is shifted from one ethnic category (name, attributes and associations) to another ethnic category (other name, attributes and association), we can talk about an 'ethnic shift'.

The process of ethnic shift is both a sociological/geographical and a social psychological process. Because it is sociological and geographical, it is not synchronous among those who experience a form of belonging to an ethnic group. Change is both a function of population density in affected areas (gravity model) and/or communication networks that foster development and spread of innovations. Change also occurs in hierarchical social space.

According to the wave model spread of change is a function of geographic space and time. Some members remain closer to the ideological centre of the group while others leave. Since ethnic shift means assimilation into a more powerful ethnic group, those who are leaving are often valued as 'progressive' and those who remain are often valued as 'lagging behind' by those, who project dominant (*per se* self-centred) ideology on members of a dying ethnic entity. The areas of change are as follows:

- focal areas: where innovations occur and spread;
- transitional areas: where newer and older forms coexist;
- relic areas: which are resistant to innovations.

Change is often portrayed as a good thing contemporary neoliberalist thinking. Change, however, is neither good nor bad in itself. Some change is interpreted to be good for and/or by those who experience it and some change is interpreted to be bad for and/or by those who

experience it. In case change is interpreted to be subtractive for and/or by those who experience it, the wave model of change can be annotated as follows:

- focal areas: where unintended innovations do not occur or occur only to a small degree;
- transitional areas: where original and intruding forms coexist;
- peripheral areas: with no resistance to unintended innovations.

The geographical and/or social correlation of a power centre and the place where the group's markers of a sense of extended familiarity are found is a matter of power relations. In case of weak correlation, *i.e.* when the centre of power and cultural markers of a group are at different geographical and/or social location, the group is externally managed/controlled. In such case shifting important markers of a sense of extended familiarity are usually valued as 'good', 'progressive', 'catching up with reality', *etc.*, and resistance to such change is usually valued as 'bad', 'backward', 'disregarding reality', *etc.*

Power is central to constructing/deconstructing a narrative. If the correlation between geographical and/or social location of the power centre and the place where the group's markers of a sense of extended familiarity is high, a narrative is constructed with little opposition and deconstructed with great opposition. If the correlation between geographical and/or social location of the power centre and the place where the group's markers of a sense of extended familiarity is low, a narrative is constructed with great opposition and deconstructed with little opposition.

Ambiguity, a fashion item of postmodernist thinking, is the privilege of the powerful, as expressed by Sardar in his introduction to the 8th edition of Fanon's *Black Skin White Masks* (2008, XVII):

Fanon is not concerned at all with postmodern ambiguity; it could hardly be so given the devastating dominance of the colonizer he experienced first hand. For him, the nuances in the relationship between the colonizer and the colonized are irrelevant given the fact that the colonizer is totally deaf to the political condition of the colonized and what the colonized has to say.

Ethnolinguistic cycle

An ethnolinguistic group is an ethnic group one of whose dominant cultural markers is language. Ethnolinguistic cycle can be monitored though measuring language shift takes place via bilingualism as described by Brenzinger (1997) and Baker and Prys Jones (1998). It is

useful to mark out five phases along the continuum of language shift: (1) the ideal state of monolingualism in Language A; (2) bilingualism in which Language A is dominant; (3) the ideal state of balanced bilingualism, (4) bilingualism in which Language B is dominant; (5) the ideal state of monolingualism in Language B.

These phases translate to ethnolinguistic areas where monolingualism is the attribute of the core area and societal bilingualism is the attribute of the frontier of a linguistic group. Sustainable balanced bilingualism relates to the buffer zone of two linguistic groups of equal power. This model is compromised by the post-geographical nature of information technology the language of which is dominantly English.

An ethnolinguistic group is a group with a language that functions as (one of) its most salient markers of a sense of extended familiarity. A group ceases to be an ethnolinguistic group if it 'looses' its language, *i.e.* when its members use another's ethnolinguistic group's language. This process is described by Brenzinger as follows (1997: 282):

Language contact is a prerequisite for language shifts. Ethnolinguistic communities, usually those with minority status, become bilingual in that they still retain their own language and acquire the language of a dominant group in addition. Recessive use of the old language with intra-ethnic communication leads to the process of language displacement. The changing language behavior of members of an ethnolinguistic minority of this kind qualifies to disturb the fragility of a status quo. This unstable bilingualism may finally develop into monolingualism in the new language. The process of language replacement usually takes at least three generations. This is not a unidirectional development, but in the course of time successive phases with different characteristics modify the process before a language becomes extinct.

Baker and Prys Jones (1998, 151) describes the process of language shift in a broadly similar manner:

Speakers of language A come into contact with language B. Language B is spoken by a socially, economically and/or politically dominant group. Over time speakers of language A become bilingual in language B. Language B becomes the preferred means of communication for an increased number of language functions. Gradually, younger speakers of language A lose fluency in their native language.

Language B becomes the preferred language of the younger, child-bearing generation and most of them speak it to their children, although they may still speak language A to their parents. Eventually, no children are raised to speak language A. By this time only a few adult native speakers of language A are left. As those grow old and die, so language A dies out.

The type of bilingualism through which ethnolinguistic groups pass in their transitional phase towards assimilation of their group into its environment refers to social (*i.e.* emergent) bilingualism, as opposed to bilingualism at the level of the experiencer (or in Hudson's term 'societal bilingualism' (2002: 2)). Hamers and Blanc (1989, 6) are known for distinguishing between the term 'bilingualism' to refer to societies whose communities use two languages, and 'bilinguality' to refer to 'the psychological state of an individual' who knows two languages. Fishman (1967: 34) also makes a distinction between these two levels: '[...] bilingualism is essentially a characterization of individual linguistic behaviour whereas diglossia is a characterization of linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level.' Diglossia refers to communities where '...two or more varieties of the same language are used by some speakers under different conditions', usually where one has high prestige and the other low prestige (Ferguson 1959: 325).

According to these theories social bilingualism is not a stable state but a transitional phase of an ethnolinguistic shift. This shift is led by asymmetrical power relations. As Fishman asserts 'language shift generally and basically involves cultural change as well indeed, initially, quite devastating and profound cultural change' (1991: 16). 'Linguistic dislocation for a particular community of speakers seldom, if ever, occurs in isolation from sociocultural and socioeconomic dislocation' (1995a).

Language shift is both a chronological and a geographical process. The chronological models described above translate to ethnogeographical areas and can be mapped according to a core-periphery model (Péterváry 2010: 37-8). Translation between the chronological and the geographical/ethnocultural mode of interpreting language shift is given in the following table (Table 4):

Code	Ethnocultural locus	Practice of language use	Dominant Language
A	Core	Monolingualism	L1
B1	Periphery	Unbalanced bilingualism	L1 > L2
B2		Balanced bilingualism	L1 = L2
B3		Unbalanced bilingualism	L2 > L1
C	Other group	Monolingualism	L2

Table 4 Geographical/ethnocultural interpretation of language shift.

The geographical/ethnocultural loci of an ethnolinguistic group (also marking learners of the language [L2]) are illustrated in the following figure (Figure 6):

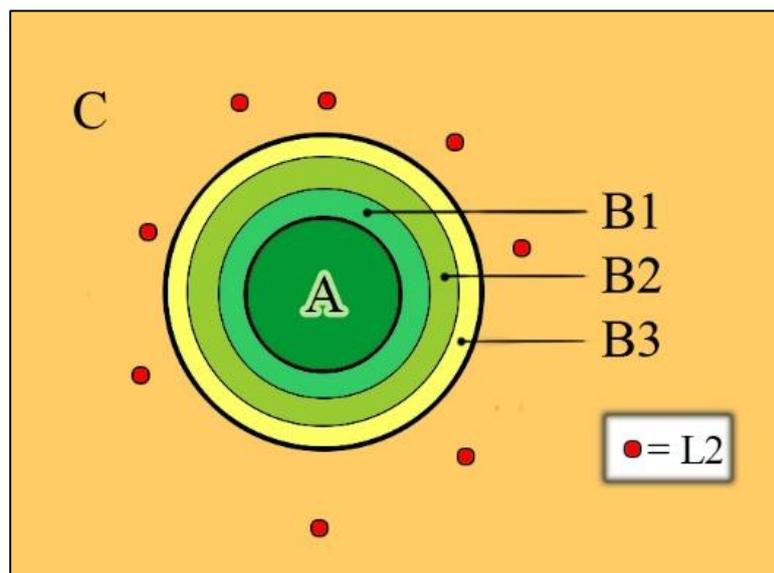


Figure 6 Generalised geographical/ethnocultural loci of an ethnolinguistic group.

May (2001, 5) provides the following summary about a lack of attention to asymmetrical power relations in studying societal bilingualism:

What language ecology proponents fail to highlight sufficiently then are the wider political power relations that underlie language loss – or linguistic genocide, as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) would have it. Language loss is not only, perhaps not even primarily, a linguistic issue – it has much more to do with power, prejudice, (unequal) competition and, in many cases, overt discrimination and subordination. As Noam Chomsky asserts: 'Questions of language are basically questions of power' (1979: 191). The vast majority of today's threatened languages are spoken by socially and politically marginalized and/or subordinated groups.

The same point is made by Crawford in his comment (1994):

Both these variables highlight the importance of underlying power relations in situations of minority language shift, a key factor that is seldom acknowledged by

its many apologists seldom occurs in communities of wealth and privilege, but rather to the dispossessed and disempowered.

This means that bilingual language use by a minority group can be analysed as having two components: the high versus low language (Valdés, 2000).

It is interesting to link bilingualism, as a transitional phase of ethnolinguistic shift, with essentialising narrative. Mikhail Bakhtin, for example, referred to the disruptive and transfiguring power of multivocal language situations and, by extension, of multivocal narratives (noted in Ashcroft *et al.* 2003, 108). This would imply that ambiguity seems to be the everyday reality of a group in societal bilingualism. This experience of ambiguity is quite different to that of the fashion item upheld by post-modernist intellectuals in their usual dominant ethnic contexts.

One (*per se* ambiguous) dilemma among the members of dominated ethnolinguistic minority groups in the transitional phase is summarised by Fishman (1991: 60) as to ‘remain socially disadvantaged (consigning their own children to such disadvantage as well), on the one hand; or, on the other hand, to abandon their distinctive practices and traditions, at least in large part, and, thereby, to improve their own and their children’s lots in life via cultural suicide’.

The last phase of ethnolinguistic shift is monolingualism in the ‘new’ language. May (2001, 141) described this phase the following manner:

[I]mmigrant ethnic groups may retain their original language as an 'associated' language – one that group members no longer use, or perhaps even know, but which continues to be a part of their heritage. Such an association is clearly comparable with Gans's (1979) notion of symbolic ethnicity.

Subjugated weak groups seldom have the capacity to provide intellectuals to participate in power negotiations with the dominant group. This is also the case in power negotiations at an academic level. Respected academics seldom come from the world of the subjugated. The underrepresentation of indigenous thinkers in academia means that those, who deal with minority issues, often approach the topic from a dominant value perspective (‘bad’, ‘backward’, ‘disregarding reality’). If they sympathise with the minority group, they try to mitigate the dominant value perspective, if they do not sympathise with (or are ‘neutral’ towards) the minority group, they either try to emphasise the dominant value perspective, or contribute to deconstructing their narrative and its association with cultural phenomena.

A specific form of ethnolinguistic shift occurs when a monolingual population that speaks the dominant language [Group Y] become to represent the centre of power, and the main source of narrative construction, for the population who speak the ‘indigenous’ language [Group X]. If this power centre [of Group Y] fails to empower a locus for the ‘indigenous’ group [Group X], the results, from the ‘autochthonous’ [Group X] perspective, is a ‘planning from the outside’, *i.e.* a unilateral planning where the centre is occupied by the dominant group [Group Y] and the periphery is occupied by the ‘indigenous’ group [Group X]. In this process it does not matter whether a monolingual population that speaks the dominant language [Group Y] and the population who speak the ‘indigenous’ language [Group X] claim to be of different, related, or the same ethnicity.

Empowering a locus for the ‘indigenous’ group [Group X] has to rely on investment into educational provision and intellectual empowering of ‘indigenous’ [Group X] thinkers. This has to be based on long-term planning with the ultimate aim of developing an ‘indigenous’ [Group X] leadership that can function collaterally (and in collaboration based on more equal terms) with the monolingual population that speaks the dominant language [Group Y].

Formalisation

Formalising ethnicity means constructing a nation. Nation is built on the ideology of nationalism (which is a neat word of formal (re)construction of familiarity-based groups). Nationalism is the ideology that a group of people should have their own state and, therefore, it is an aspiration for formalised self-definition. According to Gellner’s (1983, 1) description: ‘nationalism is primarily a political principle that holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent’.

A nation, like any group, can be realised internally, or can be provided externally. The balance between internal and external construction is a matter of power. A nation is realised internally through self-conscious (re)organisation. A realised nation, once it gains a sense of security, may lose self-consciousness of its continuous (re)construction of the nation. Powerful nations, *i.e.* internally developed or internalised nations with their own state and adequate sense of self-defence, acquire the power to be latent, *i.e.* to appear neutral, non-ideological [~power of concealment]. Billig refers to nationalism viewed from such a dominant position as projecting theories of nationalism. He describes these as follows (1995:16):

These approaches tend to define nationalism in a restricted way, as an extreme/surplus phenomenon. Nationalism is equated with the outlook of

nationalist movements and, when there are no such movements, nationalism is not seen to be an issue. By and large, the authors of such theories are not themselves partisans of nationalist movements – although there are exceptions. Such theorists often claim that nationalism is impelled by irrational emotions. Since the theorists are claiming to produce a rational account of something, which they see as being inherently irrational, they are distancing themselves from nationalism. The theorists themselves live in a world of nations: they carry passports and pay their taxes to nation-states. Their theories tend to take this world of nations for granted as the 'natural' environment, in which the dramas of nationalism periodically erupt. Since the nationalism which routinely reproduces the world of nations is theoretically ignored, and nationalism is seen as a condition of 'others', then such theories can be seen as rhetorical projections. Nationalism as a condition is projected on to 'others'; 'ours' is overlooked, forgotten, even theoretically denied.

Being a nationalist is having a specific ideology. For those in a dominant position in a given situation ideology is a series of thoughts that *others* have and, therefore, nationalism is simply one of these ideologies that ('quite unfortunately' lower quality) *others* have. This is because living on the margin (of the dominant group) is a very different experience with very different challenges than life in the centre. Those in the centre 'might prefer other different words such as 'patriotism', 'loyalty', or 'societal identification' (Billig 1995, 16).

Nation, through state building, is a (emic/etic) formalisation of a group of people through providing a clear-cut (though often contested) boundary acknowledged by international agreements. It is also a common practice to formalise the linguistic markers of the group through providing official status to certain language(s) and dialects by those in power over the political affairs of the state (who are most common representatives of the dominant group(s) in the state).

A dominant argument about nations and nationalism is about its historical development. The basis of this argument is whether nationalism and nations develop on a pre-existing ethnic basis (primordial view) or represent a non-precedented historical novelty in socio-political structural arrangements (contextual view). This primordial/contextual dichotomy is a historical debate as opposed to the essentially anthropological and synchronic primordial/contextual approaches of group relations.

Nations and nationalism are historically specific in combination of their main characteristics. Among these characteristics are:

- Centralised power (following absolutism);
- Institutionalisation (industrial revolution during the 1700s and the 1800s);
- National borders and citizenship (based on international recognition).

Nationalism, as a historical-specific ideology, is often defined through a mixture of its historically specific and its historically non-specific characteristics. Among the historically non-specific characteristics are general social psychological traits of groups, such as loyalty, violence and aspiration for emic-based control. While the latter is evident among historical (such as the Celtic tribes in Gall under Roman aggression) and contemporary tribes and non-national ethnic groups of the world, it is still counted without any distinction as a characteristic of nationalism by a leading theorist of nationalism, Ernest Gellner, in his book *Nations and Nationalism* (1983:1):

But there is one particular form of the violation of the nationalist principle to which nationalist sentiment is quite particularly sensitive: if the rulers of the political unit belong to a nation other than that of the majority of the ruled, this, for nationalists, constitutes a quite outstandingly intolerable breach of political propriety. This can occur either through the incorporation of the national territory in a larger empire, or by the local domination of an alien group.

The following two definitive points on nations by the same author (*ibid*, 7) also rely on more general observations of group psychology, *i.e.* phenomena that describe mechanisms in any familiarity-based groups (tribes, kinships, ethnic groups, *etc.*):

1. Two men are of the same nation [tribes, kinships, ethnic groups, *etc.*] if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating;
2. Two men are of the same nation [tribes, kinships, ethnic groups, *etc.*] if and only if they *recognize* each other as belonging to the same nation [tribes, kinships, ethnic groups, *etc.*]. In other words, *nations* [tribes, kinships, ethnic groups, *etc.*] *maketh man*; nations [tribes, kinships, ethnic groups, *etc.*] are the artefacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities.

Modernist accounts of nationalism relates the concept with processes of industrialisation and modernisation (Gellner 1983; Hobsbawm 1990; Anderson 1991). This modernist view attempts to debunk the central claim of many nationalist movements in the modern world that the right to nationhood is based principally on *pre-existing* ties of ethnicity. Ernest Gellner is an advocate of the historical contextualist/modernist view of nationalism. According to Gellner, nationalism is the product of industrialization and bureaucratic government. In his account, nationalism, as a self-conscious political ideology concerned with the self determination of ‘nations’, is a product of the nineteenth-century rise of industrial society, with its linked requirements of cultural/linguistic homogeneity and a workforce generically educated for participation in a modern economy. Here the stress is on the relationship between an industrial system and a literate, national ‘high’ culture (Jenkins 2008b, 138).

The other most influential theorist of nationalism is Benedict Anderson. He, in his discussion in his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism* he describes nations as ‘imagined political communities’ (1983). He, similarly to Gellner, emphasis industrial capitalism and the homogenizing potential of print technologies for the creation of national self-consciousness. Nationalism in his views springs from the convergence of capitalism and the information technology of printing.

Intellectuals who believe that nations are based on ethnic congruence generally hold that some kind of proto-nation pre-existed the arrival of nationalism (e.g. Smith 1986). This view is especially pervasive in anthropological cycles. Jenkins, for example, made reference to nationalism in regards of his basic anthropological model of ethnicity (2008b, 148):

Nationalism is rooted in, and is one expression of, ethnic attachments, albeit, perhaps, at a high level of collective abstraction. The ‘nation’ and ‘national identity’ or ‘nationality’ are, respectively, varieties of ethnic collectivity and ethnicity, and are likely to be historically contingent, context-derived, and defined and nationalism is an ideology of ethnic identification, and therefore approachable via the basic anthropological model of ethnicity.

The following aspects associated with nationalism are clearly not historically specific:

- Homeland as a geo-ideological centre;
- Emic/etic bias;
- Membership – especially in its organic (norm-based non-written) representation;

- Versions of a single, group-centred metanarrative;
- A level of internal and external recognition; and arguably
- Demand for some level of political self-determination.

Emic/etic bias is associated with the division of the world into first and third person. As Bauman noted: 'nationalism can be thought of as a specimen of the big family of *we-talks*' (1992: 678). This familiarity-based approach is evident in Wiebe's (2002:5) definition of nationalism as 'the desire among people who believe that they share a common ancestry and a common destiny to live under their own government on land sacred to their history'.

One of the most celebrated thinkers of nationalism as a development based on familiarity-based cohesion is Anthony Smith, whose 'ethnosymbolic' model is based on the significance of culture and the power of symbols (Smith 1986, 1991, 1999, 2003). Smith emphasises [familiarity-based] group identification ('ethnie') as a complex bundle of cultural processes that precedes the modern ideology of nationalism.

The two tradition of analysing nationalism represent two distinct approaches. 'Contextualists' focus on the legal/political dimensions of nationalism and 'primordialists' focus on its cultural and identity aspects. The complementary nature of this binarised approach is acknowledged by May, who noted (2001, 12):

I argue that the primordial/ situational dichotomy of ethnicity is in the end unhelpful and unnecessary and that one can, and should, combine elements of the two. Thus, ethnicity needs to be viewed both as constructed and contingent, and as a social, political and cultural form of life. In this sense, ethnic identities are not simply representations of some inner psychological state, nor even particular ideologies about the world. Rather, they are social, cultural and political forms of life – material ways of being in the modern world. To this end, I employ Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) notions of 'habitus' and 'field', and Anthony Smith's (1995) notion of 'ethnie' as useful means to theorize this position.

Civic nationalism is a view of nationalism exclusively based on loyalty to formal/formalised social markers. Civil nationalism is also-called liberal nationalism, as it is based on liberalist ideology. It is based on the effort to transcend the level of concrete identities and ethnic solidarities through citizenship (Schnapper 1998: 234). Thinkers promoting various forms of civic nationalism envisage a statist ideology compatible with liberal values of freedom,

tolerance, equality, and individual rights. Ernest Renan and John Stuart Mill are often thought to be early liberal nationalists. Civic nationalism is contrasted (constructed in binary pairs) with ethnic nationalism. The civic-nationalist equate the nation-state with the triumph of universalism over particularism and that grant liberties and personal their personal autonomy, equality and common citizenship.

Civic nationalism is based on citizenship of a state. Modernist frontier states (among which ex-settler colonies predominate) are often characterized by adoption of the *jus soli* (law of the soil) for granting citizenship in the country, deeming all persons born within the integral territory of the state citizens and members of the nation, regardless of their parents' origin. This serves to link national identity not with a people but rather with the territory and its history. According to civic nationalists the vague term 'society' simply refers to members of a state.

Liberal critics argue that citizens should identify with and feel loyal towards their political community, and this can be a strictly political identification without the cultural baggage that comes with nationhood (see *e.g.* Mason 1999). A cognate concept to (if not a synonym for) civic idealism is the idea of constitutional patriotism—the idea that the focus of loyalty should not be the cultural nation but a set of political principles laid down in a constitution (Habermas 1999). Liberalism in Europe is commonly associated with a commitment to limited government and *laissez-faire* economic policies. While liberal nationalists claim that ethnic states always privilege one particular culture at the expense of the others, they would readily advocate their own culture (a culture in which *they* are comfortable) to be the privileged culture in a society.

Nation states are a privilege for a few (familiarity- and/or formality-based) dominant groups. The ratio of cultural groups *vs.* nation states is a good indication of such a balance of power. Speakers of the c. 7000 or so living language varieties, for example, are contained within approximately 200 nation-states. Currently less than 1.5 per cent of the world's languages are recognised officially by nation-states (May 2001, 5). As Ó Giollagáin (2008, 248) states:

Even from a cursory observation of the highly disproportionate correspondence between the number of linguistic cultures (6912 known languages, Gordon 2005) and the number of polities based on a state structure (192 UN member states, <http://www.un.org/membership/list/shtml>) it must be presumed that the vast majority of world cultures are in some form of unequal power relationship to a dominant culture which in turn may be in a peripheral or client-like relationship to a regionally or internationally dominant culture.

Naturally the political syncretism of ethno-cultural groups and nation states are problematic. According to Gellner (1983, 1):

There is a variety of ways in which the nationalist principle can be violated. The political boundary of a given state can fail to include all the members of the appropriate nation; or it can include them all but also include some foreigners; or it can fail in both these ways at once, not incorporating all the nationals and yet also including some nonnationals. Or again, a nation may live, unmixed with foreigners, in a multiplicity of states, so that no single state can claim to be the national one.

Centralisation in the nation-state serves the interests of those in power controlling the process of centralisation. Centralisation is achieved through statutes and regulations that underwrite the legitimacy of the state and its institutions. Those in power control distribution of resources, among which feature resources of power such as the (traditional and social) media. Dominant groups also hold the power of categorisation through which they may reshape the formal existence of any of the subservient group. This involves trying to fit (groups of) people into legal/administrative categories rather than constructing legal/administrative categories that fit (groups of) people.

In states with histories of ethnic conflict, this conflict will be mirrored in the political system. Official categorisation of this kind, can also involve the denial of the existence of historically constituted ethnic groups. As Nancy Dorian (1998: 18) summarizes it: ‘it is the concept of the nation-state coupled with its official standard language [...] that has in modern times posed the keenest threat to both the identities and the languages of small [minority] communities’.

Dorian’s remark on the nation-state coupled with its official standard language has a peculiar relevance to Ireland and the Irish language. In the next chapter I explore the conflict between the sociological dominance of the English language and the officially stated ambition for the Irish language.

Chapter 3: Gaelic Identity and the Irish language

This chapter consists of a historical expolaration of Gaelic identity and the Irish language in its political context. My intention is to provide a broad sketch, based on both primary and secondary sources, of the changes Gaelic identification and its context has undergone. I use the analogy of an archaeological excavation in the description of my findings.

Archaeologists reveal their object of enquiry in sequences of layers, which represent historically distinctive phases of human activity. I focus on two characteristics of archaeological layers: (1) a layer of human activity can influence human activities and narratives of the self in the subsequent historical phase, (2) a superseding layer, when current, not only buries (the whole of / parts of) the layer of a previous chronological phase, but also modifies it in a constructive (*e.g.* reuse of foundations for a new building) and/or in a destructive manner. It is also important to keep in mind that layers are geographical entities, *i.e.* they are not formed in a homogenous fashion throughout a site.

Excavations proceed downwards starting at the surface (present) and reveal layers of depositions. Layers in a stratigraphy are numbered in a numerical order stating from top to bottom. The findings are, however, usually presented in chronological sequence. My exploration proceeds from the surface to the start of the High Medieval Period (*c.* 1000).

Thinking of identities as ‘layered’ constructs is advocated by Michael L. Hecht (Hecht and Choi 2011, 138):

From postmodernism comes the understanding that identities are layered and most identity theories are layer specific. Building on these traditions, the communication theory of identity expands the notion of identity to view it as layered (Faulkner & Hecht, 2007).

Hecht’s approach is, however, of little value for my enquiry, as it is a non-chronological application of the layer metaphor, which is evident in the following passage (*idem*, 140):

[T]here are four layers of identities—personal, enacted, relational, and communal layers—that interact with and are influenced by each other (e.g., Hecht, 1993; Hecht, Jackson, & Ribeau 2003). In other words, the four layers of identity do not exist separately. They always are interconnected with each other, a quality that is labelled “interpenetration.”

A chronological approach to layers of identity is, however, a feature of biographical studies. These studies are representations of grand narratives, though at a personal rather than at an emergent level (*e.g.* Hiller, 2011).

3.1 Layer V Gaelic dominance

The earliest layer of Gaelic identity is called ‘Gaelic Ireland’. When archaeologists and historians speak of ‘Gaelic Ireland’ they usually refer to the period stretching from the Norman invasion in the twelfth century to the intensification of the Plantations in the seventeenth century (*e.g.* Duffy *et al.* 2004, McNeill 1997). In this period two peoples occupied the same island, living under different legal systems, and were distinguished by their use of the Gaelic or English languages (Simms 2009: 9).

Some of the major historical events of this period were:

- The Battle of Clontarf (1014);
- The Anglo-Norman invasion (1167 - mid 13th century);
- The Bruce invasion (1315-1318);
- The Black Death (1348);
- The Gaelic resurgence (*c.* 1350-1500).

Gaels

At the end of the middle ages the dominant language and social organization across some two-thirds of Ireland was that of an ancient and distinctive Gaelic culture (Connolly 2007: 100). The Gaelic culture at the time was distinguishable at least by the following cultural attributes:

- Language (*e.g.* McCone 1994)
- Literature;
- Names (*e.g.* Ó Corráin and Maguire 1990);
- Social and political structure (*e.g.* Nicholls 1987, Simms, 1987; Jaski 2005);
- Legislative structure (*e.g.* Kelly 2005);
- Art, settlements and architectural patterns; (*e.g.* O’Keeffe 2001; Duffy *et al.* 2004);
- Appearance (*e.g.* Cambrensis 2000 [~1188], 69; Bartlett 1994);
- Music and sporting games.

Literary texts in the (Early Modern) Irish language were produced by the hereditary learned classes attached to the courts of the chieftains and trained in the bardic schools. Bardic schools

taught poetry, history and law (Simms 2009: 12-3). A version of one of the mythical stories, *Lebor Gabala* (*Book of Invasions*) was preserved in *The Book of Leinster* (written around 1150). In this story 'Mil', or Milesius, was named as the common ancestor of all the Gaels (e.g. Scowcroft 1982; Ní Bhrolcháin 1982). 'Gael' as an ethnonym was used from the 7th century onwards (Ó Torna 31; Greene 1977: 11). This ethnonym was contrasted with the exo-ethnonym 'Gall', denoting 'others' (i.e. those other than Gaels). As Connolly (2007: 48-9) pointed out:

Two characteristics are generally accepted as marking out late medieval Gaelic literature. The first was an acute awareness of ethnic distinctions. Poets and annalists consistently distinguished between the native Irish [Gaelic] and the descendants of the settlers who had come from England, Wales, and elsewhere in the twelfth century and after, generally referring to the former as the Gaeil and to the latter as the Gaill (foreigners).

It is also interesting to note that Irish writers describing or commenting on Scottish affairs distinguished between English speakers and Gaelic speakers by the same terminology, i.e. Galls vs. Gaels, and in some cases wrote in terms of a single Gaeldom threatened by surrounding Galls (McLeod 1999).

It is in the Late Medieval period that the Irish terms 'Galltacht' (place inhabited by the Galls) and 'Gaeltacht' (place inhabited by the Gaels) first appear. McLeod (1999: 1) traces the earliest use of the term *Galltacht* to the following later fourteenth-century poem dedicated to Niall Mag Shamhradháin (published in McKenna 1947: 289):

*Leagadh don **Ghalltacht** gnaoi Néill,
Goill Fhódla fhuair dá choimhléim,
Cosmhail ar dath le neart Néill,
Ní tearc [...]*

The term appears again in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (*Annála Rioghachta Éireann*) (O'Donovan 1851) in 1432 and in 1433. In 1432 it was recorded that MacMurrough ravaged the *Galldach* and in 1433 O'Donnell and MacQuillan 'do dhul ar Galltacht na Midhe' [English: went to the *Galltacht* in Meath] (Maginn 2010, 178). The first use of the term *Gaeltacht* is from 1488, when the annalists of the *Annals of Ulster* (Hennessy and MacCarthy 1887-1901) described Henry Ó Sealbaigh as 'canntaire dob' fherr a n-Gaidheltacht Leithe

Cuinn' (Maginn 2010: 177). Again in 1499, when the north-western lord Aed O'Donnell visited the Pale he was described as going into the *Galltacht* (Connolly 2007: 48-9).

The Gaels referenced by exo-ethnonyms in Latin and in English. Giraldus Cambrensis (1146?-1223?) refers to them as 'Hibernienses' (*'De Hiberniensi populo'*; Brewer *et al.* 1861-77: 15) or as '*gens Hibernica*' (*ibid.*: 17). Kurath's *Middle English Dictionary* (1954) contains variations of the term 'Irish' (*e.g.*: 'Yrisse', 'Irische', 'Hyrssche' and 'Irysh'). A 1399 record mentions 'Crichemons' to be one of the two races inhabiting Ireland (Williams 1846: 171; quoted in Ó Torna 2005: 32-33):

For in the country of Hibernia and of Ireland are two races speaking two languages: the one speak bastard English, and dwell in the good towns, cities, castles, and fortresses of the country, and in the seaports [...]; the other are a wild people, who speak a strange language, and are called Crichemons [...]

According to Wylie (2013 [1884]:148) the term 'Crichemons' should be read as a corruption of 'Irichemons', *i.e.* Irishmen. There is also evidence for the contemporary English usage of the word 'Irishry' (an English equivalent of the Irish term 'Gaeltacht'), referring to an area inhabited (and under the political control) of the Gaels (Maginn 2010, 177).

It is important to note that religious domination did not feature as a dominant element of Gaelic ethnic identity. As Connolly notes (2007: 335):

Gaelic poets of the 1580s and 1590s were beginning to pay some attention to the remorseless extension of English state power and English language and culture. But religion does not figure, even at the end of the century, as a prominent cause of grievance.

Galls

The exo-ethnonym 'Gall' was used in the Medieval Period. It usually referred to anyone in Ireland who was not a Gael. The term referred to Vikings in the early 12th-century historical account *Cogadh Gaedhel re Gaillibh* describing past events between around 795 and 1014 (Ó Háinle 1982).

The term 'Gall' was later also applied to denote the 'Anglo-Norman' invaders and subsequent immigrants of varied ethnic background. Following their initial success, the English-controlled area gradually shrank back to the Pale (a fortified area around Dublin) during the 14th and 15th

centuries. Outside the Pale, the Hiberno-Norman lords intermarried with Gaelic noble families, adopted the Irish language and customs and sided with the Gaelic Irish in political and military conflicts against the Lordship.

The inhabitants of the Pale described themselves as ‘English’, ‘the English of Ireland’, ‘the English born in Ireland’, or ‘the English by blood’. They were also highly conscious of being the descendants of conquerors. They frequently cited the classic account of the exploits of the original settlers by Gerald of Wales as an authoritative text (Connolly 2007: 38-9).

‘Sasanaigh’

By the end of the 14th century the Gaels started to distinguish the Galls of Ireland from the English of England, who were referred to as ‘Sasanaigh’ (literally ‘Saxon’). The Four Masters record the following consecutive entries for the year 1394, when Richard II made his first military expedition to Ireland: ‘Aodh Ó Díomusaigh do marbhadh la **Gallaibh** i lurg creiche’ [English: Hugh O’Dempsey, while in pursuit of a prey, was slain by Gallaibh] and ‘Tomás Ua Díomusaigh adbhar tigerna Chloinne Maoil Ighra do marbhadh la **Saxanchaibh**’ [English: Thomas O’Dempsey, heir to the lordship of Clann- Maoilughra, was slain by Saxanchaibh] (O’Donovan 1851; quoted in Maginn 2010: 178-9).

A second example of the use of this term is known from the *Annals of Connacht* (*Annála Connacht*) in an entry for the year 1419 (Freeman 1944; quoted in Ó Torna 2005: 34): ‘Glenn Da Locha do loscad la **Saxanchaib** & le **Gallaib** hErend’. A third example of the use of this term is known from the Annals of Ulster (*Annála Uladh*) in an entry for the year 1487 (Mac Carthy 1895; quoted in Ó Torna 2005: 34) Coblach mor do **Shaxanachaibh** do thecht a n-Erinn [English: a great fleet of Saxanachaibh came into Ireland]. Connolly (2007: 48-9) also mentions that ‘Edward Poynings, sent from England in 1494 to impose order on the lordship, was ‘*ridire Saxanaigh*’, a Saxon knight.’

‘Éireannaigh’

Another interesting aspect in the late medieval history of ethnic identification is the development of the ethnonym *Éireannach*. This term was recorded in an account of the ill-fated contingents that accompanied Lambert Simnel to England in the *Annals of Ulster* for the year in 1487 (Mac Carthy 1895):

*Ocus urmhor a n-deachaidh do **Erennchaibh** soir, do marbadh ann, im Tomas, mac Iarla Cille Dara {fol. A 101b} & im moran do **Gallmacamhaibh** uaisle ailibh.*

[English: And the greater part of what went east of the Irish were slain there, around Thomas, son of the Earl of Kildare and many other noble Foreign youths]. *Éireannach* in this foreign geographical context referred to the Gaels, while the Galls were recorded under the term *Gallmacamhaibh* (Connolly 2007: 48-9). The term *Éireannach* was also used in the *Annals of Connacht* (*Annála Connacht*) for the year 1419 (Freeman 1944:442). This reference has been interpreted to refer to both Gaels and the Galls in an inclusive manner (Ó Torna 2005: 34). The original Irish version of the passage is as follows:

*Tomas Baccach mac Iarla Urmuman do dol i Saxanaib do congnam la Rig Saxan a n-agaid Rig Frangc ocht xx. x. fer cotuin deirg & ocht xx. x. fer cotuin glegil do **Gallaib** & do **Gaidelaib** uasli, & ni menicc dochuaidh a Saxanaib a comarmechsin & a commaith do sluag; cur fasaigsed moran d'ferand na Frangci & cur gabsat nert mor do Rig Saxan; & mur nach bi indocbail cen isliugad na aibnes cin imsnim fa deoid, co tanaig teidm galair guasachtaig forna **hErennchaib** isin talmain anaichnig cur marbad mor dib & co ndeachaid mac Iarla Urmuman budein don tedm-sin, & co ndeachaid cuil gorm i mbeol Uilliam Darsighe & cur at a corp uli iarom corbo marb de; & ni menicc testa do **Gallaib** riam da echt bad mo ina Tomas Bacach Butiller & Uilliam Darsaighi, & bennacht na hecsi leo da tigib talman.*

[English as translated in Freeman's edition: Thomas Baccach, son of the Earl of Ormond, went to England to help the King of England against the King of France, taking eighteen score men with red shields and eighteen score with pure white shields, noble Galls and Gaels; and not often has so numerous and so well-born a host embarked from England. They devastated much of the land of France and won great ascendancy for the King of England. But as there is no pride that is not brought low, and no joy that does not end in sorrow, an attack of dangerous sickness came upon the Irishmen in the strange land and killed many of them, the Earl of Ormond's son himself dying of it. And a blue fly entered William Darcy's mouth, and afterwards his whole body swelled and he died thereof. Not often have the Galls suffered two greater losses than these, of Thomas Baccach Butler and William Darcy. The blessing of the learned go with them to their abodes of clay!]

3.2 Layer IV Gaelic disempowerment

The Early Modern period (c. 1600 – 1700) in Irish history saw the emergence of a centralised state under British Protestant dominance and the disempowerment of the Gaels and many of the Galls of the earlier period. In 1541, Henry VIII upgraded Ireland from a lordship to a full

kingdom and set about to extend the control of the Kingdom of Ireland over all of its claimed territory. This took nearly a century, with various English administrations in the process either negotiating or fighting with the independent Gaels and Galls of Ireland. The conquest was completed during the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, after several bloody conflicts and successive campaigns of ethnic cleansing. By the end of this period a new Protestant and British ethnic identity emerged, who were referred to as the New English, or the *Nua-Ghall*, of Ireland.

Some of the major historical events of the period were:

- The Confederation (1642);
- Cromwellian war (1649–53);
- The Restoration of the monarchy (1660s);
- The Williamite War (1688–1691).

Gaels

The collapse of the Gaelic world is symbolised with the event called ‘The Flight of the Earls’ in 1607. The Flight of the Earls was the flight of Hugh O'Neill, second Earl of Tyrone and Rory O'Donnell, first Earl of Tyrconnell into exile in the European mainland following their defeat at the Battle of Kinsale in 1601 and the suppression of their rebellion in Ulster in 1603. This event marked the destruction of Ireland's ancient Gaelic nobility following the Tudor conquest and cleared the way for the Plantation of Ulster. After the weakening of Gaelic resistance, the English authorities in Dublin established dominant control over Ireland for the first time, bringing a centralised government to the entire island, and successfully disarmed and gradually disempowered the Gaelic nobility.

A Connolly (2007: 51) notes: ‘all sections of Gaelic society were to be forced to reassess their attitudes to national identity and political allegiance’. Since the poets, jurists and doctors depended on the patronage of the ruling families, the end of the Gaelic order brought the demise of Gaelic intelligentsia in general (Duffy 2005, 11). Studies in the bardic schools ended in the first half of the seventeenth century (Simms 2009: 12-3). ‘The replacement of Gaelic lords by New English landlords, equally, meant that continuing differences in language and habits were no longer the attributes of an alternative social order, but rather the despised customs of a lower class’ (Connolly 2008: 169).

One of the last Gaelic poets trained in the bardic tradition was Dáibhí Ó Bruadair (1625–1698), whose work serves as a testimony to the demise of the old Irish cultural and political order. In

one of his poems, ‘*Mairg nach fuil ‘na dhubhthuta*’ (‘O it’s best to be a total boor’), he expressed his contempt for ‘the ignorant crew’ he had to live with (Ó Tuama and Kinsella 1981: 114-5):

*Mairg nach fuil ‘na thrudaire,
Eadraibhse, a dhaoine maithe,
Ós iad is fearr chugaibhse,
A dhream gan iúl gan aithne.*

[English: It’s best to be, good people; A stutterer among you; Since that is what you want; You blind ignorant crew].

Another emblematic poet of this period was Aogán Ó Rathaille (c.1670–1726), whose social status was also reduced during his lifetime. His poetry, the best of which has a heroic desolation and grandeur, is in many ways a result of his effort to come to terms with the chaos in which his people found themselves (Ó Tuama and Kinsella 1981: 139). The Irish language, by now, was the language of people with low status and little power.

Seathrún Céitinn (c. 1569– c.1644; known in English as Geoffrey Keating) was an historian of Old English origin (Williams and Ní Mhuiríosa 1979: 207) at the early phase of Gaelic collapse. In Section IX in the second book of his *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn*, he challenged the historical narratives of the new dominant Protestant intelligentsia he calls the ‘*Nua-Ghall*’ (Comyn and Dinneen 1914: 75-76):

Ní leanta dhúinn do bhreugnughadh na Nua-Ghall so nídhsa-mhó, bíodh gurab iomdha nídh chuirid síos i n-a stáiribh do féadfaidhe do bhreugnughadh; do bhrígh urmhór a scríobhaid go maslaightheach ar Éirinn, nach fuil d'úghdardhás aca re n-a scríobhadh acht innisin sceul ainteasdach do bhí fuathmhar d'Éirinn, agus aineolach i n-a seanchus[.]

[English (translated by Comyn and Dinneen 2009: 48-9): The refutation of these new foreign writers need not be pursued by us any further, although there are many things they insert in their histories which it would be possible to confute; because, as to the most part of what they write disparagingly of Ireland, they have no authority for writing it but repeating the tales of false witnesses who were hostile to Ireland, and ignorant of her history].

Keating is conscious of the ethnic divisions between the Gaels and the Galls in Ireland and his use of the term ‘*Éireannach*’ in an inclusive sense reflects an urge for coalition (in opposition of the ‘*Nua-Ghall*’) between the two groups (Comyn and Dinneen 1914: 76):

*[A]gus measaim gurab córaide mo theist do ghabháil ar **Éireannchaibh** ar an tuarasgbháil do-bheirim, do bhrígh gurab ar **Ghaedhealaibh** is ro-mhó thráchtaim. Cibé lé n-ab mór a n-abraim riu, nach inmheasta go mbéarainn breath le báidh ag tabhairt iomad molta tar mar do thuilleadar orra, agus mé féin do **Shean-Ghallaibh** do réir bunadhasa.*

[English (translated by Comyn and Dinneen 2009: 49): I think that my estimate in the account I give concerning the Irish ought the rather to be accepted, because it is of the Gaels I chiefly treat. Whoever thinks it much I say for them, it is not to be considered that I should deliver judgment through favour, giving them much praise beyond what they have deserved, being myself of the old Galls as regards my origin].

There is also evidence by the 17th-century poet Laoiseach Mac an Bhaird of contempt for those who left the Gaelic communities in order to pursue a higher quality life in the more prosperous ‘*galldacht*’ (Bergin 1970: 50). Leaving for the Galltacht was encouraged, as many New English settlers would have found it necessary to establish relationships with the indigenous population, as servants, labourers, tenants, or traders (Connolly 2008: 400). Movement into English areas was already a factor in the Middle Ages. As Maggin (2010: 184) notes:

All that separated Gaedhil from Gaill in the Galltacht, however, was language, dress and custom, all of which could be changed; and if a Gaedheal were to purchase a ‘charter of English liberty and freedom from all Irish servitude’ (see: Murphy 1967) or simply disguise his ethnic background then he might be accepted as an Englishman.

Old English

The Old English were also conscious of their ethnic distinction. They were descendants of the first colony, established in the late twelfth century. Their new epithet ‘old’ was coined to mark their distinction from the new immigrants (the New English or the *Nua-Ghall*).

Old English as an ethnic label is witnessed in a tract of 1598, which referred to what it called ‘the extract of the English nation’ in Ireland as ‘the Old English’ (Canny 1971: 31). Edmund

Spenser, writing about the same time, likewise referred to ‘the old English’ (Grosart 1894: 26, 59, 66, 143; noted in Connolly 2007: 213-4).

Among the Old English even those who had wholly or partly taken up Gaelic language and custom could still exhibit a clear sense of their English identity and allegiance (Connolly 2008: 5). Their identity was, however, sometimes challenged, as documented in a letter from Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sydney in 1599 (Collins 1746: ii. 138): ‘I am sorry that when I am in England I should be esteemed an Irish man, and in Ireland an English man. I have spent my blood, engaged and endangered my life often, to do her majesty service, and do beseech to have it so regarded.’

By the early 17th century, the Old English were largely excluded from the more influential and lucrative offices of central and local government (see: Clarke 2000: 243–69). The Old English, together with the Gaels, remained Catholic and lost much of their social status under the soon to be enacted Penal Laws in Ireland. The changing ideology of the Old English is well illustrated by the story of the Dublin-born poet and historian Richard Stanyhurst (1547–1618). In his account, *The Manners of the Wild Irish*, he emphasised the rude style of the Gaelic population, their inferior culture, their lack of law and good government, and their loose approach to marriage, as well as their hatred of the English of Ireland (Connolly 2007: 201). By the late 1590s Stanyhurst himself, now an ordained Catholic priest, was living in exile in Spain and actively supporting Hugh O’Neill, earl of Tyrone, in the last great Gaelic rising against the spreading power of the English crown (*ibid.*: 202).

New English

Most of the New English arrived to Ireland as part of a plantation scheme. The new English differed from the Catholic English already established in Ireland as they arrived from a post-Reformation England and Presbyterian Scotland. It is estimated that between 1603 and 1641 an estimated 70,000 English and 30,000 Scots migrated to Ireland (Connolly 2008: 6; though some estimate 100 000 immigrants in Ulster alone, see: Canny 2001, ch. 6; the estimated population of Ireland in 1687 was 1.97 million, see: Connolly 2007: 405). A shared Protestant ethnic identity soon emerged as differences between Anglicans and dissenters, English and Scots, were subsumed in the face of their more significant differences with and from the Catholic Irish (Connolly 2008: 228). A shared Protestant ethnic identity against the Catholic identity of the subjugated population proved to be a fertile soil for the acceptance of the newly emerging British identity (see: Canny 2001; Bradshaw and Roberts 2003).

The Attitude of the New English towards the formerly established groups of inhabitants could be aggressively colonialist. Connolly describes the messianic attitude of Sir Richard Cox, born in County Cork in 1650 as the son of a Protestant royalist army officer, as follows (2008: 225):

[D]uring 1689–90, he published the two volumes of Hibernia Anglicana, covering the period from the twelfth-century conquest to his own day. His approach was uncompromising. He dismissed Keating’s exalted vision of the Gaelic past as ‘an ill digested heap of very silly fictions’. In place of a traceable descent from the Mediterranean cradle of civilization, he suggested that the indigenous Irish had mainly come to the island via Britain, their language a jumble of elements from different tongues. The Irish rulers whose histories Keating had traced so carefully were not kings, but war chiefs comparable to those found among the Indians of Virginia. Cox admitted that Ireland had for a time been a centre of learning. But that had been through a temporary influx of refugees from Dark Age Europe. Once these were able to go back to their homelands, ‘Ireland soon returned to its former ignorance’. It was rescued again from backwardness and anarchy only by the English intervention of the twelfth century. But that conquest had been incomplete, so that it was only in Cox’s own day, with the extension of English authority over the whole country, that Ireland could be called truly civilized.

There is ample evidence that the New English intelligentsia advocated a policy of ‘ethnocide by assimilation’ among the Gaels. Spencer (1633: 109; also in Gosart 1894), for example, claimed that:

[E]ach one should take upon himself a several surname, either of his trade and facultie, or of some quality of his body or minde, or of the place where he dwelt, so as every one should be distinguished from the other, or from the most part, whereby they shall not onely not depend upon the head of their sept, as now they do, but also in time learned quite to forget his Irish nation.

Sir Matthew de Renzy, who acquired an estate in King’s County in the early 17th century, noted about the Bards and chroniclers who kept alive the memory of what the natives had possessed as: ‘Therefore fit it were that those were drowned as near as it were possible, whereby they might not know in time from whence they came’ (Connolly 2007: 400).

Irish identity

Irish identity in early Modern Ireland was still a highly ambiguous concept. Edmund Spenser, writing about 1600 used the term Irish to refer to the Gaels (Grosart 1894): ‘for all the **Irish** do hold their lands by Tanistrie’. Geoffrey Keating seemed to have promoted the identity label ‘*Éireannach*’ to include the Gaels and the Old English in one ethnic coalition. The disempowerment of Catholics in Ireland was certainly a good foundation for such an ideological bond between the two groups.

A Catholic coalition, known as the Confederation of Kilkenny, was formed by the Old English in the 1640s (see: Ó Siochrú 2008). Surname evidence suggests that just over one-fifth of members of the assembly were of Gaelic descent (Connolly 2008: 67). The motto of the Confederate Catholics ‘*Hiberni Unanimes pro Deo Rege et Patria*’ [English: ‘Irishmen of one mind for God, King and Country’] was, however, a challenging ideological move at the time (*ibid.*: 70).

The Catholic Gaels and Catholic Old English also suffered the same fate of ethnic cleansing during the Transplantations. In 1653, during the Commonwealth of England, the English council of state ordered that all those who had a right to favour or mercy under the act of 1652 were to remove themselves west of the Shannon, to the province of Connacht and County Clare (Connolly 2008: 105-6). In the end the debate was resolved in favour of the transportation of landowners only. There is no record of a formal decision. The orders of July 1653, publicized in a declaration by the parliamentary commissioners in October, required transplanters to present to the commissioners at Loughrea a certificate issued by the authorities in their own locality. By July 1654 the commissioners had received 1,623 certificates covering more than 44,000 individuals (*ibid.*: 107).

Patriotism was expressed early by Tyrone, who in 1599 declared his aims to be not just the defence of Catholicism, but also ‘the delivery of our country of infinite murders, wicked and detestable policies by which this kingdom was hitherto governed’. He argued that ‘it is lawful to die in the quarrel and defence of the native soil, and that we **Irishmen** are exiled and made bond slaves and servitors to a strange and foreign prince’ (Morgan 1993, 24).

The new ideology of ‘faith and fatherland’ received its fullest expression in an elaborate work, *De Regno Hiberniae*, written during 1599–1600 by Peter Lombard, an Old English native of Waterford, then professor of theology at the University of Louvain. The political events of the

17th century contributed to the development of a new inclusive Irish identity based on patriotism (see: Morgan 1994).

3.3 Layer III Gaelic retreat

This period roughly between 1700-1900 witnessed a great transformation in the ethnic composition of Ireland. Gaelic ethnicity lost many of its members through famine and emigration and through culture shift. The Irish who did not speak the Gaelic language were severed from its narratives reserved in stories, poems, songs, place names, *etc.*

At this time Penal Laws were applied with great harshness and many new Penal Laws were introduced. Such laws put restrictions on Catholics inheriting property, which had a devastating effect on Catholic landownership. As a result of the famine the population of nearly 7 million in 1846 was reduced by some two million in four years (Vaughanand and Fitzpatrick 1987)

Some of the major historical processes and events of the period were:

- Penal Laws;
- United Irishmen Rebellion (1798);
- Catholic emancipation (1829);
- The Great Famine (1845–1849);
- Home Rule Movement.

Retreat of the Gaelic language

Writing in the mid nineteenth century, John Windle calculated that by the 1730s, around two thirds of the Irish population spoke Gaelic as their everyday language (1,340,000 from a total of just over two million) (Ó Cuív 1986: 383). The language shift of the period was mapped by Garret Fitzgerald (1984; 2003). In his 2003 article he, through extrapolation of later census data, provided information on the percentage of Irish speakers in Ireland around 1770. He used the age-group tables for Irish-speaking in the 1881 census and similar data from the less satisfactory 1851 and 1861 censuses and employed the barony as his geographical unit of analysis. I provide simplified versions of two of his maps (Map 1 for the Age cohort of 1771-1781 and Map 9 for the Age cohort of 1851-1861) to illustrate the pace of language shift in this period. My simplification is related to the symbols in colour; I marked the areas where population of Irish speakers was between 70%-100% in green and I marked the areas where population of Irish speakers was between 40%-69% in yellow). This presentation is an attempt to approximate Fitzgerald's data with a current system of linguistic categorisation for the

Gaeltacht (Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2007). On the map, which shows the percentage of Irish speakers for the Age cohort of 1771-1781 (Fitzgerald 1984: Map 1), Ireland is roughly divided in two ethnolinguistic regions; an Irish-speaking area in the west is largely and an English-speaking area in the east (Figure 7).

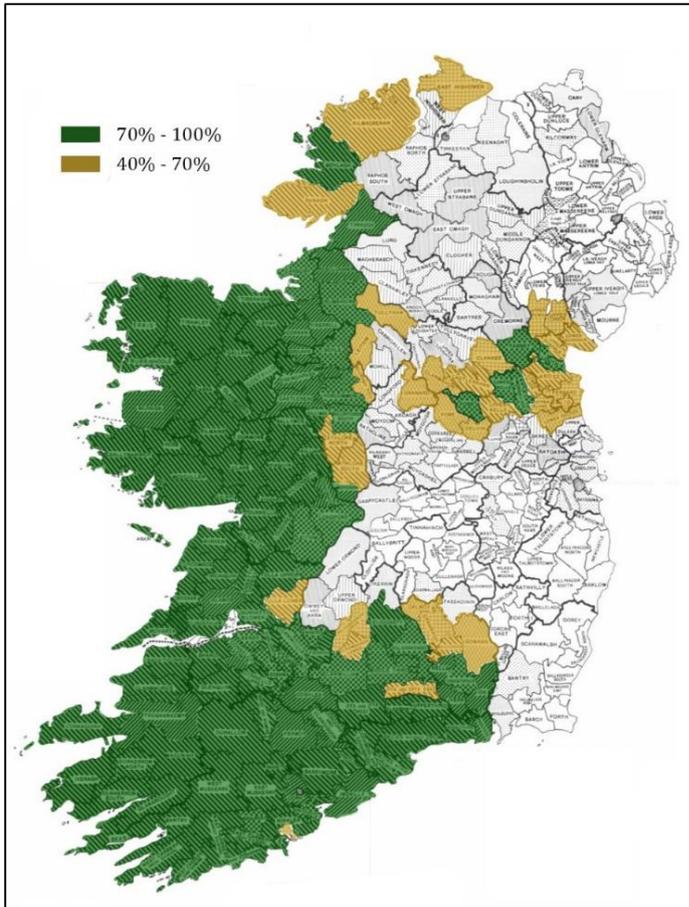


Figure 7 Percentage of Irish speakers for the Age cohort of 1771-1781 (Fitzgerald 1984: Map 1)

On the map, which shows the percentage of Irish speakers for the Age cohort of 1851-1861 (Fitzgerald 1984: Map 9), Ireland's Irish-speaking area is shown to have shrunk considerably (Figure 8):

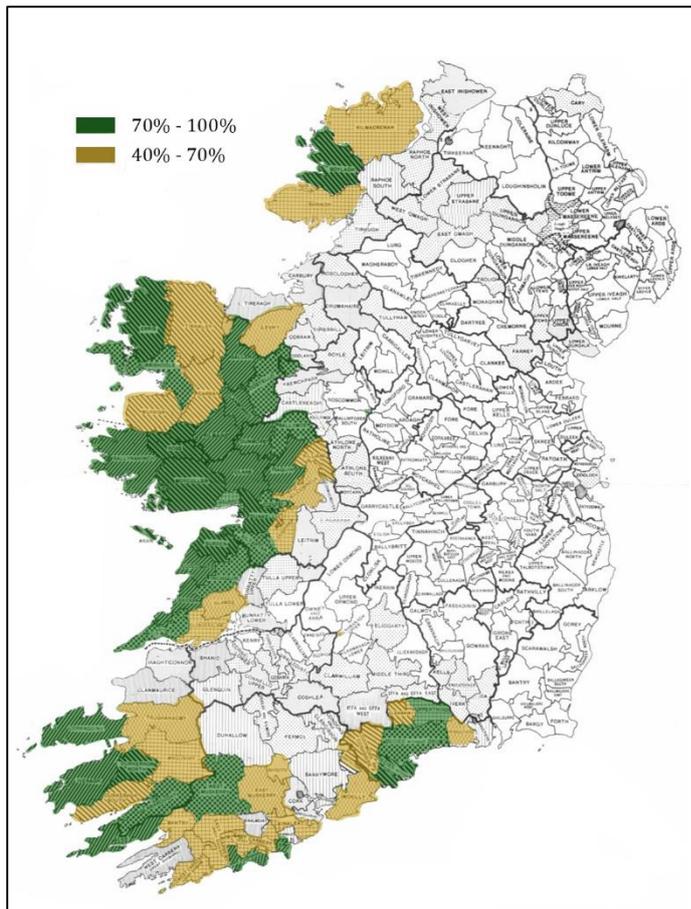


Figure 8 Percentage of Irish speakers for the Age cohort of 1851-1861 (Fitzgerald 1984: Map 9)

The visualisations above do not contain information on whether the speakers were monolingual or bilingual. The importance of this data, however, is emphasised by Fitzgerald (1984: 150):

The significance of monoglottism in Irish to the survival of the language has not been stressed by many of those who have written on this subject. In the areas where a relatively high proportion of the population was Irish-speaking at the beginning of the period under review and even into the early nineteenth century, but where the language disappeared rapidly during the first two-thirds of that century, at least so far as the younger generation was concerned, the proportion of Irish-speakers who were recorded as monoglots in the first census (that of 1851) to include a question on language was infinitesimal.

He also pointed out that ‘There is a close relationship between monoglottism in Irish in 1851 and the survival of Irish in Gaeltacht areas to the present day’ (*ibid*: 151).

The retreat of the Irish language occurred partly because of its low socioeconomic and social status (the British government discouraged its use in education, law and administration).

Language shift occurred through a period of bilingualism in the form of diglossa, which refers to the situation when two languages being used by the same community in different social and economic situations (see: De Fréine 1978).

As Gaelic was retreating as a vernacular, academic interest developed in the language among historical linguists. This interest began on the Continent and later also appeared at dominant academic institutions in the English-speaking part of Ireland. Many of the early editors of Old Irish texts were German or French linguists, who were at first interested in the grammar and vocabulary of the language and later in the Early Irish law and sagas. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Irish linguists who had studied under these continental scholars became involved in the great task of editing and translating the rich heritage of medieval Irish texts (Connolly 2008: 333).

The Anglo-Irish dominated Royal Irish Academy also began to collect early Irish manuscripts. They appointed two scholars of Gaelic descent, John O'Donovan [*Seán Ó Donnabháin*, born in Kilcolumb, County Kilkenny] and Eugene O'Curry, [*Eoghan Ó Comhraí*, born near Carrigaholt, County Clare], to transcribe and translate the manuscript materials. Trinity College also developed an interest in [the historical aspects of] the language (Connolly 2008: 430).

Gaels

Despite poverty, Gaelic poetry continued to produce intellectual work. The hereditary and professional poets of the bardic order were displaced in the eighteenth century by non-professionals among farmers, teachers, priests, *etc.* (Crowley 2005: 88). Networks of poets and scholars kept on exchanging manuscripts and maintained traditional learning. There were scribes who copied old manuscripts and even produced new texts. Many of the Gaelic intellectuals were employed as tutors in the homes of surviving men of property from among the native elite (see: Ó hOgáin 1990). Oral tradition also flourished (see: Breathnach 1987).

A dominant political genre among the Gaelic poets in the 18th century was a utopian Jacobite revisionism (see: Ó Buachalla 1996). It is interesting to note that the Gaelic intellectuals of the 18th century identified the Stuart cause with Gaelic civilization and ignored the Old English, who had in fact taken the lead in Irish Catholic support for James II (see: Ó Ciardha 2004).

A version of this genre is present in the poetry of Seán Ó Tuama, who wrote in the 18th century (Ó Fiaich 1969: 107):

*Brisfid is réabfaid is déanfaid ruaig ar bhruithinisc bhaoth an Bhéarla dhuairc,
cuirfid na Gaeidhil 'na n-ionadaibh féin, sin mise lem ré's an éigse suas.*

[English: They will defeat and plunder and expel, The vain rabble of surly English-speakers, They will put the Irish into their due positions, That means myself, for my lifetime, and poetry on top].

The Jacobite genre largely ran its course by the early 19th-century. The poet Antoine Ó Raifteirí (Anthony Raftery; 1779-1835) wrote about James II in a scornful manner ('*Séamas an chaca milleán géar air*') in his poem *Seanchas na Sceithe*. His vision was a post-Jacobite Catholic Gaelic Ireland, as expressed in his poem '*Bearnán Ristead*':

*[...] ní fada uainn an lá,
go mbeidh Galla suaite sínte gan duine lena gcaoineadh,
ach beidh tinte cnámha thíos againn ag lasadh suas go hard.*

There is plenty of evidence that the Gaels were ethnoculturally conscious at this period. Seán na Ráithníneach, a poet of the 18th century used the term 'Gael' (spelt as 'Gaedheal' at the time) on multiple occasion. The term 'Éireannach' does not feature in his poems. In a poem he wrote in 1758 to lament Cormac Spáinneach Mac Cárthaigh (Ó Torna 2005: 37), he uses the term 'galltacht' in a scornful manner:

*Do mheabhruigh an seangbhile cneasta caomhnach
Franncais is peannsa agus Laidean léigheanta;
Do labhradh gan ghalldacht an teanga Ghaedhilge,
's ní'l amhras gur ceannsa a bhí aige an Béarla.*

Séamas Dall Mac Cuarta, another 18th-century poet, captures the emotions of a person who left his Gaelic community in order to live in the Galltacht in his poem '*Dúiche Chréamhainn*' (Ó Buachalla 1976: 18):

*Ó d'atharaíos uaibh chun na Galltacht suas
Mo chairde buan gur thréig mé
Bím lán den ghruaim, 'mo tháimh, 'mo shuan,
Is mé cráite buartha tréthlag.*

The term 'Galltacht' is also found in the works of Séamus Dhaill Mhic Cuarta and Peadar Uí Dhoirnín in the 18th century and in the work of Airt Mhic Bhionaid in the 19th century (Ó Torna

2005: 36). The term ‘Gaeltacht’ was used by Pádraig Mac a Liondain’s *Clann Chlement Mhic Diarmada* in which he scorns the personification of Ireland (‘*seanchríoch Fáil*’) for letting down the Gaeltacht (Mag Uidhir 1977: 1; Ó Torna 2005: 41).

While the term ‘Gael’ (as opposed to the term ‘Éireannach’) was the ethnonym used by Irish speaking intellectuals, the old word for foreigner, ‘Gaill’, was sometimes supplanted by the metonymic ‘Béarla’ (the English language), as in the name of the clerk of one of the parliaments who was called ‘Domhnall an Bhéarla’ (Kiberd 1996: 10). Dómhnall is a Gaelic name, and this person was probably an English speaker of Gaelic origin.

From the perspective of Gaelic intellectuals, it must have been shocking to experience the language shift and the shrinking of the Gaelic ethnocultural space. In Ó Fiaich’s words: ‘It was bad enough, in the eyes of the poets, to have the new English-speaking ascendancy lording it over them; it was worse to see Irish speakers give up their own language to imitate their new masters (1969: 106). This sense of loss is evidenced by an 18th-century Armagh poet, Art Mac Cubhthaigh (*ibid*: 107):

*Tá mo chroíse réabtha ina míle céad cuid
 ’s gan balsam féin ann a d’fhóirfeadh dom phian,
 nuair a chluinim an Ghaeilge uilig á tréigbheáil,
 is caismirt Bhéarla i mbeol gach aoin*

[English: My heart is torn in a hundred thousand pieces, And no remedy will soothe my pain,
 When I hear Irish being abandoned, And the din of English in everyone’s mouth].

There is also evidence that the Gaels assumed that speaking English meant English ethnicity. Donncha Caoch Ó Mathúna, for example, felt it necessary to defend himself against those who had heard him speak English at a Cork market and thereby presumed he was an Englishman (Breatnach 1961: 147).

The post-Gaelic Irish

The post-Gaelic Irish are people of Gaelic descent, who function – by a combination of choice and socioeconomic coercion – through the language and language-based elements of English culture rather than the language and language-based elements of Gaelic culture. The main cultural marker of the post-Gaelic Irish was their Catholic faith (in opposition of the Protestant faith of the dominant ‘Anglo-Irish’ ethnic group of Ireland).

While the Anglicisation along the frontiers of Gaelic Ireland has been ongoing for centuries, the number of post-Gaelic Irish underwent a rapid increase after the Famine of 1845–50 (Connolly 2008: 334). The post-Gaelic Irish soon became the majority ethnic group of Ireland and their intellectuals contributed to the construction (and projection into the past) of a distinct Irish identity.

The demographic and sociocultural demise of the Gael and the generation of the post-Gaelic Irish of Ireland was brought about by lack of power among the Gaelic intellectuals. The Gaels, having no political power, could neither control the education of their children nor could they check, or negotiate, the externalising effects of the way dominant forces, such as government administration and the Catholic church, operated among them. Lacking any form of political autonomy meant that they had little control over the fate of their ethnic group.

Education, if any, was predominantly available through the medium of the English language. As Crowley points out (2005: 66):

Most Catholics who elected for any education for their children at all opted for the last option and sent their children to the hedge schools. These were schools which were conducted by local teachers, paid by subscription, who usually taught basic literacy and numeracy through the medium of English.

It has been pointed out that the Catholic church made little positive contribution towards maintaining the language' (Ó Cuív 1986: 380). When Maynooth was opened as the intellectual centre of Catholic education in 1795 its language of instruction was English. (Crowley 2005: 67).

Anglo-Irish

The Anglo-Irish are the descendants and successors of the Protestant Ascendancy (see: McCormack 1985: 61–96). The Anglo-Irish of the period tended to follow English practices and they mostly belonged to the Anglican Church of Ireland. They were historically a privileged minority who dominated the political, economic and social life of Ireland. Trinity College in Dublin was, for example, was an Anglo-Irish university with restrictions of professorships, fellowships and scholarships until 1873.

Irish identity

The meaning of the term Irish was (re)constructed in a contest between civic-nationalists, religious ethno-nationalists (centred on the civil movement of the post-Gaelic Irish), and

language-based cultural nationalists. Civic nationalism was an inclusive ideology based on patriotism mostly advocated by liberals of Anglo-Irish origin. At the end of the 19th century these liberals, led by Henry Grattan, campaigned for a lessening of British interference in Ireland's affairs and expanding the rights for Catholics and Presbyterians (Connolly 2008: 343-49). After Grattan's time every popular liberal leader (*e.g.*: O'Connell, Butt, Parnell, Dillon and Redmond) who fought for Irish nationality, ignored Gaelic culture as a source of cultural content for the developing nation (Crowley 2005: 132).

A radical branch of civic nationalists founded the Society of United Irishmen which initiated the Irish Rebellion of 1798. Theobald Wolfe Tone, one of the leaders of the rebellion sought 'to unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter' (Bartlett 1998: 46).

Catholic emancipation was achieved by a mass agitation led by Daniel O'Connell in 1829. O'Connell was born into a Gaelic family at Carhan near Cahersiveen, County Kerry, where Irish was the dominant everyday language. He was educated in Dublin and he was a bilingual speaker. O'Connell's politics gave energy to constructing a Catholic Irish identity. In his later life O'Connell spoke Irish only when necessary to be understood, and when confronted with an Irish-English dictionary in 1824 he dismissed the author as 'an old fool to have spent so much of his life on so useless a work' (MacDonough, 1991). When asked in 1833 whether the use of Irish was diminishing among the peasantry, he produced the following frequently quoted words (*ibid.*):

Yes, and I am sufficiently utilitarian not to regret its gradual abandonment. A diversity of tongues is no benefit; it was first imposed on mankind as a curse, at the building of Babel. It would be of vast advantage to mankind if all the inhabitants of the earth spoke the same language. Therefore, although the Irish language is connected with many recollections that twine around the hearts of Irishmen, yet the superior utility of the English tongue, as the medium of all modern communication, is so great that I can witness without a sigh the gradual disuse of Irish.

Another important movement of the 19th century was The Irish National Land League. This was an Irish political organisation of the late 19th century which sought to help poor tenant farmers. The first meeting of the Land League, in the Mayo Gaeltacht, was addressed in English by an Irish-speaking native of the area, Michael Davitt (Ó Loingsigh 1975: 14).

There was also a tradition in Ireland that Irishness made little sense without the Irish language. Perhaps the clearest statement of the relationship between language and national identity came in Donlevy's appeal in favour of Gaelic in the mid-18th century (Crowley 2005: 131):

[A] Language of neither Court, nor City, nor Bar, nor Business, ever since the Beginning of King James the First's reign, should have suffered vast Alterations and Corruptions; and be now on the Brink of utter Decay, as it really is, to the great Dishonour and Shame of the Natives, who shall pass everywhere for Irish Men: Although Irish-Men without Irish is an incongruity, and a great Bull.

3.4 Layer II Gaelic Revival from the Galltacht

The period around the end of the 19th and early 20th century was a period of ideological reconstruction. Resurgence of interest in Irish language, literature, history, and folklore inspired by the growing Irish nationalism brought about the so-called Gaelic revival (see: McMahan 2008; Hutchinson 1987). By that time Gaelic had become a minority language of Ireland spoken in isolated rural areas and English had become the official and literary language of the country.

The translations of ancient Gaelic manuscripts made possible the reading of Ireland's ancient literature, which caught the imagination of the educated classes, who were dominantly Anglo-Irish in origin. The result of this was a developing cultural nationalism that, for a while, ran parallel to political nationalism. For the cultural nationalists the Irish language was part of a common shared inheritance of all people in the country; the language question was seen as non-political and unifying rather than a cause of division (Crowley 2005: 140). The cultural nationalist's perspective was illustrated by Fr. O'Hickey (Crowley 2005: 133) as:

It is the outcome, the resultant, the culmination of many things, of which political autonomy is but one—very important doubtless, but by no means the only or even the chief, thing to be considered. You may have a nation without political autonomy—not, I admit, a nation in all its fullness and integrity; but I emphatically insist that autonomous institutions, failing all other elements and landmarks of nationality, do not constitute a nation in the true sense.

Gaelic League

Conradh na Gaeilge (translated as the 'Gaelic League' not literally meaning the 'Irish language League') was founded in 1893. It soon became the centre of the cultural nationalist movement

for three transformative decades. The aims of the League, echoing those of the Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language before, were (Ó Fearaíl 1975:6):

- The preservation of Irish as the National language of Ireland (language maintenance);
- The extension of its use as a spoken language (language revival);
- The study and publication of existing Irish literature, and the cultivation of a modern Irish literature in Irish (partially corpus planning).

The league established its bilingual journal *An Claidheamh Soluis* (*The Sword of Light*) in 1899 and became a popular movement in Ireland. Fifteen years after its foundation there were some 950 branches of the league with an estimated membership of 100,000 (Garvin 1987: 40).

In his 1892 speech ‘The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland’, Douglas Hyde attempted to reverse the belief that English was to be the future language of Ireland (Crowley 2005: 137). He achieves this through linking the Irish with the Gaelic past:

*But you ask, why should we wish to make Ireland more Celtic than it is -- why should we de-Anglicise it at all? I answer because the Irish race is at present in a most anomalous position, imitating England and yet apparently hating it. How can it produce anything good in literature, art, or institutions as long as it is actuated by motives so contradictory? Besides, I believe it is **our Gaelic past** which, though the **Irish race** does not recognise it just at present, is really at the bottom of the **Irish heart**, and prevents us becoming citizens of the Empire, as, I think, can be easily proved.*

The construction of the terms ‘Gaelic’ and ‘Irish’ as synonyms is even more evident in another part of his speech:

*In a word, we must strive to cultivate everything that is most racial, most smacking of the soil, most **Gaelic**, most **Irish**.[.]*

While the Irish-speakers of the West were not central for Gaelic revival (which did not mean replacing English with Irish in the whole of Ireland) in Hyde’s thinking, he occasionally called for measures of language maintenance in the Gaeltacht (Ó Conaire 1986: 152):

I do not for a moment advocate making Irish the language of the country at large, or of the National Parliament. I do not want to be an impossible visionary or rabid partisan. What I wish to see is Irish established as a living language, for all time,

among the million or half million who still speak it along the West coast, and to insure that the language will hold a favourable place in teaching institutions and government examinations.

The cultural nationalism of the Gaelic League emphasised education and symbolism. The most stringent critique of the education system was Patrick Pearse. In one of his writings, *The Murder Machine*, he advocated individual bilingual education in Ireland. His ideas was a mixture of individual and societal bilingualism (as opposed to the simple societal bilingualism in Belgium) with a vision of homogenous, individually bilingual population for Ireland (Pearse 1926: 46-47):

In the matter of language I would order things bilingually. But I would not apply the Belgian system exactly as I have described it in An Claidheamh Soluis. The status quo in Ireland is different from that in Belgium; the ideal to be aimed at in Ireland is different from that in Belgium. Ireland is six-sevenths English-speaking with an Irish-speaking seventh. Belgium is divided into two nearly equal halves, one Flemish, the other French. Irish Nationalists would restore Irish as a vernacular to the English-speaking six sevenths, and would establish Irish as the national language of a free Ireland: Belgian Nationalists would simply preserve their 'two national languages,' according them equal rights and privileges. What then? Irish should be made the language of instruction in districts where it is the home language, and English the 'second language', taught as a school subject: I would not at any stage use English as a medium of instruction in such districts, anything that I have elsewhere said as to Belgian practice notwithstanding. Where English is the home language it must of necessity be the 'first language' in the schools, but I would have a compulsory second language, satisfied that this 'second language' in five-sixths of the schools would be Irish. And I would see that the 'second language' be utilised as a medium of instruction from the earliest stages. In this way, and in no other way that I can imagine, can Irish be restored as a vernacular to English-speaking Ireland.

Another influential statement by Pearse was: 'The English language is not our language: in stating that fact we have stated our whole case against it' (O'Leary 1994: 66). Nonetheless the campaign for bilingual education, supported by a Gaelic League, was successful in 1904; the

bilingual programme ordained a curriculum in Irish and English which could be used in Irish-speaking or bilingual districts (Crowley 2005: 144).

Symbolism was also an important aspect of the Gaelic Revival. Gaelic games were codified and the politically important institution of the Gaelic Athletic Association was established. Hyde advocated for Anglicised Irish names to be altered back and remarked that Gaelic place-names had been treated ‘with about the same respect as if they were the names of a savage tribe which had never before been reduced to writing... as vulgar English squatters treat the topographical nomenclature of the Red Indians’ (Ó Conaire 1986: 157).

Irish, in the later phase of the Gaelic Revival, shifted towards becoming a symbol of the Catholic faith, as illustrated in the following quotation by Ó Braonáin (O’Leary 1994: 24; Crowley 2005: 153):

English is the language of infidelity. It is infidels who for the most part speak English. It is infidels who for the most part compose literature in English. Infidels have most of the power in the English-speaking world... The sooner we discard English and revive our own language, the better of the faith will be in Ireland.

While the message that Irish was, above all, the cultural heritage of the Catholic majority of the country was contrary to the principles of the Gaelic League, it soon became part of the dominant ideology in Ireland.

(Re)constructing Gaelic identity

The intellectual leaders of the Gaelic Revival were ambiguous about the term ‘Gael’. They used the term inconsistently to mean:

- Irish;
- Irish-speakers of the Gaeltacht;
- learner and supporter of the language;
- patriots;
- persons of some great achievement.

While Douglas Hyde used the terms ‘Gael’ and ‘Irish’ as synonyms, it was also used in reference to Irish-speakers of the Gaeltacht. Pearse, for example, wrote about the Gaels in *An Claidheamh Soluis* in 1903 (ACS 17.1.1903; Ó Torna 2005: 144):

*Only the lonelier mountain slopes – Binn Ghuaire, Dochruadh, and Cnoc Leitreach – does one find the ipsissimus **Gael** – the Gael as he was in the days when Gráinne Mhaol’s warships swept these seas [...]*

In another article in the same journal he wrote (ACS 15.6.1907; Ó Torna 2005: 145):

*Behind me I was leaving anglicisation with all its hideousness and soulless materialism, its big smoking chimneys and prison-like factories (called commercial prosperity) where thousands of **Irishmen** and **Irishwomen** in their struggle for a sordid existence forget they have a soul. Before me lay the **Gaedhealtacht** where the spiritual passionate **Gael** with his simple beautiful customs, speaking his own language and singing his own sweet songs, lived as God intended that he should.*

The Gaels were also assigned a missionary quality in language revival, as D. P. Moran stated in his essay *The Pale and the Gael*: ‘The foundation of Ireland is the Gael, and the Gael must be the element that absorbs’ (1905: 36-7; Ó Torna 2005: 146). Gaels were also those who cherished the Irish language and/or acted as patriots and/or contributed to the national pride through some great achievement (Ó Torna 2005: 151).

3.5 Layer I ‘Gaels’ as ‘Irish-Speakers’

The topmost layer in the stratigraphy of ethnic identification is dominated by Irish identity (and British identity in Northern Ireland). As this layer formed, it gradually covered much of the earlier ideologies of Anglo-Irish and Gaelic ethnic affiliations. Irish, the language of Gaelic culture, became the national language of Ireland. It enjoys an official status and government support. It was made an official language in the 1922 Constitution of the Irish Free State. The revised constitution in 1937 also named Irish as the first official language of Ireland.

The Irish State has achieved great results in the field of corpus planning. In 1947 a reformed official system of orthography, was produced and in 1958 the official grammar, was published; in 1959 and 1978 the state sponsored an English-Irish and an Irish-English dictionary.

The rhetorical provision in the Irish constitution gained legislative effect in the Official Languages Act in 2003, which:

- set out rules regarding the use of the Irish language by public bodies;
- established the office of the Language Commissioner, *An Coimisinéir Teanga*, to monitor and enforce compliance by public bodies with the provisions of the Act; and

- made provision for the designation of official Irish language versions of place names and the removal of the official status of English place names in the official Irish-speaking districts (*An Ghaeltacht*).

In 2007 Irish became the twentieth official and working language of the European Union.

Ó Giollagáin distinguished four phases of Irish language policy in the Irish State (2014: 25)

- Traditional Revivalism: 1922-1960s;
- Aspirational Bilingualism: 1971-1990s;
- Minority Survivalism: 1990s-2009;
- Rhetorical Bilingualism: 2009-present.

Gaeltacht and the Gaels

Besides revival, the Irish State also initiated a program of language maintenance. After 1922 the new state set out to identify those districts where Irish continued to be the language of popular, everyday use. In 1926 the areas that comprised the Gaeltacht were defined at district electoral division level according to linguistic criteria. These were the poorest economic areas of the country consisting of largely four separate regions (Figure 9).

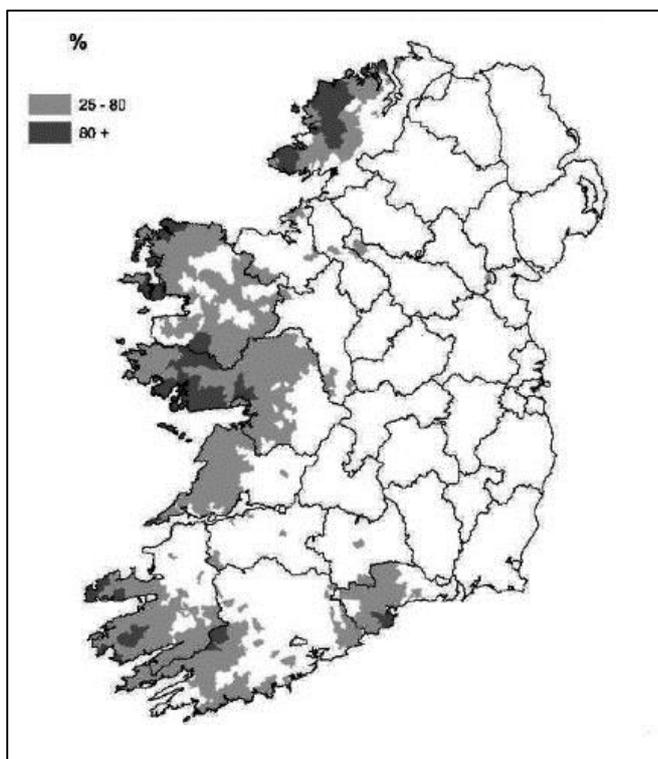


Figure 9 The Gaeltacht in 1926 (Ó Giollagáin et al. 2007, 4).

Areas in which at least 80 per cent of the resident population were returned as Irish-speakers according to the 1911 census were labelled ‘*Fíor-Ghaeltacht*’ (true Irish-speaking district) and adjacent areas in which 25-79 per cent of the resident population were returned as Irish-speakers were termed ‘*Breac-Ghaeltacht*’ (partly Irish-speaking district). The boundaries of the Gaeltacht had no statutory significance and were handled in an inconsistent manner (Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2007, 5). The sociolinguistic distinction of the Fíor- and the Breac-Ghaeltacht had no impact on policy-making in Dublin. The most enduring measure of preservation was the changing of the medium of instruction in National schools to Irish. Considerations were also made to provide public services in the native language of the population.

Despite these initial steps the demise of Irish in the Gaeltacht continued. A survey in the late 1940s found that 75% of the children in the Fíor-Ghaeltacht and only 3% in the Breac-Ghaeltacht qualified for the Irish-language grant (Ó Cuív: 1950, 30–1).¹⁵ This was followed by re-zoning of the Gaeltacht in 1956 whereby its geographical extent was severely reduced. The new district was a well-defined official area with its own governmental department. In 1958 the government established the Commission on the Restoration of the Irish Language to review Irish language policy and to make recommendations to the government. It also sought to address the economic problems of the Gaeltacht by initiating a program of industrialisation in 1957 by which a state industrial development agency, *Gaeltarra Éireann*, was created.

The new identity of the Gaeltacht (‘*muintir na Gaeltachta*’) as a state-defined static linguistic-regional entity with an external political structure provided sufficient basis for internal developments in the form of the Gaeltacht civil rights movement *Ceartha Sibhialta na Gaeltachta*. The story of this movement is documented by Bob Quinn in his film *Splanc Dheireadh na Gaeltachta* (The Last Spark of the Gaeltacht). The two most successful achievements of the movement were the establishment of *Raidió na Gaeltachta*, an all-Irish radio station, and of the co-operative enterprises in the Gaeltacht. Despite these improvements, however, the Irish-speaking population of the Gaeltacht continued to decrease; the core areas,

¹⁵ The Irish State instituted a programme to encourage home usage in 1933, called *Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge* (the Irish-language grant). In its original form, from 1933 until 1992, it was a small grant given to families for each child who spoke Irish at home and who regularly attended a Gaeltacht school, where Irish was the only medium of learning. It was thus conceived as a tool in the implementation of a pro-Irish Gaeltacht policy which was based on an ideology favouring monolingual Irish practice at home and school (Ó Gliasáin 1990, 7; for a recent analysis of the grant see: Ó Bróithe 2012: 237-268).

which had remained relatively stable between 1926 and 1956, began in the 60s to show signs of significant language shift (Ó Riagáin 1997: 78).

As a response to the growing sense of local territorial identity *Gaeltarra Éireann* was reconstituted as *Údarás na Gaeltachta* in 1980 to provide a more democratic representation¹⁶ to the local Gaeltacht communities with members elected from the official Gaeltacht communities (regardless of their linguistic composition) as the majority of the board. It has been argued that State interventions regarding language maintenance were not effectively linked to wider development planning (see: Walsh 2002). The Gaeltacht, designed as a static territorial entity, could not provide a preventive framework for a language in demographic decline.

A new wave of scientific research was initiated in the context of two institutions: *An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta* (Council for Gaeltacht and Irish-medium Education; hereafter referred to as COGG) and *Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge* (referred to as the Acadamh). COGG was founded in 1998 following a campaign to establish a structure to cater for the educational needs of Gaeltacht schools and of the Irish-medium primary schools (hereafter referred to in Irish *Gaelscoileanna*). The role of COGG relates to both primary and post-primary education and the three main areas of work are: the provision of teaching resources, the provision of support services and research. The Acadamh was established under the auspices of the National University of Ireland, Galway in 2004 to develop Irish-medium third-level education. It works in co-operation with faculties, departments and other university offices to develop the range and number of programmes that are provided through the medium of Irish on campus and in the Acadamh's Gaeltacht centres in An Cheathrú Rua, Carna and Gaoth Dobhair.

The first significant study in this new context was *A Study of Gaeltacht Schools*, commissioned by COGG (Mac Donncha *et al.* 2005). This found that a quarter of pupils leave Gaeltacht primary schools with only a reasonable level of Irish and that approximately 10% of pupils leave primary schools with little or no Irish. At Leaving Certificate level 18% of pupils have

¹⁶ *Údarás na Gaeltachta* has a board of twelve members. Under section 6(2) of the *Údarás na Gaeltachta Act 1979* (as amended by section 16(1) of the *Gaeltacht Act 2012*), the Minister for Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht appoints seven of these members, including the chairperson. In addition, county councils, which have a Gaeltacht area within their jurisdiction, nominate the other five members for appointment by the Minister. The members' term of office shall not exceed five years and members shall not be appointed to office for more than two consecutive terms.

only a reasonable level of Irish and 10% of the pupils have little or no Irish. The study also brought attention to the lack of access among the schools to an adequate provision of Irish-medium teaching resources at either primary or second level and to Irish-medium support services from health boards or from psychological support services, except in a limited number of cases. The most important finding of the report, however, is that English is the main language used by pupils in normal conversational interactions in the vast majority of Gaeltacht schools.

The next significant study, *The Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht (An Staidéar Cuimsitheach Teangeolaíoch ar Úsáid na Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht)* responded to the calls of the second Gaeltacht Commission in 2002 to identify the nature of the linguistic crisis unfolding in the Gaeltacht as described in Reg Hindley's (1990) *The Death of the Irish Language*. It addressed the quantity of active speakers in the Gaeltacht according to three profiles in the geographical distribution of the language data, referred to as Categories A, B and C (Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2007). Category A Gaeltacht districts refer to electoral divisions where, based on the 2002 census, more than 67% of the total population (3 years old or over) are daily speakers of Irish. Geographically this category consists of 24 electoral divisions, out of a total 155 Gaeltacht electoral divisions (Figure 10).

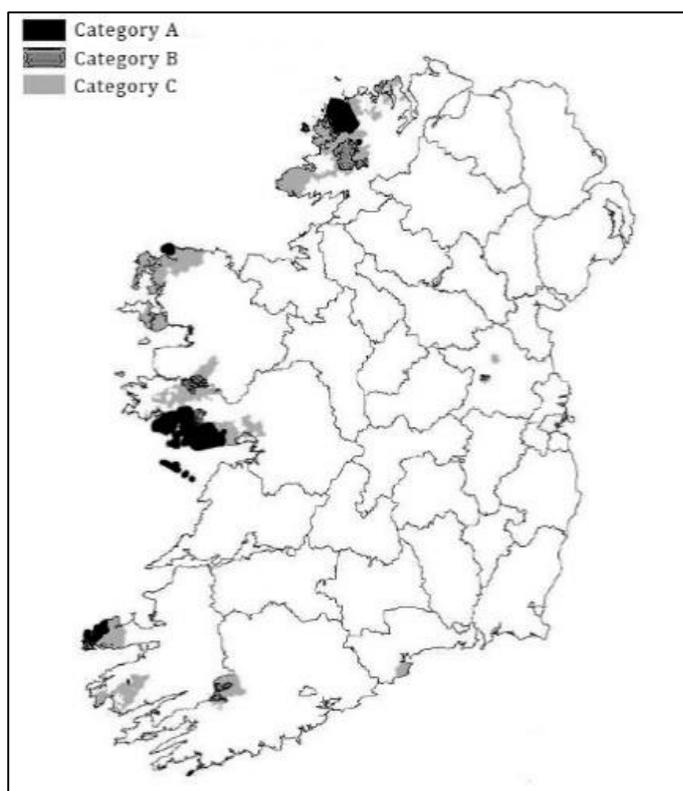


Figure 10 Category A districts in the Gaeltacht in 2007. (Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2007, 113).

Category B Gaeltacht districts refer to electoral divisions where 44%–66% of the total population are daily speakers of Irish. The language data for this profile shows clear signs of language shift to English in the comparative levels of Irish-speaking between the different age groups. Category C Gaeltacht districts refer to electoral divisions where less than 44% of the total population are daily speakers of Irish, indicating school use of Irish rather than a communal practice. Language shift, therefore, from a communal perspective has been almost completed in these districts. This category includes a majority of Gaeltacht electoral divisions and of the Gaeltacht population as a whole.

An analysis of the trajectory of Category A data indicates the extent of the sociolinguistic crisis facing Gaeltacht communities: 80% of Category A fathers and 71% of mothers are reported as having fluent Irish; 53% of this Category's young people are reported as having been raised through Irish; 24% of Category A young people indicate that they speak mainly Irish with their friends. This 24% of Category A young people signifies a minority active speaker base, representing an effective transmission rate of less than a quarter of this Category's youth. An extrapolation of this trajectory based on mathematical probability would suggest that only 8% of the next generation in Category A will be active speakers. The study recommended 3 distinct language planning mechanisms to deal with the specific issues relevant to the communities based on the conditions of the different profiles.

According to the 2011 Census the total population of all Gaeltacht areas was 96,628. Of these 66,238, or 68.5 per cent, indicated that they could speak Irish, and 23,175, or 24 per cent, indicated they spoke Irish daily outside the education system. This means that the Irish-speaking population is a minority in the Gaeltacht. A recently (2015) published update (Ó Giollagáin and Charlton 2015) on the 2007 statistical calculations (see: Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2007) indicates the continuation of language shift at an increased rate of decline in the Gaeltacht (Figure 11).

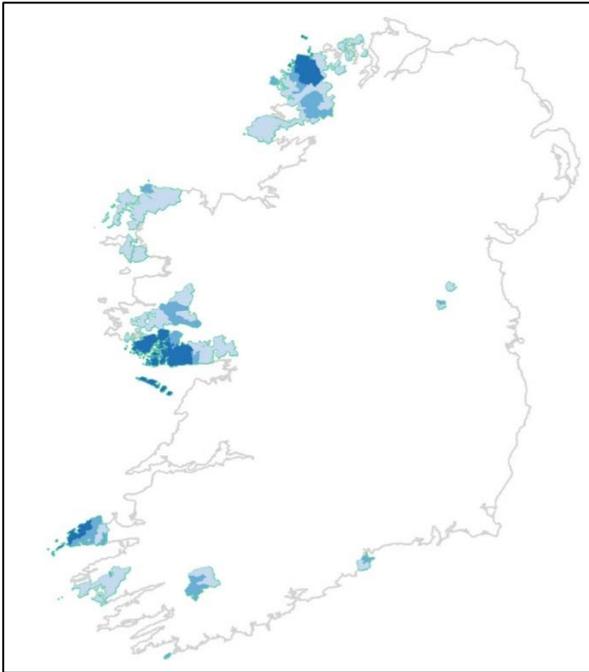


Figure 11 Categories of Gaeltacht in 2011 (source: Ó Giollagáin and Charlton 2014: 21)

The quantity of language use among children was also calculated in the Gaeltacht. According to this calculation the only Electoral Division in Ireland to qualify as a Category A Gaeltacht region in the next generation is *Cill Chuiminn* in County Galway (Figure 12).

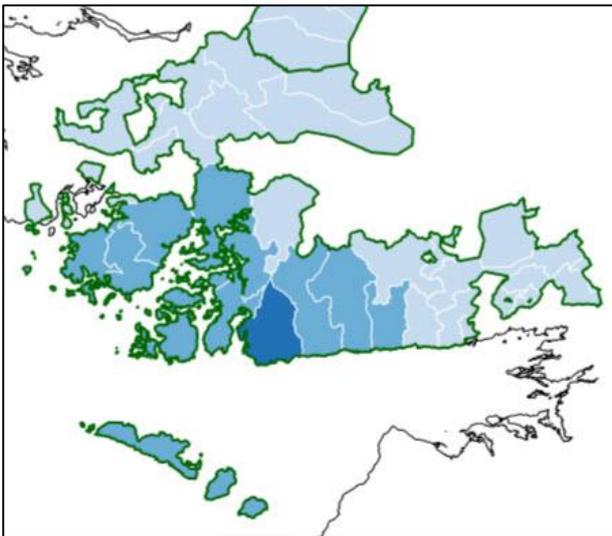


Figure 12 Categories of Gaeltacht in County Galway and Mayo in 2011 according to quantity of language use among children (source: Ó Giollagáin and Charlton 2014: 119)

A comprehensive linguistic study on the quality of Irish in the process of language shift was completed in Iorras Aithneach, County Galway, by Brian Ó Curnáin (2007). Ó Curnáin distinguished three consecutive phases in the quality of Irish acquisition (*ibid.*: 2012): traditional Irish (*c.* until the 1960), non-traditional Irish (*c.* between 1960 and 1990) and

reduced Irish (c. 1990 onwards). In another work, Ó Curnáin (2009) discusses the psychological aspects of language shift from a Gaelic minority perspective. Among the themes he covers are:

- the loss of a distinguishing Gaelic ethnic identity among the native speakers of Irish;
- the lack of in-group intelligentsia to provide leadership for the group in order to maintain itself as a sociocultural entity;
- the damaging psychological effects of being a minority language speaker in a mixed linguistic environment; and
- the dominance of those who learnt Irish as a second language in all aspects of Irish language discourse.

A more recent collection of studies, *An Chonair Chaoch, An Mionteangachas sa Dátheangachas (The Blind Alley: Minority Language in Bilingualism)*, discusses the sociological and linguistic effects of Ireland's official policy of bilingualism on the native Irish-speaking population (Lenoach *et al.* 2012). The book concludes that the policy of balanced bilingualism in case of a linguistic minority results in additive bilingualism for the majority and subtractive bilingualism for the minority language.

The quality of Irish acquisition among those who speak Irish as their primary language has been extensively studied by Brian Ó Curnáin (2007, 2012) and Ciarán Lenoach (2014). A recent research (Péterváry *et al.* 2014) also looked at the issue of Irish minority bilingual acquisition by comparing the linguistic ability in English and Irish of the respondents who (1) were chosen from the strongest Irish-speaking areas (Category A) of the Gaeltacht, (2) are reared in Irish by their native Irish-speaker parents, and (3) attend a school which teaches through the medium of Irish. The study concluded that the majority of informants perform better in English than in Irish in relation to the normative speech of these languages (Figure 13).

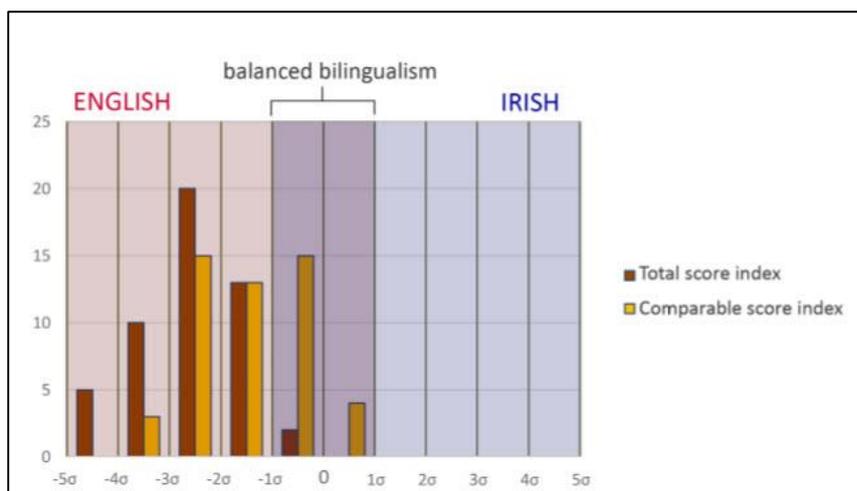


Figure 13 Histogram of distribution of pupil scores according to the two bilingual indices (source: Péterváry et al. 2014: 209)

The survey draws attention to the coercive constraints parents who want to pass on their level of mastery in Irish to the next generation experience. In an English-language summary of a book being prepared for publication by Brian Ó Broin (2012), Muireann Ní Mhóráin explains the parents' concerns:

Irish medium education has blossomed in Ireland over the past 40 years and there are currently 139 primary schools teaching 28,500 children through Irish outside the Gaeltacht (26 counties) and this is obviously seen as a good thing by many. This figure is often used as proof that the Irish language is in a very healthy state. The vast majority of these children come from English speaking homes and have little or no Irish on their arrival to school. They are then immersed in Irish and there begins the process of developing bilingualism in the schools. The author, however, has concerns regarding the suitability of the immersion method of education for children whose first language is Irish and the detrimental effect the school has on their Irish. All research into Immersion Education refer to 'immersion in the 2nd language' and do not refer to immersion education in the 1st language. English speaking children in Irish medium schools initially develop an 'inter' language which is often a type of 'pidgin' and this is quite a natural stage of their language development but, unfortunately, the Irish speakers begin to imitate them. The 'learners' improve over time, but no special provision is made for Irish speaking children and they are sometimes seen as useful teaching tools in the classroom. All-Irish schools for Irish speakers only would be the ideal solution but this is not a

practical option therefore the author wonders if Irish speaking children would be better off in English medium schools.

The specific educational requirements of native Irish-speakers, as opposed to the educational requirements of learners of the language, are not addressed in Ireland (for a discussion and recommendations see: Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2012: 6).

While most focus has been on the issues emerging from relatively recent qualitative and quantitative research projects, efforts have also been made to address many of the discursive aspects relating to the recessive aspects of Gaelic culture in the Gaeltacht. Much of this discursive analysis has attempted to address the ideological bias of attempting to address an autochthonous linguistic crisis from the perspective of L2 minority aspiration (see: Ó Curnáin 2009; Lenoach *et al.* 2012; Ó Giollagáin 2010). Ó Giollagáin (2012) has sought to address the issue of varying academic approaches to this sociolinguistic tension.

There is some evidence that the term ‘Gaelic’ was still used in a sub-national ethnic sense in the first half of the 20th century (Irish Press, 10/10/33; quoted in O’Leary 2004: 434):

*The **Gaelic nation** is at present so weak that it cannot be rescued without going back to the life that was. That is the same as saying that the **Gaelic nation** will have to be nourished on ‘old-fashionedness’ until it is able to act.*

There is also evidence of continued ethnic distinction among the Gaels. Máighrэд Ní Annagáin, a native Irish-speaker from An Láithreach in Waterford, wrote a note in 1924 (Leaders, 6/12/24; quoted in O’Leary 2004: 435):

*It does not necessarily follow that because one has learned Irish one has acquired the **Gaelic mentality**; this has to be born in one. If a person speaks French it does not necessarily follow that he is a Frenchman or has the French outlook and temperament, and there are a good many people about Dublin who can speak Irish after a fashion, but **us real Gaels** they are **foreigners**.*

Today the term ‘Gael’ is rarely used. Searching for the term in Irish language on-line newspapers usually provide articles on Irish-medium education and Gaelic sports. There is evidence for the use of the term among some academics (*e.g.* Ó Giollagáin 2011; Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2012; Ó Curnáin 2009).

Irish in the Galltacht

The Irish Free State aligned its cultural aspirations with that of the Gaelic League and commenced a program of revival through institutionalisation of the language. The heart of revival became formal education (see: Lee 1989: 132). The stress on education was simply a continuation of the Gaelic League's policies, including that of universal compulsory Irish (Crowley 2005: 165). Cosgrave, President of the executive council, demanded in 1923 (*ibid.* 166): 'Must we not look to the Minister of Education to mark the gaelicisation [...] of our whole culture [...] to make our nation separate and distinct and something to be thought of?' Timothy Corcoran, an educational adviser at the time of the establishment of the Irish language policy remarked (1925: 387–8):

[T]he popular schools can restore our native language. They can do it even without positive aid from the home' and that 'the Irish language will have to be acquired, and thoroughly acquired, as a vernacular within the school.

Formal education was criticised on ideological grounds in 1924 by MacNeill (Ó Huallacháin 1994: 87):

[T]he Ministry of Education can and will Gaelicise the young people up to eighteen...but all their efforts will be wasted if the other Departments do not co-operate in keeping them Gaelicised when they leave the schools.

In 1928 Irish, now a national language of Ireland, became a compulsory subject for the Intermediate Certificate and in 1934 it became a compulsory subject for the Leaving Certificate. By 1928 there were 1240 schools in which Irish was the sole medium of instruction in infant classes, 3570 schools in which the teaching medium was partially Irish and 373 in which English was the teaching medium of instruction (Brown: 1985, 52). The number of Irish-medium schools and schools in which the Irish language was a partial medium increased until 1940 and thereafter started to decline (Ó Riagáin: 1988, 31). Due to the weakening popularity of Irish as an official compulsory enterprise, supporters of the revival established in 1943 *Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge* (The National Assembly of the Irish Language), an umbrella organisation for voluntary and community groups engaged in the promotion of the language.

During the 1960s the state's policy on the Irish language was criticised both by those who did not support compulsory Irish in the education and by those who were impatient at the lack of progress by the state in advancing the revival. In 1965 the government issued the White Paper

titled the Restoration of the Irish Language based on the recommendations of the *Commission on The Restoration of the Irish Language (An Coimisiún um Athbheochan na Gaeilge)*. This document contained the last significant official statement about the revival of the Irish language in that government policy with regard to the Irish language was ‘to restore the Irish language as a general medium of communication’.

One of the most remarkable aspects of language promotion has been the establishment of (nominally) full Irish-medium education as a community-based enterprise. The first primary schools (*Gaelscoileanna*) and secondary schools (*Gaelcholáistí*) were established in the early 1970s and experienced a steady increase until 2008 (Figure 14).¹⁷ Today *c.* 5.9% per cent of the pupils at primary level and *c.* 2.2% of the pupils at secondary level benefit from this type of immersion education outside the Gaeltacht in the Republic.

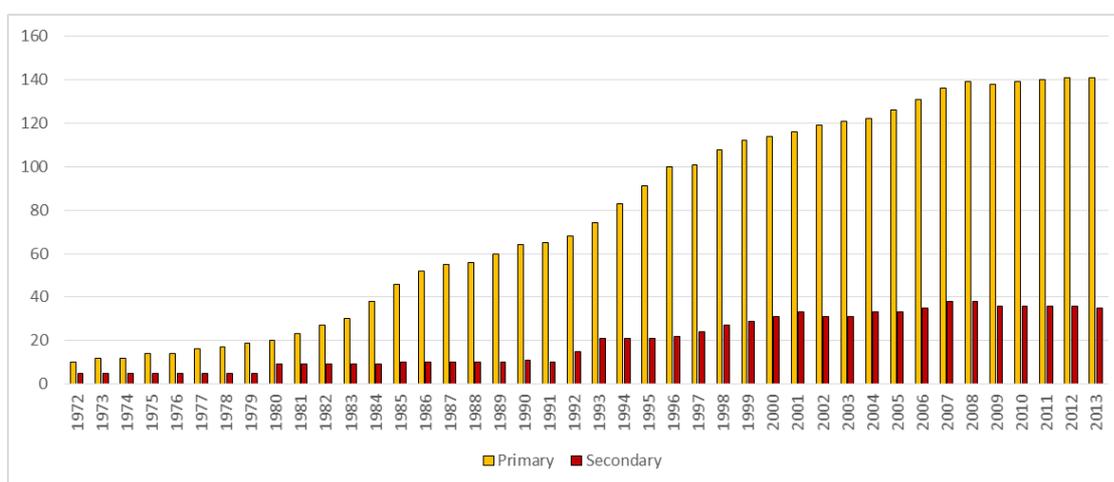


Figure 14 Number of Irish language-medium primary and secondary schools in the Republic of Ireland.

The following map shows the distribution of Irish-medium schools in Ireland (yellow pins mark primary schools, red pins mark secondary schools, and the other symbols mark potential future schools) in 2012 (Figure 15):¹⁸

¹⁷ Source: <http://www.gaelscoileanna.ie/assets/Growth.F%C3%A1s-gscoil-72-13.pdf>

¹⁸ Source: <http://www.gaelscoileanna.ie/schools/learscailmap>

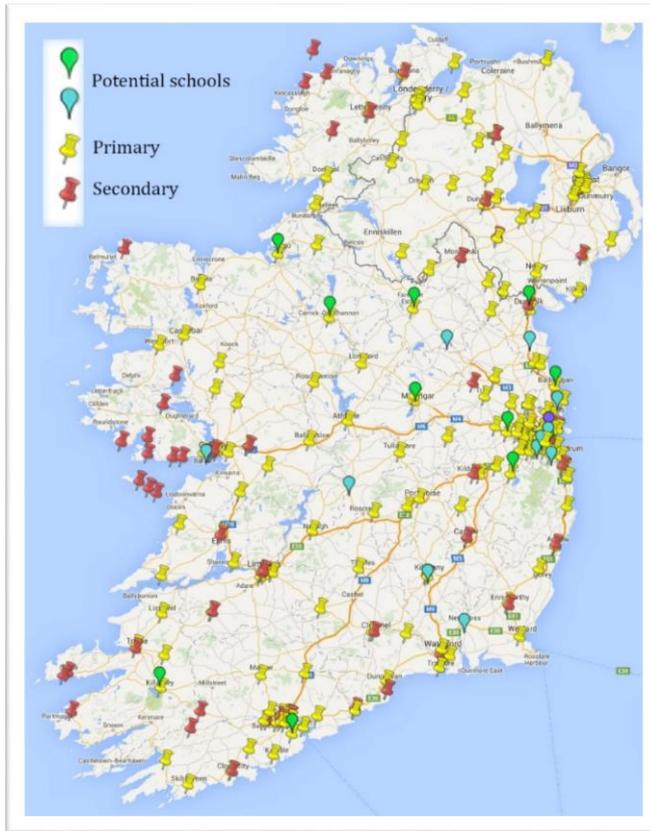


Figure 15 Distribution of Irish-medium schools in Ireland in 2012.

The 2011 census quantifies Irish speakers by frequency of speaking in, and outside the education system. According to the 2011 census, of the 1.77 million who indicated they could speak Irish, 77,185 said they speak it daily outside the education system (CSO: 2012, 35). This amounts to 1.8 per cent of the entire population (3 years old or over). A further 18.7 percent reported that they spoke Irish daily within the education system, weekly or less often. One in four of those who claimed some ability in speaking Irish said they never speak it.

The gradual attrition of the native Irish-speaking population and their lessening discursive power has urged some Irish-speaking intellectuals academics to construct an ideology for advanced second language learners of Irish under the label ‘New-Speakers’. New-speakers are defined as a group in post-modernist metanarratives (often marked in noble terms such as ‘choice’ and ‘inclusiveness’) based on opposition to traditional notions such as ‘ethnic’, ‘Gael’, ‘Gaeltacht’ or ‘native-speaker’. The philosophy of the ‘New-Speaker’ is captured by James Oliver in the following lines on the disappearance of Gaelic identity in Scotland (2005: 3):

*Quasi-ethnic [Gae] notions are becoming attenuated. This is not an issue that particularly concerns Gaelic activists as it reflects **inclusiveness**, neither is it an **important issue in itself**, cultures being dynamic.*

The perceived threat of ethnic discourse, as a cornerstone of ‘New Speaker’ ideology is expressed in the following quotation (O’Rourke and Walsh 2014: 64-5):

*Given that most frequent speakers of Irish outside the education system are not based in the Gaeltacht and therefore unlikely to be traditional native speakers, new speakers can be seen to play an important role in the future of the language. However, this role is sometimes undermined by **ethnocultural** discourses about the Irish language. [...] Such discourses can in turn be used to deny new speakers authenticity as “real” or legitimate speakers and lead to certain struggles over language ownership.*

3.6 The present state of Gaelic identity

Gaelic identity is a feature of symbolism in Ireland. The ethnonym ‘Gael’ is found in names of political parties (*e.g.* Fine Gael), institutions and organisations associated with the language (*e.g.* Gaelscoil, Gaelcholáiste, Gael Linn, Glór na nGael), or other aspects of culture (*e.g.* Cumann Lúthchleas Gael). Many personal names used in contemporary Ireland are also symbolic reminders of a Gaelic past. Only a tiny minority of those with a Gaelic name use the “Irish” version of their names and the rest of them use the “English” version. The same dichotomy is apparent in place names. Most place names in Ireland are Gaelic in origin. Native Irish speakers in Irish-speaking areas tends to use the “Irish” versions of these names, others predominantly use the “English” versions. Place names of townlands most often consist of two elements that capture the essence of an area as it was perceived at a given historical period. Those who do not understand the meaning of place names use them at a functional level as codified spatial points of orientation. Speakers who understand place names also have access to the (*per se*) narrative imagery encapsulated in the linguistic code.

Gaelic identity is not an officially recognised ethnic or cultural identity and no such group as ‘Gaels’ officially exist, or ever existed, under the rule of the Irish State. Theme 2 ‘Usually resident population by ethnic or cultural background’ in the questionnaire (Central Statistics Office) in 2011 contained the following entries:

- White Irish;
- White Irish Traveller;
- Other White;
- Black or Black Irish;
- Asian or Asian Irish;

- Other.

Gaelic identity is also often deconstructed by historians, who anachronistically reproject the contemporary taken-for-granted ideology of identification. This can be illustrated here through the following sentence by Leask (1997: 174): '[T]he pattern of life of the later period [1450–1550], which could not be traced back to the earlier, was **distinctively Irish** [...]' According to my findings the term 'Irish' has more complex and ambiguous history of meaning than the term 'Gaelic' does.

Surveys on ideology of the Irish language focus on attitude (*e.g.*: Mac Gréil and Rhatigan 2009; Darmody and Daly 2015). So far I have not succeeded to locate any surveys on the Irish language that contained an inquiry about Gaelic identity among the respondents. I did, however, find a survey on Gaelic identification from Scotland. This survey was completed by James Oliver, who focused on young adults in secondary schools in both Gaelic and English medium education (Oliver 2005).

James Oliver interviewed 45 informants (categorised as (1) fluent speakers, (2) learners, and (3) those with no Gaelic) in Glasgow and on the Isle of Skye. Responses to the question 'would you call yourself a Gael?' showed a strong correlation between ability of speaking Gaelic and identifying as a Gael (Figure 16):

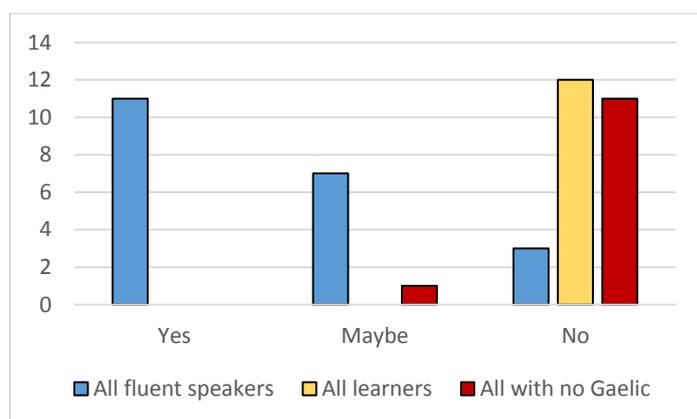


Figure 16 Responses to the question 'would you call yourself a Gael?' in Oliver 2005.

When he asked the respondent to qualify the content of the category 'Gael', the answers showed great variation. The answers to this question provided in the article from the Isle Skye are summarised in the following figure (Table 5):

Gael?	Fluent speakers	Learners	Persons with no Gaelic in Skye
Yes	Somebody who speaks Gaelic and has been brought up with Gaelic and whose parents were Gaelic speakers, and the Highlands too.		
	A person who lives in the Highlands and who has... eh, parents who've been born and brought up in the Highlands.		
	It's just... speaking Gaelic , but you don't really have to speak Gaelic but I suppose it helps, and just being exposed to the typical Highland way of life, you know, like crofting, digging peat and all that... The community, the community was of things up here, you know. Get together to do things. I think that's a very Highland thing.		
	... not really someone who lives in the city, someone who lives out in the country, in small communities.		
Maybe	... I'm not really sure what a Gael is, like... do they originally come from, where is it? I can't remember. I'm not very sure. What is it? What is a Gael?		
	I don't know... No one's really said a Gael is anything...		
	What would you mean by Gael, you know, because anybody can say they're a Gael, or whatever, because they've got the language but, you know, someone can move in and they can start speaking Gaelic, probably wouldn't even be Scottish, probably from a European country, and they could class themselves as a Gael because they've got Gaelic.		
No	Oh a Gael, is probably someone who's been brought up in the Highlands and speaks Gaelic , and whose parents speak Gaelic... I wouldn't really call myself a Gael, but I wouldn't really call myself a Lowlander either... I haven't really got a very Highland accent. I've got a very mixed up accent [...]	... the Gaelic speaking, sort of teuchy, sort of person.	... it might be a bit of a stereotype but I think that a Gael is a teuchy, crofter type, you know... speaks a lot of Gaelic ... they're probably 90-year-old grannies and that's about it, left of them. I don't think there is any proper Gael left... You know, sort of very strict, Free Presbyterian background. No hanging out washing. Speaking among friends in Gaelic and no other language. Taking very much interest in the livelihood of the Gaelic community, <i>etc.</i>
	Someone whose parents and grandparents, or whatever, come from the Highlands and they've lived there for ages as well.		I think a Gael is somebody who's lived around here, the islands of the Highlands, and has the Gaelic language and just that kind of mentality, which would be, you know, kind of, they just want to stay here and guard their islands.
	Someone... brought up more in the Gaelic culture and that speaks Gaelic as their main language.		

Table 5 A sample of descriptions from the Isle of Skye qualifying the term 'Gael' in Oliver 2005.

3.7 Implications

Several issues emerged from this historical overview of Gaelic identity, which impact on current circumstances. They can be categorised as following:

- Intellectual leadership;

- Diagnosing the cultural condition;
- The issue of intellectual empowerment in the minority language context;
- Issues of cultural integrity in the minoritised condition.

The style of contemporary intellectual leadership, having its roots in the Cultural Revival of the late 19th century and early 20th century, is largely focused on the aesthetic and cultural requirements of repossessing a colonised cultural heritage originally primed by Anglo-Irish elite concerns. The project of revival, in this context, has been experienced as a non-societal endeavour (an external framework) by which the actual ethnic community was marginalised. This project was partly formalised as an aspect of State policy after the formation of the independent State.

The establishment and institutional development of the Irish language departments within the universities can be plausibly construed as the manifestation of this dynamic in third-level education. This, in turn, has its own implications for the style and quality of intellectual leadership emanating from Irish universities for issues pertinent to the Gaels. In this context, aesthetic elements of revivalist ideology and discourse have been grafted to philological rigour, in a manner which has been largely dissociated from anthropological investigation.

The emphasis on aesthetic repossession has hampered efforts until relatively recently to engage in a thorough analytical diagnosis of the cultural condition of adhering to Gaelic identity within the external sociopolitical framework of aligning with Irish identity.

Despite State provision for language institutions and language planning interventions, only very limited progress has been achieved in relation to empowering the Gaelic group both from the perspective of collective resilience or enabling the emergence of an intelligentsia, which would be in a position to offer dynamic group leadership.

Chapter 4: Survey

The following chapter presents a descriptive statistical analysis of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language (2013-2014). This work was conducted in three phases: (1) questionnaire design, (2) fieldwork, (3) evaluation and visualisation of the survey results.

The practical aim of the survey was to analyse how beliefs and practices relate to linguistic characteristics in two sociolinguistically distinguishable areas and thus to explore how the anthropological and psychological aspects of ‘linguistic identity’ relates to speaking Irish in contemporary Ireland. The anthropological aspects consist of cultural attributes such as norms and practical markers and the psychological aspects are group related phenomena, such as collective identification and intergroup relation (English speakers who also speak Irish *vs.* English speakers who do not speak Irish). The Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language (2013-2014) is based on a structuralist and contextualist theoretical approach with an overwhelmingly quantitative method of data enquire and mode of presentation.

In the survey two study areas were chosen for comparison on sociolinguistic considerations. Research of this kind, *i.e.* research that is repeated exactly, but on a different group of people (or in a different time or place) is called a replication study. One of the study areas is a typical Irish rural area, where people learnt Irish at school and generally relate to the language through that experience. This study area I am more familiar with as it was my family’s home for eight years. It belongs to a part of Ireland, which, from a Gaelic perspective, is called ‘Gaeltacht’. Here the landscape is dotted with medieval monuments and place names of a Gaelic past. This is the home of the famous Sarsefield hurlers who testify for the non-linguistic success of the national revival in the late 19th century. The language shift from Irish to English was complete in this area by the early 20th century. The memory of Irish monolingual or bilingual speakers, whose existence is testified in the early census data, has not been preserved in the otherwise rich local historical tradition dominated by Woodlawn house and its remarkable Anglo-Irish customs and cultural milieu. Today it exceptional to come across anyone who is able to converse in Irish without highly interruptive difficulties of communication.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area, where intergenerational language shift is at an advanced stage, people who use Irish as the main vehicle of communication and speak the language at a native or native-like level, live in English-Irish bilingual communities. This means that the areas compared in the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language (2013-2014) comprise of a monolingual English-speaking (Gaeltacht) region and a socially bilingual English- and Irish-

speaking (Gaeltacht) region. English speakers in the Gaeltacht Study Area linguistically express and negotiate their identity in English, while Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht Study Area linguistically express and negotiate their identity either in Irish (which means Irish mixed with English by norm) or in English. In the latter case Irish speakers are virtually indistinguishable as a group; they may conceal their connection with the Irish language as, with a few exceptions, they may be just as functional (*i.e.* they are just as much ‘at home’) in the social world of English speakers as the monolingual English-speakers in the Gaeltacht region.

The theoretical framework of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language (2013-2014) is based on three interrelated themes, namely that of (1) language, (2) socio-cultural markers and beliefs, and (3) collective identification (Figure 17). Some components of the survey, especially Part IV on the social norms of language use also shed valuable light on issues relating to power between the two speech communities.

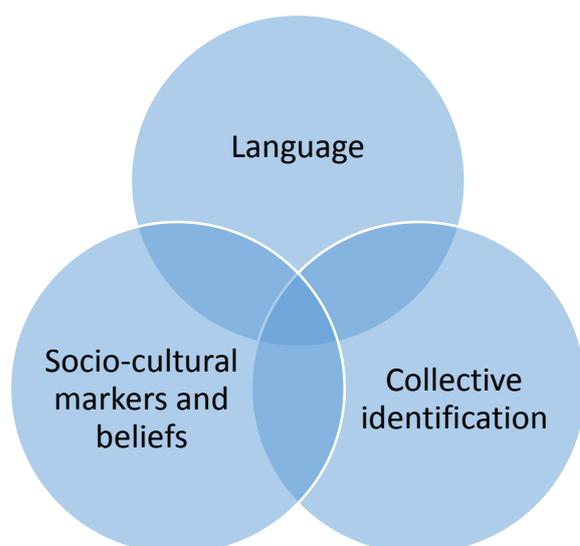


Figure 17 Tripartite framework for the empirical exploration of ideology.

The component of language is explored through (1) linguistic background, (2) current language use at home, (3) level of ability to speak Irish, and (4) level of ability to speak Irish in comparison to speaking English.

The component of socio-cultural markers and beliefs are explored through (1) attitudes, (2) social norms of language use, (3) cultural practices, and (4) the normative dimensions of leadership and vision. The latter provides valuable information about the political dimensions of the Irish language and its bilingual speech communities.

The component of collective identification is approached in the overall quantitative spirit of the survey by providing the respondents with a range of clear categories from which they have to choose by indicating how strongly they identify with the collective names or language related collective terms in question. The individual answers are used to compute more general, statistically significant patterns of collective identification. Due to its historical significance and traditionally close associations with the Irish language, emphasis is placed on the collective name *Gael*.

4.1 Methodological context

Research method and the questionnaire

The research method applied in the survey was quantitative with several qualitative elements converted into a quantitative form during the analysis of the results. The quantitative method is a ‘top down’ method, *i.e.* it approaches the human from the societal point of view, offering clear categories to choose from rather than focusing on individual differences. The most important advantages of this method are (1) the ease and speed (relative to that of qualitative methods) of assessing a representative number of respondents, and (2) the generalizability of results to the wider population under investigation. The obvious disadvantage of this method is the limited scope of response gained for research and the rigidity of the survey. This means that responses may not accurately capture the opinions of the respondent or may fail to capture nuances in people’s behaviour and attitudes.

The questionnaire for the survey contained 117 questions for response. Many of these questions were phrased as statements in connection to one theme for the relevant section. Four of the questions were open-ended, and the rest were closed-ended questions. One of the four open-ended questions were found in Part VI and the rest were found in Part X of the questionnaire. The open-ended questions were chosen to allow the respondents to elaborate their answers. The question in part VI asked “Who are the Gaels?” and the three questions in Part X were:

1. What is the vision of the leaders of the Irish people for the future of the Irish language?
2. What is your own vision for the future of the Irish language?
3. What do you think will happen to the Irish language and its speakers?

While open-ended questions are generally analysed qualitatively, I applied a quantitative approach and coded the responses into a response scale during analysis of the data. The closed-ended questions were constructed to be answered through:

- ordinal-polytomous response (the respondent has more than two ordered option);
- binary response (the respondent have two options to choose from, *e.g.*, YES or NO);
- and, most commonly, bounded continuous response (the respondent is presented with a continuous scale).

I mostly used the first of these response types to assess the social and the sociolinguistic background of the respondents. The second response type was used for enquiring about the cultural practices of the respondents. During the piloting of the questionnaire the binary nature of this response type was proven to be inadequate for some of the statements and was subsequently extended to include a middle option of response ('sometimes').

Most of the questions, or statements functioning as (extensions of) questions, accommodated bounded continuous responses in Likert-type response items. This response scale was developed as a psychometric scale and is widely used for scaling responses in survey research. When responding to a Likert questionnaire item, respondents specify their level of agreement or disagreement on a symmetric agree-disagree scale for a series of statements. The response scale adapted for my research contained the following standard five ordered response levels:

- Strongly disagree (value: -2)
- Disagree (value: -1)
- Neither agree nor disagree (value: 0)
- Agree (value: 1)
- Strongly agree (value: 2)

This type of response scale was chosen because (1) it is symmetric or 'balanced' as there are equal numbers of positive and negative positions, (2) it allows the respondents to express strength of agreement/disagreement, (3) it allows the responses to be represented in a binomial form by summing agree and disagree responses separately, and (4) it allows notions of central tendency to be applicable at the item level, which means that it allows the responses to be shown a quasi-normal distribution. The last is especially important in visualising the collected data in histograms and thus compare the two regions in the study in a visually simple and persuasive, yet statistically adequate fashion.

One of the weaknesses of Likert response items is that the central, 'neutral' category can be understood at two different levels of interpretation. At one level it represents a level of attitude or trait between the categories 'disagree' and 'agree', and at another level it represents a lack

of commitment, intent, or certainty to answer the question. To avoid this ambiguity, a category named 'not sure' was added to the response items.

The questionnaire consisted of a structured interview of 117 questions arranged under the following ten parts:

- I. Social background
- II. Sociolinguist background
- III. Attitudes and beliefs
- IV. Social norms of language use
- V. Cultural practice
- VI. Defining the Gaels
- VII. Identity markers
- VIII. Self-identification
- IX. Leadership
- X. Vision

Half of the ten parts contained more than one section: Part III and IX had two sections, Part X had three sections and Part I and II had four sections of questions or statements requiring response. The questionnaire was generally structured so that the parts flowed from the least sensitive to the most sensitive questions in order to achieve the best response rates. The order of statements requiring response under the relevant sections were randomised to avoid idiosyncratic framing and context effects. These statements, with a few exceptions, were stated in a confirmative, rather than in a negative fashion in order to lessen the influence of framing effects, whereby single items contain nuances of meaning that may inadvertently affect responses to attitudinal inquiries.

Following personal biases and mood towards filling in a questionnaire, one of the commonest type of biases in surveys is called the social desirability bias, whereby respondents may try to portray themselves or their organization in a more favourable light. A similar phenomenon is called the Hawthorne effect, which happens when people knowing that they are being studied change their behaviour, *i.e.* people state something (they believe) and act in a different manner.

The survey was a public residential survey of adult age population of age 18 and over. All possible measures were taken to avoid identifying the respondents and to assure confidentiality by not using names at all at during the fieldwork and by assigning random ID (code) numbers to all respondents during the data analysis. The respondents were informed about their

anonymity, which also helped to reduce the pressure of normative conformity in responding to the questions or statements.

Pilot-testing

The questionnaire was piloted among undergraduate students at the Department of Irish of the National University of Ireland, Galway in early October 2012. A total of 17 students completed the piloted version of the questionnaire.

The following items were revisited and corrected based on the feedback provided by the students who participated in the piloting of the questionnaire:

- In Part V ‘Cultural practice’ the binary response item (yes / no) was extended to include a third, middle option (sometimes) in relation to personal names.
- A section titled ‘cultural interest’ was deleted from the survey as responses were found to be irrelevant for the major research questions of the study.
- Some words were replaced for better intelligibility in the Irish version of the questionnaire (e.g. *tuin* to *blas*).

Fieldwork

The data collection was completed by means of a questionnaire-based structured survey in two separate study areas in late 2013 and early 2014. One of the study areas was within the officially Irish-speaking district called the Gaeltacht (henceforward referred to as ‘the Gaeltacht Study Area’), the other was outside the officially Irish-speaking district and it is traditionally referred to as the Galltacht (henceforward referred to as ‘the Galltacht Study Area’). Both study areas were in County Galway in the west of Ireland. The Gaeltacht Study Area consisted of the Electoral Division of *Cill Chuiminn* in the western part of County Galway and the Galltacht Study Area consisted of the neighbouring Electoral Divisions of Killaan and Grange in the eastern part of County Galway.

The fieldwork was completed by two persons. Saera Ní Fhinneadha was employed as a research assistant in the Gaeltacht Study Area and I did the door-to-door survey in the Galltacht Study Area. Saera Finneadha is a native Irish speaker and a resident in the Gaeltacht Study Area. She had previously worked as the administrator in *Ionad Tacaíochta Teaghlaigh*, a family support centre for parents who wish to raise their family through the medium of Irish. Her role at the Ionad was to organise social events for parents so that they could meet up and so that their children had the opportunity to become friends in an Irish speaking environment. She is a

respected member of the community whose contribution ensured a high rate of responses in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The goal of the fieldwork was to interview a large, yet manageable portion of the population. Any residents over 18 years old were eligible for participation in the survey. An effort was made to keep the basic sociological profile (age and sex) of the respondents in line with the general sociological profile of the study areas. This was a challenge for two reasons: (1) in both areas female residents either maintained more presence in the household or showed more willingness to complete the survey than male residents, (2) elderly residents were less inclined to participate in the survey than younger residents.

The survey sample was built using a convenience sampling technique until a representative sample was attained. A convenience sample is an accidental sample. Although selection may be unguided, it probably is not random, using the correct definition of everyone in the population having an equal chance of being selected. This is a less adequate form of sampling than random sampling, which is the best way to ensure a representative sample as it gives everyone in the population an equal chance of being selected. Random sampling, however, was not feasible for this research as (1) it requires access to information not available for the public, (2) it can raise concerns about the ethical aspect of the survey among the respondents who may wonder why a named authority reveals their address for research purposes without their prior consent, (3) inaccurate and out-of-date databases can hinder fieldwork and jeopardise attaining the threshold needed to attain a representative population sample.

The aim of the sampling was to collect between 150 and 200 completed questionnaires in both study areas. A total of 326 questionnaires were collected: 172 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 154 in the Galltacht Study Area. This meant that 17% of the population (age 18+) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 15.2% of the population in the Galltacht Study Area participated in the survey. Due to the non-representative nature of the applied sampling technique the generalizability of the sample to the whole population in the two study areas is less than straightforward.

The questionnaire was offered both in English and in Irish. A log of each respondent's perceived sociolinguistic background as (1) having native-like competency in Irish, (2) being learners of the Irish language, or (3) being monolingual English speakers was kept by the research assistant in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The preferred method of completing the surveys was through interviews, whereby the interviewer reads out the questions to the respondent and marks the answers him/herself. Respondents who found this method to be inconvenient, interruptive, or a hazard to the safety of their home, were given a choice to complete the questionnaire by themselves and the research assistant either waited or returned within an agreed lapse of time to collect the completed questionnaire.

In both study areas liberty was assured to the respondents to ignore questions they found to be too sensitive or too burdensome to answer. This is due to ethical considerations and the belief that even leaving some questions blank conveys valuable information about the respondents' view of the research topic.

The rejection rate of completing the survey differed greatly between the two areas. In the Gaeltacht Study Area one person rejected the completion of the survey. The rate in the Galltacht Study Area was around 20-25 per cent. The difference of rejection rate may be explained by (1) perceived relevance/irrelevance of the topic, or (2) the perceived characteristics and familiarity of the person conducting the interviews. The return rate, *i.e.* the percentage of questionnaires returned for analysis was *c.* 90%.

Post-fieldwork analysis

The post-fieldwork analysis consisted of (1) transferring data from the questionnaires into a database in Microsoft Excel. Organisation and most analyses and visualisation of the data was completed within the limits of this software and its extension called Data Analysis Tool Pack. Some explanatory enhancement of a few figures was achieved in Adobe Photoshop.

Rating

Two types of ratings were used in the analysis: scores (these are nominal categorical data type in the database) and position (these are ordinal categorical data type in the database). Scores are either distributed on the basis of a choice from a Likert-item (-2 to 2) or on the basis of binary options (no = 0, yes = 1) or its modification by extension (no = 0, yes = 1; sometimes = 2). Scores gained through the use of Likert-items were calculated by their mean value. This method of calculating with mean value was also applied in combining scores into overall scores describing a topic or logically combined series of data.

In some cases, where five-point response items resulted in too much complexity, a more simple way of interpreting the data was achieved through reduction of the items into binary forms.

This was done by summing the two degrees on either side of the scale into an overall negative response value (DISAGREE = ‘strongly disagree’ + ‘disagree’) and an overall positive response value (AGREE = ‘agree’ + ‘strongly agree’) and by disregarding the responses in the ‘neutral’ position. An index value was subsequently attained through subtracting the combined number of positive responses (AGREE) from the combined number of negative responses (DISAGREE). Ordinal measuring, *i.e.* measuring position in a hierarchy of importance, was also used to complement nominal measuring in comparing four lists of responses in ‘Part VII Identity markers’.

A final method of scoring applied in the analysis was the split-score method. The split-score method is a tool for quantifying responses which contain more than one piece of information. This means that each respondent had one score (value of 1) that was divided according to the number of analytical categories their responses could be associated with. This scoring method was applied in Question 2 of ‘Part III Who does the Irish language belong to?’ and in quantifying responses to the question in ‘Part VI Defining the Gaels’.

Statistical terms used in the presentation of survey results

The majority of the graphs in this analysis follow the layout of the Likert-items in the questionnaire. The data are visualised in simple histograms. In these histograms the bins of the data range correspond to the five categories or ‘points’ on the response items labelled ‘strongly agree’, ‘agree’, ‘neutral’, ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’. The bins are shown on the horizontal axis and the height of the vertical bars that shows how frequent a particular data or class appears are on the vertical axis of the charts. Histograms can also be overlaid with their corresponding curves the resolution of which depends on the number of bins (or number of bars in visualisation) and the sheer amount of data (height of bars in visualisation) measured in frequency.

Description of curves

Interpretation of scientific data visualised in statistical graphs is based on a number of tools among which modality and kurtosis are of primary importance in the following analysis. Modality describes the number of peaks in a curve. Peaks are the tallest bars in a histogram. The taller the peak is in comparison to the width of the curve, the more uniform the views are on the appropriate question or statement in the sample population. Modality of a curve is determined by the number of peaks contained in a distribution. Most distributions are normal and have only one main peak, meaning they are unimodal. It is also possible to have

distributions with two or more peaks. Distributions with two peaks are called bimodal distributions and distributions with more than two peaks are called multi-modal distributions. Curves that do not show a unimodal distribution denote dynamism in terms of competing views (ambiguity) in a population.

Kurtosis is used to measure the height and sharpness of the peak relative to the rest of the data. The higher values indicate a tall, sharp peak and the lower values indicate a low, less distinct peak. The reference standard of calculating the value of kurtosis is a normal distribution, which has a kurtosis of 3. Any distribution with kurtosis ≈ 3 is called mesokurtic. A distribution with kurtosis < 3 is called platykurtic. Compared to a normal distribution, its central peak is lower and broader, and its tails are shorter and thinner. A distribution with kurtosis > 3 is called leptokurtic. Compared to a normal distribution, its peak is higher and sharper, and its tails are longer and fatter. The significance of kurtosis value is its potential to indicate strength of opinion (strength of univocality) in a population.

Standard deviation

Standard deviation is used to measure how much variation exists in the distribution. Low standard variations mean values are close to the mean and high standard variations mean values are spread out over a large range. Z-scores are used to measure how many standard deviations above or below the mean a particular score is.

Correlation and its coefficients

Correlation is a relationship or connection between two or more sets of data. Correlation analysis delivers two types of information: It tells us the “direction” of the relationship between X and Y and also the “strength” of that relationship. The direction of a relationship is positive (that is, a positive correlation exists) if X is low when Y is low and if X is high when Y is high. But there is also a correlation if Y is low when X is high (or vice versa); this is a negative, or inverse, correlation. A correlation does not necessarily imply cause and effect. A correlation is simply an association, one whose cause must be explained by means other than simple correlation analysis. A spurious correlation exists when there is no meaningful causal connection between apparently associated variables. The degree of correlation is measured by the correlation coefficient, which falls between -1 (inverse correlation) and 1 (complete correlation).

Sociological profiles of the two study areas

The sociological profiles of the two study areas are analysed on the basis of the Small Area Population Statistics (SAPS) of the 2011 census produced by the Central Statistics Office of Ireland. The aim of the analysis is to draw a comparison between the two study areas in order to identify significant differences between them. The range of comparison is selective to maintain the study within the overall confines of the research.

The two areas were chosen on administrative and linguistic grounds. The Gaeltacht Study Area consisted of the Electoral Division of *Cill Chuiminn* in the Barony of *Maigh Cuilinn* (Moycullen). The Galltacht Study Area comprised of two neighbouring electoral divisions, namely Grange in the Barony of Athenry and Killaan in the Barony of Kilconnell (Figure 18).

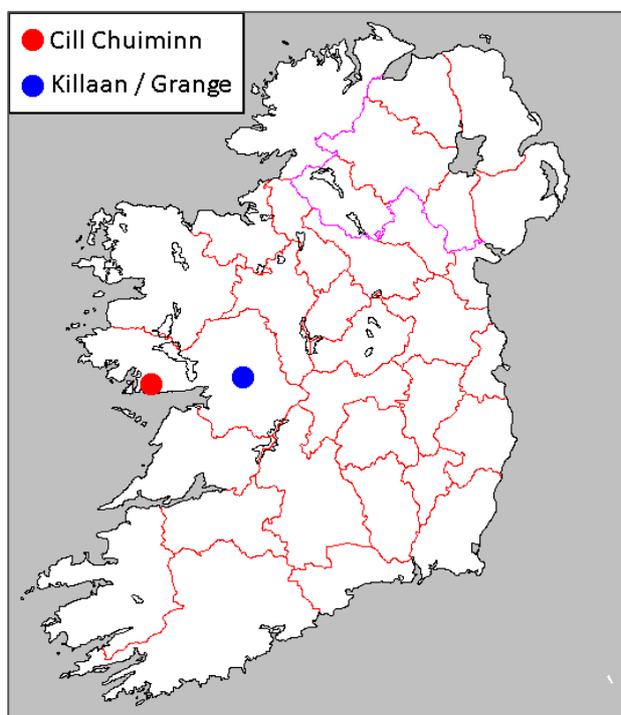


Figure 18 Location of the two study areas.

The Electoral Division of *Cill Chuiminn* covers an area of 52.57 km² and the combined electoral divisions of Killaan and Grange consist of 69.17 km². The Gaeltacht Study Area is a coastal region with an important harbour at *Ros a Mhíl*. Tourism and marine industry play a major role in the lives of its inhabitants. The Galltacht Study Area lies inland, where small to medium farmlands provide an income and lifestyle to many of its population. Both areas have good access to Galway City, which is the fourth most populous city in the Republic of Ireland (Figure 19).

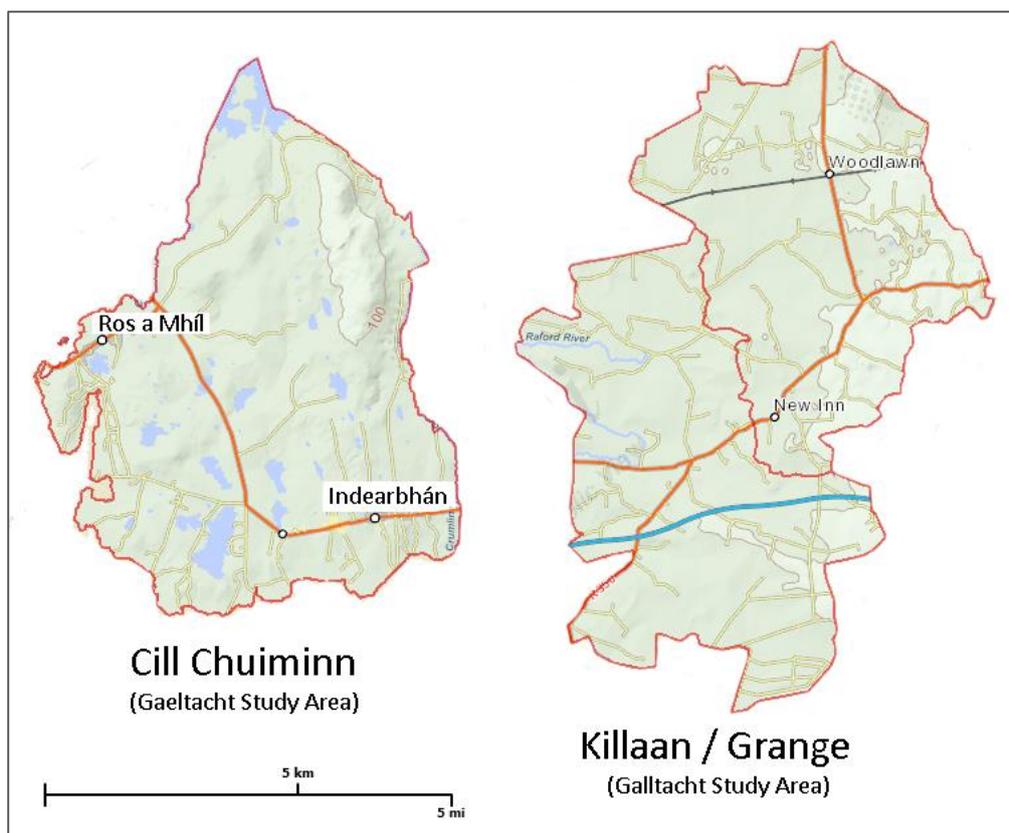


Figure 19 Comparative maps of the Gaeltacht Study Area and the Galltacht Study Area.

The population size of the Electoral Division of *Cill Chuiminn* in 2011 was 1315 (of which 1017 were of age 18 and over) and the combined population of the Electoral Divisions of Killaan and Grange was 1239 (520 in Killaan and 696 in Grange; of which 1017 were of age 18 and over). The population density for the total population in the Gaeltacht Study Area (*Cill Chuiminn*) is 25.01 per km² and the population density in the Galltacht Study Area (Killaan and Grange) is 17.91 per km², which is 24% smaller than the population density in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Table 6).

	Gaeltacht	Galltacht	(%) Difference
Area (km ²)	52.57	69.17	24
Total population in 2006	1304	1216	6.8
Total population in 2011	1315	1239	5.8
Population density	25.01	17.91	28.4

Table 6 Area, population size and population density of the two study areas.

In both areas the male population slightly outnumbered the female population; by 7.4% in the Gaeltacht Study Area (546 male, 471 female) and by 1.7% in the Galltacht Study Area (487 male; 471 female). The age profiles (15 and over) of the two areas show similar trends (Figure 20).

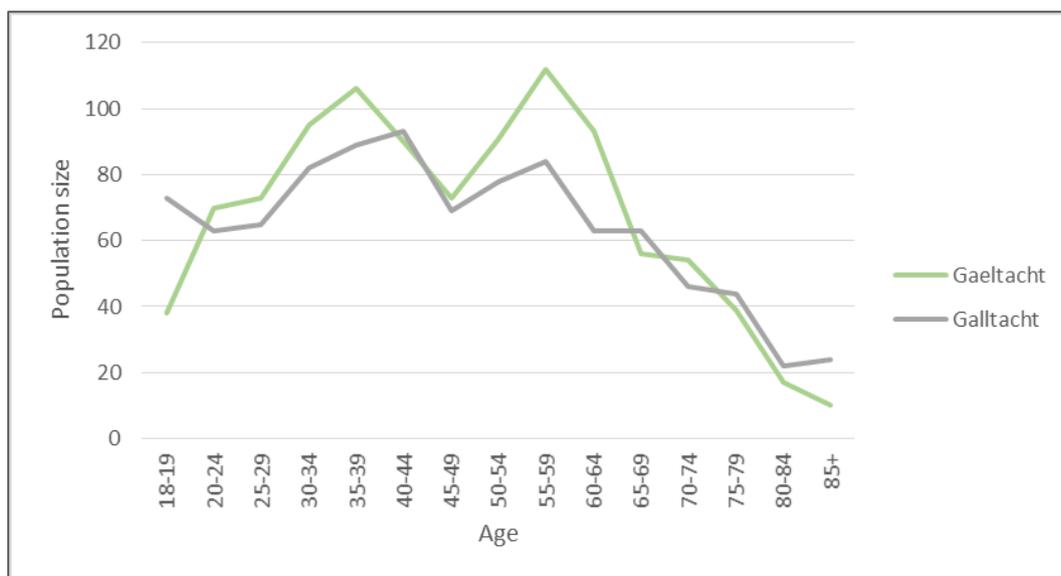


Figure 20 Age profile of the two study areas.

The two areas showed similar homogeneity in the national composition of their usually resident population; 94% of the population were Irish nationals in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 96.8% of the population were Irish nationals in the Galtacht Study Area. The vast majority of foreigners are UK nationals (2.69% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 1.86% in the Galtacht Study Area) (Figure 21).

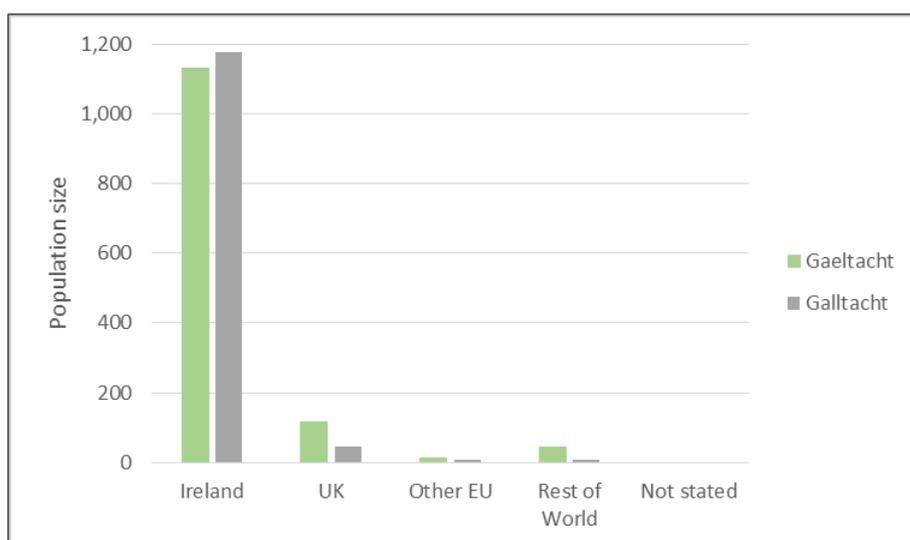


Figure 21 Usually resident population by nationality in the two study areas.

Difference can be seen in the number of those who claimed themselves to be Irish nationals despite having not been born in Ireland; 95 people (7.2% of the population) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, as opposed to 22 people (1.8% of the population) in the Galtacht Study Area, were of such status. Only 35 (or 30%) of the 116 UK born residents in the Gaeltacht Study Area claimed themselves to be UK nationals.

A homogeneity, similarly to that of the national composition of the population, is evident in the range of religions practiced among the resident populations. Roman Catholics is the religion claimed by *c.* 95% of the population in both study areas.

At the time of the 2011 census 350 families lived in the Gaeltacht Study Areas and 329 families were in the Galtacht Study Area. In both areas two-person family units were the most common type. An obvious difference between the two areas is that there were *c.* 20% more two-person family units in the Gaeltacht Study Area than in the Galtacht Study Area (Figure 22).

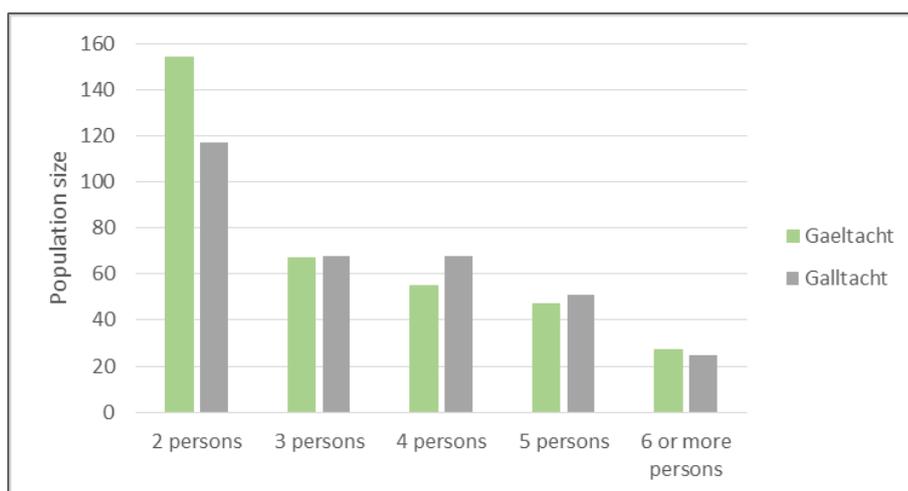


Figure 22 Family units by size of family.

Household type is an important socio-economic marker of a population. In both study areas household ownership with no mortgage was the most common type of holding. Occupation as owner with mortgage rather than occupation as owner without mortgage was more common in the Galtacht Study Area (where it was 40% of all holding types) than in the Gaeltacht Study Area (where it was 32.7% of all holding types). Significantly more, almost five times as many households were rented holdings in the Gaeltacht Study Area than in the Galtacht Study Area (Figure 23).

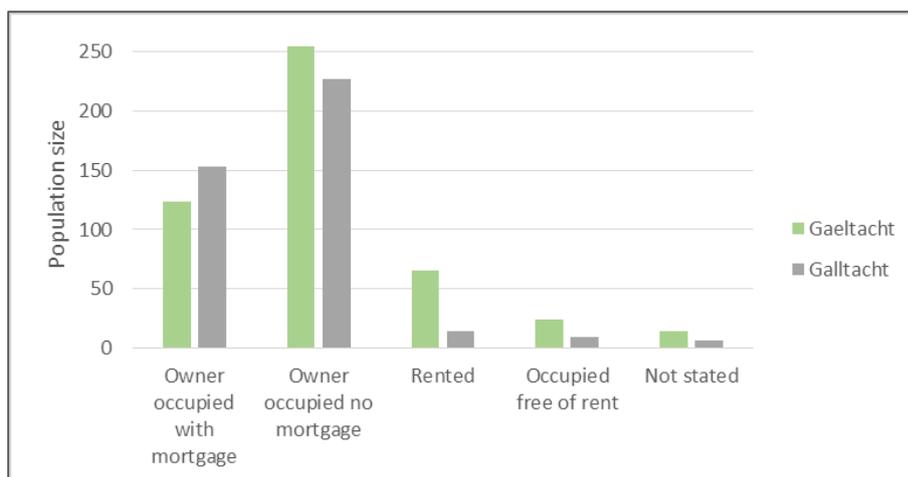


Figure 23 Number of private households by type of households.

Difference between the two areas was also evident in the occupancy status of permanent dwellings on Census night in 2011. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 160 (or 32.7%) of the 489 dwellings were unoccupied, while in the Galtacht Study Area 88 (or 21.6%) of the 409 dwellings were unoccupied.

Combined with income, occupational status and level of education are the most efficient indicators of socioeconomic status. As income is not specified in the Small Area Population Statistics, I rely on comparing the occupational status and the level of education in the two areas.

Differences can be seen between the two areas in the number of people at work and in the number of those unemployed having lost or given up previous job. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 416 people (or 39.1% of the population) were at work, which is 11.7% lower than the number of people, 498 (or 50.8% of the population), at work in the Galtacht Study Area. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 15.7% of the residents were unemployed having lost or given up previous job as opposed to 8.2% of the residents in similar status in the Galtacht Study Area (Figure 24).

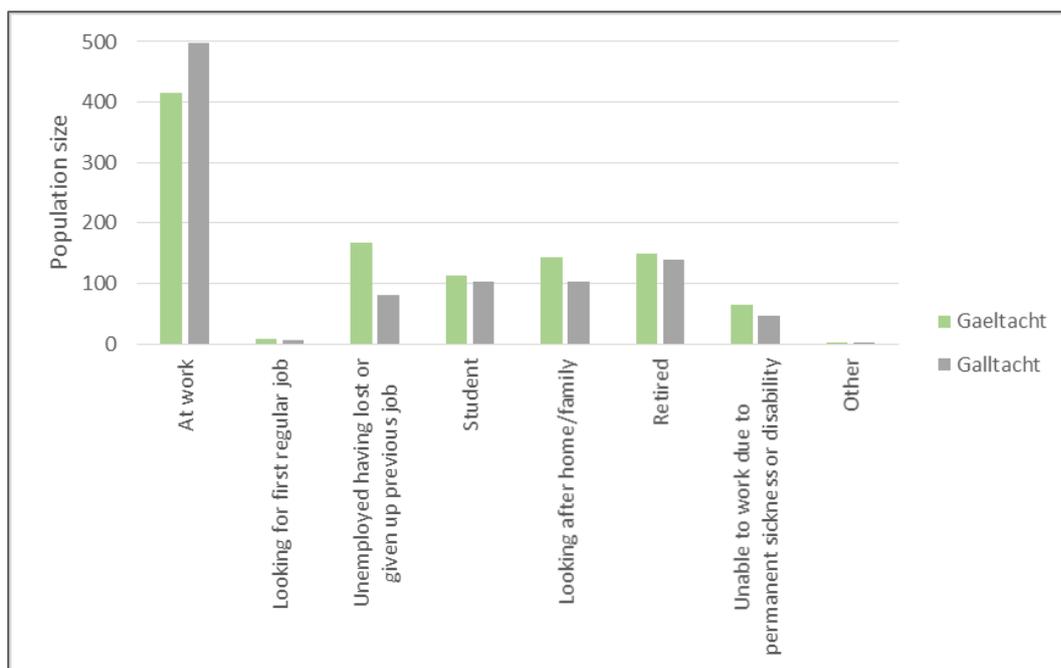


Figure 24 Occupation in the two study areas.

The level of formal education is similar in the two areas, though the number of people with no formal education (19 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 4 in the Galtacht Study Area) and of primary education only (227 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 166 in the Galtacht Study Area) is higher in the Gaeltacht Study Area. At the same time more people have a postgraduate diploma or degree in the Gaeltacht Study Area than in the Galtacht Study Area (Figure 25).

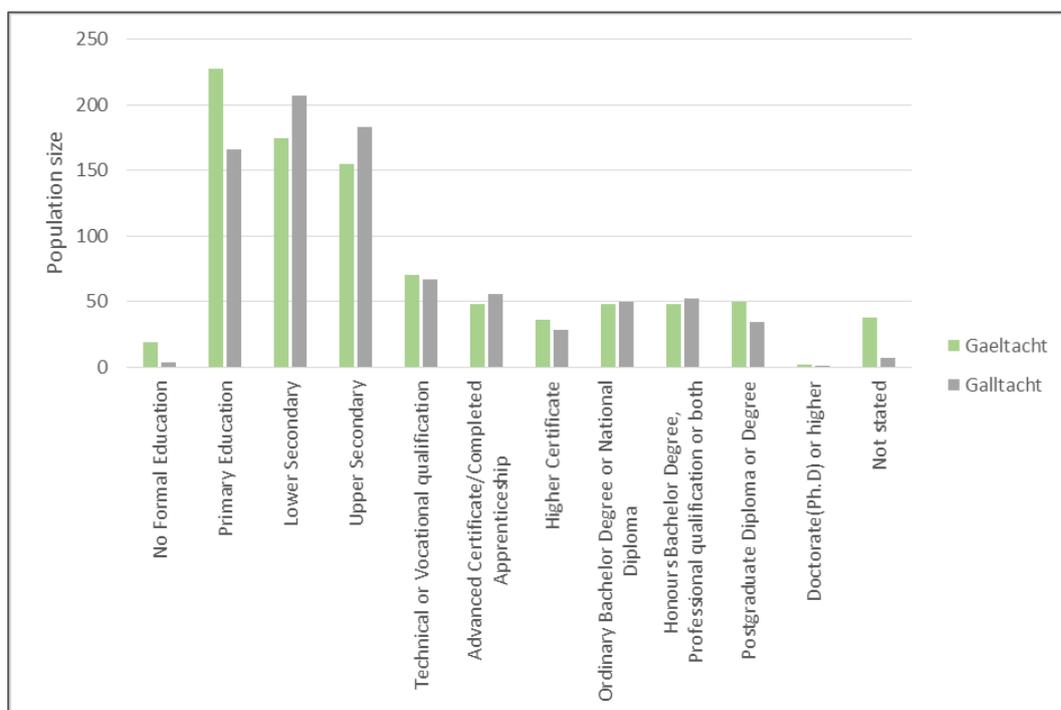


Figure 25 Level of education in the two study areas.

The numbers of households with access to PC (58.2% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 66% in the Galltacht Study Area) and Internet (56.9% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 64.5% in the Galltacht Study Area) are similar in the two areas.

As a conclusion, the following major socio-economic differences were identified between the two study areas:

- Agriculture: marine industry alongside land farming in the Gaeltacht;
- Tourism: more prominent in the Gaeltacht;
- Population density: 28.4% higher in the Gaeltacht;
- Sex: 13% greater difference between the sexes (more males than females) in the Gaeltacht;
- Irish nationals not born in Ireland: 5.4% more of the population of such status in the Gaeltacht;
- Two-person family units: c.20% more of such family units in the Gaeltacht;
- Household types (mortgage): occupation as owner with mortgage rather than occupation as owner without mortgage 7.3% higher in the Galltacht;
- Household types (rented household): almost five times as many households rented in the Gaeltacht;
- Occupancy status of permanent dwellings: 11.1% dwellings unoccupied in the Gaeltacht;
- People at work: number of people at work 11.7% lower in the Gaeltacht.
- Unemployment: 7.5% more of the population unemployed in the Gaeltacht.

Linguistic profiles of the two study areas

The two study areas were selected on the basis of their linguistic characteristics. The Electoral Division of *Cill Chuiminn* (the Gaeltacht Study Area) in the western part of County Galway is part of the officially Irish-speaking district (Gaeltacht). The combined electoral divisions of Killaan and Grange (the Galltacht Study Area) in the eastern part of County Galway are in an English-speaking district (Galltacht). I refer to these districts as ‘the Gaeltacht Study Area’ (or, for sake of brevity in figures as ‘Gaeltacht’) and ‘the Galltacht Study Area’ (or simply ‘Galltacht’), respectively.

The two locations of different linguistic background—one predominantly bilingual in a state of intergenerational flux from bilingualism towards monolingualism and the other being an

essentially monolingual entity—provides the evaluative basis of data that can only be interpreted in relational terms, *i.e.* in comparison.

The most significant difference between the two study areas manifests itself in linguistic behaviour. The Gaeltacht Study Area is a monolingual linguistic area. In the 1911 census the combined population of the Electoral Divisions of Killaan and Grange was 1113 (632 in Killaan and 481 in Grange) of which 745 were of age 18 and over. By this time no monolingual Irish speakers remained in this area. A significant proportion of the population, 18.2% of the entire population and 25.9% of the population of age 18 and over, were marked as English-Irish bilingual speakers.

The Gaeltacht Study Area is bilingual linguistic area defined as a Category A district in the Gaeltacht in the Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht by Ó Giollagán *et al.* (2007). This term refers to electoral divisions where more than 67% of the total population (3 years+) are daily speakers of Irish (as well as usually being daily speakers of English). These districts are in the flux of intergenerational language shift, as evident in the description by Ó Giollagán *et al.*:

‘These electoral divisions evidence the broadest spectrum of Irish language use and exhibit stable levels of Irish language use except in the language behaviour patterns of the younger age groups.’ (2007; 13)

According to the findings of the Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht 84.4% of the population of the Electoral Division of *Cill Chuiminn* spoke Irish daily (Ó Giollagán *et al.* 2007, 18). Recent quantitative descriptions on the quality of Irish language use in Category A districts in the official Gaeltacht by Ó Curnáin (2007, 2009, 2012a, 2012b) by Lenoach (2009, 2012, 2014) are discussed elsewhere in the dissertation (Chapter 3.5).

The recently published update on the 2007 *Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht* (Ó Giollagán *et al.* 2007) recalculated the quantity of language use among children in the Gaeltacht. According to this calculation based on the pattern of language use of young people, Cill Chuiminn remains the only Electoral Division in Ireland to qualify as a Category A Gaeltacht (Giollagáin and Charlton 2015: 119).

The linguistic profiles of the two study areas are explored using the Small Area Population Statistics (SAPS) of the 2011 census produced by the Central Statistics Office of Ireland. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 92% of the population reported themselves to be able to speak Irish

as opposed to 50.7% of the population claiming such ability in the Galtacht Study Area. These quantitative results, based on unqualified inquisition, shows a 41.3% difference in the ability to speak Irish between the two regions (Figure 26).

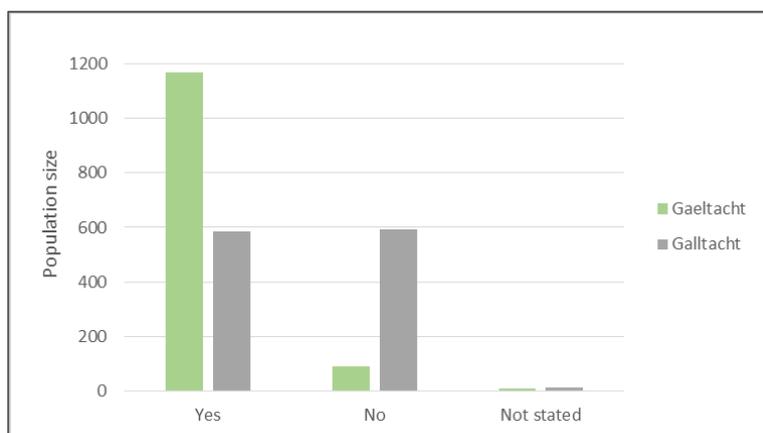


Figure 26 Population aged 3 or over by ability to speak Irish in the two areas.

A more detailed quantification that broadly investigated the frequency of speaking Irish revealed that 711 persons of the population spoke Irish daily outside the education system in the Gaeltacht Study Area as opposed to 10 persons in the Galtacht Study Area. A similarly significant difference between these regions was the number of people who spoke Irish daily within and also outside the education system (165 persons in the Gaeltacht Study Area in contrast to 5 persons in the Galtacht Study Area). The number of those who speak less often than ‘weekly’ or those who ‘never’ speak Irish outside the education system also showed remarkable difference between the two regions (Figure 27).

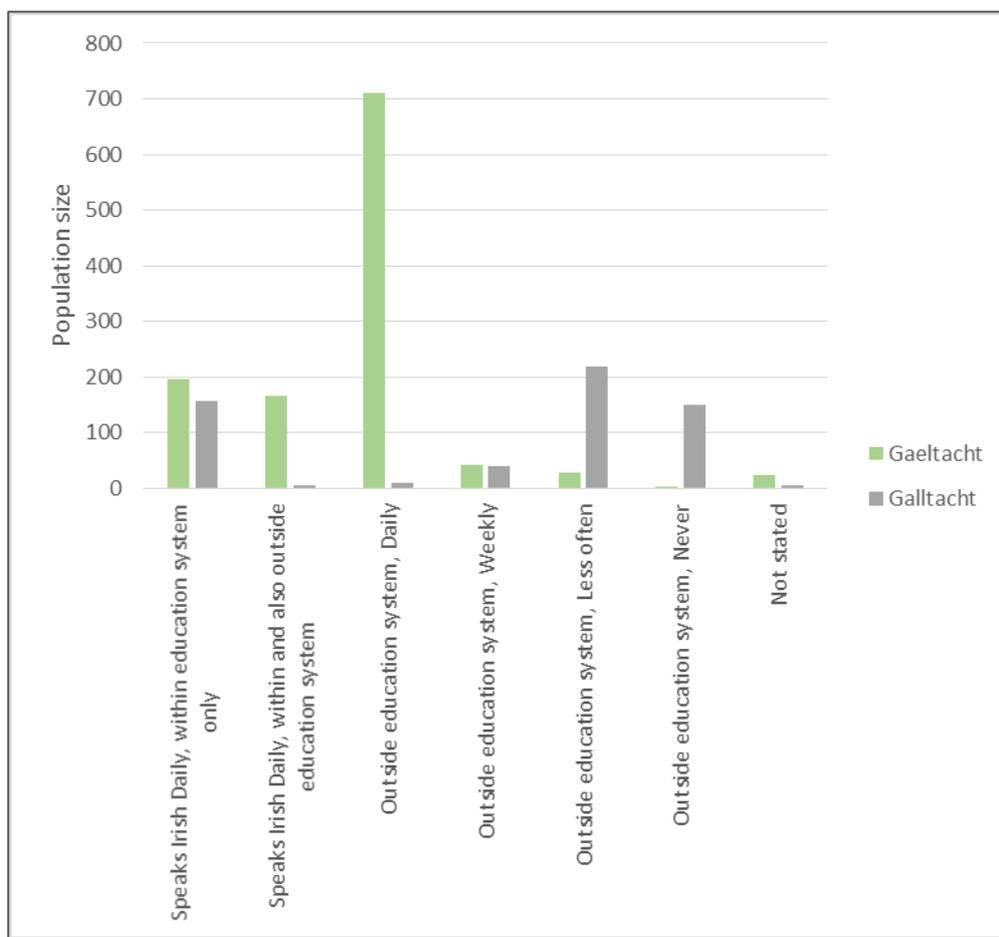


Figure 27 Irish speakers aged 3 or over by frequency of speaking Irish.

4.2 Description of the survey results

The description of the results follows the general layout of the questionnaire. Sets of questions in Parts III, IV, V, VII, VIII and IX, randomised for methodological reasons in the questionnaire, will be presented in thematically logical order.

A total of 326 survey questionnaires collected. Of these 172 (or 53% of the total number of questionnaires collected) were retrieved in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 154 (or 47% of the total number of questionnaires collected) were retrieved in the Galtacht Study Area (Figure 28).

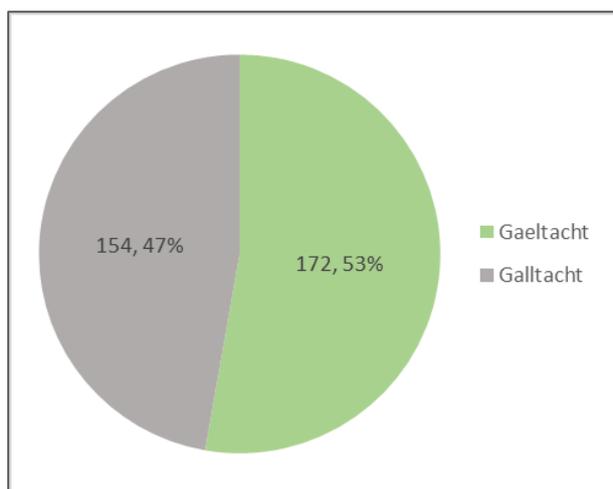


Figure 28 Number and proportion of respondents in the two areas.

The difference of sample population is 18 respondents (or 6% of all respondents). This number is of small statistical significance, yet for sake of precision and more accurate quota-based visualisation of data, the quantity of sample population in the Galtacht Study Area are extrapolated by multiplying it with the ratio of sample quantities (sample quantity from the Gaeltacht Study Area (172) / sample quantity from the Galtacht Study Area (154)) from the two areas, which is *c.* 1.119.

Language of the survey

The questionnaire was offered in English and in Irish. In the Galtacht Study Area all respondents chose the English version of the questionnaire. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 21 respondents (or 21.1% of the respondents) chose the English version and the rest (151 persons, 78.9%) of the respondents chose the Irish version (Figure 29).

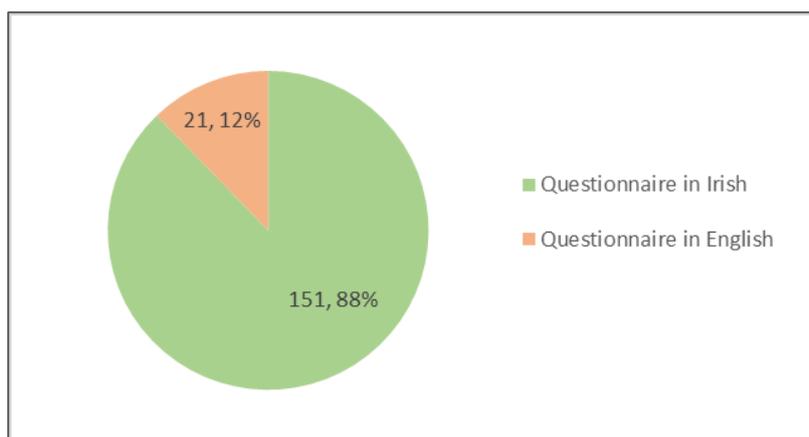


Figure 29 Proportion of respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area according to language choice of the questionnaire.

The respondents were categorised as (1) Irish speakers with native-like ability, (2) Irish speakers with non-native-like ability or (3) monolingual English speakers. This categorisation

was based on general speech characteristics (accent) of the respondents during conversation with the research assistant in charge of the survey. These characteristics were related to fluency or phonetic quality (*e.g.* manner of pronouncing the sound ‘r’, of which mode of articulation is different in the two languages in an easily recognisable fashion).

158 (or 91.2%) of the 172 respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area were identified as ‘Irish speakers with native-like ability’, 12 (or 7%) of the respondents were identified as ‘Irish speakers with non-native-like ability’, and two persons were marked as ‘monolingual English speakers’.

Of the 151 questionnaires completed in Irish, 145 (or 96% of these questionnaires) were completed by Irish speakers with native-like ability and 6 (or 4% of these questionnaires) were completed by Irish speakers with non-native-like ability. Of the 21 questionnaires completed in English 12 (or 57.1% of these questionnaires) were completed by Irish speakers with native-like ability, 7 (or 33.3% of these questionnaires) were completed by Irish speakers with non-native-like ability, and 2 (or 9.5% of these questionnaires) were completed by monolingual English speakers (Figure 30).

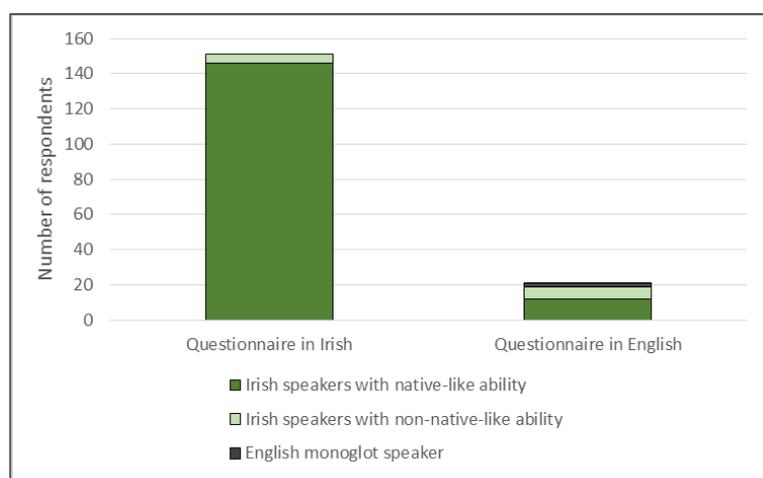


Figure 30 Proportion of respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area according to language choice of the questionnaire.

Of the 172 respondents 158 (91.2%) were reported to be Irish speakers with native-like ability, 12 (7.6%) of which chose to complete the questionnaire in English rather than in Irish. This leaves that 84.8% of the sample population were both reported to be Irish speakers with native-like ability and chose to complete the questionnaire in Irish. This figure is surprisingly close to that in the Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht, which found that 84.4% of the population of the Electoral Division of Cill Chuimín spoke Irish daily (Ó Giollagán *et al.* 2007, 18).

Part I Social background

The first part of the questionnaire consisted of questions about the social background of the respondents in four categories: (1) sex, (2) age group, (3) profession, and (4) highest level of education.

Of the 326 respondents 148 (45.4%) were male and 177 (54.3%) were female. One respondent did not specify his/her sex. The male/female ratio is somewhat different in the two sample populations: in the Gaeltacht Study Area there were 4.1% more female respondents than male respondents and in the Galltacht Study Area the number of female respondents were 14.2% higher than the number of male respondents (Figure 31).

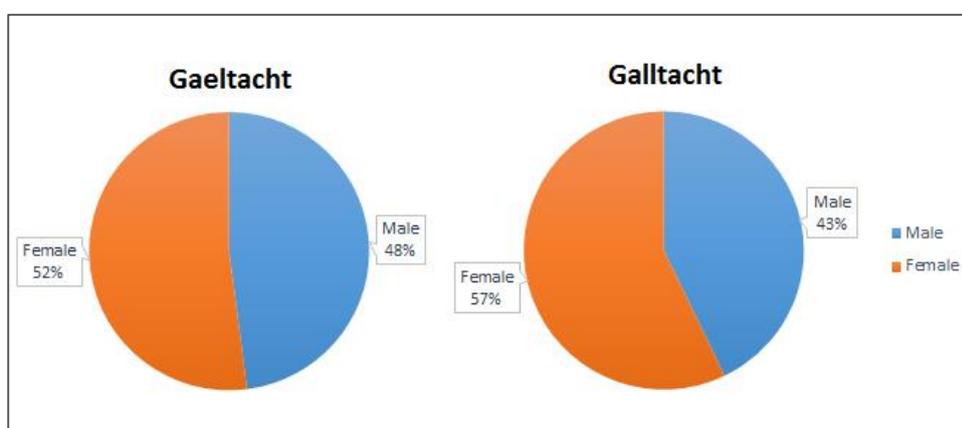


Figure 31 Proportion of respondents according to sex in the two areas.

The age profiles in the two areas show similar trends of participation except among those in age groups '41-50' and '50-60'. Respondents in these age groups were more readily available for completing a survey in the Gaeltacht Study Area than in the Galltacht Study Area (Figure 32).

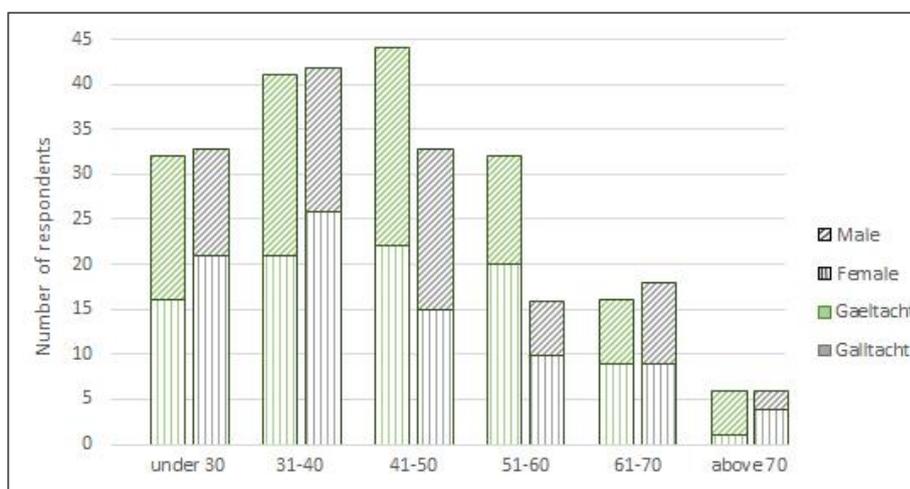


Figure 32 Age profiles (also indicating proportions of sex) of respondents in the two areas.

The occupation profiles are also similar in the two study areas. The only significant difference is in the amount of people reported to be unemployed; 5.8% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 0.64% of the respondents in the Galltacht Study Area. As these figures are significantly lower than those given in the 2011 Census (15.7% of the population in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 8.2% of the population in the Galltacht Study Area), it is probable that most unemployed participants chose not to state their occupation status in the survey (Figure 33).

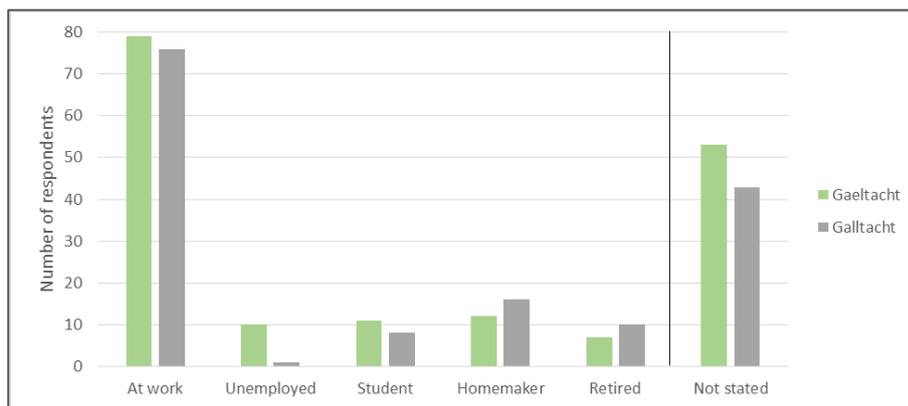


Figure 33 Occupation profiles of the respondents in the two areas.

The level of education indicates that slightly more respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area attained higher-level education than those in the Galltacht Study Area (Figure 34).

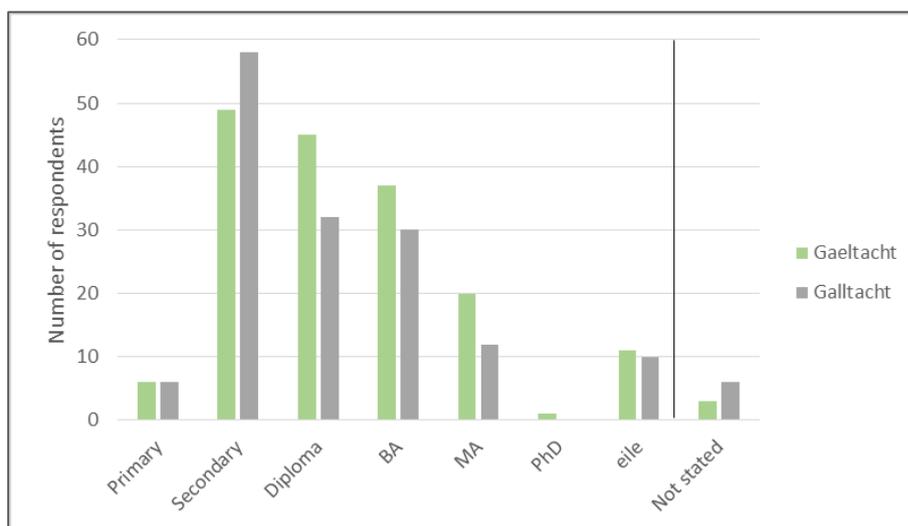


Figure 34 Educational profiles of the respondents in the two areas.

Part II Sociolinguistic background

The second part of the questionnaire enquired about the sociolinguistic background of the respondents in four sections. Each section contained multiple-choice questions. The first two questions enquired about (1) what language parents used with the respondents and (2) what

language the respondents used in their home. English and Irish were contrasted as languages in an equal relationship on the five-point Likert response items in the questionnaire. Both questions, *i.e.* the question on parents' language use and the questions on present language use of the respondents are evaluated in the same chart (Figure 35).

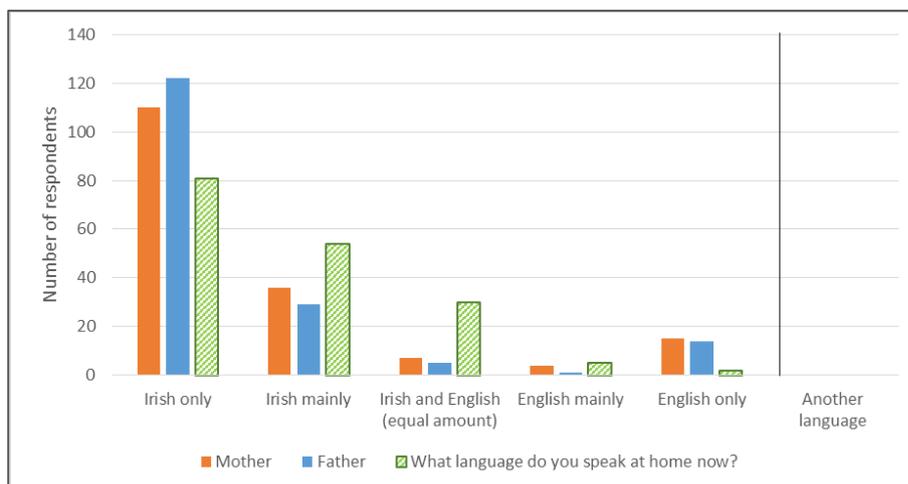


Figure 35 Patterns of language use in the home in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area both the parents and the respondents themselves showed a dominant pattern of 'Irish only' language choice in the home. The combined proportion of 'parents' reported to use 'Irish only' in the home was 67.6% and the combined proportion of 'parents' reported to use 'Irish mainly' in the home was 19%. 'Parents' reported to have used equal amount of Irish and English made up a mere 3.5% of this group.

The pattern of language choice among the respondents themselves differs from that of their parents as it indicates less preference to 'Irish only' language choice. 47.1% of the respondents reported preference to 'Irish only' language choice and 31.4% of them reported that they use 'Irish mainly' in their home. Respondents who reported that they use equal amount of Irish and English in their home made up 20.5% of the Gaeltacht sample population.

The two curves describing parents' choice of language show as part of a normal distribution in which 'English only' language choice is the abnormality. The curve describing respondents' own choice of language use is flatter, and its slope is straight. This shape indicates an increased importance of 'Irish mainly' and Irish and English (equal amount)' choices of language use and the decreased importance of 'Irish only' and 'English only' language choice in relation to that of their parents' generation. These trends indicate an intergenerational move from a language choice dominated by the Irish language towards a more balanced form of bilingualism (and beyond) in the home.

In the Galltacht Study Area, patterns of language choice in the home showed an almost exclusive preference for ‘English only’ and, to a significantly lesser extent, for ‘English mainly’ among the respondents. The lack of divergence in preferences of language choice among parents and the respondents themselves is also noteworthy; it indicates that the language choice in this area is diachronically static and it is predominantly English (Figure 36).

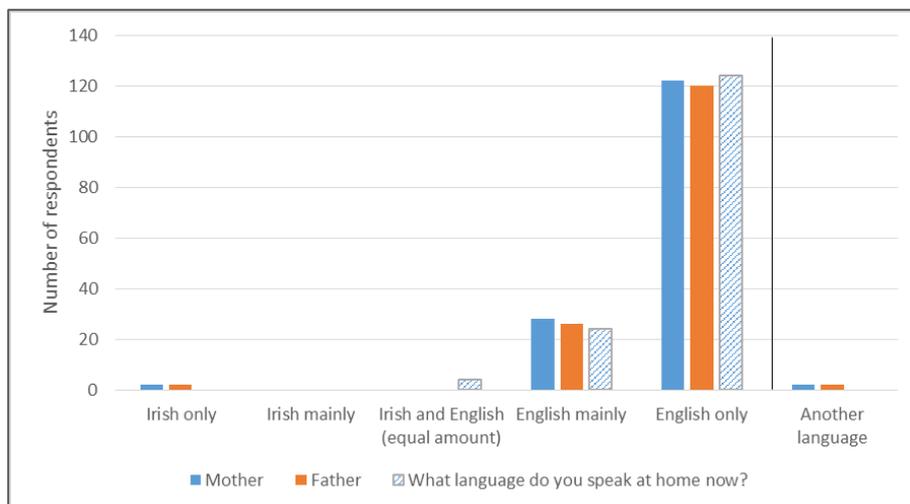


Figure 36 Patterns of language use in the home in the Galltacht Study Area.

The question about competence in the Irish language revealed significant differences between the two areas. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 86% of the respondents reported that they have ‘fluent Irish’ and a further 7% of the respondents reported that they have ‘good Irish’. No one in this area reported to have ‘no Irish’ (Figure 37).

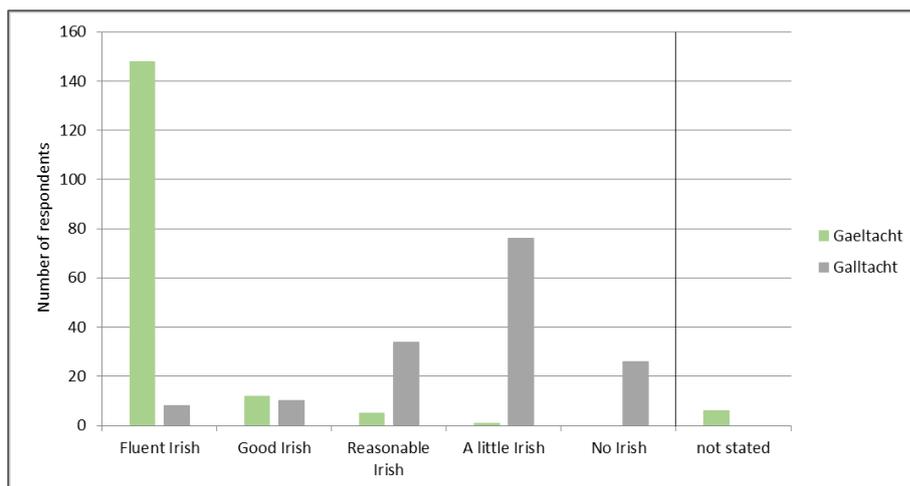


Figure 37 Ability in the Irish language in the two areas.

In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses had a peak at ‘little Irish’; 49.4% of the respondents reported to have this level of competence in the language. 22.1% of the respondents reported to have ‘reasonable Irish’, while at the opposite side (left tail) of the

distribution, 16.9% of the respondents marked that they have ‘no Irish’. Altogether 83.1% of the sample population in this region reported that they have some level of competence in the Irish language. This number is clearly higher than the proportion of those who reported to have an (unqualified) ability in the Irish language (which was 49.4% of the population) in the 2011 Census in the same region.

The last question on competence in the Irish language focused on comparison of mastery between the English and the Irish language. The results showed that almost half (46.5%) of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area did not report a difference in their competence between the two languages, *i.e.* they consider themselves to be balanced bilinguals. 40.7% of the respondents in this region reported to have better ability in Irish as opposed to 12.8% of the respondents who reported to have better ability in English (Figure 38).

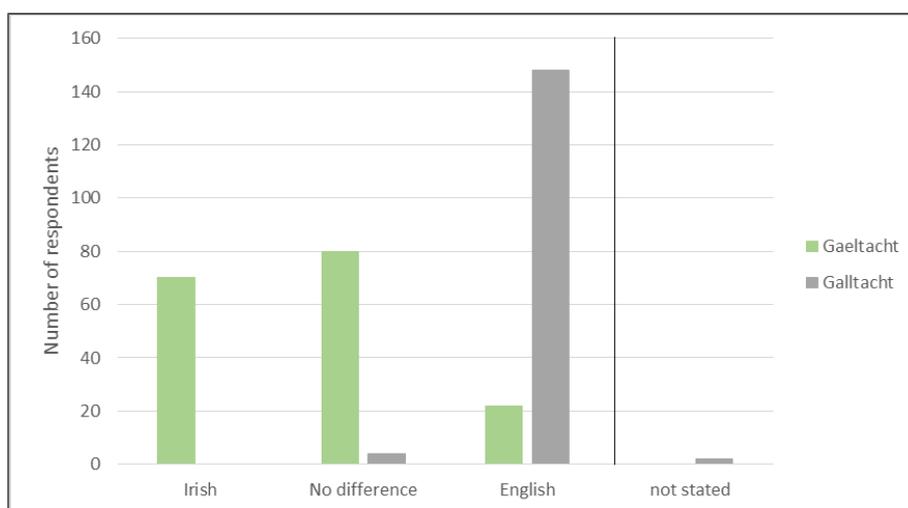


Figure 38 Comparison of mastery of the English and the Irish language in the two areas.

In the Galtacht Study Area 96.1% of the respondents stated that they master the English language better than they master the Irish language. Four persons (2.6%) of the respondents stated that they have equal mastery of the two languages.

Part III Attitudes and beliefs

The third part of the questionnaire focused on attitudes and beliefs about the Irish language in three sections. The first section posed a set of 15 statements to be rated on a five-point scale, the second and third sections consisted of single, multiple choice questions: ‘Who does the Irish language belong to?’ and ‘What percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home?’

The 15 statements to be rated by the respondents in the first section of Part III of the questionnaire were:

1. The Irish language is my language;
2. The English language is my language;
3. I like the Irish language;
4. I like the English language;
5. The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland;
6. The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht;
7. The Irish language provides many economic opportunities;
8. I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues;
9. The Irish language is important to Ireland;
10. The Irish language is important to me personally;
11. The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland;
12. The Gaeltacht is important to me personally;
13. I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language;
14. I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English;
15. I find the term ‘Galltacht’ offensive.

Responses to ten of the statements could be grouped into five opposing pairs as follows:

- Pair 1 (statements 1-2): ‘The [Irish / English] language is my language’;
- Pair 2 (statements 3-4): ‘I like the [Irish / English] language’;
- Pair 3 (statements 5-6): ‘The Irish language has a promising future in [Ireland / in the Gaeltacht]’;
- Pair 4 (statements 9-10): ‘The Irish language is important to [Ireland / me personally]’;
- Pair 5 (statements 11-12): ‘The Gaeltacht is important to [Ireland / me personally]’.

The first two pairs contrast the two languages, the third pair contrast Ireland in general with the Gaeltacht, and the last two pairs contrast the societal level agency (Ireland in general) of interpretation with the personal, individual level agency (me) of interpretation of the statement.

Statements 1-2: ‘The [Irish / English] language is my language’

The first pair of statements (statements 1-2) ‘The [Irish / English] language is my language’ was about a sense of ownership in case of each of the two languages. The first statement, ‘The Irish language is my language’, shows a unimodal tall distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.68) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its peak at the option ‘strongly agree’; 78.5% of

the respondents chose this option. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve, which is short (kurtosis: 0.26) and skewed to the left. The highest proportion (28.6%) of respondents chose to 'agree' with the statement. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is a negative low number (-0.25), which means that the sense of ownership of the Irish language is different in the two study areas (Figure 39).

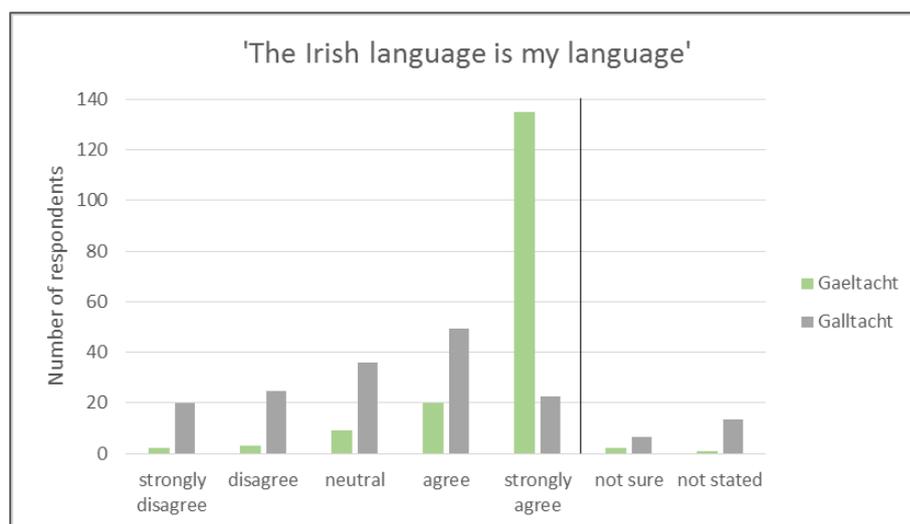


Figure 39 Response to the statement 'The Irish language is my language' in the two areas.

The second statement 'The English language is my language' shows a bimodal tall distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 3.59) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has a major mode at the option 'strongly disagree' (57.6% of the respondents chose this option) and a slight minor mode at 'neutral' (16.9% of the respondents chose this option). The relatively high number of respondents who chose a 'neutral' position and the relatively low number of respondents who chose a moderate 'disagree' position is the most conspicuous cause of aberration (bimodality) from a curve of normal distribution. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is a unimodal curve, which is short (kurtosis: -0.79). The highest proportion (29.3%) of respondents chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is a negative very high number (-0.91), which means that the sense of ownership of the English language is strongly contrary in the two study areas (Figure 40).

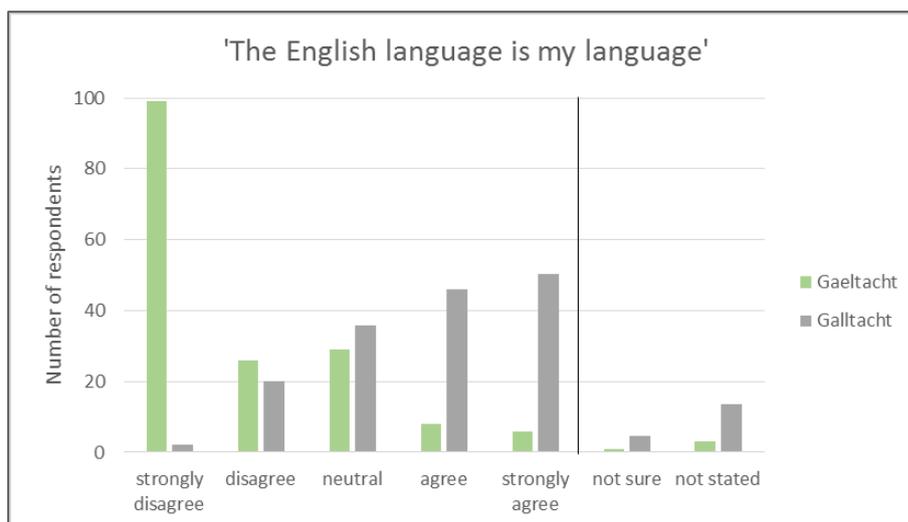


Figure 40 Response to the statement 'The English language is my language' in the two areas.

The statements 'The [Irish / English] language is my language' received a strong reaction in the Gaeltacht Study Area and a moderate reaction in the Galtacht Study Area. In the former the two statements received opposing reactions, while in the latter both statements received a positive reaction.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction was stronger and more unequivocal in case of the first statement ('The Irish language is my language', which received a positive reaction) than in case of the second statement ('The English language is my language'), which received a negative reaction. The second statement, despite its strength, showed a degree of ambiguity apparent in the slight bimodality of its distribution curve of responses. The average rating of the first statement was 1.67 and the average rating of the second statement was -1.21. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two, paired statements is a negative, moderately high number (-0.48), which means that the sense of ownership of the two languages is contrary in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 41).

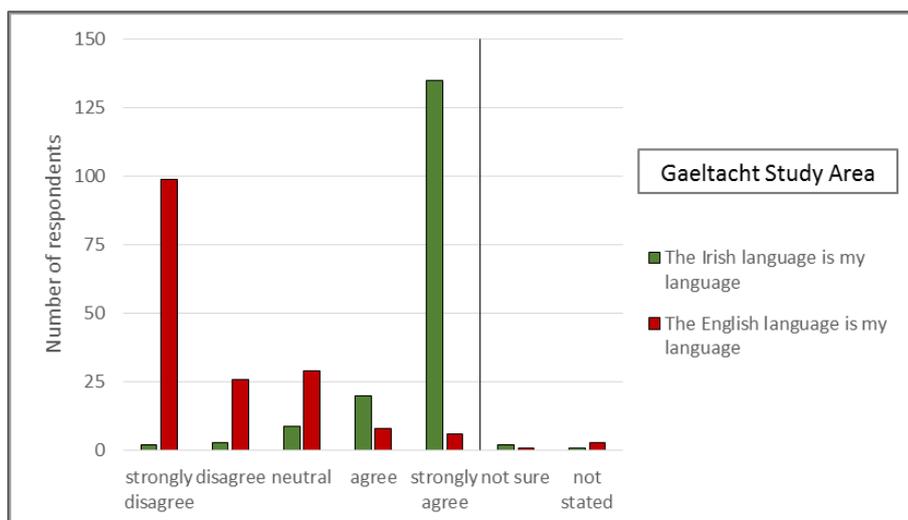


Figure 41 Response to the statements 'The [Irish / English] language is my language' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area reaction to the second statement ('The English language is my language') was stronger than reaction to the first statement ('The Irish language is my language'). The average rating of the first statement was 0.21 and the average rating of the second statement was 0.88. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two statements is relatively high (0.53), which means that the sense of ownership of the two languages is similar in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 42).

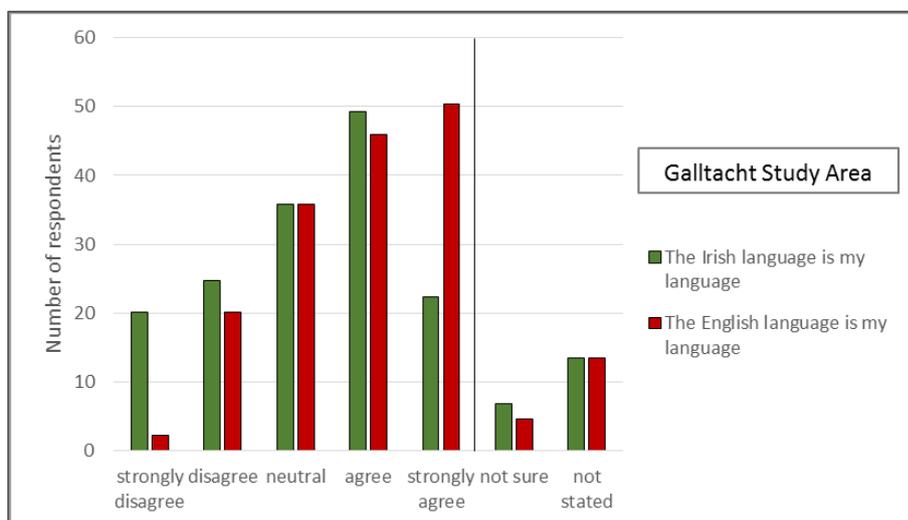


Figure 42 Response to the statements 'The [Irish / English] language is my language' in the Galtacht Study Area.

The difference between the average ratings of the two languages is much greater (2.88) in the Gaeltacht Study Area than that (0.67) in the Galtacht Study Area. In general a high sense of ownership of the Irish language and a strong lack of a sense of ownership of the English language is expressed in the Gaeltacht Study Area, while a sense of ownership of both languages, English in particular, was expressed in the Galtacht Study Area.

Statements 3-4: 'I like the [Irish / English] language'

The second pair of statements (statements 3-4) 'I like the [Irish / English] language' was about general opinion (like) on each of the two languages. The third statement, 'I like the Irish language', shows a unimodal tall distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.7) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 86% of the respondents chose this option. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve, which is short (kurtosis: -1.25). The highest proportion (45.5%) of respondents chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.85), which means that the general opinion (like) on the Irish language is very similar in the two study areas (Figure 43).

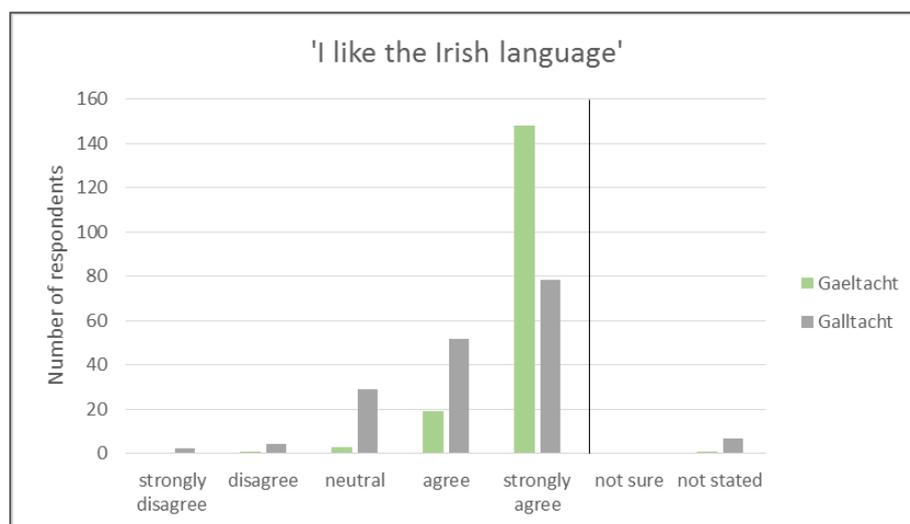


Figure 43 Response to the statement 'I like the Irish language' in the two areas.

The fourth statement 'I like the English language' has received similar distributions of responses in the two areas. Both distributions show unimodal curves (kurtosis: -1.46 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and -2.21 in the Galltacht Study Area) that peak at the option 'agree'; 42.4% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 42.9% of the respondents in the Galltacht Study Area chose this option. The distribution curve of responses is less skewed to the left in the Gaeltacht Study Area than in the Galltacht Study Area, which provides measurement for the higher level of agreement with the statement in the Galltacht Study Area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.95), which means that the general opinion on the English language is very similar in the two study areas (Figure 44).

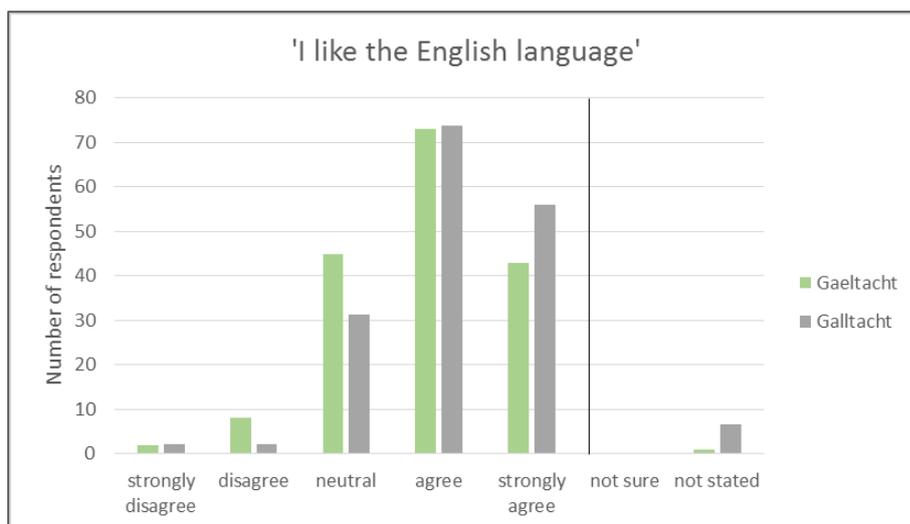


Figure 44 Response to the statement 'I like the English language' in the two areas.

The statements 'I like the [Irish / English] language' received positive reaction in both areas.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction was stronger and more unequivocal in case of the first statement ('I like the Irish language') than in case of the second statement ('I like the English language'). The average rate of responses to the first statement was 1.84, and the average rate of responses to the second statement was 0.86. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two, paired statements is moderately low (0.27), which means that the general opinion on the two languages is somewhat similar in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 45).

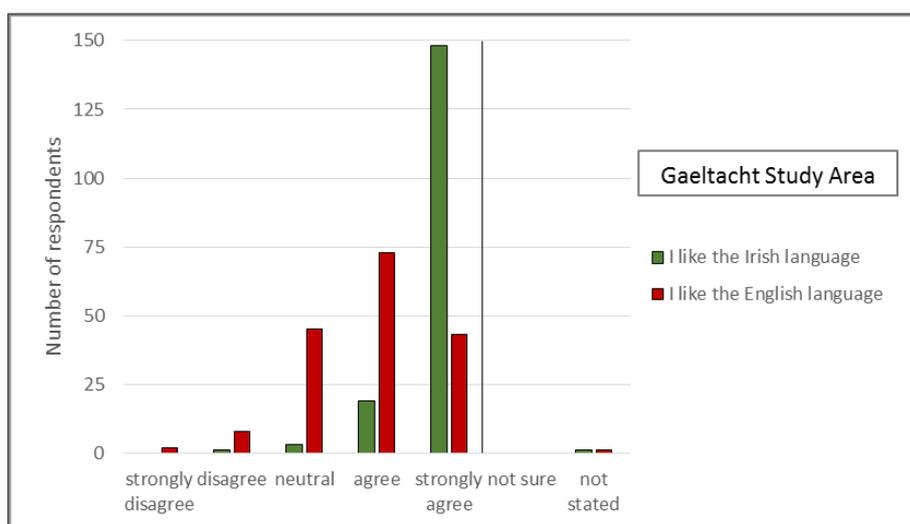


Figure 45 Response to the statements 'I like the [Irish / English] language' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Galltacht Study Area reactions to the statements were of similar intensity. The average rating of the first statement ('I like the Irish language') was 1.21, and the average rating of the second statement ('I like the English language') was 1.35. The correlation coefficient of

average score distributions in case of the two, paired statements is very high (0.88), which means that the general opinion on the two languages are very similar in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 46).

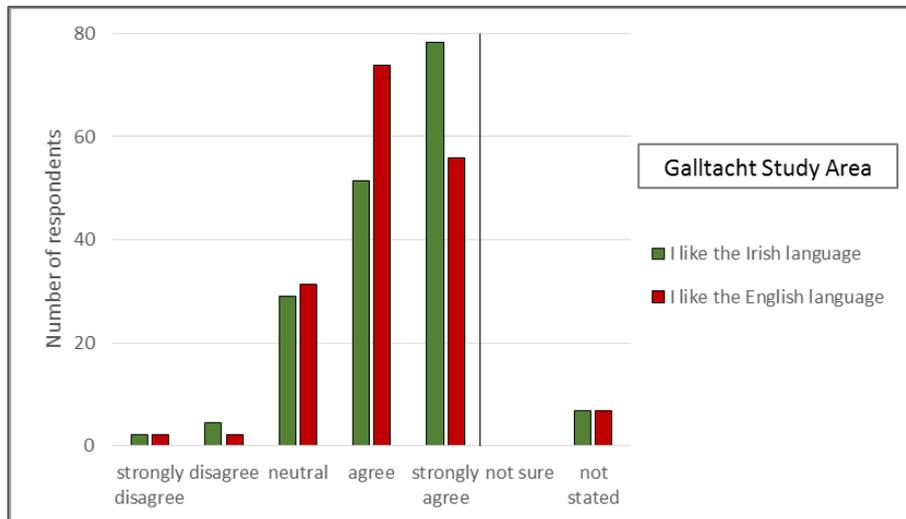


Figure 46 Response to the statements 'I like the [Irish / English] language' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The difference between the average ratings of the two languages is greater (0.98) in the Gaeltacht Study Area than that (0.14) in the Galtacht Study Area. In general both areas expressed a positive general opinion (like) about both languages. The Irish language is clearly 'liked' more than the English language in the Gaeltacht Study Area and the two languages are 'liked' almost to the same degree in the Galtacht Study Area.

Statements 5-6: 'The Irish language has a promising future in [Ireland / in the Gaeltacht]'

The third pair of statements (statements 5-6) 'The Irish language has a promising future in [Ireland / in the Gaeltacht]' compares beliefs in the two study areas about the future of the Irish language in Ireland in general and in the Gaeltacht. The fifth statement, 'The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland', shows a bimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: -1.02) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'agree' and a lower second peak at the option 'disagree'; 33.7% of the respondents chose the former option and 16.3% of the respondents chose the latter option in this area. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is a unimodal curve (kurtosis: -0.88), which has its peak at the option 'agree'; 24.7% of respondents chose this option in this area. One conspicuous difference between the two sample populations is the amount of people who chose a 'neutral' position. This position is widely chosen in the Galtacht Study Area and is less declared (to an extent that it could well be the cause of the bimodality of the curve of responses) in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is high

(0.64), which means that the beliefs about the future of the Irish language in Ireland are generally similar in the two study areas (Figure 47).

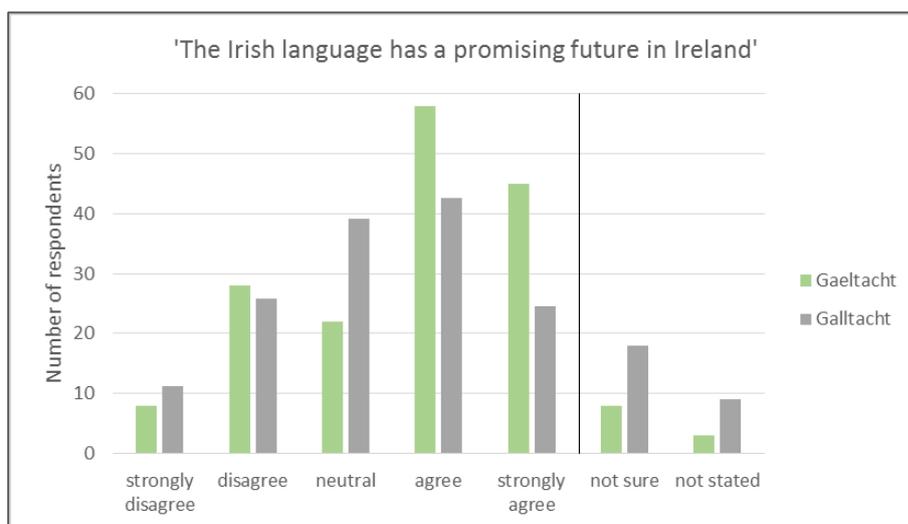


Figure 47 Response to the statement 'The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland' in the two areas.

The sixth statement, 'The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht', shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: -0.03) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 37.2% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: -2.21), which also has its peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 29.9% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.9), which means that the beliefs about the future of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht are very similar in the two study areas (Figure 48).

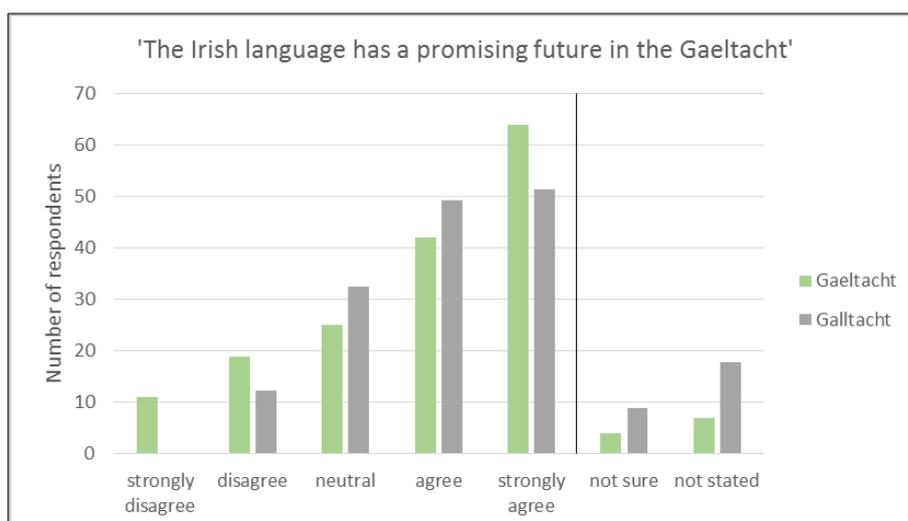


Figure 48 Response to the statement 'The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht' in the two areas.

The statements ‘The Irish language has a promising future in [Ireland / in the Gaeltacht]’ received positive reaction in both areas.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction was slightly stronger in case of the second statement (‘The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht’) than in case of the first statement (‘The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland’). The average rate of responses to the first statement (‘[...] in Ireland’) was 0.65, and the average rate of responses to the second statement (‘[...] in the Gaeltacht’) was 0.80. It is also noteworthy that the curve of responses to the first statement (‘[...] in Ireland’) showed a bimodal distribution indicating ambiguity of opinion among the respondents. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two, paired statements is high (0.79), which means that the general opinion on the future of the Irish language both in Ireland and in the Gaeltacht is similarly positive in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 49).

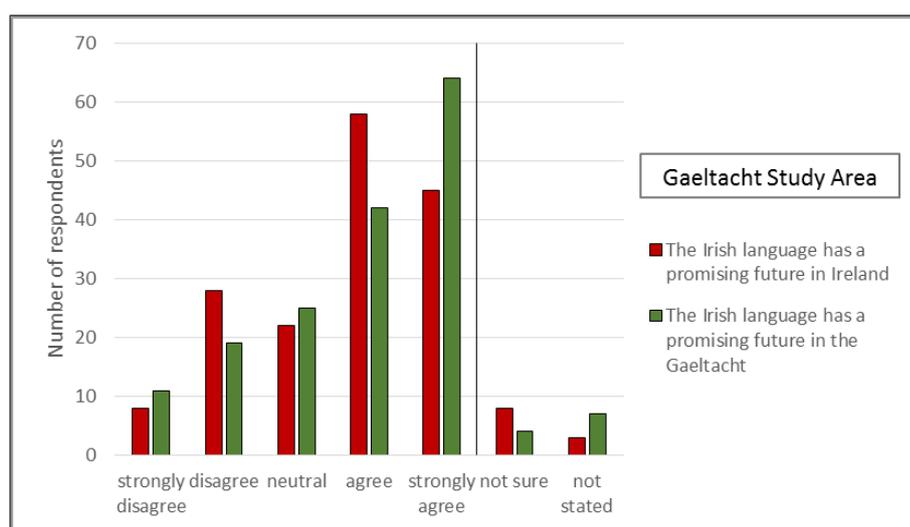


Figure 49 Response to the statements ‘The Irish language has a promising future in [Ireland / in the Gaeltacht]’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction was also slightly stronger in case of the second statement (‘The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht’) than in case of the first statement (‘The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland’). The average agreement rating of the first statement (‘The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland’) was 0.34, and the average agreement rating of the second statement (‘The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht’) was 1.08. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is high 0.69, which means that the general opinion on the future of the Irish language both in Ireland and in the Gaeltacht is similarly positive in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 50).

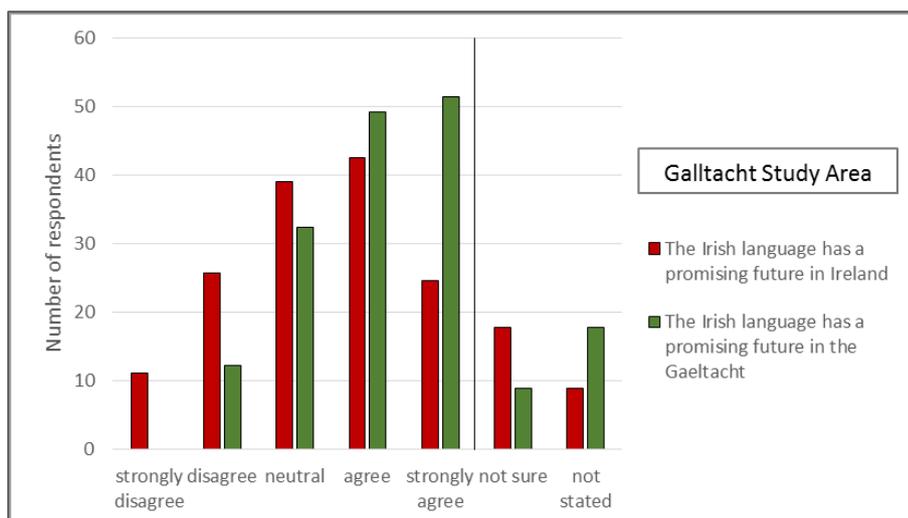


Figure 50 Response to the statements 'The Irish language has a promising future in [Ireland / in the Gaeltacht]' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The difference between the average ratings for the Irish language in Ireland and the average ratings for the Irish language in the Gaeltacht is greater (0.74) in the Gaeltacht Study Area than that (0.15) in the Gaeltacht Study Area. In general both the future of the Irish language is seen in a positive light in both Ireland and in the Gaeltacht, though some obvious doubt is expressed about the future of the Irish language in Ireland by respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Statement 7: 'The Irish language provides many economic opportunities'

The seventh statement, 'The Irish language provides many economic opportunities', shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: -0.47) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'agree'; 36% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Gaeltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: 0.7), which also has its peak at the option 'agree'; 24.7% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.99), which means that the beliefs about the economic opportunities the Irish language could provide is similar in the two study areas (Figure 51).

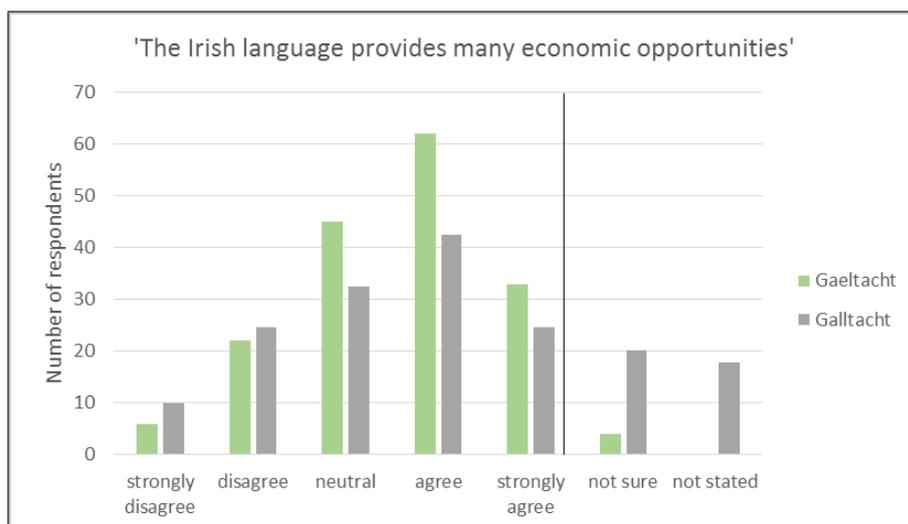


Figure 51 Response to the statement 'The Irish language provides many economic opportunities' in the two areas.

Statement 8: 'I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues'

The eighth statement, 'I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues', shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: -3.03) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 40.7% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: 3.82), which has its peak at the option 'strongly disagree'; 27.3% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is a negative very high number (-0.75), which means that the statement received contrary reactions in the two study areas (Figure 52).

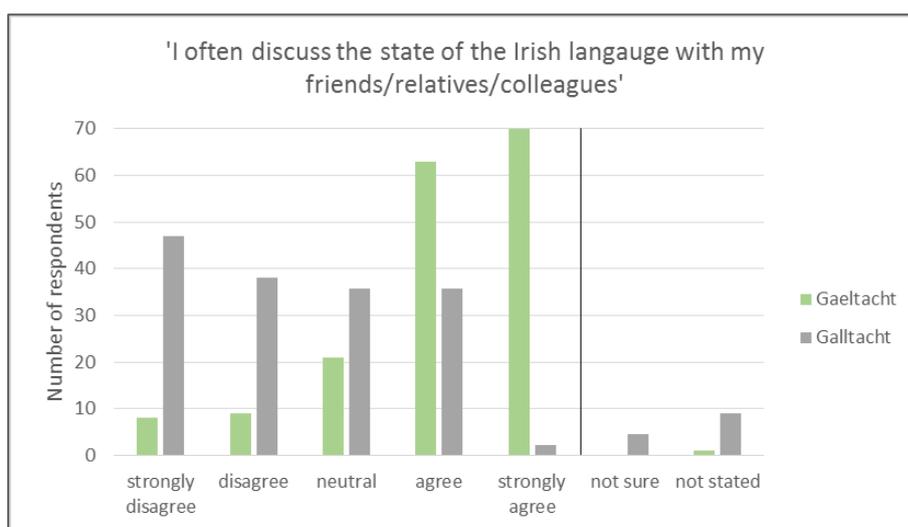


Figure 52 Response to the statement 'I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues' in the two areas.

Statements 9-10: 'The Irish language is important to [Ireland / me personally]'

The fourth pair of statements (statements 9-10) 'The Irish language is important to [Ireland / me personally]' compares beliefs at a societal level with beliefs at a personal level about the importance of the Irish language in the two study areas. The first of these statements, 'The Irish language is important to Ireland', shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.75) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 89.5% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: 2.79), which also has its peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 63.8% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.97), which means that the beliefs about the importance of the Irish language at a societal level are similar in the two study areas (Figure 53).

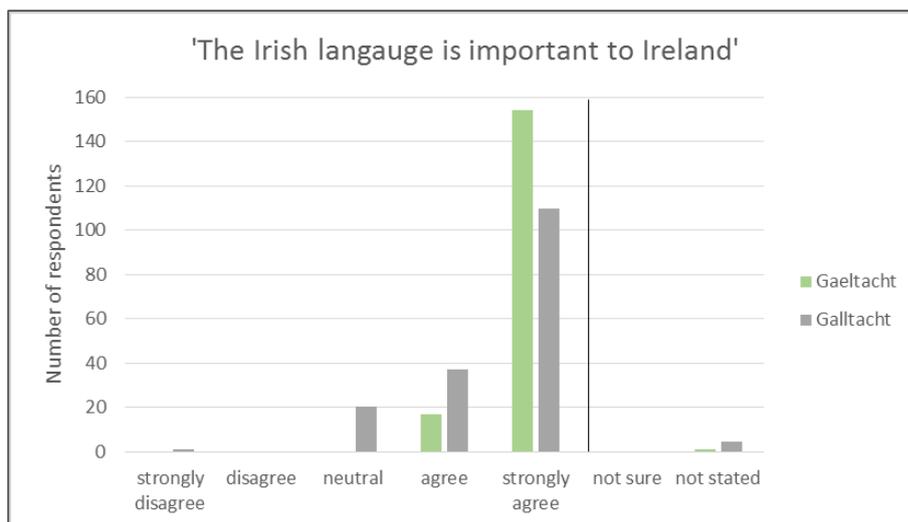


Figure 53 Response to the statement 'The Irish language is important to Ireland' in the two areas.

The tenth statement, 'The Irish language is important to me personally', shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.85) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 85.5% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: -0.13), which has its peak at the option 'agree'; 39% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is moderate (0.32), which means that the beliefs about the importance of the Irish language at a personal level are somewhat similar in the two study areas (Figure 54).

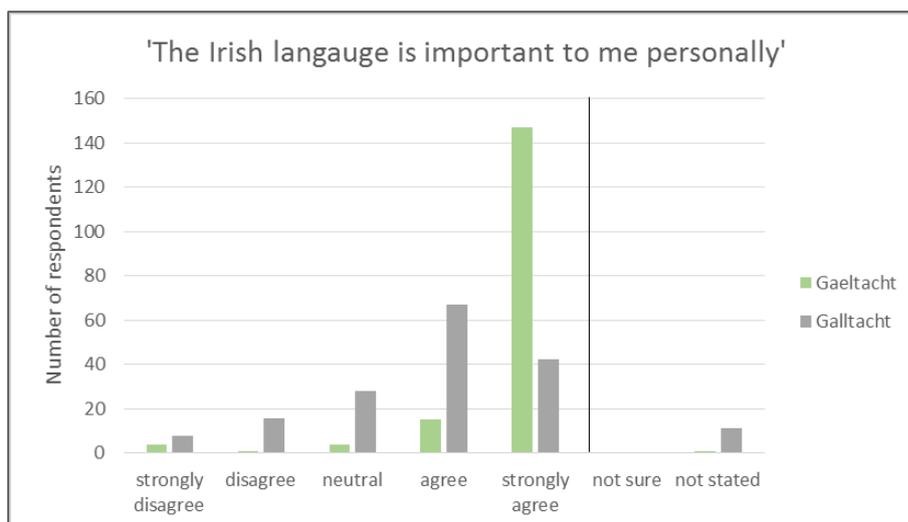


Figure 54 Response to the statement 'The Irish language is important to me personally' in the two areas.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction to the statements 'The Irish language is important to [Ireland / me personally]' strongly positive in case of both statements. The average rate of responses to the first statement ('[...] Ireland') was 1.9, and the average rate of responses to the second statement ('[...] me personally') was 1.75. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two, paired statements is complete (1), which means that the general opinion on the importance of the Irish language at a societal level and at a personal level was roughly the same (Figure 55).

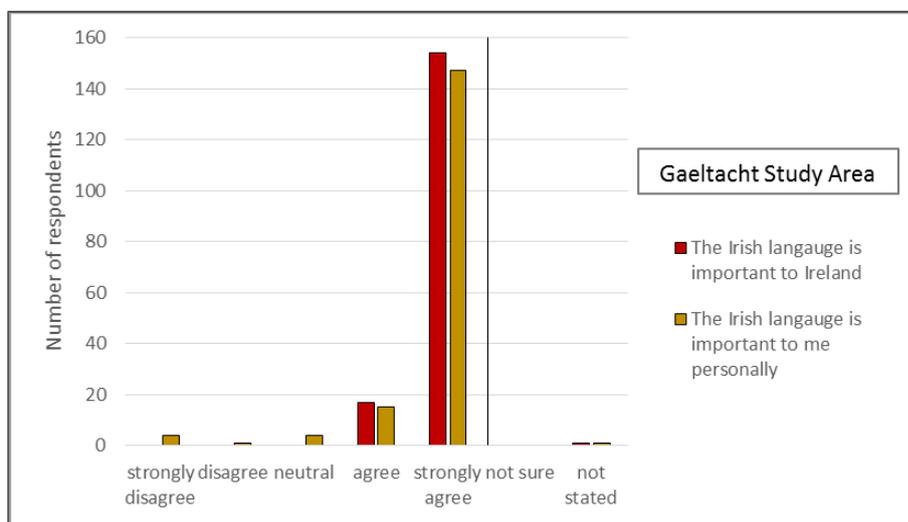


Figure 55 Response to the statements 'The Irish language is important to [Ireland / me personally]' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Galtacht Study Area the reaction was stronger in case of the first statement ('The Irish language is important to Ireland') than in case of the second statement ('The Irish language is important to me personally'). The average rating of the first statement ('[...] Ireland') was 1.69, and the average rating of the second statement ('[...] me personally') was 0.84. The correlation

coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two, paired statements is relatively high (0.54), which means that the general opinion on the importance of the Irish language at a societal level and at a personal level followed similar trends (Figure 56).

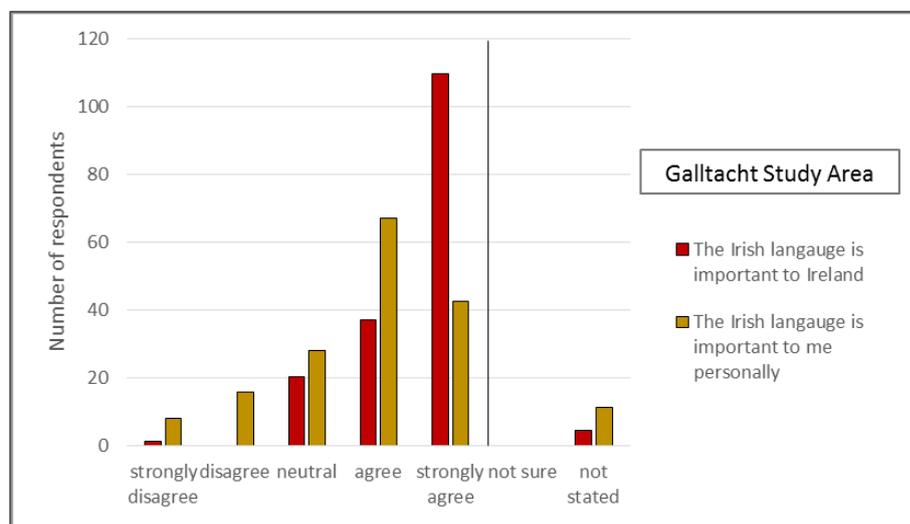


Figure 56 Response to the statements 'The Irish language is important to [Ireland / me personally]' in the Galtacht Study Area.

The difference between the average ratings for the importance of the Irish language at a societal level and at a personal level is slightly greater (0.32) in the Galtacht Study Area than that (0.15) in the Gaeltacht Study Area. In general opinions expressed about the importance of the Irish language at a societal and at a personal level are almost identical in the Gaeltacht Study Area and are different in the Galtacht Study Area.

Statements 11-12: 'The Gaeltacht is important to [Ireland / me personally]'

The fifth pair of statements (statements 11-12) 'The Gaeltacht is important to [Ireland / me personally]' compares beliefs at a societal level with beliefs at a personal level about the importance of the Gaeltacht in the two study areas. The first of these statements, 'The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland', shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.91) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 91.9% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: 0.13), which also has its peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 56% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.89), which means that the beliefs about the importance of the Gaeltacht at a societal level are similar in the two study areas (Figure 57).

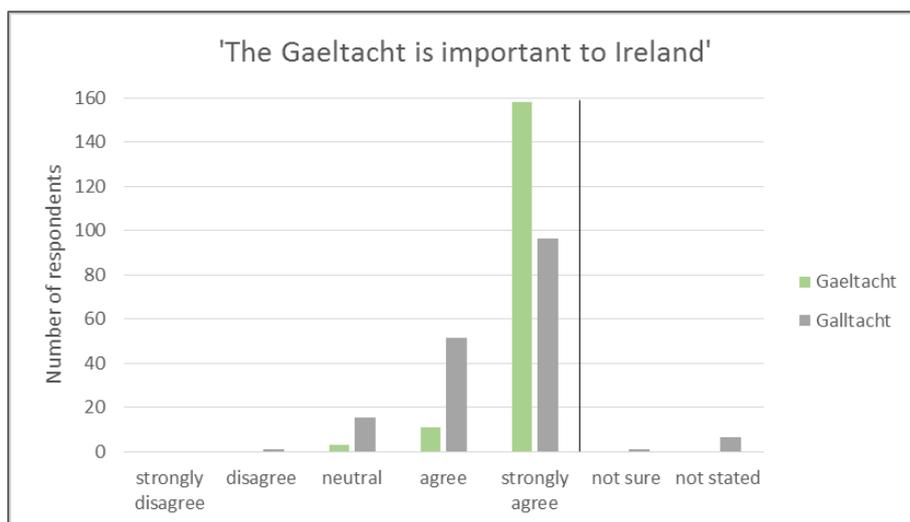


Figure 57 Response to the statement 'The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland' in the two areas.

The twelfth statement, 'The Gaeltacht is important to me personally', shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.84) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 86% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: -3.24), which has its peak at the option 'neutral'; 28.6% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is a negative moderate number (-0.33), which means that the beliefs about the importance of the Gaeltacht at a personal level are different in the two study areas (Figure 58).

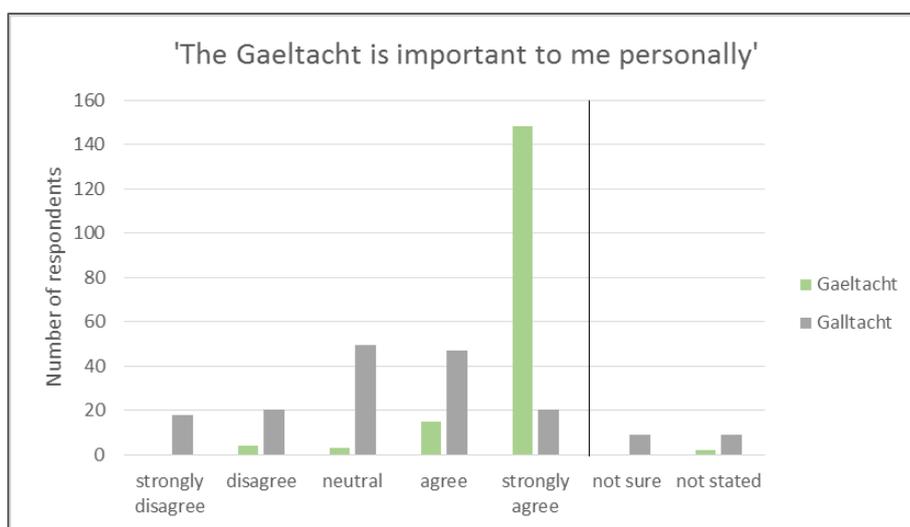


Figure 58 Response to the statement 'The Gaeltacht is important to me personally' in the two areas.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction to the statements 'The Gaeltacht is important to [Ireland / me personally]' was strongly positive in case of both statements. The average rate of responses to the first statement ('[...] Ireland') was 1.9, and the average rate of responses to the

second statement ('[...] me personally') was 1.81. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two, paired statements is the highest value (1), which means that the general opinion on the importance of the Gaeltacht at a societal level and at a personal level was roughly the same (Figure 59).

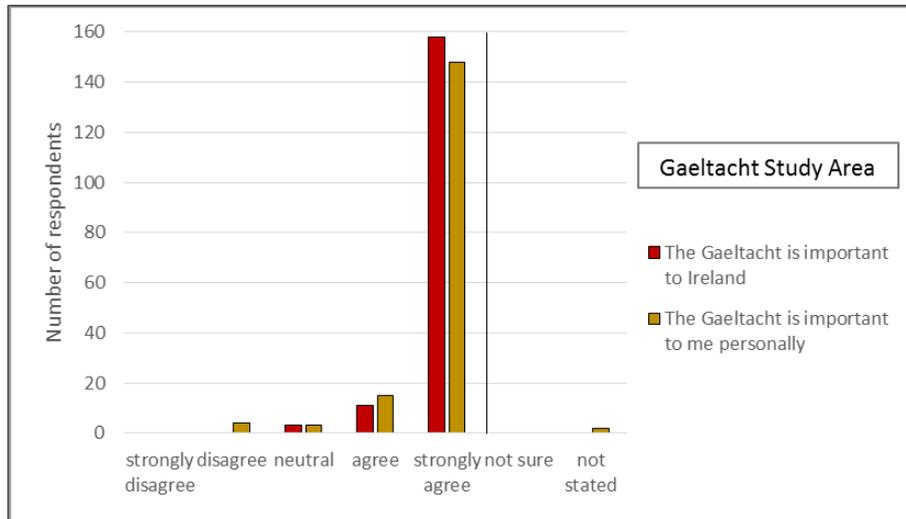


Figure 59 Response to the statements 'The Gaeltacht is important to [Ireland / me personally]' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Galltacht Study Area the reaction was much stronger in case of the first statement ('The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland') than in case of the second statement ('The Gaeltacht is important to me personally'). The average rating of the first statement ('[...] Ireland') was 1.65, and the average rating of the second statement ('[...] me personally') was 0.23. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two, paired statements is almost zero (0.04), which means that the general opinion on the importance of the Gaeltacht at a societal level and at a personal level are not statistically related (Figure 60).

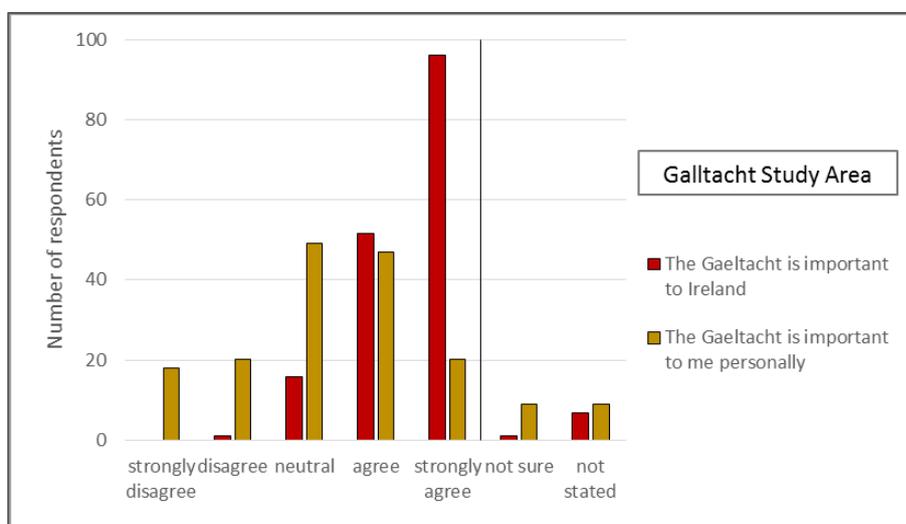


Figure 60 Response to the statements 'The Gaeltacht is important to [Ireland / me personally]' in the Galltacht Study Area.

The difference between the average ratings for the importance of the Gaeltacht at a societal level and at a personal level is much greater (1.42) in the Gaeltacht Study Area than that (0.09) in the Galtacht Study Area. In general opinions expressed about the importance of the Gaeltacht at a societal and at a personal level are almost identical in the Gaeltacht Study Area and are different in the Galtacht Study Area.

Statement 13: 'I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language'

The thirteenth statement, 'I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language', shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.91) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 89% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: 0.66), which also has its peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 56% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.91), which means that the statement received very similar reactions in the two study areas (Figure 61).

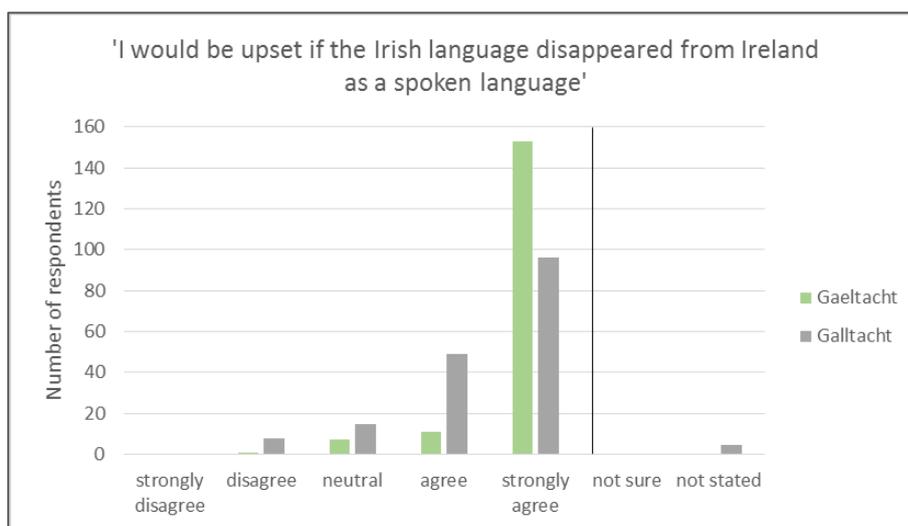


Figure 61 Response to the statement 'I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language' in the two areas.

Statement 14: 'I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English'

The fourteenth statement, 'I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English', shows a bimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.14) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree' (70.3% of the respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the option 'neutral' (14.5% of the respondents chose this option) in this area. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a bimodal curve (kurtosis:

-2.84), which has its major peak at the option ‘neutral’ (28.6% of respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the option ‘strongly agree’ (26% of respondents chose this option) in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is high (0.62), which means that the statement received very similar (ambiguous) trends of reactions in the two study areas. The apparent difference is the number of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ (Figure 62).

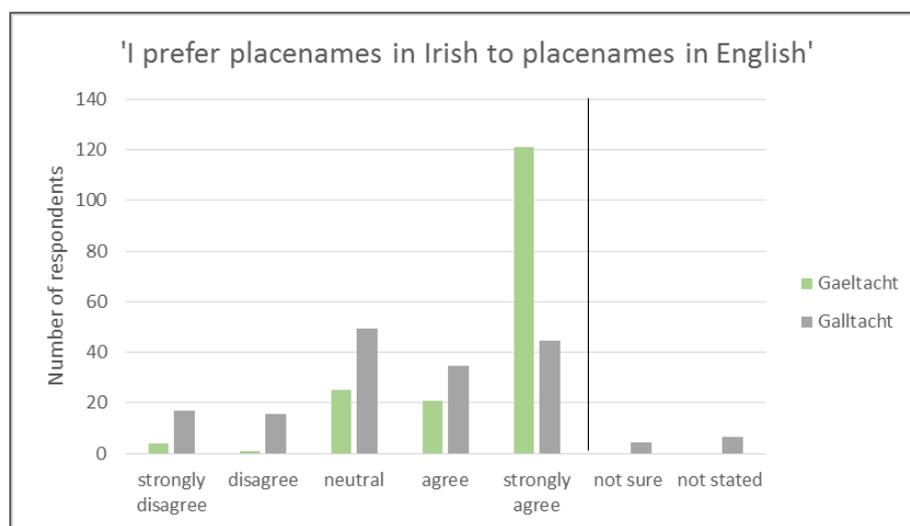


Figure 62 Response to the statement ‘I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English’ in the two areas.

Statement 15: ‘I find the term ‘Galltacht’ offensive’

The fifteenth statement, ‘I find the term ‘Galltacht’ offensive’, shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.59) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option ‘neutral’; 47.1% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a bimodal curve (kurtosis: 0.65), which has its major peak at the option ‘strongly disagree’ (39.7% of respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the option ‘neutral’ (21.5% of respondents chose this option) in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is almost zero (0.06), which means that the statement received different trends of reactions in the two study areas. Respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area were ‘neutral’ and respondents in the Galtacht Study Area expressed that they ‘strongly disagree’ with the statement (Figure 63).

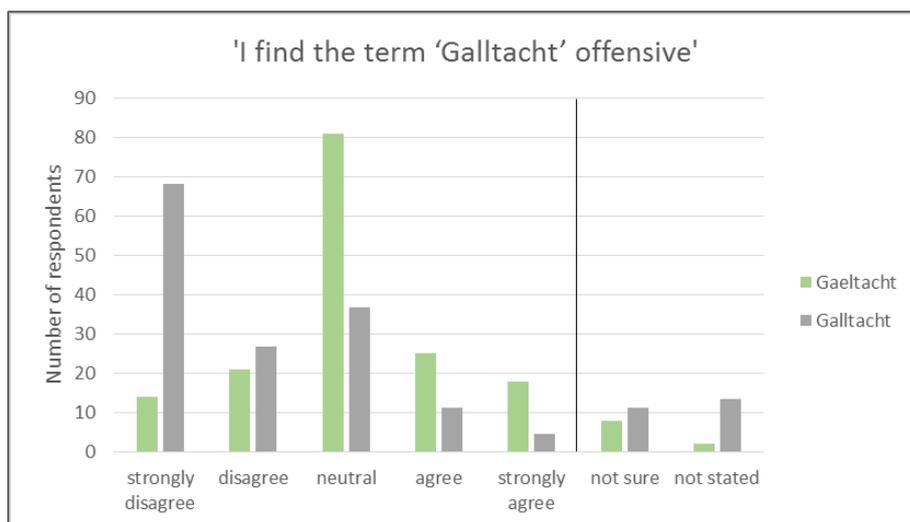


Figure 63 Response to the statement 'I find the term 'Galltacht' offensive' in the two areas.

Statements 1-15: average ratings

The average rating of the 15 statements was significantly higher in the Gaeltacht Study Area (1.13) than in the Galtacht Study Area (0.68). The statements are provided in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area in (Table 7).

Statement	Average value
The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland	1.90
The Irish language is important to Ireland	1.90
I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language	1.84
I like the Irish language	1.84
The Gaeltacht is important to me personally	1.81
The Irish language is important to me personally	1.75
The Irish language is my language	1.67
I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English	1.48
I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues	1.04
I like the English language	0.86
The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht	0.80
The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland	0.65
The Irish language provides many economic opportunities	0.56
I find the term 'Galltacht' offensive	0.08
The English language is my language	-1.21

Table 7 List of the 15 statements in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The following graph show the same values provided to the 15 statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area in descending order in a distribution curve of responses (Figure 64).

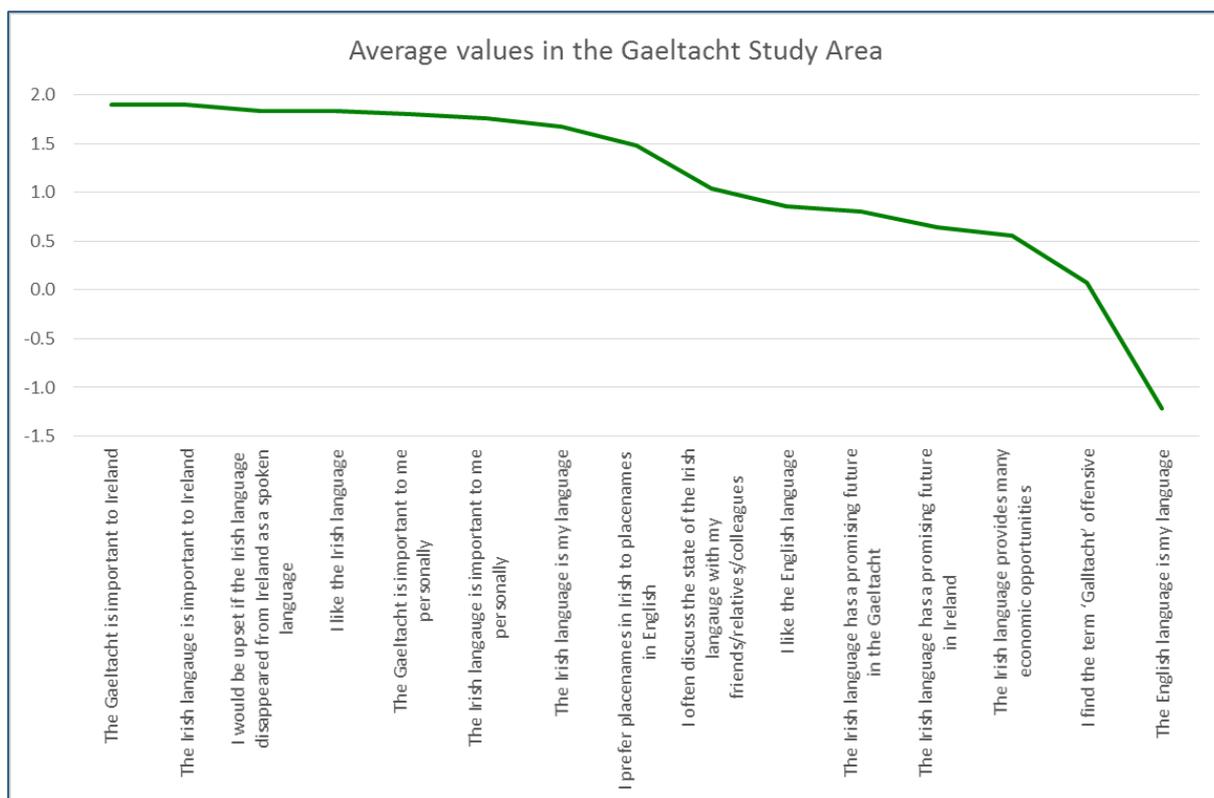


Figure 64 Graph of the 15 statements in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The statements are provided in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area in (Table 8).

Statement	Average value
The Irish language is important to Ireland	1.69
The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland	1.65
I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language	1.56
I like the Irish language	1.35
I like the English language	1.21
The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht	1.08
The English language is my language	0.88
The Irish language is important to me personally	0.84
I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English	0.52
The Irish language provides many economic opportunities	0.39
The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland	0.34
The Gaeltacht is important to me personally	0.23
The Irish language is my language	0.21
I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues	-0.65
I find the term 'Gaeltacht' offensive	-1.09

Table 8 List of the 15 statements in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The following graph show the same values provided to the 15 statements in the Galltacht Study Area in descending order in a distribution curve of responses (Figure 65).

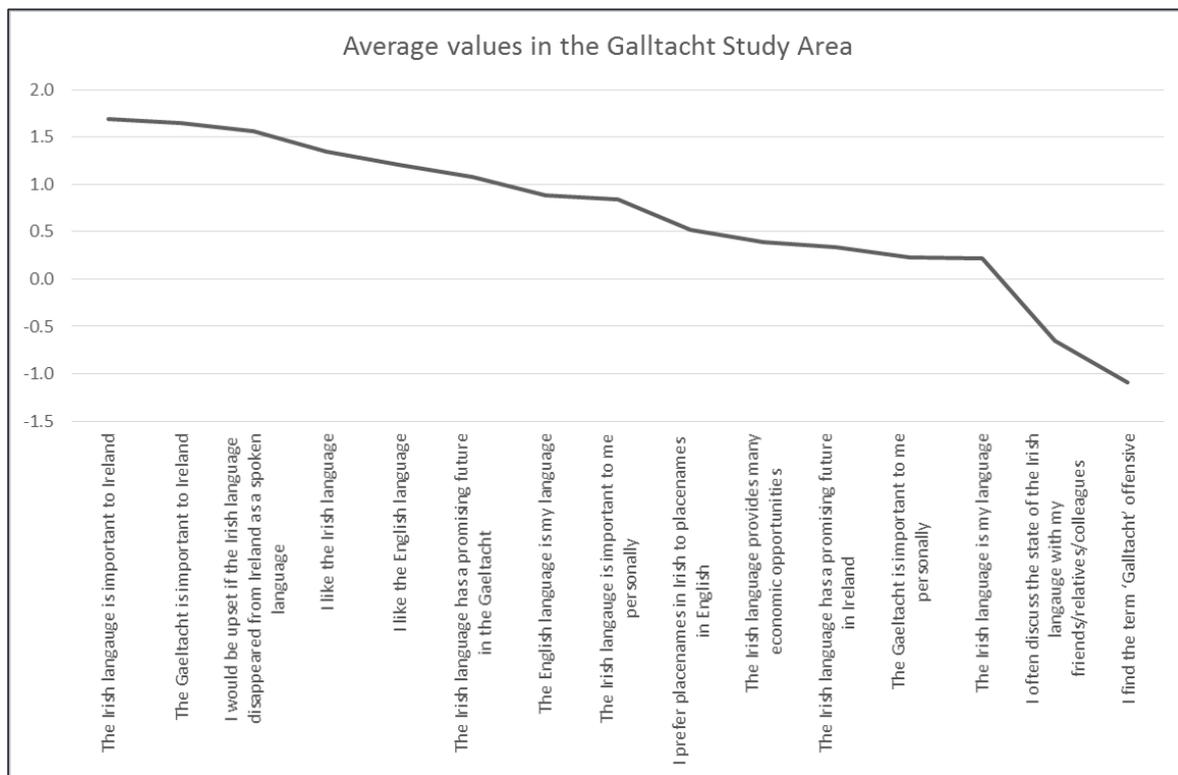


Figure 65 Graph of the 15 statements in descending order according to their rating values in the Galltacht Study Area.

Statements 1-15: convergence analysis

A summary of divergence and convergence in average responses in the two study areas is provided in the following chart (Figure 66):

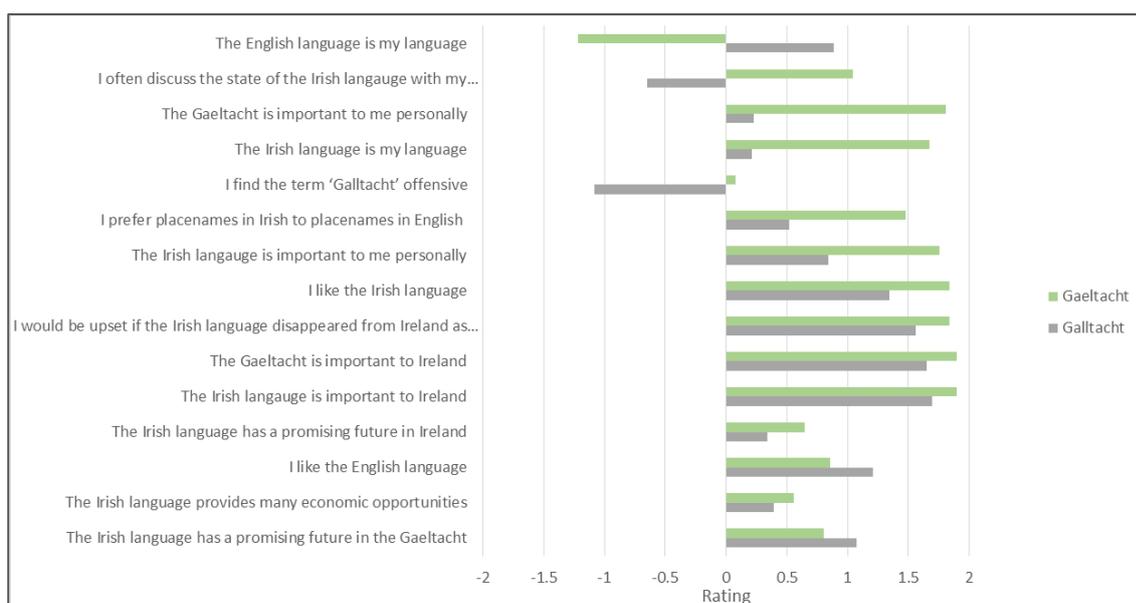


Figure 66 Average responses in order of divergence (Part III) between the two regions.

The four items that received the most divergent average responses are summarised in Table 9.

Item	Score (Δ)	Score		Correlation
		Gaeltacht	Galltacht	
The English language is my language	2.10	-1.21	0.88	-0.91
I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues	1.69	1.04	-0.65	-0.75
The Gaeltacht is important to me personally	1.58	1.81	0.23	-0.33
The Irish language is my language	1.46	1.67	0.21	-0.25

Table 9 Four items that received the most divergent scores in the two regions.

The following chart presents all the statements in ascending order by coefficient values between the two study areas (Figure 67).

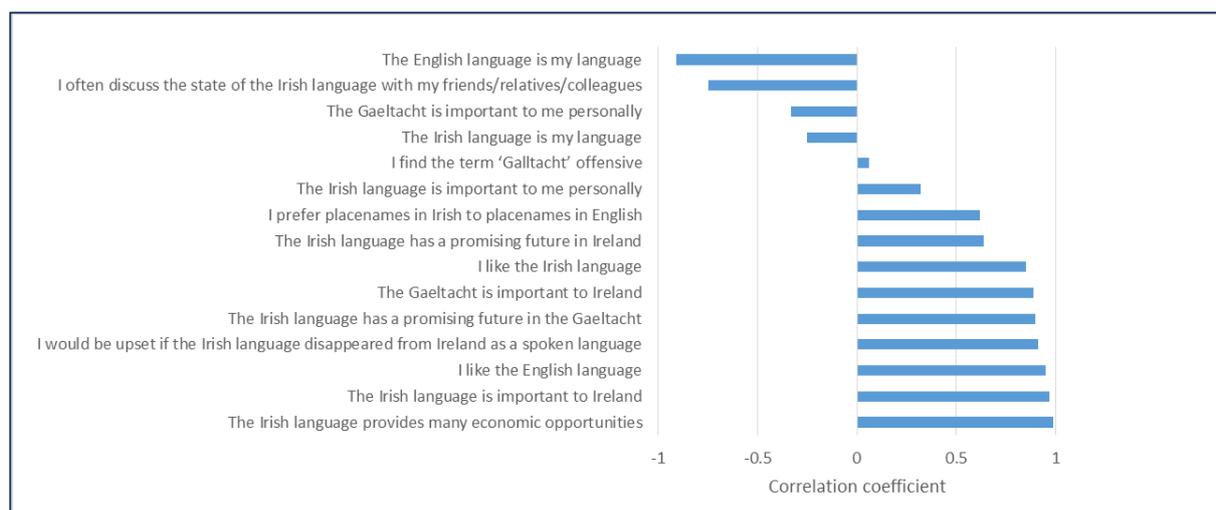


Figure 67 Correlation coefficient values between the two areas in ascending order.

Ten of the statements were grouped in the following five opposing pairs:

- Pair 1 (statements 1-2): 'The [Irish / English] language is my language';
- Pair 2 (statements 3-4): 'I like the [Irish / English] language';
- Pair 3 (statements 5-6): 'The Irish language has a promising future in [Ireland / in the Gaeltacht]';
- Pair 4 (statements 9-10): 'The Irish language is important to [Ireland / me personally]';
- Pair 5 (statements 11-12): 'The Gaeltacht is important to [Ireland / me personally]'.

The following table presents all these pairs of statements and their coefficient values of average score distributions in the two study areas (Table 10).

Pairs	Statement	Gaeltacht	Galltacht	Difference
Pair 1	'The [Irish / English] language is my language'	-0.48	0.53	1.01
Pair 2	'I like the [Irish / English] language'	0.27	0.88	0.61
Pair 3	'The Irish language has a promising future in [Ireland / in the Gaeltacht]'	0.79	0.69	0.1
Pair 4	'The Irish language is important to [Ireland / me personally]'	1	0.54	0.46
Pair 5	'The Gaeltacht is important to [Ireland / me personally]'	1	0.04	0.96

Table 10 Correlations of paired statements in the two study areas.

Statements 1-15: bimodality and kurtosis

Five of the 15 statements received responses with bimodal distributions; 3 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 2 in the Galltacht Study Area. A single statement 'I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English' received bimodal reactions in both study areas. The following statements received bimodal reactions in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- 'The English language is my language';
- 'The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland';
- 'I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English'.

The following statements received bimodal reactions in the Galltacht Study Area:

- 'I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English';
- 'I find the term 'Galltacht' offensive'.

The following table summarises the kurtosis data of each curve of responses in Part III of the questionnaire (data of bimodal curves are shaded in blue) (Table 11):

Statement	Kurtosis Gaeltacht	Kurtosis Galltacht
1. The Irish language is my language	4.68	0.26
2. The English language is my language	3.59	-0.79
3. I like the Irish language	4.70	-1.25
4. I like the English language	-1.46	-2.21
5. The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland	-1.02	-0.88
6. The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht	-0.03	2.21
7. The Irish language provides many economic opportunities	-0.47	0.70
8. I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues	-0.36	3.82
9. The Irish language is important to Ireland	4.75	2.79
10. The Irish language is important to me personally	4.85	-0.13
11. The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland	4.91	0.13
12. The Gaeltacht is important to me personally	4.84	-3.24
13. I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language	4.91	0.66
14. I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English	4.14	-2.84
15. I find the term ‘Galltacht’ offensive	4.59	0.65

Table 11 Kurtosis values from the two study areas.

The following graph shows the independent series of ascending kurtosis data from the two study areas (Figure 68):

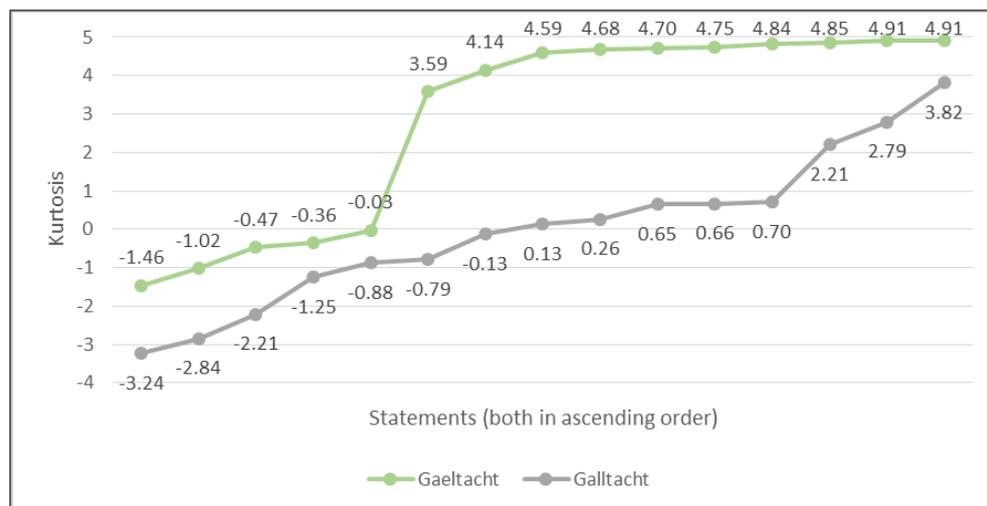


Figure 68 Diagrams of kurtosis values from the two study areas.

The average amount of kurtosis is 2.94 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and the average amount of kurtosis is -0.01 in the Galltacht Study Area. The following three statements received the highest amount of kurtosis value in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- ‘The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland’ (kurtosis: 4.91);
- ‘I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language’ (kurtosis: 4.91);
- ‘The Irish language is important to me personally’ (kurtosis: 4.85).

The following three statements received the highest amount of kurtosis value in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- ‘I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues’ (kurtosis: 3.82);
- ‘The Irish language is important to Ireland’ (kurtosis: 2.79);
- ‘The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht’ (kurtosis: 2.21).

The following three statements received the lowest amount of kurtosis value in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- ‘I like the English language’ (kurtosis: -1.46);
- ‘The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland’ (-1.02);
- ‘The Irish language provides many economic opportunities’ (-0.47).

The following three statements received the lowest amount of kurtosis value in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- ‘The Gaeltacht is important to me personally’ (kurtosis: -3.24);
- ‘I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English’ (-2.84);
- ‘The Irish language provides many economic opportunities’ (-2.21).

Who does the Irish language belong to?

The second section of Part III of the questionnaire consisted of a single, multiple choice question. Respondents were asked to tick one category to answer the question ‘Who does the Irish language belong to?’ In case of respondents who ticked more than one category the score (1) was divided among the options chosen through a split-score method.

The majority of respondents (48% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 56% in the Gaeltacht Study Area) agreed to the statement that the Irish language belongs ‘to all Irish people’. The second most popular choice was the statement that the Irish language belongs ‘to anyone who is interested in the language’ (31% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 18% in the Gaeltacht Study Area). Significantly more people in the Gaeltacht Study Area (8.2%) than in the Gaeltacht Study Area (1.1%) agreed with the statement that the Irish language belonged ‘to those who

speak it at home'. The least favoured choice among all respondents was the belief that the Irish language belonged 'to people in the Gaeltacht'. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.91), which means that the beliefs about 'who the Irish language belongs to' are very similar in the two study areas (Figure 69).

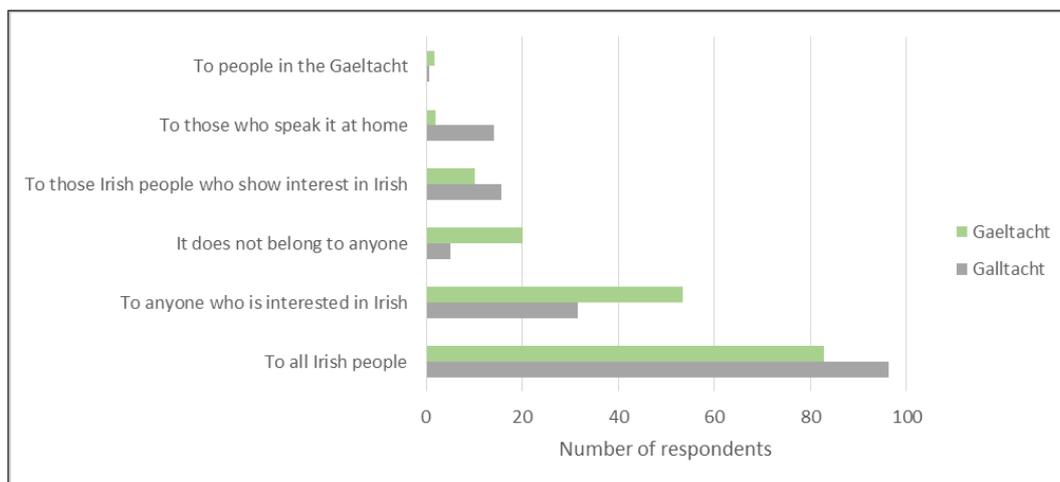


Figure 69 Response to the question: 'Who does the Irish language belong to?' in the two areas.

What percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home?

The third section of Part III of the questionnaire consisted of a single, multiple choice question: 'What percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home?' The responses were divergent in the two study areas. The distribution curve of responses in the Gaeltacht Study Area has a peak (kurtosis: -2.5) at the option in the middle of the range ('40-60%'); 46% of the respondents in this study area chose this option. A substantial number (36.6%) of respondents chose a higher proportion ('60-80%') as their response. The distribution curve of responses in the Galltacht Study Area shows a more even distribution that has a peak (kurtosis: -2.41) at the option with the highest proportional values ('80-100%'); a third (33.7%) of the respondents chose this option as their response. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is moderate (0.31), which means that the beliefs about the future of the Irish language in Ireland are moderately similar in the two study areas (Figure 70).

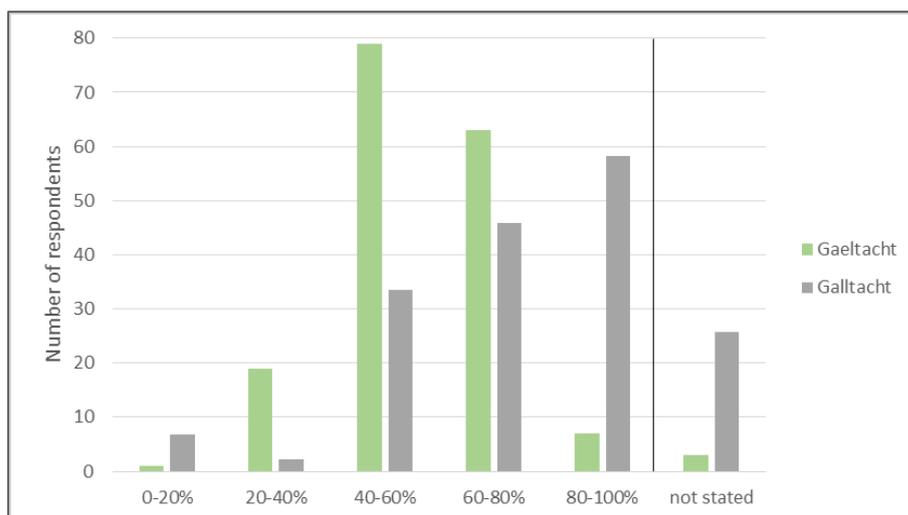


Figure 70 Response to the question: 'What percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home?' in the two areas.

Part IV Social norms of language use

The fourth part of the questionnaire focused on the social norms of language use in one section. This section contained nine statements and the respondents were asked to rate each statement on a 5-point rating item. The nine statements to be rated by the respondents in Part IV of the questionnaire were:

1. It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers;
2. It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers;
3. It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish;
4. It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English;
5. It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht;
6. English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht;
7. People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht;
8. It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht;
9. It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht.

Responses to four of the statements could be grouped into two opposing pairs as follows:

- Pair 1 (statements 1-2): ‘It is rude to speak [English / Irish] in a group of [Irish / English] speakers’;
- Pair 2 (statements 3-4): ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [Irish / English]’.

Statements 1-2: ‘It is rude to speak [English / Irish] in a group of [Irish / English] speakers’

The first pair of statements (statements 1-2) ‘It is rude to speak [English / Irish] in a group of [Irish / English] speakers’ evaluated language use (English / Irish) in a linguistic context (Irish speakers or English speakers). The first statement, ‘It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers’, shows a bimodal tall distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 1.09) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its major peak at the option ‘agree’ (25% of the respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at ‘disagree’ (20.3% of the respondents chose this option). In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a bimodal curve (kurtosis: -1.89). The highest proportion (26%) of respondents chose to ‘agree’, and the second highest proportion (24.1%) of respondents chose to ‘disagree’ with the statement. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is high (0.62), which means that there were similar tendencies in the responses in the two study areas (Figure 71).

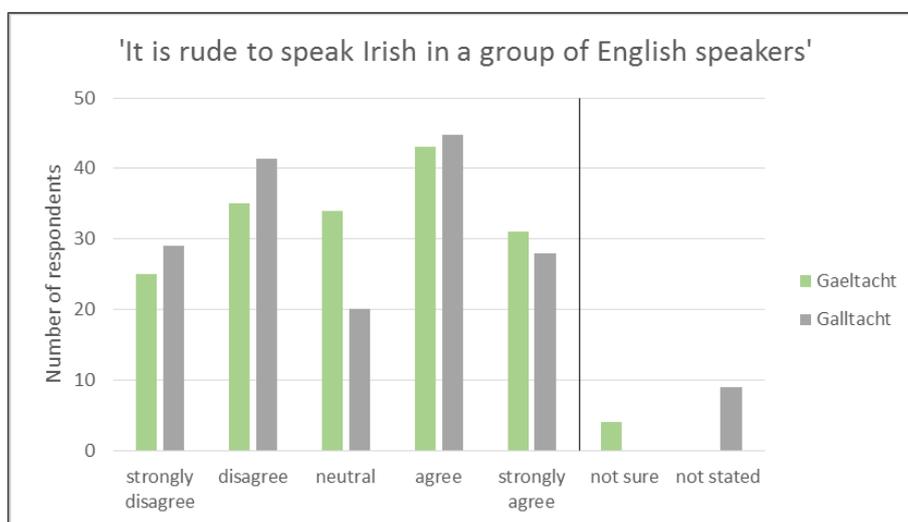


Figure 71 Response to the statement ‘It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers’ in the two areas.

The second statement, ‘It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers’, has received similarly ambiguous distributions of responses in the two areas. Both distributions show bimodal curves (kurtosis: 0.26 in the Gaeltacht Study Area, and 2.2 in the Galltacht Study Area). The major peak along the curve of responses in the Gaeltacht Study Area was at the option ‘strongly agree’ (26.2% of the respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the option ‘disagree’ (21.5% of the respondents chose this option). The major peak along the curve

of responses in the Galltacht Study Area was at the option ‘strongly disagree’ (25.4% of the respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the option ‘agree’ (20.8% of the respondents chose this option). The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is a negative very high number (-0.63), which means that the general opinion on the statement ‘It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers’ is in contrast in the two study areas (Figure 72).



Figure 72 Response to the statement ‘It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers’ in the two areas.

The statements ‘It is rude to speak [English / Irish] in a group of [Irish / English] speakers’ received ambiguous reactions in both areas.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction was similar in case of both statements. The average rating of the first statement was 0.12 and the average rating of the second statement was -0.39. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two languages is very high (0.78), which indicates the similarity of opinions on the two statements in this area (Figure 73).

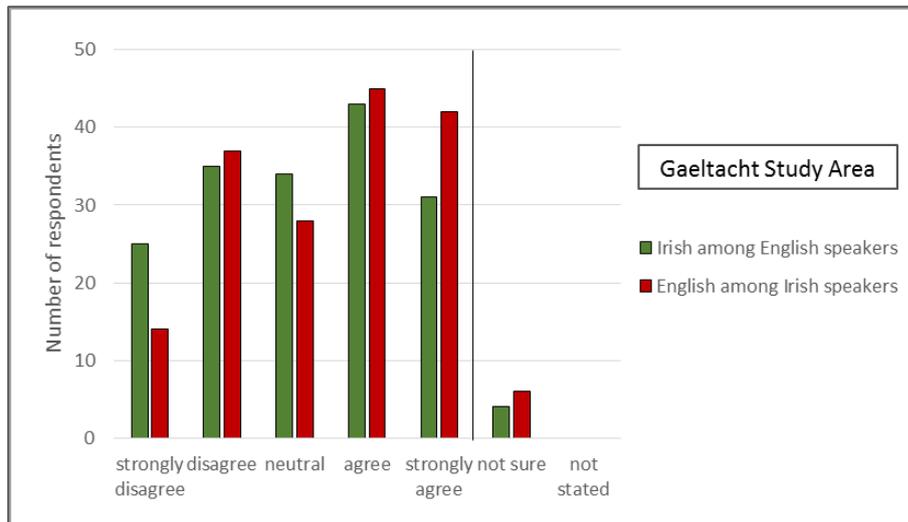


Figure 73 Response to the statements beginning: 'It is rude to speak [...]' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the average rating of the first statement was 0.01 and the average rating of the second statement was -0.34. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two languages is moderate (0.21), which indicates difference of opinions (most apparently by the locations of the peaks at the option 'agree' in case of the first statement ('It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers') and at the option 'strongly disagree' in case of the second statement ('It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers') about the two statements in this area (Figure 74).

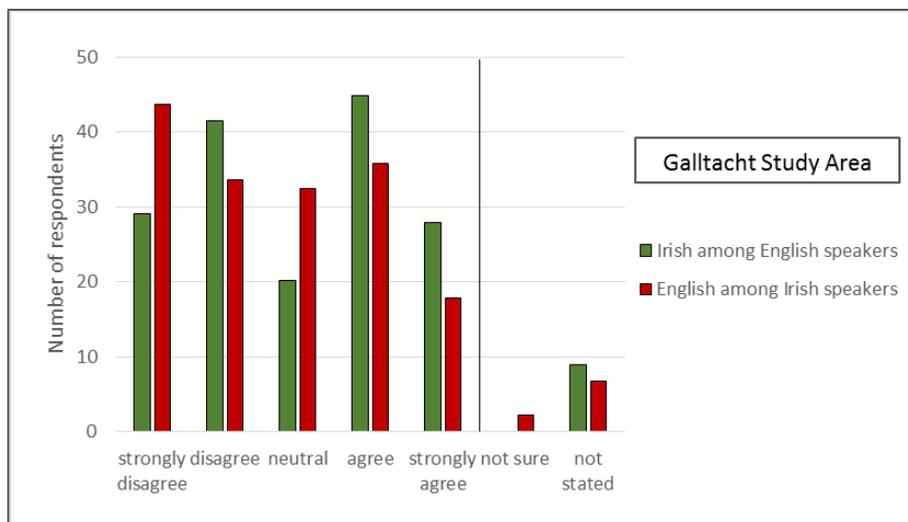


Figure 74 Response to the statements beginning: 'It is rude to speak [...]' in the Galtacht Study Area.

The bimodality of the curves reveal some ambiguity in the distribution of responses in both areas. It also renders comparison between the differences of average ratings on the two statements in both areas (0.51 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 0.35 in the Galtacht Study Area) to be of no descriptive value.

A simple, and, in this case a more informative quantification of differences in attitudes between the two areas can be achieved by calculating in binary mode. Binary mode is the reduction of the five-point response items into two point response items by combining (in this case by adding) the two degrees on either side of the scale into an overall negative response value (DISAGREE = ‘strongly disagree’ + ‘disagree’) and an overall positive response value (AGREE = ‘agree’ + ‘strongly agree’) and by disregarding the ‘neutral’ position. An index of attitude is achieved by subtracting the number of responses from one side (AGREE) of the response item from the number of responses of the other side (DISAGREE) of the response item. This index value allows comparison between the two study areas in a simple fashion. The values regarding responses to the statement beginning ‘it is rude to speak [Irish] / [English] ...’ are summarised in the following table (Table 12):

Area	It is rude to speak ...	DISAGREE	AGREE	Index	Difference of index values
Gaeltacht	English among Irish speakers	51	87	36	22
	Irish among English speakers	60	74	14	
Galltacht	English among Irish speakers	77.2	53.7	-23.5	25.5
	Irish among English speakers	70.5	72.5	2	

Table 12 Bipolar and index values of responses to the statements beginning: ‘It is rude to speak [...]’ in the two areas.

The binary response items drawn from Table 12 above are visualised in Figure 75.

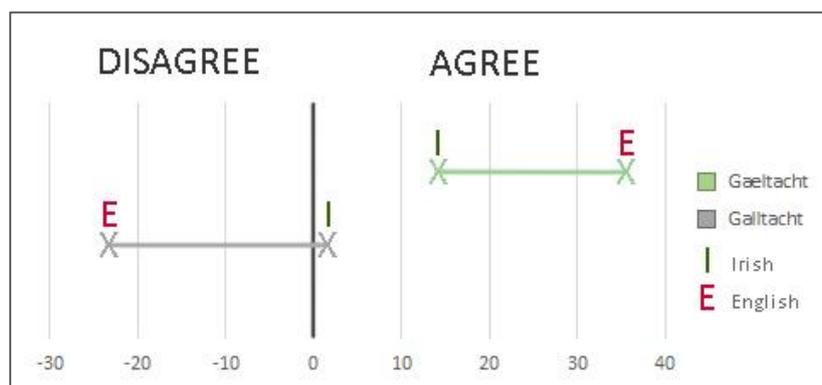


Figure 75 Index values of responses to the statements beginning: ‘It is rude to speak [...]’ in the two areas.

The table (Table 12) and its visualisation (Figure 75) reveal the following information:

- while in the Gaeltacht Study Area interlinguistic conversational intrusion is viewed negatively in case of both languages, in the Galltacht Study Area interlinguistic conversational intrusion in English is clearly seen to be acceptable;
- more respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area agree with the statement regardless of which language is in question;

- both regions tolerate their traditionally associated primary language (Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area and English in the Galtacht Study Area) more in an intrusive conversational situation and sees the conversational intrusion of the other language in a more negative light;
- the evaluative difference, that is the degree to which the evaluation of the two languages differ, is almost the same in the two areas (evaluative difference: this can be inferred from the length of lines between the crosses marking the two languages in the figure above).

Statements 3-4: 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [Irish / English]'

The second pair of statements (statements 3-4) 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [Irish / English]' was about general opinion on the social acceptability of raising children in one language. The third statement, 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish', shows a unimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 2.75) in the Gaeltacht Study Area, which has its peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 45.9% of the respondents chose this option. In the Galtacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: -2.83). The highest proportion (42.9%) of respondents chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.87), which means that the general public opinion in both study areas accepts that parents raise their children in Irish only (Figure 76).

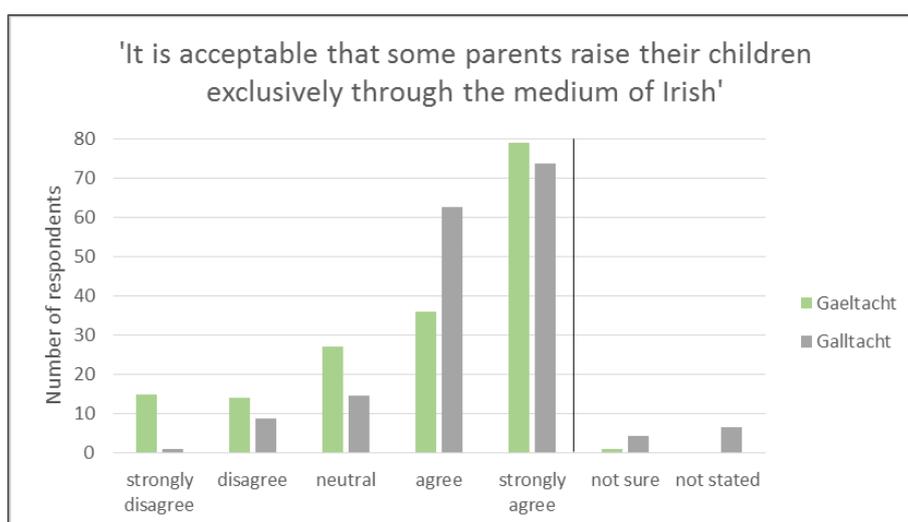


Figure 76 Response to the statement 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish' in the two areas.

The fourth statement ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English’ has received more varied distributions of responses in the two areas. The distribution of responses in the Gaeltacht Study Area shows a bimodal distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: -0.03;), which has two equally major peaks at the options ‘strongly agree’ and at ‘neutral’; 29.1% of the respondents chose these options, respectively. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is a unimodal curve (kurtosis: -2.9), which has its peak at the option ‘agree’; 60.4% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is moderately high (0.58), which means that the general public opinion in both study areas about parents raising their children exclusively through the medium of English follow similar trends (Figure 77).

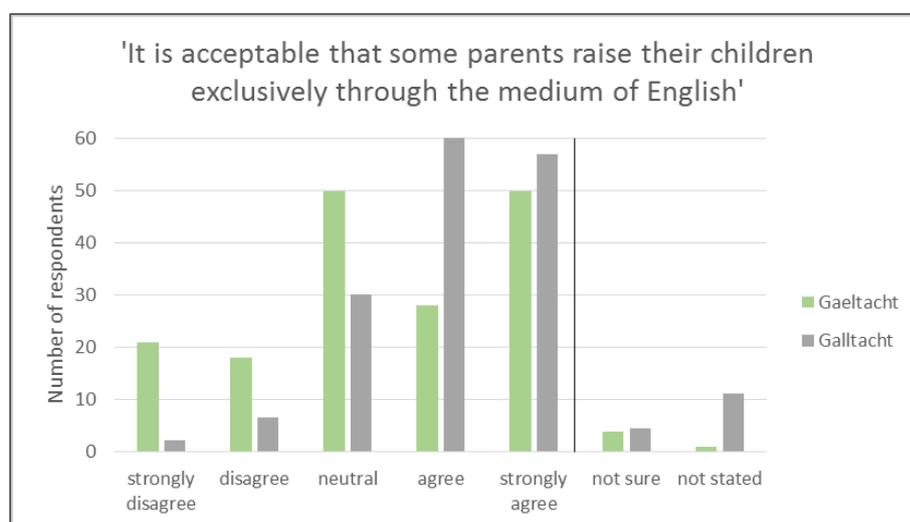


Figure 77 Response to the statement ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English’ in the two areas.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction was somewhat different in case of both statements. The average rating of the first statement (‘[...] through the medium of Irish’) was 0.88 and the average rating of the second statement (‘[...] through the medium of English’) was 0.41. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two languages is high (0.7), which indicates similar trends of opinions on the two statements in this area (Figure 78).

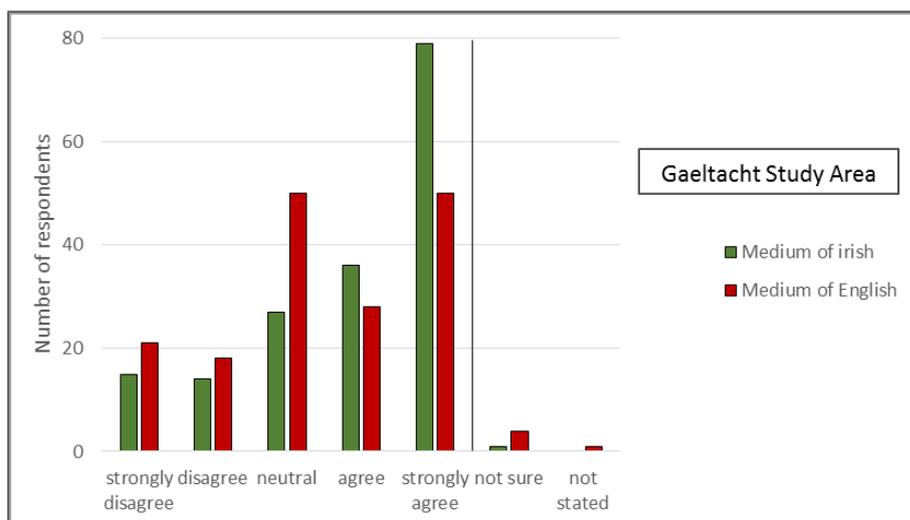


Figure 78 Response to the statements beginning: ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children [...]’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction was similar in case of both statements. The average rating of the first statement (‘[...] through the medium of Irish’) was 1.38 and the average rating of the second statement (‘[...] through the medium of English’) was 1.17. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in case of the two languages is very high (0.95), which indicates strong similarity of opinions on the two statements in this area (Figure 79).

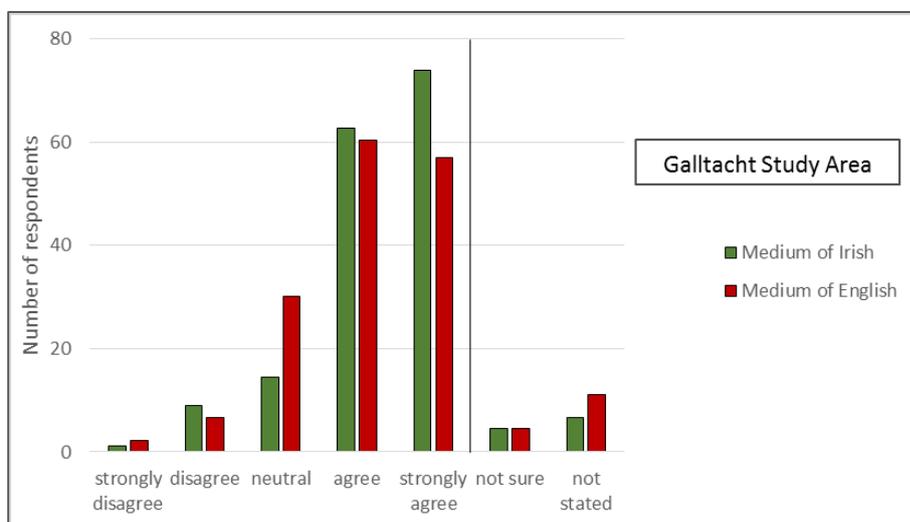


Figure 79 Response to the statements beginning: ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children [...]’ in the Galtacht Study Area.

The difference between the average ratings of the two languages is a bit greater (0.47) in the Gaeltacht Study Area than that (0.13) in the Galtacht Study Area.

The binary values regarding responses to the statement beginning ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [Irish] / [English]’ are summarised in the following table (Table 13):

Area	It is acceptable ...	DISAGREE	AGREE	Index
Gaeltacht	To raise children in Irish only	29	115	86
	To raise children in English only	39	78	39
Galltacht	To raise children in Irish only	9	117.5	108.5
	To raise children in English only	10	136.5	126.5

Table 13 Bipolar and index values of responses to the statements beginning: 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [...]' in the two areas.

The binary response items drawn from Table 13 above are visualised in Figure 80.

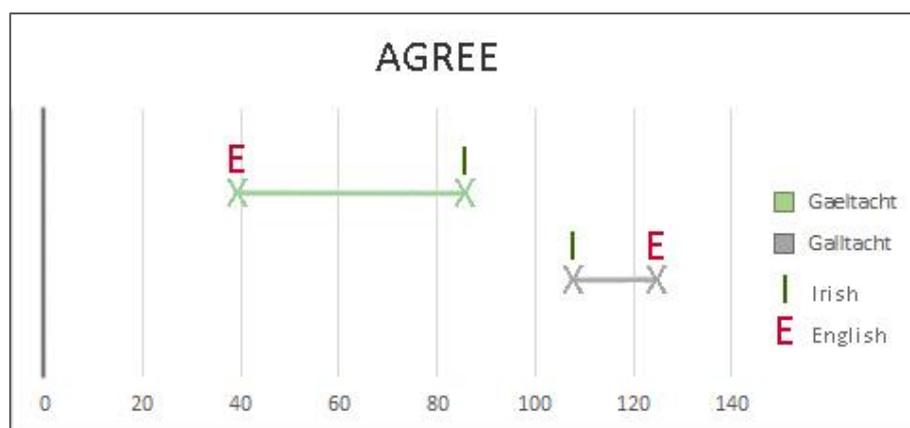


Figure 80 Index values of responses to the statements beginning: 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [...]' in the two areas.

The table (Table 13) and its visualisation (Figure 80) reveal the following information:

- respondents in both regions agree to the statement regardless of which language is in question;
- more respondents in the Galltacht Study Area agree with the statement than those in the Gaeltacht Study Area regardless of which of the two languages are in question;
- both regions consider that the statement is more acceptable regarding the language associated with its traditionally associated language (Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area and English in the Galltacht Study Area);
- the evaluative difference is greater in the Gaeltacht Study Area than the evaluative difference in the Galltacht Study Area (evaluative difference: this can be inferred from the length of lines between the crosses marking the two languages).

Statement 5: 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht'

The fifth statement, 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht', shows bimodal distribution curves of responses in

both areas (kurtosis: 1.26 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and -2.22 in the Galtacht Study Area). The curve has its major peak at the option 'strongly disagree' (23.8% of respondents chose this option) and two minor peaks at the position 'neutral' and at the position 'strongly agree' (20.9% of respondents chose these options respectively) in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The curve of responses in the Galtacht Study Area has its major peak at the option 'agree' (24.7% of respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the position 'neutral' (22.1% of respondents chose this option). The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is moderate (0.25), which means that the general public opinion in both study areas about parents raising their children 'exclusively through the medium of English' in the Gaeltacht do not follow similar trends in the two study areas (Figure 81).

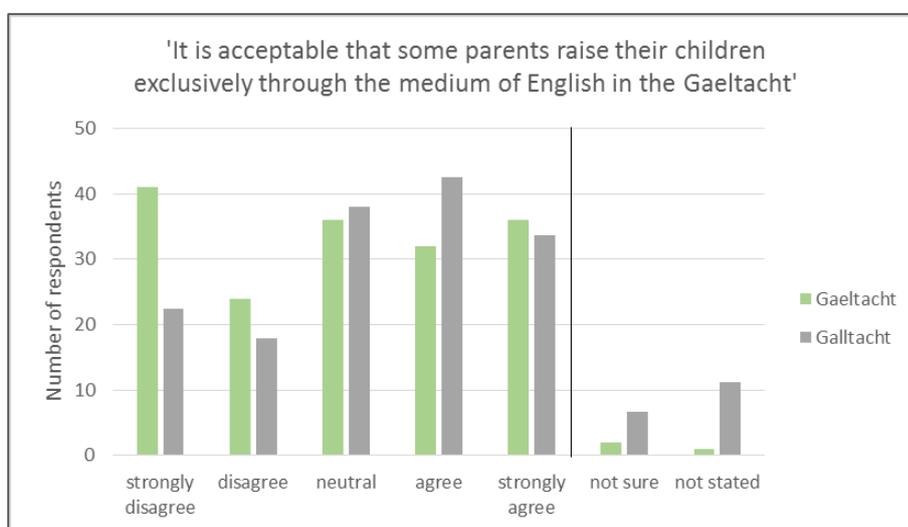


Figure 81 Response to the statement 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht' in the two areas.

Statement 6: 'English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht'

The sixth statement, 'English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht', shows unimodal distribution curves of responses in both areas (kurtosis: -2.12 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and -2.13 in the Galtacht Study Area). The curve has its peak at the option 'strongly agree' (35.5% of respondents chose this option) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and at option 'neutral' (30.6% of respondents chose this option) in the Galtacht Study Area.

The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is moderately high (0.5), which means that the public opinion on this statement follows generally similar trends in the two study areas (Figure 82).

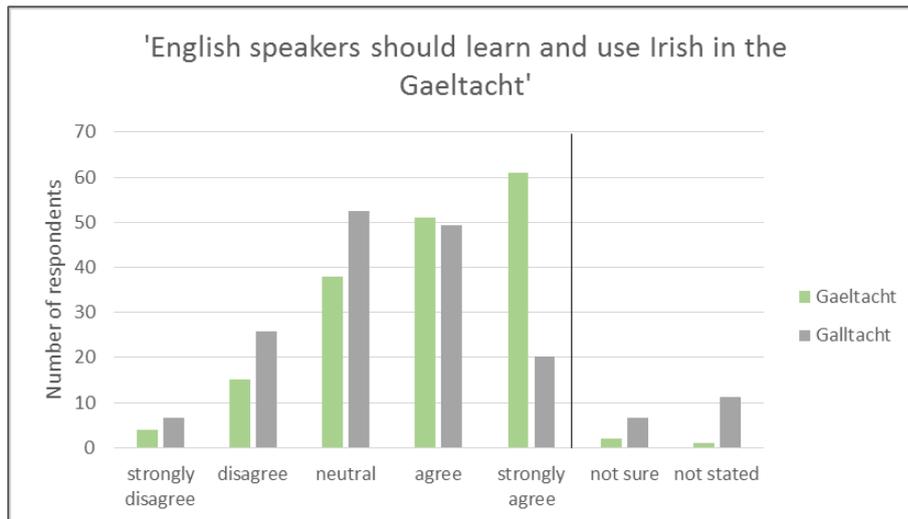


Figure 82 Response to the statement 'English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht' in the two areas.

Statement 7: 'People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht'

The seventh statement, 'People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht', shows bimodal distribution curves of responses in both areas (kurtosis: 1.59 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and -0.23 in the Galtacht Study Area). The curve has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree' (34.3% of respondents chose this option) and two minor peak at the position 'neutral' (21.5% of respondents chose this option) in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The curve of responses in the Galtacht Study Area has its major peak at the option 'disagree' (25.4% of respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the position 'agree' (18.2% of respondents chose this option). The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is a negative very high number (-0.87), which means that the general public opinion about this statement is very different in the two study areas (Figure 83).



Figure 83 Response to the statement 'People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht' in the two areas.

Statement 8: 'It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht'

The eighth statement, 'It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht', shows unimodal distribution curves of responses in both areas (kurtosis: -3.57 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and -2.11 in the Galtacht Study Area). Both curves have their peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 76.2% of respondents the Gaeltacht Study Area and 42.9% of respondents the Galtacht Study Area chose this option.

The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.88), which means that the public opinion on this statement follows similar trends in the two study areas (Figure 84).

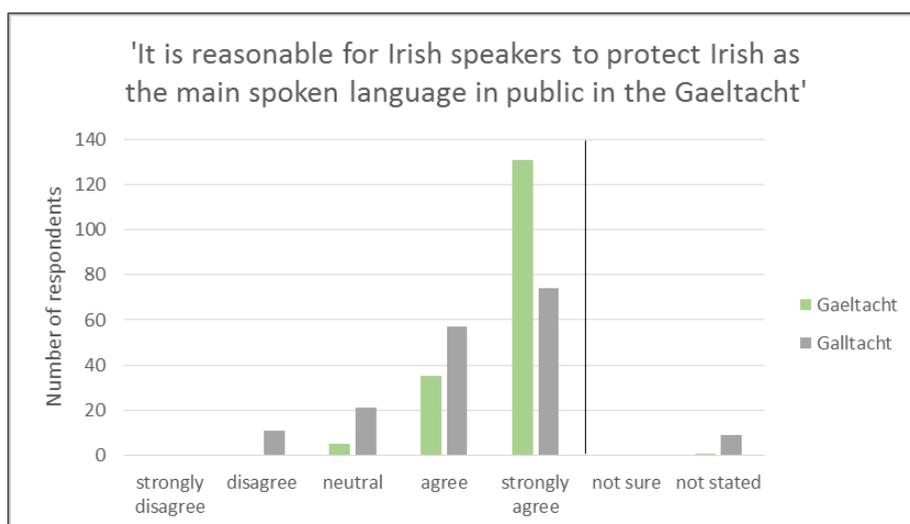


Figure 84 Response to the statement 'It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht' in the two areas.

Statement 9: 'It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht'

The eighth statement, 'It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht', shows unimodal distribution curves of responses in both areas (kurtosis: -3.62 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and -2.73 in the Galtacht Study Area). Both curves have their peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 63.4% of respondents the Gaeltacht Study Area and 35.1% of respondents the Galtacht Study Area chose this option.

The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.82), which means that the public opinion on this statement follows similar trends in the two study areas (Figure 85).

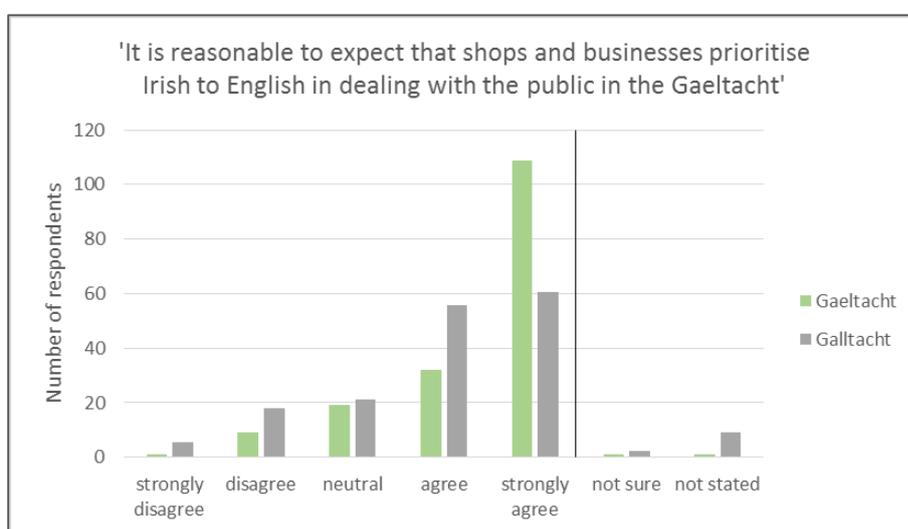


Figure 85 Response to the statement 'It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht' in the two areas.

Statements 1-9: average ratings

The average rating of the 9 statements was somewhat higher in the Gaeltacht Study Area (0.71) than in the Galtacht Study Area (0.54). The statements are provided in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area in (Table 14).

Statement	Average value
It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht	1.74
It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht	1.41
English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	0.89
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish	0.88
People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	0.54
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English	0.41
It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers	0.39
It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers	0.12
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht	-0.01

Table 14 List of the 9 statements in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The following graph show the same values provided to the 9 statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area in descending order in a distribution curve of responses (Figure 86).

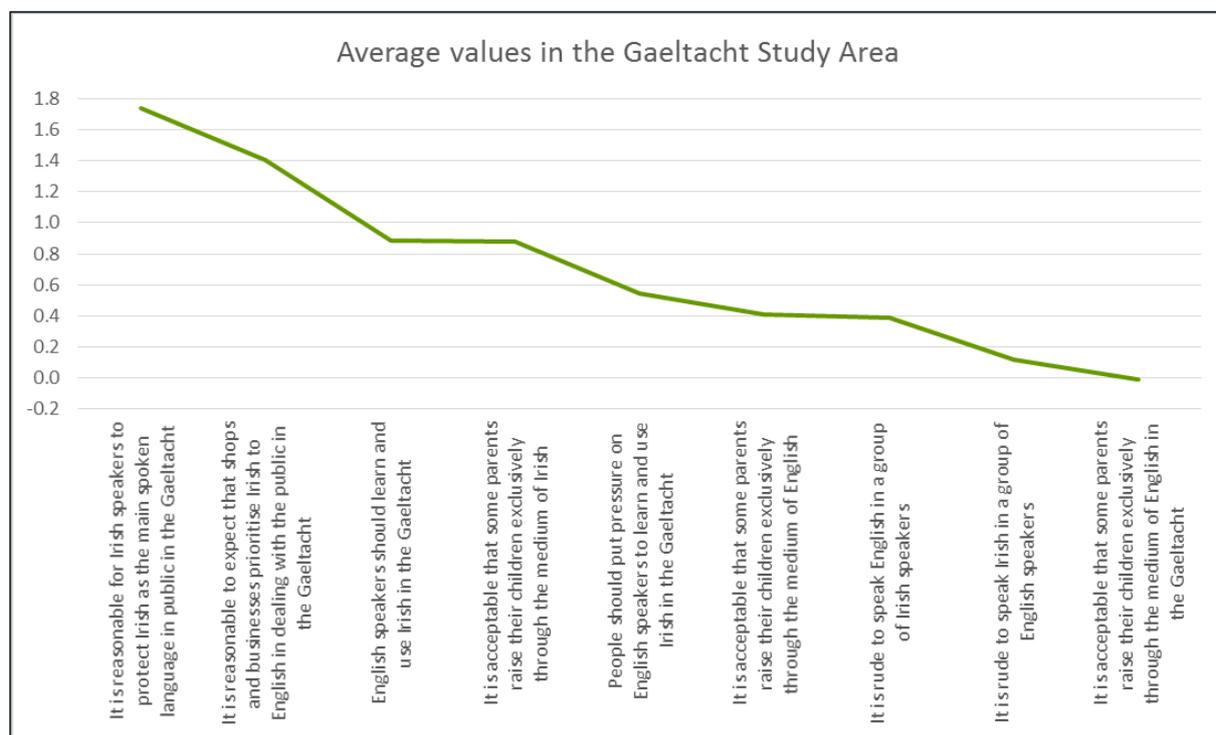


Figure 86 Graph of the 9 statements in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The statements are provided in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area in (Table 15).

Statement	Average value
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish	1.38
It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht	1.33
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English	1.17
It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht	1.03
English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	0.36
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht	0.34
It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers	0.01
It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers	-0.34
People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	-0.44

Table 15 List of the 9 statements in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The following graph show the same values provided to the 9 statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area in descending order in a distribution curve of responses (Figure 87).

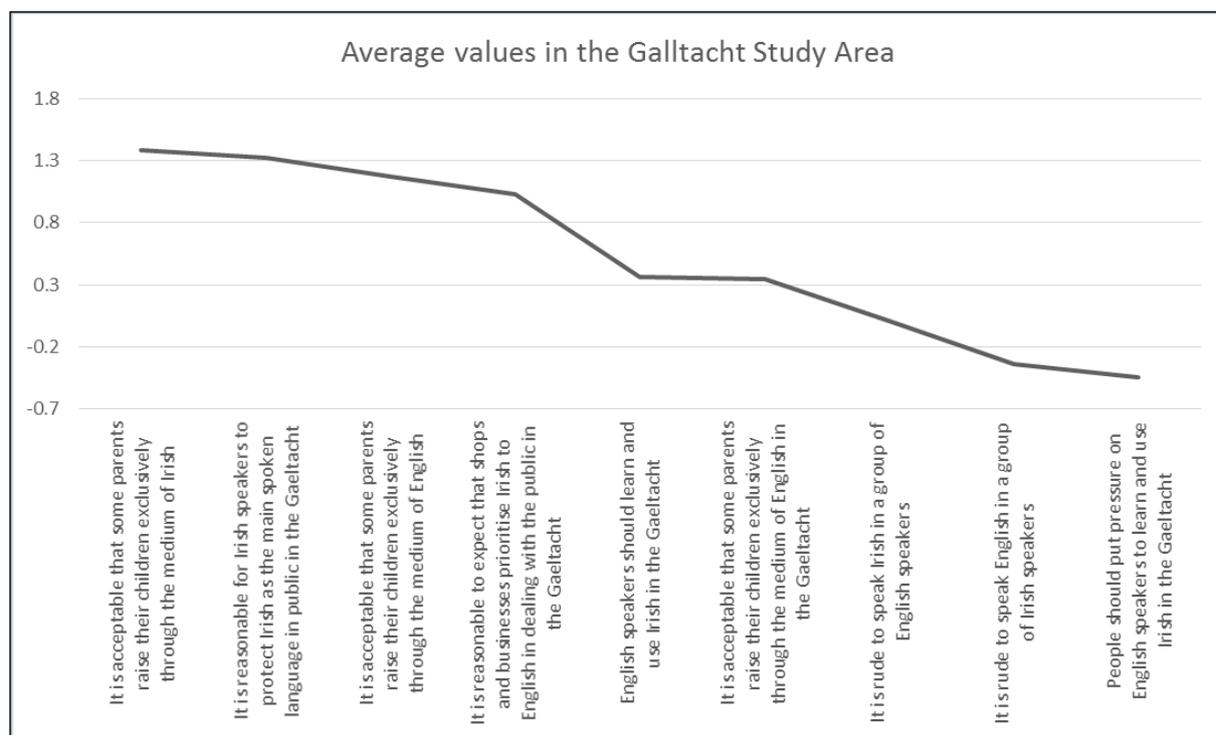


Figure 87 Graph of the 9 statements in descending order according to their rating values in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Statements 1-9: convergence analysis

A summary of divergence and convergence in average responses in the two study areas is provided in the following chart (Figure 88):

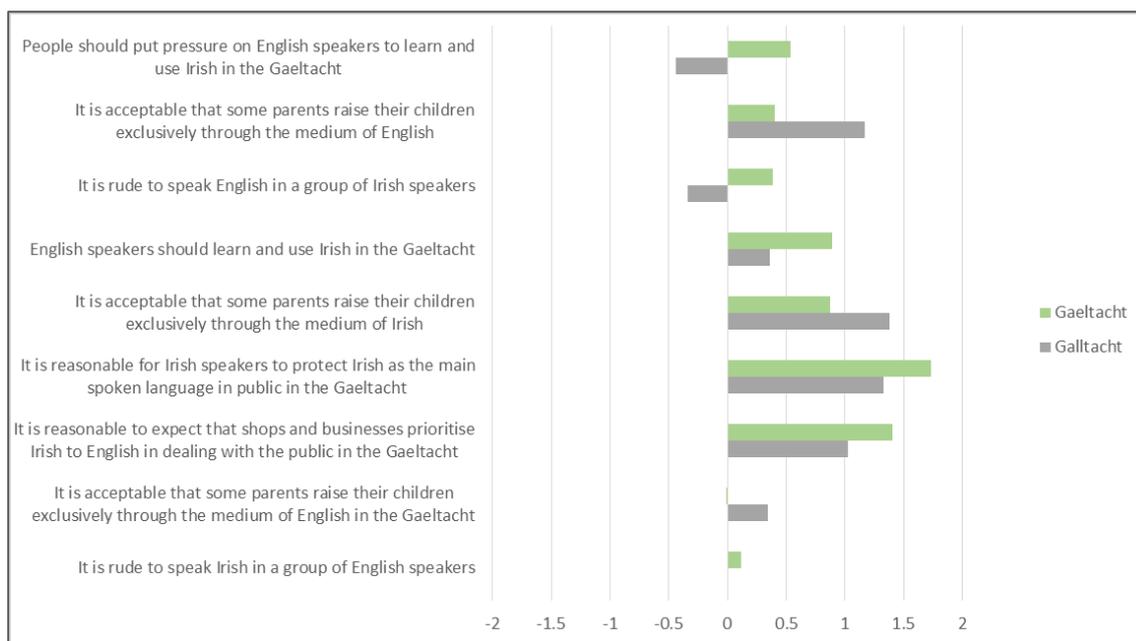


Figure 88 Average responses in order of divergence (Part IV) between the two regions.

The four items that received the most divergent average responses are summarised in Table 16:

Item	Score (Δ)	Score		Correlation
		Gaeltacht	Galtacht	
People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	0.98	0.54	-0.44	-0.87
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English	0.76	0.41	1.17	0.58
It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers	0.72	0.39	-0.34	-0.63
English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	0.52	0.89	0.36	-0.5

Table 16 Four items that received the most divergent scores in the two regions.

The following chart presents all the statements in ascending order of coefficient values between the two study areas (Figure 67).

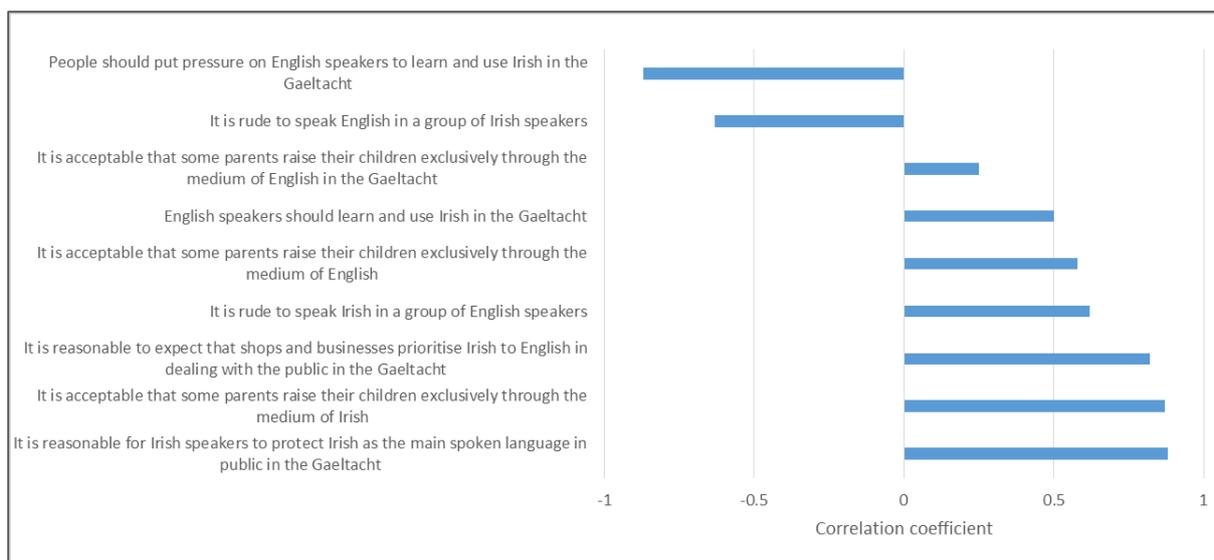


Figure 89 Correlation coefficient values between the two areas in ascending order.

Two of the statements were grouped in the following two opposing pairs:

- Pair 1 (statements 1-2): ‘It is rude to speak [English / Irish] in a group of [Irish / English] speakers’;
- Pair 2 (statements 3-4): ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [Irish / English]’.

The following table presents all these pairs of statements and their coefficient values of average score distributions, as well as the absolute number of their difference values, in the two study areas (Table 17).

Pairs	Statement	Gaeltacht	Galltacht	Difference
Pair 1	‘It is rude to speak [English / Irish] in a group of [Irish / English] speakers’	0.78	0.21	0.57
Pair 2	‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [Irish / English]’	0.7	0.95	0.25

Table 17 Correlations of paired statements in the two study areas.

Statements 1-9: bimodality and kurtosis

Five of the nine statements received responses with bimodal distributions. The following four of these statements received bimodal reactions in both study areas:

- It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers;
- It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers;
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht;
- People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht.

The following statements received bimodal reactions in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers;
- It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers;
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English;
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht;
- People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht.

The following statements received bimodal reactions in the Galtacht Study Area:

- It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers;
- It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers;
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht;
- People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht.

The following table summarises the kurtosis data of each curve of responses in Part IV of the questionnaire (data of bimodal curves are shaded in blue) (Table 18):

Statement	Kurtosis Gaeltacht	Kurtosis Galtacht
1. It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers	1.09	-1.89
2. It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers	0.26	2.20
3. It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish	2.75	-2.83
4. It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English	-0.03	-2.90
5. It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht	1.26	-2.22
6. English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	-2.12	-2.13
7. People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	1.59	-0.23
8. It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht	-3.57	-2.11
9. It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht	-3.62	-2.73

Table 18 Kurtosis values from the two study areas.

The following graph shows the independent series of ascending kurtosis data from the two study areas (Figure 90):

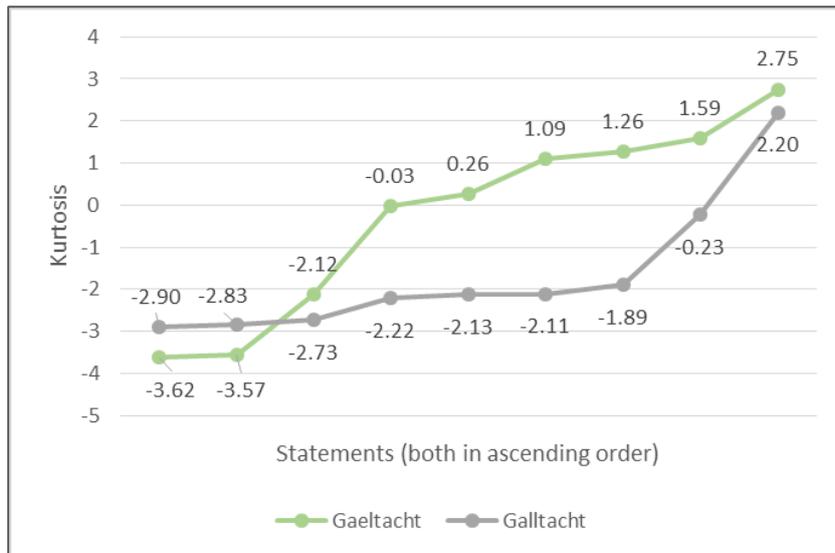


Figure 90 Diagrams of kurtosis values from the two study areas.

The average amount of kurtosis is -2.94 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and the average amount of kurtosis is -1.65 in the Galltacht Study Area. The following three statements received the highest amount of kurtosis value in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish (kurtosis: 2.75);
- People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht (kurtosis: 1.59);
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht (kurtosis: 1.26).

The following three statements received the highest amount of kurtosis value in the Galltacht Study Area:

- It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers (kurtosis: 2.20);
- People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht (kurtosis: -0.23);
- It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers (kurtosis: -1.89).

The following three statements received the lowest amount of kurtosis value in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht (kurtosis: -3.62);

- It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht (kurtosis: -3.57);
- English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht (kurtosis: -2.12);

The following three statements received the lowest amount of kurtosis value in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English (kurtosis: -2.90);
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish (kurtosis: -2.83);
- It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht (kurtosis: -1.73).

Part V Cultural practice

The fourth part of the questionnaire focused on cultural practice in one section of 15 statements, which covered three minor themes. The first four statements were about a short selection of social and cultural markers, questions 5-11 were about a short selection of basic cultural interests and questions 11-15 were about personal names. The following statements were included:

1. I was born in Ireland;
2. I am an Irish citizen;
3. I was born in the Gaeltacht;
4. I was educated in a gaelscoil (outside the Gaeltacht);
5. I listen to traditional Irish songs in Irish;
6. I listen to traditional Irish songs in English;
7. I listen to Irish traditional music;
8. I am interested in sean-nós dancing;
9. I am interested in dancing – style: Riverdance;
10. I am interested in dancing – style: céilí and set dancing;
11. I am interested in Irish games (Hurling, Gaelic football);
12. I have an Irish surname and I use the Irish spelling;
13. I have an Irish surname and I use the English spelling;
14. I have an Irish Christian name and I use the Irish spelling;
15. I have an Irish Christian name and I use the English spelling.

Respondents were asked to rate each statement according to binary responses ‘Yes’ / ‘No’, except for the questions about names, some of which, depending on the social context, may be used in an Irish or in an English version. This ambiguity was addressed through providing a middle option ‘sometimes’ to describe context-based linguistic choice of name use.

Cultural markers

The following summary contains the proportions of the types of responses received to the statements on social and cultural characteristics (Figure 91).

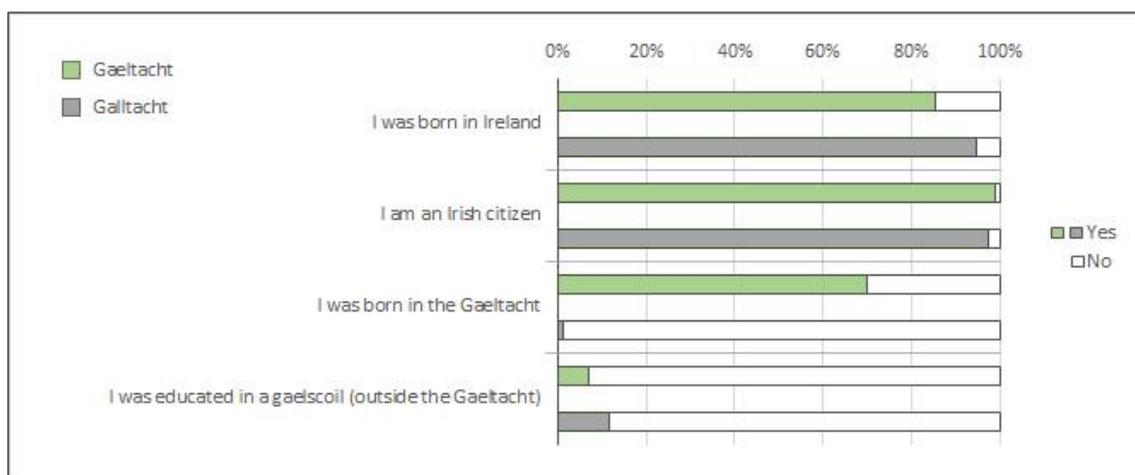


Figure 91 Short selection of social and cultural markers in the two areas.

One interesting aspect of the results is the proportion of respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area who reported that they were either not born in Ireland (16% of the respondents) or that they were not born in the Gaeltacht (c. 30%) of the respondents.

Cultural interest

The following summary contains the proportions of the types of responses received to the statements on cultural interest in the two areas (Figure 92).

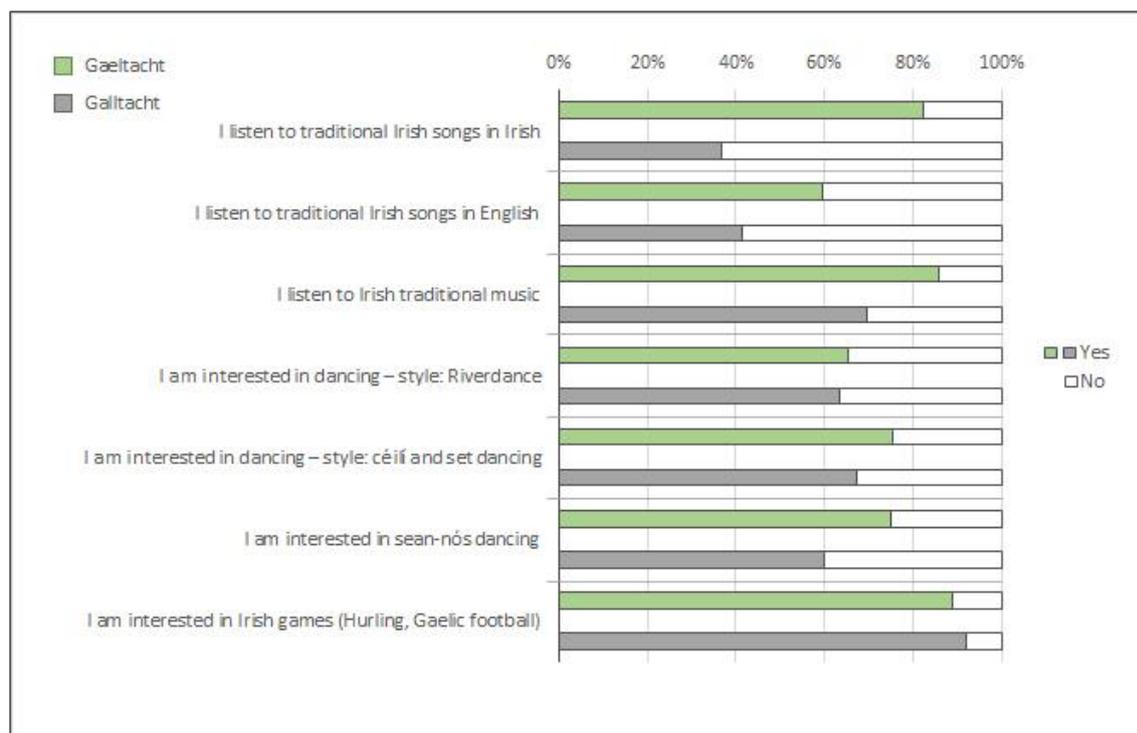


Figure 92 Short selection of basic cultural interests in the two areas.

The most obvious difference of cultural interest between the two areas was listening to traditional Irish songs in Irish; 82% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 34.5% of the respondent in the Galtacht Study Area reported that they listen to traditional Irish songs in Irish. This means that there is an outstandingly great (47%) difference of variables between the two areas. Interestingly, the second most obvious difference of cultural interest between the two areas was listening to traditional Irish songs in English; 57% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 37.7% of the respondent in the Galtacht Study Area reported that they listen to traditional Irish songs in English. This means that there is 19.3% difference of variables between the two areas. The difference in the proportions of respondents who reported to listen to Irish traditional songs in Irish and those who reported to listen to Irish traditional songs in English is 25% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 3.2% in the Galtacht Study Area. This means that the language of the songs matters significantly more in the Gaeltacht Study Area than in the Galtacht Study Area.

Cultural interest also differed about Irish traditional music; 85.5% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 67% of the respondent in the Galtacht Study Area reported that they listen to traditional Irish music. The difference between the proportions of people with this cultural interest is 18.5% between the two areas.

Among the various styles of dancing sean-nós received the greatest difference of interest in the two areas; 75% of the respondent reported that they are interested in sean-nós dancing in the Gaeltacht Study Area, while 58.6% of the respondent (c.85%) than in the Galltacht Study Area reported that they have this cultural interest.

The least amount of difference regarding the responses between the two study areas was about the statement on Gaelic/Irish games; 91.1% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 88.4% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area reported that they are interested in this aspect of Irish/Gaelic cultural life.

Personal names

The following summary contains the proportions of the types of responses received to the statements about the (perceived) origin of surnames and first names and the variety of spelling in case of personal names of Irish origin (Figure 93).

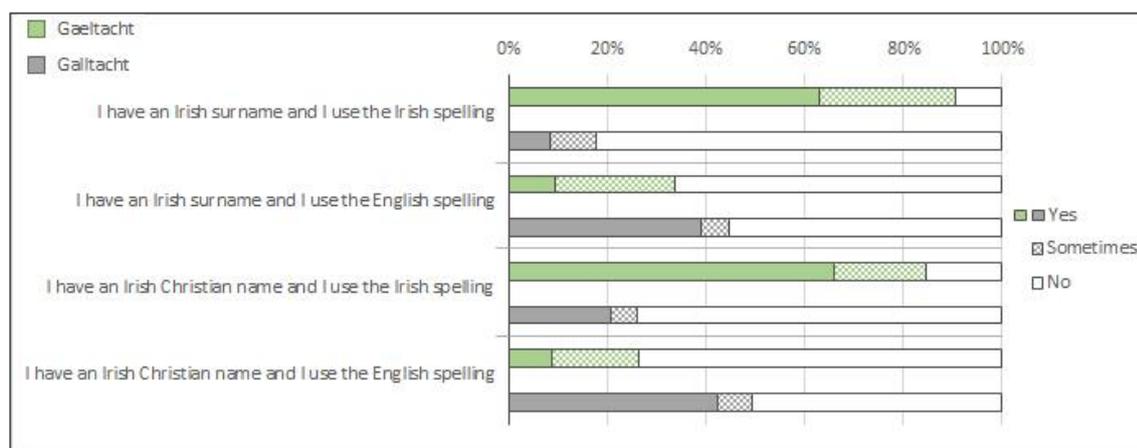


Figure 93 Types of personal names in the two areas.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area linguistic switch of name varieties (Irish vs. ‘English’ varieties of Gaelic names) is more common.

In case the pair of statements on Christian names / surnames (‘I have an Irish surname and I use the Irish spelling’ and ‘I have an Irish surname and I use the English spelling’) are both rejected (by choosing the option ‘no’), the respondent must perceive his/her (Christian / sur-) name to be of non-Irish origin. The number of respondents who thus perceive their surnames to be of non-Irish origin is 12 (or 7.2 % of the respondents) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 71 (or 49% of the respondents) in the Galltacht Study Area. The number of respondents who perceive their Christians name to be of non-Irish origin is 16 (or 9.7% of the respondents) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 49 (or 35% of the respondents) in the Galltacht Study Area.

The number of persons who did not state their response to the statements about their names were less than 10% of the respondents in both study areas. Among those who gave their response the proportions of names of perceived Irish or perceived non-Irish origin is summarised in Figure 94.

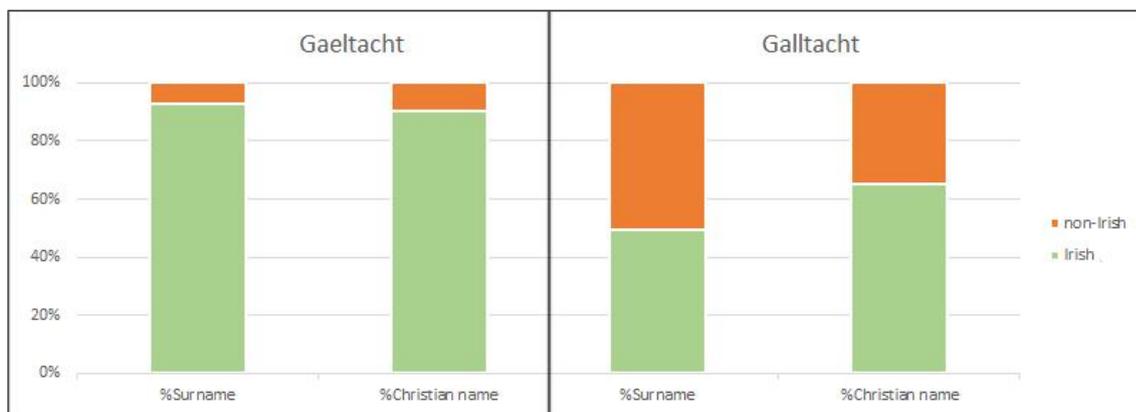


Figure 94 Types of personal names in the two areas.

The difference of perceptions on the origin of names between the two study areas is striking; among those who responded to the statements; 92.8% in the Gaeltacht Study Area vs. 49.3% in the Galtacht Study Area perceived their surnames to be of Irish origin, and 90.3% in the Gaeltacht Study Area vs. 65% in the Galtacht Study Area perceived their Christian names to be of Irish origin.

Part VI Defining the Gaels

The sixth part of the questionnaire consisted of one open question: 'Who are the Gaels?' The answers were analysed and quantified using a split-score method according to the following nine categories generalised from the answers of the respondents:

1. Identity (defining characteristic);
2. Irish language;
3. Culture;
4. Gaeltacht;
5. Descent;
6. National ideologues;
7. People of Ireland;
8. Celts / the Irish and the Scottish;
9. Dismissive.

The first five of these categories (Identity, Irish language, Culture, Gaeltacht, and Descent) are based on essential definitions, *i.e.* definition by necessary characteristics. The next three of these categories (National ideologues, People of Ireland, Celts / the Irish and the Scottish) are based on typological ostensive definitions, *i.e.* definition by naming example types. The last category was titled 'dismissive' to include the opinion of those who expressed doubt about the relevance of the term *Gael*, as evident from the following comment:

I don't believe the term is relevant any more. All Irish, Scottish and Welsh people are of the same heritage. Some speak their native tongue, some don't. I find it difficult to quantify any difference between people who define themselves as 'Gaels' and other 'natives'. 'Gaels' go to work, surf the internet, go to gigs, play computer games, work in the media, *etc.* In other words the Gaels as a specific ethnic group no longer exist. We have all reached and engaged with the modern world. We are a small country and defining ourselves as Gaels or non-Gaels is unnecessarily divisive. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 31-40; English monolingual speaker]

The number of persons who did not respond to the question was conspicuously high in both areas, especially in the Gaeltacht Study Area; 21.5% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 54.6% of the respondents in the Galtacht Study Area did not provide an answer. A smaller, yet significant proportion of respondents (9.3% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 8.5% in the Galtacht Study Area) noted that they could not provide an answer. The reason for non-responding or expressing uncertainty is complex. One interesting example of the latter case (uncertainty) was received from an Irish-born respondent:

I do not know. Never heard of the Gaels. [Galtacht; male; age group: under 30]

Responses to the question ranged from simple sentences naming one defining factor to complex messages and thoughts on the matter. The responses by the following three respondents illustrate the level of complexity responses can reach:

Duine ar bith a chuireann tréithe an Ghaeil chun cinn. Suim aige sa nGaeilge, meas aige uirthi. Meas aige ar Éire. Tugann tacaíocht do Rialtas na hÉireann agus dá aidhmeanna. Íocann a gcuid cáinn in Éirinn má tá cónaí orthu agus ag saothrú sa tír. Na céadta mílte atá ar imirce nach orthu atá an locht. Rian maith daoine atá faoi Rial na Breataine sna 6 Contae. Chuirfinn Ian Paisley sa gcomhaireamh mar cé nach bhfuil aon Ghaeilge aige tá tréith an Ghaeil fós aige. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 61-70]

Is Gaeil uilig muid - saoránaithe ach go bhfuil cuid againn níos Gaelaithe ná a chéile. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 31-40]

An mionlach nár dearnadh aon choilíniú orthu, nár ghlac le nósanna allúrachacha agus an dream a chothaigh, agus a chothaíonn ár n-oidhreacht fós. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: under 30]

The issues of being Irish/*Gael* is one to which I have given little thought. Describing those with Irish citizenship but who feel culturally closer to another country perhaps - they are Irish in citizenship, active in work, services, politics in this country and can say with confidence that they are Irish. To be a *Gael*, I think, one should be consciously aware of feeling a link with language, culture, identity, etc of Ireland. However, there is a difficulty here in that while many who were born here, have ancestors here, link with native games, flags, music, *etc.*, but feel that the Irish language is not essential. Are they Gaels? Perhaps there are two layers of Gaels - with another layer who, as well as the above, have also a conscious awareness of the importance of the language as a repository of the ancestral identity, as a rich and very much alive mirror of life, love, ideas as a people. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: under 30]

Responses to the question were quantified through a split-score technique. This means that each respondent had one score (value of 1) that was distributed (divided) according to the number of analytical categories their responses could be associated with. If, for example, a response contained an element that could be associated with the analytical category 'culture' and another element that could be associated with the analytical category 'descent', the score of the respondent was divided equally among the associated analytical categories, *i.e.* both associated categories were assigned half a score (value of 0.5). The following figure contains a summary of the total scores each analytical category received (Figure 95).

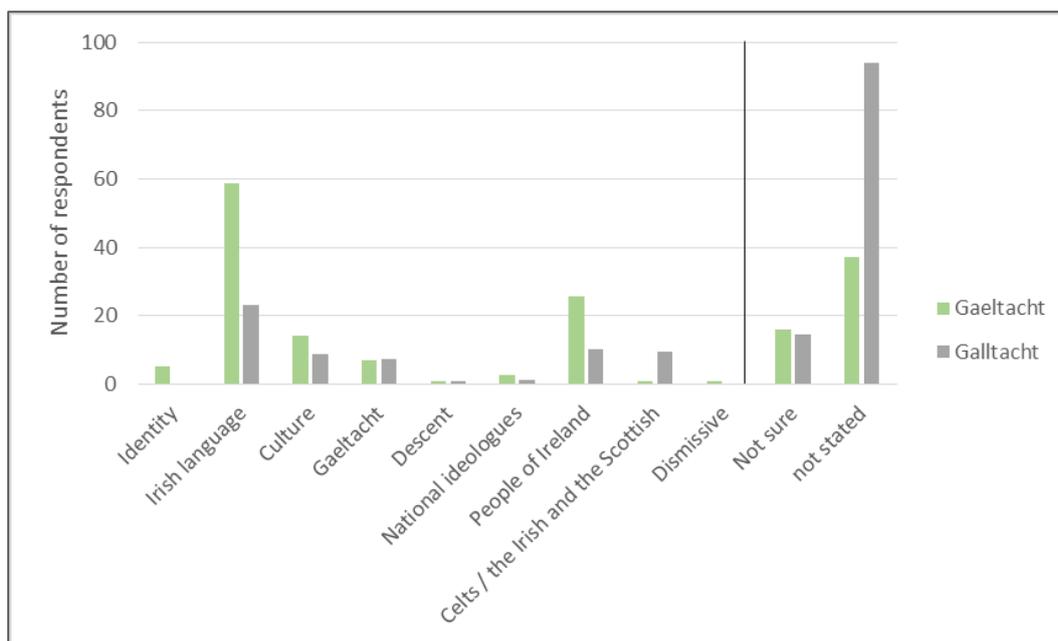


Figure 95 Defining (characteristics of) the Gaels in nine categories in the two area.

Among those who provided a definition for being a *Gael*, the Irish language was the most important definitive condition; 34.2% of all the respondents (or 49.8% among those who provided a definition) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 14% of all the respondent (or 36.8% of those who provided a definition) in the Galltacht Study Area named the Irish language as a defining criterion of being a *Gael*. The following is a sample of responses from both study areas:

Na cainteoirí dúchasacha agus dílíse. [Gaeltacht; female; age group:51-60]

Aon duine a labhraíonn Gaeilge. [Gaeltacht; female; age group:61-70]

Daoine atá sásta an Ghaeilge a labhairt cuma an bhfuil siad líofa nó nach bhfuil acu ach an cúpla focal. [Gaeltacht; female; age group61-70]

Muide - daoine a léiríonn suim sa teanga. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: above 70]

The Gaels are the true Irish people who kept their customs, traditions and Gaelic language alive. [Galltacht; male, age group: under 30]

Most respondents who opted for Irish language as a defining element of being a *Gael* (29 respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 15 respondents in the Galltacht Study Area) did not describe the level of competence needed to qualify to be a *Gael*. Interest in the language was also a recurring defining factor in the Gaeltacht Study Area (25 respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area as opposed to one respondents in the Galltacht Study Area named this factor). Being a native Irish speaker was mentioned by on respondent in both study areas.

The second most important condition of being a *Gael* was to be of ‘people of Ireland’, that is to be a citizen, resident, or to be born in Ireland. 14.8% of all the respondents (or 21.6% among those who provided a definition) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 5.8% of all the respondents (or 16% of those who provided a definition) in the Galltacht Study Area named this element in their definition of being a *Gael*. The following is a sample of answers from both study areas:

Muintir na hÉireann. [Gaeltacht; male; age group:51-60]

Chuile duine sa tír. [Gaeltacht; female; age group:41-50]

I don't know - presume it is the Irish people. [Galltacht; male; age group:31-40]

The third most important criterion of being a *Gael* was culture. 8.2% of all the respondents (or 12% among those who provided a definition) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 5% of all the respondents (or 13.7% of those who gave a definition) in the Galltacht Study Area named this as a defining criterion of being a *Gael*. The following is a sample of answers from both study areas:

Aon duine a chuireann suim i gCultúr na hÉireann ach ní gáth dóibh a bheith líofa sa dteanga. [Gaeltacht; male; age group:31-40]

Duine ar bith atá suim acu sa chultúr Gaelach. [Gaeltacht; female; age group:under 30]

The fourth most important criterion of being a *Gael* was living in the Gaeltacht. 4.1% of all the respondents (or 5.9% among those who provided a definition) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 4.2% of all the respondents (or 11.5% of those who provided a definition) in the Galltacht Study Area named this element in their definition of being a *Gael*. The following is a sample of answers from both study areas:

Muintir na Gaeltachta. [Gaeltacht; female; age group:41-50]

Na daoine sa nGaeltacht. [Gaeltacht; male; age group:31-40]

I feel they are a group of well represented people who live in the Gaeltacht and proclaim a great interest in the language mostly to avail of extra grants and priviledges only available in designated areas. [Galltacht; male; age group: under 30]

To some of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area being a *Gael* was a matter of identity, as illustrated in the following statements:

Sé duine a mian leo an lipéad sin a úsáid. [female; age group: 31-40]

Le aon duine a fheiceann iad fhéin mar Ghael. [female; age group: 61-70]

Aon duine a chreideann gur Gaeil iad féin. [female; age group: 51-60]

Anyone who sees themselves as "*Gael*". [female; age group: 41-50]

Aon duine a cheapann go Gaeil iad. [male; age group: 61-70]

Other respondents named the Celts / Irish and Scottish or Irish ideologues (those who died for Ireland, those with a love for the country, *etc.*) to be ‘Gaels’. One respondent in the Gaeltacht named Katie Taylor and Bernard Dunne as examples of ‘Gaels’, while other respondents understood the term in context of descent, as illustrated by the following statement:

We are all descendents of the Gaels. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: under 30]

Part VII Identity markers

The seventh part of the questionnaire asked the respondents to rate each item on a list of 32 socio-cultural markers in their relevance to being Irish and being *Gael*, respectively. The list contained items denoting markers related to (I) identity claim [items 1-2]; (II) the practical language use [items 3-11]; (III) symbolic language use [items 12-17]; (IV) location [items 18-20]; (V) culture [questions 21-28]; (VI) religion [items 29-30]; (VII) legal status (items 31); and (VIII) descent (question 32):

1. Identifying as Irish;
2. Identifying as a *Gael* or Gaelach;
3. Speaking Irish at home;
4. Speaking fluent Irish;
5. Speaking fluent English;
6. Speaking some Irish;
7. Speaking some English;
8. Speaking English with an Irish accent;
9. Primary education in a gaelscoil (non-Gaeltacht);
10. Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht;
11. Living in an English-speaking community in the Gaeltacht;
12. Irish surnames – Irish spelling (Ó Murchú);
13. Irish surnames – English spelling (Murphy);
14. Irish Christian names – Irish spelling (Seán);
15. Irish Christian names – English spelling (Shaun);
16. Place names – Irish spelling (Gaillimh);

17. Place names – English spelling (Galway);
18. Being born in the Gaeltacht;
19. Being born in Ireland;
20. Living in Ireland;
21. Irish traditional songs in Irish;
22. Irish traditional songs in English;
23. Irish traditional music;
24. Irish dancing: - style: sean nós;
25. Irish dancing - style: céilí, set dancing;
26. Irish dancing - style: Riverdance;
27. Irish sports (Hurling/Gaelic football);
28. St Patrick’s Day’s celebrations;
29. Being religious;
30. Being Catholic;
31. Irish citizenship;
32. Having Irish ancestry.

The number of respondents who chose to option ‘not sure’ or decided not to respond to the items was higher in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The difference was extremely great in case of the number of people who chose not to respond (‘not stated’) to the list of items about being a *Gael*. 31.5% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area, as opposed to 4% of the respondents in the Galtacht Study Area (Table 19).

Area	Identity	‘not sure’ (%)	Not stated (%)
Gaeltacht	Irish	0.9	3.7
	<i>Gael</i>	0.7	4
Galtacht	Irish	1	12.5
	<i>Gael</i>	4.6	31.5

Table 19 Proportion of respondents who stated ‘not sure’ or chose not to respond to the items (not stated).

Data representation

It is important to keep in mind that data presented in this section represent the view of those only who responded to the list of items. This means that the difference between the values describing the views of respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area and the values describing the views of respondents in the Galtacht Study Area are to be interpreted as maximum values. This is due to a methodological error in Part VII of the questionnaire. Responses to items describing the identity markers of the Irish and the identity markers of the *Gael* were

accommodated in two neighbouring columns. The first of these columns accommodated responses to items about the Irish and the second column accommodated responses about the *Gael*. This meant that respondents had to react twice to the 32 items on the list. 3.7% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 12.5% of the respondents in the Galltacht Study Area did not fill in any of the columns and 0.3% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 20% of the respondents in the Galltacht Study Area only filled in the first column, *i.e.* the column about the markers of the Irish. None of the respondents in any of the two study areas filled in the second column (*Gael*) of items without filling in the first column (Irish) of items. Filling in only the first column can be interpreted in three ways:

1. Convenience: avoiding the pressure of responding to the same list of items twice;
2. Rejecting the relevance of the term *Gael* and thus avoiding responding;
3. Rejecting a separation of views of being Irish and being *Gael*.

The last two interpretations are similar in that both reject the relevance of the term *Gael*. The first of these interpretations (number two) rejects the (contemporary) existence of *Gael* and the second of these interpretations (number three) denies that a that the group ‘*Gael*’ can (or should) be analysed separately from the group . The number of respondents who, according to the third interpretation, rejected to fill in the second column about the identity items of the *Gael* could have been established by asking those respondents to choose one of three options equivalent to the three interpretations described above as an easy to fulfil condition of directly proceeding to the next part of the questionnaire. This methodological mistake poses a limit to denoting the exact scale of similarity/difference between the Irish and the *Gael* but it has no effect on the relative order of scores and positions analysed in the rest of this section.

Rating of markers

The primary method of rating responses to the 32 items on the list of identity marker is through relying on the average scores of each Likert item. This score is also used to compare the following hierarchical lists of items:

- Markers of being Irish in order of perceived importance in the Gaeltacht
- Markers of being *Gael* in order of perceived importance in the Gaeltacht
- Markers of being Irish in order of perceived importance in the Galltacht
- Markers of being *Gael* in order of perceived importance in the Galltacht

A secondary measuring tool relies on the relative position (position of importance) each item is assigned on the four hierarchical lists in use. While both of these measuring tools provide

valuable results, they compare the four list of items in different ways; measuring by score means dividing the continuum of responses into 32 unequal segments and measuring by position of importance means dividing the continuum of responses into 32 equal segments. The difference of scores can, therefore, vary from the difference of positions.

Basic description of the results

In all cases the number of positive responses was remarkably higher than the number of negative responses. Among the markers of being Irish 24 of the 32 items were judged positively and 8 (25%) were judged negatively in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 96).

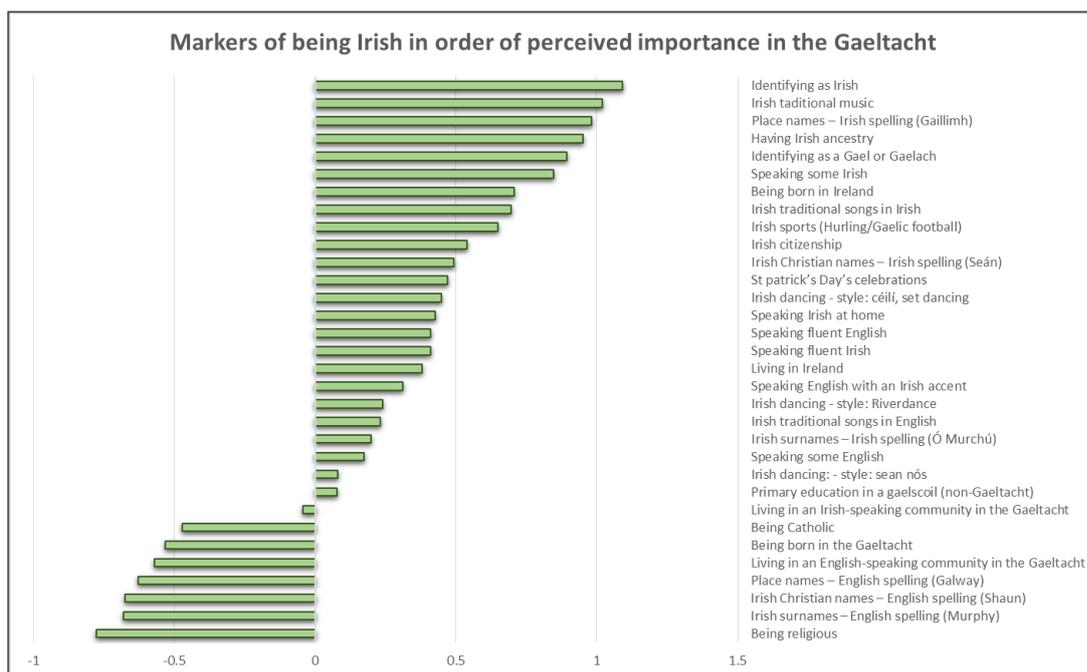


Figure 96 Markers of being Irish in order of perceived importance in the Gaeltacht.

The standard deviation of responses about being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area is 0.55. The six items perceived as most relevant (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value) to being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area and their corresponding categories are provided in Table 20.

Item	Category
Identifying as Irish	Identity claim
Irish traditional music	Culture
Place names – Irish spelling	Symbolic language use
Having Irish ancestry	Descent
Identifying as a <i>Gael</i> or Gaelach	Identity claim
Speaking some Irish	Practical language use

Table 20 Items perceived as most relevant to being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The seven items perceived as least relevant (*i.e.* those below minus one standard deviation below the mean value) to being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area and their corresponding categories are provided in Table 21.

Item	Category
Being religious	Religion
Irish surnames – English spelling	Symbolic language use
Irish Christian names – English spelling	Symbolic language use
Place names – English spelling	Symbolic language use
Living in an English-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	Practical language use
Being born in the Gaeltacht	Location
Being Catholic	Religion

Table 21 Items perceived as least relevant to being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Among the markers of being Irish 27 of the 32 items were judged positively and 5 (15.6%) were judged negatively in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 97).

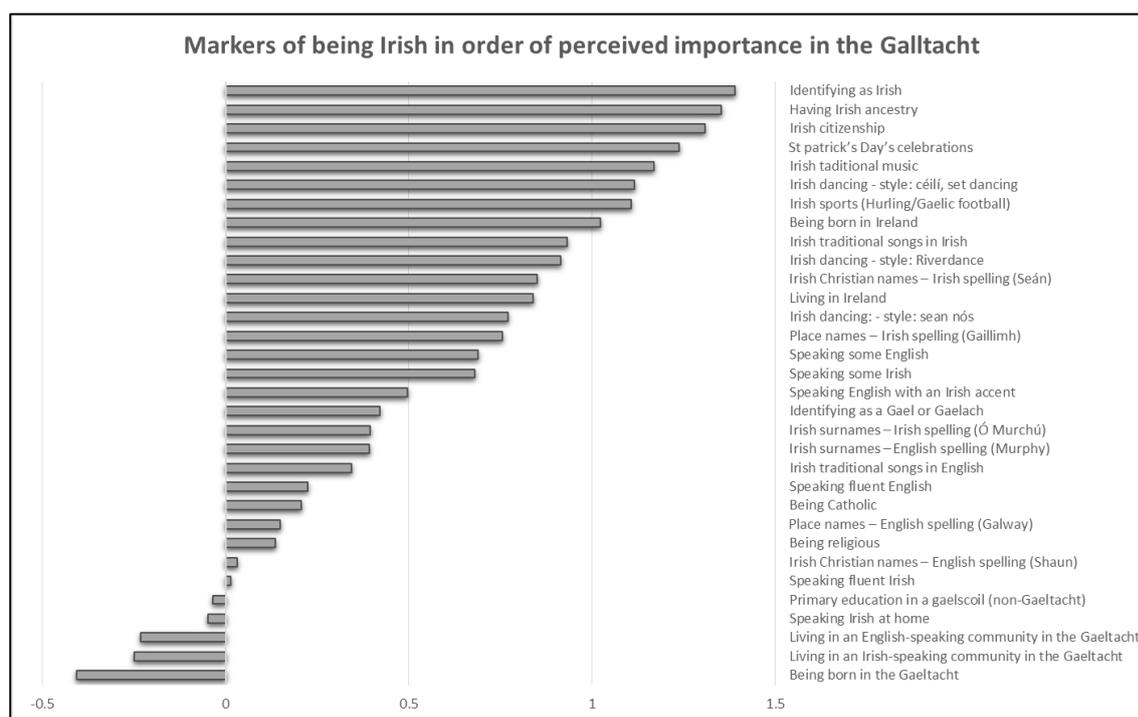


Figure 97 Markers of being Irish in order of perceived importance in the Gaeltacht.

The standard deviation of responses about being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area is 0.52. The seven items perceived as most relevant (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value) to being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area and their corresponding categories are provided in Table 22.

Item	Category
Identifying as Irish	Identity claim
Having Irish ancestry	Descent
Irish citizenship	Legal status
St Patrick’s Day’s celebrations	Culture
Irish traditional music	Culture
Irish dancing - style: céilí, set dancing	Culture
Irish sports (Hurling/Gaelic football)	Culture

Table 22 Items perceived as most relevant to being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The three items perceived as least relevant (*i.e.* those below minus one standard deviation below the mean value) to being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area and their corresponding categories are provided in Table 23.

Item	Category
Being born in the Gaeltacht	Place
Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	Practical language use
Living in an English-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	Practical language use

Table 23 Items perceived as least relevant to being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Among the markers of being *Gael* 25 of the 32 items were judged positively and 7 (21.9%) were judged negatively in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 98).

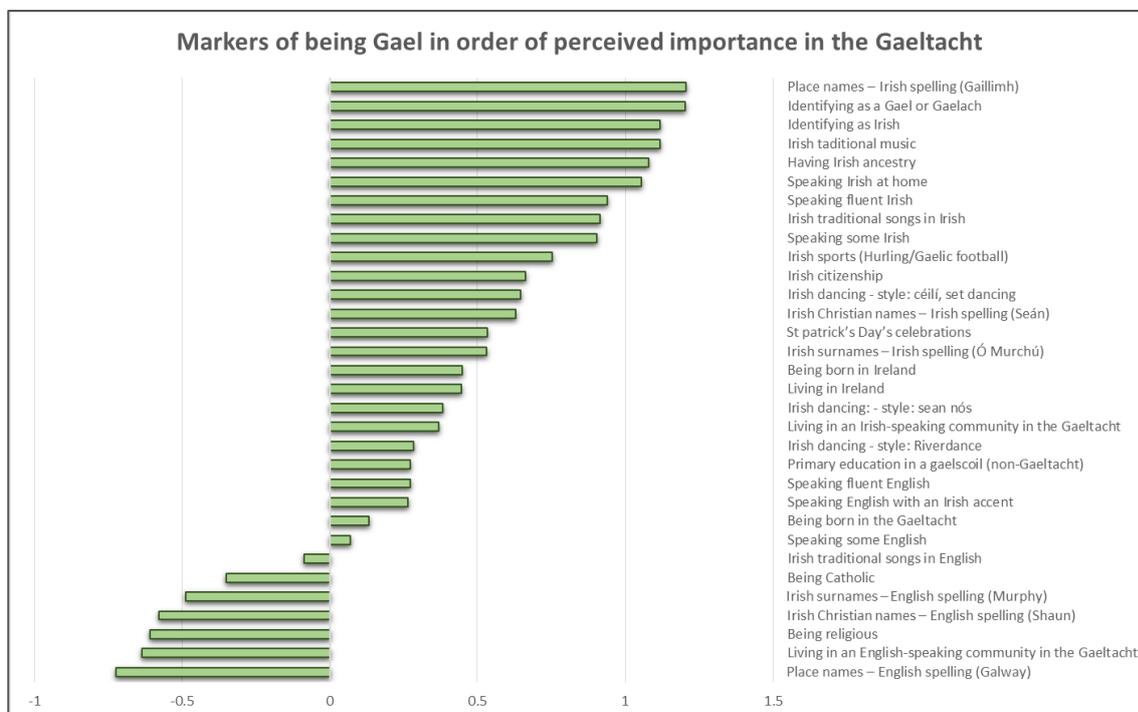


Figure 98 Markers of being Gael in order of perceived importance in the Gaeltacht.

The standard deviation of responses about being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area is 0.58. The six items perceived as most relevant (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value) to being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area and their corresponding categories are provided in Table 24.

Item	Category
Place names – Irish spelling	Symbolic language use
Identifying as a <i>Gael</i> or Gaelach	Identity claim
Identifying as Irish	Identity claim
Irish traditional music	Culture
Having Irish ancestry	Descent
Speaking Irish at home	Practical language use

Table 24 Items perceived as most relevant to being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The six items perceived as least relevant (*i.e.* those below one standard deviation below the mean value) to being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area and their corresponding categories are provided in Table 25.

Item	Category
Place names – English spelling	Symbolic language use
Living in an English-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	Practical language use
Being religious	Religion
Irish Christian names – English spelling	Symbolic language use
Irish surnames – English spelling	Symbolic language use
Being Catholic	Religion

Table 25 Items perceived as least relevant to being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Among the markers of being *Gael* 27 of the 32 items were judged positively and 5 (15.6%) were judged negatively in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 99).

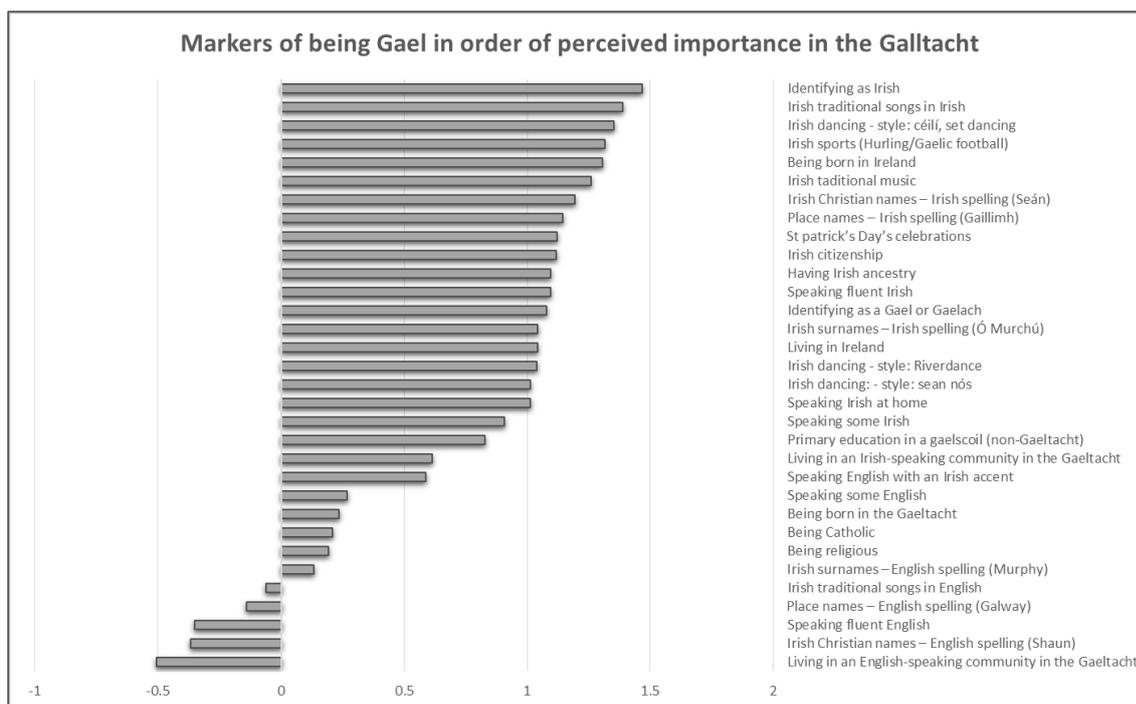


Figure 99 Markers of being Gael in order of perceived importance in the Gaeltacht.

The standard deviation of responses about being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area is 0.58. The three items perceived as most relevant (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value) to being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area and their corresponding categories are provided in Table 26.

Item	Category
Identifying as Irish	Identity claim
Irish traditional songs in Irish	Culture
Irish dancing - style: céilí, set dancing	Culture

Table 26 Items perceived as most relevant to being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The six items perceived as least relevant (*i.e.* those below one standard deviation below the mean value) to being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area and their corresponding categories are provided in Table 27.

Item	Category
Living in an English-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	Practical language use
Irish Christian names – English spelling	Symbolic language use
Speaking fluent English	Practical language use
Place names – English spelling	Symbolic language use
Irish traditional songs in English	Culture
Irish surnames – English spelling	

Table 27 Items perceived as least relevant to being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Comparison of perceptions on being Irish in the two study areas

This section compares the results (provided above) about perceptions on being Irish in the two study areas. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is high (0.7), which means that the perception of being Irish is similar in the two study areas. The following graph presents all the 32 items according to difference of scores assigned to each item on the list of markers (Figure 100).

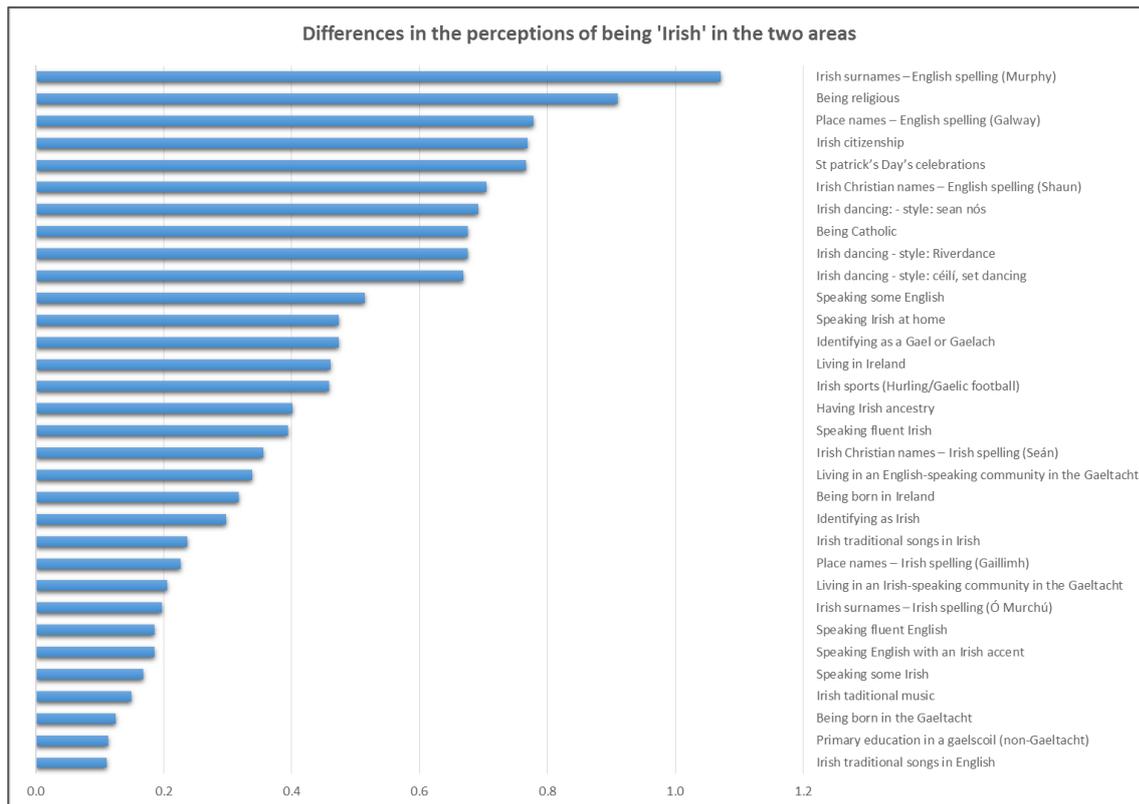


Figure 100 Differences of score values on being Irish in the two areas.

The standard deviation of the series of difference values is -0.26. The six items with the most divergent scores (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value (0.44)) of being Irish in the two areas, their corresponding categories and score values in each of the two study areas are provided in Table 28.

Item	Category	Score (Δ)	Score	
			Gaeltacht	Galltacht
Irish surnames – English spelling	Symbolic	1.07	-0.68	0.39
Being religious	Religion	0.91	-0.77	0.14
Place names – English spelling	symbolic	0.78	-0.63	0.15
Irish citizenship	Legal status	0.77	0.54	1.31
St Patrick’s Day’s celebrations	Culture	0.77	0.47	1.24
Irish Christian names – English spelling	Symbolic	0.70	-0.67	0.03

Table 28 Items of being Irish that received the most divergent levels of support (scores) in the two areas.

The six items with the most convergent scores (*i.e.* those below one standard deviation below the mean value (0.44)) of being Irish in the two areas, their corresponding categories and score values in each of the two study areas are provided in Table 29.

Item	Category	Score (Δ)	Score	
			Gaeltacht	Galltacht
Irish traditional songs in English	Culture	0.11	0.23	0.34
Primary education in a gaelscoil (non-Gaeltacht)	Language use	0.11	0.08	-0.03
Being born in the Gaeltacht	Location	0.12	-0.53	-0.41
Irish traditional music	Culture	0.15	1.02	1.17
Speaking some Irish	Language use	0.17	0.85	0.68
Speaking English with an Irish accent	Language use	0.11	0.23	0.34

Table 29 Items of being Irish that received the most convergent levels of support (scores) in the two areas.

The five items with the most divergent positions of importance on the lists of being Irish in the two areas, their corresponding categories and position values in each of the two study areas are provided in Table 30.

Item	Category	Position (Δ)	Position	
			Gaeltacht	Galltacht
Speaking Irish at home	Language use	15	14	29
Identifying as a <i>Gael</i> or <i>Gaelach</i>	Identity	13	5	18
Irish surnames – English spelling	Symbolic	11	3	14
Speaking fluent Irish	Language use	11	16	27
Place names – Irish spelling	Symbolic	11	31	20

Table 30 Items of being Irish that received the most divergent levels of support (position of importance) in the two areas.

Comparison of perceptions on being Gael in the two study areas

This section compares the results (provided above) about perceptions on being Irish in the two study areas. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is

very high (0.84), which means that the perception of being *Gael* is very similar in the two study areas. The following graph presents all the 32 items according to difference of scores assigned to each item on the list of markers (Figure 101).

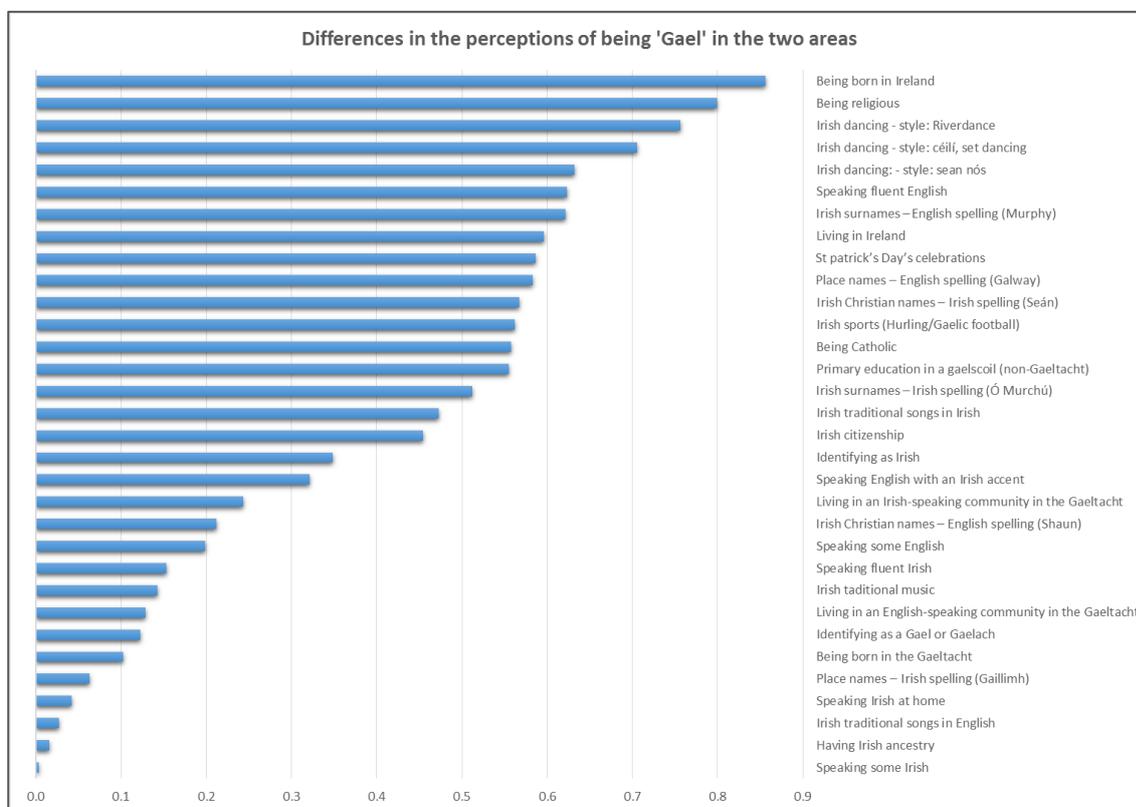


Figure 101 Differences of score values on being Gael in the two areas.

The standard deviation of the series of difference values is -0.26. The four items with the most divergent scores (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value(0.39)) of being *Gael* in the two areas, their corresponding categories and score values in each of the two study areas are provided in Table 31.

Item	Category	Score (Δ)	Score	
			Gaeltacht	Galltacht
Irish surnames – English spelling	Symbolic	1.07	-0.68	0.39
Being religious	Religion	0.91	-0.77	0.14
Place names – English spelling	Symbolic	0.78	-0.63	0.15
Irish citizenship	Legal status	0.77	0.54	1.31
St Patrick's Day's celebrations	Culture	0.77	0.47	1.24
Irish Christian names – English spelling	Names	0.70	-0.67	0.03

Table 31 Items of being Irish that received the most divergent levels of support (scores) in the two areas.

The seven items with the most convergent scores (*i.e.* those below one standard deviation below the mean value (0.39)) of being *Gael* in the two areas, their corresponding categories and score values in each of the two study areas are provided in Table 32.

Item	Category	Score (Δ)	Score	
			Gaeltacht	Galltacht
Speaking some Irish	Language use	0.00	0.90	0.91
Having Irish ancestry	Descent	0.02	1.08	1.09
Irish traditional songs in English	Culture	0.03	-0.09	-0.06
Speaking Irish at home	Language use	0.04	1.06	1.01
Place names – Irish spelling (Gaillimh)	Symbolic	0.06	1.21	1.14
Being born in the Gaeltacht	Location	0.10	0.13	0.23
Identifying as a <i>Gael</i> or Gaelach	Identity	0.12	1.20	1.08

Table 32 Items of being *Gael* that received the most convergent levels of support (scores) in the two areas.

The five items with the most divergent positions of importance on the lists of being *Gael* in the two areas, their corresponding categories and position values in each of the two study areas are provided in Table 33.

Item	Category	Position (Δ)	Position	
			Gaeltacht	Galltacht
Speaking Irish at home	Language use	12	6	18
Identifying as a <i>Gael</i> or Gaelach	Identity	11	2	13
Being born in Ireland	Location	11	16	5
Speaking some Irish	Language use	10	9	19
Irish dancing - style: céilí, set dancing	Culture	9	12	3

Table 33 Items of being *Gael* that received the most divergent levels of support (position of importance) in the two areas.

Comparison of perceptions on being Irish and on being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area

This section compares the results (provided above) about perceptions on being Irish and about perceptions on being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in case of the two identities is very high (0.92), which means that the perception of being Irish and the perception of being *Gael* is very similar in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The following graph presents all the 32 items according to difference of scores assigned to each item on the list of markers (Figure 102).

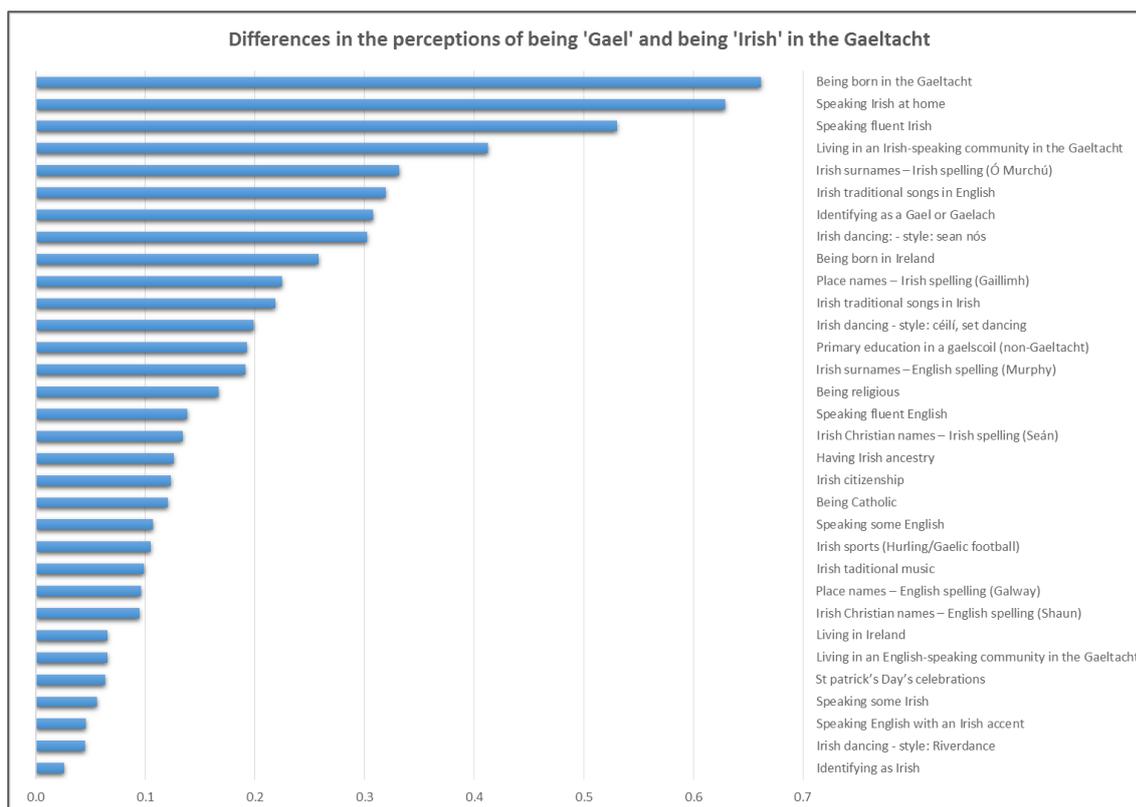


Figure 102 Differences of perceptions on being Irish and being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The standard deviation of the series of difference values is -0.16. The four items with the most divergent scores (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value (0.2)) of being Irish and of being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area, their corresponding categories and score values in each case are provided in Table 34.

Item	Category	Score (Δ)	Score	
			Irish	Gael
Being born in the Gaeltacht	Location	0.66	-0.53	0.13
Speaking Irish at home	Language use	0.63	0.43	1.06
Speaking fluent Irish	Language use	0.53	0.41	0.94
Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	Language use	0.41	-0.04	0.37

Table 34 Items of being Irish and of being Gael that received the most divergent levels of support (scores) in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The item with the most convergent scores (*i.e.* those below one standard deviation below the mean value (0.2)) of being Irish and of being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area, their corresponding categories and score values in each case are provided in Table 35.

Item	Category	Score (Δ)	Score	
			Irish	Gael
Identifying as Irish	Identity	0.03	1.09	1.12

Table 35 Items of being Irish and of being 'Gael' that received the most convergent levels of support (scores) in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The four items with the most divergent positions of importance on the lists of being Irish and of being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area, their corresponding categories and position values in each case are provided in Table 36.

Item	Category	Position (Δ)	Position	
			Irish	Gael
Being born in Ireland	Language use	9	7	16
Speaking fluent Irish	Identity	9	16	7
Speaking Irish at home	Location	8	14	6
Speaking fluent English	Language use	7	15	22

Table 36 Items of being Irish and of being 'Gael' that received the most convergent levels of support (position of importance) in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Comparison of perceptions on being Irish and on being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area

This section compares the results (provided above) about perceptions on being Irish and about perceptions on being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in case of the two identities is high (0.68), which means that the perception of being Irish and the perception of being *Gael* is similar in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The following graph presents all the 32 items according to difference of scores assigned to each item on the list of markers (Figure 103).

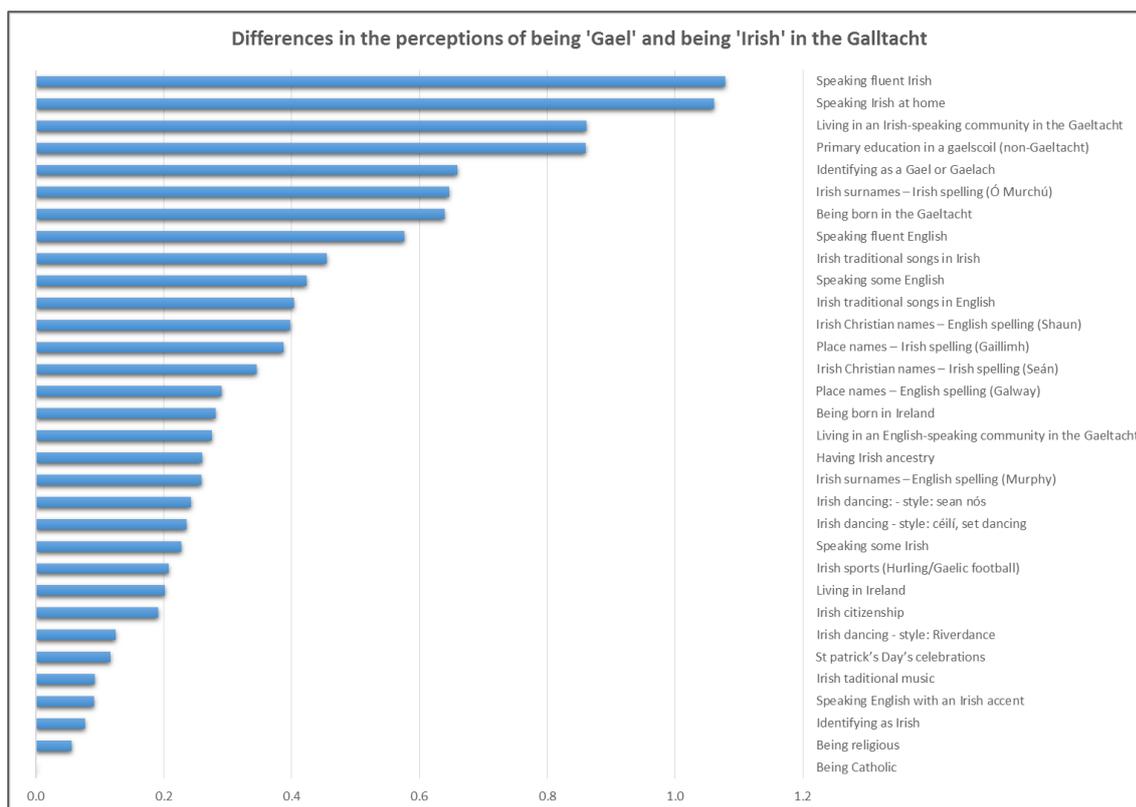


Figure 103 Differences of perceptions on being Irish and being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The standard deviation of the series of difference values is -0.29. The four items with the most divergent scores (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value (0.38)) of being Irish and of being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area, their corresponding categories and score values in each case are provided in Table 37.

Item	Category	Score (Δ)	Score	
			Irish	Gael
Speaking fluent Irish	Language use	1.08	0.02	1.09
Speaking Irish at home	Language use	1.06	-0.05	1.01
Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	Language use	0.86	-0.25	0.61
Primary education in a gaelscoil (non-Gaeltacht)	Language use	0.86	-0.03	0.83

Table 37 Items of being Irish and of being 'Gael' that received the most divergent levels of support (scores) in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The three items with the most convergent scores (*i.e.* those below one standard deviation below the mean value (0.38)) of being Irish and of being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area, their corresponding categories and score values in each case are provided in Table 38.

Item	Category	Score (Δ)	Score	
			Irish	Gael
Being Catholic	Religion	0.00	0.21	0.21
Being religious	Religion	0.06	0.14	0.19
Identifying as Irish	Identity	0.08	1.39	1.47

Table 38 Items of being Irish and of being 'Gael' that received the most convergent levels of support (scores) in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The four items with the most divergent positions of importance on the lists of being Irish and of being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area, their corresponding categories and position values in each case are provided in Table 39.

Item	Category	Position (Δ)	Position	
			Irish	Gael
Speaking fluent Irish	Language use	15	27	12
Speaking Irish at home	Language use	11	29	18
Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	Language use	10	31	21
Having Irish ancestry	Descent	9	2	11

Table 39 Items of being Irish and of being 'Gael' that received the most convergent levels of support (position of importance) in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The role of language in collective identity

This section contains a summary on the perceived importance of markers related to practical language use found among the other identity markers of being Irish and being *Gael*. These markers were sorted at the beginning of this heading ('PART VII Identity markers') and are found under the category 'practical language use', which contained items 3-11. This part of the analysis will focus on the first six of these items, namely:

- Speaking Irish at home;
- Speaking fluent Irish;
- Speaking fluent English;
- Speaking some Irish;
- Speaking some English;
- Speaking English with an Irish accent.

The following chart provides a summary of the scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Irish in the two study areas in descending order of scores assigned in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The correlation of scores assigned to these items is low (0.12), which means that rating the

linguistic items associated with being Irish do not follow the same trends in the two study areas (Figure 104).

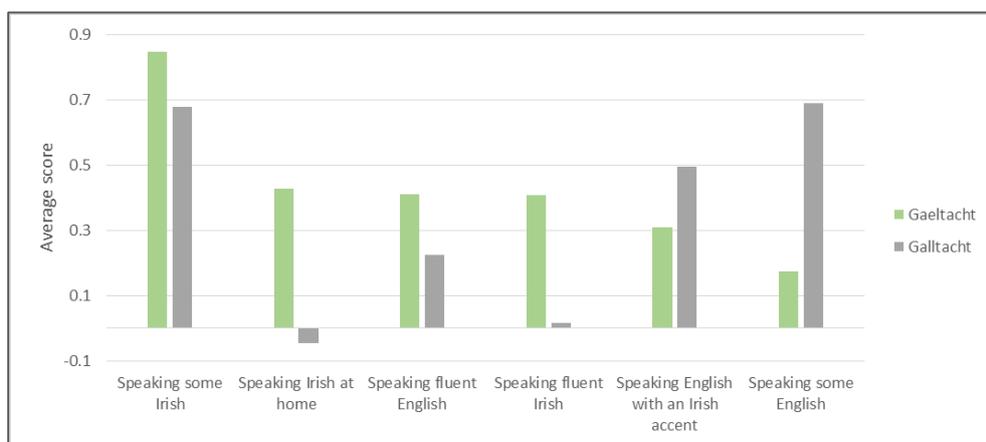


Figure 104 Importance of linguistic markers of being Irish in the two study areas.

The following chart provides a summary on differences of scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Irish between the two study areas in descending order of difference. The greatest difference was about the marker ‘Speaking some English’, which received a score of 0.18 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and a score of 0.69 in the Galtacht Study Area (Figure 105).

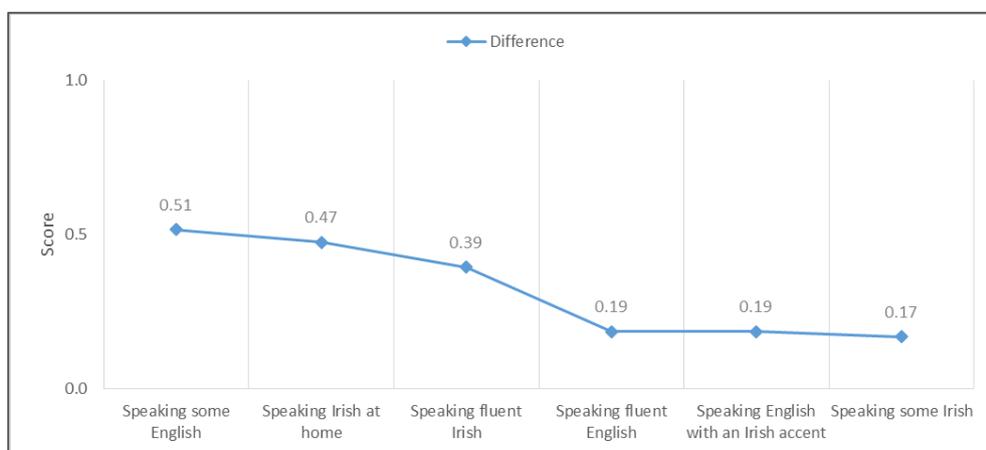


Figure 105 Differences of scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Irish between the two study areas.

The absolute value of difference in positions of importance on the lists of all 32 markers and the absolute value of difference in scores associated with being Irish in the two study areas, as well as the positions of importance on the lists of all 32 markers and the scores themselves are provided in the following table (Table 40).

Linguistic item	Difference		Position of importance		Score	
	Position of importance	Scores	Gaeltacht	Galltacht	Gaeltacht	Galltacht
Speaking Irish at home	15	0.47	14	29	0.43	-0.05
Speaking fluent Irish	11	0.39	16	27	0.41	0.02
Speaking some Irish	10	0.17	6	16	0.85	0.68
Speaking some English	7	0.51	22	15	0.18	0.69
Speaking fluent English	7	0.19	15	22	0.41	0.22
Speaking English with an Irish accent	1	0.19	18	17	0.31	0.50

Table 40 Differences in position of importance and scores associated with being Irish in the two study areas.

The following chart provides a summary of the scores assigned to linguistic markers of being *Gael* in the two study areas in descending order of scores assigned in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The correlation of scores assigned to these items is high (0.8), which means that rating the linguistic items associated with being *Gael* follows the same trends in the two study areas (Figure 106).

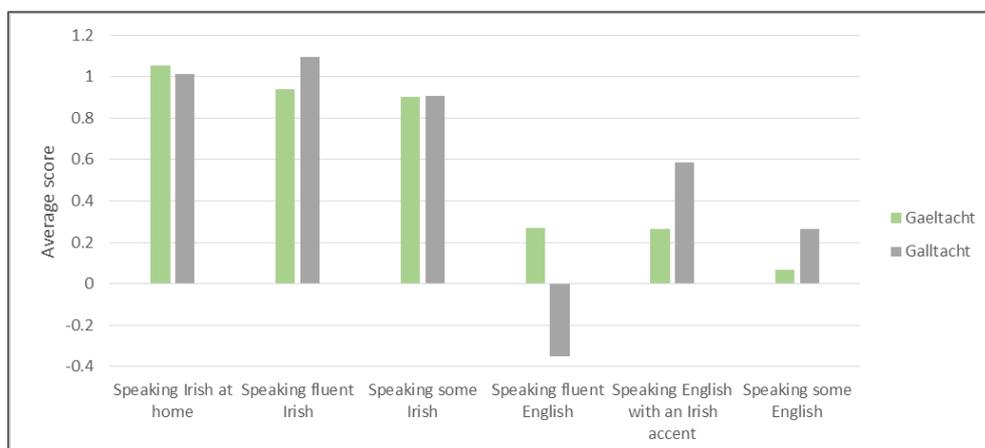


Figure 106 Importance of linguistic markers of being Gael in the two study areas.

The following chart provides a summary on differences of scores assigned to linguistic markers of being *Gael* between the two study areas in descending order of difference. The greatest difference was about the marker ‘Speaking Fluent English’, which received a score of 0.18 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and a score of 0.69 in the Galltacht Study Area (Figure 107).

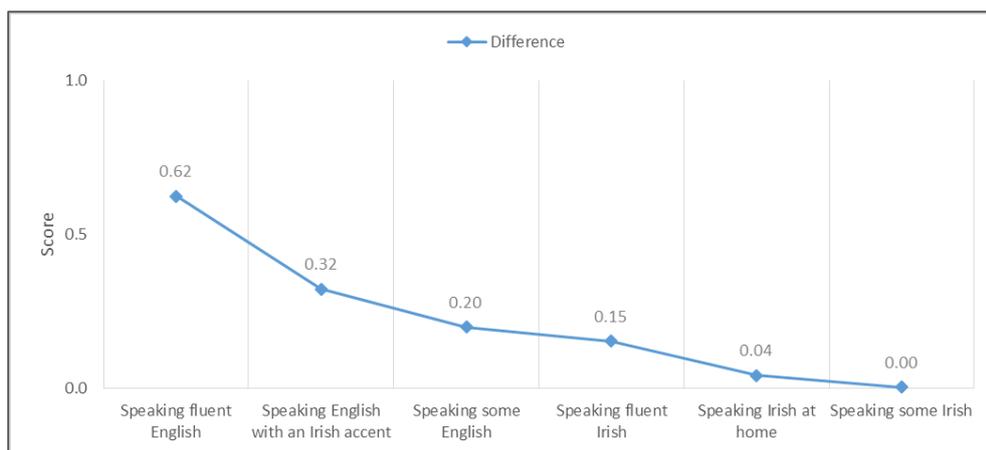


Figure 107 Differences of scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Gael between the two study areas.

The absolute value of difference in positions of importance on the lists of all 32 markers and the absolute value of difference in scores associated with being *Gael* in the two study areas, as well as the positions of importance on the lists of all 32 markers and the scores themselves are provided in the following table (Table 41).

Linguistic item	Difference		Position of importance		Score	
	Position of importance	Scores	Gaeltacht	Galltacht	Gaeltacht	Galltacht
Speaking Irish at home	12	0.04	6	18	1.06	1.01
Speaking some Irish	10	0.00	9	19	0.90	0.91
Speaking fluent English	8	0.62	22	30	0.27	-0.35
Speaking fluent Irish	5	0.15	7	12	0.94	1.09
Speaking some English	2	0.20	25	23	0.07	0.27
Speaking English with an Irish accent	1	0.32	23	22	0.27	0.59

Table 41 Differences in position of importance and scores associated with being Gael in the two study areas.

The following chart provides a summary of the scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Irish and to linguistic markers of being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area in descending order of scores assigned to being *Gael*. The correlation of scores assigned to these items is relatively high (0.62), which means that rating the linguistic items associated with being Irish and rating the linguistic items associated with being *Gael* follows the same trends in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 108).

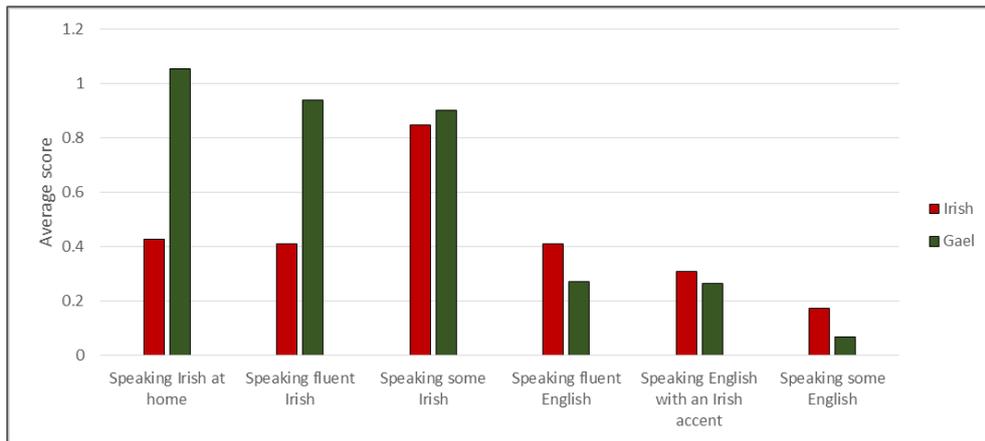


Figure 108 Importance of linguistic markers of being Irish and of being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The following chart provides a summary on differences of scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Irish and of being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area in descending order of difference. The greatest difference was about the marker ‘Speaking Irish at home’, which received a score of 0.43 regarding being Irish and a score of 1.06 regarding being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 109).

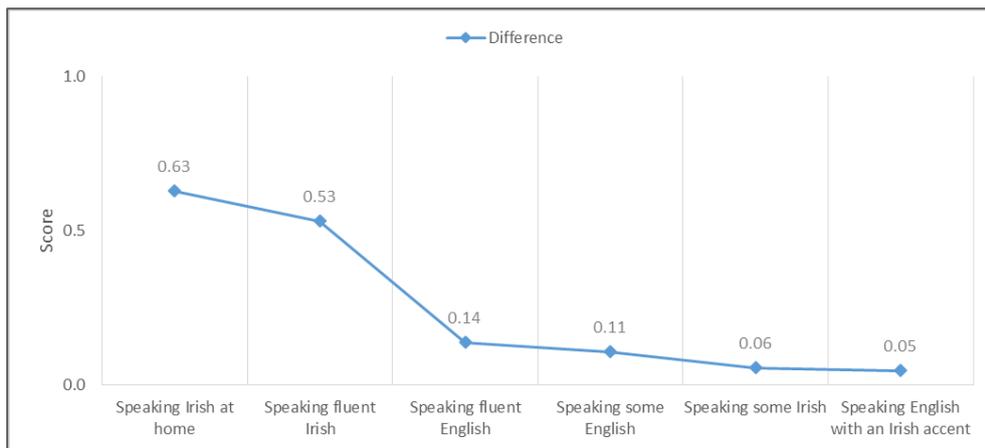


Figure 109 Differences of scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Irish and of being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The absolute value of difference in positions of importance on the lists of all 32 markers and the absolute value of difference in scores associated with being Irish and with being *Gael*, respectively, in the Gaeltacht Study Area, as well as the positions of importance on the lists of all 32 markers and the scores themselves are provided in the following table (Table 42).

Linguistic item	Difference		Position of importance		Score	
	Position of importance	Scores	Irish	Gael	Irish	Gael
Speaking fluent Irish	9	0.53	16	7	0.41	0.94
Speaking Irish at home	8	0.63	14	6	0.43	1.06
Speaking fluent English	7	0.14	15	22	0.41	0.27
Speaking English with an Irish accent	5	0.05	18	23	0.31	0.27
Speaking some English	3	0.11	22	25	0.18	0.07
Speaking some Irish	3	0.06	6	9	0.85	0.90

Table 42 Differences in position of importance and scores associated with being Irish and being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The following chart provides a summary of the scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Irish and to linguistic markers of being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area in descending order of scores assigned to being Gael. The correlation of scores assigned to these items is a negative low number (-0.25), which means that rating the linguistic items associated with being Irish and rating the linguistic items associated with being Gael follows different trends in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 110).

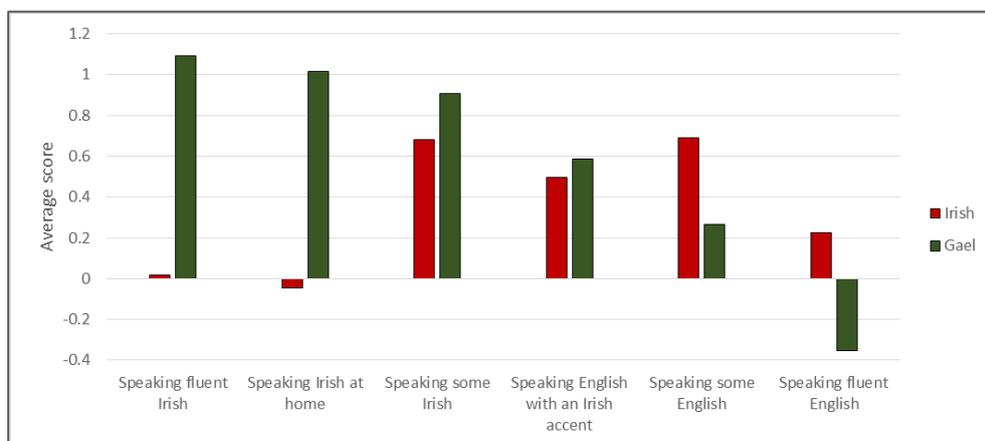


Figure 110 Importance of linguistic markers of being Irish and of being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The following chart provides a summary on differences of scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Irish and of being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area in descending order of difference. The greatest difference was about the marker ‘Speaking fluent Irish’, which received a score of 0.02 regarding being Irish and a score of 1.09 regarding being Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 111).

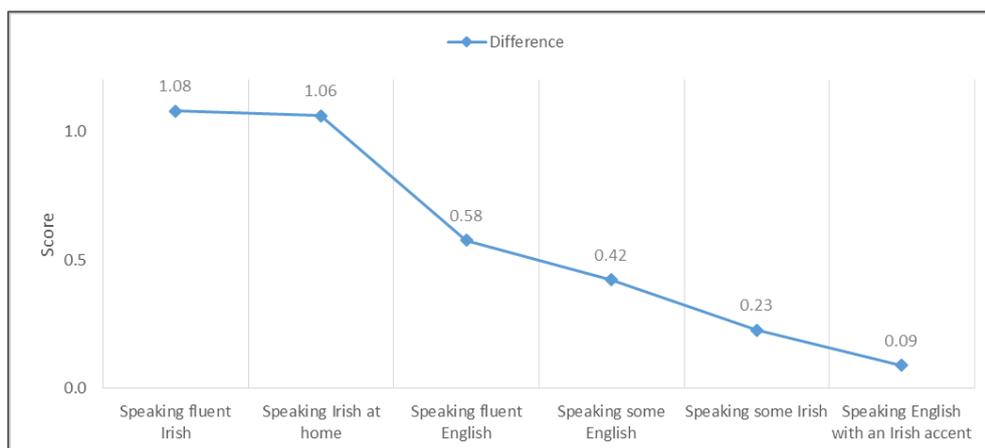


Figure 111 Differences of scores assigned to linguistic markers of being Irish and of being Gael in the Galtacht Study Area.

The absolute value of difference in positions of importance on the lists of all 32 markers and the absolute value of difference in scores associated with being Irish and with being *Gael*, respectively, in the Galtacht Study Area, as well as the positions of importance on the lists of all 32 markers and the scores themselves are provided in the following table (Table 43).

Linguistic item	Difference		Position of importance		Score	
	Position of importance	Scores	Irish	<i>Gael</i>	Irish	<i>Gael</i>
Speaking fluent Irish	15	1.08	27	12	0.02	1.09
Speaking Irish at home	11	1.06	29	18	-0.05	1.01
Speaking fluent English	8	0.58	22	30	0.22	-0.35
Speaking some English	8	0.42	15	23	0.69	0.27
Speaking English with an Irish accent	5	0.09	17	22	0.50	0.59
Speaking some Irish	3	0.23	16	19	0.68	0.91

Table 43 Differences in position of importance and scores associated with being Irish and being Gael in the Galtacht Study Area.

Part VIII Self identification

The eighth part of the questionnaire consisted of six statements related to self-identification at various collective levels. The first two focused on the ethno-cultural, the third on language-based regional, and the remaining three statements on language-based collective identification. The 9 statements to be rated by the respondents on a five-point scale in Part IV of the questionnaire were:

1. I am Irish
2. I am (a) *Gael*
3. I belong to Muintir na Gaeltachta

4. I am a Gaeilgeoir
5. I am a speaker of the Irish language
6. I am a learner of the Irish language

Responses to two of the statements could, for the sake of analytical testing, be grouped into opposing pairs:

- Pair 1 (statements 1-2): ‘I am [Irish / *Gael*]’.

Statements 1-2: ‘I am [Irish / Gael]’

The only pair of statements in (statements 1-2) ‘I am [Irish / *Gael*]’ evaluated ethnocultural identification (Irish / *Gael*) at the societal-level. The first statement, ‘I am Irish’, shows unimodal distribution curves of responses in both areas (kurtosis: 4.95 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 4.89 in the Galltacht Study Area). Both curves have their peak at the option ‘strongly agree’; 93% of respondents the Gaeltacht Study Area and 73% of respondents the Galltacht Study Area chose this option.

Both distributions have a small number of outliers at the option ‘strongly disagree. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is complete (1), which means that the public opinion on this statement follows the same trends in the two study areas (Figure 112).

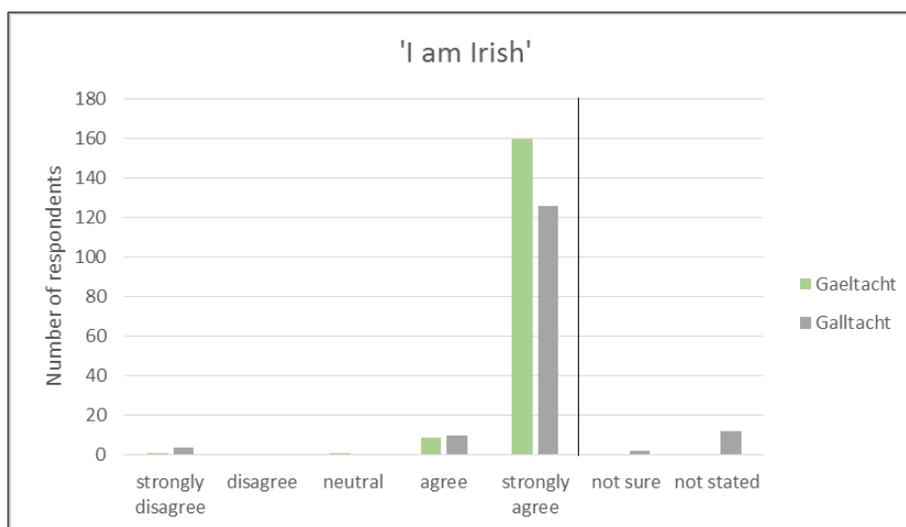


Figure 112 Response to the statement ‘I am Irish’ in the two areas.

The second statement, 'I am a *Gael*', has received very different reactions in the two areas.¹⁹ The distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.88) in the Gaeltacht Study Area was a unimodal curve with a peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 86% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is multimodal curve (kurtosis: 2.16), which has its major peak at the option 'neutral' (19.8% of respondents chose this option in this area) and two minor peaks at the option 'strongly disagree' and at the option 'strongly agree' (14.5% of respondents chose these options in this area). The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is almost zero (0.05), which means that the self-identification as a Gael does not follow similar trends in the two study areas (Figure 113).

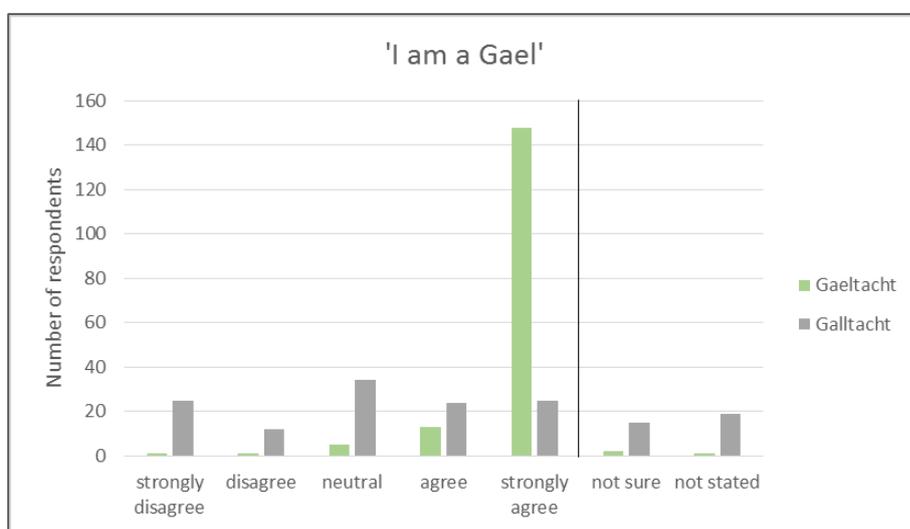


Figure 113 Response to the statement 'I am a Gael' in the two areas.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction was almost identical in case of the two statements. The average rating of the first statement ('I am Irish') was 1.91 and the average rating of the second statement ('I am a *Gael*') was 1.81. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in case of the two identities is complete (1), which indicates nearly identical trends of opinions on the two statements in this area (Figure 114).

¹⁹ The statement in the Irish language version of the survey was 'Is Gael mé' and the statement in the English language version of the survey was 'I am a Gael'.

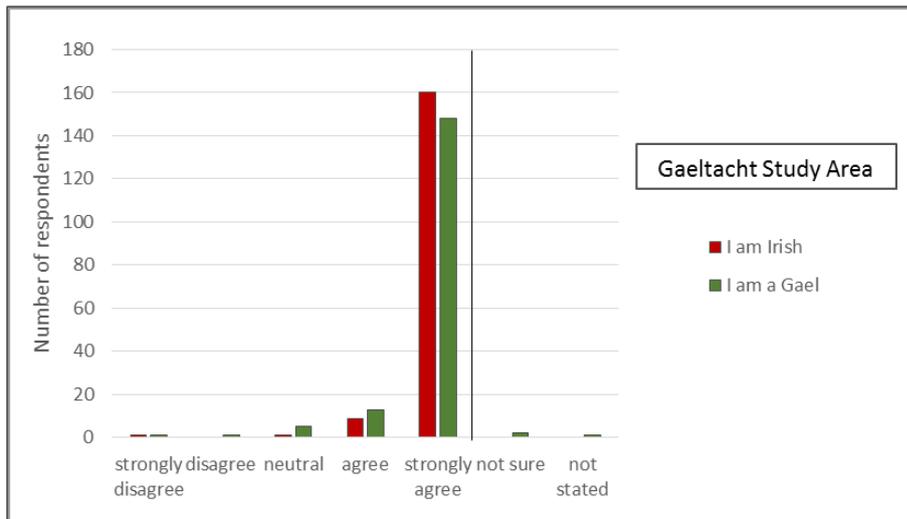


Figure 114 Response to the statements 'I am [Irish / Gael]' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area the reaction was different to the two statements. The average rating of the first statement ('I am Irish') was 1.91 and the average rating of the second statement ('I am a Gael') was 0.10. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in case of the two identities is almost zero (0.08), which indicates different trends of opinions on the two statements in this area (Figure 115).

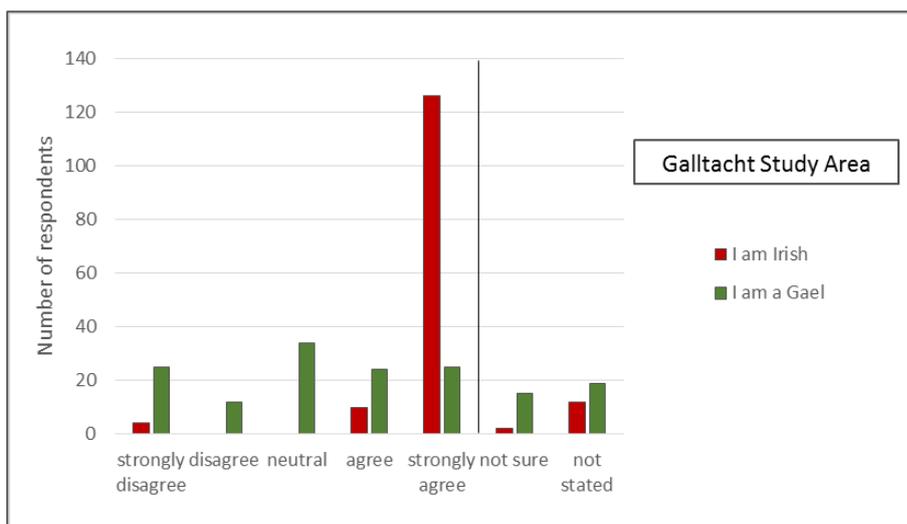


Figure 115 Response to the statements 'I am [Irish / Gael]' in the Galtacht Study Area.

The difference between the average ratings of the two languages is greater (1.81) in the Galtacht Study Area is than that (0.10) in the Gaeltacht Study Area. Identifying as a Gael is clearly more accepted among respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Statement 3: 'I belong to Muintir na Gaeltachta'

The third statement, 'I belong to Muintir na Gaeltachta', has received very different reactions in the two areas. The distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.98) in the Gaeltacht Study

Area was (disregarding a few outliers at the option ‘strongly disagree’) a unimodal curve with a peak at the option ‘strongly agree’; 89% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is bimodal curve (kurtosis: 1.53), which has its major peak at the option ‘strongly disagree’ (37.2% of respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the option ‘neutral’ (18.6% of respondents chose these options). An interesting feature of the responses is that 18.6 % of the respondents chose to be ‘neutral’ 8.1 % of the respondents chose to ‘agree’ and a further 1.2% chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement in this study area. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is a negative moderately high number (-0.58), which means that reaction to this statement follows different trends in the two study areas (Figure 116).

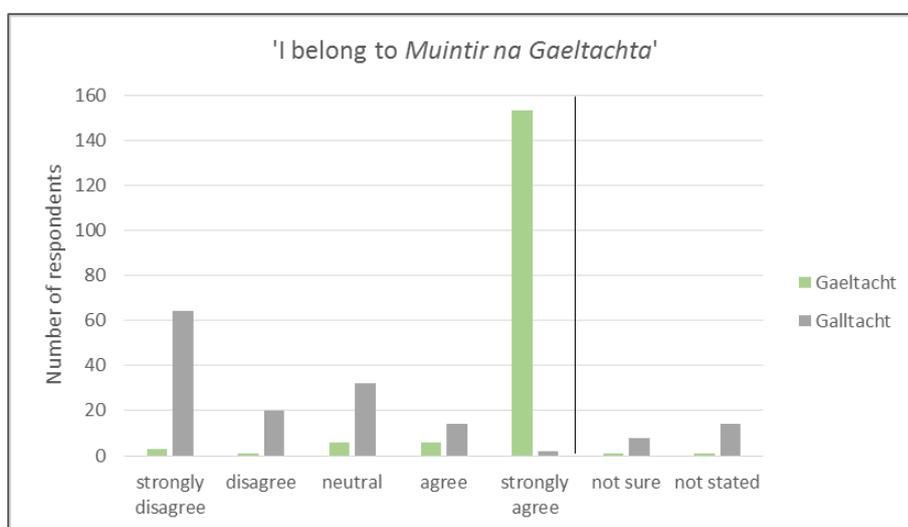


Figure 116 Response to the statement 'I belong to Muintir na Gaeltachta' in the two areas.

Statement 4: 'I am a gaeilgeoir'

The fourth statement, 'I am a gaeilgeoir', has received very different reactions in the two areas. The distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.97) in the Gaeltacht Study Area was (disregarding a few outliers at the option ‘strongly disagree’) a unimodal curve with a peak at the option ‘strongly agree’; 86% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a unimodal curve (kurtosis: 0.45), which has its peak at the option ‘strongly disagree’; 26.7% of respondents chose this option. An interesting feature of the responses is that 11.6% of the respondents chose to ‘agree’ and a further 3.5% chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement in this study area. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is negative high number (-0.78), which means that the self-identification as a gaeilgeoir follows contrasting trends in the two study areas (Figure 117).

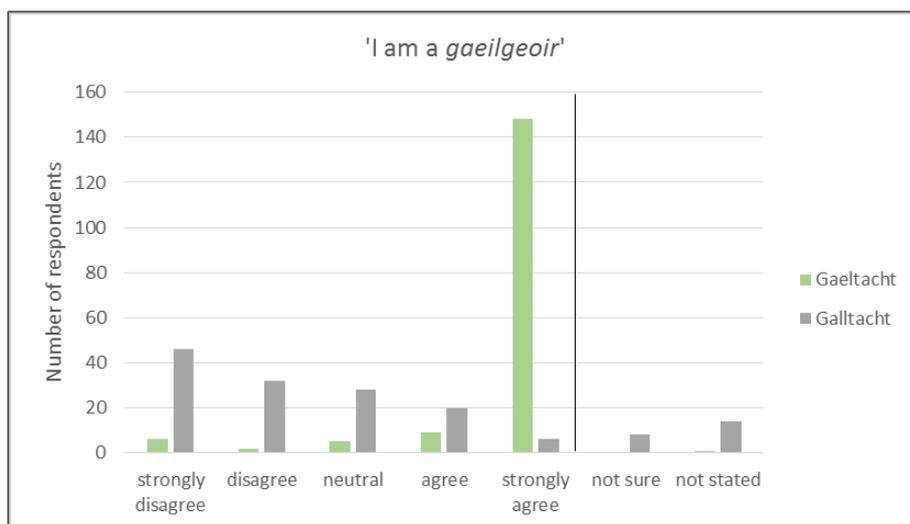


Figure 117 Response to the statement 'I am a gaeilgeoir' in the two areas.

Statement 5: 'I am a speaker of the Irish language'

The fifth statement, 'I am a gaeilgeoir', has received very different reactions in the two areas. The distribution curve of responses (kurtosis: 4.98) in the Gaeltacht Study Area was a unimodal curve with a peak at the option 'strongly agree'; 92.4% of the respondents chose this option in this area. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is a bimodal curve (kurtosis: -0.10), which has its major peaks at the options 'strongly disagree', 'neutral' and 'agree'; 19.8% of respondents chose these options respectively. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is a negative high number (-0.76), which means that the self-identification as a speaker of the Irish language follows contrasting trends in the two study areas (Figure 118).

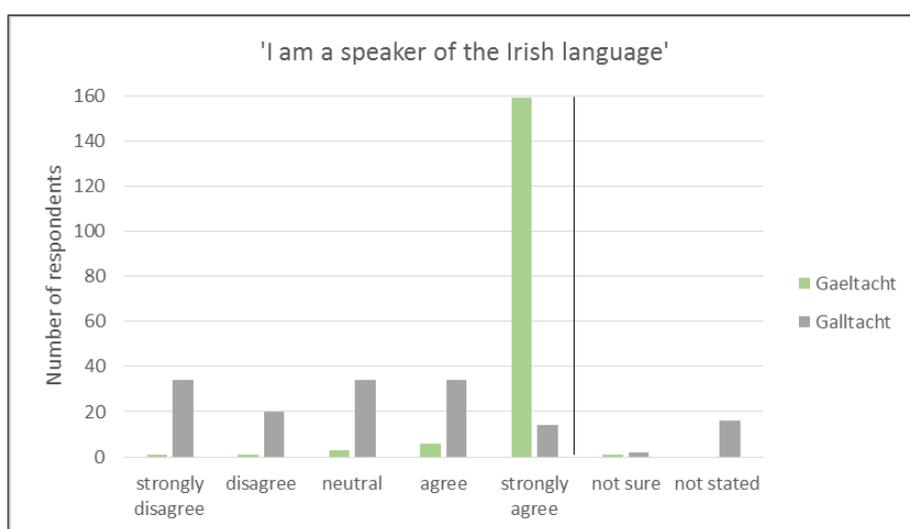


Figure 118 Response to the statement 'I am a speaker of the Irish language' in the two areas.

Statement 6: 'I am a learner of the Irish language'

The sixth statement, 'I belong to Muintir na Gaeltachta', has received very different reactions in the two areas. The distribution curve of responses is a bimodal curve (kurtosis: -0.1), which has its major peak at the option 'strongly agree' (31.4% of respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the option 'strongly disagree' (22.1% of respondents chose these options) in the Gaeltacht Study Area. In the Galltacht Study Area the distribution curve of responses is also a bimodal curve (kurtosis: 0.64), which has its major peak at the option 'agree' (24.4% of respondents chose this option) and a minor peak at the option 'neutral' (14.4% of respondents chose these options). The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is almost zero (0.18), which means that reaction to this statement do not follow similar trends in the two study areas (Figure 119).



Figure 119 Response to the statement 'I am a learner of the Irish language' in the two areas.

Statements 1-6: convergence analysis

A summary of divergence and convergence in average responses in the two study areas is provided in the following chart (Figure 120).

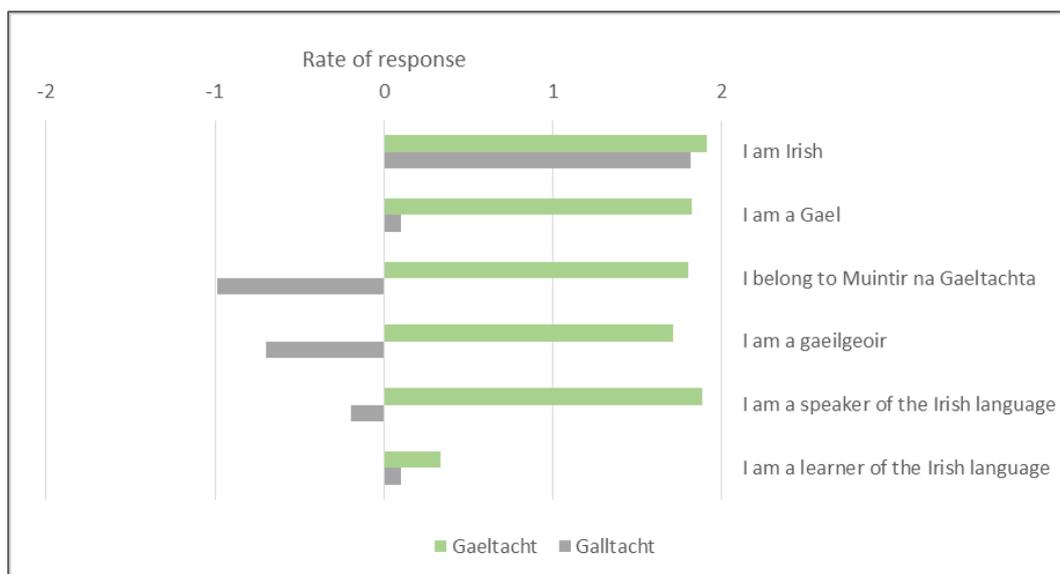


Figure 120 Average responses (Part VIII) in the two areas.

The four items that received the most divergent average responses are summarised in Table 44:

Item	Score (Δ)	Score	
		Gaeltacht	Galtacht
I belong to Muintir na Gaeltachta	2.79	1.81	-0.98
I am a gaeilgeoir	2.41	1.71	-0.70
I am a speaker of the Irish language	2.08	1.89	-0.19
I am a <i>Gael</i>	1.72	1.82	0.10
I am a learner of the Irish language	0.24	0.34	0.10
I am Irish	0.10	1.91	1.81

Table 44 Four items that received the most divergent scores in the two regions.

Two of the statements were grouped in the following on opposing pairs:

- Pair 1 (statements 1-2): 'I am [Irish / *Gael*]'.

The following table presents this pair of statements and their coefficient values of average score distributions, as well as the absolute number of their difference values, in the two study areas (Table 45).

Pairs	Statement	Gaeltacht	Galtacht	Difference
Pair 1	'I am [Irish / <i>Gael</i>]	1	0.08	0.92

Table 45 Correlations of paired statements in the two study areas.

Statements 1-6: bimodality and kurtosis

Four of the six statements received responses with bimodal distributions. The following statement received bimodal reactions in both study areas:

- I am a learner of the Irish language.

The following statement received bimodal reactions in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- I am a learner of the Irish language.

The following statements received bimodal reactions in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- I am a *Gael*;
- I belong to muintir na Gaeltachta;
- I am a speaker of the Irish language;
- I am a learner of the Irish language.

The following table summarises the kurtosis data of each curve of responses in Part VIII of the questionnaire (data of bimodal curves are shaded in blue) (Table 46):

Statement	Kurtosis Gaeltacht	Kurtosis Galltacht
1. I am Irish	4.95	4.89
2. I am <i>Gael</i>	4.88	2.16
3. I belong to muintir na Gaeltachta	4.98	1.53
4. I am a gaeilgeoir	4.97	0.45
5. I am a speaker of the Irish language	4.98	-0.10
6. I am a learner of the Irish language	-0.10	0.64

Table 46 Kurtosis values from the two study areas.

The following graph shows the independent series of ascending kurtosis data from the two study areas (Figure 121):

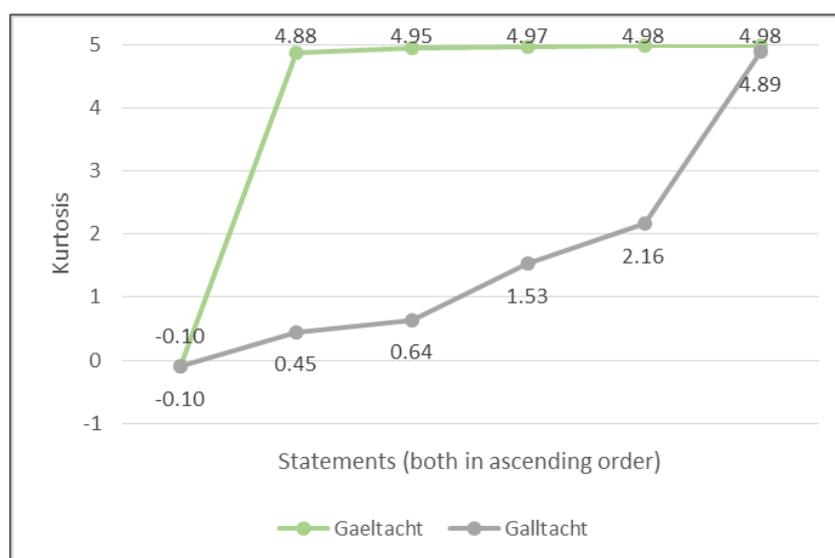


Figure 121 Diagrams of kurtosis values from the two study areas.

The average amount of kurtosis is 4.11 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and the average amount of kurtosis is 1.6 in the Galltacht Study Area. In the Gaeltacht Study Area five of the six statements received responses with similarly high values (kurtosis: 4.88-4.98). The only statement with low value of kurtosis (-0.1) is 'I am a learner of the Irish language'.

The following two statements received the highest amount of kurtosis value in the Galltacht Study Area:

- I am Irish (kurtosis: 4.89);
- I am *Gael* (kurtosis: 2.16).

The following two statements received the lowest amount of kurtosis value in the Galltacht Study Area:

- I am a speaker of the Irish language (kurtosis: -0.1);
- I am a gaeilgeoir (kurtosis: 0.45).

Part IX Leadership

The ninth part of the questionnaire was about leadership. It consisted of two sections. Each section contained the same list of agents in association of the Irish language. The items were as follows:

1. The Irish Government;
2. The public sector in general;
3. The private sector in general;
4. Language planning bodies;
5. National schools;
6. Gaelscoileanna/Gaelcholáistí;
7. Irish language departments of Universities;
8. Irish language organisations;
9. Irish people in general;
10. People in the Gaeltacht;
11. People outside the Gaeltacht;
12. Native Irish-speakers;
13. Me personally.

Responsibility

The first section enquired how strongly the respondents agreed that the agents named in the items on the list were responsible for the maintenance of the Irish language. The average responses showed that, in general, significantly more responsibility was assigned to all listed agents in the Gaeltacht Study Area (1.7) than in the Galtacht Study Area (1.2). The least amount of responsibility was assigned to ‘the private sector in general’ in both areas (Figure 122).

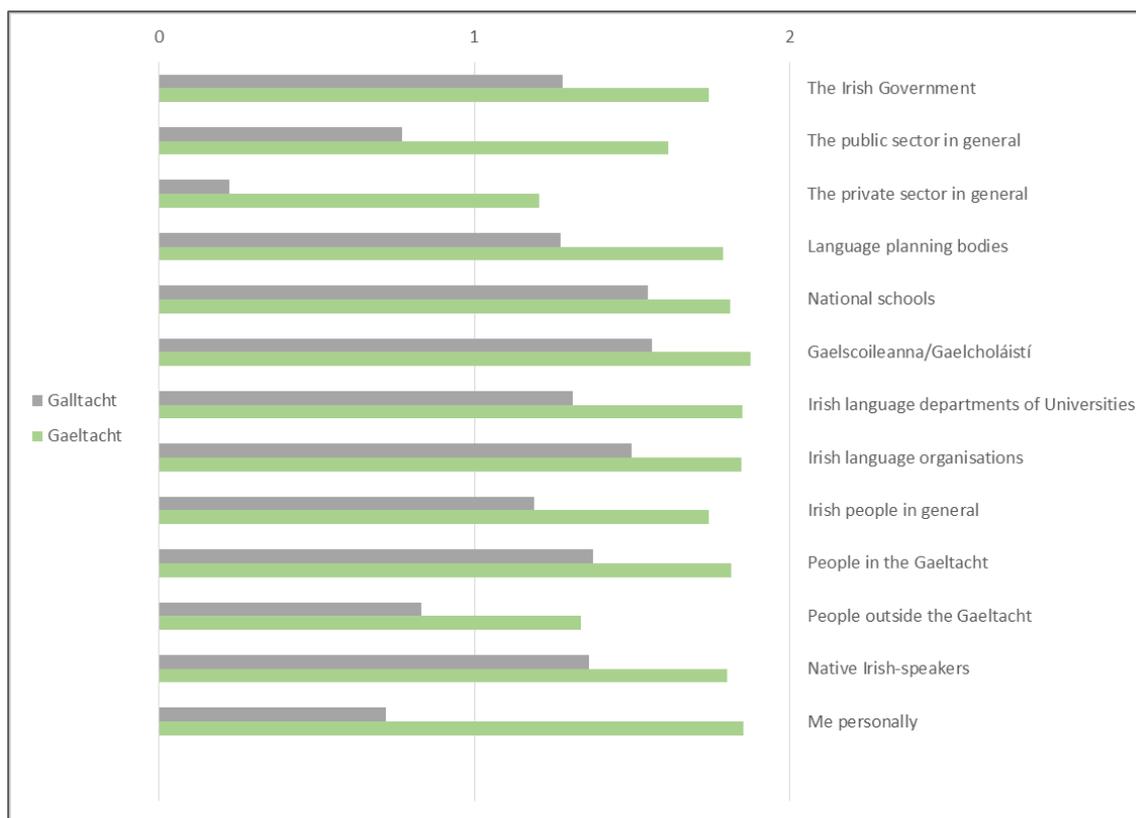


Figure 122 Perceived responsibility of agencies in the two areas.

The items are also presented in order of difference between the two areas (Figure 123). The responsibility of agency most differently valued in the two areas was ‘me personally’ (valued at 1.9 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and valued at 0.7 in the Galtacht Study Area), followed by ‘the private sector in general’ and ‘the public sector in general’.

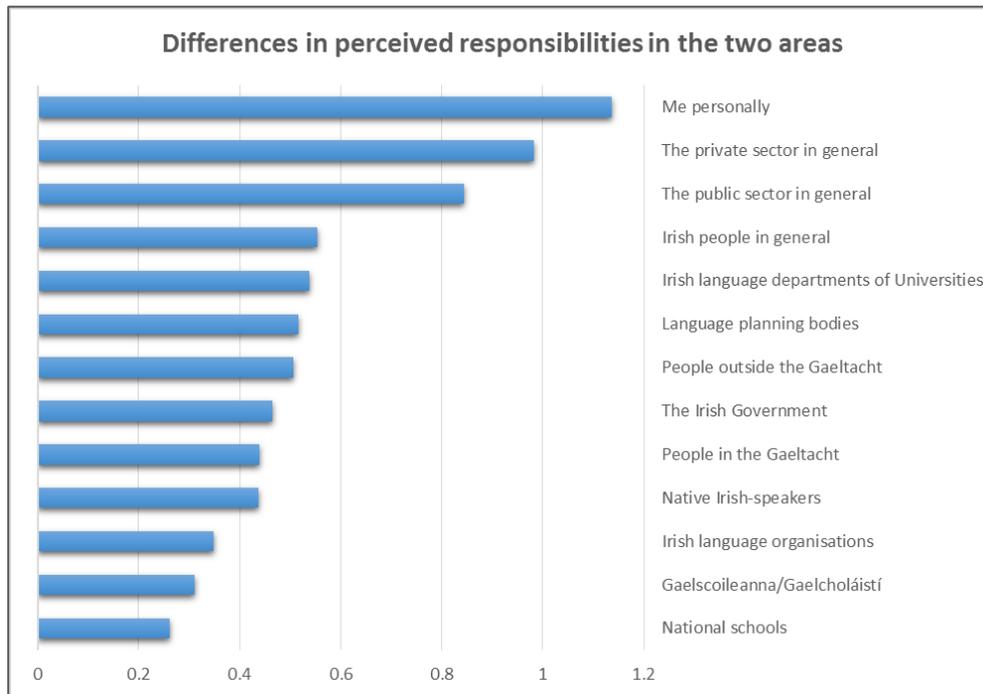


Figure 123 Differences in perceived responsibilities of agencies in the two areas.

Achievement

The second section enquired how strongly the respondents agreed that the agents named in the items on the list provided a major contribution to the maintenance of the Irish language. The average responses showed that respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area rated the achievement of the agents at greater value (0.7) than respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area (0.4). The only area where respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area rated the achievement of agents at greater value was the agent 'me personally', though the agent of 'Irish language organisations' were rated equally positively in the two areas (Figure 124).

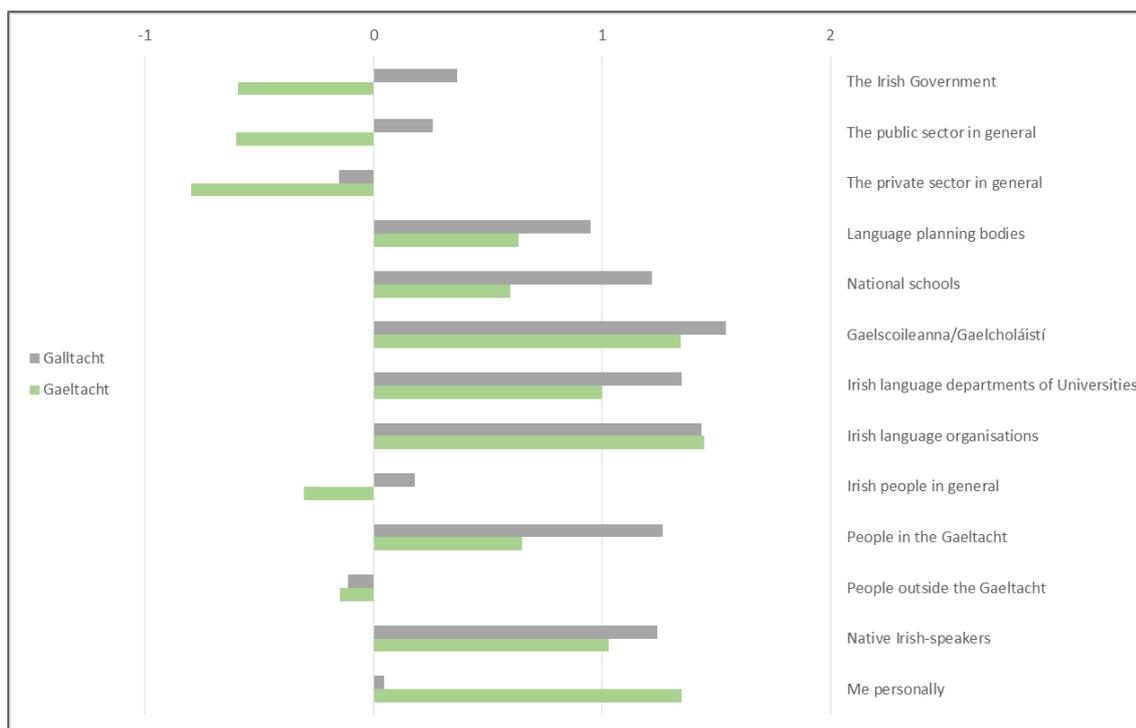


Figure 124 Perceived achievement of agencies in the two areas.

Five items received negative rating in the Gaeltacht Study Area. These were, in order of negative rating: (1) the private sector in general, (2) the public sector in general, (3) the Irish government, (4) Irish people in general, and (5) people outside the Gaeltacht.

Two items in the Galltacht Study Area were viewed negatively in their achievement about the Irish language: (1) Irish people in general, (2) people outside the Gaeltacht.

The items are also shown in order of difference between the two areas (Figure 125). The achievement of agency most differently valued in the two areas was again ‘me personally’, followed by ‘the Irish Government’ and ‘the public sector in general’.

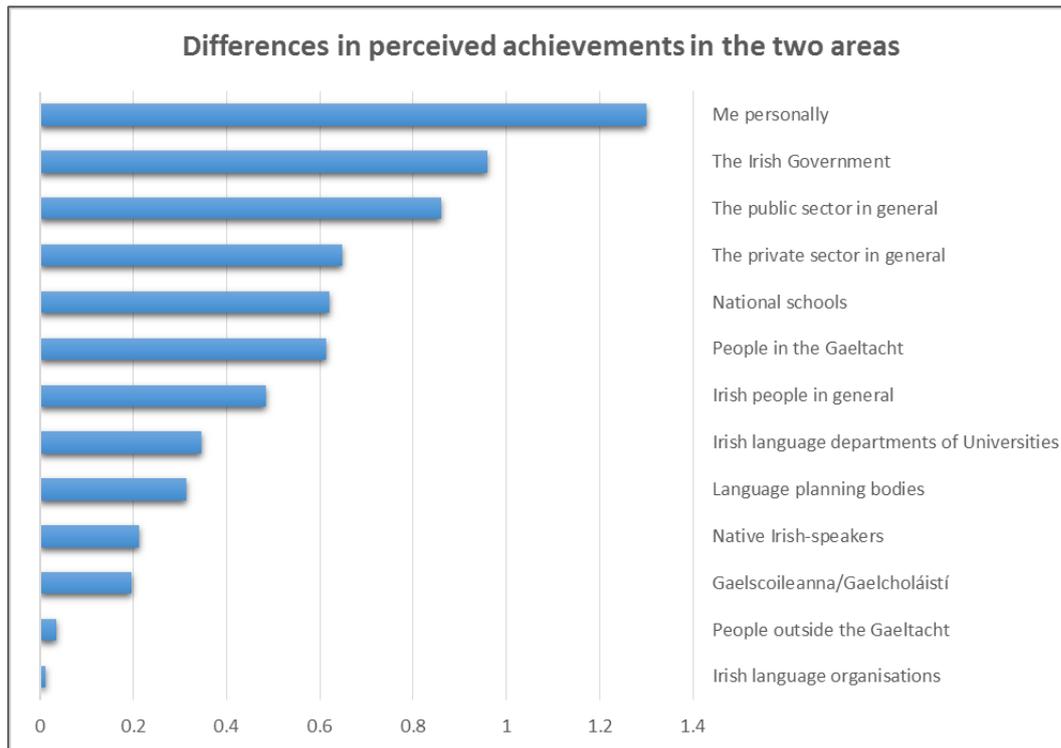


Figure 125 Differences in perceived achievements of agencies in the two areas.

Differences between perceived responsibility and perceived achievement

Respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area assigned the most divergent results regarding perceived responsibility and achievement to the item ‘the Irish Government’ (Figure 126).

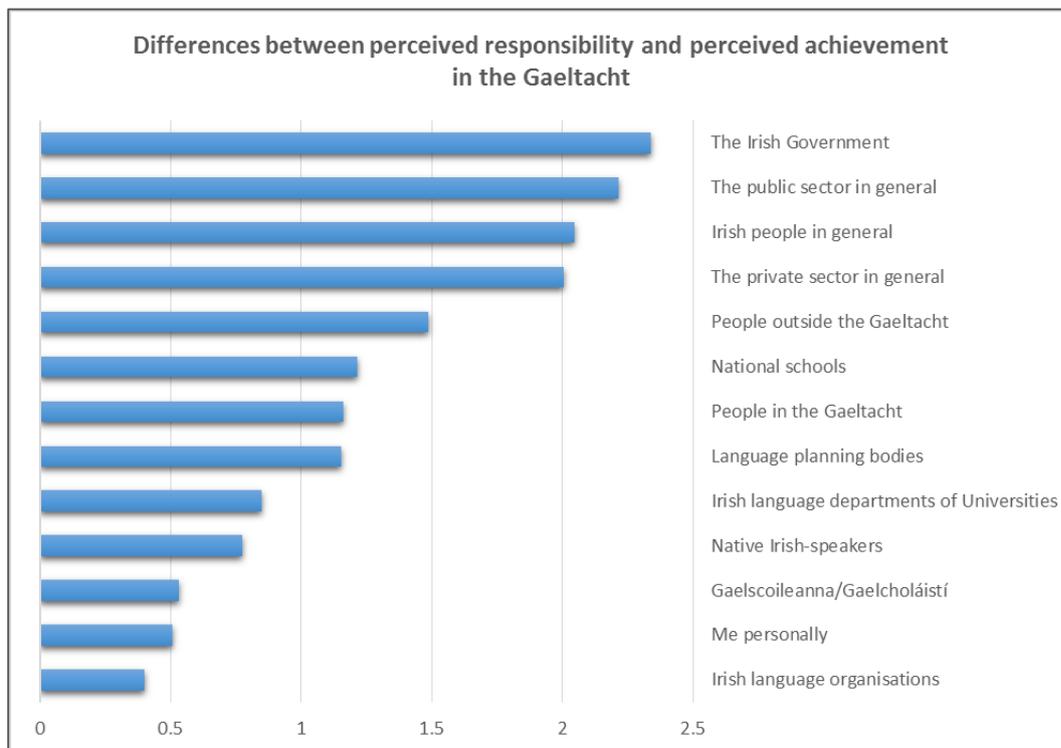


Figure 126 Differences between perceived responsibility and perceived achievement in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The four most divergent items on the list and their score values are summarised in Table 47.

Item	Score (Δ)	Score	
		Responsibility	Achievement
The Irish Government	2.3	1.7	-0.6
The public sector in general	2.2	1.6	-0.6
Irish people in general	2.0	1.7	-0.3
The private sector in general	2.0	1.2	-0.8

Table 47 Four items that received the most divergent scores in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area assigned the most divergent results regarding perceived responsibility and achievement to the item ‘Irish people in general’ (Figure 127).

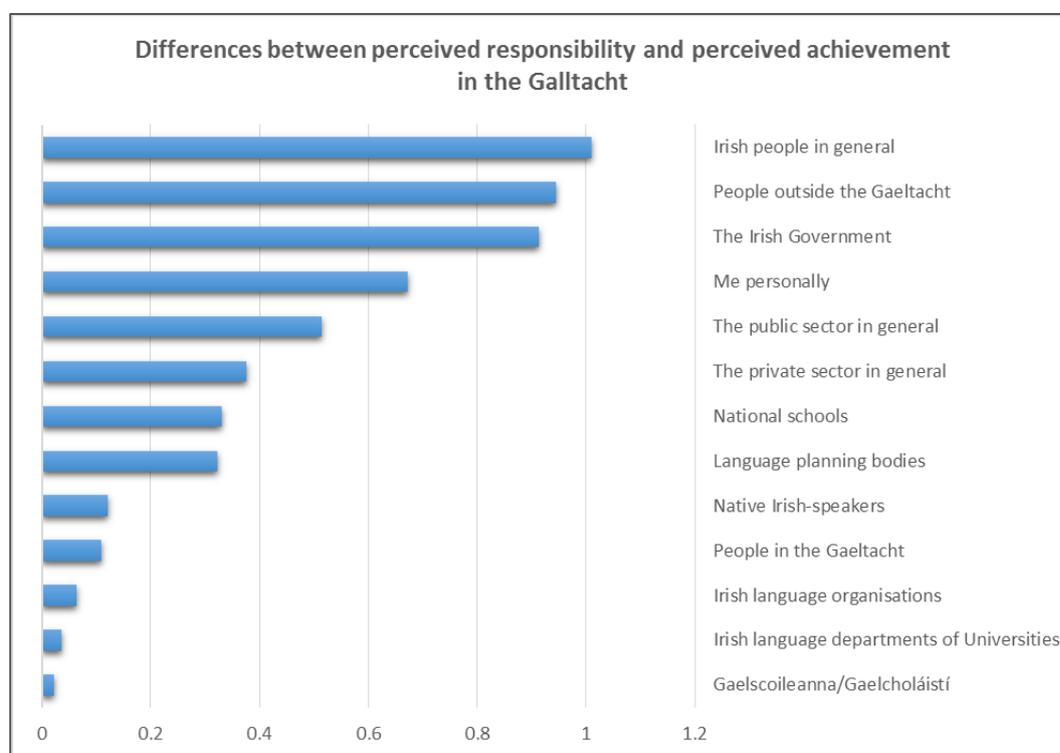


Figure 127 Differences between perceived responsibility and perceived achievement in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The four most divergent items on the list and their score values are summarised in Table 48.

Item	Score (Δ)	Score	
		Responsibility	Achievement
Irish people in general	1.0	1.2	0.2
People outside the Gaeltacht	0.9	0.8	-0.1
The Irish Government	0.9	1.3	0.4
Me personally	0.7	0.7	0.0

Table 48 Four items that received the most divergent scores in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Differences of perceived responsibility and perceived achievement between the two study areas

The following chart provides a summary on differences of perceived responsibility and perceived achievement between the two study areas (Figure 128).

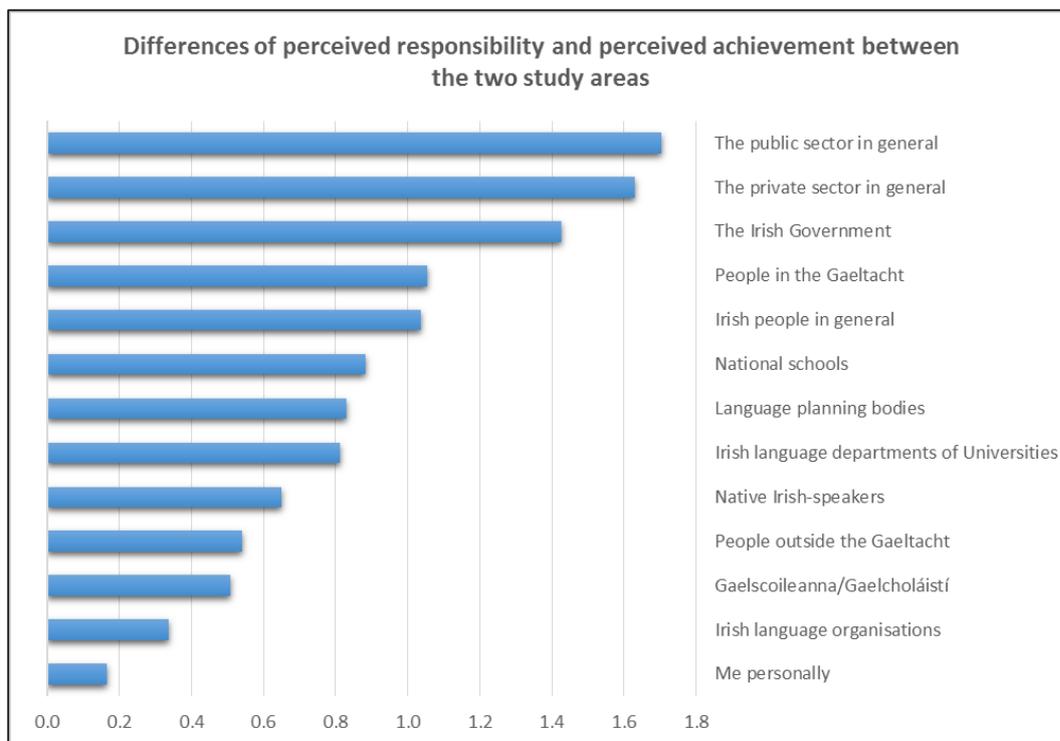


Figure 128 Differences of perceived responsibility and perceived achievement between the two study areas.

All of the items on the list and their score values are summarised in Table 49.

Item	Score (Δ)	Score (Δ)	
		Gaeltacht	Galltacht
The public sector in general	1.7	2.2	0.5
The private sector in general	1.6	2.0	0.4
The Irish Government	1.4	2.3	0.9
People in the Gaeltacht	1.1	1.2	0.1
Irish people in general	1.0	2.0	1.0
National schools	0.9	1.2	0.3
Language planning bodies	0.8	1.2	0.3
Irish language departments of Universities	0.8	0.8	0.0
Native Irish-speakers	0.7	0.8	0.1
People outside the Gaeltacht	0.5	1.5	0.9
Gaelscoileanna/Gaelcholáistí	0.5	0.5	0.0
Irish language organisations	0.3	0.4	0.1
Me personally	0.2	0.5	0.7

Table 49 Four items that received the most divergent scores in the two study areas.

Part X Vision

The tenth and last section of the questionnaire was about ‘Vision’. It contained three open questions about the future of the Irish language:

4. What is the vision of the leaders of the Irish people for the future of the Irish language?
5. What is your own vision for the future of the Irish language? Be ambitious if you wish!
6. What do you think will happen to the Irish language and its speakers?

Both the number of respondents who expressed uncertainty (the equals of ‘not sure’) or who chose not to respond to the question was higher in the Gaeltacht Study Area. In average 6.7% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 13.2% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area reported to be uncertain (‘not sure’) about the question. The average proportion of those who did not respond to the question was 16.5% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 54.6% in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Table 50).

Area	Question	‘not sure’ (%)	Not stated (%)
Gaeltacht	1	22.7	27.4
	2	11	11.6
	3	15.7	22.7
Gaeltacht	1	5.8	53.4
	2	2	54.6
	3	3.3	56

Table 50 Proportion of respondents who stated ‘not sure’ or chose not to respond to the questions (not stated).

The three analytical categories for quantifying the responses were:

1. ‘deterioration’;
2. ‘maintenance’;
3. ‘improvement’.

The frequency of these categories are provided in a pair of charts under discussing each of the three questions. The first chart provides summarises the number of respondents including those who chose not to provide an answer and those who expressed uncertainty about the questions. In case of these charts the frequency of the three category types in the graphs are to be interpreted relative to study region only, *i.e.* they do not provide a basis for proportional comparison between the two areas. The second chart summarises the proportions of respondents excluding those who chose not to provide an answer and those who expressed uncertainty about the questions. As the representativeness of these views differ greatly in the two study areas, these charts only fulfil a suggestive function.

Samples of informative comments are provided for each of the three categories under each of the three questions. The comments are accompanied by a quick reference to the related study area, sex and age group of the respondents in brackets.

Question 1: What is the vision of the leaders of the Irish people for the future of the Irish language?

The first question asked the respondents to describe their interpretation of what vision ‘the leaders of the Irish people’ had for the future of the Irish language. The majority of the respondents (44.8% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 22.1% in the Galltacht Study Area) reported that the leaders have a negative vision (deterioration). This opinion was more acute in the Gaeltacht Study Area, where a number of people interpreted that the intent of the leaders is to dispose of the language (this group is marked with stripes in the graph below). A higher proportion of respondents in the Galltacht Study Area believed that the vision of the leaders was either maintaining the *status quo* or improvement of the situation (Figure 129).

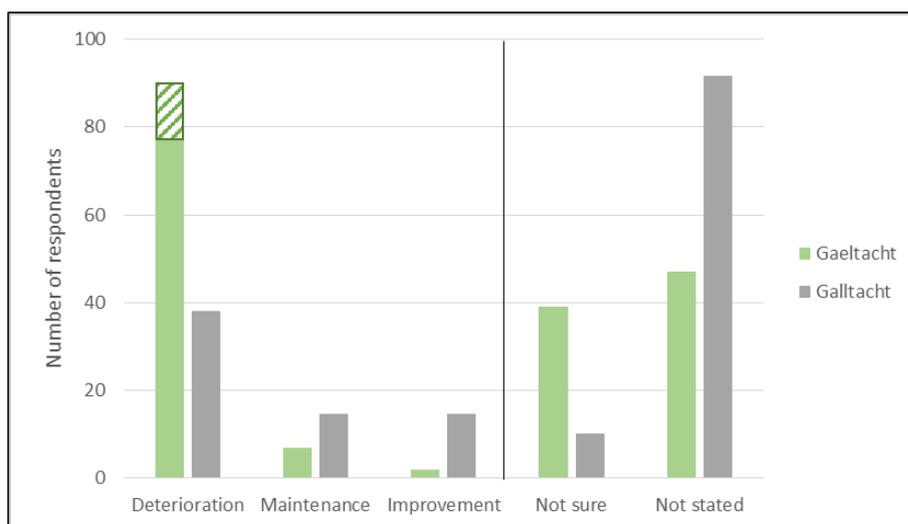


Figure 129 Categorised responses to the question: What is the vision of the leaders of the Irish people for the future of the Irish language?

Choosing to answer ‘not sure’ could either mean (1) personal lack of knowledge or interest, or (2) lack of information from, or communication with, the ‘leaders of the Irish people’. This ambiguity is well represented in the following statement:

Ní fios dom céard atá á phleanáil acu. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: under 30]

Among those, who did not answer the question directly, some took notes about their general position on the matter, *e.g.*:

Sin ceist do na ceannairí. Níl spéis agam sa méid a bhíonn le rá acu. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 31-40]

The following chart summarises the proportions of respondents excluding those who chose not to provide an answer and those who expressed uncertainty ('not sure') about the questions. The highest frequency of responses (89.5% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 56.7% in the Galltacht Study Area) are under the category 'deterioration' in both study areas (Figure 130).

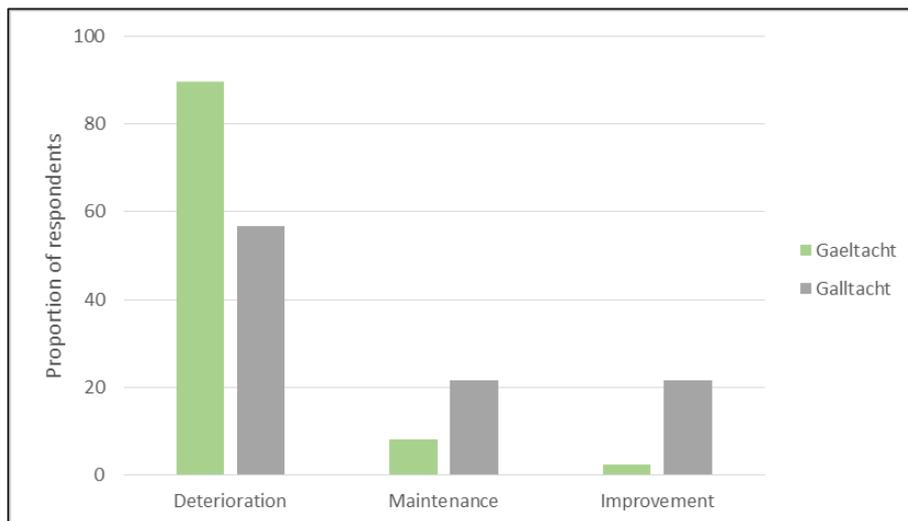


Figure 130 Proportional responses to the question: What is the vision of the leaders of the Irish people for the future of the Irish language?

Deterioration

Responses about the vision of the 'leaders of the Irish people' classified under 'deterioration' included those, who believed that the leaders' intent is to dispose of the language. This belief was identified only in the Gaeltacht Study Area, where it involved 16.9% of the responses.

Examples of this response type are:

Deireadh a chur léi. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 51-60]

Fáil réidh leis an teanga. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 61-70]

Sílim nach bhfuil aon fhís acu agus nach bhfuil mórán suim acu sa nGaeilge. Go gceapann siad go mbeadh sé níos éasca fáil réidh leis agus go sábháladh siad go leor airgid. níl an infheistiú á dhéanamh acu. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: under 30]

Fáil réidh leis an nGaeilge tríd gan aon rud a dhéanamh. 'out of sight, out of mind' [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 41-50]

Tá siad ag iarradh deireadh a chur leis an teanga. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 51-60]

Deireadh a chur leis an teanga. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: under 30]

Ligeann cead don teanga bás a fháil. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: under 30]

Fáil réidh leis an teanga de réir a chéile. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 31-40]

Fáil réidh léi mar cosnaíonn sí iomarca. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 51-60]

Some negative views are based on economic considerations. Examples of this response type are:

[...] Aire Stáit gan na hacmhainni ata ag teastáil á chur ar fáil dó [...] [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 61-70]

[...] Go gceapann siad go mbeadh sé níos éasca fáil réidh leis agus go sábháileadh siad go leor airgid. Níl an infheistiú á dhéanamh acu. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: under 30]

Má tá sé chun an iomarca airgead a bhaint ón mbuiséad, tá rudaí níos tábhachtaí ann ná é! [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 31-40]

An Ghaeilge a choinneáil ach gan aon airgead a chaitheamh uirthi [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 41-50]

Gearadh siar achmhanai man. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 51-60]

The leaders of the Irish people don't seem to care if the language is maintained and if left to them, will be let decline even more. [Galltacht; female; age group: 41-50]

The government have no interest in helping to keep the Irish language alive. If they thought they could put a tax on it they would as they do with practically everything else. [Galltacht; female; age group: 41-50]

Don't think they have a vision - Irish language will only be supported by government if it can prove to be of economic benefit. The vision of the current "leaders" is based on neo-liberalism, capitalism and associated economic policies. [Galltacht; female; age group: 41-50]

Many of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area believed that the leaders were incompetent because their level of use or knowledge of the Irish language and/or their respect for the language (or in one comment for the Gaeltacht) is generally low. Examples of this response type are:

Cén chaoi a d'fhéadfadh fíis a bheith ag dream nach bhfuil in ann an teanga a labhairt ná a thuiscint agus nach mbeadh in ann gnó na tíre a dhéanamh tré teanga na tíre? [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 51-60]

Sin an fhadhb, níl aon fhís acu. Ní fheicim iad riamh ag feidhmiú trí Ghaeilge agus is trua sin. Níl aon mhuinín agama astu. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 31-40]

Níl fíis acu mar níl aon mheas acu ar an teanga. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 51-60]

Dar liom níl morán meas ag ceannairí na hÉireann ar an Ghaeilge mar sin ní tosaíocht doimh é an Ghaeilge a chur chun cinn [Gaeltacht; female; age group: under 30]

Ní dóigh liom go bhful an Ghaeilge an-tábhachtacht do cheannairí na tíre seo. Ní dóigh liom go gcaitheann siad rófhada ag plé todhchaí na Gaeilge. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 31-40]

I don't think they care about the language. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 41-50]

Níl aon fíis ag na ceannairí ar go leor - An Ghaeilge sa áireamh. Is fíor bheagán acu atá ar mhaitheas leis an teanga. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 41-50]

Ní fheicim go bhfuil fíis ag ceannairí na hÉireann don Ghaeilge. Is trua sin agus is mó dochar atá an ceannaire ag déanamh don Ghaeilge sa tréimhe ceannaireachta woman. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 31-40]

Níl fíis ar bith mar níl Gaeilge ach ag roinnt bheag de na ceannairí céanna. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 41-50]

Níl suim acu sa nGaeltacht. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 41-50]

Many negative responses were based on a perceived lack of action on behalf of 'the leaders of the Irish people' towards the Irish language. Such views were more common in the Gaeltacht Study Area, though examples of it can be cited from the Galltacht Study Area as well. Examples of this response type are:

Má tá fíis acu níl siad ag déanamh aon rud faoi. [Gaeltacht; female; age group under 30]

They do a lot of talk but there is no action. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 51-60]

Má ta ceann acu níl siad ag déanamh aon rud faoi [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 31-40]

They are not doing anything for the Irish language. [Gaeltacht; male; age group under 30]

"all talk, no action". Ag éisteacht leo cheapfá go mbeadh suim acu ann ach níl i ndáiríre. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 61-70]

Not enough vision given by leaders to Irish language and not enough done to promote it. [Galltacht; male; age group: 41-50]

The perceived failure of the government's policy about 20 Year Strategy for the Irish Language was also a matter of some comments in the Gaeltacht Study Area. Examples of this response type are:

Straitéis 20 bliain fágtha faoi dhuine gan cumhacht. Aire Stáit gan na hacmhainní atá ag teastáil á chur ar fáil dó. Údarás gan fíis an Ghaeilge a chur chun cinn. Comhlínt leasa, post Béarla sna monarchan. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 61-70]

Níl ceann acu. Cá ndeachaigh an straitéis 20 bli? [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 61-70]

Níl aon cheann acu. Straitéis 20 bli? [Gaeltacht; male; age group: under 30]

Níl aon fhís acu. Cá ndeachaigh an straitéis 20 bli? [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 31-40]

One respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area directed attention to the role of Údarás na Gaeltachta in providing vision:

Údarás gan fíis [...] [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 61-70]

Other responses that see the vision of the leaders in light of 'deterioration' from various other perspectives included:

Níl mórán go fíis acu. Mar sin tá sé in am dúinne ár fíis a chruthú [Gaeltacht; male; age group: 41-50]

There seems to be no leaders for the majority of us. It's hard for people to start learning and be accepted in the gaeltacht. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: under 30]

Gur leor í a bheith ina sionbail ach nach gá í a bheith ina teanga phobail ná scoile - croich Bhríde an náisiúin [Gaeltacht; female; age group: 51-60]

Is cinnte go bhfuil an Ghaeilge ar an méar fhada ag ceannairí an rialtais ar go leor bealaí. Mar shampla, luadh go raibh sé ar intinn ag na hasail atá istigh faoi láthair deireadh a a chur leis an nGaeilge mar ábhar éigeantach don Ard-theist, rud a léiríonn cé chomh caol atá an dearcadh acu i leith na Gaeilge. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: under 30]

They are using forceful approach such as introducing legislation which requires public bodies to include Irish in their communications but forcing people to do something is not the answer. There is no innovative approach to encourage the Irish people to use the language man. [Galltacht; male; age group: 41-50]

I am not sure if the leaders encourage people to keep the language alive. [Galltacht; female; age group: 41-50]

It is not clear from the leaders alive. [Galltacht; male; age group: 31-40]

Maintenance

Responses about the vision of the ‘leader of the Irish people’ classified under ‘maintenance’ were more common in the Galltacht Study Area. Examples of this response type are:

To ensure that the Irish culture is kept alive and encouraged, that Irish music, dance and speaking the Irish language is promoted in an enjoyable way and use all possible media forms at schools, colleges and comities to practice and nurture culture that defines who we are. [Galltacht; female; age group: 41-50]

To keep it going but not to maintain as much as it becomes the main spoken language in Ireland. [Galltacht; female; age group: 31-40]

To keep the Irish language but they are not willing to spend any money on it. [Galltacht; female; age group: 41-50]

I would be hoping that the Irish language will be maintained in the school’s curriculum at least. [Galltacht; female; age: 41-50]

That it stays a part of the Irish culture. [Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

I would not like to see the Irish language die out altogether, as even though I don’t use it, but I have a limited understanding of it and it is part of my identity. [Galltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Once it’s kept in the National /secondary schools, I am happy (a basic knowledge is all most people need). [Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

I am an Irish citizen, therefore I would like to see the Irish language continue as it is unique part of our heritage. I do not speak Irish, only learned it at school. [Galltacht; female; age: 41-50]

I hope that the language will survive but I fear that it will always be a struggle to encourage those who have learnt it in school to continue using it. [Galltacht; male; age: 51-60]

Improvement

Responses about the vision of the ‘leader of the Irish people’ classified under ‘improvement’ were more common in the Galltacht Study Area. Examples of this response type are:

Athrú a dhéanamh ar an chaoi a fhoghlamaíonn daoine an teanga. Tá tús curtha acu leis seo cheanna fhéin leis an scrúdú béil. [Gaeltacht; male; age group: under 30]

To bring back the Irish language in a simple way in everyday living. [Galltacht; female; age group: under 30]

Keep the Irish language growing stronger. [Galltacht; female; age group: 31-40]

That more people would speak Irish. [Galltacht; male; age group: 31-40]

Everybody in Ireland being able to speak Irish. [Galltacht; male; age group: 51-60]

In secondary school the oral exam is now worth 40% of the exam at senior cycle. And it is also part of the junior cycle. This will have a big impact on more time being spent on spoken word. [Galltacht; female; age group: 61-70]

To encourage Irish people all over Ireland to speak Irish, to incorporate it into their lives and ways. [Galltacht; female; age group: under 30]

I suppose since we are now in Europe, and Irish is recognised as a European language, the leaders will support it, but not to the same extent, as we are multi-cultural. [Galltacht; female; age group: 51-60]

An teanga a choimeád beo agus níos mó béim a chuir ar an teanga. [Gaeltacht; female; age group: under 30]

Question 2: What is your own vision for the future of the Irish language?

The second question asked the respondents to describe their own vision for the future of the Irish language. The majority of the respondents (22.1% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 24.7% in the Galltacht Study Area) reported to have a positive vision (improvement) (Figure 131).

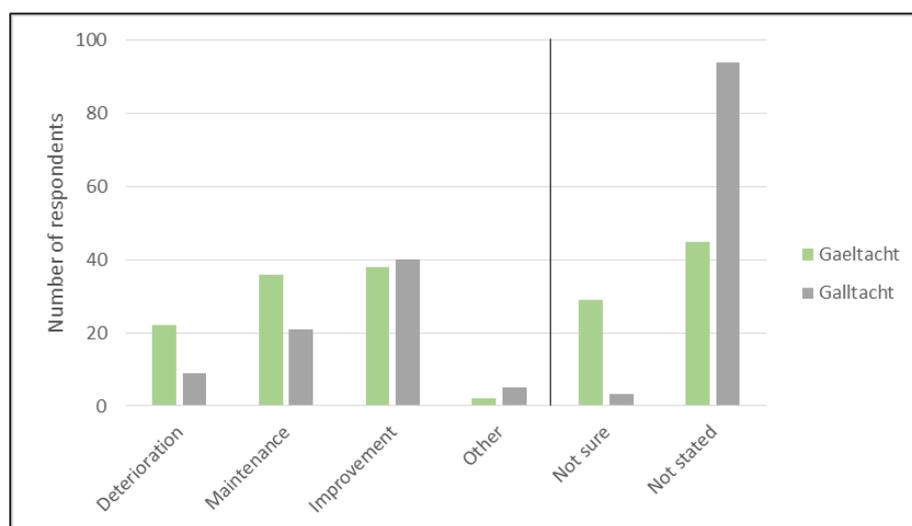


Figure 131 Categorized responses to the question: What is your own vision for the future of the Irish language?

The following chart summarises the proportions of respondents excluding those who chose not to provide an answer and those who expressed uncertainty ('not sure') about the questions. The highest frequency of responses (39.6% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 56.7% in the Galltacht Study Area) are under the category 'improvement' in both study areas (Figure 132).

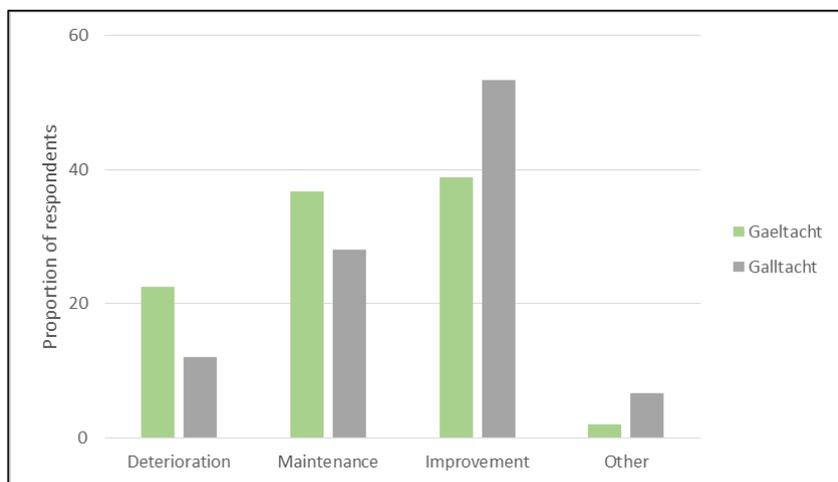


Figure 132 Proportional responses to the question: What is your own vision for the future of the Irish language?

Deterioration

Responses about the respondents' own vision for the Irish language classified under 'deterioration' in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

Is baolach go bhfuil an Ghaeilge sna Gaeltachtaí ag fáil bháis. An ghlúin óg ag labhairt an Bhéarla, ní thiocfadh aon athrú air seo. Mairfidh an Ghaeilge mar chaitheamh aimsire ach ní bheidh aon phobal á labhairt faoi cheann 40 bliain nuair a imeoidh an ghlúin atá anois 20+. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 61-70]

Beidh sí ann ach ní bheidh sí mar a chéile. Blas an Bhéarla uirthi. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 61-70]

Níl mé ró-dhóchasach. Tá an caighdeán Gaeilge a bhíonn ag múinteoirí bunscoile i nGaelscoileanna náireach. Muna bhfuil siadsan in ann í a labhairt/scríobh/léamh, cén chaoi an bhfuil siad in ann í a sheachadadh go dtí an chéad glúin eile? [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Ní dóigh liom go bhfuil todhchaí láidir aici. Níl na daoine óga sna Gaeltachtaí dhá labhairt eadru fhéin níos mó. Agus níl na daoine óga taobh amuigh don Gaeltacht ach oiread. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Mo chanúint s'agam fhéin a bheathú don chead ghlúin eile. Ach beidh na canúintí uilig básaithe go luadh sa d'todhchaí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Níl stró ar an nGaeilge atá ag an dream a labhraíonn gach lá í. Beidh sí le cloisteáil sna Gaeltachtaí láidre ar feadh blianta fós ach beidh sí mar mhionteanga sa tír. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Tá go leor daoine óga/gasúir óga sa nGaeltacht ag caint Béarla faoi láthair. Níl sé seo go-maith do thodhchaí na Gaeilge. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Everyone to speak Gaeilge all the time but to still have good English so as to be competitive. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Níl an dream óg á labhairt. Níl suim acu ann ná sna traidisiúin. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Níl daoine óga á labhairt, imeoidh sí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Níl sí go maith. Nil tuismitheoirí ag tógáil na gasúir le Gaeilge. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Faitíos orm faoi thodhchaí na Gaeilge. Go leor Béarla á labhairt i gclós na scoile. [Gaeltacht; male; age: above 70]

I believe that the language is the Gaeltacht is not going to survive in the long term if English speakers are not encouraged to speak Irish in the Gaeltacht. Many native Irish speakers are not interested in helping English speakers to learn the language or improve their Irish. More facilities should be provided to help English speakers to improve their Irish by providing more courses or training. There should be more social events in the Gaeltacht to encourage and help English speakers to improve their Irish. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Responses about the respondents' own vision for the Irish language classified under 'deterioration' in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

I am a bit worried about the future of the Irish language. Even though there are still a lot of children interested in Irish music and dancing, I find that they struggle a lot with the language. I believe the way Irish is being taught in schools should be revised and changed to make it more interesting to the children. [Galltacht; female; age: 41-50]

We have so many different cultures now living in Ireland I feel the Irish language will be lost. Since we joined the EU, things have changed greatly. We are happy to have our hurling football, Irish music and dancing continued. [Galltacht; female; age: 61-70]

The Irish language is becoming less common. [Galltacht; male; age: 41-50]

It is nice to be able to speak Irish, but realistically with the way the economy is, more and more Irish people are forced to look outside of Ireland to look for work. Irish language has no place only in the country of Ireland. [Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

I would like to see it strengthen but I am pessimistic. It is our language and really we should all speak it. [Galltacht; male; age: 61-70]

Maintenance

Responses about the respondents' own vision for the Irish language classified under 'maintenance' in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

Coinneoidh muintir na Gaeltachta beo í. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Imeoidh an Ghaeilge seachas sa nGaeltacht. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Ba mhaith liom go mairfeadh sí sa nGaeltacht agus nach ligfeadh muintir na Gaeltachta so neamhaird agus cur i gcéill an státchórais drochmhisneach a chur orainn. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Go mbeidh grúpa beag sa nGaeltacht fós á labhairt. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

La cabhair ó na daoine ar fad sa tír a bhfuil suim acu sa teanga ba cheart go mbeadh an teanga slán. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Beidh sí ann ar leibhéal éigin i gcónaí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: above 70]

Tá súil agam go mbeidh sí beo. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Go réalaíoch í a bheith mar theanga pobail ach í ag dul i léig ó thaobh ceol agus saibhreas. Cumas a bheith ag mo chuid gasúir í a labhairt go muiníneach. Go huallmhianach: go neartóidh pobal na Gaeilge agus Gaeltachta agus go tógfaidh aon ghasúr a bheadh againn le cúnaimh Dé le Gaeilge. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Go mbeidh Gaeilge ar caighdeán ag gach gasúr óg agus leanfaidh sé ar aghaidh go bríomhar ó ghlúin go glúin. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Ní gheobhfaidh sí bás. Tá múinteoirí iontacha amuigh ansin atá ag déanamh a ndícheall Gaeilge a mhúineadh. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Ba mhaith liom go mbeadh níos mó tuismitheoirí ag tógáil a gcuid gasúir le Gaeilge sa nGaeltacht. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 51-60]

Ceapaim nach gheobhaidh sé bás. Ceapaim go bhfuil gaelscoileanna ag déanamh fíor-jab sna scoileanna náisiúnta. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

I hope it survives and parents realise the importance of raising their kids through Irish. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Mura fhoghlamaíonn na gasúir an teanga i gceart níl todhchaí ann. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 51-60]

Responses about the respondents' own vision for the Irish language classified under 'maintenance' in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

I would be hoping that the Irish language will be maintained in the school's curriculum at least. [Galltacht; female; age: 41-50]

That it stays a part of the Irish culture. [Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

I would not like to see the Irish language die out altogether, as even though I don't use it, but I have a limited understanding of it and it is part of my identity. [Galltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Once it's kept in the National /secondary schools, I am happy (a basic knowledge is all most people need). [Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

I am an Irish citizen, therefore I would like to see the Irish language continue as it is unique part of our heritage. I do not speak Irish, only learned it at school. [Galltacht; female; age: 41-50]

I hope that the language will survive but I fear that it will always be a struggle to encourage those who have learnt it in school to continue using it. [Galltacht; male; age: 51-60]

Improvement

Responses about the respondents' own vision for the Irish language classified under 'improvement' in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

Í a laighdriú agus í a neartú. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Go mbeidh sí níos láidre le hobair coláistí samhradh agus gaelscoileanna ([Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Go nglacfadh pobal uile na hÉireann léi mar bhua agus mar bhronntanas, mar sheod a chuireann le saol aon duine - cuma cárbh as dóibh - a thograíonn í a labhairt. Go mairfeadh an Ghaeltacht, mar gur uirthi atá saibhreas na teangan ag brath. Go ndéantaí freastal ar phobal líofa na Gaeilge chomh maith le foghlaimeoirí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Go mbeidh daoine sásta an teanga a labhairt ach nach mbeidh daoine ag smaoineamh ar an teanga mar *outdated* níos mó. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Hopefully that it will survive long into the future and will be a living language that is used daily and not end up just being spoken by scholars. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Ba mhaith liom go dtabharfadh an rialtas níos mó aird uirthi. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Go mbeadh athrú ar an gcaoi a smaoineann daoine faoin teanga. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Ba mhaith liom go mbeadh an Ghaeilge le cloisteáil go laethúil. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Ba bhreá liom níos mó daoine a feiceáil ag baint úsáid as an Ghaeilge mar theanga cumarsáide. Ní gá go mbeadh Gaeilge líofa agat ach tá sé tábhachtach go mbeadh dearcadh dearfach agat i leith na Gaeilge. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Go mbeadh an Ghaeilge le cloisteáil go forleathán ar fud na tíre agus go mbeadh chuile dhuine in ann a labhairt agus iad brodúil í a labhairt le chéile. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Go mbeidh níos mó infheistiú á dhéanamh i nGaelscoileanna agus teanga a mhúineadh do ghasúir ag aois óg. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 51-60]

Tá súil agam gur ó neart go neart a rachaidh an Ghaeilge sa todhchaí mar tuigimid an tábhacht atá lenár dteanga féin a bheith againn. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 61-70]

Go mbeadh chuile duine sa tír in ann í a labhairt, fiú díreach ar bhonn laethúil, siopaí, aimsir, *etc.* [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Tuilleadh infheistíocht a dhéanamh i ngaelscoileanna mar is ag an aois sin ar cheart an teanga a mhúineadh do dhaoine. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Bheinn súil go dtagann méadú ar an líon a labhraíonn é. Is é an cleamhsan [?] a bhíonn acu ná an bealach ina bhfuil an Ghaeilge á múineadh is dóigh gur chóir breathnú ar an próiséis seo. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Go mbeadh na Gaeltachtaí láidir ó thaobh na Gaeilge de, agus go mbeadh coinníol teanga ann maidir le cead pleanála, gasúir nuair atá siad ar scoil agus i ngnólachtaí áitiúla. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Go mbeadh grá agus bród ag daoine as an teanga. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Is dóigh go gcaithfear an teanga a mhúineadh ar bhealach eile chun iadsan a bhíonn ag lamhsán [?] faoi muineadh na Gaeilge a shásamh. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Nach mbeadh sí imeallach. Go mbeidh mo chuid gasúir agus gasúis mo chuid gasúir chomh bródúil as an Ghaeilge agus ábalta í a labhairt. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Caithfear níos nó béim a chuir ar an teanga a labhairt, daoine óga agus páistí scoile, nó sin ní bheidh aon Ghaeilge ann. Bá cheart do mhuintir na Gaeltachta cinntiú gur Gaeilge í príomhtheanga a gcuid páistí, í a choimeád beo. Tá an teanga fíor tábhachtach dúinn fhéin mar Éirinnigh, níos mó postanna a chruthú, cúrsaí oideachais trí Ghaeilge. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Tá todhchaí maith aici ach ní bheidh an Ghaeilge mar a bhí sí. Beidh an Ghaeilge céanna ar fud na tíre. Ní bheidh na canúntaí chomh láidir. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Ba mhaith liom go mbeadh níos mó grá ag daoine don teanga. [Gaeltacht; male; age: aboe 70]

Responses about the respondents' own vision for the Irish language classified under 'improvement' in the Galltacht Study Area included:

Future of Irish language could be good if a little more done by everyone to keep it alive. [Galltacht; male; age: 41-50]

To keep it alive! To promote it to my family in the future (please God!). To encourage students to keep on Irish in 3rd level otherwise we forget it after 2nd level education. [Galltacht; female; age: under 30]

For schools to make it more interesting for pupils instead of a burden. [Galltacht; female; age: under 30]

I am hopeful that the language will remain strong in most areas of the country mostly due to the *Gael* Schools. [Galltacht; female; age: 51-60]

I think it has strong future and has made great progress in the past few years. [Galltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Should be the primary language of the country. Should ne encouraging that it become normalized and spoken by all as a living language. Irish should be the primary language for road signs, public notices, *etc.* As is the case with Dutch in the Netherlands. [Galltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Promote Irish language as part of everyday life in Ireland. [Galltacht; male; age: 51-60]

I would like to see the Irish language to become more popular, a more fun language for the present generation of children as opposed to the drudgery and punitive measures in which the language was taught to my generation. [Galltacht; male; age: 41-50]

That it will grow and be spoken fluently by more people particularly outside of the Gaeltacht areas. [Galltacht; male; age: 31-40]

I don't really have a vision, but if I was to be realistic my fear would be that it would vanish. On the other side it would be great if a bit of Irish was under the roof of every house in this Country. I know that I will have a different approach to my child learning Irish. This country got it wrong when I was learning it. It should be just fun, not a job! And I really regret that I didn't stick with it. [Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Change the educational approach which is more geared towards aural, oral and introduce some innovative approaches which are fun for children to be part of and want to be part of. The change in the oral marking for the Leaving Cert is a step in the right direction but this approach needs to start at Junior Infants in national schools. [Galltacht; male; age: 41-50]

That we could use Irish with the state services all the time. That our government would do their business bilingually. That those who do have Irish would use it every day. [Galltacht; female; age: 61-70]

I would love if it was taught better in schools so that children could learn it easier. It seems to be a very difficult language and maybe it should be spoken Irish. ([Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

More access to Gaelscoil; local groups forming and encouraging the use of Irish language. [Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

That the government will try and encourage and make it more accessible in documents. [Galltacht; male; age: under 30]

I think it is very important for all of us to have pride in our language and to keep up the old Irish traditions with even the cúpla focal. But the gaelscoils are the way forward and should be supported in every possible way by the government. [Galltacht; female; age: above 70]

To have Irish spoken more in places, *i.e.* shopping centres, cinemas, restaurants. [Galltacht; female; age: under 30]

Other responses

The following responses about the respondents' own vision for the Irish language could not be classified in any of the three categories:

Go mbeadh daoine in ann an teanga a úsáid gach lá. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Ba chóir níos mó a dhéanamh leis an ghlúin óg tríd na bunscoileanna ó thaobh damhsa, seannós (damhsa agus amhránaíocht) le go mbeidh féinmhuinín, grá, agus bród ag na gasúir dó. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

This should be an elective preference not imposed on schoolchildren. [Galltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Gaelscoils can be elitist. The future of the language depends on learners. [Galltacht; female; age: 61-70]

To understand the language and encourage others to learn of it. To educate other in what it means to be Irish. [Galltacht; female; age: under 30]

I think they have more to worry about (economic recovery). [Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Personally I believe the continued financial support of these regions is more of a political legacy where no one has the courage to address the irrelevance of forcing this language on the wider populace. The Irish have the lowest rates of foreign language skills in the western world. [Galltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Question 3: What do you think will happen to the Irish language and its speakers?

The third question asked the respondents to describe what they believed to be in store for the Irish language and its speakers. The majority of the respondents (31.4 %) in the Gaeltacht Study Area expressed a negative view ('deterioration') on the subject and the majority of the respondents (21.5 %) in the Galltacht Study Area expressed a neutral view ('maintenance') (Figure 133).

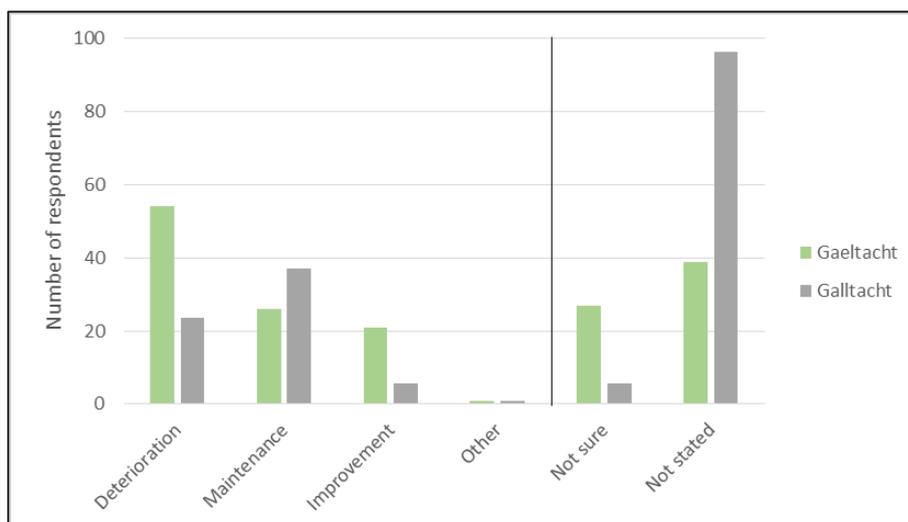


Figure 133 Categorized responses to the question: What do you think will happen to the Irish language and its speakers?

The following chart summarises the proportions of respondents excluding those who chose not to provide an answer and those who expressed uncertainty ('not sure') about the questions. The highest frequency of responses (53.5%) in the Gaeltacht Study Area fell under the category 'deterioration' and the highest frequency of responses (55.9%) in the Galltacht Study Area was found under the category 'maintenance' (Figure 134).

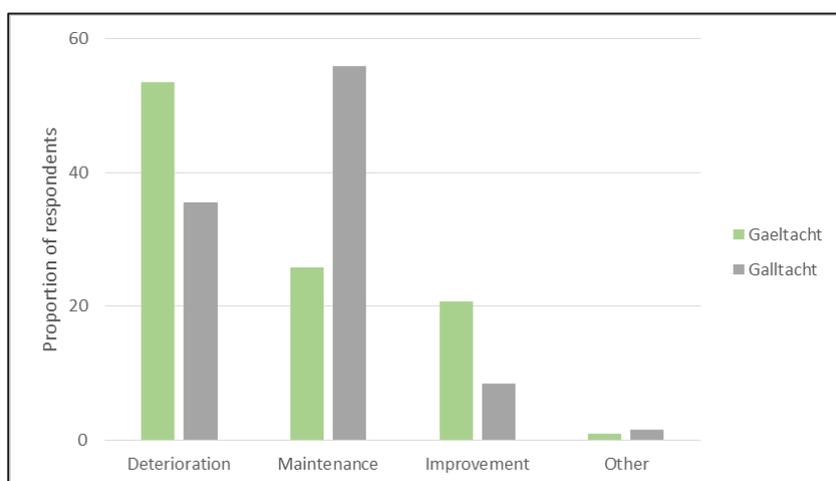


Figure 134 Proportional responses to the question: What do you think will happen to the Irish language and its speakers?

Deterioration

Responses to the question about the future of the Irish language and its speakers classified under 'deterioration' in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

Ní bheinn ró-dóchasach. Tá Gaeilge mo mhac imithe in olcas ó thosaigh sé an scoil.
Náireach. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Beidh an Ghaeilge mar theanga scoile. Droch Ghaeilge - Ní bheidh sí ach mar an dara teanga nó fiú an 3ú ceann. Tá sé ró mhall anois í a shábháil. Níl na páistí scoile á sealbhú go hiomlán, ní bheidh an deis acu amach anseo. Droch Ghaeilge á chlog acu i gnámhchaint sna scoileanna, sa séipéal, sa bpobal, an RnaG go háirithe, ar ndóigh ar TG4. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 61-70]

Beidh sí ann ach ní bheidh sí mar a chéile. Blas an Bhéarla uirthi. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 61-70]

Go mbeadh sí ann go brách ach gan an saibhreas céanna. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Mairfidh sí ach ní bheidh an cruinneas nó an saibhreas ann. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Leanfaidh meath na Gaeltachta, i ndaibhreas a rachfaidh an Ghaeilge le leathadh an Bhéarlachais. Tabharfar níos mó aird ar líon na gcainteoirí ná ar chaighdeán a gcuid cainte. Is lú ceannairí líofa a thiocfaidh chun cinn. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Laghdaítear an líon cainteoirí ach beidh grúpa beag i gcónaí a bheas dílis don teanga agus a chinnteoidh go mbeidh sí ag an chéad ghlúin eile. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Muna dhéantar aon rud laghdaítear an méid cainteoirí laethúla. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Níl a fhios agam ach tá líon na gcainteoirí ag laghdú. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Gan polasaí láidir pleanála sa nGaeltacht agus comhairle do thuismitheoirí agus oiliúint do bhunmhúinteoirí maidir le dátheangachas ag marú na máthairtheanga, ní mhairfidh sí gliúin eile mar theanga bheo phobail. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Muna dtosaíonn daoine óga a chur suim inti taobh amuigh don soil, beidh sé deacair ag an teanga fanacht beo sna blianta atá romhainn. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Non-native speakers will speak "Irish Language" translated from English Language. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

It might die out. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Laghdaigh an méid cainteoirí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Probably the numbers speaking Irish will shrink. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Nílím ró-dhóchasach mar cloisim fhéin an dream óg ag labhairt Béarla eatarthu agus fiú nuair a labhraíonn siad Gaeilge bíonn go leor botúin ann- níl an saibhreas teanga acu. [Gaeltacht; male; age: above 70]

Gan ath-chóiriú ar curaclam bun-scoile agus meánscoile ní bheidh aon duine á labhairt. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 61-70]

Beidh an méid daoine a a labhraíonn ag laghdú de réir a chéile. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Gabhfaidh sí i léig. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

I fear that less people will speak it since young people don't speak it among themselves in the Gaeltacht. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Ní bheidh daoine sa nGaeltacht á labhairt amach anseo. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Will die out. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Muna chuirtear stop le béarlóireacht i clósanna scoile náisiúnta sa nGaeltacht níl seans ar bith ag an teanga. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Nach mbeidh Gaeilge dhá labhairt ach amháin i bpócaí bheaga thart timpeall Éireann. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Muna dhéantar rud éigin go luath bheadh inní orm faoin todhchaí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

An Ghaeilge ag dul i léig - níl an téagar ná an tiúin céanna inti is a bhíodh. Níl saibhreas ag an nglúin atá ag teacht aníos agus níl ardchumas cainte ag daoine sna hearnáil nuacúrsaí teicneolaíochta agus ríomhaireachta agus eolaíochta. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Caithfidh meas a bheith ag daoine don Ghaeilge nó gheobhfaidh sí bás. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Ba bhreá liom dá dtagfadh meadú ar an líon daoine a bheas ag caine agus baint úsáid as an Gaeilge acu. Faraer sílim gur an malairt a tharlós. Níl aon suim ag formhór na tíre san teanga dúchais. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Níl an dream óg á labhairt. [Gaeltacht; female; age: over 70]

Níl daoine óga á labhairt, imeoidh sí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Beidh sí fós ann, ach ní leis an caighdeán céanna. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Mura mbeidh gníomh ann go luath tiocfaidh meath ar an nGaeilge. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Muna dtosaíonn daoine ag cur suim sa teanga beidh sí ag cailleadh a saibhreas. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 51-60]

100 bli ní bheidh sí ann . [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Muna dtiocfaidh brú agus spleodar faoi bheadh faitíos orm faoi stádas na Gaeilge. Is gá muinín agus bród a chothú agus úinéireacht an teanga a bheith ag na daoine. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Beatha an teanga í a labhairt, muna labhraítear í déan dearmad uirthi. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Imeoidh sí muna ndéanann daoine na Gaeltachta a ndícheall, an pobal, gaelscoileanna, eagraíochtaí Gaeilge oibiriú go crua. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

I fear the language will be lost, there are less and less people both inside and outside the Gaeltacht using it on a daily basis. Any school children I speak with have little time for it and find it boring or hindrance. They don't speak it among themselves unless they are forced to. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Muirfidh gcoinneodh muid a labhairt imeoidh só. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 51-60]

Muna mbeidh meas an an Rialtas ar an nGaeilge, ní gheobhaidh sí tacaíocht. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Sean ghaeilgeoirí duachasach ag imeacht. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Gan na gnáth daoine ag cur brú ní bheidh sí ann amach anseo. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Muna bhfoghlamaíonn an dream óga í i gceart ní bheidh siad in ann í a thabhairt don chéad ghlúin eile. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 61-70]

Beidh grúpa ann a labhróidh í ach tá sé ag laghdú. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 61-70]

Níl aon fíis ann. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Responses to the question about the future of the Irish language and its speakers classified under ‘deterioration’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

I believe the Irish language and its speakers will stay more or less the same or decline even more. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Being negative, I am afraid it will no longer be important as if a child going to school has another language (*e.g.* French) it will do instead all the young people out in Australia Irish is no use to them. Having said that it's nice to have the old Gaeltacht (own language). [Galltacht; female; age: 61-70]

Unless the language is promoted as a living breathing language it will become a "niche" language understood and spoken by very few. [Galltacht; female; age: 41-50]

It will fade away unless there is a renewed interest and pride in having our own language and effort is put into having more Irish language programmes on TV and radio. [Galltacht; female; age: above 70]

Unless drastic measures are taken to promote our native language then it could be at risk of disappearing into history. [Galltacht; male; age: 51-60]

They will speak English. [Galltacht; male; age: 51-60]

It will find it hard to survive global influence. [Galltacht; male; age: 41-50]

It will dwindle away unless it is passed onto children and it is kept interesting enough for them to choose it over English. [Galltacht; female; age: 51-60]

It will go the way of Latin and other dead languages. Language is fluid and I am fascinated at the hybrid conversations of the Irish speakers because the language is too restrictive to work in a modern context. [Galltacht; male; age: 41-50]

I think it will struggle. [Galltacht; male; age: 61-70]

It will die out and only be unique to the Gaeltacht. [Galltacht; male; age: under 30]

Maintenance

Responses to the question about the future of the Irish language and its speakers classified under 'maintenance' in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

Mairfidh sí i bhfad níos faide ná mise ach tá obair le déanamh sa seomra ranga do dhaoine óga ionas go mbeidh suim agus meas ag glúin nua do chainteoirí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Coinneoidh muintir na Gaeltachta beo í. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Beidh rudaí go maith comh fada is go leanann tuismitheoirí ar aghaidh ag tógáil a ngasúir le Gaeilge. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Is dóigh liom go leanfaidh cainteoirí na Gaeilge orthu ag labhairt na Gaeilge agus mar sin mairfidh an teanga. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Imeoidh an Ghaeilge seachas sa nGaeltacht. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Ní mhéadóigh siad ach ní bheidh laghdú mór ann ach an oiread. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 51-60]

We'll keep going and hopefully some of us will make sure it doesn't die with us. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Beidh na Gaeil mórtasach go deo as an nGaeilge agus tá sí agus beidh sí ag dul ó ghlúin go glúin sa todhchaí. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 61-70]

Beidh sí ann ach is daoine taobh amuigh don Ghaeltacht a labhróidh í. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Beidh sí ann ar leibhéal éigin i gcónaí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: above 70]

Beidh grúpa beag ann i gcónaí a labhrós í

Sa deireadh beidh oirthear na tíre ag iarradh é a choinneáil beo, faoin am seo beidh sé tréigthe ag an iarthar. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Béidh sé ann go deo. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Beidh níos mó daoine ag labhairt Gaeilge taobh amuigh den Ghaeltacht ach laghdaíodh an méid cainteoirí sa nGaeltacht. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Coinneoidh an mionlach á labhairt ach tá dóchas agam go bhfanfaidh an Ghaeilge beo mar tá an alidin thart fós agus ní mórán a bhíonn á labhairt. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

faidh sé mar atá - láidir i bpáirteanna agus Gaeltachtaí agus ag fáil báis nó imithe san cuid eile den tír. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Má labhraítear le na daoine óga í mairfidh sí. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 51-60]

Leanfaidh sí ar aghaidh chomh fada is go múintear don dream óga í - i gceart. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 61-70]

Tá mé dóchasach. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 51-60]

Irish may survive in the future but there is a strong risk that it could become the second language in the gaeltacht areas. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Ní bheidh mórán athrú. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Responses to the question about the future of the Irish language and its speakers classified under 'maintenance' in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

It will remain important and it will become popular with new generation of children, they will keep it going! Maybe subjects will be taught through Gaeilge in national and secondary schools and made compulsory? [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Hopefully they will continue as an essential part of the Irish Culture. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Unless it is encouraged more especially the speaking there will be no improvement although there are more people now educated in Irish after spending national and secondary school study is Irish, the majority of ordinary Irish are not able to converse in Irish. There is something wrong with the teaching of the spoken word. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

I think Irish will be spoken continuously but there will not be emphasis on it for college or jobs (guards, nurses, as there is so many people of different cultures and countries in Ireland). [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

We will always have Irish speakers in Gaeltacht areas as it is the nature of things. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

With good leadership and structure there should be no reason why the Irish language should wither away. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

It will not progress unless there is a changed approach. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

There will always be a certain few groups to keep the Irish language going but generally the majority of Irish people will have a basic knowledge of Irish language. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

I think it will stay alive, but only in the west of Ireland because I can only see people in the west speaking it normally on every day basis. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Hope it survives. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

I think it will keep going - once the language kept in a house and passed down from the generations I don't think there will be any fear of it dwindling away. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

If it is threatened they'll try to keep it. Maybe it will be okay. [Galltacht; female; age: 61-70]

It will probably be continued in Gaeltacht speaking areas. [Galltacht; female; age: 31-40]

The Irish language and its speakers will survive, but will have to keep on lobbying for support. [Galltacht; female; age: above 70]

It will continue on but will not be as popular as the English language. [Galltacht; female; age: under 30]

Improvement

Responses to the question about the future of the Irish language and its speakers classified under 'improvement' in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

Go méadaóidh an líon Gaeilgeoirí. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 61-70]

Tá súil agam go dtiocfadh neart agus brí leo. Go maire sí beo mar gur ár teanga dúchais í. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Go mbeidh tuilleadh daoine ag cur suim inti. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 51-60]

Go mairfidh sí agus go mbeidh tuilleadh daoine á labhairt amach anseo. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Go mbeidh daoine sásta an teanga a labhairt ach nach mbeidh daoine ag smaoinemh ar an teanga mar *outdated* níos mó. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 41-50]

Le cupla bliain anuas tá an Ghaeilge níos láidre na bhí sí riamh dár liom. Tá sé seo le feiceáil ón fás sna Gaelscoileanna, srl. ar fud na tíre. Tá an Ghaeilge agus a cainteoirí ag neartú... tús maith leath na hoibre. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Tá súil agam go mbeadh níos mó suim ag daoine inti - taobh amuigh den Ghaeltacht agus sa nGaeltacht [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Go mairfidh sí agus go mbeidh tuilleadh daoine á labhairt amach anseo. [Gaeltacht; male; age: under 30]

Beidh sé ag dul ó neart go neart. [Gaeltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Go mbeidh níos mó grá ag an tír don teanga. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

De réir a chéile go mbeidh níos mó daoine sásta í a fhoghlaim agus a labhairt. [Gaeltacht; female; age: under 30]

Go feabhsú sé agus an grá atá ag muintir ne hÉireann ar a theanga. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 41-50]

Go mbeidh níos mó meas ag daoine ar an teanga. [Gaeltacht; female; age: 31-40]

Meas ar an teanga. [Gaeltacht; female; age: (41-50)]

Tá súil agam go labhróidh níos mó daoine í ([Gaeltacht; male; age: above 70])

Responses to the question about the future of the Irish language and its speakers classified under ‘improvement’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area included:

I think it’s a growing language and more and more young people are starting to speak it again. [Galltacht; male; age: 31-40]

Making great progress against all odds. [Galltacht; male; age: 51-60]

That it will grow in Gaeltacht area and hopefully encourage others to develop a passion for it. [Galltacht; male; age: under 30]

Other

The following responses to the question about the future of the Irish language and its speakers could not be classified in any of the three categories:

I don’t think that the language will be ever a primary language and I think the learning of Irish in schools should be optional. [Galltacht; female; age: above 70]

The language requires a lot of innovative thinking on the behalf of the Irish government and other bodies to encourage its continued use. [Galltacht; male; age: 61-70]

4.3 A description of the Gaels in contemporary Ireland

This section describes the results of the survey based on the level of identifying as a Gael among the respondents. The sample populations in the two study areas are combined into a single, statistically non-representative population ranked into seven categories. The categories are based on the responses to the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ in Part VIII of the questionnaire and include the five-point Likert-type response item (-2 Strongly disagree; -1 Disagree; 0 Neutral; 1 Agree; 2 Strongly agree) together with the option ‘not sure’ and a category of non-response (not stated). In statistical terms the variable ‘I am a *Gael*’ is taken to be the independent variable of analysis and all other variables are taken to be its dependent variables. In theoretical terms this takes self-identification to be the basic marker of membership. The layout of this analysis follows that in the ‘Description of the survey results’ and is based on the structure of the

questionnaire. The distribution curve of respondents are shown in the following chart (Figure 135):

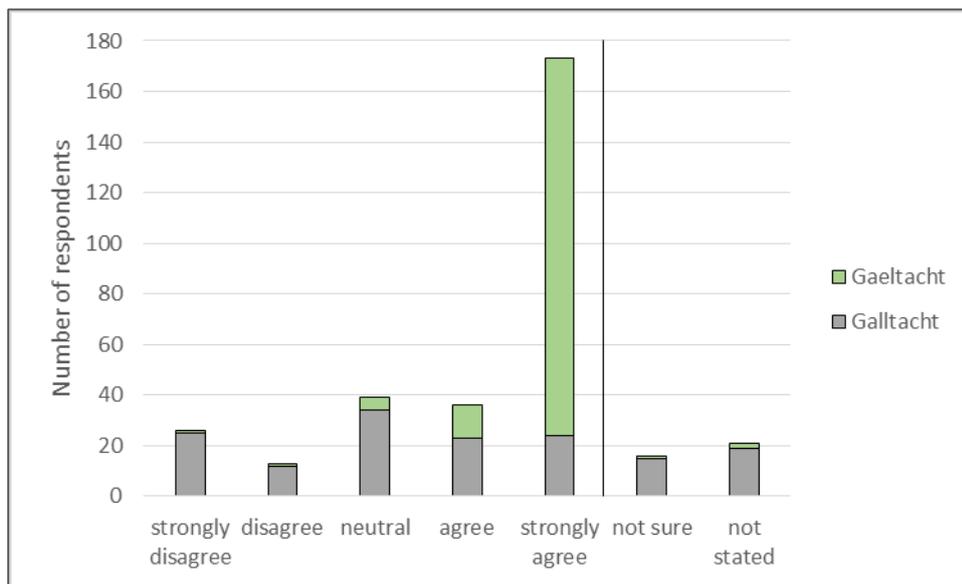


Figure 135 Distribution of respondents indicating the two study areas.

Of the 324 respondents (*i.e.* all the respondents from both study areas together) the majority (53.4%) chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’. The curve depicting the distribution of responses is multimodal and shows a strong correlation between identifying to be *Gael* and regional location; the majority (86.1%) of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ to the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ were from the Gaeltacht Study Area.

Part I Social background

The following chart shows that no clear correlation exists between identifying as a *Gael* and sex of the respondents (Figure 136).

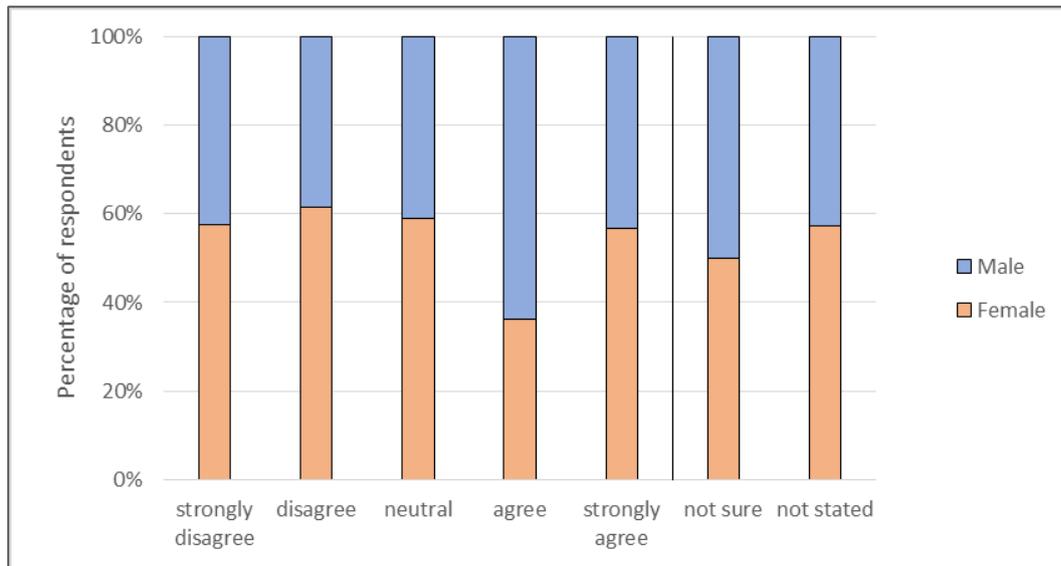


Figure 136 Sex of respondents by level of identification as a Gael.

Respondents who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ display an even proportional distribution of age groups in comparison with respondents who chose another option of agreement/disagreement (Figure 137).

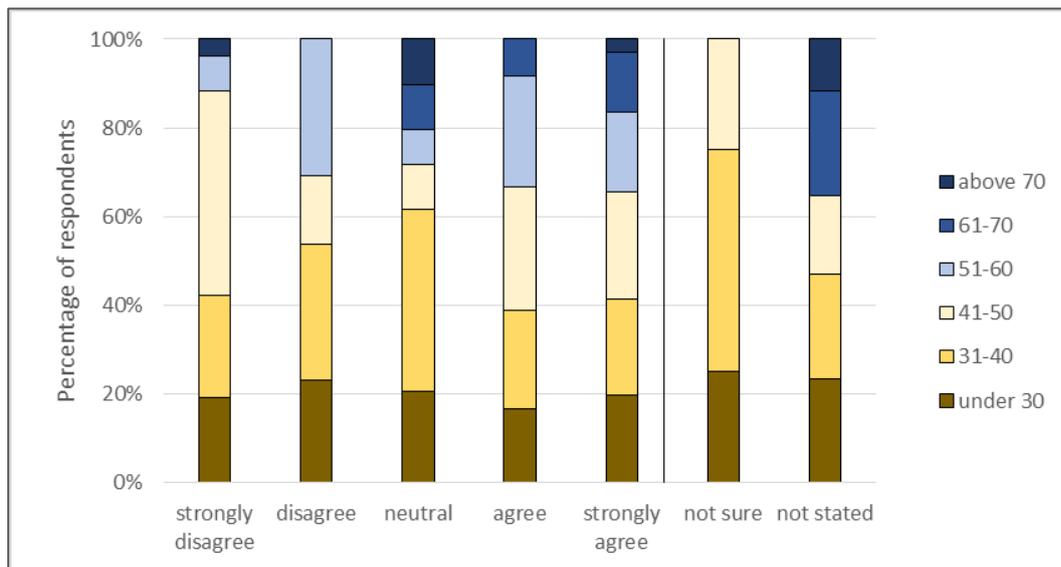


Figure 137 Age profiles of respondents by level of identification as a Gael.

Swapping the two axes in the above chart, *i.e.* placing age groups in the horizontal axis, reveals a slightly increasing trend of agreement among those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’. This trend is not followed in the youngest age group (‘under 30’), which shows the same proportion of respondents who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with ‘being a Gael’ as those in the age group ‘41-50’ (Figure 138).

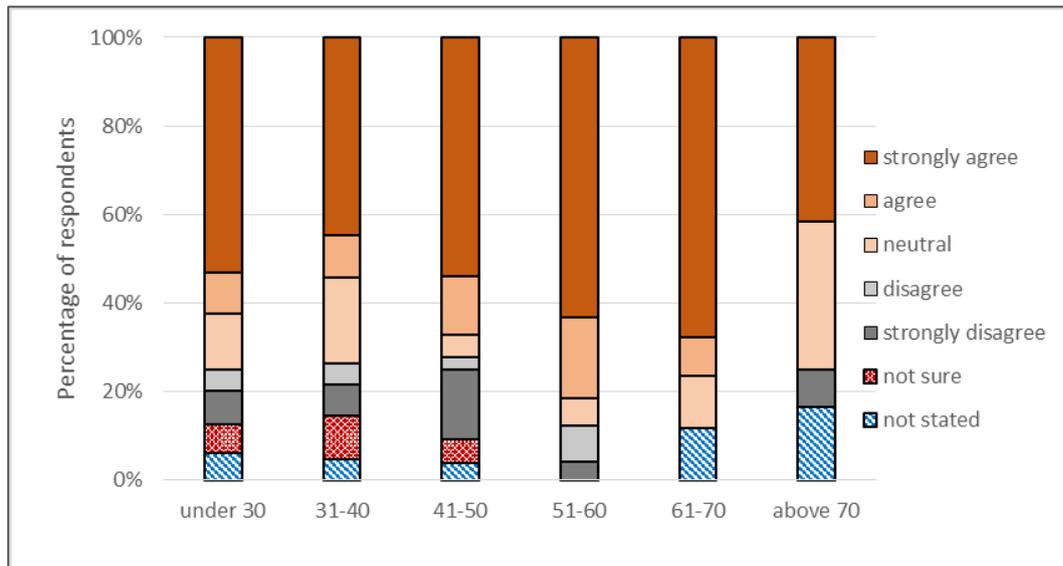


Figure 138 Age profiles of respondents by level of identification as a Gael.

The trend of agreement shown in the previous chart is mirrored in the distribution of responses in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 139).

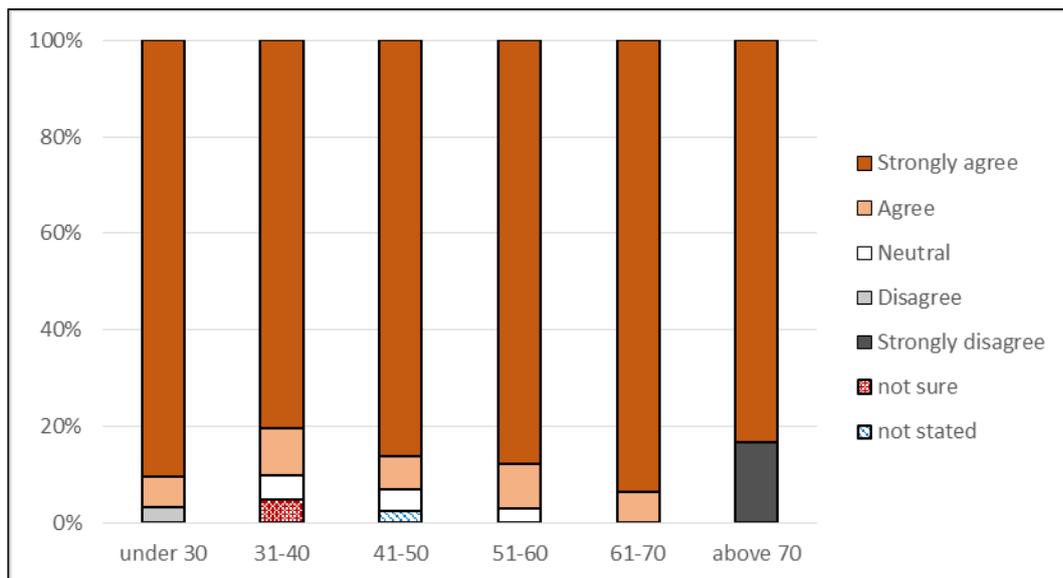


Figure 139 Age profiles of respondents by level of identification as a Gael in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area those in the age group '41-50' disagreed most markedly with the statement 'I am a Gael' (Figure 140).

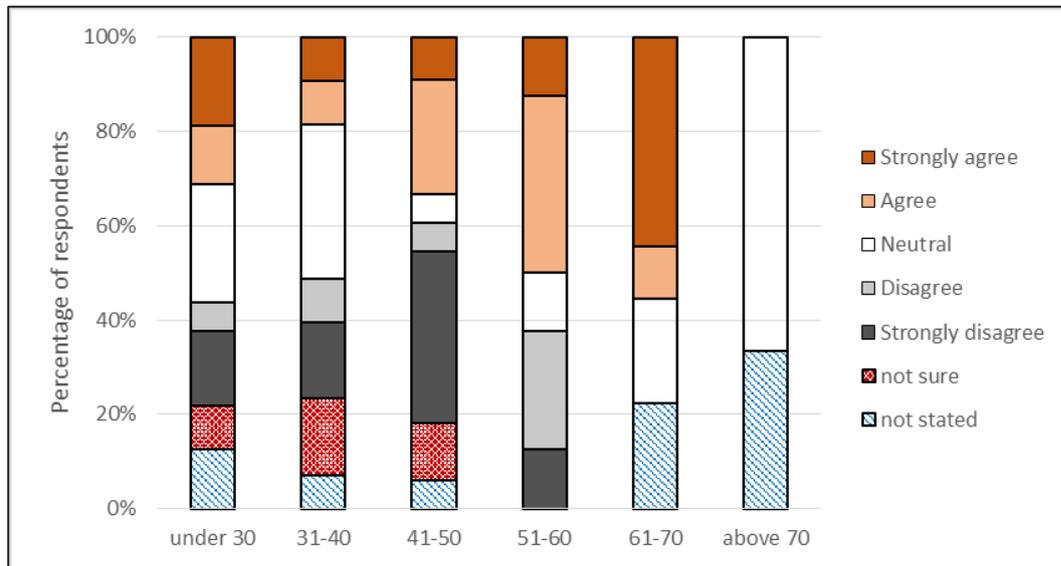


Figure 140 Age profiles of respondents by level of identification as a Gael in the Galtacht Study Area.

The following chart shows that identifying as a *Gael* does not correlate with level of education among the respondents (Figure 141).

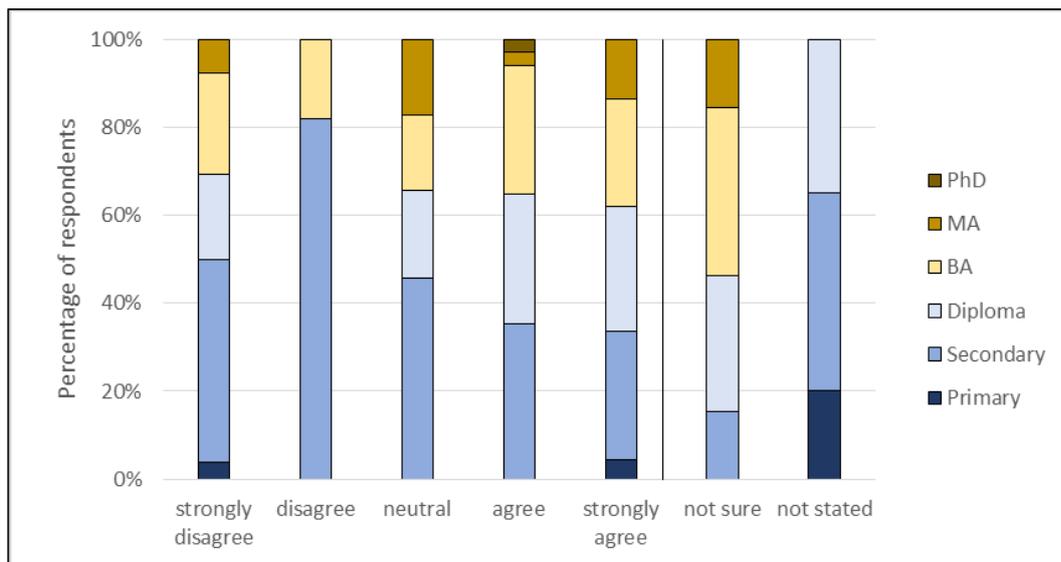


Figure 141 Educational profiles of the respondents by level of identification as a Gael.

Part II Sociolinguistic background

The following chart shows a clear correlation between patterns of language use in the home and identifying as a Gael (Figure 142).

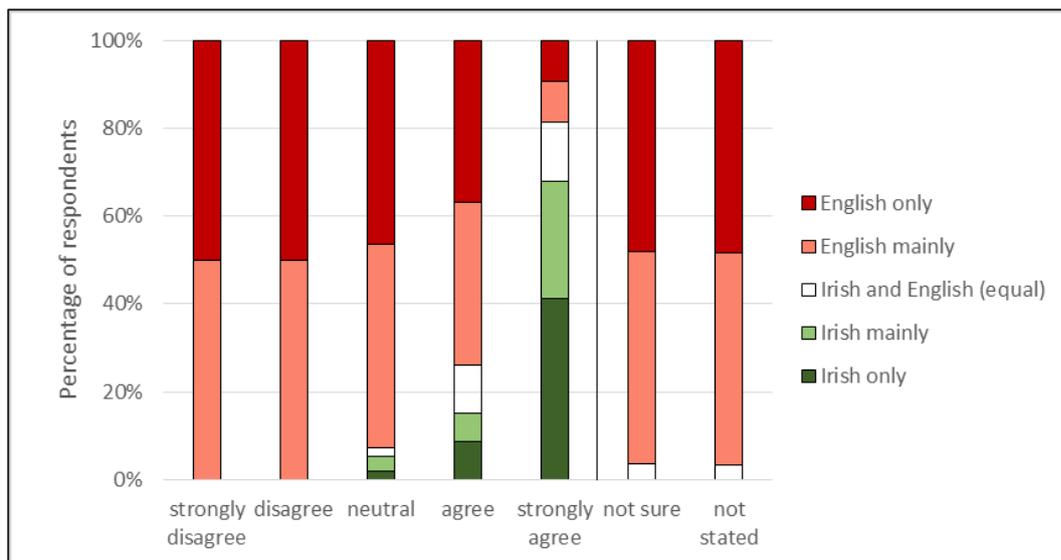


Figure 142 Patterns of language use in the home by level of identification as a Gael.

The following chart shows a clear correlation between ability in the Irish language and identifying as a Gael. The majority (84%) of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ reported to have fluency in the Irish language (Figure 143).

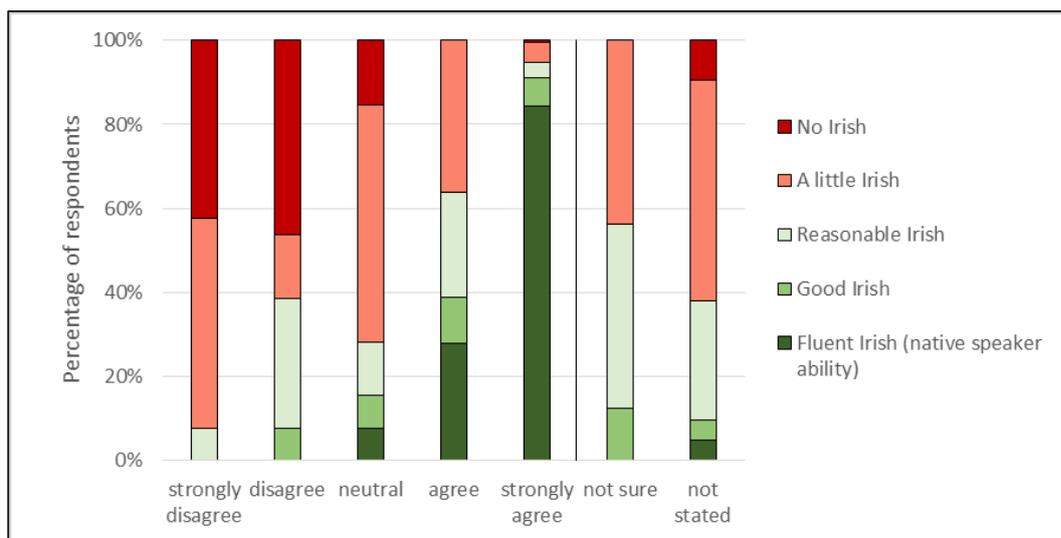


Figure 143 Ability in the Irish language by level of identification as a Gael.

The following chart shows a clear correlation between mastery of both the English and the Irish language and identifying as a Gael. Among those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ 38% reported to have higher ability in the Irish language in comparison with the English language and a further 45% reported to have equal ability in the two languages. All of the respondents who chose to ‘disagree’ or ‘strongly disagree’ with ‘being a Gael’, together with those who expressed uncertainty (‘not sure’) or did not state an answer, reported to have higher ability in the English language than in the Irish language (Figure 144).

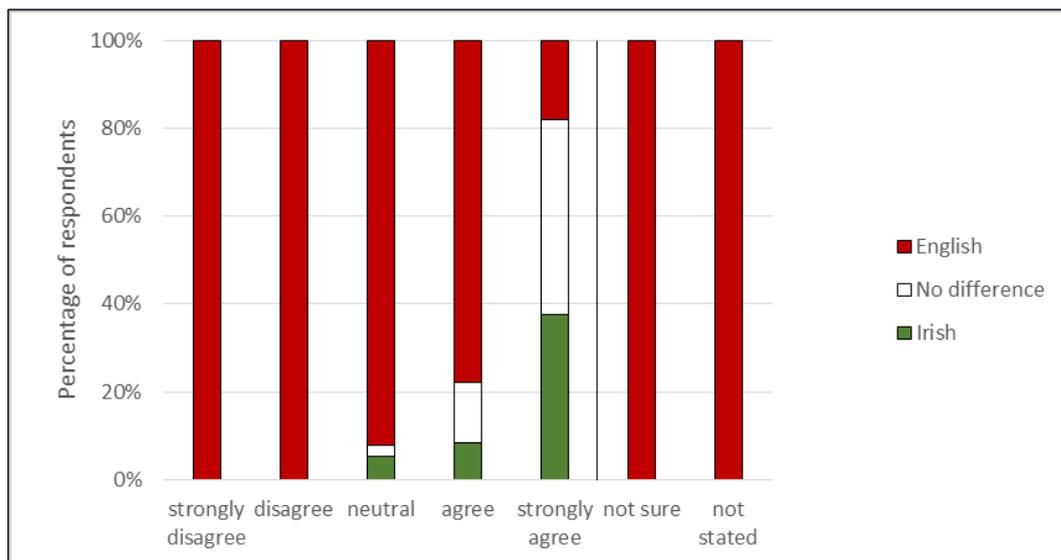


Figure 144 Comparison of mastery of the English and the Irish language by level of identification as a Gael.

Part III Attitudes and beliefs

Responding to the statement ‘The Irish language is my language’ is clearly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a Gael’; 76% of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ also chose to strongly agree with the statement ‘The Irish language is my language’, while 42% of those who chose to ‘strongly disagree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ also chose to strongly disagree with the statement ‘The Irish language is my language’ (Figure 145).

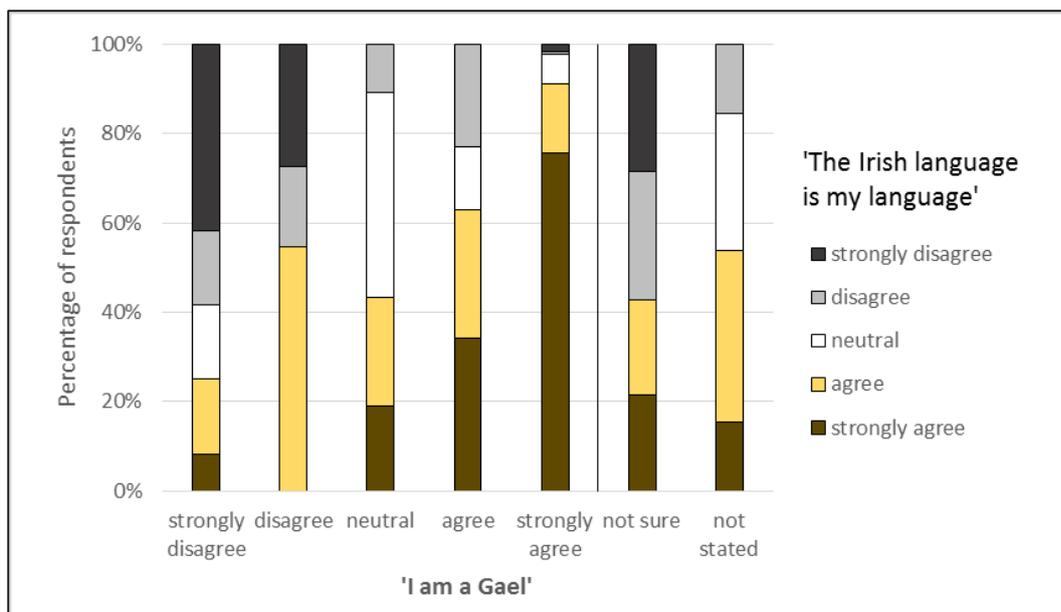


Figure 145 Response to the statement ‘The Irish language is my language’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘The English language is my language’ is negatively related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a Gael’; 55% of those who chose to ‘strongly

agree' with the statement 'I am a *Gael*' also chose to strongly disagree with the statement 'The English language is my language', while 41% of those who chose to 'strongly disagree' with the statement 'I am a *Gael*' also chose to strongly agree with the statement 'The English language is my language' (Figure 146).

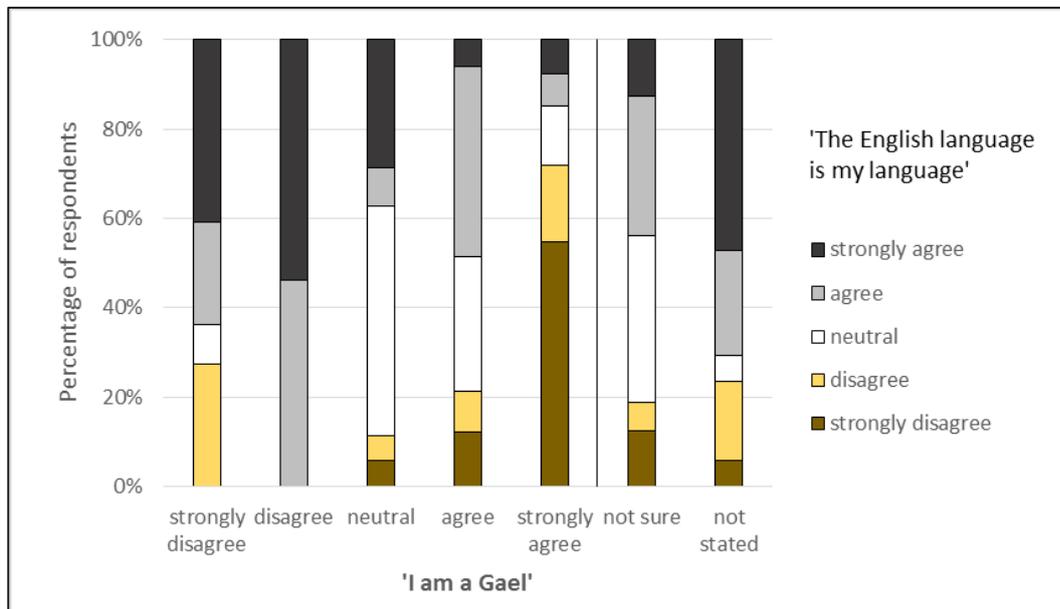


Figure 146 Response to the statement 'The English language is my language' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'I like the Irish language' is clearly related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a *Gael*'; 88% of those who chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a *Gael*' also chose to strongly agree with the statement 'I like the Irish language' (Figure 147).

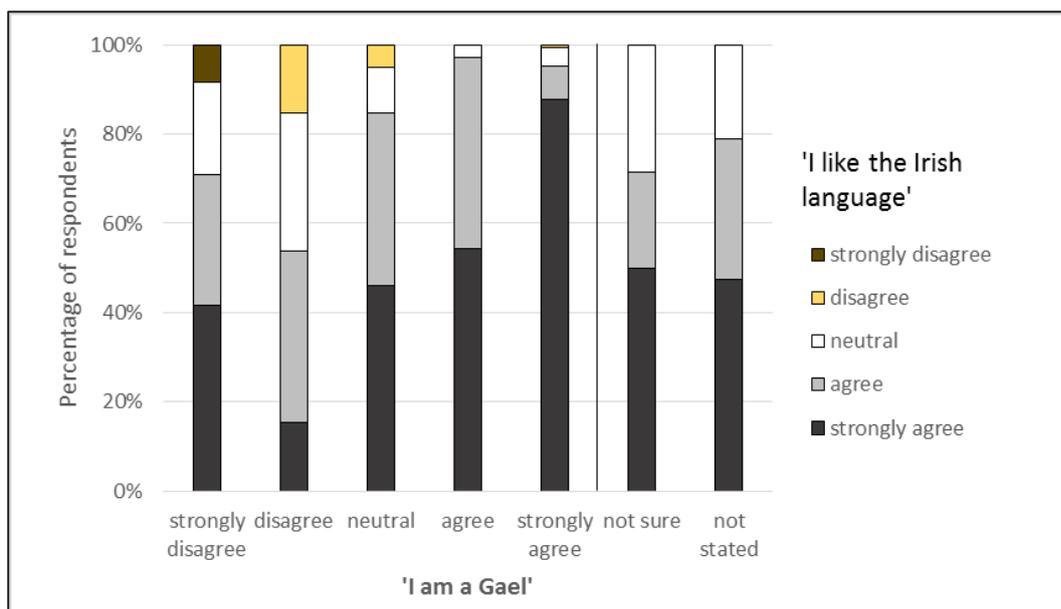


Figure 147 Response to the statement 'I like the Irish language' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'I like the English language' is slightly negatively related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; the highest proportion 46% of those who chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I like the English language' were among those who chose to strongly disagree with the statement 'I am a Gael' (Figure 148).

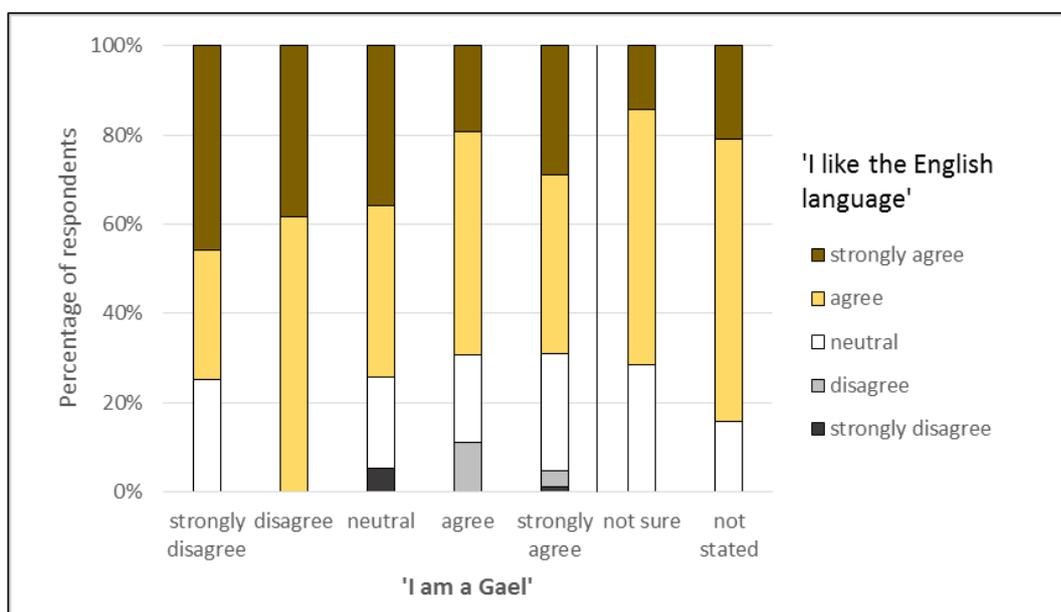


Figure 148 Response to the statement 'I like the English language' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland' is slightly related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; more optimism about the future of the Irish language in Ireland were expressed among those who identified themselves as 'Gael's' (Figure 149).

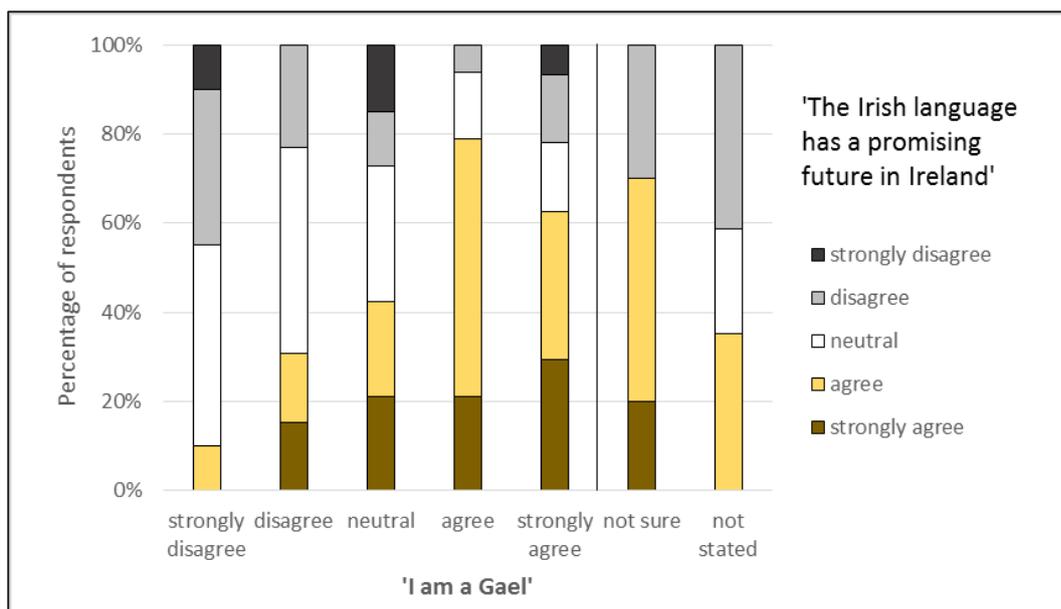


Figure 149 Response to the statement 'The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht' is slightly related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; while more optimism about the future of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht were expressed among those who identified themselves as 'Gael's', pessimism ('strongly disagree') was only identified among those who chose to 'agree' or 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a Gael' (Figure 150).

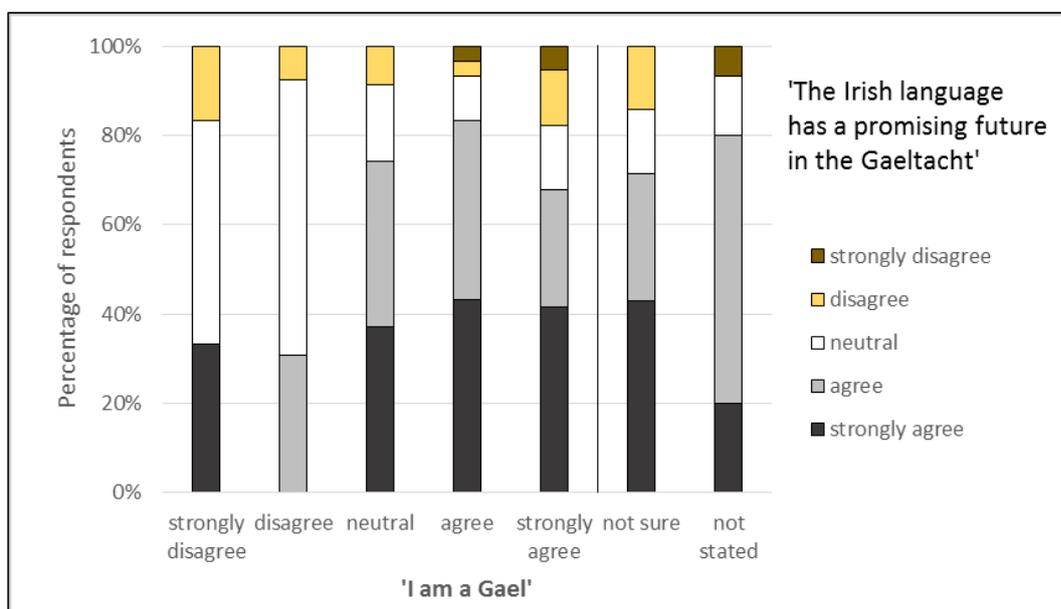


Figure 150 Response to the statement 'The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'The Irish language provides many economic opportunities' is slightly related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael' (Figure 151).

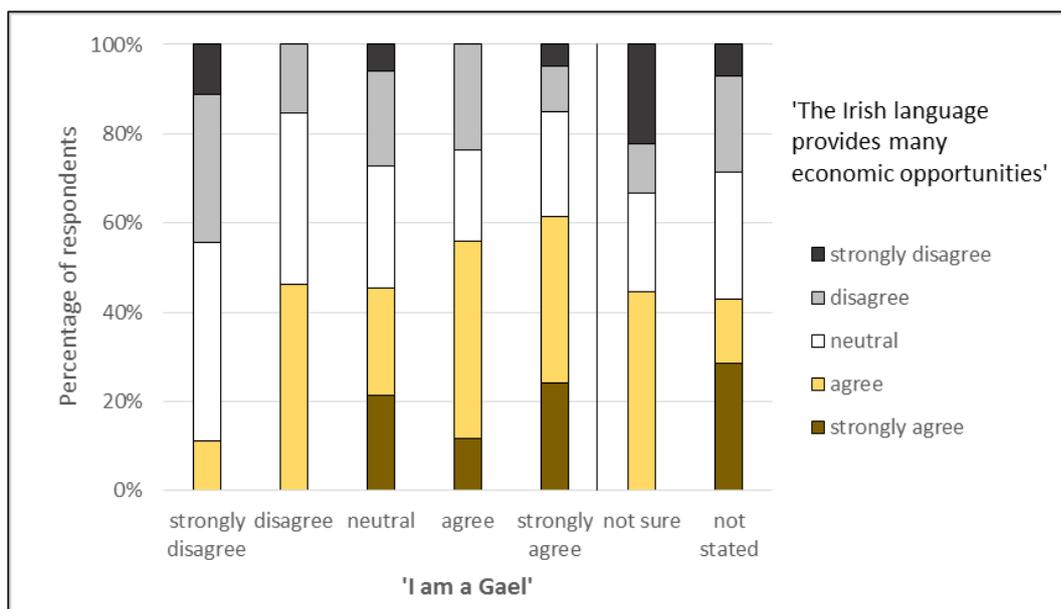


Figure 151 Response to the statement 'The Irish language provides many economic opportunities' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleague' is clearly related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; 39% of those who chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a Gael' also chose to strongly agree with the statement 'I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleague' (Figure 152).

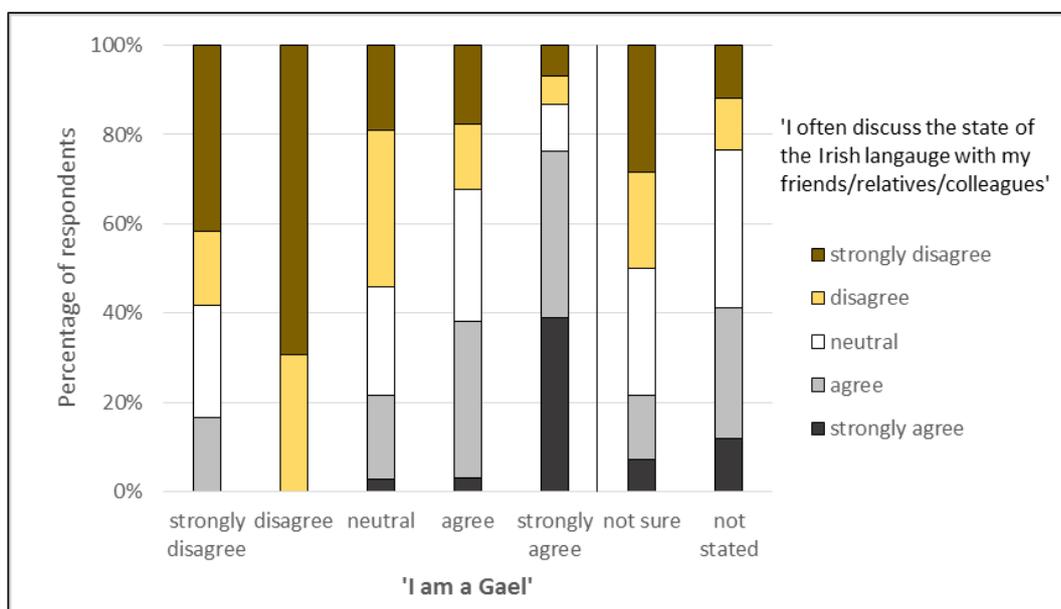


Figure 152 Response to the statement 'I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'The Irish language is important to Ireland' is related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; 92% of those who chose to 'strongly agree'

with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ also chose to strongly agree with the statement ‘The Irish language is important to Ireland’ (Figure 153).

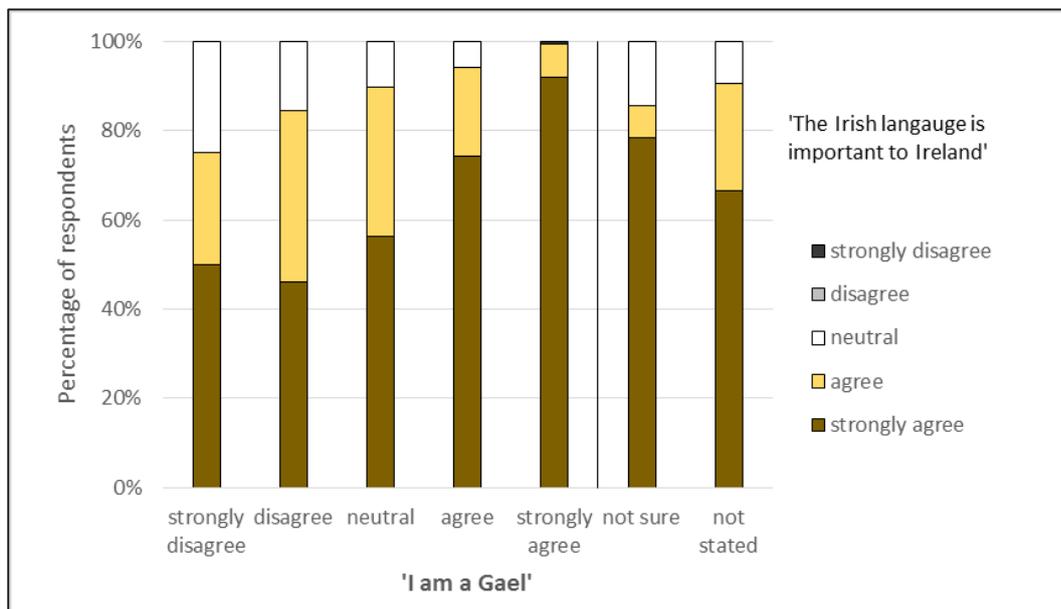


Figure 153 Response to the statement ‘The Irish language is important to Ireland’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘The Irish language is important to me personally’ is clearly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’; 85% of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ also chose to strongly agree with the statement ‘The Irish language is important to me personally’ (Figure 154).

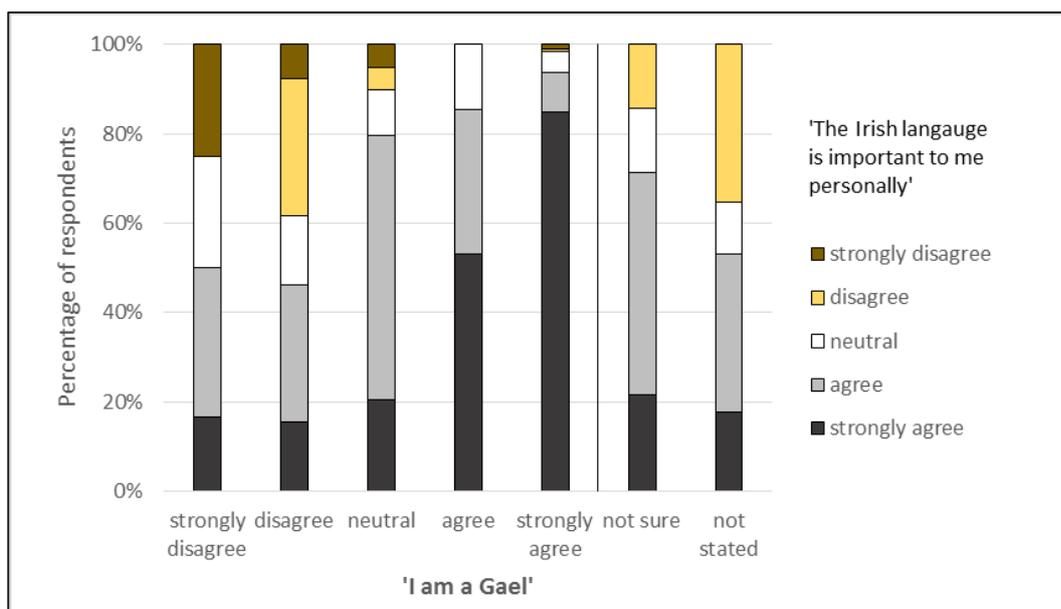


Figure 154 Response to the statement ‘The Irish language is important to me personally’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland’ is related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ (Figure 155).

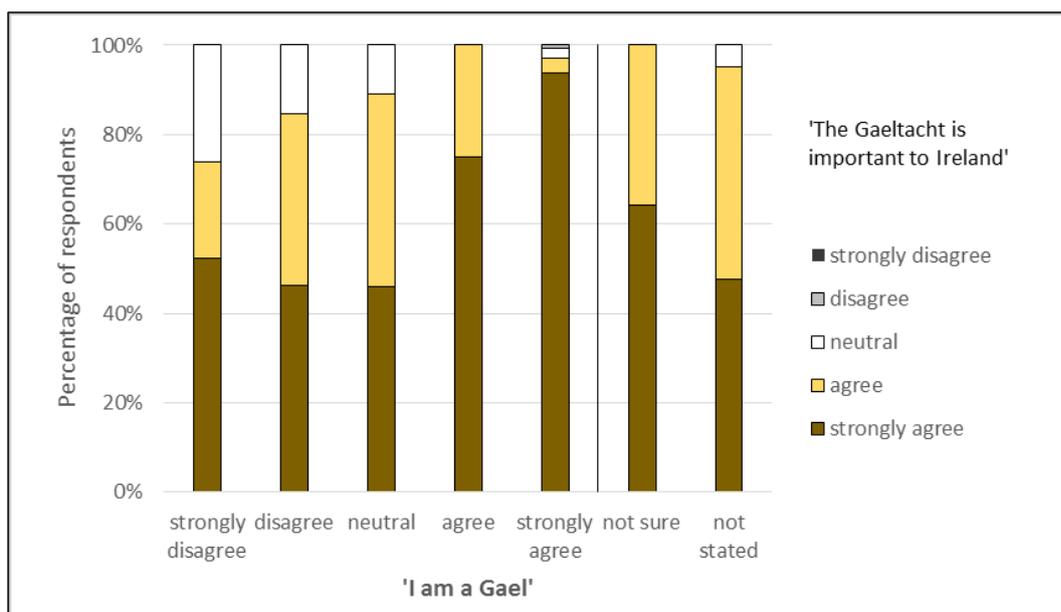


Figure 155 Response to the statement ‘The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘The Gaeltacht is important to me personally’ is clearly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a Gael’; 83% of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ also chose to strongly agree with the statement ‘The Gaeltacht is important to me personally’ (Figure 156).

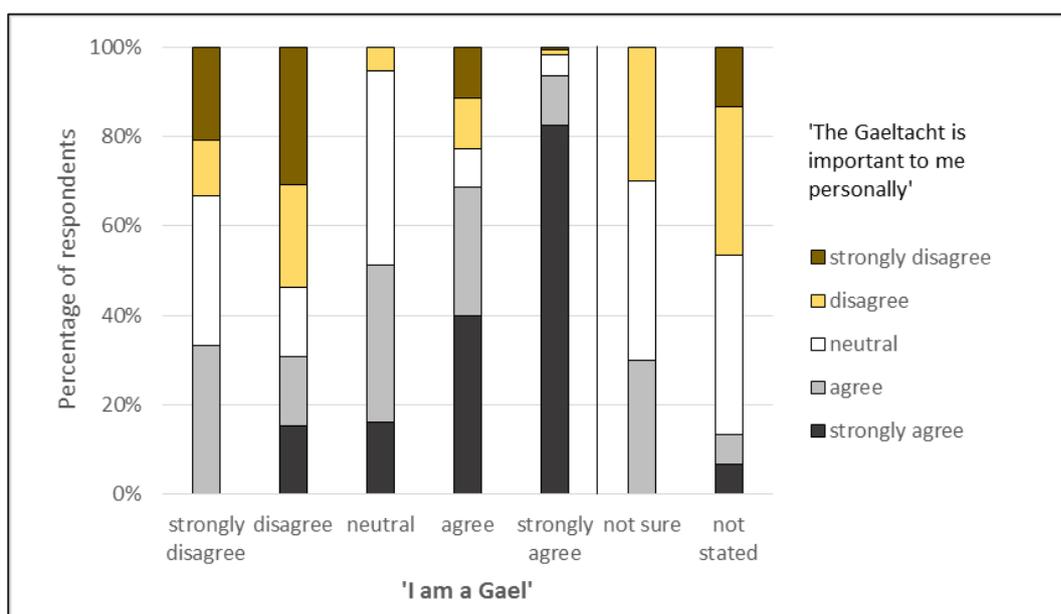


Figure 156 Response to the statement ‘The Gaeltacht is important to me personally’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language’ is slightly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ (Figure 157).

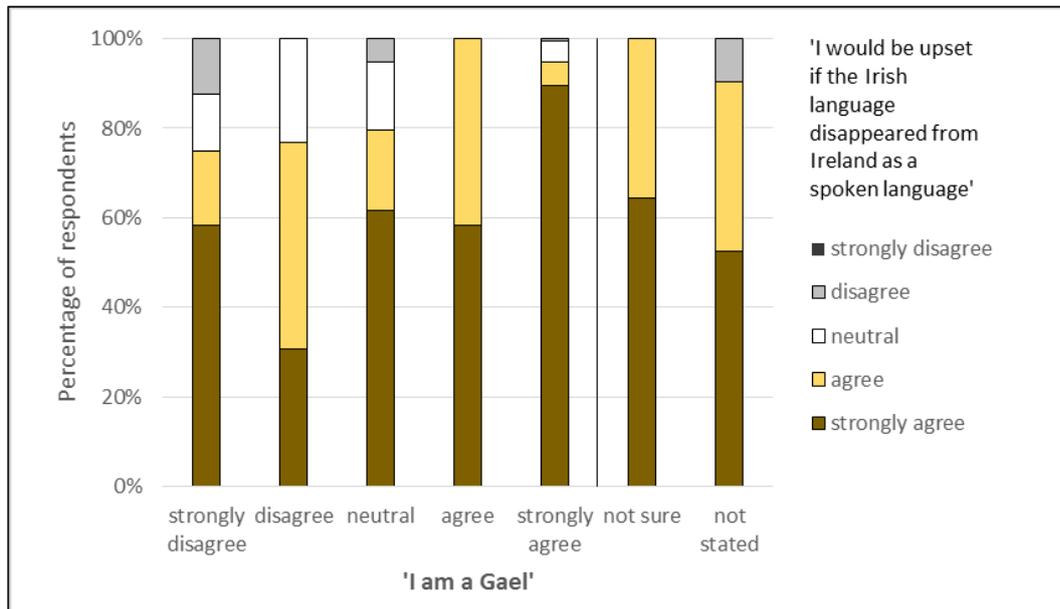


Figure 157 Response to the statement ‘I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English’ is clearly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a Gael’; 75% of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ also chose to strongly agree with the statement ‘The Gaeltacht is important to me personally’ (Figure 158).

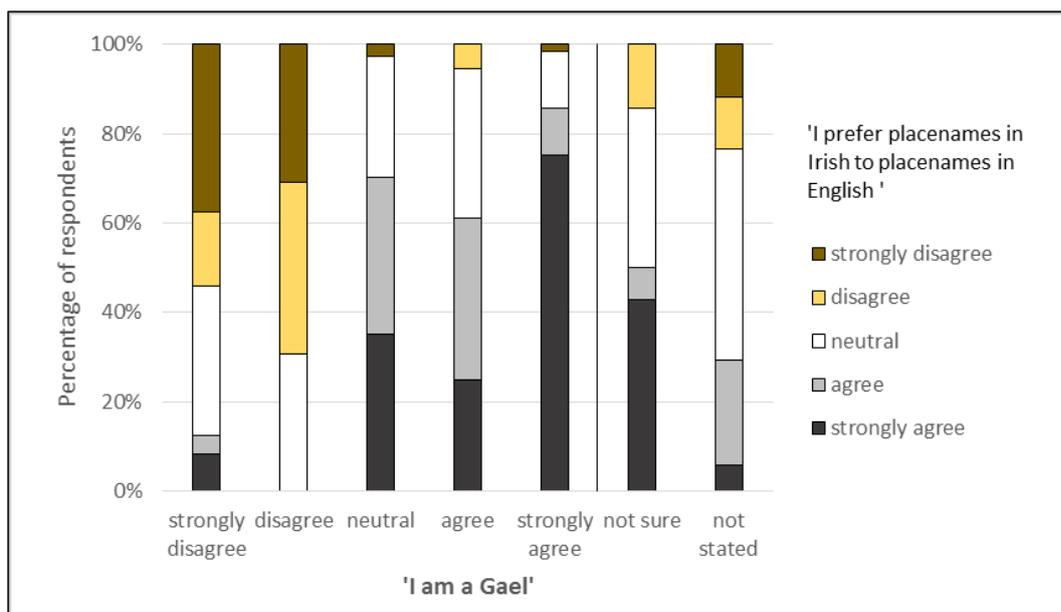


Figure 158 Response to the statement 'I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'I find the term 'Galltacht' offensive' is related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael' (Figure 159).

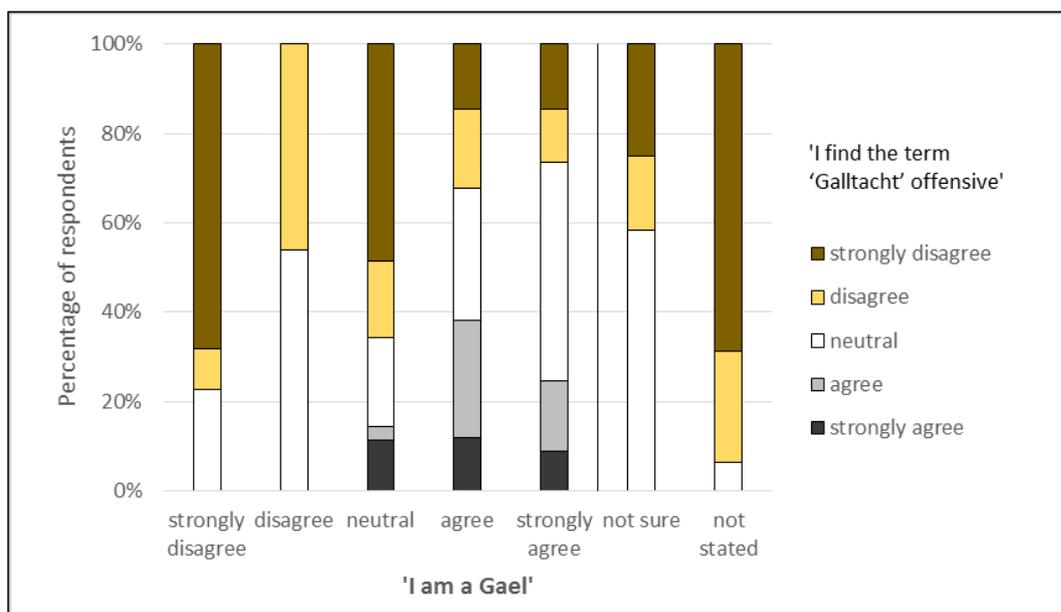


Figure 159 Response to the statement 'I find the term 'Galltacht' offensive' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the question 'Who does the Irish language belong to?' is related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; among those who chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a Gael' were the highest proportion (12%) of respondents who chose the option 'it [the Irish language] does not belong to anyone' and the lowest proportion (<1%) of respondents who chose the option '[it belongs] to those who speak it at home' (Figure 160).

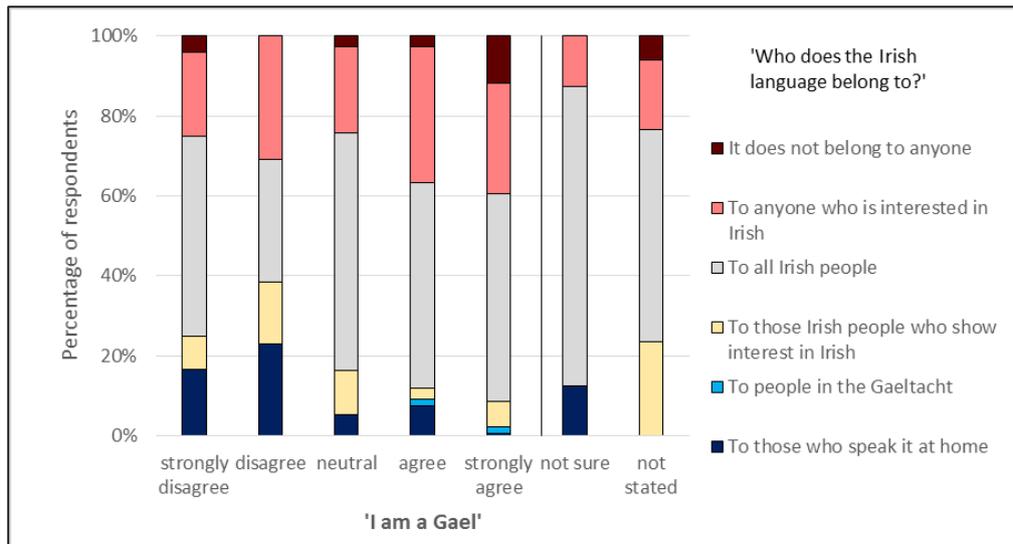


Figure 160 Response to the question: 'Who does the Irish language belong to?' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the question 'What percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home?' is negatively related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael' (Figure 161).

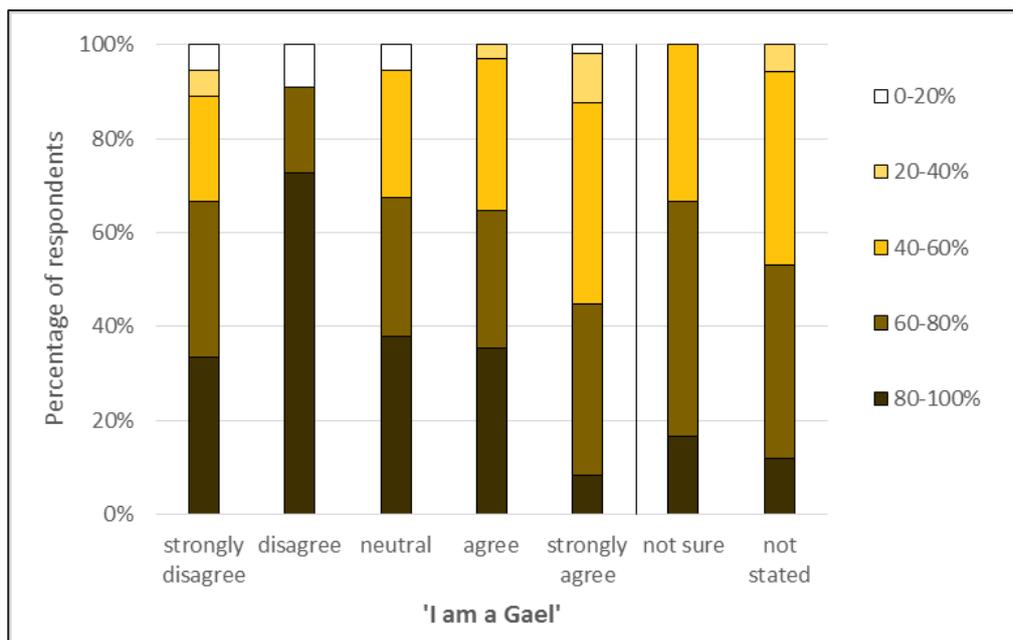


Figure 161 Response to the question: 'What percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home?' by level of identification as a Gael.

4.4 Correlation analysis

Correlation analysis is a way to quantify the relationship between two datasets of variables. These variables are divided into two classes: independent variables and dependent variables. An independent variable is one that the researcher wants to test as the presumed cause of something else. In this analysis the data collected in Part I of the questionnaire serve as

independent variables. These three variables are: (1) age group, (2) sex, and (3) level of education. The dependent variable in correlation analysis is a variable on which there is a presumed effect. The dependent variables in this analysis are those collected in the rest of the questionnaire. The purpose of this analysis is to find out which correlations of independent and dependent variables return the highest and lowest coefficient values between the two study areas. The following table provides the lowest, highest, and average correlation coefficient values regarding the three independent variables: Age, Sex, and Education (Table 51).

Independent variable	Gaeltacht			Galltacht		
	Min. Coef.	Max. Coef.	Mean Coef.	Min. Coef.	Max. Coef.	Mean Coef.
Age	-0.37	0.2	0	-0.28	0.34	0.01
Sex	-0.26	0.23	-0.01	-0.28	0.25	0
Education	-0.24	0.22	-0.01	-0.29	0.35	-0.03

Table 51 Lowest, highest, and average correlation coefficient values regarding the three independent variables: Age, Sex, and Education.

The amplitude of correlation coefficient values is fairly narrow. The lowest value of coefficients is -0.37 and the highest value of coefficients is 0.35. These are moderate values in correlation. The following chart shows the correlation coefficient values of Age, Sex, and Education in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 162):

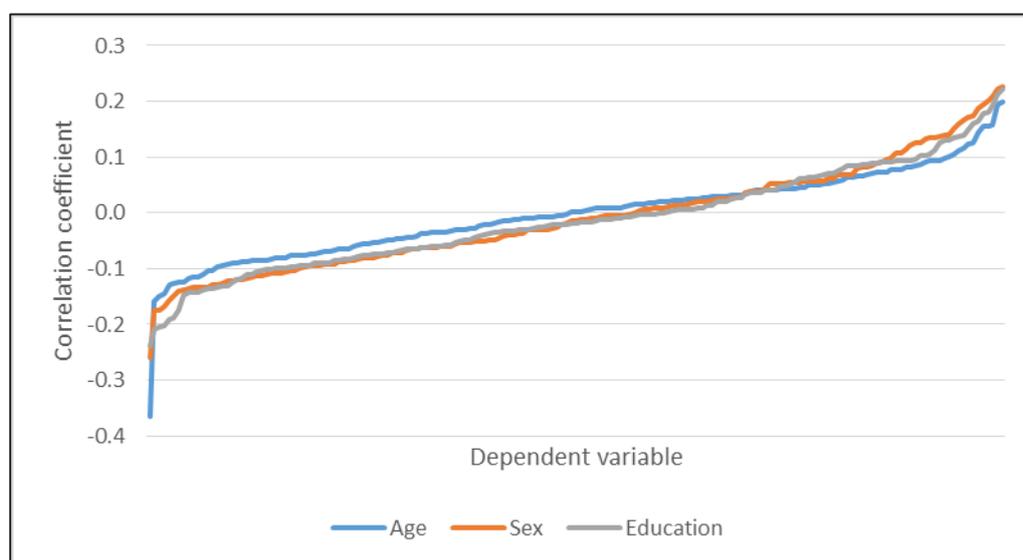


Figure 162 Correlation coefficient values of Age, Sex, and Education in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high positive correlations concerning the independent variable 'Age' means that the older one is the higher positive mark one tends to assign on a response item. The highest positive correlations concerning the independent variable 'Age' in the Gaeltacht Study Area are summarised in the following table (Table 52):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
0.198	Part VII Identity markers: second column on 'being a <i>Gael</i> '	Being religious
0.194	Part IX Leadership: achievement	Gaelscoileanna/Gaelcholáistí
0.158	Part VII Identity markers: first column on 'being Irish'	Being religious
0.156	Part IX Leadership: achievement	The Irish Government
0.155	Part IX Leadership: achievement	Irish language departments of Universities

Table 52 Highest positive correlations concerning 'Age' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high positive correlations concerning the independent variable 'Sex' means that more female respondents than male respondents tend to assign higher positive marks on a response item. The highest positive correlations concerning the independent variable 'Sex' in the Gaeltacht Study Area are summarised in the following table (Table 53):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
0.227	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland
0.222	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues
0.209	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	The Gaeltacht is important to me personally
0.201	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht
0.194	Part IV Social norms of language use	It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht

Table 53 Highest positive correlations concerning 'Sex' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high positive correlations concerning the independent variable 'Education' means that the higher level of education one accomplished the higher positive mark one tends to assign on a response item. The highest positive correlations concerning the independent variable 'Education' in the Gaeltacht Study Area are summarised in the following table (Table 54):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
0.222	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	The Gaeltacht is important to me personally
0.212	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	The Irish language is important to me personally
0.182	Part III Attitudes and beliefs 'Who does the Irish language belong to?'	To anyone who is interested in Irish
0.178	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English
0.166	Part V Cultural Practice	I listen to traditional Irish songs in English

Table 54 Highest positive correlations concerning 'Education' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high negative correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Age’ means that the younger one is the higher positive mark one tends to assign on a response item. In case of the question ‘Which language do you master with more proficiency?’ it means that the younger one is the higher positive mark one tends to assign to the English language half of the language use continuum. The highest negative correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Age’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area are summarised in the following table (Table 55):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
-0.366	Part II Sociolinguistic background	Which language do you master with more proficiency?
-0.158	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	The English language is my language
-0.150	Part X Vision: vision of leaders	Improvement
-0.129	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being Irish’	Irish traditional songs in Irish
-0.127	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being a Gael’	Speaking English with an Irish accent

Table 55 Highest negative correlations concerning ‘Age’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high negative correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Sex’ means that more male respondents than female respondents tend to assign higher positive marks on a response item. The highest negative correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Sex’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area are summarised in the following table (Table 56):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
-0.260	Part X Vision: own vision	Deterioration (your own vision)
-0.175	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being a Gael’	Speaking English with an Irish accent
-0.174	Part V Cultural Practice	I was educated in a gaelscoil (outside the Gaeltacht)
-0.168	Part V Cultural Practice	I have an Irish Christian name and I use the Irish spelling
-0.150	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being a Gael’	Irish sports (Hurling/Gaelic football)

Table 56 Highest negative correlations concerning ‘Sex’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high negative correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Education’ means that the lower level of education one accomplished the higher positive mark one tends to assign on a response item. The highest negative correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Education’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area are summarised in the following table (Table 57):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
-0.240	Part IX Leadership: achievement	Irish language departments of Universities
-0.209	Language of the questionnaire	Language of the Questionnaire
-0.204	Part IX Leadership: achievement	Gaelscoileanna/Gaelcholáistí
-0.202	Part V Cultural Practice	I am interested in dancing – style: Riverdance
-0.191	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being Irish’	Being religious

Table 57 Highest negative correlations concerning ‘Education’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The following chart shows the correlation coefficient values of Age, Sex, and Education in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 163):

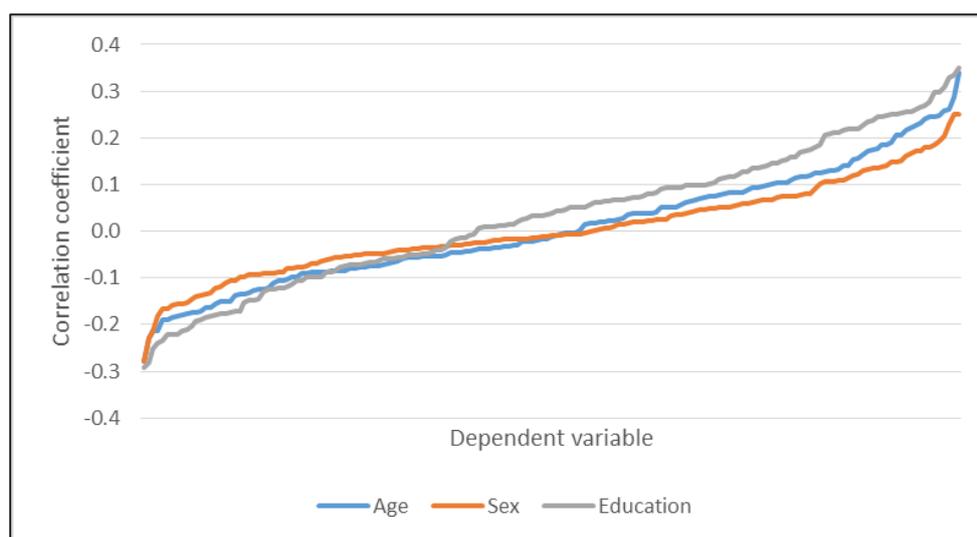


Figure 163 Correlation coefficient values of Age, Sex, and Education in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high positive correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Age’ means that the older one is the higher positive mark one tends to assign on a response item. The highest positive correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Age’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area are provided in the following table (Table 58):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
0.339	Part IV Social norms of language use	It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers
0.257	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being Irish’	Irish traditional music
0.249	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being a Gael’	Living in an English-speaking community in the Gaeltacht
0.246	Part IV Social norms of language use	It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers
0.244	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	The Gaeltacht is important to me personally

Table 58 Highest positive correlations concerning ‘Age’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high positive correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Sex’ means that more female respondents than male respondents tend to assign higher positive mark on a response item. The highest positive correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Sex’ in the Galltacht Study Area are provided in the following table (Table 59):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
0.251	Part III Attitudes and beliefs	The Irish language provides many economic opportunities
0.251	Part X Vision: ‘what will happen?’	Survival
0.231	Part IX Leadership: responsibility	The public sector in general
0.204	Part IV Social norms of language use	It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht
0.192	Part X Vision: own vision	Survival

Table 59 Highest positive correlations concerning ‘Sex’ in the Galltacht Study Area.

The high positive correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Education’ means that the higher level of education one accomplished the higher positive mark one tends to assign on a response item. The highest positive correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Education’ in the Galltacht Study Area are provided in the following table (Table 60):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
0.350	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being a Gael’	Irish surnames – Irish spelling
0.335	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being a Gael’	Speaking Irish at home
0.328	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being a Gael’	Irish Christian names – Irish spelling
0.307	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being a Gael’	Irish traditional songs in English
0.297	Part VII Identity markers: first column on ‘being a Gael’	Speaking fluent Irish

Table 60 Highest positive correlations concerning ‘Education’ in the Galltacht Study Area.

The high negative correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Age’ means that the younger one is the higher positive mark one tends to assign on a response item. The highest negative correlations concerning the independent variable ‘Age’ in the Galltacht Study Area are provided in the following table (Table 61):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
-0.279	Part V Cultural practice	I have an Irish Christian name and I use the English spelling
-0.230	Part VII Identity markers: first column on 'being a <i>Gael</i> '	Being born in the Gaeltacht
-0.215	Part VII Identity markers: first column on 'being Irish'	Being born in Ireland
-0.189	Part V Cultural practice	I have an Irish Christian name and I use the Irish spelling
-0.188	Part V Cultural practice	I have an Irish surname and I use the Irish spelling

Table 61 Highest negative correlations concerning 'Age' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high negative correlations concerning the independent variable 'Sex' means that more male respondents than female respondents tend to assign higher positive marks on a response item. The highest negative correlations concerning the independent variable 'Sex' in the Gaeltacht Study Area are provided in the following table (Table 62):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
-0.278	Part V Cultural practice	I am interested in dancing – style: Riverdance
-0.230	Part IV Social norms of language use	The English language is my language
-0.182	Part VII Identity markers: first column on 'being Irish'	Irish surnames – Irish spelling
-0.167	Part IX Leadership: achievement	Gaelscoileanna/Gaelcholáistí
-0.167	Part VII Identity markers: first column on 'being a <i>Gael</i> '	Primary education in a gaelscoil (non-Gaeltacht)

Table 62 Highest negative correlations concerning 'Sex' in the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The high negative correlations concerning the independent variable 'Education' means that the lower level of education one accomplished the higher positive mark one tends to assign on a response item. The highest negative correlations concerning the independent variable 'Education' in the Gaeltacht Study Area are provided in the following table (Table 63):

Coefficient	Part of Questionnaire	Dependent variable
-0.281	Part VIII Self identification	I am a gaeilgeoir
-0.252	Part VII Identity markers: first column on 'being Irish'	Place names – English spelling (Galway)
-0.239	Part VII Identity markers: first column on 'being a Gael'	Being religious
-0.234	Part IV Social norms of language use	It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers
-0.222	Part VIII Self identification	I am a speaker of the Irish language

Table 63 Highest negative correlations concerning 'Education' in the Galltacht Study Area.

Part IV Social norms of language use

Responding to the statement 'It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers' is not related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael' (Figure 164).

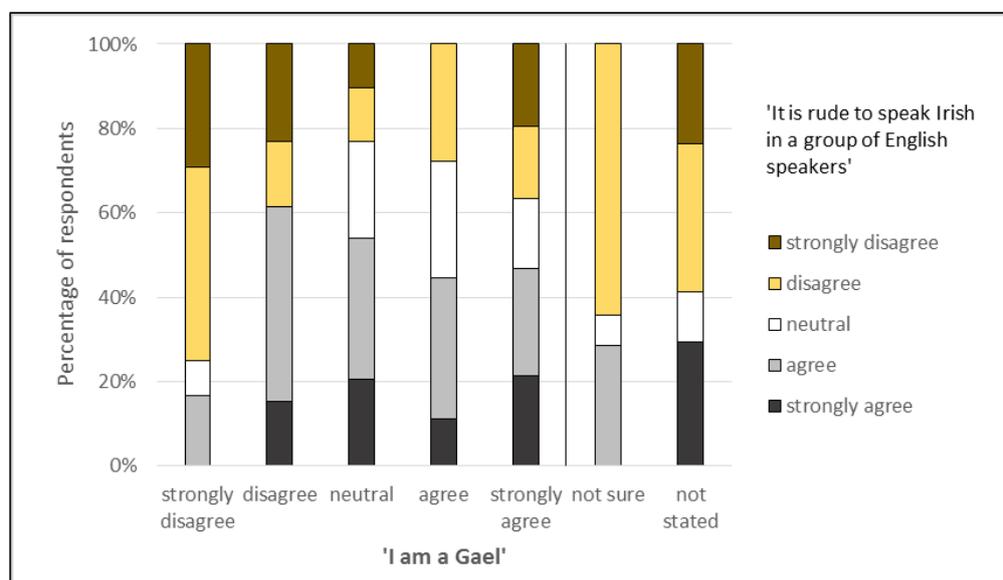


Figure 164 Response to the statement 'It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers' is related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; among those who chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a Gael' were the highest proportion (26%) of respondents who also chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers' (Figure 165).

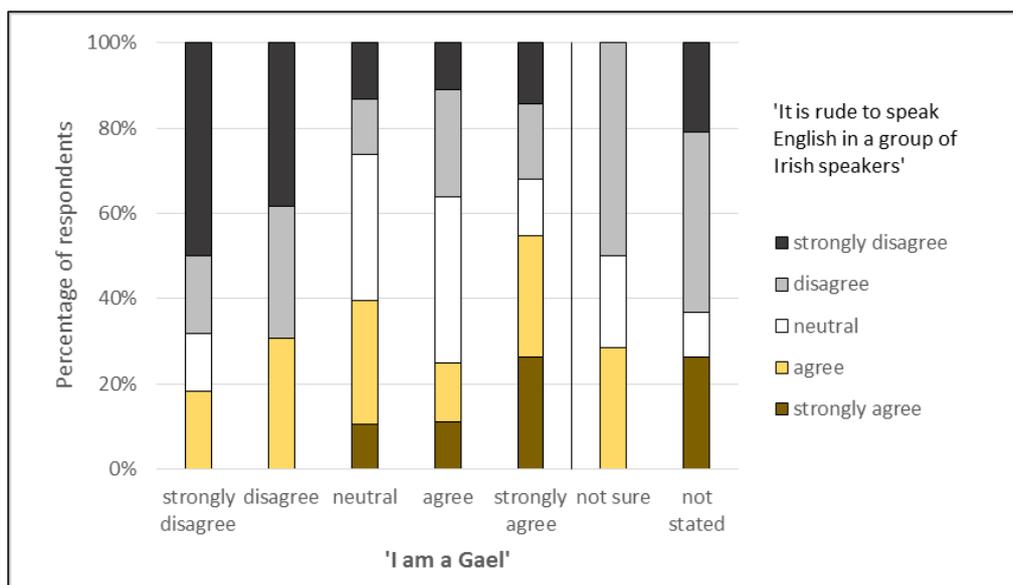


Figure 165 Response to the statement 'It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish' is related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; both the proportion of those who chose to 'strongly agree' (50% of those who chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a Gael') and the proportion of those who chose to 'strongly disagree' (8% of those who chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a Gael') with the statement 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish' was high in context of those who did not identify themselves as 'Gael's' (Figure 166).

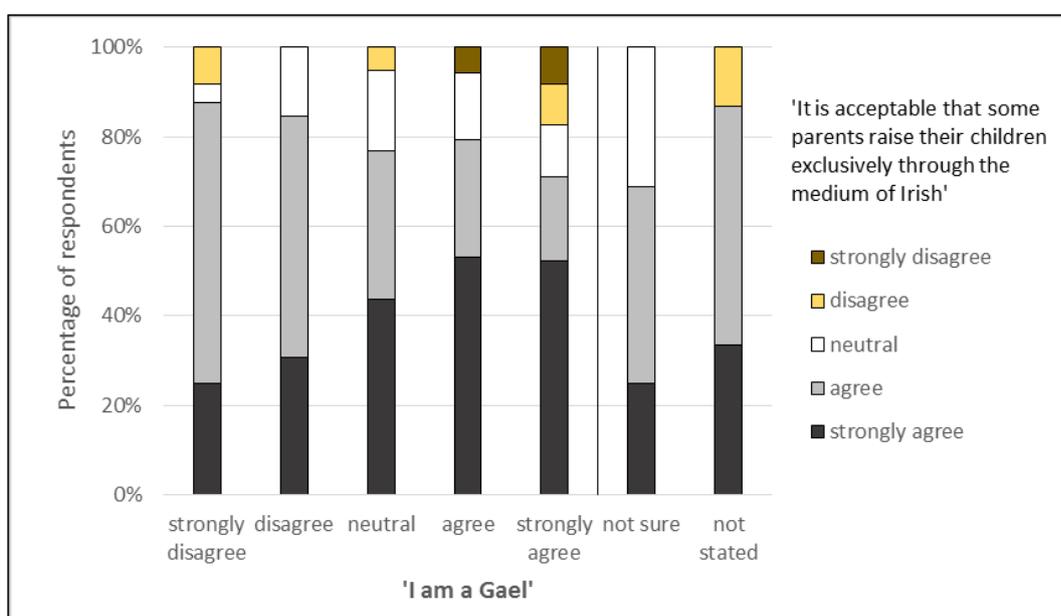


Figure 166 Response to the statement 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English’ is slightly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’; the proportion of those who chose to ‘strongly disagree’ (11% of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’) was high in context of those who did not identify themselves as ‘Gaels’ (Figure 167).

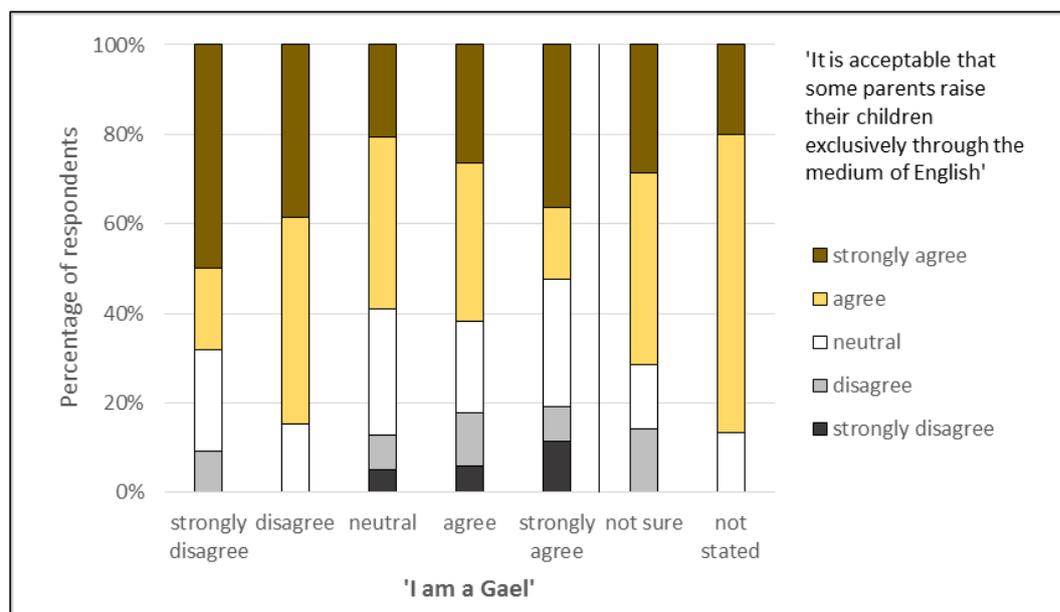


Figure 167 Response to the statement ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht’ is slightly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’; the proportion of those who chose to ‘strongly disagree’ (41% of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’) was high in context of those who chose another level of agreement/disagreement with the statement ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht’ (Figure 168).

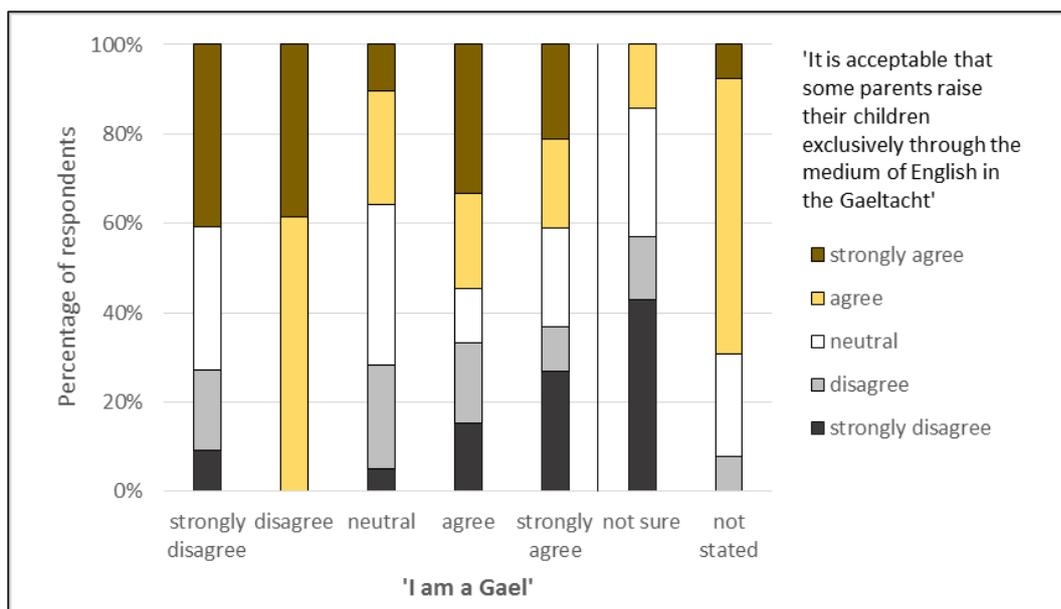


Figure 168 Response to the statement 'It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht' is slightly related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; the proportion of those who chose to 'strongly disagree' (38% of those who chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a Gael') was high in context of those who chose another level of agreement/disagreement with the statement 'English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht' (Figure 169).

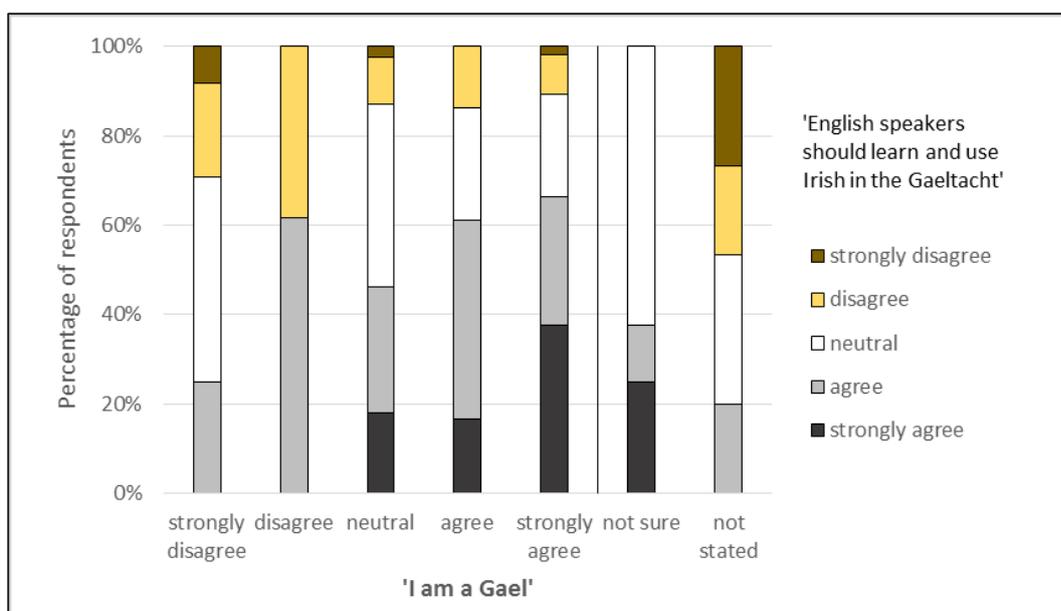


Figure 169 Response to the statement 'English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht’ is slightly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a Gael’; the proportion of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ (36% of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’) was high in context of those who chose another level of agreement/disagreement with the statement ‘People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht’ (Figure 170).

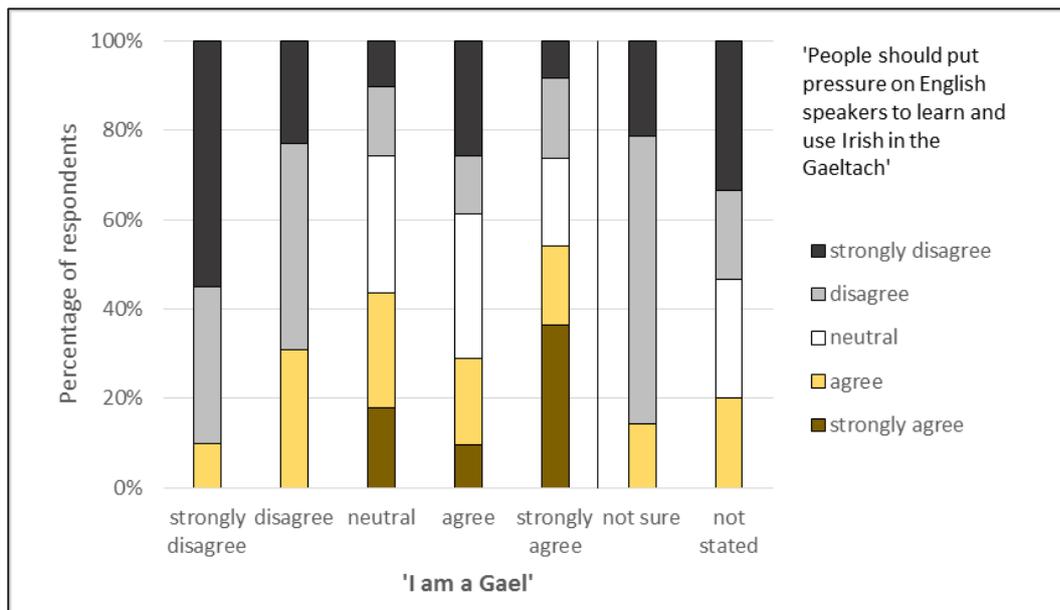


Figure 170 Response to the statement ‘People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement ‘It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht’ is clearly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a Gael’; the proportion of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ (76% of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’) was high in context of those who did not identify themselves as ‘Gaels’ (Figure 171).

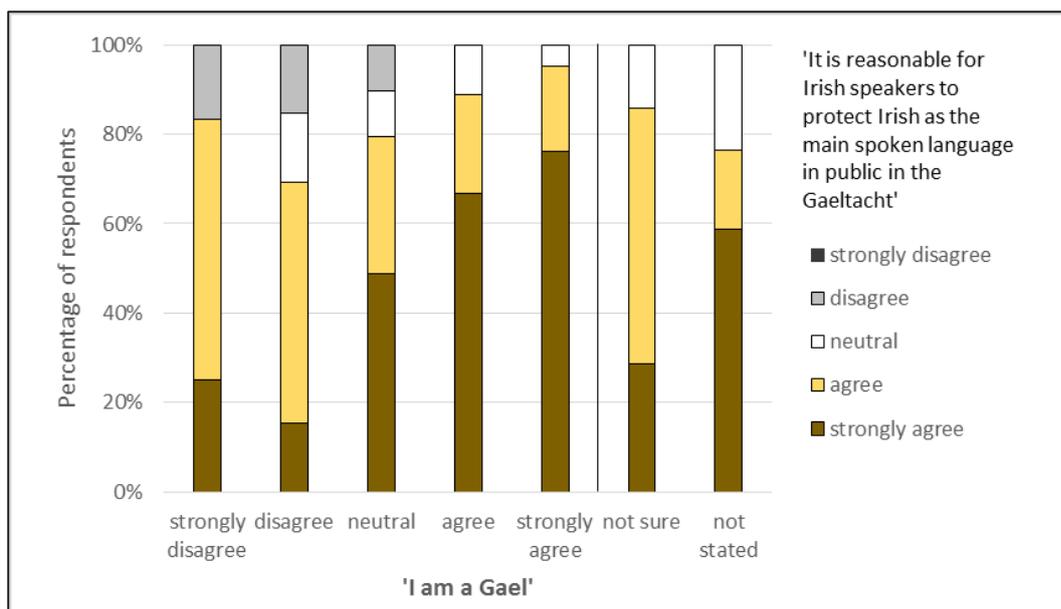


Figure 171 Response to the statement 'It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht' is clearly related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; the proportion of those who chose to 'strongly agree' (65% of those who chose to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a Gael') was high in context of those who did not identify themselves as 'Gaels' (Figure 172).

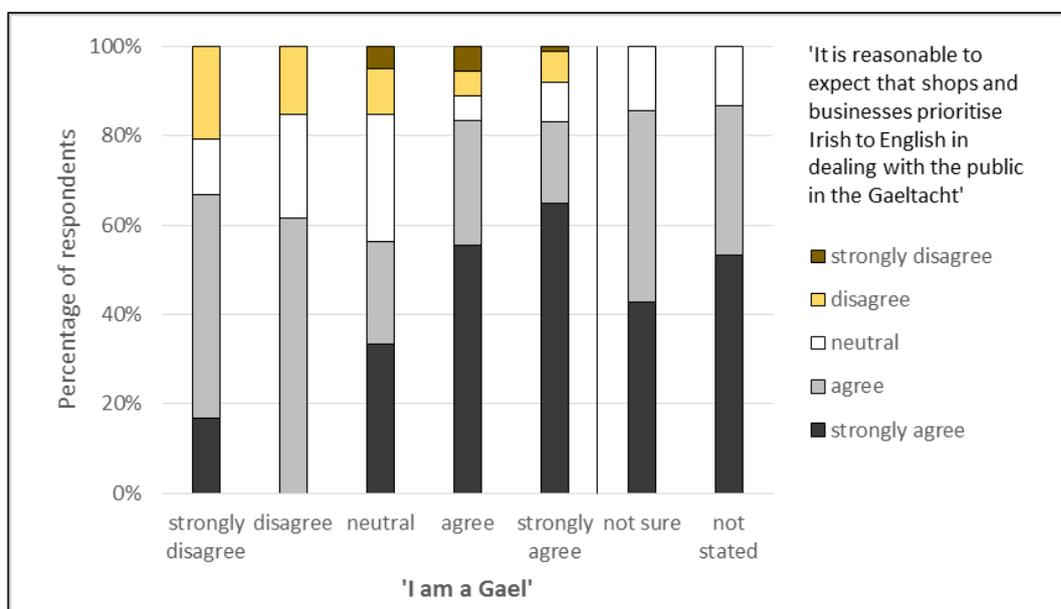


Figure 172 Response to the statement 'It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht' by level of identification as a Gael.

Part V Cultural practice

Among those who reported not to have been born in Ireland the highest proportion of respondents either chose to ‘strongly disagree’ or chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ (Figure 173).

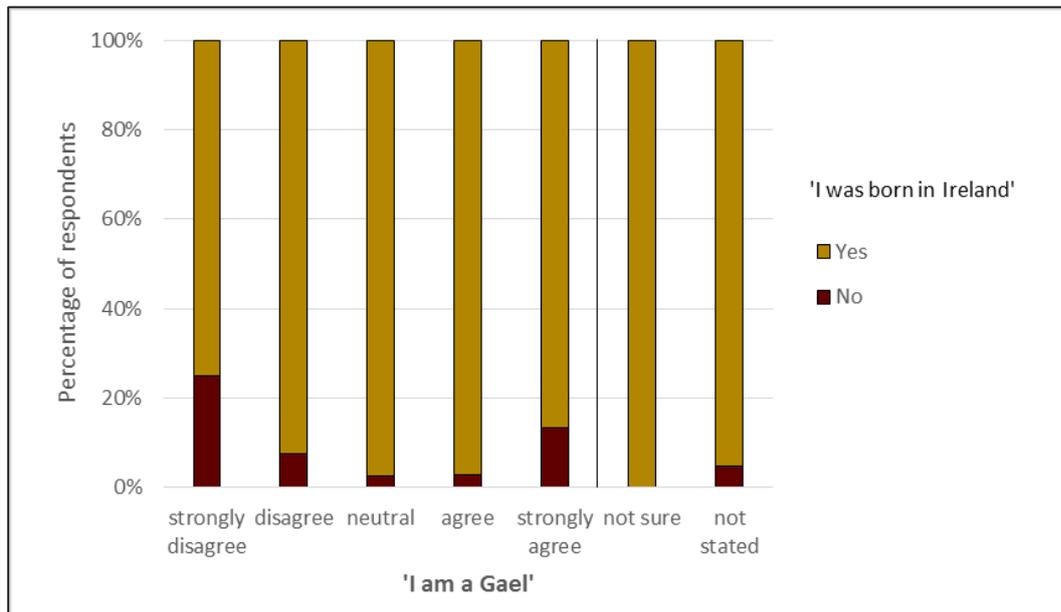


Figure 173 Response to the statement ‘I was born in Ireland’ by level of identification as a Gael.

The highest proportion respondents who reported to have been born in the Gaeltacht also chose to strongly agree with the statement ‘I am a Gael’ (Figure 174).

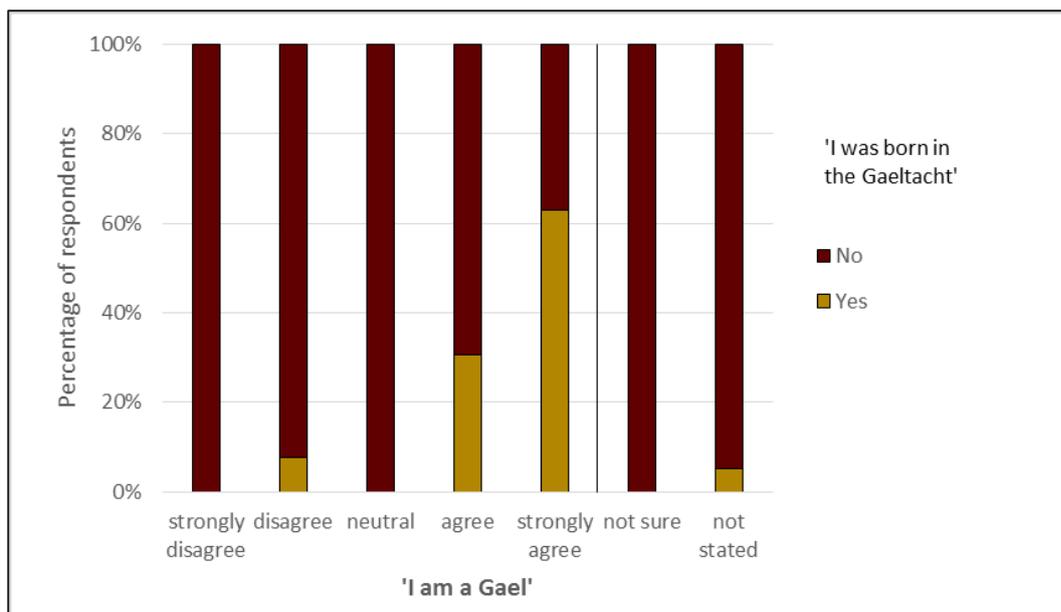


Figure 174 Response to the statement ‘I was born in the Gaeltacht’ by level of identification as a Gael.

A significant correlation exists between the level of identification as a *Gael* and the proportion of those who reported to have an Irish Christian name and to use the Irish spelling. A remarkable proportion of those with a Gaelic identity (18% of those who chose to strongly agree and 19% of those who chose to agree with 'being a *Gael*') reported to use both the Irish and the 'English' versions of their names (Figure 175).

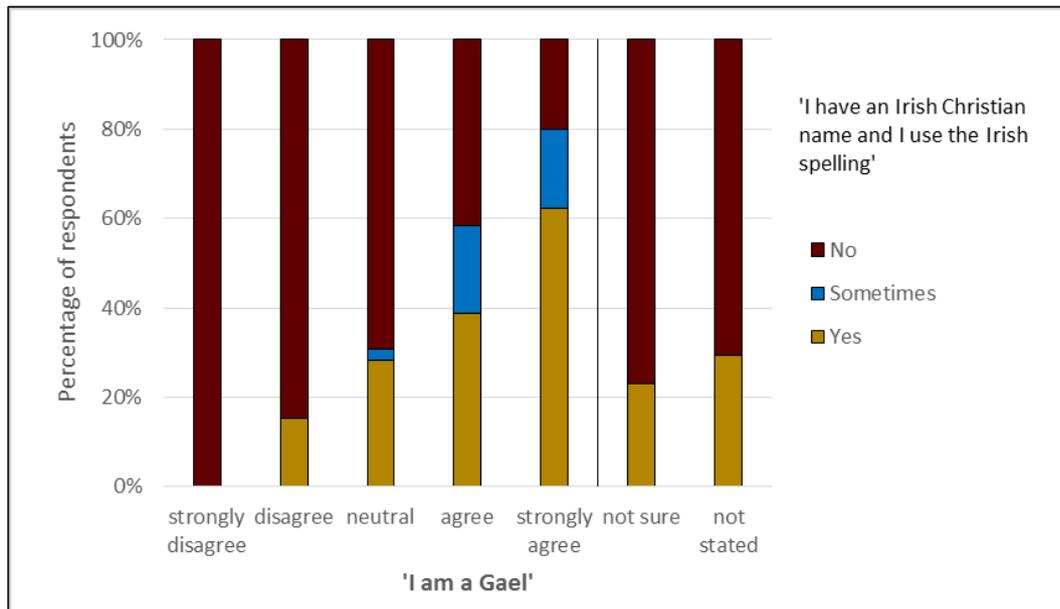


Figure 175 Response to the statement 'I have an Irish Christian name and I use the Irish spelling' by level of identification as a Gael.

Some correlation exists between the level of identification as a *Gael* and the proportion of those who reported to have an Irish Christian name and to use the English spelling (Figure 176).

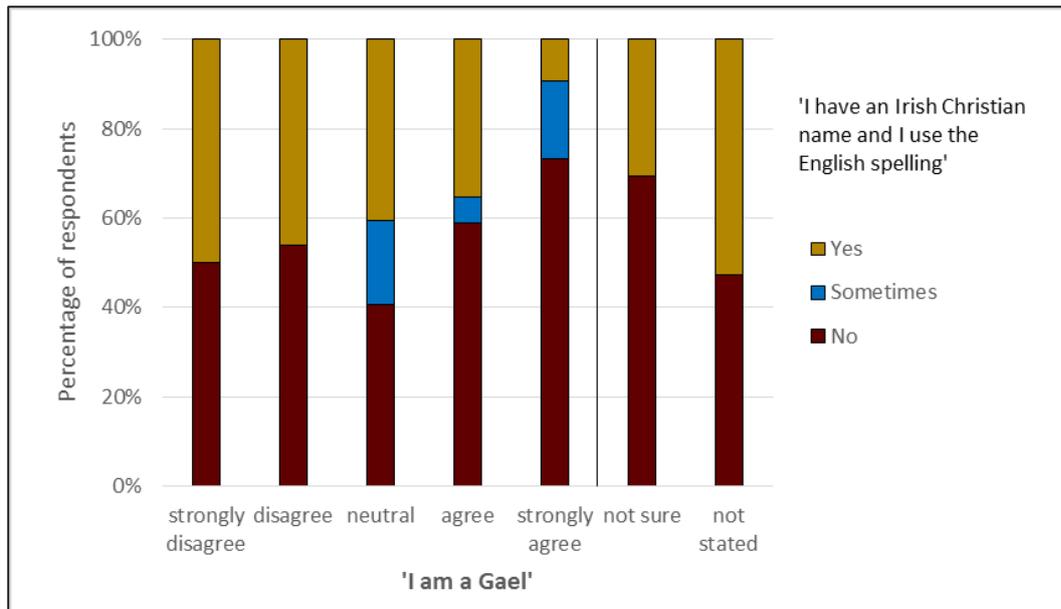


Figure 176 Response to the statement 'I have an Irish Christian name and I use the English spelling' by level of identification as a Gael.

A significant correlation exists between the level of identification as a Gael and the proportion of those who reported to have an Irish surname and to use the Irish spelling. A remarkable proportion of those with a Gaelic identity (27% of those who chose to strongly agree and 32% of those who chose to agree with 'being a Gael') reported to use both the Irish and the 'English' versions of their names (Figure 177).

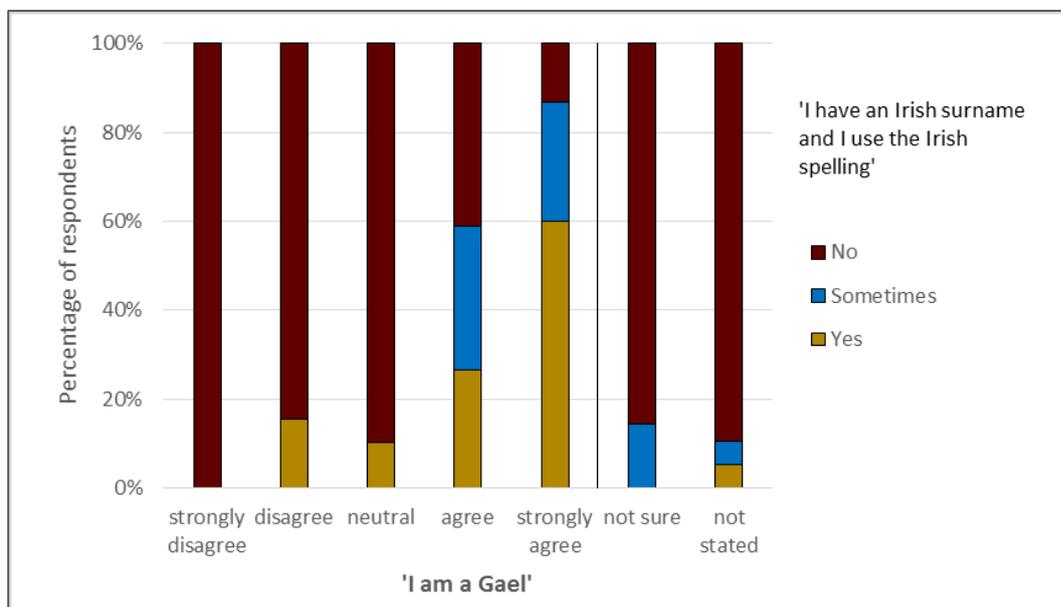


Figure 177 Response to the statement 'I have an Irish surname and I use the Irish spelling' by level of identification as a Gael.

Little correlation exists between the level of identification as a Gael and the proportion of those who reported to have an Irish surname and to use the English spelling (Figure 178).

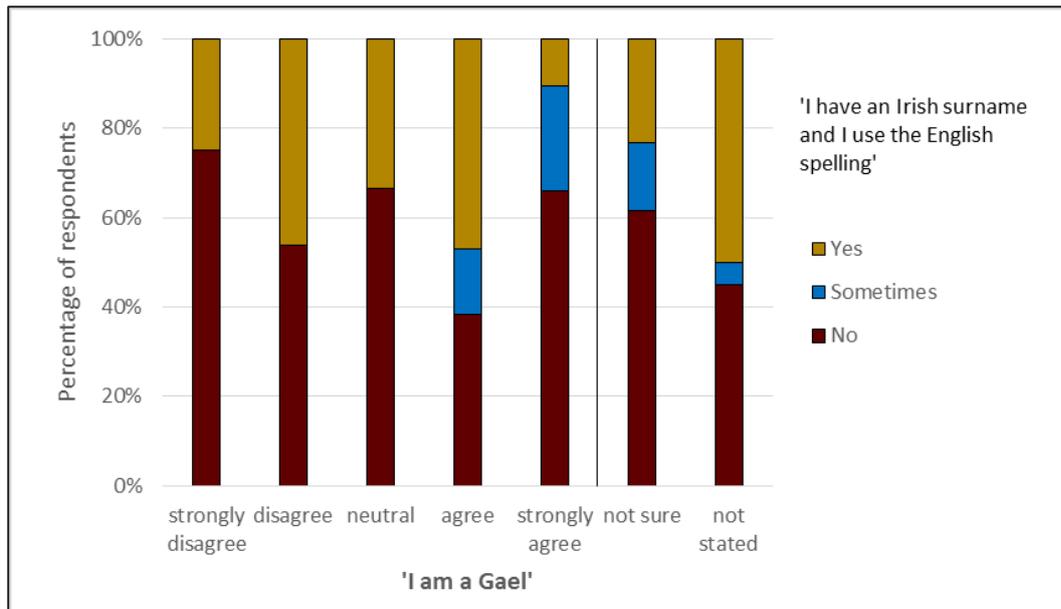


Figure 178 Response to the statement 'I have an Irish surname and I use the English spelling' by level of identification as a Gael.

A significant correlation exists between the level of identification as a Gael and the proportion of those who reported to listen to traditional Irish songs in Irish (Figure 179).

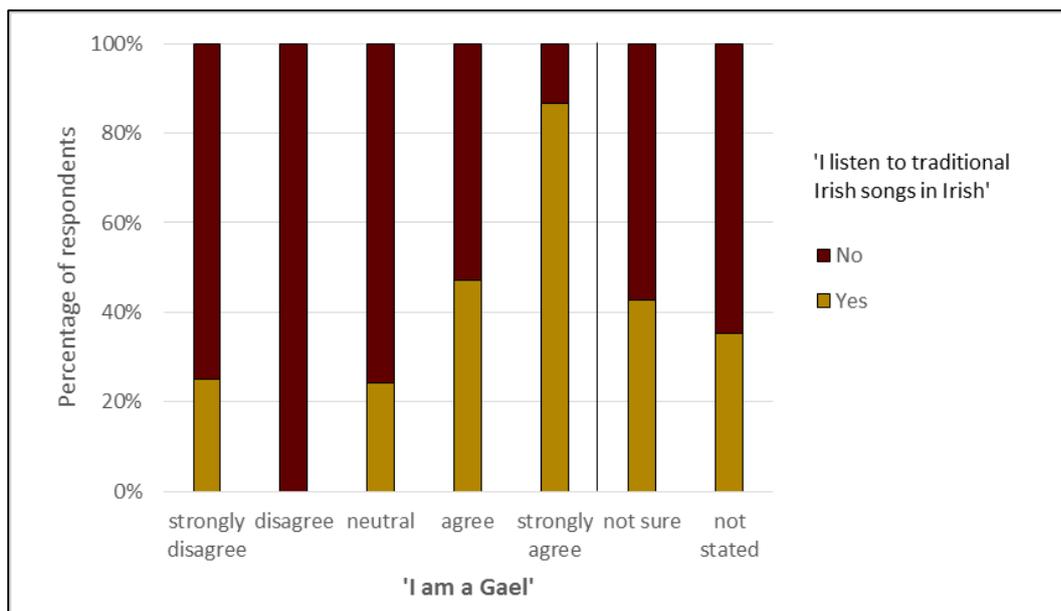


Figure 179 Response to the statement 'I listen to traditional Irish songs in Irish' by level of identification as a Gael.

Little correlation exists between the level of identification as a Gael and the proportion of those who reported to listen to traditional Irish songs in English (Figure 180).

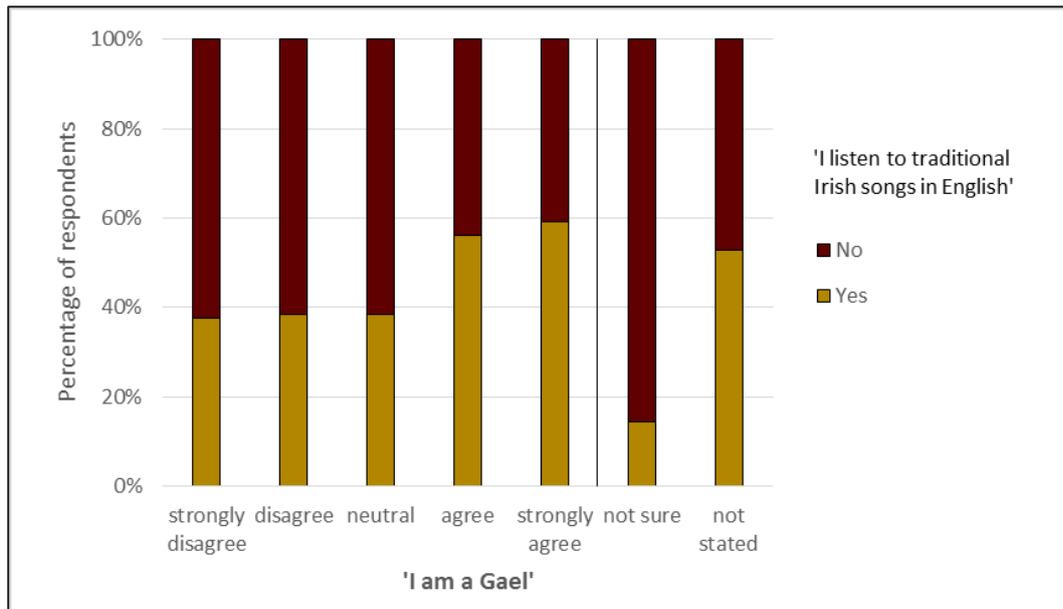


Figure 180 Response to the statement 'I listen to traditional Irish songs in English' by level of identification as a Gael.

A noticeable correlation exists between the level of identification as a Gael and the proportion of those who reported to listen to Irish traditional music (Figure 181).

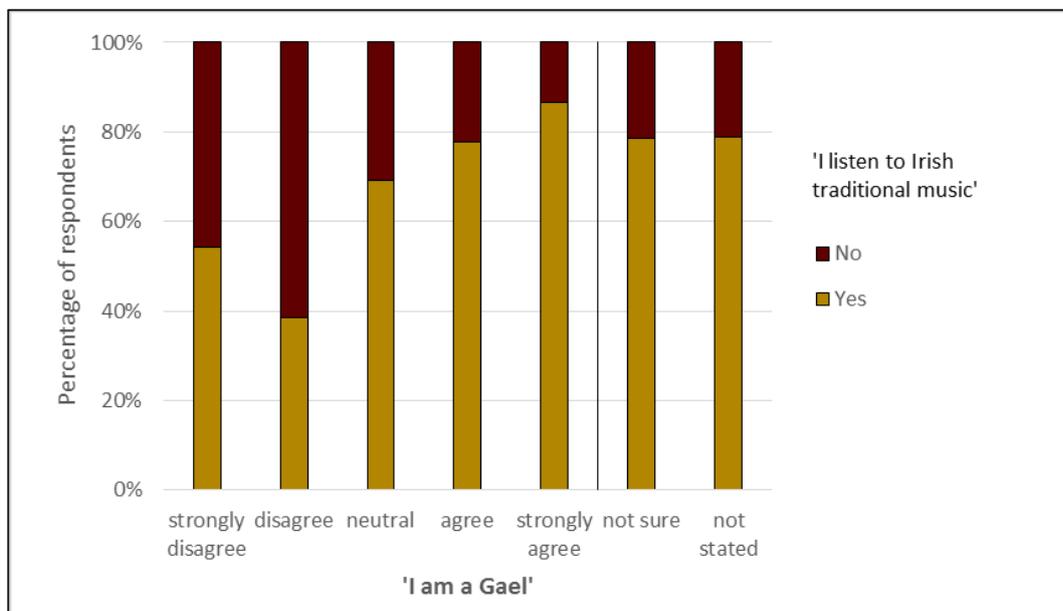


Figure 181 Response to the statement 'I listen to Irish traditional music' by level of identification as a Gael.

No correlation was found between the level of identification as a Gael and the proportion of those who reported to be interested in dancing in the style 'Riverdance' (Figure 182).

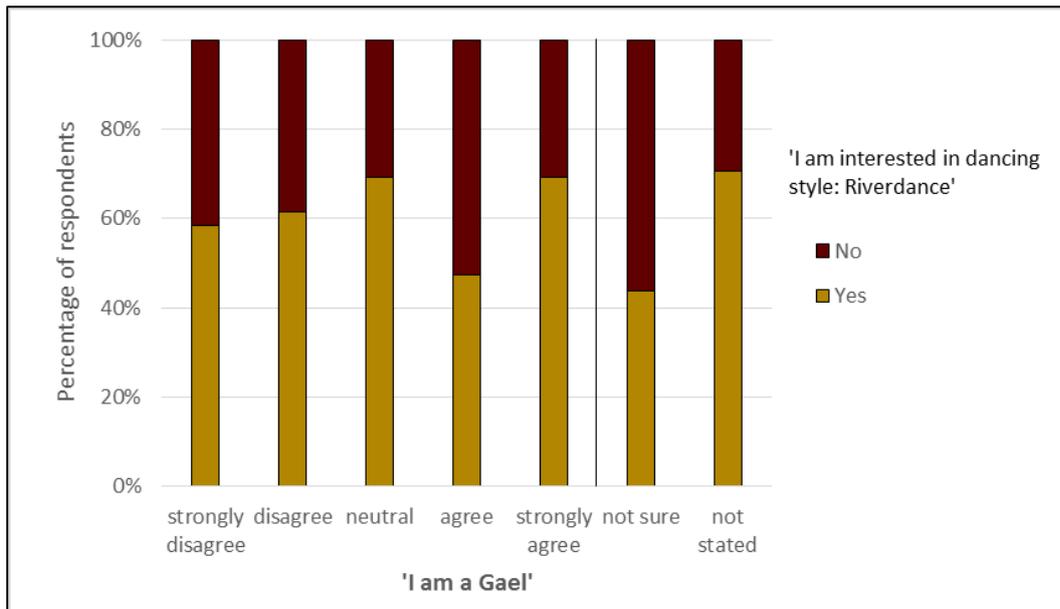


Figure 182 Response to the statement 'I am interested in dancing; style: Riverdance' by level of identification as a Gael.

Some correlation exists between the level of identification as a Gael and the proportion of those who reported to be interested in sean-nós dancing (Figure 183).

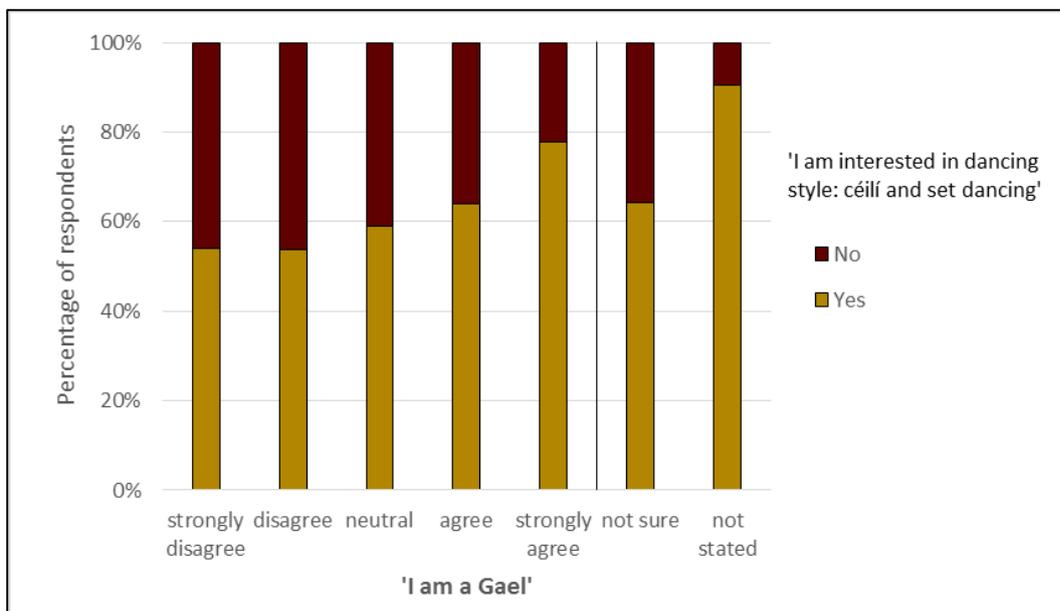


Figure 183 Response to the statement 'I am interested in dancing; style: céilí and set dancing' by level of identification as a Gael.

A significant correlation exists between the level of identification as a Gael and the proportion of those who reported to listen to be interested in céilí and set dancing (Figure 184).

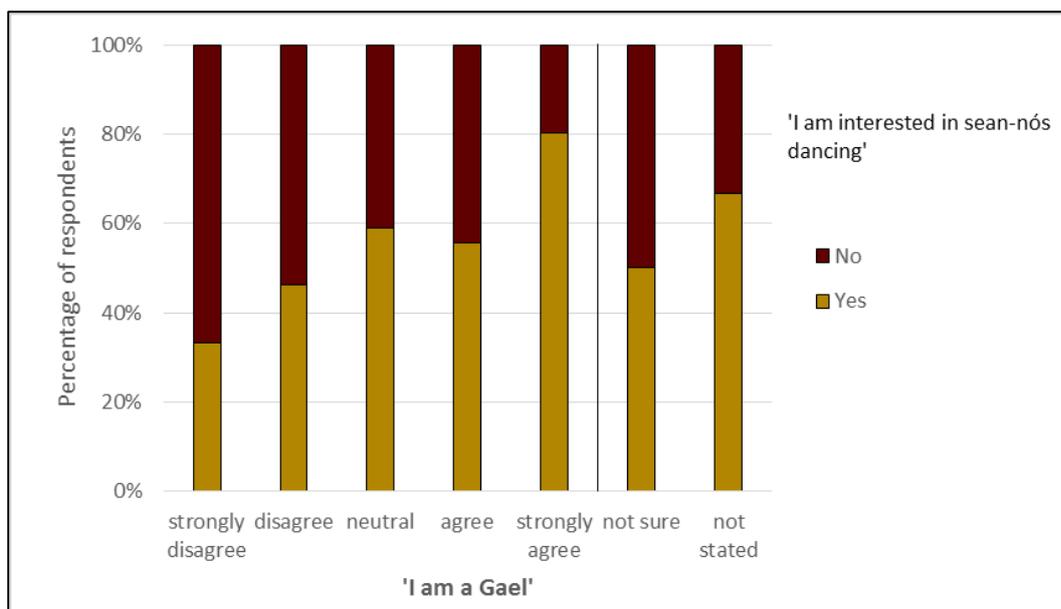


Figure 184 Response to the statement 'I am interested in sean-nós dancing' by level of identification as a Gael.

Some correlation exists between the level of identification as a Gael and the proportion of those who reported to be interested in Irish games (Figure 185).

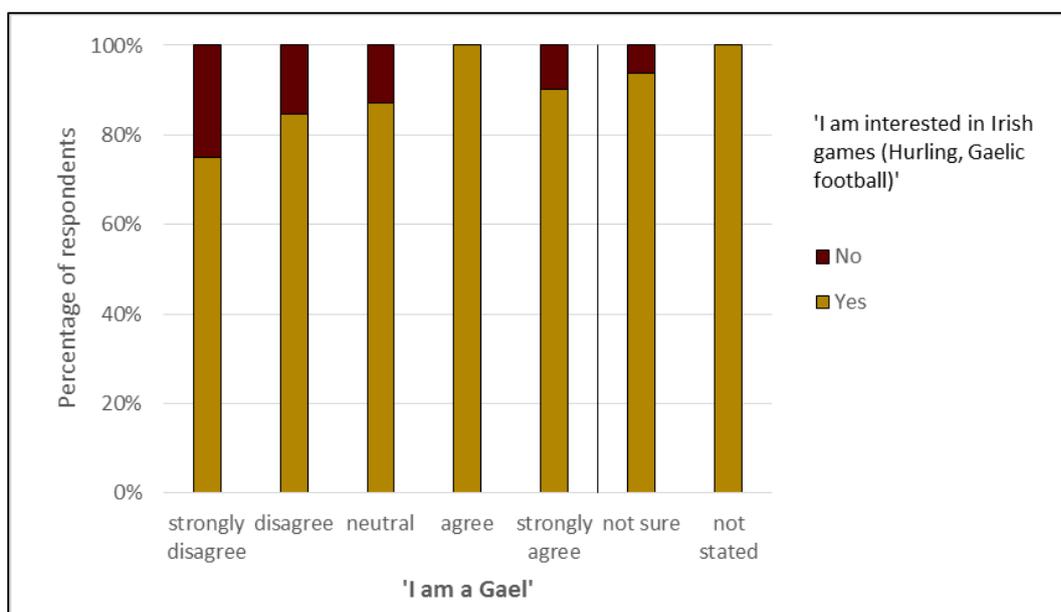


Figure 185 Response to the statement 'I am interested in Irish games (Hurling, Gaelic football)' by level of identification as a Gael.

Part VI Defining the Gaels

Analysing the responses to the question 'Who are the Gaels?' reveals some statistically non-significant patterns. Among these the association of Gaelic identity with the Irish language is of primary interest. Excluding those who chose a 'neutral' position, a weak, yet recognisable correlation exists between the Irish language and Gaelic identity; 49% of those who chose to

‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ marked the Irish language to be a basic attribute of this identity. The rest of the respondents in the same group named being Irish (26%), culture in general (12%), being from the Gaeltacht (8%), being Celtic/Irish/Scottish (6%), being an Irish ideologue (2%), and Gaelic descent (1%) to be the most important attributes of ‘being a Gael’ (Figure 186).

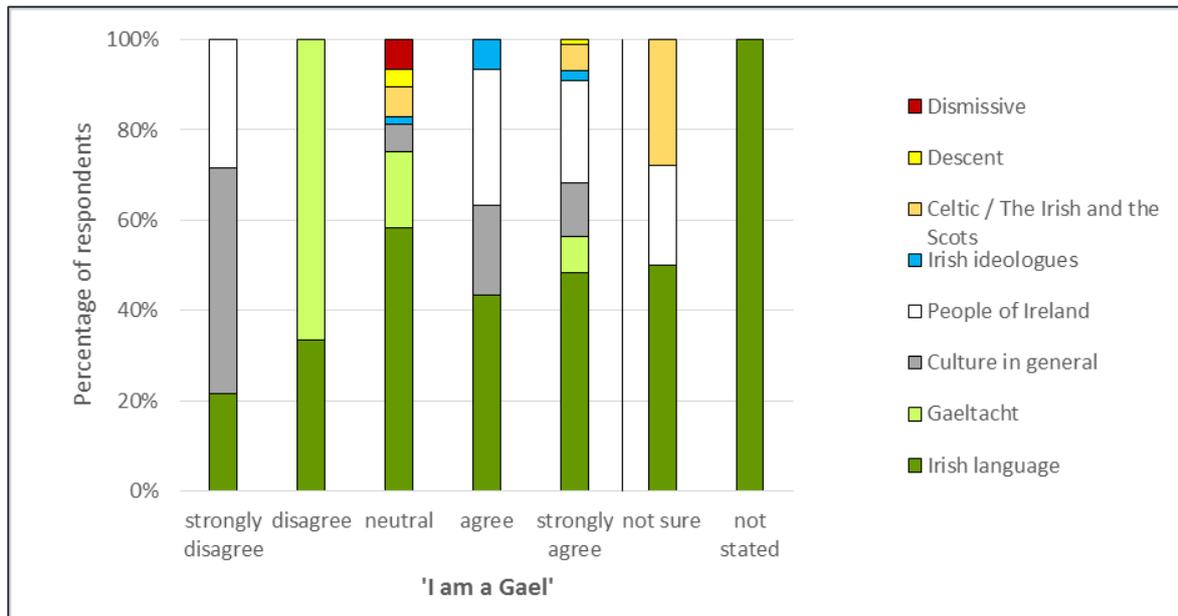


Figure 186 Defining (characteristics of) the Gaels in nine categories by level of identification as a Gael.

Part VII Identity markers

The following graphs presents the markers of ‘being Irish’ in order of importance according to the level of identification with being a Gael (Figure 187).

Markers of 'being Irish'	Coefficient
Place names – Irish spelling (Gaillimh)	0.90
Speaking fluent Irish	0.89
Speaking some Irish	0.83
Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	0.64
Speaking Irish at home	0.63
Irish traditional songs in Irish	0.60
Irish surnames – Irish spelling	0.60

Table 64 Most valued markers of 'being Irish' by level of identification as a Gael.

The least valued markers of 'being Irish', *i.e.* those markers that received lower values than minus one standard deviation (-1σ) according to the level of identification with 'being a Gael' are summarised in the following table (Table 65).

Markers of 'being Irish'	Coefficient
St Patrick's Day's celebrations	-0.86
Irish dancing: - style: sean n6s	-0.57
Having Irish ancestry	-0.51
Speaking English with an Irish accent	-0.44
Irish surnames – English spelling (Murphy)	-0.35

Table 65 Least valued markers of 'being Irish' by level of identification as a Gael.

The following graphs presents the markers of 'being a Gael' in order of importance according to the level of identification with being a Gael. Please note, that due to the low response rate in the relevant section of the questionnaire this section of the description are of no statistical value and only serve a suggestive function (Figure 188).

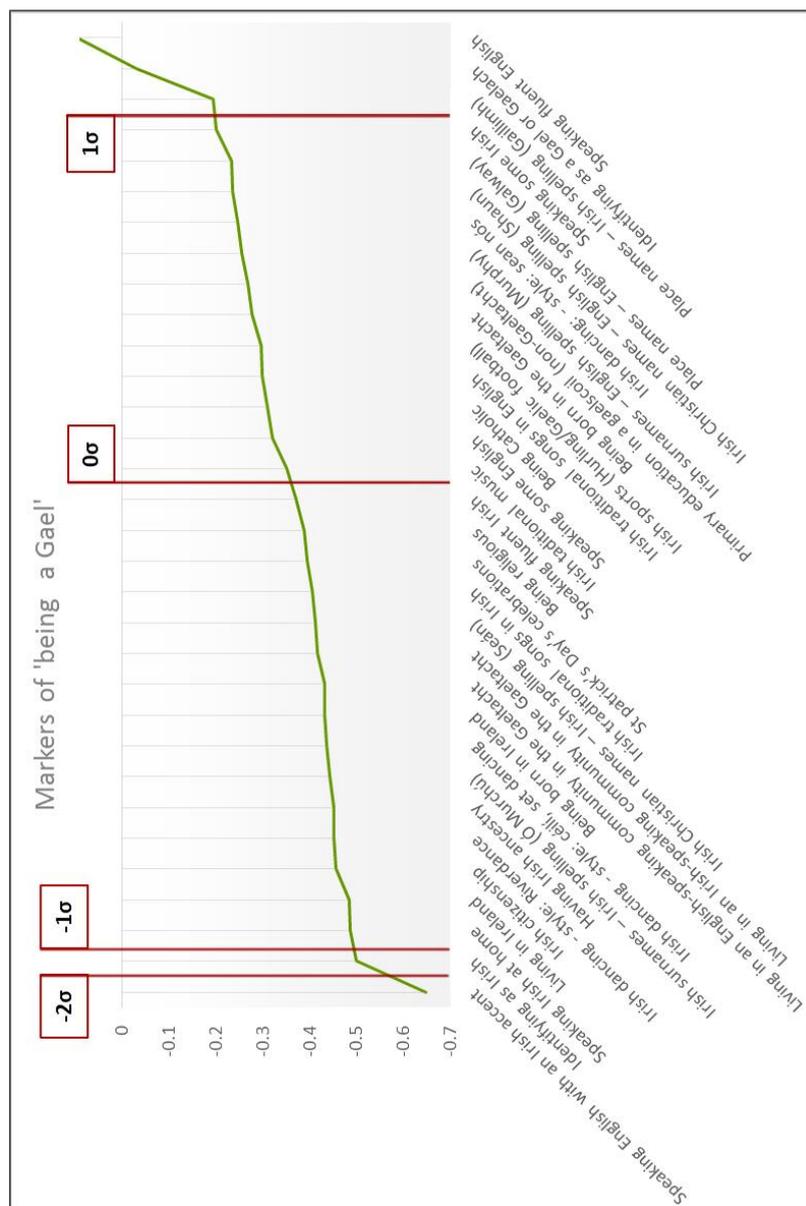


Figure 188 Identity markers of ‘being Gael’ by level of identification as a Gael.

The most valued markers of ‘being a Gael’, i.e. those markers that received higher values than one standard deviation (1σ) according to the level of identification with ‘being a Gael’ are summarised in the following table (Table 66).

Markers of ‘being a Gael’	Coefficient
Speaking fluent English	0.1
Identifying as a Gael or Gaelach	-0.03
Place names – Irish spelling (Gaillimh)	-0.19

Table 66 Most valued markers of ‘being a Gael’ by level of identification as a Gael.

The least valued markers of ‘being a *Gael*’, *i.e.* those markers that received lower values than minus one standard deviation (-1σ) according to the level of identification with ‘being a *Gael*’ are summarised in the following table (Table 67).

Markers of ‘being a <i>Gael</i> ’	Coefficient
Speaking English with an Irish accent	-0.65
Identifying as Irish	-0.50

Table 67 Least valued markers of ‘being a *Gael*’ by level of identification as a *Gael*.

Part VIII Self identification

Responding to the statement ‘I am a Gaeilgeoir’ is highly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’; 85% of the respondents who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with ‘being a *Gael*’ reported to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a Gaeilgeoir’ (Figure 189).

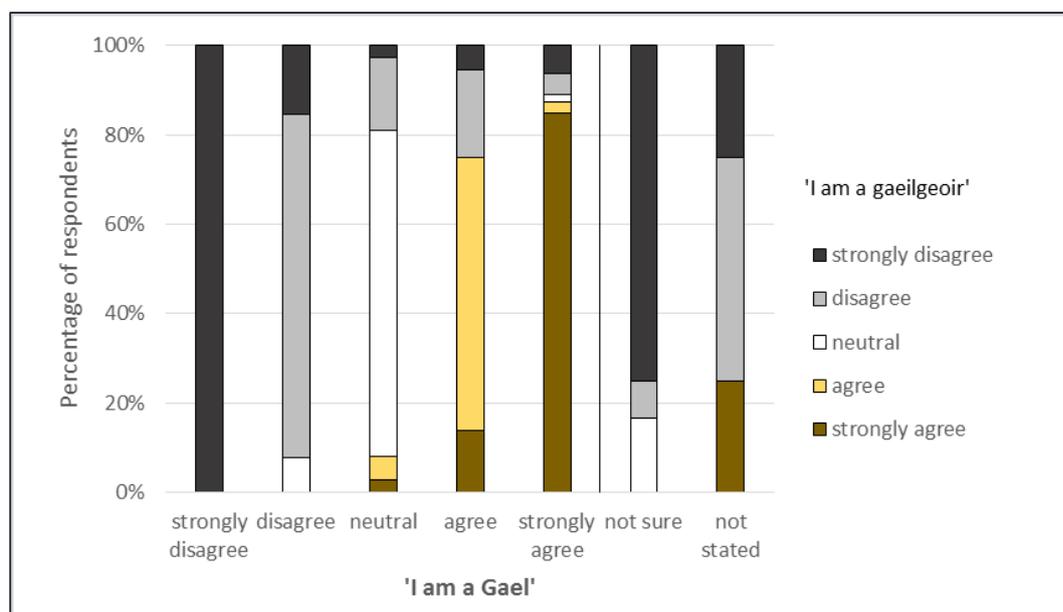


Figure 189 Response to the statement ‘I am a gaeilgeoir’ by level of identification as a *Gael*.

Responding to the statement ‘I am a speaker of the Irish language’ is highly related to the level of agreement with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’; 94% of the respondents who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with ‘being a *Gael*’ reported to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a speaker of the Irish language’ (Figure 190).

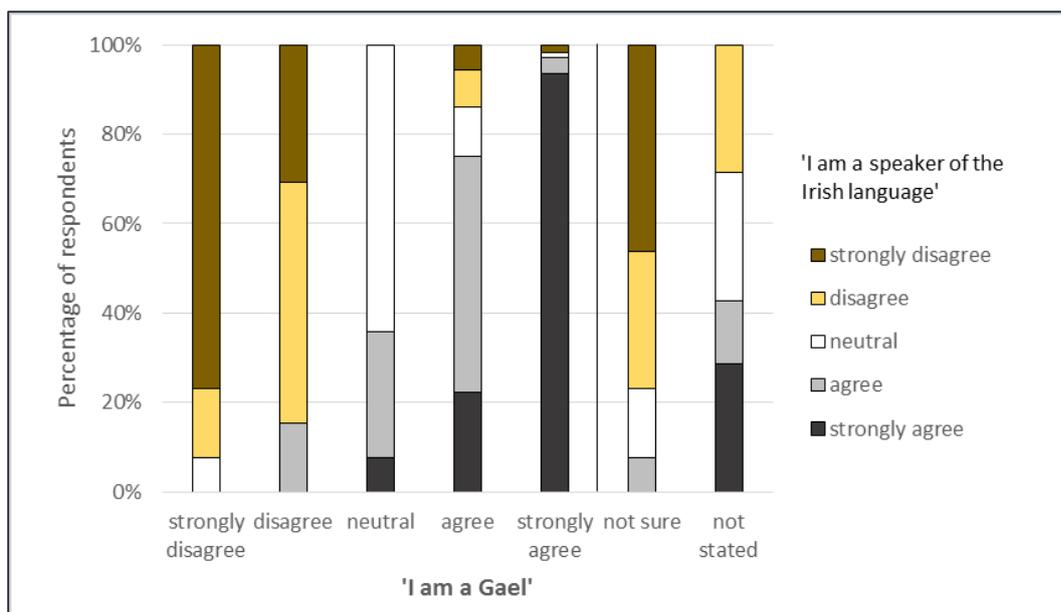


Figure 190 Response to the statement 'I am a speaker of the Irish language' by level of identification as a Gael.

Responding to the statement 'I am a learner of the Irish language' is related to the level of agreement with the statement 'I am a Gael'; 37% of the respondents who chose to 'strongly agree' with 'being a Gael' reported to 'strongly agree' with the statement 'I am a learner of the Irish language' (Figure 191).

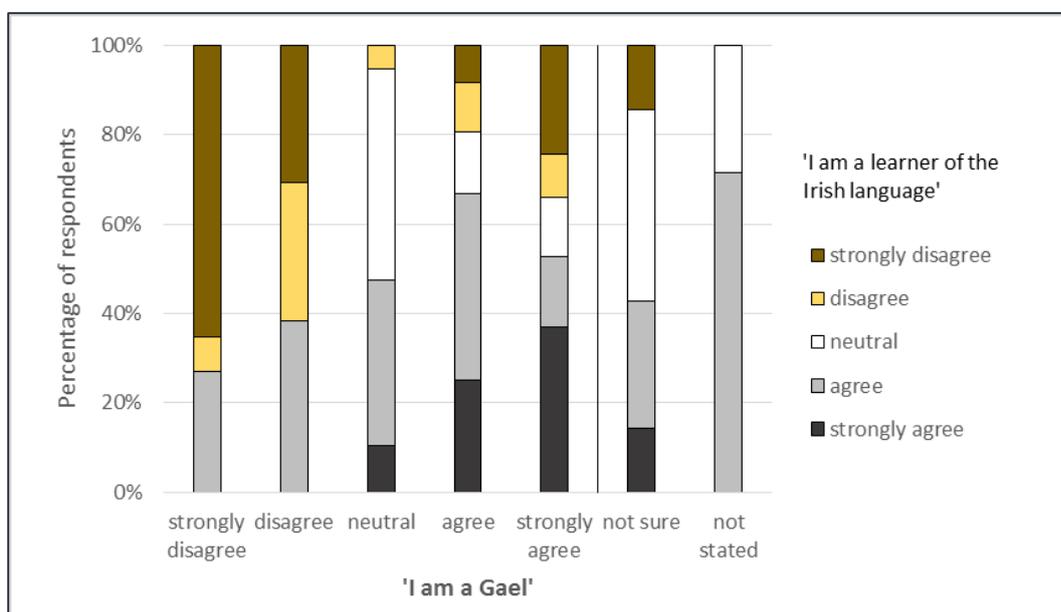


Figure 191 Response to the statement 'I am a learner of the Irish language' by level of identification as a Gael.

Part IX Leadership

The following graph presents the perceived responsibility of agencies in order of importance according to the level of identification with being a Gael. Values displayed in the graph show a relatively even curve of distribution (Figure 192).

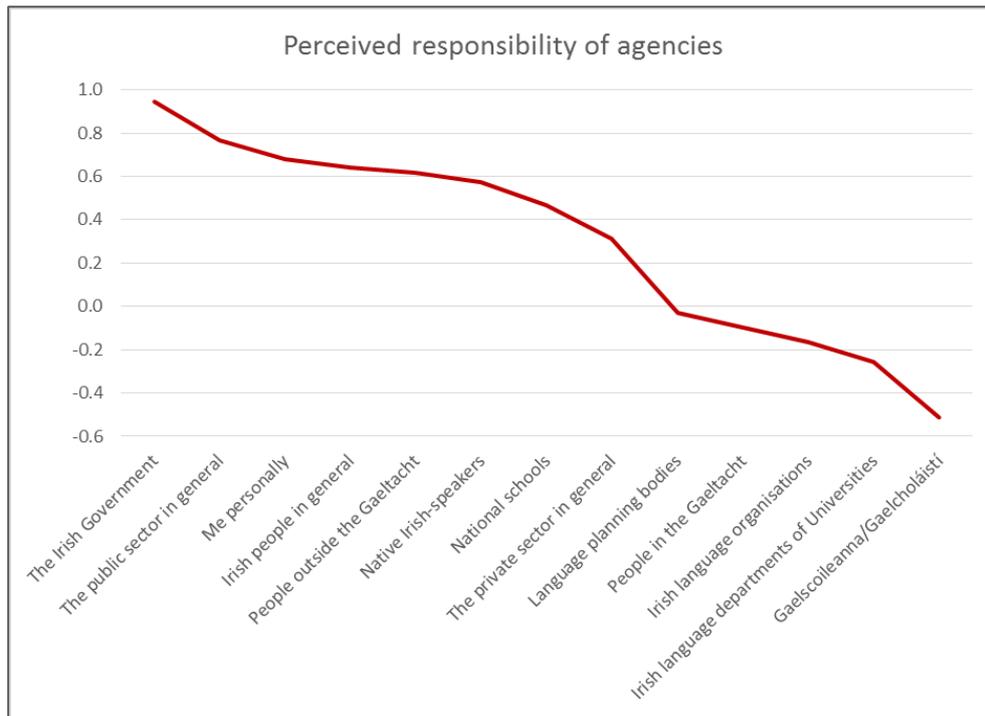


Figure 192 Perceived responsibility of agencies by level of identification as a Gael.

The graph table presents the perceived achievement of agencies in order of importance according to the level of identification with being a Gael. The values displayed in the graph show that personal achievement is outstandingly highly valued according to the level of identification of ‘being a Gael’ (

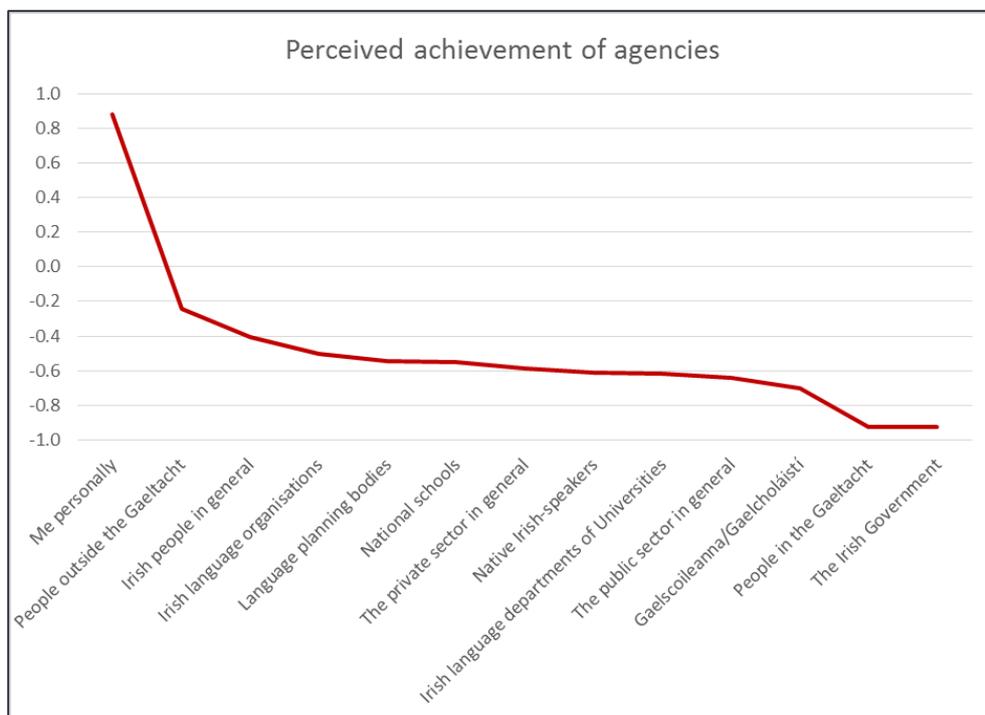


Figure 193).

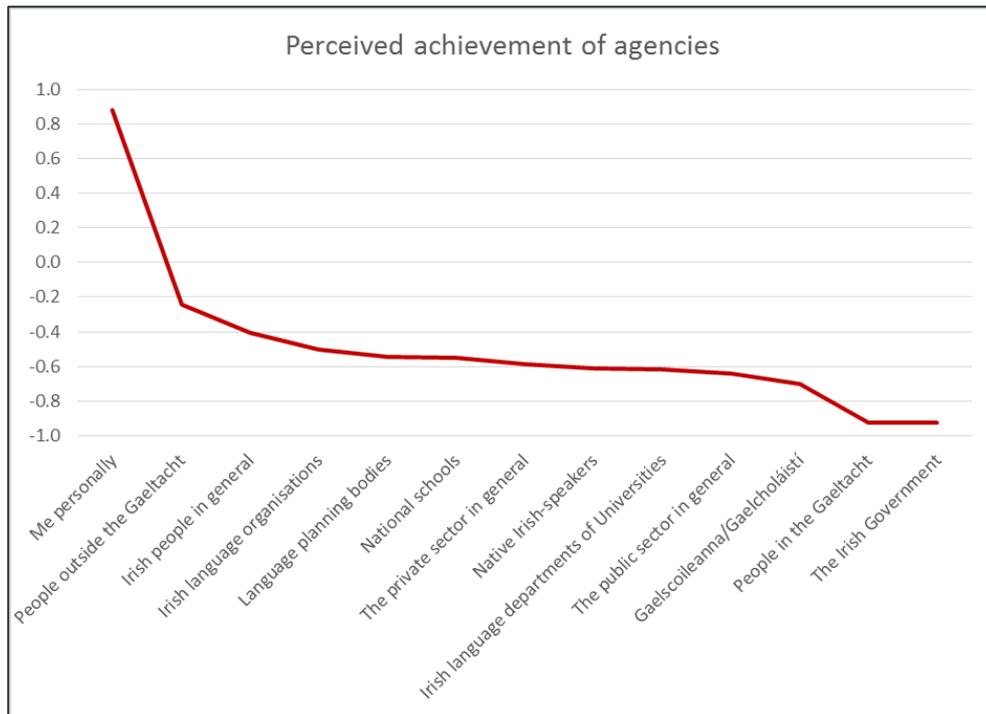


Figure 193 Perceived achievement of agencies by level of identification as a Gael.

Part X Vision

Categorised responses to the question ‘What is the vision of the leaders of the Irish people for the future of the Irish language?’ show no clear correlation between the category of response and level of identification as a Gael (Figure 194).

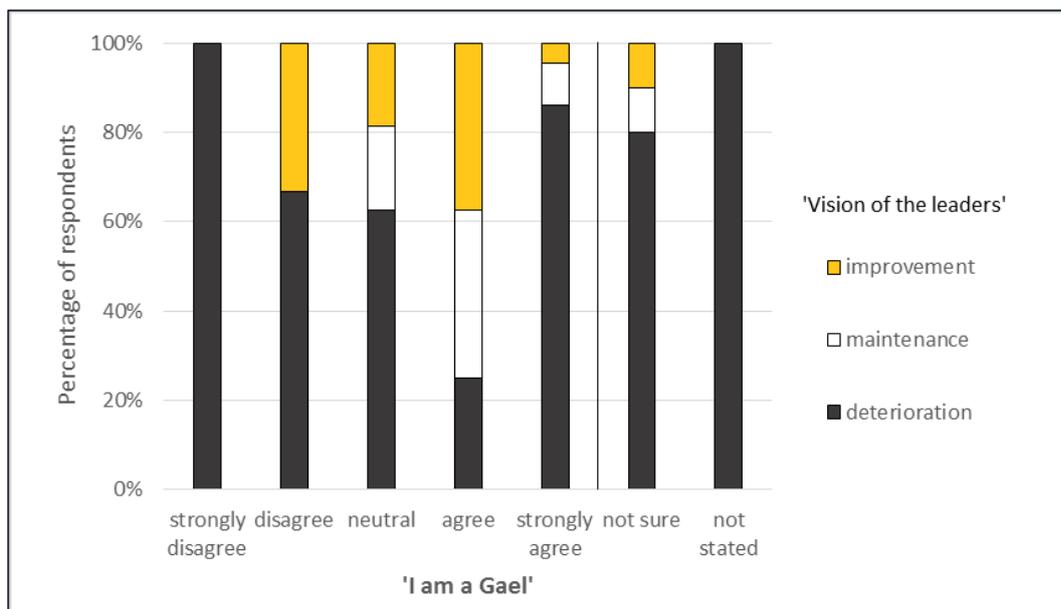


Figure 194 Categorised responses to the question ‘What is the vision of the leaders of the Irish people for the future of the Irish language?’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Categorised responses to the question ‘What is your own vision for the future of the Irish language?’ show no clear correlation between the category of response and level of identification as a Gael (Figure 195).

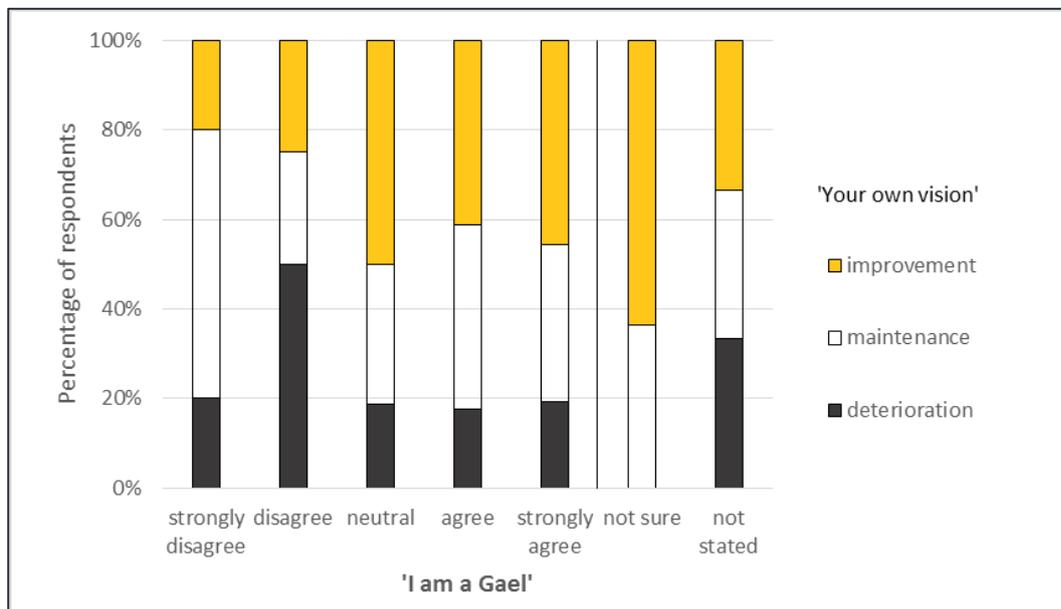


Figure 195 Categorised responses to the question ‘What is your own vision for the future of the Irish language?’ by level of identification as a Gael.

Categorised responses to the question ‘What do you think will happen to the Irish language and its speakers?’ show no clear correlation between the category of response and level of identification as a Gael (Figure 196).

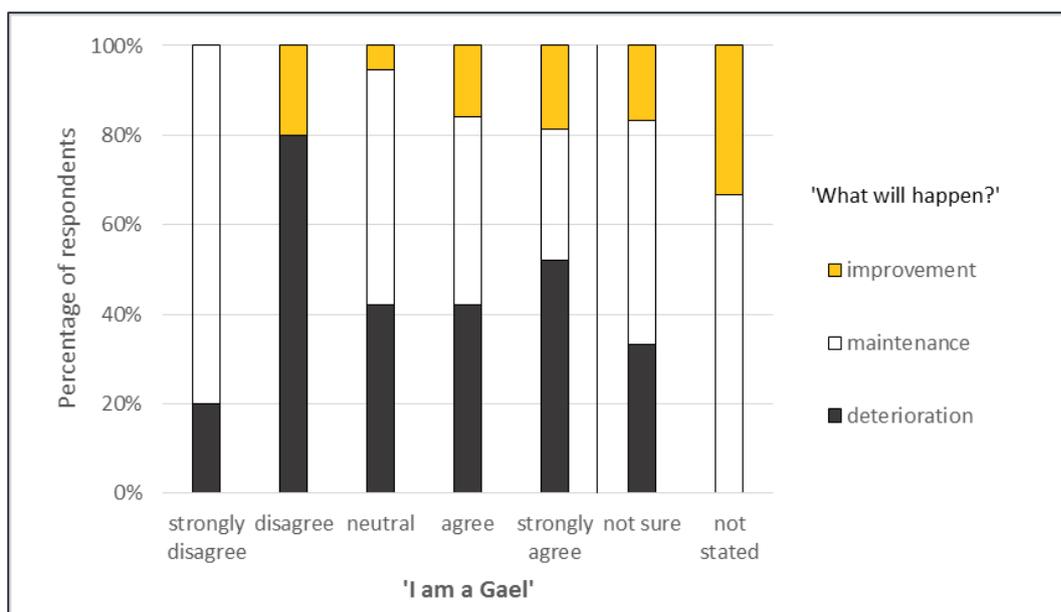


Figure 196 Categorised responses to the question ‘What do you think will happen to the Irish language and its speakers?’ by level of identification as a Gael.

4.5 Summary

The analysis of the survey is organised in two parts: (1) a comparative description of the survey results based on sample populations in two study areas and (2) a correlative evaluation of the combined sample populations based on the independent variable ‘I am a *Gael*’.

Comparison of the two study areas

The two study areas consisted of the Electoral Division of *Cill Chuiminn* in the Barony of *Maigh Cuilinn* (the Gaeltacht Study Area) and the two neighbouring electoral divisions of Grange in the Barony of Athenry and Killaan in the Barony of Kilconnell (Galltacht Study Area) in County Galway in the west of Ireland. A total of 326 questionnaires were completed; 172 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 154 in the Galltacht Study Area.

The social attributes of the sample populations in the two study areas are comparable. This is shown in the sociological profiles of the two study areas according to the Small Area Population Statistics (SAPS) of the 2011 census and in Part I of the survey (Social background). The most significant difference between the two study areas manifests itself in linguistic characteristics; the Galltacht Study Area generally comprises of an English-speaking monolingual population and the Gaeltacht Study Area generally comprises of an English- and Irish-speaking bilingual population.

Part II of the survey assessed the sociolinguistic background of the respondents in four sections: (1) language use among parents of respondents, (2) language use among respondents, (3) ability in the Irish language, and (4) comparison of mastery in the Irish and in the English languages. A significant difference was identified in the diachronic dynamics of language use; the self-evaluated language use indicates less preference to use ‘Irish only’ among the respondents in comparison to patterns of language use in their parents’ generation in the Gaeltacht Study Area, while the patterns of language use in the Galltacht Study Area show an intergenerational stable preference for ‘English only’ language use. Ability in the Irish language is generally reported to be ‘fluent Irish’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area and ‘a little Irish’ in the Galltacht Study Area. The comparison of ability in the two languages indicated that almost half of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area do not perceive a difference in their ability in the two languages and the rest tended to report to have better ability in the Irish language. In the Galltacht Study Area a better ability in the English language was reported.

Part III of the survey assessed attitudes and beliefs about the Irish language and the English language in three sections: (1) a set of 15 statements to be rated, (2) a question about who the

Irish language belongs to, and (3) a question about what percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home.

A similarity was observed in ordering the statements in the first section among the most highly valued statements in the two study areas. Of the 15 statements the following four statements received outstandingly high average values of rating in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland (1.90);
- The Irish language is important to Ireland (1.90);
- I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language (1.84);
- I like the Irish language (1.84).

Of the 15 statements the following four statements received outstandingly high average values of rating in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- The Irish language is important to Ireland (1.69);
- The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland (1.65);
- I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language (1.56).

The following four items received the most divergent average responses in the two study areas:

- The English language is my language (-1.21 in the Gaeltacht and 0.88 in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=2.1$);
- I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues 1.04 in the Gaeltacht and -0.65 in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=1.69$);
- The Gaeltacht is important to me personally (1.81 in the Gaeltacht and 0.23 in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=1.58$);
- The Irish language is my language (1.67 in the Gaeltacht and 0.21 in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=1.46$).

Of the 15 statements in the first section the strongest univocality (highest values of kurtosis) was detected about the following three statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- ‘The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland’ (kurtosis: 4.91);
- ‘I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language’ (kurtosis: 4.91);
- ‘The Irish language is important to me personally’ (kurtosis: 4.85).

Of the 15 statements in the first section the strongest univocality (highest values of kurtosis) was detected about the following three statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- ‘I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues’ (kurtosis: 3.82);
- ‘The Irish language is important to Ireland’ (kurtosis: 2.79);
- ‘The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht’ (kurtosis: 2.21).

Of the 15 statements in the first section ambiguity (bimodal distribution) was detected about the following three statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- ‘The English language is my language’;
- ‘The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland’;
- ‘I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English’.

Of the 15 statements in the first section ambiguity (bimodal distribution) was detected about the following two statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- ‘I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English’;
- ‘I find the term ‘Gaeltacht’ offensive’.

The second section of Part III of the survey posed the question ‘Who does the Irish language belong to?’ Beliefs about this question were very similar in the two study areas. The majority of respondents (48% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 56% in the Gaeltacht Study Area) agreed to the statement that the Irish language belongs ‘to all Irish people’. The second most popular choice was the statement that the Irish language belongs ‘to anyone who is interested in the language’ (31% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 18% in the Gaeltacht Study Area). Significantly more people in the Gaeltacht Study Area (8.2%) than in the Gaeltacht Study Area (1.1%) agreed with the statement that the Irish language belonged ‘to those who speak it at home’.

The third section of Part III of the questionnaire posed the question: ‘What percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home?’ In the Gaeltacht Study Area the most popular choice was ‘40-60%’; 46% of the respondents chose this answer. In the Gaeltacht Study Area the most popular choice ‘60-80%’; 33.7% of the respondents chose this option.

Part IV of the survey assessed the social norms of language use in relation to the Irish language and the English language in one section. A similarity was observed in ordering the statements in the first section among the most highly valued statements in the two study areas. Of the 9

statements the following two statements received outstandingly high average values of rating in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht (1.74);
- It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht (1.41).

Of the 9 statements the following four statements received outstandingly high average values of rating in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish (1.38);
- It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht (1.33);
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English (1.17)
- It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht (1.03).

The following four items received the most divergent average responses in the two study areas:

- People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht (0.54 in the Gaeltacht and -0.44 in the Galtacht; $\Delta=0.98$);
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English (0.41 in the Gaeltacht and 1.17 in the Galtacht; $\Delta=0.76$);
- It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers (0.39 in the Gaeltacht and -0.34 in the Galtacht; $\Delta=0.72$);
- English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht (0.89 in the Gaeltacht and 0.36 in the Galtacht; $\Delta=0.52$).

Of the 9 statements the strongest univocality (highest values of kurtosis) was detected about the following three statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish (kurtosis: 2.75);
- People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht (kurtosis: 1.59);

- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht (kurtosis: 1.26).

Of the 9 statements the strongest univocality (highest values of kurtosis) was detected about the following one statement in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers (kurtosis: 2.20);

Of the 9 statements ambiguity (bimodal distribution) was detected about the following five statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers;
- It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers;
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English;
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht;
- People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht.

Of the 9 statements ambiguity (bimodal distribution) was detected about the following four statements in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers;
- It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers;
- It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht;
- People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht.

The first two pairs of statements in Part IV of the survey reveal the following valuable information about power relations manifested in linguistic situations and beliefs about languages:

- while in the Gaeltacht Study Area interlinguistic conversational intrusion is viewed negatively in case of both languages, in the Gaeltacht Study Area interlinguistic conversational intrusion in English is clearly seen to be acceptable;
- more respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area agree with the statements beginning ‘It is rude to speak [...]’ regardless of which language, Irish or English, is in question;
- both regions tolerate their traditionally associated primary language (Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area and English in the Gaeltacht Study Area) more in an intrusive

conversational situation and sees the conversational intrusion of the other language in a more negative light;

- more respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area agree with the statement beginning ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [...]’ than those in the Gaeltacht Study Area regardless of which of the two languages, Irish or English, are in question;
- both regions consider that the same statement (the statement beginning ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of [...]’) is more acceptable regarding the language associated with its traditionally associated language (Irish in the Gaeltacht Study Area and English in the Gaeltacht Study Area).

Part V of the survey revealed that in case of the Irish language the linguistic characteristics of a geographical area (Irish/English bilingualism in the Gaeltacht versus English monolingualism in the Gaeltacht) is not separable from interests in other realms of cultural life. The following correlations were observed:

- 82% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area versus 34.5% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area reported that they listen to traditional Irish songs in Irish;
- 85.5% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area versus 67% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area reported that they listen to traditional Irish music;
- 75% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area versus 58.6% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area reported that they are interested in sean-nós dancing.

Part V of the survey also revealed that in case of the Irish language the linguistic characteristics of a geographical area is related to patterns of personal names reported by the respondents:

- in the Gaeltacht Study Area linguistic switch of name varieties (Irish vs. ‘English’ varieties of Gaelic names) is more common;
- among those who responded to the statements; 92.8% in the Gaeltacht Study Area vs. 49.3% in the Gaeltacht Study Area perceived their surnames to be of Irish origin, and 90.3% in the Gaeltacht Study Area vs. 65% in the Gaeltacht Study Area perceived their Christian names to be of Irish origin.

Part VI of the survey assessed the defining criteria of being a *Gael* in contemporary Ireland. Among those who provided a definition for being a *Gael*, the Irish language was the most important definitive condition; 34.2% of all the respondents (or 49.8% among those who

provided a definition) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 14% of all the respondent (or 36.8% of those who provided a definition) in the Galltacht Study Area named the Irish language as a defining criterion of being a *Gael*. The second most important condition was to be a citizen or resident of Ireland or to be born in the country; 14.8% of all the respondents (or 21.6% among those who provided a definition) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 5.8% of all the respondents (or 16% of those who provided a definition) in the Galltacht Study Area named this element in their definition of being a *Gael*.

Part VII of the survey assessed what it means to be Irish and what it means to be *Gael* by asking the respondents to rate each item on a list of 32 socio-cultural markers in their relevance to being Irish and being *Gael*, respectively. The number of respondents who chose to option ‘not sure’ or decided not to respond to the items was higher in the Galltacht Study Area. The difference was extremely great in case of the number of people who chose not to respond (‘not stated’) to the list of items about being a *Gael*. 31.5% of the respondents in the Galltacht Study Area, as opposed to 4% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area. Among those who responded to the question the six items perceived to be most relevant to being Irish in the Gaeltacht Study are as follows:

- Identifying as Irish
- Irish traditional music
- Place names – Irish spelling
- Having Irish ancestry
- Identifying as a Gael or Gaelach
- Speaking some Irish

The seven items perceived as most relevant (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value) to being Irish in the Galltacht Study Area are as follows:

- Identifying as Irish
- Having Irish ancestry
- Irish citizenship
- St Patrick’s Day’s celebrations
- Irish traditional music
- Irish dancing - style: céilí, set dancing
- Irish sports (Hurling/Gaelic football)

Among those who responded to the question the six items perceived as most relevant (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value) to being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area are as follows:

- Place names – Irish spelling
- Identifying as a Gael or Gaelach
- Identifying as Irish
- Irish traditional music
- Having Irish ancestry
- Speaking Irish at home

The three items perceived as most relevant (*i.e.* those above one standard deviation above the mean value) to being *Gael* in the Gaeltacht Study Area and their corresponding categories are as follows:

- Identifying as Irish
- Irish traditional songs in Irish
- Irish dancing - style: céilí, set dancing

The five items with the most divergent positions of importance on the lists of being Irish and their corresponding ordinal values (values describing position of importance) in each of the two study areas are as follows

- Speaking Irish at home (14th place in the Gaeltacht and 29th place in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=15$);
- Identifying as a Gael or Gaelach (5th place in the Gaeltacht and 18th in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=13$);
- Irish surnames – English spelling (3rd in the Gaeltacht and 14th in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=11$);
- Speaking fluent Irish (16th in the Gaeltacht and 27th in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=11$);
- Place names – Irish spelling (31st in the Gaeltacht and 20th in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=11$).

The five items with the most divergent positions of importance on the lists of being *Gael* and their corresponding ordinal values (values describing position of importance) in each of the two study areas are as follows:

- Speaking Irish at home (6th place in the Gaeltacht and 18th in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=12$);
- Identifying as a Gael or Gaelach (2nd place in the Gaeltacht and 13th in the Gaeltacht; $\Delta=11$);

- Being born in Ireland (16th place in the Gaeltacht and 5th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=11$);
- Speaking some Irish (9th place in the Gaeltacht and 19th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=10$);
- Irish dancing - style: céilí, set dancing (12th place in the Gaeltacht and 3rd in the Galltacht; $\Delta=9$).

This section contains a summary on the perceived importance of markers related to practical language use found among the other identity markers of being Irish and being *Gael*. These markers were sorted at the beginning of this heading ('PART VII Identity markers') and are found under the category 'practical language use', which contained items 3-11. This part of the analysis will focus on the first six of these items, namely:

- Speaking Irish at home;
- Speaking fluent Irish;
- Speaking fluent English;
- Speaking some Irish;
- Speaking some English;
- Speaking English with an Irish accent.

Language use is of special importance in analysing collective identity. The six markers related to practical language use, their ordinal values (position of importance) on the lists of all 32 markers associated with being Irish and the value of difference in their relative positions of importance in the two study areas are as follows:

- Speaking Irish at home (14th place in the Gaeltacht and 29th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=15$);
- Speaking fluent Irish (16th place in the Gaeltacht and 27th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=11$);
- Speaking some Irish (6th place in the Gaeltacht and 16th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=10$);
- Speaking some English (22th place in the Gaeltacht and 15th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=7$);
- Speaking fluent English (15th place in the Gaeltacht and 22th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=7$);
- Speaking English with an Irish accent (18th place in the Gaeltacht and 17th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=1$).

The six markers related to practical language use, their ordinal values (position of importance) on the lists of all 32 markers associated with being *Gael* and the value of difference in their relative positions of importance in the two study areas are as follows:

- Speaking Irish at home (6th place in the Gaeltacht and 18th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=12$);
- Speaking some Irish (9th place in the Gaeltacht and 19th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=10$);

- Speaking fluent English (22th place in the Gaeltacht and 30th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=8$);
- Speaking fluent Irish (7th place in the Gaeltacht and 12th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=5$);
- Speaking some English (25th place in the Gaeltacht and 23th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=2$);
- Speaking English with an Irish accent (23th place in the Gaeltacht and 22th in the Galltacht; $\Delta=17$).

Part VIII of the survey focused on self-identification at a collective level. A univocal identification of being Irish in the two study areas was compared to unilateral identification of being a *Gael*. The latter was prevalent in the Gaeltacht Study Area and received ambiguous reactions in the Galltacht Study Area. In the Gaeltacht Study Area being Irish and being Gael are clearly related (though not identical) levels of identification; the correlation coefficient of the average score distribution in case of the two identities is complete. In the Galltacht Study Area being Irish and being Gael are clearly unrelated levels of identification; the correlation coefficient of the average score distribution in case of the two identities is almost zero.

Part IX of the survey focused on leadership in two sections; one on responsibility and the other on achievement. Each section contained the same list of agents in association with the Irish language. The average responses showed that, in general, significantly more responsibility was assigned to all listed agents in the Gaeltacht Study Area (1.7) than in the Galltacht Study Area (1.2). The least amount of responsibility was assigned to ‘the private sector in general’ in both areas. The responsibility of agency most differently valued in the two areas was ‘me personally’ (valued at 1.9 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and valued at 0.7 in the Galltacht Study Area), followed by ‘the private sector in general’ and ‘the public sector in general’.

The second section enquired how strongly the respondents agreed that the agents named in the items on the list provided a major contribution to the maintenance of the Irish language. The average responses showed that respondents in the Galltacht Study Area rated the achievement of the agents at greater value (0.7) than respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area (0.4). The only area where respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area rated the achievement of agents at greater value was the agent ‘me personally’ (valued at 1.3 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and valued at 0 in the Galltacht Study Area).

The most divergent values of responsibility and achievement were associated with the following four items in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- The Irish Government (responsibility: 1.7, achievement: -0.6; $\Delta=2.3$);

- The public sector in general (responsibility: 1.6, achievement: -0.6; $\Delta=2.2$);
- Irish people in general (responsibility: 1.7, achievement: -0.3; $\Delta=2$);
- The private sector in general (responsibility: 1.2, achievement: -0.8; $\Delta=2$).

The most divergent values of responsibility and achievement were associated with the following four items in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- Irish people in general (responsibility: 1.2, achievement: 0.2; $\Delta=1$);
- People outside the Gaeltacht (responsibility: 0.8, achievement: -0.1; $\Delta=0.9$);
- The Irish Government (responsibility: 1.3, achievement: 0.4; $\Delta=0.9$);
- Me personally (responsibility: 0.7, achievement: 0; $\Delta=0.7$).

Part X of the survey focused on vision. It contained three open questions about the future of the Irish language. The first question asked the respondents to describe their interpretation of what vision ‘the leaders of the Irish people’ had for the future of the Irish language. The majority of the respondents (44.8% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 22.1% in the Gaeltacht Study Area) reported that the leaders have a negative vision. This opinion was more acute in the Gaeltacht Study Area, where a number of people interpreted that the intent of the leaders is to dispose of the language. A higher proportion of respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area believed that the vision of the leaders was either maintaining the *status quo* or improvement of the situation.

The second question asked the respondents to describe their own vision for the future of the Irish language. The majority of the respondents (22.1% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 24.7% in the Gaeltacht Study Area) reported to have a positive vision.

The third question asked the respondents to describe what they believed to be in store for the Irish language and its speakers. The majority of the respondents (31.4 %) in the Gaeltacht Study Area expressed a negative view on the subject and the majority of the respondents (21.5 %) in the Gaeltacht Study Area expressed a neutral view.

Correlative evaluation of the *Gael*

This section summarises the results of the survey according to the level of identification among the respondents with Gaelic identity. The sample populations in the two study areas were combined into a single, statistically non-representative population ranked into seven categories based on the responses to the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ in Part VIII of the questionnaire. These include the five-point Likert-type response item (-2 Strongly disagree; -1 Disagree; 0 Neutral;

1 Agree; 2 Strongly agree) together with the option ‘not sure’ and a category of non-response (not stated). Of the 324 respondents (*i.e.* all the respondents from both study areas together) the majority (53.4%) chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’. Among the sociological markers regional location is significantly correlated with the level of identification as a *Gael*; the majority (86.1%) of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ to the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ were from the Gaeltacht Study Area.

The following correlations with Gaelic identity were identified for Part II ‘Sociolinguistic background’ of the survey:

- patterns of language use in the home: strong correlation;
- ability in the Irish language: strong correlation.
- mastery of both the English and the Irish language: strong correlation.

The following correlations with Gaelic identity were identified for the 15 statements in the first section of Part III ‘Attitudes and beliefs’ of the survey:

- Statement 1 ‘The Irish language is my language’: strong correlation;
- Statement 2 ‘The English language is my language’: moderate negative correlation;
- Statement 3 ‘I like the Irish language’: strong correlation;
- Statement 4 ‘I like the English language’: slight negative correlation;
- Statement 5 ‘The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland’: slight correlation;
- Statement 6 ‘The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht’: slight correlation;
- Statement 7 ‘The Irish language provides many economic opportunities’: slight correlation;
- Statement 8 ‘I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleague’: strong correlation;
- Statement 9 ‘The Irish language is important to Ireland’: moderate correlation.
- Statement 10 ‘The Irish language is important to me personally’: strong correlation;
- Statement 11 ‘The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland’: moderate correlation.
- Statement 12 ‘The Gaeltacht is important to me personally’: strong correlation;
- Statement 13 ‘I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language’: slight correlation;
- Statement 14 ‘I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English’: strong correlation;
- Statement 15 ‘I find the term ‘Gaeltacht’ offensive’: moderate correlation.

The question ‘Who does the Irish language belong to?’ in the second section of Part III ‘Attitudes and beliefs’ of the survey revealed some correlation with Gaelic identity. Among those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ were the highest proportion (12%) of respondents who chose the option ‘it [the Irish language] does not belong to anyone’ and the lowest proportion (<1%) of respondents who chose the option ‘[it belongs] to those who speak it at home’.

The question ‘What percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home?’ in the third section of Part III ‘Attitudes and beliefs’ of the survey revealed a negative correlation with Gaelic identity.

The following correlations with Gaelic identity were identified for the 9 statements in Part IV ‘Social norms of language use’ of the survey:

- Statement 1 ‘It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers’: no correlation;
- Statement 2 ‘It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers’: moderate correlation;
- Statement 3 ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish’: moderate correlation;
- Statement 4 ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English’: slight correlation;
- Statement 5 ‘It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht’: slight correlation;
- Statement 6 ‘English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht’: slight correlation;
- Statement 7 ‘People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht’: slight correlation;
- Statement 8 ‘It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht’: strong correlation;
- Statement 9 ‘It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht’: strong correlation.

The following correlations with Gaelic identity were identified for Part V ‘Cultural practice’ of the survey:

- ‘Being born in Ireland’: moderate correlation;
- ‘Being born in the Gaeltacht’: strong correlation;

- ‘Having an Irish Christian name using the Irish spelling’: strong correlation;
- ‘Having an Irish Christian name using the English spelling’: moderate correlation;
- ‘Having an Irish surname using the Irish spelling’: strong correlation;
- ‘Having an Irish surname using the English spelling’: slight correlation;
- ‘Listening to traditional Irish songs in Irish’: strong correlation;
- ‘Listening to traditional Irish songs in English’: slight correlation;
- ‘Listening to Irish traditional music’: moderate correlation;
- ‘Being interested in dancing in the style *Riverdance*’: no correlation;
- ‘Being interested in in sean-nós dancing’: moderate correlation;
- ‘Being interested in *céilí* and set dancing’: strong correlation;
- ‘Being interested in Irish games’: moderate correlation.

Part VI of the survey focused on ‘Defining the Gaels’. A weak, yet recognisable correlation was detected to exist between the Irish language and Gaelic identity; 49% of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ marked the Irish language to be a basic attribute of this identity.

Part VII of the survey assessed what it means to be Irish and what it means to be *Gael* by asking the respondents to rate each item on a list of 32 socio-cultural markers in their relevance to being Irish and being *Gael*, respectively. The most valued markers of ‘being Irish’ according to the level of identification with ‘being a *Gael*’, together with the coefficient values of these two variables, are as follows:

- Place names – Irish spelling (Gaillimh); coefficient: 0.90;
- Speaking fluent Irish; coefficient: 0.89;
- Speaking some Irish; coefficient: 0.83;
- Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht; coefficient: 0.64;
- Speaking Irish at home; coefficient: 0.63;
- Irish traditional songs in Irish; coefficient: 0.60;
- Irish surnames – Irish spelling; coefficient: 0.60.

The most valued markers of ‘being a *Gael*’ according to the level of identification with ‘being a *Gael*’, together with the coefficient values of these two variables, are as follows:

- Speaking fluent English; coefficient: 0.1
- Identifying as a Gael or Gaelach; coefficient: -0.03
- Place names – Irish spelling (Gaillimh); coefficient: -0.19

The following correlations with Gaelic identity were identified for Part VIII ‘Self-identification’ of the survey:

- Statement ‘I am a Gaeilgeoir’: strong correlation;
- Statement ‘I am a speaker of the Irish language’: strong correlation;
- Statement ‘I am a learner of the Irish language’: strong correlation.

Part IX of the survey focused on leadership in two sections; one on responsibility and the other on achievement. The following is a list of agencies with the highest perceived responsibility according to the level of identification with being a *Gael*:

- The Irish Government; coefficient: 0.95;
- The public sector in general; coefficient: 0.77;
- Me personally; coefficient: 0.68.

The following is a list of agencies with the highest perceived achievement according to the level of identification with being a *Gael*:

- Me personally; coefficient: 0.88;
- People outside the Gaeltacht; coefficient: 0.24;
- Irish people in general; coefficient: 0.41.

The following correlations with Gaelic identity were identified for Part X ‘Vision’ of the survey:

- Question 1 ‘What is the vision of the leaders of the Irish people for the future of the Irish language?’: no correlation;
- Question 2 ‘What is your own vision for the future of the Irish language?’: no correlation;
- Question 3 ‘What do you think will happen to the Irish language and its speakers?’: no correlation.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

In this final chapter I (1) address the research questions of my dissertation; (2) provide a discussion on Gaelic ethnic reality; (3) describe the idea of Gaelic ethnic reconstructionism; and (4) recommend several topics for further research.

5.1 Research questions

I posed the following research questions on Gaelic identity in contemporary Ireland at the beginning of my thesis:

1. How does Gaelic identity relate to the Irish language?
2. How does Gaelic identity relate to native-Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht?
3. How does Gaelic identity relate to native English-speakers in the Galltacht?
4. How does Gaelic identity relate to Irish identity?
5. What does Gaelic identity mean?
6. Is Gaelic identity based on historical continuity or is it an intellectual invention of the Gaelic Revival?

I answer these questions based on my theoretical and historical understanding developed in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 of my thesis and on the basis of my analysis of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language in Chapter 4 of this Dissertation. The aim of this survey was to analyse how beliefs and practices relate to linguistic characteristics in two sociolinguistically distinguishable areas and thus to explore how the anthropological and psychological aspects of ‘linguistic identity’ relates to speaking Irish in contemporary Ireland.

1. How does Gaelic identity relate to the Irish language?

I discuss the relationship between identity and language under the subheading ‘Culture’ in Chapter 2.3 and under the subheading ‘Language’ in Chapter 2.4 of my thesis. Ethnic identity is substantialised in cultural markers. The salience of such markers are determined by internal and contextual (political) factors negotiated in social interaction. Language can be perceived as one of the most salient cultural markers of ethnic identification on the following grounds:

- Language is acquired during early socialisation usually in the intimacy of a family;
- The use of language is ubiquitous (as opposed to more occasional usage of other cultural markers);
- Linguistic features are difficult to conceal;

- Linguistic features are difficult to change;
- Language is the basis of many other cultural markers (*e.g.* literature, songs, stories).

An ethnic group that anchors its collective identity in a language may be referred to as an ethno-linguistic community. Political context may (temporarily or permanently) alter the hierarchy of salience of cultural markers. The dominance of the Irish language as an ethnic marker has been challenged by religious and civic affiliations against its diminishing power base.

Gaelic identity is an important feature of symbolic cultural markers in Ireland. The ethnonym ‘Gael’ is found in names of political parties, institutions and organisations associated with the language or other aspects of culture. Many personal names (both in their “Irish” and in their “English” versions) are also symbolic reminders of a Gaelic past and presence.

Analysis of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language showed a clear correlation between ability in the Irish language and identifying as a *Gael*. The majority (84%) of those who chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ reported to have ‘good Irish’, while no one who chose to ‘strongly disagree’ with the same statement reported to have ‘good Irish’ (Figure 143).

The survey also showed that respondents in the two study areas differed in their perceptions on the importance of the Irish language in relation to Gaelic identity. Among those who answered the open question “Who are the Gaels?” (Part VI in the questionnaire of the survey), the Irish language was the most important definitive condition; 34.2% of all the respondents (or 49.8% among those who provided a definition) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 14% of all the respondent (or 36.8% of those who provided a definition) in the Galltacht Study Area named the Irish language as a defining criterion of being a *Gael* (Figure 95).

Question 1 in Part VII of the questionnaire provided a somewhat modified view on the relevance of the Irish language to Gaelic identity. Of a list of 32 socio-cultural markers relevant to being *Gael* the item “Speaking Irish at home” was ranked sixth in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 18th in the Galltacht Study Area (Figures 98 and 99, respectively). In fact, this item received the most divergent levels of support (position of importance) as a defining characteristic of being *Gael* in the two areas (Table 33).

In the same list of 32 socio-cultural markers nine items (items 3-11) were associated with practical language use. In providing a better understanding of my research question, I focus on the following six items relevant to being *Gael*:

- Speaking Irish at home;
- Speaking fluent Irish;
- Speaking fluent English;
- Speaking some Irish;
- Speaking some English;
- Speaking English with an Irish accent.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area rating the linguistic items associated with being Irish and rating the linguistic items associated with being Gael differ outstandingly about two items, namely ‘Speaking Irish at home’ and ‘Speaking fluent Irish’. These two items were markedly more associated with being Gael than with being Irish (Figure 108 and Figure 109). Interestingly these items were even more pronounced in the Gaeltacht Study Area as markers of difference between being Gael and being Irish (Figure 110 and Figure 111).

2. How does Gaelic identity relate to native-Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht?

Gaelic identity was historically the dominant ethnic identity of the native Irish speakers of Ireland. The historical ethnonym of this people was *Gael* (as opposed to the more politically situation dependent ethnonym ‘Éireannach’) and the name of its language was, and still is, ‘Gaeilge’ (and not ‘Éireannais’, a direct translation of ‘Irish language’) in its own language. Native Irish speakers came to be associated with the ‘Gaeltacht’, which referred to communities in which Gaelic was the dominant culture.

Analysis of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language showed that Gaelic identity is still significantly more accepted in Irish-speaking communities than in English-speaking communities. In fact, in native-speaking communities Gaelic identity almost received the same amount of support as Irish identity did. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 86% of the respondents chose to ‘strongly agree’ to the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ as opposed to 14.5% of respondents who chose to ‘strongly agree’ to the same statement in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 113).

In choosing from a list of cultural markers, respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area strongly associated ‘Place names (Irish spelling)’, ‘Identifying as a *Gael* or Gaelach’, ‘Identifying as Irish’, ‘Irish traditional music’, ‘Having Irish ancestry’ and ‘Speaking Irish at home’ with Gaelic identity (Figure 98; Table 24).

Choosing place names (Irish spelling) as the most important cultural marker associated with Gaelic identity indicates a demand for symbolic distinction. Irish-speaking communities

generally prefer “Irish” versions (in Irish spelling) of place names and English-speaking communities generally prefer “English” versions (in English spelling). Naming is the strongest symbolic practice as it is often perceived to express a sense of geographic control. Conflicting views on official versions of a place name (such that in Dingle in County Kerry) often feature in ethnic conflicts elsewhere in the world.

According to the analysis of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language Gaelic personal names (both the “Irish” and the “English” versions) are significantly more associated with the Gaeltacht Study Area; 92.8% in the Gaeltacht Study Area *vs.* 49.3% in the Galltacht Study Area perceived their surnames to be of Irish (*i.e.* Gaelic) origin, and 90.3% in the Gaeltacht Study Area *vs.* 65% in the Galltacht Study Area perceived their Christian names to be of Irish (*i.e.* Gaelic) origin (Figure 93; Figure 94).

The analysis of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language also showed that traditional Irish music, songs and dancing were more favoured in the Gaeltacht Study Area than in the Galltacht Study Area. Among these cultural elements the language based element of Irish songs were markedly more preferred, the others were only slightly more preferred in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 92).

3. How does Gaelic identity relate to native English-speakers in the Galltacht?

Diminishing relevance/attachment of the self to certain cultural phenomena leads to peripheralisation of these cultural phenomena for group identification. Phenomena that are peripheral in the self-narrative of one experiencer may be central or also peripheral in the self-narrative of *other* experiencers. Phenomena with a diminished relevance to experiencers may linger on in social memory (collective narrative/heritage) in order to fulfil peripheral/contextual functions.

Analysis of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language showed that Gaelic identity is significantly less accepted in English-speaking communities than in Irish-speaking communities. In the Galltacht Study Area 14.5% of the respondents chose to ‘strongly agree’ to the statement ‘I am a *Gael*’ as opposed to 86% of respondents who chose to ‘strongly agree’ to the same statement in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 113).

Provided with a list of 32 cultural markers, respondents in the Galltacht Study Area strongly associated ‘Identifying as Irish’, ‘Irish traditional songs in Irish’ and ‘Irish dancing’ with Gaelic identity. Interestingly none of the linguistic markers were strongly associated with ‘being a

Gael' in the Galltacht Study Area, where 'Speaking fluent Irish' was assigned the 12th position of importance and 'Speaking Irish at home' was assigned the 18th position of importance among the 32 cultural markers associated with 'being *Gael*' (Figure 99; Table 26; Table 41).

The analysis of the survey also showed that traditional Irish music and dancing were only slightly less preferred in the Galltacht Study Area than in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The two study areas showed equal level of interest in Gaelic games (Figure 92).

4. How does Gaelic identity relate to Irish identity?

Gaelic identity became an element of Irish national identity due to the cultural nationalist movement of the late 19th century. Douglas Hyde, an early leading intellectual of the Gaelic league, linked Gaelic identity with the past of Irish identity and also attempted to equate Gaelic identity with Irish identity.

The analysis of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language showed that there is great difference in perceiving the relationship between Gaelic identity and Irish identity in the two study areas (Table 45). In the Gaeltacht Study Area Irish identity and Gaelic identity received almost equal (close to univocal) support. The average rating of the first statement ('I am Irish') was 1.91 and the average rating of the second statement ('I am a *Gael*') was 1.81. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in case of the two identities is complete (1), which indicates nearly identical trends of opinions on the two statements in this area (Figure 114).

In the Galltacht Study Area Irish identity received a univocal support and Gaelic identity received a slightly positive (close to neutral) support. The average rating of the first statement ('I am Irish') was 1.91 and the average rating of the second statement ('I am a *Gael*') was 0.10. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in case of the two identities is almost zero (0.08), which indicates different trends of opinions on the two statements in this area (Figure 115).

Comparing the above results in the two study areas means that (1) Gaelic identity is an ideological feature of native Irish speakers who live in communities where Irish is the dominant language of everyday conversation and (2) Gaelic identity is not an ideological feature of native English speakers who live in communities where English is the language of everyday conversation.

In the Gaeltacht Study Area Irish identity and Gaelic identity were seen to differ on ‘Being born in the Gaeltacht’, ‘Speaking Irish at home’, ‘Speaking fluent Irish’ and ‘Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht’, which were seen to be important elements of being a *Gael* and less important elements of being Irish. ‘Being Catholic’, ‘Being religious’, and ‘Identifying as Irish’ were seen as important criteria for both identities, *i.e.* for identifying as a *Gael* and identifying as Irish (Figure 102; Table 34).

In the Galltacht Study Area Irish identity and Gaelic identity were seen to differ on ‘Speaking fluent Irish’ and ‘Speaking Irish at home’, and ‘Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht’, which were seen to be important elements of being *Gael* and less important elements of being Irish. ‘Identifying as Irish’ was seen as an important criterion for both identities, *i.e.* for identifying as *Gael* and identifying as Irish (Figure 103; Table 35).

The scores assigned in the Gaeltacht Study Area to linguistic markers of being Irish and to linguistic markers of being *Gael* differ markedly in case of the items ‘Speaking Irish at home’ and ‘Speaking fluent Irish’. These items were more than twice as much associated with being *Gael* than being Irish (Figure 108). These differences were even more pronounced in the Galltacht Study Area, where the items ‘Speaking Irish at home’ and ‘Speaking fluent Irish’ were univocally associated with ‘being a Gael’ and were not associated with ‘being Irish’ (Figure 110).

Another interesting result of the survey in the Galltacht Study Area was the moderate rejection of the item ‘Speaking fluent English’ as a marker of ‘being Gael’ (Figure 110). This item received a neutral response in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 108).

5. What does Gaelic identity mean?

The question ‘What does Gaelic identity mean?’ was addressed in the Survey through an open question: ‘Who are the Gaels?’ The answers were analysed according to the following nine categories generalised from the answers of the respondents:

1. Identity (defining characteristic);
2. Irish language;
3. Culture;
4. Gaeltacht;
5. Descent;
6. National ideologues;

7. People of Ireland;
8. Celts / the Irish and the Scottish;
9. Dismissive.

Among the responses, the Irish language was the most important definitive condition of being a Gael; 34.2% of all the respondents (or 49.8% among those who provided a definition) in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 14% of all the respondent (or 36.8% of those who provided a definition) in the Galltacht Study Area named the Irish language as a defining criterion of being a Gael. The second important element was ‘People of Ireland’ (civic nationalism), which received significantly higher support in the Gaeltacht Study Area than in the Galltacht Study Area. Gaelic was associated with ‘culture’ in the third place and the ‘Gaeltacht’ in the fourth place (Figure 95).

Among the list of 32 cultural markers offered in Part VII of the survey the following six items were perceived as most relevant to ‘being a Gael’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area: ‘Place names – Irish spelling’; ‘Identifying as a Gael or Gaelach’; ‘Identifying as Irish’; ‘Irish traditional music’; ‘Having Irish ancestry’; ‘Speaking Irish at home’ (Table 24). In the Galltacht Study Area the following three items were perceived as most relevant to ‘being a Gael’: ‘Identifying as Irish’; ‘Irish traditional songs in Irish’; ‘Irish dancing - style: céilí, set dancing’ (Table 26). Interestingly ‘Identifying as Irish’ was perceived as an important feature of ‘being Gael’ in both study areas.

The perceptions of the respondents on the meaning of being a Gael differed most markedly in the two study areas about the following four items: ‘Being born in the Gaeltacht’; ‘Speaking Irish at home’; ‘Speaking fluent Irish’; ‘Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht’.

6. Is Gaelic identity based on historical continuity or is it an intellectual invention of the Gaelic Revival?

In Chapter 3 of this dissertation I posited that Gaelic identity is a continuous historical identity from the middle ages to the present. Gaelic identity was associated with the Irish language and other elements of Gaelic culture. I have not yet found evidence as to whether the post-Gaelic Irish (*i.e.* Irish who became native English-speakers) would have accepted or rejected Gaelic identification before the time of the Gaelic Revival. Nor have I yet found evidence which would indicate if Irish speaking communities accept the post-Gaelic Irish, *i.e.* English speakers in Ireland, as Gaels or disregard them in relation to this identification.

Intellectuals of the Gaelic Revival projected highly inconsistent ideas on Gaelic identity. These ideas ranged from the glorious ‘Gaelic past’ to a seemingly inconsistent attempt to equate Irish and Gaelic identification. The term ‘Gael’ was also used in reference to Irish-speakers in the Irish-speaking areas of Ireland. An important contribution of the Gaelic revival was the expansion of the meaning of the term ‘Gael’ to include those who cherished the Irish language and/or acted as patriots and/or contributed to the national pride through some great achievement (Ó Torna 2005: 151). Such criteria, however, received very little support among the defining criteria of being a *Gael* in any of the two study areas in the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language (Figure 95). It is plausible, however, that the ideological reconstructions of the Gaelic Revival construed the language aspects of the national regeneration as language identity as heritage rather than a sociological formulation. In this context Gaelic identity in the Gaeltacht developed in a parallel fashion with manifestations of the language as heritage, which was propagated as Irish identity by the Irish State.

5.2 Gaelic ethnic reality

Gaelic identity is an ideological social construct. Its locus of (re/de)construction is within social interaction (agents *vs.* ‘others’ and agents *vs.* emergent social phenomena, such as culture, ideology and power) experienced in first person. The (coerced) cultural shift from Gaelic to an Irish culture framed in English, resulted in the birth and growth of the post-Gaelic Irish, which focused historically on the cultural requirements of the Anglo-Irish ascendancy. Through nationalism Irish became the dominant level of identification in Ireland (Figure 197).

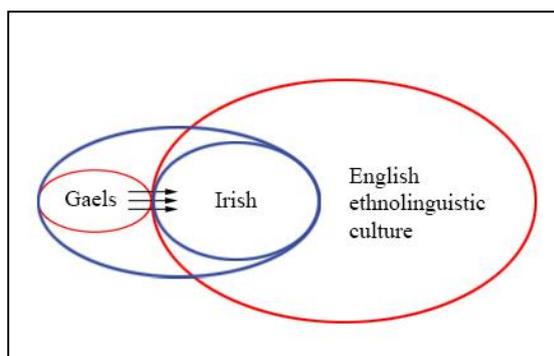


Figure 197 Gaelic and Irish culture in context.

Irish culture is connected with Gaelic culture through its symbolic and non-linguistic culture and its historical narrative about a distant past. Symbolic connections include religious symbolism and personal and place names, though these latter of Gaelic origin are used in a modified, distinctly Irish version. Connections through non-linguistic elements of culture include sporting games, music and dances; a virtual repository of the past, but not reliant on

vernacular. As Irishness became the dominant level of identification in Ireland, its intellectuals in the eastern centres of the country reimagined both the distant Gaelic past and the Gaelic language in an Irish framework. In the Irish framework Gaelic identity is a cultural facet of Irishness, a property of all Irish people.

An ethnic group, which is a non-virtual group, exists if:

- people accept to be identified by the name of the group;
- the group has the sociological basis for biological regeneration;
- the group has a cultural basis of ethnic distinction transmitted through primary socialisation.

The analysis of the Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language showed that Gaelic identity received an almost univocal support of acceptance in the Gaeltacht Study Area (Figure 114). Gaelic identity, therefore, does have people who find it acceptable to identify with the name of the group.

I summarise the other aspects of Gaelic ethnic identity according to the threefold conceptual framework of culture, ideology and power I discussed in Chapter 2.3 of this dissertation.

Culture

Gaelic culture is based on a distinct language acquired during primary socialisation. This language is used in common everyday situations and it serves as the basis of linguistic cultural attributes, such as poems and songs. The Gaels are a bicultural ethnic group; they are ‘at home’ in the minority (Gaelic) culture and in the majority (Irish) culture. The Gaelic language, therefore, serves as a boundary marker in one direction. Gaelic culture is technically an optional addition to Irish culture framed in the English language, the possession of which is perceived to be obligatory.

The Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language revealed that 86% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area reported that they have ‘fluent Irish’ and a further 7% of the respondents reported that they have ‘good Irish’. No one in this area reported to have ‘no Irish’. In comparison the distribution curve of responses had a peak at ‘little Irish’ in the Gaeltacht Study Area; 49.4% of the respondents reported to have this level of competence in the language. 22.1% of the respondents reported to have ‘reasonable Irish’, while at the opposite side (left tail) of the distribution, 16.9% of the respondents marked that they have ‘no Irish’ (Figure 37).

These figures indicate that respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area had sociocultural basis for ethnic/ethnolinguistic distinction.

All native-Irish speakers in in the Gaeltacht Study Area, however, reported ability to speak English. The study showed that almost half of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area did not report a difference in their competence between the two languages, *i.e.* they consider themselves to be balanced bilinguals. 40.7% of the respondents in this region reported to have better ability in Irish as opposed to 12.8% of the respondents who reported to have better ability in English (Figure 38).

Language, in competition or compliance with physical traits and religion, is the most salient cultural marker to provide an attachment for our collective, familiarity-based sense of self. Language is important for identification because it is:

- acquired through primary socialisation;
- ubiquitous (we all have at least one language);
- difficult to replace with another language not acquired in early socialisation;
- the basis for many other (occasionally performed) cultural markers, such as those studied in literature, ceremonial and other collective representations.

The cultural basis of distinction as a *Gael* has been deteriorating. Several studies have shown that the geographical area, in which Irish is the everyday language of the population, is shrinking (see: Ó Giollaigáin *et al.* 2007; Ó Giollaigáin and Charlton 2014). The level of intergenerational language shift shows progress from a state of bilingualism towards English monolingualism. The type of unidirectional bilingualism that results in the attrition of the first language is referred to at a social level as ‘entropic bilingualism’ (Ó Giollaigáin 2011). Entropic bilingualism is connected with the weakening in-group norms of cultural expectations. It is diagnosed in Irish in studies on language change (Ó Curnáin 2007 and 2009; Lenoach 2012). It is shown that most of the young people who acquire Irish do not speak it among themselves in the community outside an educational setting (see: Mac Donnacha *et al.* 2005; Survey of Young People in Ó Giollaigáin *et al.* 2007). It is also demonstrated that most of the young people have better ability in English than in Irish (see: Péterváry *et al.* 2014).

The Survey on the Ideology of the Irish Language indicated that in the Gaeltacht Study Area both the parents and the respondents themselves showed a dominant pattern of ‘Irish only’ language choice in the home. The combined proportion of ‘parents’ reported to use ‘Irish only’

in the home was 67.6% and the combined proportion of 'parents' reported to use 'Irish mainly' in the home was 19%. 'Parents' reported to have used equal amount of Irish and English made up a mere 3.5% of this group. The pattern of language choice among the respondents themselves differs from that of their parents as it indicates less preference to 'Irish only' language choice. 47.1% of the respondents reported preference to 'Irish only' language choice and 31.4% of them reported that they use 'Irish mainly' in their home. Respondents who reported that they use equal amount of Irish and English in their home made up 20.5% of the Gaeltacht sample population. These trends indicate an intergenerational move from a language choice dominated by the Irish language towards a more balanced form of bilingualism (and beyond) in the home (Figure 35).

The Gaelic-Irish population also share cultural elements with the Irish monocultural population. The difference between the two populations is evident in the proportions of practicing these cultural elements. The most obvious difference of cultural interest between the two areas was listening to traditional Irish songs in Irish; 82% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 34.5% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area reported that they listen to traditional Irish songs in Irish. This means that there is an outstandingly great (47%) difference of variables between the two areas. Interestingly, the second most obvious difference of cultural interest between the two areas was listening to traditional Irish songs in English; 57% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 37.7% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area reported that they listen to traditional Irish songs in English. This means that there is 19.3% difference of variables between the two areas. The difference in the proportions of respondents who reported to listen to Irish traditional songs in Irish and those who reported to listen to Irish traditional songs in English is 25% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 3.2% in the Galtacht Study Area. This means that the language of the songs matters significantly more in the Gaeltacht Study Area than in the Galtacht Study Area.

Cultural interest also differed about Irish traditional music; 85.5% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 67% of the respondent in the Gaeltacht Study Area reported that they listen to traditional Irish music. The difference between the proportions of people with this cultural interest is 18.5% between the two areas (Figure 92).

Formal markers create sociological 'facts'. Gaelic ethnicity is a not a formalised social entity, its existence, therefore, is not a sociological 'fact'. Some of the important cultural attributes of Gaelic identity are, however, formalised. The Irish language, for example, is the first official

language of the Irish State (1937 Constitution). The Gaeltacht is an officially recognised administrative area in which Irish language is spoken as an everyday language of communication. According to the 2011 Census 24 per cent of the population in the official Gaeltacht indicated they spoke Irish daily outside the education system. Both formalisations, i.e. the formalisation of language and the formalisation of the Gaeltacht, constitute sociological ‘facts’ in relation to which the Gaelic ethnic group is a minority, even in its designated realm.

Ideology

Those who accepted to be identified as Gaels in the Gaeltacht Study Area also assigned to be identified as Irish. Social distinction as Gaels, expressed most saliently in language, is a matter of choice. The retreat of Gaelic ideology is accompanied by the spread of Irish ideology, which is itself conditioned nowadays by neoliberal thinking, the supporting *laissez-faire* philosophy of free market global capitalism.

The importance of an intrinsic ideology of an ethnic group is highlighted by Van Dijk (1998, 154):

No group can socially exist and act without a group identity and shared ideological beliefs of its members. Conversely, no group ideology will develop [/be (re)constructed] unless collectivities of people start to act, co-ordinate and organize as a group.

This quotation also highlights the dynamic relationship that exists between ideology and group action. Ideology, in this regard, is a framework of reference centred on the group. Gaelic ideology is centred on the Gaels and Irish ideology is centred on the Irish. While the Irish language, the most salient elements of Gaelic culture, is formalised in Irish ideology, it is not formalised as the language of the *Gael* but as the language of all Irish people. The Irish vision about the language was based on an expectation that the language could be ‘revived’ in the whole country. Since it was not realised, the revival was practically abandoned in the 1960s (Ó Giollagáin 2014: 25).

By the time the Irish state practically abandoned its revivalist policy, Gaelic identity was successfully reframed in an administrative territorial identity, the Gaeltacht. The last significant collective action of the Gael, the Gaeltacht civil rights movement, was framed according to this ideology. The Ideological framework of ‘*muintir na Gaeltachta*’, based on an extrinsically managed static administrative area, gradually became irrelevant for the ethnic group in a

dynamic state of cultural shift. The majority of the population in the Gaeltacht are English-speakers generally with little regard for the use of Irish language as an everyday language of communication.

Following Althusser's thinking (1970, 1984) ideology is reality rather than the obscuring of reality. We internalise dominant ideology through the ideological state apparatuses, which are located in religious, legal, and cultural structures, in the mass media and the family, and especially in the educational system. The education system in the Gaeltacht is based on the ideology of the Gaeltacht, in which the Gaels, *i.e.* the native-Irish speakers, are a non-recognised social entity.

A major component (if not the equivalent) of ideology is narrative. Narrative is prescription (how things should be) by description (how things are) in context of competing (versions of) descriptions. Narratives fulfil an existential requirement in society by providing a sense of certainty. Socially assigned value of certainty is dependent on chronological (time) and geographical (space) factors.

The chronological relativity of assigned certainty/integrity was the topic of Thomas Kuhn's famous book *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. In this book Kuhn posited that science did not progress in a linear fashion but in phases he called paradigms. Kuhn (1996, 10) defined a scientific paradigm as 'universally recognized scientific achievements that, for a time, provide model problems and solutions for a community of practitioners'. Paradigms are 'incommensurable' and science progresses through 'paradigm shift', which occurs when a paradigm loses its adherents. Kuhn's view is also consistent with historical and political approach, which claims that what counts as knowledge in any period or community is determined by who has the definitional or other truth-determining power in society (Scupin 2012, 115).

Ethnic reality can also be approached from Kuhn's 'paradigm shift' perspective. Ethnic paradigm shift occurs when an ethnic group loses its political and sociological strength to reconstruct its own narrative. As the old paradigm/narrative disintegrates, attempts of its reconstruction lose their social acceptance; the old narrative fades into social memory suppressed by the accepted factuality (*i.e.* truth) of the new narrative. '[M]emory traces are disrupted, obscured or overlaid by other memories. In other words, forgetting occurs as a consequence of interference' (Foster 2009, 62). Depending on the political situation,

phenomena with a diminished relevance may linger on in social memory (collective narrative/heritage) in order to fulfil peripheral/contextual functions.

Affiliation with an ethnic group, like affiliation with any groups, is based on perceived similarity, common interest, and a sense of having a legitimate role and place in the group's 'grand narrative'. The narrative of an ethnic group, like the narrative of any group with members with an emic view, is based on 'a "we feeling," a sense of community or oneness within one's own in-group versus other out-groups' (Scupin 2012, 519).

Narrative always has a de(con)structable self-justifying primordial basis that may or may not be acknowledged by the experiencer(s). In this view, however, any tradition can be demonstrated to be an 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), or, in a more humanistic phrasing, a 'myth to live by' (Samuel and Thompson 1990).

My quantitative survey revealed the following important aspects of Gaelic ideology in the Gaeltacht Study Area:

- Gaelic identity is still significantly more accepted in Irish-speaking communities than in English-speaking communities. In fact, in native-speaking communities Gaelic identity almost received the same amount of support as Irish identity did. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 86% of the respondents chose to 'strongly agree' to the statement 'I am a *Gael*' as opposed to 14.5% of respondents who chose to 'strongly agree' to the same statement in the Galltacht Study Area (Figure 113).
- Respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area express a significantly stronger sense of ownership about the Irish language than respondents in the Galltacht Study Area; 78.5% of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area chose to 'strongly agree' to the statement, 'The Irish language is my language' as opposed to Galltacht Study Area, where the highest proportion (28.6%) of respondents chose to 'agree' with the same statement. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is a negative low number (-0.25), which means that the sense of ownership of the Irish language is different in the two study areas (Figure 39).
- Respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area reject a sense of ownership about the English language; 57.6% of the respondents chose to 'strongly disagree' with the statement 'The English language is my language'. In the Galltacht Study Area the highest proportion (28.6%) of respondents chose to 'agree' with the same statement. The correlation coefficient of the average score distributions in the two areas is a negative very high

number (-0.91), which means that the sense of ownership of the English language is strongly contrary in the two study areas (Figure 40).

- Interestingly the majority of respondents (48% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 56% in the Galltacht Study Area) agreed with the statement that the Irish language belongs ‘to all Irish people’. The second most popular choice was the statement that the Irish language belongs ‘to anyone who is interested in the language’ (31% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 18% in the Galltacht Study Area). Significantly more people in the Galltacht Study Area (8.2%) than in the Gaeltacht Study Area (1.1%) agreed with the statement that the Irish language belonged ‘to those who speak it at home’. The least favoured choice among all respondents was the belief that the Irish language belonged ‘to people in the Gaeltacht’. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.91), which means that the beliefs about ‘who the Irish language belongs to’ are very similar in the two study areas (Figure 69).
- The majority (70.3%) of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area chose to agree with the statement, ‘I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English’. In the Galltacht Study Area 28.6% of respondents were neutral and ‘26% of respondents chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the same statement (Figure 62).
- The majority (85.5%) of the respondents in the Gaeltacht Study Area chose to agree with the statement ‘The Irish language is important to me personally’. In the Galltacht Study Area 39% of the respondents chose to agree with the same statement (Figure 54).

Power

Ideologies and the level of association with Gaelic cultural traits are negotiated in power relations. Power, as it relates to the Gaelic ethnic group, can be explored from a sociological, a psychological and a discursive point of view.

The two most relevant sociological resources of power are the demographic profile and the population density of the group. Several studies have shown that the geographical area, in which Irish is the everyday language of the population, is shrinking (see: Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2007; Ó Giollagáin and Charlton 2014). The type of unidirectional bilingualism that results in the attrition of the first language is referred to at a social level as ‘entropic bilingualism’ (Ó Giollagáin 2011). Entropic bilingualism is connected with the weakening in-group norms of cultural expectations. It is diagnosed in Irish in studies on language change (Ó Curnáin 2007 and 2009; Lenoach 2012). It is shown that most of the young people who acquire Irish do not

speak it among themselves in the community outside an educational setting (see: Mac Donnacha *et al.* 2005; Survey of Young People in Ó Giollagáin *et al.* 2007). It is also demonstrated that most of the young people have better ability in English than in Irish (see: Péterváry *et al.* 2014).

An important sociopolitical marker of an ethnic group are the geographical/administrative boundaries in which the needs of the group are managed. Such boundaries can (re)define the given entity at the level of identity and at the level of political representation. Ó Giollagáin's (2006) analysis of the criteria which was used to set down the Gaeltacht boundary in 1956. His analysis indicates that the designated Gaeltacht areas from this initial phase contained large populations of monolingual English speakers. This, in turn, was to prove problematic to efforts to establish a political base for sanctioning initiatives on behalf of the Gaelic minority in the Gaeltacht. Irish speakers represent a minority in the official Gaeltacht itself (Ó Giollagáin and Charlton 2014). This means that the remaining Irish-speaking communities in the Gaeltacht lost democratic, majority-based control of political representation.

A theory about the psychological bases of power was developed by John R. P. French and Bertram Raven (1959; 1993). Of the six bases of power legitimate power, expert power and information power bear relevance to my research. Legitimate power is based on social norms, such that the target feels an obligation to comply with the requests by the agent. Legitimate power depends on the target's acceptance of the right of the influencing agent to require the changed behaviour, and the target's sense of obligation to comply.

Responses to Part IX of the survey revealed that the Irish government is held responsible for the maintenance of the Irish language, yet its achievements were seen negatively in the Gaeltacht Study Area. The negative evaluation of the achievements of the Irish Government on matters relating to the maintenance of the Irish language may, therefore, indicate an unsatisfactory use of legitimate power by the Irish Government.

Expert power is a form of power by means of which the target accepts on faith the accuracy and propriety of the suggestions or advice, trusting in the superior knowledge or ability and truthfulness of the influencing agent. Informational power has the property of being a socially independent source of influence. It is based on the information or logical argument that the agent can present to the target. Since the remaining Irish-speaking communities in the Gaeltacht are (mis)represented through official administrative bodies that cater for groups of people in which the Irish-speaking communities constitute a minority, it is difficult to see how

these communities could relate to expert power and informational power in any successful manner.

Discursive power is about who gets to (re/de)construct definitions at a social level. Definitions are always provided from a normative perspective. The demise of the use of the ethnonym ‘Gael’ and its replacement with pseudo-ethnonyms, such as *muintir na Gaeltachta* (or even the use of the sociolinguistic category ‘native-speaker’) indicates that the Gaels participate in power dynamics in which the locus of defining is external to the group as a social entity. This leads to the existential difficulty of misrepresentation, *i.e.* when an experiencer has to accept a description about his/herself in which he/she does not recognise his/herself.

The lack of discursive power is linked to weakness or lack of an informed in-group leadership which could engage in (re)constructing the Gaelic ethnic narrative in the first person with respect to the sociological, cultural and social psychological needs of the group. In absence of an internal leadership change in the life of the group will be managed from the self-centred ideological perspective of the dominant (out)group.

Those with a Gaelic identity are associated with the remaining Irish-speaking communities in the Gaeltacht areas of Ireland. The Gaeltacht was established externally by the Irish state in order to identify those districts where Irish continued to be the language of popular, everyday use. In 1926 the areas that comprised the Gaeltacht were defined at district electoral division level according to linguistic criteria. The most enduring measure of preservation was the changing of the medium of instruction in the national schools to Irish. This education was – and still is – based on the Irish national curriculum framed in post-Gaelic Irish ethnonational ideology.

The new civic identity of the Gaeltacht (*‘muintir na Gaeltachta’*) as a state-defined static linguistic-regional entity with an external political structure provided sufficient basis for internal developments in the form of the Gaeltacht civil rights movement *Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta*. The two most successful achievements of the movement were the establishment of *Raidió na Gaeltachta*, an all-Irish radio station, and of the co-operative enterprises in the Gaeltacht. This civic awareness of the Gaeltacht was bound to suffer from the retreat of spoken Irish and Irish speakers are today a ‘minority in a minority’, *i.e.* a minority in the Gaeltacht itself.

As a response to the growing sense of local territorial identity *Gaeltarra Éireann* was reconstituted as *Údarás na Gaeltachta* in 1980 to provide a “more democratic” civic

representation to the local Gaeltacht communities with members elected from the official Gaeltacht communities (regardless of their linguistic composition, which means the majority of members come from an English-speaking background) as the majority of the board. As the civic representation provided by *Údarás na Gaeltachta* is now – by simple demographic factors – is a misrepresentation of the Gaels, it is interesting to ask what sort of self-awareness and what sort of demand for political self-determination – if any – exists in the remaining Irish-speaking population in the Gaeltacht. While my survey failed to directly address these political issues, I summarise some of the findings that are indirectly relevant to cultural and political self-awareness:

- Part III of the questionnaire contained the statement ‘I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues’. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 40.7% of the respondents chose to ‘strongly agree’ to the statement, while In the Galltacht Study Area the response curve had its peak at the option ‘strongly disagree’; 27.3% of respondents chose this option in this area. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is a negative very high number (-0.75), which means that the statement received contrary reactions in the two study areas (Figure 52).
- Part III of the questionnaire also contained the statement ‘I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language’. In the Gaeltacht Study Area 89% of the respondents chose to ‘strongly agree’ with this statement, while 56% of respondents chose to ‘strongly agree’ with this statement in the Galltacht Study Area. While the correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is very high (0.91), which means that the statement received very similar reactions in the two study areas, it is also clear that Irish as a spoken language is more important for Irish-speakers than it is for English-speakers in Ireland (Figure 61).
- Part IV of the questionnaire contained the statement ‘People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht’. In the Gaeltacht Study Area the majority (34.3%) of respondents chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement and in the Galltacht Study Area the majority (34.3%) of respondents chose to ‘strongly agree’ with the statement. The correlation coefficient of average score distributions in the two areas is a negative very high number (-0.87), which means that the general public opinion about this statement is very different in the two study areas (Figure 83).

- Part IX of the questionnaire contained a list of 13 items referring to agencies responsible for the maintenance of the Irish language. The responsibility of agency most differently valued in the two study areas was ‘me personally’ (valued at 1.9 in the Gaeltacht Study Area and valued at 0.7 in the Galltacht Study Area), followed by ‘the private sector in general’ and ‘the public sector in general’ (Figure 123).
- In comparing responsibility and achievement of the 13 agencies responsible for the maintenance of the Irish language (as listed in Part IX of the questionnaire) ‘The Irish Government’ received the most divergent scores in the Gaeltacht Study Area (responsibility score: 1.7; achievement score: -0.6).
- The first question in Part X of the questionnaire asked the respondents to describe their interpretation of what vision ‘the leaders of the Irish people’ had for the future of the Irish language. The majority of the respondents (44.8% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 22.1% in the Galltacht Study Area) reported that the leaders have a negative vision (Figure 129).
- The second question in Part X of the questionnaire asked the respondents to describe their own vision for the future of the Irish language. The majority of the respondents (22.1% in the Gaeltacht Study Area and 24.7% in the Galltacht Study Area) reported to have a positive vision (Figure 131).
- The third question in Part X of the questionnaire asked the respondents to describe what they believed to be in store for the Irish language and its speakers. The majority of the respondents (31.4 %) in the Gaeltacht Study Area expressed a negative view (‘deterioration’) on the subject and the majority of the respondents (21.5 %) in the Galltacht Study Area expressed a neutral view (Figure 133).

5.3 Gaelic ethnic reconstructionism

The Gaelic ethnic group is an existent (*i.e.* distinct, but not sociologically formalised) social entity as (1) there is a group of people who accept to be identified by the name (Gael) of the group; (2) the group has the sociological basis for biological regeneration; (3) the group has a cultural basis of ethnic distinction (Gaelic/Irish) transmitted through primary socialisation.

Gaelic ethnic reality is a minority bicultural reality, which is not sociologically formalised because of its bicultural context. Those who (actively or passively) identify with Gaelic identity:

- speak the language (English) of the majority culture (Irish) besides the language (English) of the minority culture (Gael);
- identify as Irish as well and feel comfortable (*i.e.* unchallenged) in the dominant Irish culture;
- can conceal their cultural markers of minority ethnic belonging.

Gaelic reality is a reality in advanced ethnocultural assimilation. The primary cultural marker of the group, the Irish language, is known to be in a phase of intergenerational attrition. With the young members of the group showing more advanced proficiency in the language (English) of the majority ethnic group (Irish) than in the language (Irish/Gaelic) of the minority group (Gael), the innermost reality of the Gaelic ethnic group is moving from a 'B2' to a 'B3' ethnocultural location (see: Table 4). The ethnocultural core of the group is void and the ethnocultural periphery of the group is under considerable erosion. The generalised geographical/ethnocultural loci of the Gaels are illustrated in the following figure (Figure 198):

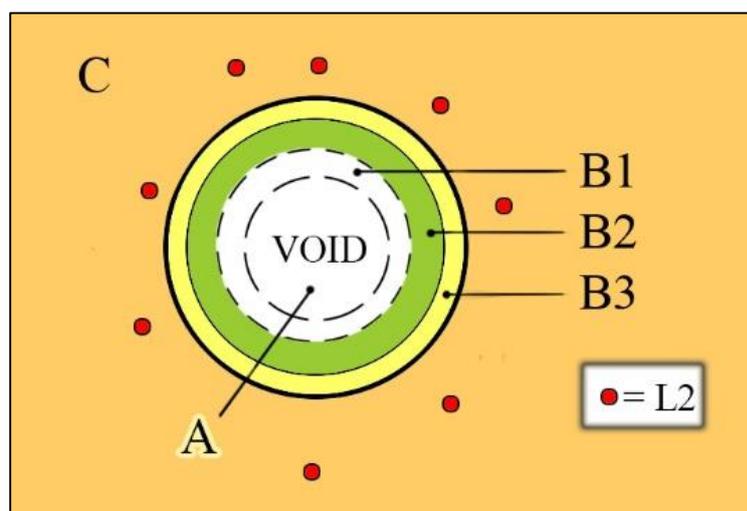


Figure 198 Generalised geographical/ethnocultural loci of the Gaels.

An interesting feature of Gaelic ethnic reality is the existence of a group of people who learn Irish as a second language and develop an advanced, *quasi* native-like ability in the language. For many of these advanced L2 learners the Irish language comes to form an important part of who they are.

Gaelic identity is a minority identity of weak political salience and having no in-group representation. It is a rather passive identity (re/de)constructed in external reference. External reference means that the norms according to which the self is (re/de)constructed in a first person narrative, are provided by experiencers who are not members of the group. The Gaelic centre

of ideological reference predominantly concurs with the dominant centre of ideological reference, which is the centre of the English-based Irish culture. The flow of (re/de)construction is unidirectional and it proceeds from the centre of the majority culture towards its periphery where the minority (Gaelic) culture is located (Figure 199):

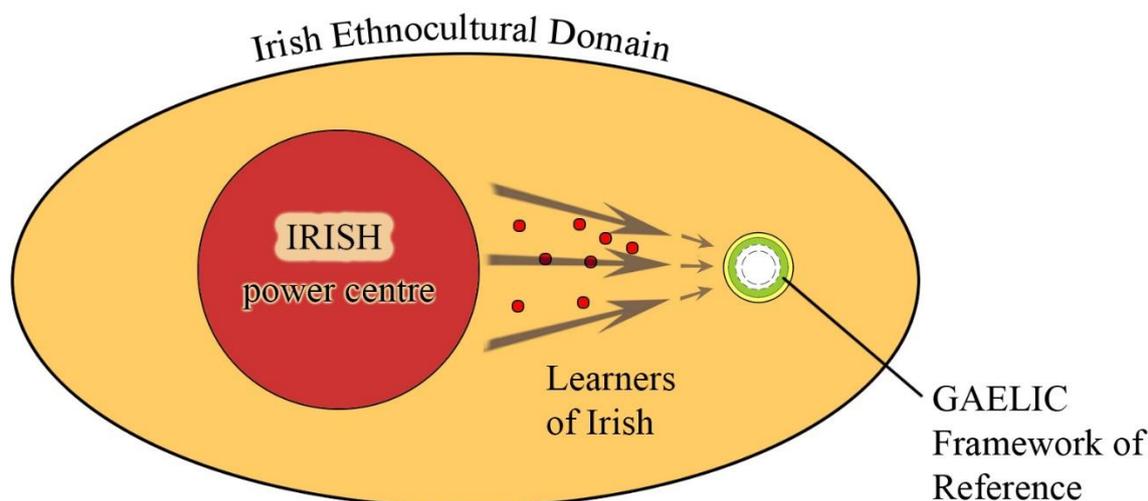


Figure 199 Flow of power in the contemporary External Frame of Reference for the Gael.

Again an interesting feature of Gaelic ethnic reality in external reference is the position of the *quasi* native-like L2 speakers of Irish. Their attention is (understandably) focused on issues emanating from the Irish power centre instead of issues relating to the Gaelic ethnic group on the periphery of this framework of reference. The quasi ethnolinguistic identity of these people now requires new formulations given the context of ethnolinguistic collapse in the core minority group. It is, to an extent, the sociolinguistic equivalent of intergroup opportunism in one group evincing opportunity in a competing group's distress. It is in this (from the Gaelic perspective) external framework of reference that the ideological construct of the 'New Speaker' can be understood.

Among the most important implications of reality in external reference is peripheralisation of the Gaelic ethnic group. This peripheralisation is associated with weak discursive power. Weak discursive power results in the internalisation of external de(con)struction apparent in:

- Doubt over the validity or legitimacy of the group's narrative in first person; belief in the group as an ethnic entity becomes considered abnormal, radical, or utopian;

- Discontinued use of the ethnonym or its use in symbolic reference to compartmentalised cultural elements of the group;
- Acceptance of a compartmentalised cultural, rather than a holistic ethnic representation of the group;
- Lack of internal norms about group membership;
- Lack of internal norms about linguistic and other cultural performance;
- Inability of advanced learners of Irish to relate to the (Gaelic) ethnic core of the language; Acceptance of Irish as a matter of de-ethnified linguistic interest; construction of a self-referenced identity (~‘new speakers’) aspired to function in a dialectic relationship with the power centre with disregard to Gaelic ethnicity in the periphery;
- Discursive rationalisation of the *status quo* among group members as an avoidance strategy for difficult sociological circumstances;
- Discursive attention to superficial phenomena about the group;
- Weak discursive resources in terms of reference to formulate robust ideological defences.

The cultural implications of an external framework of reference are:

- Disregarding the loss of social density;
- Attrition of the language; psycholinguistic problems among young speakers;
- Cultural assimilation; losing the cultural base of ethnic distinction.

The political implications of an external framework of reference are:

- Non-representation or misrepresentation in a compartmentalised fashion in uncoordinated institutions;
- Politics of assimilation through education based on non-ethnic (*i.e.* dominant ethnic) principles;
- Static approach regardless of the dynamics of the group inducing a paralysis at the time of crisis;
- Lack of management of cultural resources of the group;
- De-ethnification;
- Complete lack of political autonomy for the group; compartmentalised management in *quasi* directives (Ó Giollagáin 2015);

- Compartmentalised non-coordinated allocation of economic resources;
- Lack of internal control over allocation of economic resources.

In order to change the – from the Gaelic perspective – inverted framework of reference, the Gaels should construct their own vision for the future. As Lewis Carroll wrote in *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*:

- “*Would you tell me, please, which way I ought to go from here?*”
- “*That depends a good deal on where you want to get to,*” said the Cat.
- “*I don't much care where –*” said Alice.
- “*Then it doesn't matter which way you go,*” said the Cat.

Vision is where ‘we’ want to get to. If the Gaels and their supporters care, then I propose the vision should be based on the Integrative Framework of Reference for the Gaelic Ethnic Minority of Ireland. This reference should address the following questions posed in *Teun van Dijk's* tentative format of the structure of ideologies (1998: 70):

- Membership:
 - Who are we?
 - Who belongs to us?
 - Who can become a member of our group?
- Activities:
 - What do we do?
 - What is expected of us?
 - Why are we here?
- Goals:
 - Why do we do this?
 - What do we want to realize?
- Values/norms:
 - What are our main values?
 - How do we evaluate ourselves and others?
 - What should (not) be done?
- Position and group-relations:
 - What is our social position?
 - Who are our enemies, our opponents/who are like us, who are different?
- Resources:
 - What are the essential social resources that the group has or needs to have?

The aim of this framework is to reconstruct the Gaelic ethnic group of Ireland and to enable it to take part in power and ideological negotiations in order to exist. Ethnic existence is in

distinction based on cultural markers. For this framework to become effective those who take part in Gaelic reconstruction should primarily build informational power, expert power and referent power. The Integrative Framework of Reference for the Gaelic Ethnic Minority of Ireland aims to direct the flow of reconstruction, in a constructive relationship with the State of Ireland, to proceed from the Gaelic minority culture towards its periphery where the majority (Irish) culture is located.

Ó Giollagáin *et al.* (2015) have made some initial analytical progress in setting out a vision. The next step in constructing The Integrative Framework of Reference for the Gaelic Ethnic Minority of Ireland is to provide a clear Strategy for the process of reconstruction. It is advisable to build on a new agenda of scientific investigation aiming at:

- Framing the analytical approach in an ethno-(re)constructionist framework;
- Exposing majoritarian competing language ideologies to deconstructive critical analysis in response to a majoritarian discursive deconstruction of minority realities;
- Establishing a critical dialectic between competing minority/majority language ideologies where dominant/dominated dynamics are equally amenable to criticism from an ethnolinguistic perspective. This approach could be termed ‘critical ethnolinguistic reconstructionism’.

Recommendations for further research

I recommend the following topics for future research:

- A comprehensive research on the historical (re/de)construction of Gaelic ethnic identity.
- A research on contemporary processes of deconstruction of ideologies relating to native Irish speakers.
- A research about Gaelic ethnic identity among competent L2 Irish speakers.

Bibliography

- Ableson, R. P. *et al.* (2004) *Experiments with people. Revelations from Social Psychology*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Abrams, D. and Hogg, M. A. (eds) (1990) *Social Identity Theory: Constructive and Critical Advances*. New York: Harvester-Wheatsheaf.
- Ajzen, I. (2001) 'Nature and Operation of Attitudes', in: Fiske, S. T. *et al.* (eds), *Annual Review of Psychology*, 52, 27–58. Palo Alto, CA: Annual Reviews, Inc.
- Aldrich, H. and Ruef, M. (2006) *Organizations evolving*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Althusser, L. (1970) 'Idéologie et appareils idéologiques d'État (Notes pour une recherche)', *La Pensée* (151).
- Althusser, L. (1984) *Essays on Ideology*. London: Verso.
- Althusser, L. (2005) *For Marx*. London: Verso.
- Andersen, M. L. and Taylor, H. F. (2007) *Sociology: The Essentials*. Balmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Anderson, B. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Anderson, P. W. (1972) 'More Is Different'. *Science*, New Series, Vol. 177, 393-6.
- Angolano, J. (2011) 'Third Face', in: Dowding, K. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Power*, 664. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Asch, S. E. (1955) 'Opinions and social pressure'. In: Aronson, J. and Aronson, E. (eds) *Readings about the social animal*, 17-26. New York: Worth Publishers.
- Ashcroft, B. *et al.* (2003) *Post-Colonial Studies: The Key Concepts*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Ashton, R. D. *et al.* (2004) 'An Organizing Framework for Collective Identity: Articulation Significance of Multidimensionality', *Psychological Bulletin*, vol. 130. 80–114.
- Avishai, M. and Halbertal, M. (1994) 'Liberalism and the Right to Culture', *Social Research* 61 (3), 491–510.

- Bachrach, P. and Baratz, M. S. (1970) *Power and poverty: Theory and practice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, C. and Jones, S. P. (1998) *Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.
- Barbour, S. and Carmichael, C. (eds) (2000) *Language and nationalism in Europe*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Barnard, A. and Spencer, J. (1996) *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London: Routledge.
- Barnes, J. (2000) *Aristotle: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barth, F. (1969) 'Introduction', in: Barth, F. (ed.) *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organisation of Culture Difference*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.
- Bartlett, F. C. (1932) *Remembering: A study in Experiential and Social Psychology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bartlett, R. (1994) 'Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6: 4, 43–60.
- Bartlett, T. (1998) (ed.) *Life of Theobald Wolfe Tone: Memoirs, Journals and Political Writings*. Dublin: Lilliput Press.
- Bates, T. R. (1975) 'Gramsci and the theory of hegemony', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 36 (2), 351–66.
- Baumeister, R. F. and Bushman, B. J. (2012) *Social Psychology and Human Nature*. New York: Worth Publishers.
- Belsey, C. (2002) *Poststructuralism: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Berger, P. and Luckmann, T. (1966) *The social construction of reality*. Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin.
- Bergin, O. (ed.) (1970) *Irish Bardic Poetry*. Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Berkowitz, L. and Daniels, L. R. (1963) Responsibility and dependency. *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 66, 429–36.

- Billig, M. (1995) *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage.
- Blackburn, S. (2001) *Ethics: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blommaert, J. (2005) *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blumer, H. (1969) *Symbolic Interactionism: Perspective and Method*. CA: University of California Press.
- Boghossian (2001) 'What is Social Construction?' *Times Literary Supplement*, February 23, 6–8.
- Bosworth, W. (2011) 'Systematic Power', in: Dowding, K. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Power*, 655–6. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977) *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. and Passeron J-C. (1990) *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture*. London: Sage.
- Bourdieu, P. (1990) *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (2010) *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Bourhis, R. Y. & Giles, H. (1977) 'The language of intergroup distinctiveness'. In: Giles, H. (ed.), *Language, Ethnicity, and Intergroup Relations*, 119–36. London, New York: Academic Press.
- Bower, G. H. *et al.* (1975) 'Comprehension and memory for pictures'. *Memory & Cognition*, 3: 2, 216–20.
- Bradshaw, B. and Roberts, P. (eds) (2003) *British consciousness and identity: the making of Britain, 1533–1707*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Breathnach, R. A. (1961) 'The End of a Tradition: A Survey of Eighteenth Century Gaelic Literature', *Studia Hibernica*, 28–50.

- Breathnach, P. A. (1987) 'Oral and Written Transmission of Poetry in the Eighteenth Century', *Eighteenth-Century Ireland: iris an dá chultúr* 2, 57–65. Dublin: Eighteenth-Century Ireland Society.
- Breckler, S. J. (1984) 'Empirical Validation of Affect, Behavior, and Cognition as Distinct Components of Attitude'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 1191–205.
- Brenzinger, M. (1997) Language contact and language displacement, in: Coulmas, F. (ed.): *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 273-284. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Brewer, J. S. *et al.* (eds) (1861-77) *Giraldi Cambrensis opera* [Reproduction]. Cambridge Library Collections. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, T. (1985) *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-1985*. London: Fontana Press.
- Brown, W. (2006) 'Power after Foucault', in: Dryzek, J. S. *et al.* *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, 65-84. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brubaker, R. (2002) 'Ethnicity without groups'. *Archives of European Sociology*, XLIII, 2. 163-89.
- Brutt-Griffler, J. (2002) *World English: A Study of Its Development*. Clevedon: UK: Buffalo [N.Y.]
- Bucholtz, M. and Hall, K. (2004) 'Theorizing identity in language and sexuality research.' *Language in Society* 33, 469–515.
- Burger, J. M. (2004) 'What a coincidence! The effects of incidental similarity on compliance.' *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 30, 35-43.
- Burkitt, I. (1991) *Social Selves: Theories of the Social Formation of Personality*. London: Sage.
- Burr, V. (1995) *An Introduction to Social Constructionism*. London: Routledge.
- Cambrensis, G. (2000 [~1188]) *The Topography of Ireland* (translated by Thomas Forester Revised and Edited with additional notes by Thomas Wright). In parentheses Publications: Cambridge, Ontario.
- Campbell, D. T. (1965) 'Ethnocentric and other altruistic motives', in: D. Levine (ed.), *Nebraska symposium on motivation*, Vol. 13, 283–311. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.

- Canny, N. (1971) *The Formation of the Old English Elite in Ireland*. Dublin: National University of Ireland.
- Canny, N. (2001) *Making Ireland British 1580–1650*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carey, J. (2005) Lebor Gabála and the Legendary History of Ireland. In Fulton, H. (ed.) (2005) *Medieval Celtic Literature and Society*, 32–48. Dublin: Four Courts.
- Carroll, L. (1962) *Through the Looking Glass*. Reprint. Ward Lock and Company.
- Cartwright, R. L. (1968) ‘Some remarks on essentialism’. *The Journal of Philosophy* 65 (20), 615–26.
- Cialdini, R. B. (1993) *Influence: Science and practice* (3rd ed). New York: HarperCollins.
- Clarke, A. (2000) *The Old English in Ireland, 1625-42*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Collins, A. (ed.) (1746) *Letters and Memorials of State*. London.
- Connolly, S. J. (2007) *Contested Island: Ireland 1460-1630*. Oxford History of Early Modern Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Connolly, S. J. (2008) *Divided Kingdom: Ireland 1630-1800*. Oxford History of Early Modern Europe. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Corcoran, T. (1925) ‘The Irish Language in the Irish Schools’. *Studies* 14, 377-88.
- Coté, J. E., and Levine, C. G. (2002) *Identity, Formation, Agency, and Culture: A Social Psychological Synthesis*. Psychology Press.
- Clegg, S. R. (1989) *Framworks of Power*. London: Sage Publications.
- Coimisiún na Gaeltachta [Gaeltacht Commission] (1926) *Statement of Government Policy on Recommendations of the Commission*. Dublin, The Stationery Office.
- Coimisiún na Gaeltachta [Gaeltacht Commission] (2002) *Report*. Dublin, The Stationery Office.
- Comyn, D. and Dinneen, P. S. (eds) (1914) *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn, The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating*. The Irish Texts Society: London.

- Comyn, D. and Dinneen, P. S. (trans.) (2009) *Foras Feasa ar Éirinn le Seathrún Céitinn, D.D. The History of Ireland by Geoffrey Keating*. Ex-classics Project: <http://www.exclassics.com>.
- Crawford, J. (1994) Endangered Native American Languages: what is to be done and why? *Journal of Navajo Education* 11, 3, 3-11.
- Crowley, T. (2005) *Wars of Words: The Politics of Language in Ireland 1537-2004*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- CSO (2012) *This is Ireland: Highlights from Census 2011*. An Phríomh-Oifig Staidrimh / Central Statistics Office. Dublin, The Stationery Office [http://www.rte.ie/news/2012/0329/census2011.pdf].
- Dalby, A. (2003) *Language in Danger*. London: Penguin.
- Daly, D.P. (1974) *The Young Douglas Hyde. The Dawn of Irish Revolution and Renaissance 1874-1893*. Dublin, Irish University Press.
- Darmody, M. and Daly, T. (2015) *Attitudes towards the Irish Language on the Island of Ireland*. Foras na Gaeilge.
- De Fréine, S. (1978). *The great silence*. Mercier Press.
- De Munck V. (2000) *Culture, Self, and Meaning*. Illinois: Waveland Print.
- Deaux, K. *et al.* (1995) 'Parameters of Social Identity'. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 68: 2, 280-91.
- Derrida, J. (1997) *Of Grammatology*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Dillon, M. (2008) *The Sociology of Religion*. Blackwell New Companion to Social Theory. 409-27. Blackwell Publishing.
- Dorian, N. C. (1998) 'Western language ideologies and small- language prospects', in: Lenore, A. *et al.* (eds), *Endangered Languages: Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dowding, K. (2011) *Encyclopedia of Power*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Duffy, P. J. *et al.* (2004) *Gaelic Ireland, c.1250-c.1650: Land, Lordship and Settlement*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.

- Duffy, S. (ed.) (2005) *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Duke, M., *et al.* (forthcoming) 'Family rituals and family hardiness', in: Shore, B. and Auslander, M. (eds) *Family Time: Myth and Ritual in America*.
- Dunn, J. (1988) *The Beginnings of Social Understanding*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Durkheim, E. (1984) *Division of Labor*. London: MacMillan.
- Durkheim, E. (1915) *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- Eastman, C. M. (1984) *Language Planning: An Introduction*. Chandler & Sharp Publication.
- Edwards, J. (1994) *Multilingualism*. London: Routledge.
- Edwards, J. (2010) *Minority Groups and Group Identity: Cases and Categories*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Fabrigar, L. R. *et al.* (2006), 'Understanding Knowledge Effects on Attitude- Behavior Consistency: The Role of Relevance, Complexity, and Amount of Knowledge', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90: 4, 556–77.
- Fay, B. (1996) *Contemporary philosophy of social science*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fanon, F. (2008) *Black Skin, White Masks*. London: Pluto Press.
- Ferguson, C. (1959) 'Diglossia'. *Word* 15, 325–40.
- Ferdinand, P. (2000) *The Internet, Democracy, and Democratization*. London: Frank Cass Publishers.
- Festinger, L. (1957) *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Fiontar (2009) *20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language: Report prepared for the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs*. Dublin, Fiontar DCU. <<http://www.fiontar.ie/en>>.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991) *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fivush *et al.* (2004) 'Families, Stories, and the Life Course: An Ecological Context'. In: Pratt M. and Fiese, B. (eds) *Family Stories and the Life Course: Across Time and Generations*, 55-76. London: Routledge.

- Fitzgerald, G. (1984) 'Estimates for Baronies of Minimum Level of Irish Speaking'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy, C*, 84, 117–55.
- Fitzgerald, G. (2003) 'Irish-Speaking in the Pre-Famine Period: A Study Based on the 1911 Census Data for People Born before 1851 and Still Alive in 1911'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 103C (5), 191-283.
- Fought, C. (2006) *Language and Ethnicity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foster, J. K. (2009) *Memory: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fox, R. G. and King, B. J. (2002) *Anthropology beyond Culture*. Bloomsbury Academic Press.
- Freeden, M. (2003) *Ideology: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Freeman, A. M. (ed.) (1944) *Annala Connacht: The Annals of Connacht (A.D. 1224-1544)*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- French, J. and Raven. B. (1959) 'The Bases of Social Power'. In: Cartwright, D. (ed.) *Studies in Social Power*, 150-167. Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research.
- Gal, S. (1979) *Language shift: Social determinants of linguistic change in bilingual Austria*. San Francisco: Academic Press.
- Gallagher, S. and Zahavi, D. (2008) *The Phenomenological Mind An Introduction to Philosophy of Mind and Cognitive Science*. London: Routledge.
- Gans, H. J. (1979) 'Symbolic ethnicity: The future of ethnic groups and cultures in America'. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 2 (1). 1–20.
- Garvin, T. (1987) *Nationalist Revolutionaries in Ireland 1858-1928*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- Geertz, C. (1964) 'Ideology as a Cultural System', in: Apter, D. (ed.) *Ideology and Discontent*, 47–76. New York: Free Press.
- Geertz, C. (1965) Religion as a Cultural System, in: Banton M. (ed.) *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*. Association of Social Anthropologists Monographs, 3, 1–46. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Gellner, E. (1983) *Nations and Nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Gergen, K. J. (1985) 'The social constructionist movement in modern psychology'. *American Psychologist*, 40, 266-75.

- Gibson K. (2004) 'English only court cases involving the US workplace: the myths of language use and the homogenization of bilingual workers' identities'. *Second Language Studies* 22 (2), 1-60.
- Giddens, A. (1984) *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity*. Stanford University Press.
- Glasman, L. R. and Albarracín, D. (2006) 'Forming Attitudes That Predict Future Behavior: A Meta-Analysis of the Attitude– Behavior Relation', *Psychological Bulletin*, 778–822.
- Gold, G. J. (2011) 'Bases of power'. In: Dowding, K. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Power*, 66-71. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Goldstein, E. (2007) *Cognitive Psychology: Connecting Mind, Research and Everyday Experience*. Wadsworth Publishing.
- Gordon, R. J. Jr. (ed.) (2005) *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Fifteenth edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: <http://www.ethnologue.com>.
- Gouldner, A. (1960) 'The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement'. *American Sociological Review*, 47, 73–80.
- Government of Ireland (1965) *White Paper on the Restoration of the Irish Language*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.
- Government of Ireland (2010) *20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language 2010–2030*. Dublin: The Stationery Office
<<http://www.ahg.gov.ie/en/20YearStrategyfortheIrishLanguage/Publications/20-Year%20Strategy%20-%20English%20version.pdf>>.
- Government of Ireland (2012) *Gaeltacht Act 2012*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.
<<http://www.ahg.gov.ie/en/20YearStrategyfortheIrishLanguage/GaeltachtAct2012/>>.
- Gramsci, A. (1971) *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. New York: International Publishers.
- Green, L. (1984) *The authority of the state*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

- Greene, D. (1977) *The Irish Language*. Cork: Mercier.
- Grenfell, M. (2008) *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts*. Acumen Publishing Limited.
- Grosart, A. (ed.) (1894) *A View of the Present State of Ireland*. London: Privately printed.
- Guadalupe, V. (2000) The Teaching of Heritage Language: An Introduction for Slavic-Teaching Professionals, in: Kagan, O. and Rifkin B. (eds) *The Learning and Teaching of Slavic Languages and Cultures*. Bloomington: Slavica Publishers. 375-404.
- Habermas, J. (1996) *Die Einbeziehung des Anderen. Studien zur politischen Theorie*. Suhrkamp Verlag.
- Hall, S. (1997) 'The Local and the Global: Globalization and Ethnicity', in: King, A. D. (ed.) *Culture, Globalization and the World-System. Contemporary Conditions for The Representation Of Identity*, 19-40. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Hamers, J. F. and Michel, B. (2008) *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Handelman, D. (1977) 'The Organization of Ethnicity'. *Ethnic groups*, 187-200.
- Haney, C. et al. (1973) 'Interpersonal dynamics in a simulated prison'. *International Journal of Criminology and Penology*, 1, 69-97.
- Hastorf, A. and Cantril, H. (1954) 'They Saw a Game: A Case Study'. *The Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 49: 1, 129-34.
- Hatch. M. J. (1997) *Organization theory: modern symbolic and postmodern perspectives*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Heidegger, M. (1962) *Being and Time*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Hennessy, W. M. and MacCarthy, B. (eds) (1887-1901) *Annála Uladh, Annals of Ulster* (4 vols). Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- Henry, P. J. and Saul, A. (2006) 'The development of system justification in the developing world'. *Social Justice Research*, 19, 365-78.
- Hindley, R. (1990) *The Death of the Irish Language*. London, Routledge.

- Hobsbawm, E. J. and Ranger, T. (eds) (1983) *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. J. (1990) *Echoes of the Marseillaise: Two Centuries Look Back on the French Revolution*. London: Verso.
- Hollinger, D. (1995) *Postethnic America*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hudson, A. (2002) 'Outline of a theory of diglossia', *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 157, 1-48.
- Hutchinson, J. (1987) *The Dynamics of Cultural Nationalism: The Gaelic Revival and the Creation of the Irish Nation State*. London: Routledge.
- Isajaw, W. W. (1979) *Definitions of Ethnicity*. Multicultural History Society of Ontario.
- Izard, C. E. (1991) *The Psychology of Emotions*. Springer.
- Jaski, B. (2005) Kings and kingship. In: Seán Duffy (ed.). *Medieval Ireland. An Encyclopedia*. Abingdon and New York. 251–54.
- Jeffrey, T. and Milgram, S. (1969) 'An Experimental Study of the Small World Problem'. *Sociometry*, 32: 4, 425-43.
- Jenkins, R. (2008a) *Social Identity* (3rd edition). London: Routledge.
- Jenkins, R. (2008b) *Rethinking Ethnicity* (2nd edition). London: Sage Publication.
- John, P. (2011) 'Power in Networks'. In: Dowding, K. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Power*, 444-6. Sage Publications.
- Johnson, S. (2001) 'Emergence'. *New York Times*: September 9, 2001.
- Jost, J. T. *et al.* (2004) 'A decade of system justification theory: Accumulated evidence of conscious and unconscious bolstering of the *status quo*'. *Political Psychology*, 25, 881–919.
- Jost, J. T. *et al.* (2009) *Social and Psychological bases of Ideology and Sytem Justification*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jost, J. T. and Hunyady, O. (2002) 'The psychology of system justification and the palliative function of ideology'. *European Review of Social Psychology*, 13, 111–53.

- Jost, J. T., and Hunyady, O. (2005) 'Antecedents and consequences of system-justifying ideologies'. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 14, 260–5.
- Jost, J. T and Toorn, J. (2011) 'System Justification theory'. In: Dowding, K. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Power*. Sage Publications. 659-63.
- Judd, C. M. *et al.* (1995) Stereotypes and ethnocentrism: Diverging interethnic perceptions of African American and White American youth. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69, 460–481.
- Kant, I. (2010 [1781]) *Critique of Pure Reason*. Nabu Press.
- Kaye, K. (1982) *The Mental and Social Life of Babies: How Parents Create Persons*. Brighton: Harvester.
- Kelly, F. (2005) *A Guide to Early Irish Law*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Kertzer, D. I. and Arel, D. (eds) (2002) *Census and Identity: The politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Language in National Censuses*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Knack, S. and Keefer, P. (1997) 'Does social capital have an economic payoff? A cross-country investigation'. *Quarterly Journal Of Economics*, 112: 4, 1251-1288.
- Kolmogorov, A. (1963) 'On Tables of Random Numbers'. *Sankhyā Series A*. 25, 369–375.
- Kuhn, T. S. (1996) *The Structure of Scientific Revolution*. Third edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kurath, H. (1954) *Middle English Dictionary*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press.
- Lechte, J. (1994) *Fifty key contemporary thinkers* (Routledge Key Guides). London: Routledge.
- Lee, J. J. (1989) *Ireland, 1912-1985: Politics and Society*. Gill & MacMillan, Limited.
- Leerssen, J. (1996) *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- Lenoach, C. *et al.* (2012) *An Chonair Chaoch: An Mionteangachas sa Dátheangachas*. Indreabhán: Leabhar Breac.
- Lenoach, C. (2014) *Sealbhú Neamhiomlán na Gaeilge mar Chéad Teanga sa Dátheangachas Dealaitheach*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. National University of Ireland, Galway.

- Lukes, S. (2005) *Power: A radical view*. Second edition. London: Palgrave.
- Lyotard, J. F. (1984 [1979]) *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. Theory and History of Literature, 10. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- MacDonagh, O. (1991) *O'Connell: The Life of Daniel O'Connell 1775-1847*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson.
- Mac Carthy, B. (ed.) (1895) *Annala Uladh. Annals of Ulster, otherwise, Annala Senait, Annals of Senait; a chronicle of Irish affairs A.D. 1379-1541*. Royal Irish Academy: Dublin.
- Mac Donnacha *et al.* (2005) *Staid Reatha na Scoileanna Gaeltachta*. Baile Átha Cliath: An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta.
- Mac Giolla Chríost, D. (2005) *The Irish Language in Ireland: From Goídel to Globalisation*. Abingdon: Routledge.
- Mac Gréil, M. and Rhatigan, F. (2009). *The Irish Language and the Irish People*. National University of Ireland Maynooth, Survey and Research Unit, Department of Sociology
<<http://www.mayococo.ie/en/Services/OifignaGaeilge/Publications/PDFFile,15645,en.pdf>>.
- Macionis, J. J. (2012) *Sociology 14th Edition*. Boston: Pearson.
- Mag Uidhir, S. (1977) *Pádraig Mac a Liondain: Dánta*. An Clóchomhar: Dublin.
- Maginn, C. (2010) 'Gaelic Ireland's English frontiers in the late Middle Ages.' *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 110C, 173-190.
- Mannheim K. (1954) *Ideology and Utopia*. London: Routledge.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. (1970 [1845]) *German Ideology*. New York: International Publishers Co.
- Mason, A. (1999) 'Political Community, Liberal-Nationalism, and the Ethics of Assimilation.' *Ethics* 109, 261–86.
- May, S. (2008 [2001]) *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language*. Nua Eabhrac: Routledge.

- McCone, K. (1994) *Stair na Gaeilge: in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*. National University of Ireland: Maynooth.
- McCormack, W. J. (1985) *Ascendancy and Tradition in Anglo-Irish Literary History from 1789 to 1939*. Oxford: Clarendon.
- McLeod, W. (1999) 'Galldachd, Gàidhealtachd, Garbhchriochan', *Scottish Gaelic Studies* XIX, 4.
- McMahon, T. G. (2008) *Grand Opportunity: The Gaelic Revival and Irish Society, 1893-1910*. Syracuse University Press: New York.
- McManus, D. (1994) An Nua-Ghaeilge Chlasaiceach, in: McCone, K. *et al.* (eds) *Stair na Gaeilge in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*, 335–445. Maynooth: Department of Old Irish.
- McNeill, T. E. (1997) *Castles in Ireland: Feudal Power in a Gaelic World*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Mead, G. H. (1934) *Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist* (Works of George Herbert Mead edited by C. W. Morris). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mesthrie, R. (2000) *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Miller, D. (2006) Nationalism, in: Dryzek, J. S. *et al.* (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, 529-545. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moran, D. P. (1905) *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*. Dublin; James Duffy and Co.
- Morgan, H. (1993) 'Hugh O'Neill and the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland'. *The Historical Journal* 36: 1, 21-37.
- Morgan, H. (1994) *Faith and fatherland or queen and country: an unpublished exchange between O'Neill and the state at the height of the Nine Years War*. Dúiche Néill: Journal of the O'Neill country historical society.
- Morris, B. (1997) In defence of realism and truth: Critical reflections on the anthropological followers of Heidegger. *Critique of Anthropology*, 17, 313–340.
- Morriss, P (1987) *Power: A philosophical analysis*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- Murphy, B. (1967) 'The Status of the Native Irish after 1331', *Irish Jurist*, 2. 116–38
- Nagel, T. (1986) *The view from nowhere*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ní Bhrolcháin, M. (1982) 'Leabhar Laighean', in: Ó Fiannachta, P. (ed.) *Éire Banba Fódla. Léachtaí Cholm Cille XIII*, 5-40. An Sagart: Maynooth.
- Nicholls, K. (1987) *Gaelic and Gaelicized Ireland in the Middle Ages*. Dublin: Lilliput Press.
- Nussbaum, M. (2000) *Women and human development: The capabilities approach*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Ó Broin, B. (ed.) (2012) *Thógamar le Gaeilge Iad. Research and Discussion from Parents, Activists, and Scholars on Raising Children in Irish*. Dublin: Coiscéim.
- Ó Bróithe, É. (2012) Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge: Feidhm agus Mífheidhm. In: Lenoach, C. *et al. An Chonair Chaoch: An Mionteangachas sa Dátheangachas*. Indreabhán: Leabhar Breac. 284-365.
- Ó Buachalla, B. (1976) *Nua-Dhuanaire: Volume 2*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Ó Buachalla, B. (1996) *Aisling Ghéar: na Stíobhartaigh agus an taos léinn, 1603-1788*. Clóchomhar Tta: Dublin.
- Ó Ciardha, E. (2004) *Ireland and the Jacobite Cause, 1685-1766: A Fatal Attachment*. Four Courts Press: Dublin.
- Ó Cinnéide, M. *et al.* (1985) 'Industrialization and linguistic change among Gaelic-speaking communities in the West of Ireland', *Language Problems and Language Planning* 9: 1, 3-5.
- Ó Conaire, B. (1986). *Douglas Hyde: A Maker of Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press.
- Ó Corráin, D. and Maguire, F. (1990) *Irish Names*. Dublin: The Lilliput Press.
- Ó Cuív, B. (1950) *Irish Dialects and Irish-Speaking Districts: Three Lectures (Irish language - Irish dialects)*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Ó Cuív, B. (1951) *Irish Dialects and Irish-Speaking Districts*. Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

- Ó Cuív, B. (1986) Irish language and literature, 1691-1845. In Moody, T. W. and Vaughan, W. E. (eds) *New History of Ireland. IV. Eighteenth Century Ireland, 1691-1800*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ó Curnáin, B. (2007) *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach*. County Galway. Vols. I–IV. Dublin, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.
- Ó Curnáin, B. (2009) *Mionteangú na Gaeilge*. In B. Ó Catháin (ed.): *Sochtheangeolaíocht na Gaeilge, Léachtaí Cholmcille XXXIX*. An Daingean: An Sagart.
- Ó Curnáin, B. (2012) An Ghaeilge Iarthraidisiúnta agus an Phragmataic Chódmheasctha Thiar agus Theas. In Lenoach, C., *et al.* *An Chonair Chaoch: An Mionteangachas sa Dátheangachas*, 284-365. Indreabhán: Leabhar Breac.
- Ó Fearáil, P. (1975) *The Story of Conradh na Gaeilge*. Dublin: Clódhanna Teo.
- Ó Fiaich, T. (1969) ‘The Language and Political History’ in Ó Cuív, B. (ed.) *A View of the Irish Language*. Dublin: Stationery Office.
- Ó Giollagáin, C. (2006) Gnéithe de stair theorainn na Gaeltachta: coimhlint idir dhá riachtanas. In: Doyle, A. and Ní Laoire, S. (ed.) *Aistí ar an Nua-Ghaeilge [FS Ó Buachalla]*, 95–116. Dublin: Cois Life 2006.
- Ó Giollagáin, C. *et al.* (2007a) *Staidéar Cuimsitheach Teangeolaíoch ar Úsáid na Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht (SCT): Tuarascáil Chríochnaitheach*. Baile Átha Cliath: Oifig an tSoláthair.
- Ó Giollagáin, C. *et al.* (2007b) *Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht: Principal Findings and Recommendations*. Dublin: The Stationery Office.
- Ó Giollagáin, C. (2008) ‘Linguistic dimensions of the globalised frontier: old and new minorities in contact and context’. *International Journal of Anthropology*, 23, 247-60.
- Ó Giollagáin, C. (2010) The Eclipse of the First Language Minority Speaker: Deficiencies in Ethnolinguistic Acquisition and its Evasive Discourse, in: Lewis, H. and N. Ostler (eds). *Reversing Language Shift: How to Re-awaken a Language Tradition*. Proceedings of the 14th Foundation for Endangered Languages Conference. Bath: Foundation for Endangered Languages. 11–22.

- Ó Giollagáin, C. (2011) 'Breac-Chríocha na hEitnitheangeolaíochta agus an Forás Oideachais sa Mhionteanga', *Comhar* 71:5, 5-9.
- Ó Giollagáin (2012) An Mionteangachas agus na hEolaíochtaí Teanga. In: Lenoach, C. *et al.* An Chonair Chaoch: *An Mionteangachas sa Dátheangachas*, 193-236. Indreabhán: Leabhar Breac.
- Ó Giollagáin *et al.* (2012). Réamhrá. In: Lenoach, C. *et al.* An Chonair Chaoch: *An Mionteangachas sa Dátheangachas*, 3-17. Indreabhán: Leabhar Breac.
- Ó Giollagáin, C. (2014) 'Unfirm Ground: a Re-assessment of Language Policy in Ireland since Independence'. *Language Problems & Language Planning*, 38: 1, 19-41.
- Ó Giollagáin, C. (2015) 'Irish in crisis – we need a New Deal to revitalise the language'. *The Irish Times*, 29 June.
- Ó Giollagáin, C. and Charlton, M. (2015) *Nua-Shonrú ar an Staidéar Cuimsitheach Teangeolaíoch ar Úsáid na Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht: 2006-2011*. Údarás na Gaeltachta.
- Ó Giollagáin *et al.* (2015) *Beartas Nua do na Gaeil*. Forthcoming.
- Ó Gliasáin, M. (1990). *Language Shift Among schoolchildren in Gaeltacht Areas: 1974-1984: An Analysis of the Distribution of £10 Grant Qualifiers*. Dublin: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (Linguistics Institute of Ireland).
- Ó Háinle, C. G. (1982) 'Cogadh Gaedhel re Gallaibh', in: Ó Fiannachta, P. (ed.) *Éire Banba Fódla*, 76-98. Léachtaí Cholm Cille XIII. An Sagart: Maynooth.
- Ó hIfeárnáin, T. (2013) 'Family language policy, first language Irish speaker attitudes and community-based response to language shift.' *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 34:4, 348-365.
- Ó hOgáin, D. (1990) 'Folklore and Literature 1700–1850', in: Daly, M. and Dickson, D. (eds), *The Origins of Popular Literacy*, 1–13. Dublin.
- Ó Huallacháin, C. (1994) *The Irish and Irish: A sociolinguistic analysis of the relationship between a people and their language*. Dublin: Ireland.
- Ó Riagáin, P. (1997) *Language, Policy and Social Reproduction, Ireland 1893-1993*. Clarendon Press: Oxford.

- Ó Riagáin, P. (1988) 'Bilingualism in Ireland 1973-1983: an overview of national sociolinguistic surveys'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 70, 29-52.
- Ó Siochrú, M. (2008) *Confederate Ireland, 1642-1649: A constitutional and political analysis*. 2nd edition. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Ó Torna, C. (2005) *Cruthú na Gaeltachta 1893-1922*. Dublin: Coislife.
- O'Brien, L. T. and Major, B. (2005) 'System-justifying beliefs and psychological well-being: The role of group status and identity'. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 31, 1718–29.
- O'Donovan, J. (ed.) (1851) *Annála rioghachta Éireann: annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters. Volume 4*. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy.
- O'Keeffe, T. (2001) 'Concepts of 'castle' and the construction of identity in medieval and post-medieval Ireland Irish Geography.' *Irish Geography*, 34: 1, 69-88.
- O'Riordan, M. (1990) *The Gaelic Mind and the Collapse of the Gaelic World*. Cork: Cork University Press.
- O'Rourke, B. (2011) 'Whose language is it?: Struggles for language ownership in an Irish language classroom'. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education* 10(5), 327–345.
- O'Rourke, B. and Walsh, J. (2014) 'New Speakers of Irish: shifting boundaries across time and space'. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2015 (231), 63-83.
- O'Leary, P. (2004) *Gaelic Prose in the Irish Free State: 1922-1939*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.
- Oliver, J. (2005) 'Scottish Gaelic Identities: Contexts and Contingencies'. *Scottish Affairs* 51, 1-24.
- Ostergren, R. C. and Le Boss, M. (2011) *Europeans. A Geography of People, Culture, and Environment*. Second edition. Guilford Press.
- Pearse, P. (1924) *Collected works of Padraic H. Pearse: political writings and speeches*. Dublin: Phoenix Publishing Co. Ltd.

- Peoples, J. and Bailey, G. (2011) *Humanity: An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*. West Publishing Company.
- Péterváry, T. (2010) *Pleanáil Teanga in Éirinn: Pleanáil ón Taobh Amuigh*. Unpublished MA Thesis, National University of Ireland, Galway.
- Péterváry, T. *et al.* (2014) *Iniúchadh ar an gCumas Dátheangach: An sealbhú teanga i measc ghlúin óg na Gaeltachta. Analysis of Bilingual Competence Language acquisition among young people in the Gaeltacht*. Dublin: COGG.
- Pettigrew, T. F. (1979) 'The ultimate attribution error: Extending Allport's cognitive analysis of prejudice'. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 5 (4), 461–476.
- Pierro, A. *et al.* (2008) 'Motivated Compliance with Bases of Social Power'. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 38, 1921–44.
- Pike, K. L. (1967) *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior*. Mouton.
- Pinker, S. (2002) *The Blank Slate: The Modern Denial of Human Nature*. Penguin Press Science.
- Potter, J. (1996) *Representing reality: Discourse, rhetoric and social construction*. London: Sage Publications.
- Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1952 [1945]) *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. London: Cohen and West.
- Raven, B. H. (1992) 'A power/interaction model of interpersonal influence: French and Raven thirty years later'. *Journal of Social Behavior and Personality*, 7, 217–44.
- Raven, B. H. (1993) 'The bases of power: Origins and recent developments'. *Journal of Social Issues*, 49, 227–51.
- Raven, B. H. *et al.* (1998) 'Conceptualizing and measuring a power/interaction model of interpersonal influence'. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 28, 307–32.
- Raven, B. H. (2001) Power/interaction and interpersonal influence: Experimental investigations and case studies, in: Lee-Chai, A. and Bargh, J. (eds), *The use and abuse of power: Multiple perspectives on the causes of corruption*, 217–40. New York: Psychology Press.

- Raven, B. H. (2004) Six bases of power, in: Goethals, G. R. *et al.* (eds), *Encyclopedia of leadership*, 3, 1241–8. CA: Thousand Oaks.
- Renan, E. (1990) What is a Nation? In: Bhabha, H. K. (ed.) *Nation and Narration*, 8-22. London: Routledge.
- Richards, M. P. M. (ed.) (1974) *The Integration of a Child into a Social World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ricketta, M. (2008) ‘The Causal Relation Between Job Attitudes and Performance: A Meta-Analysis of Panel Studies’, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 93: 2, 472–81.
- Raz, J. (ed.) (1973) *Authority*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ritzer, G. (ed.) (2003) *The Blackwell Companion to Major Contemporary Social Theorists*. Blackwell Publishing.
- Rosenberg, M. (1979) *Conceiving the self*. New York: Basic Books.
- Ross, M. and G. J. O. Fletcher (1985) Attribution and Social Perception, in: Lindzey, G. and Aronson, A. (eds), *The Handbook of Social Psychology*, 3, 73-122. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Ross, N. (2004) *Culture and cognition: Implications for theory and method*. Sage Publications.
- Saltzman, W. R. *et al.* (2013) ‘Enhancing Family Resilience through Family Narrative Co-construction’. *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 16, Issue 3, 294-310.
- Samuel, R. and Thompson, P. (eds) (1990) *The Myths We Live By*. London: Routledge.
- Sapir, E. (1964) *Culture, Language and Personality: Selected Essays*. University of California Press, USA.
- Sardar, Z. (2008) *Introduction to Frantz Fanon Black Skin, White Masks*. Eighth edition. Pluto Press.
- Schleicher, D. J. *et al.* (2004) ‘Reexamining the Job Satisfaction-Performance Relationship: The Complexity of Attitudes’. *Journal of Applied Psychology* 89: 1, 165–177.
- Scowcroft, M. (1982) ‘Miotas na Gabhála i Leabhr Gabhála’, in: Ó Fiannachta, P. (ed.) *Éire Banba Fódla*, 41-75. Léachtaí Cholm Cille XIII. An Sagart: Maynooth.

- Shnapper, D. (1998) *Community of citizens: on the modern idea of nationality*. London: Transaction Publishers.
- Scott, J. (2006) *Sociology: The Key Concepts*. Oxford: Routledge.
- Scupin, R. (2012) *Cultural Anthropology: A Global Perspective*. Pearson.
- Sherif, M. *et al.* (1961) *Intergroup conflict and cooperation: The Robbers Cave experiment*. Norman: University of Oklahoma.
- Sherif, M. (1966) *Group conflict and cooperation: Their social psychology*. London: Routledge and Kegan.
- Sidanius, J., and Pratto, F. (1999) *Social dominance*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Simms, K. (1987) *From Kings to Warlords: The Changing Political Structure of Gaelic Ireland in the Later Middle Ages*. (Studies in Celtic History, 7.) Woodbridge, Suffolk; and Wolfeboro, N.H.: Boydell Press.
- Simms, K. (2009) Medieval Gaelic Sources. *Maynooth Research Guides for Irish Local History*, 14. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Smith, A. (1986) *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Smith, A. (1991) *National Identity*. Nevada: University of Nevada Press.
- Smith, A. (1995) *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Smith, A. (1999) *Myths and Memories of the Nation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, A. (2003) *Chosen Peoples: Sacred Sources of National Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, A. (2009) *Ethno-symbolism and Nationalism: A Cultural Approach*. London: Routledge.
- Smith, M. G. (1960) *Government in Zazzau 1800–1950*. London: Oxford University Press for the International African Institute.
- Sperber, D. (1996) *Explaining Culture: A Naturalistic Approach*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

- Spinner-Halev, J. (2006) Multiculturalism and its Critics, in: Dryzek *et al.* (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Theory*, 546-563. Oxford University Press.
- Spolsky (1999) Second-Language Learning, in: Fishman, J. (ed.) *Handbook of Language & Ethnic Identity*. 181-92.
- Steger, M. B. (2003) *Globalization: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stevens, R. (1995) *Understanding the self*. The Open University.
- Stone, C. (1980) 'Systemic power in community decision making: A restatement of stratification theory'. *American Political Science Review*, 74(4), 978–90.
- Swartz, D. L. (2011) Symbolic Power And Violence, in: Dowding, K. (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Power*, 648-9. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Tabouret-Keller, A. (1997) Language and Identity, in: Coulmas, F. (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*, 315-26. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Tajfel, H. and Turner, J. C. (1979) An integrative theory of intergroup conflict, in: Austin, W. G. and Worchel, S. (eds), *The social psychology of intergroup relations*, 33–48. Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tajfel, H. and Billig, M. (1974) 'Familiarity and categorization in intergroup behavior'. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*. 10 (2), 159–70.
- Tajfel, H. *et al.* (1971) 'Social categorization and intergroup behaviour'. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 1 (2), 149–78.
- Tajfel, H. (1981) *Human Groups and Social Categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1982) 'Social psychology of intergroup relations'. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 33, 1–59.
- Thomas, W. I. (1966 [1931]) The Relation of Research to the Social Process. In Morris J. (ed.): *W. I. Thomas on Social Organization and Social Personality*, 289–305. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Trask, R. L. and Stockwell, P. (2007) *Language and Linguistics: The Key Concepts*. Oxford: Routledge.

- Turner, J. C. (1982) Towards a cognitive redefinition of the social group. In: H. Tajfel (ed.), *Social identity and intergroup relations*, 15–40. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Turner, J.C. and Giles, H. (eds) (1981) *Intergroup Behaviour*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Turner, B. S. (2013) A New Approach for Theoretically Integrating Micro and Macro Analysis, in: Calhoun C. *et al. The Sage Handbook of Sociology*. London: Sage.
- Tylor, E. B. (1974 [1871]) *Primitive culture: researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, art, and custom*. New York: Gordon Press.
- Van Dijk, T. (1998) *Ideology: a multidisciplinary approach*. London: Sage.
- Vaughanand, W. E. and Fitzpatrick, A. J. (eds) (1987) *Irish Historical Statistics: Population 1821–1971*. Dublin.
- Verkuyten, M. (2005) *The Social Psychology of Ethnic Identity*. Psychology Press.
- Vestergaard, T. (ed.) (1999) *Language, culture and identity*. Aalborg, Denmark: Aalborg University Press.
- Walsh, J. (2002) *Díchoimisúinú Teanga: Coimisiún na Gaeltachta 1926*. Dublin: Cois Life.
- Walsh, J. (2011) ‘Bilingualism, Ideology and the 20-Year Strategy for Irish’, in: Kirk, J.M. & Ó Baoill, D.P. (eds), *Strategies for Minority Languages: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*. Belfast: Queen’s University.
- Walster, E. *et al.* (1978) *Equity theory and research*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Watson, J. B. (1924) *Behaviorism*. Transactions Publisher.
- Weber, M. (1968) *Economy and society: An outline of interpretive sociology*. New York: Bedminster Press.
- Wetherell, M. (2010) *The Sage Handbook of Identities*. London: Sage.
- Wicker, A. W. (1969) ‘Attitude Versus Action: The Relationship of Verbal and Overt Behavioral Responses to Attitude Objects’. *Journal of Social Issues*, 41–78.
- Williams, B. (ed.) (1846). *Chronicque de la Traïson et Mort de Richard Deux Roy Dengleterre*. London, S. & J. Bentley, Wilson, and Fley.

- Williams, C. and Ní Mhuiríosa, M. (1979) *Traidisiún Liteartha na nGael*. Dundéalgan Press.
- Williamson, T. (1994) *Vagueness*. London: Routledge.
- Wimber, M. *et al.* (2015) 'Retrieval induces adaptive forgetting of competing memories via cortical pattern suppression'. *Nature Neuroscience* 18, 582–589.
- Wittgenstein, L. (2009 [1953]) *Philosophical Investigations*. Fourth edition. Wiley-Blackwell.
- Wylie, J. H. (2013 [1884]). *History of England Under Henry The Fourth (Vol. 1)*. London: Forgotten Books.

Appendix 1 The questionnaire in Irish

SUIRBHÉ AR IDÉ-EOLAÍOCHT NA GAEILGE

Is éard atá sa suirbhé seo ná taighde ar an idé-eolaíocht a bhaineann le húsáid na Gaeilge in Éirinn. Úsáidfean an t-eolas a bhaileofar sa suirbhé mar chuid den anailís ar an ábhar.

Táimid go mór faoi chomaoin agat as ucht a bheith sásta an ceistneoir a líonadh. Ní gá duit d'ainm a chur ar an gceistneoir agus coimeádfar do chuid freagraí ar fad faoi rún. Ní fheicfidh aon duine do cheistneoir ach amháin na taighdeoirí.

Freagair an ceistneoir trí tic (✓) a chur sna boscaí cuí agus lean na treoracha a bhaineann le gach ceist.

CUID I CÚLRA SÓISIALTA

<p>1. Inscne: <input type="checkbox"/> Baineann <input type="checkbox"/> Fireann</p> <p>2. Aoisghrúpa: <input type="checkbox"/> faoi 30 <input type="checkbox"/> 31-40 <input type="checkbox"/> 41-50 <input type="checkbox"/> 51-60 <input type="checkbox"/> 61-70 <input type="checkbox"/> os cionn 70</p> <p>3. Gairm bheatha: _____</p>	<p>4. Oideachas:</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Bunscoil <input type="checkbox"/> Meánscoil <input type="checkbox"/> Dioplóma tríú leibhéal <input type="checkbox"/> Leibhéal céime (m.sh. BA) <input type="checkbox"/> Leibhéal iarchéime (m.sh. MA) <input type="checkbox"/> PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Cúrsa eile (m.sh. cúrsa FÁS)
--	---

CUID II CÚLRA SOCHTHEANGEOLAÍOCHTA

1. Cén teanga ar labhair do thuismitheoirí leat nuair a bhí tú i do pháiste? Cuir (✓) sa bhosca cuí	<i>Máthair</i>	<i>Athair</i>
Gaeilge amháin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaeilge go príomha	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Gaeilge agus Béarla (cothrom)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Béarla go príomha	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Béarla amháin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teanga eile amháin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Cén teanga a labhraíonn tú sa bhaile anois?	<i>Cuir (✓) sa bhosca cuí</i>	
Gaeilge amháin	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Gaeilge go príomha	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Gaeilge agus Béarla (cothrom)	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Béarla go príomha	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Béarla amháin	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Teanga eile	<input type="checkbox"/>	
3. Cén cur síos a bheadh agat ar do chumas sa Ghaeilge?	<i>Cuir (✓) sa bhosca cuí</i>	
Gaeilge líofa	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Gaeilge mhaith	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Gaeilge réasúnta	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Beagán Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Gan Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4. Cén teanga a bhfuil tú níos cumasaí inti?		
<input type="checkbox"/> Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/> Béarla	<input type="checkbox"/> Mar a chéile

CUID III LÉARGAS AGUS TUISCINTÍ

An aontaíonn tú leis na ráitis seo a leanas go pearsanta? (+2 aontaím go mór; +1 aontaím; 0 neodrach/is cuma; -1 ní aontaím; -2 ní aontaím ar chor ar bith; ? níl mé cinnte)						
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?
Tá an Ghaeltacht tábhachtach d'Éirinn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Is é an Béarla mo theanga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Tá a lán deiseanna eacnamaíochta sa Ghaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Is maith liom an Ghaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Tá todhchaí bhisiúil i ndán don Ghaeilge in Éirinn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Tá an Ghaeilge tábhachtach dom go pearsanta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Is dóigh liom go bhfuil an téarma 'Galltacht' maslach	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Is í an Ghaeilge mo theanga	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Tá todhchaí bhisiúil i ndán don Ghaeilge sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Bím ag caint faoi staid na Gaeilge le cairde/comhghleacaithe/mo mhuintir	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Is maith liom an Béarla	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Tá an Ghaeltacht tábhachtach dom go pearsanta	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Chuirfeadh sé isteach orm dá n-imeodh an Ghaeilge as mar theanga bheo labhartha in Éirinn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
I fearr liom logainmneacha Gaeilge ná Béarla	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
Tá an Ghaeilge tábhachtach d'Éirinn	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>
2. Cé leis an Ghaeilge? Cuir (✓) sna boscaí cuir	3. Cén céatadán de dhaonra na Gaeltachta oifigiúla a labhraíonn Gaeilge sa mbaile?					
<input type="checkbox"/> Le cainteoirí baile na Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/> 80-100%					
<input type="checkbox"/> Le Muintir na Gaeltachta	<input type="checkbox"/> 60-80%					
<input type="checkbox"/> Le hÉireannaigh a léiríonn spéis inti	<input type="checkbox"/> 40-60%					
<input type="checkbox"/> Leis na hÉireannaigh ar fad	<input type="checkbox"/> 20-40%					
<input type="checkbox"/> Le haon duine atá sásta í a labhairt	<input type="checkbox"/> 0-20%					
<input type="checkbox"/> Níl le haon duine í						

CUID IV NOIRM SHÓISIALTA ÚSÁID NA TEANGA

An aontaíonn tú leis na ráitis seo a leanas? (+2 aontaím go mór; +1 aontaím; 0 neodrach/is cuma; -1 ní aontaím; -2 ní aontaím ar chor ar bith; ? níl mé cinnte)						
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?
Tá sé míbhéasach Béarla a labhairt i ngrúpa daoine a labhraíonn Gaeilge le chéile	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>				
Tá sé inghlactha go dtógann tuismitheoirí áirithe páiste trí mheán na Gaeilge amháin	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>				
Tá sé míbhéasach Gaeilge a labhairt i ngrúpa daoine a labhraíonn Béarla le chéile	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>				
Tá sé inghlactha go dtógann tuismitheoirí páiste trí mheán an Bhéarla amháin sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>				
Tá sé inghlactha go dtógann tuismitheoirí páiste trí mheán an Bhéarla amháin	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>				
Ba chóir do Bhéarlóirí Gaeilge a fhoghlaim agus a úsáid sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>				
Ba chóir do chainteoirí Gaeilge brú a chur ar Bhéarlóirí Gaeilge a fhoghlaim agus a úsáid sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>				
Tá sé réasúnach do chainteoirí Gaeilge an Ghaeilge a chaomhnú mar phríomhtheanga labhartha phoiblí sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>				
Tá sé réasúnach brú a chur ar na siopaí agus ar ghnóthaí tosaíocht a thabhairt don Ghaeilge ina ndéileáil leis an bpobal sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	- <input type="checkbox"/>				

CUID V CLEACHTAS CULTÚRTHA

An bhfuil na ráitis seo a leanas fíor nó bréagach fút féin?	
Fuair mé oideachas i ngaelscoil (taobh amuigh den Ghaeltacht)	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Rugadh mé in Éirinn	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Is saoránach Éireannach mé	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Tá ainm baiste Éireannach agam agus úsáidim an litriú Béarla	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> uaireanta <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Rugadh mé sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Tá sloinne Éireannach agam agus úsáidim an litriú Béarla	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> uaireanta <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Bím ag éisteacht le hamhráin thraidisiúnta na hÉireann as Béarla	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Tá ainm baiste Éireannach agam agus úsáidim an litriú Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> uaireanta <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Bím ag éisteacht le ceol traidisiúnta	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Bím ag éisteacht le hamhráin thraidisiúnta na hÉireann as Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Tá sloinne Éireannach agam agus úsáidim an litriú Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> uaireanta <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Tá suim agam i ndamhsa - stíl <i>Riverdance</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Tá suim agam i ndamhsa - stíl céilí, damhsa seite	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Tá suim agam i gcluichí Éireannacha (Iománaíocht/Peil)	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach
Tá suim agam i ndamhsa ar an sean-nós	<input type="checkbox"/> fíor <input type="checkbox"/> bréagach

CUID VI SAINIÚ NA nGAEL

Cé hiad Gaeil na hÉireann, dar leat?

CUID VII MARCÓIRÍ FÉINIÚLACHTA

1. An aontaíonn tú go bhfuil na pointí seo a leanas tábhachtach le bheith i d'Éireannach agus le bheith i do <u>Ghael / Gaelach</u> ? (Líon isteach an dá cholún le do thoil!)												
(+2 aontaím go mór; +1 aontaím; 0 neodrach/is cuma; -1 ní aontaím; -2 ní aontaím ar chor ar bith; ? níl mé cinnte)												
Pointí:	Éireannach						Gael / Gaelach					
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?
Béarla a labhairt le blas Éireannach	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Féiniúlacht Ghaelach a bheith agat	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Sinsearachta Éireannach a bheith agat	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Béarla líofa a bheith agat	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Ainm baiste Éireannach, litriú Gaeilge (<i>Seán</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Logainmneacha Gaeilge (<i>Gailimh</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Ceol traidisiúnta na hÉireann	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Bheith i do Chaitliceach	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Gur rugadh tú sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Saoránacht Éireannach	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Cónaí i bpobal Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Sloinne Éireannach, litriú Béarla (<i>Murphy</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Ceiliúradh Lá Fhéile Phádraig	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Amhráin thraidisiúnta as Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Damhsa - stíl: <i>Riverdance</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Beagán Béarla a labhairt	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Bunoideachas i ngaelscoil (taobh amuigh den Ghaeltacht)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Féiniúlacht Éireannach a bheith agat	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Bheith reiligiúnda	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Gaeilge a labhairt sa bhaile	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Sloinne Éireannach, litriú Gaeilge (<i>Ó Murchú</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Logainmneacha ' Béarla ' (<i>Galway</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Amhráin thraidisiúnta as Béarla	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Damhsa - stíl: céilí, damhsa seite	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Gur rugadh tú in Éirinn	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Cónaí i bpobal Béarla sa Ghaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Beagán Gaeilge a labhairt	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Cónaí in Éirinn	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Ainm baiste Éireannach, litriú Béarla (<i>Shaun</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Gaeilge líofa a bheith agat	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Damhsa ar an sean-nós	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Cluichí na hÉireann (Iomáint/Peil)	<input type="checkbox"/>											

CUID VIII FÉINAITHEANTAS

1. Cé chomh láidir is a aontaíonn tú leis na ráitis seo a leanas?							
(+2 aontaím go mór; +1 aontaím; 0 neodrach/is cuma; -1 ní aontaím; -2 ní aontaím ar chor ar bith; ? níl mé cinnte)							
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?	
Is Éireannach mé	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Is cainteoir Gaeilge mé	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Is Gaeilgeoir mé	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Is Gael mé	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Is duine de Mhuintir na Gaeltachta mé	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Is foghlaimoír na Gaeilge mé	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				

CUID IX CEANNAIREACHT

1. An aontaíonn tú go bhfuil na grúpaí seo a leanas freagrach as an nGaeilge a choinneáil beo? (+2 aontaím go mór; +1 aontaím; 0 neodrach/is cuma; -1 ní aontaím; -2 ní aontaím ar chor ar bith; ? níl mé cinnte)							
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-	?
Rialtas na hÉireann	<input type="checkbox"/>						
An earnáil phoiblí go ginearálta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
An earnáil phríobháideach go ginearálta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Forais na pleanála teanga	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Scoileanna náisiúnta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Gaelscoileanna/gaelcholáistí	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Ranna na Gaeilge sna hollscoileanna	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Eagraíochtaí na Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Na hÉireannaigh go ginearálta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muintir na Gaeltachta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muintir na Galltachta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Cainteoirí dúchais na Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Mé féin go pearsanta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
2. An aontaíonn tú go bhfuil na grúpaí seo a leanas ag tabhairt faoina gcúram an Ghaeilge a choinneáil beo? (+2 aontaím go mór; +1 aontaím; 0 neodrach/is cuma; -1 ní aontaím; -2 ní aontaím ar chor ar bith; ? níl mé cinnte)							
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-	?
Rialtas na hÉireann	<input type="checkbox"/>						
An earnáil phoiblí go ginearálta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
An earnáil phríobháideach go ginearálta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Forais na pleanála teanga	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Scoileanna náisiúnta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Gaelscoileanna/gaelcholáistí	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Ranna na Gaeilge sna hollscoileanna	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Eagraíochtaí na Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Na hÉireannaigh go ginearálta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muintir na Gaeltachta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Muintir na Galltachta	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Cainteoirí dúchais na Gaeilge	<input type="checkbox"/>						
Mé féin go pearsanta	<input type="checkbox"/>						

CUID X FÍS

1. Cén fhís atá ag ceannairí na hÉireann do thodhchaí na Gaeilge, dar leat?

2. Cén fhís atá agat féin do thodhchaí na Gaeilge? Bí uaimhianach má ba mhian leat!

3. Céard a cheapann tú a tharlóidh leis an nGaeilge agus a cainteoirí?

Appendix 2 The questionnaire in English

A SURVEY ON THE IDEOLOGY OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE

This survey is being undertaken to find out about the ideology that relates to the use of the Irish language in Ireland. The information compiled by the survey will be used as part of the analysis on the subject.

We greatly appreciate your support in answering the following questions. There is no need to write your name on the questionnaire. Your responses will be treated with full confidentiality and only the researchers will see the answers that you give.

Please complete the questionnaire by placing a tick in the appropriate boxes and following the instructions given for each question.

PART I SOCIAL BACKGROUND

<p>1. Gender: <input type="checkbox"/> Female <input type="checkbox"/> Male</p> <p>2. Age group: <input type="checkbox"/> under 30 <input type="checkbox"/> 31-40 <input type="checkbox"/> 41-50 <input type="checkbox"/> 51-60 <input type="checkbox"/> 61-70 <input type="checkbox"/> above 70</p> <p>3. Profession: _____</p>	<p>4. Highest level of education:</p> <input type="checkbox"/> Primary <input type="checkbox"/> Secondary <input type="checkbox"/> Third-level diploma <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate level (<i>e.g.</i> BA) <input type="checkbox"/> Postgraduate level (<i>e.g.</i> MA) <input type="checkbox"/> PhD <input type="checkbox"/> Other course (<i>e.g.</i> FÁS)
---	---

PART II SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

1. As a child what language did your parents speak to you? Tick one category	<i>Mother</i>	<i>Father</i>
Irish only	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Irish mainly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Irish and English (equal amount)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English mainly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
English only	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Another language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. What language do you speak at home now? Tick one category		
Irish only	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Irish mainly	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Irish and English (equal)	<input type="checkbox"/>	
English mainly	<input type="checkbox"/>	
English only	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Another language only	<input type="checkbox"/>	
3. How would you describe your ability in the Irish language? Tick one category		
Fluent Irish (native speaker ability)	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Good Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Reasonable Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>	
A little Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>	
No Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>	
4. Which language do you master with more proficiency?		
<input type="checkbox"/> Irish	<input type="checkbox"/> English	<input type="checkbox"/> No difference

PART III ATTITUDES AND BELIEFS

1. How strongly do you agree with the following statements? (+2 strongly agree; +1 agree; 0 neutral/don't care; -1 disagree; -2 strongly disagree; ? not sure)							
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?	
The Gaeltacht is important to Ireland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
The English language is my language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Irish language provides many economic opportunities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
I like the Irish language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Irish language has a promising future in Ireland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Irish language is important to me personally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
I find the term 'Galltacht' offensive	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Irish language is my language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Irish language has a promising future in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
I often discuss the state of the Irish language with my friends/relatives/colleagues	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
I like the English language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Gaeltacht is important to me personally	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
I would be upset if the Irish language disappeared from Ireland as a spoken language	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
I prefer placenames in Irish to placenames in English	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
The Irish language is important to Ireland	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>
2. Who does the Irish language belong to? Tick one category	3. What percent of people living in the official Gaeltacht speak Irish at home?						
<input type="checkbox"/> To those who speak it at home <input type="checkbox"/> To people in the Gaeltacht <input type="checkbox"/> To those Irish people who show interest in Irish <input type="checkbox"/> To all Irish people <input type="checkbox"/> To anyone who is interested in Irish <input type="checkbox"/> It does not belong to anyone	<input type="checkbox"/> 80-100% <input type="checkbox"/> 60-80% <input type="checkbox"/> 40-60% <input type="checkbox"/> 20-40% <input type="checkbox"/> 0-20%						

PART IV SOCIAL NORMS OF LANGUAGE USE

How strongly do you agree with the following statements? (+2 strongly agree; +1 agree; 0 neutral/don't care; -1 disagree; -2 strongly disagree; ? not sure)							
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?	
It is rude to speak English in a group of Irish speakers	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It is rude to speak Irish in a group of English speakers	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It is acceptable that some parents raise their children exclusively through the medium of English	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
English speakers should learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
People should put pressure on English speakers to learn and use Irish in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It is reasonable for Irish speakers to protect Irish as the main spoken language in public in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
It is reasonable to expect that shops and businesses prioritise Irish to English in dealing with the public in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				

PART V CULTURAL PRACTICE

Do the following apply to you personally?		
I was educated in a <i>gaelscoil</i> (outside the Gaeltacht)	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I was born in Ireland	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I am an Irish citizen	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I have an Irish Christian name and I use the English spelling	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> no
I was born in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I have an Irish surname and I use the English spelling	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> no
I listen to traditional Irish songs in English	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I have an Irish Christian name and I use the Irish spelling	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> no
I listen to Irish traditional music	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I listen to traditional Irish songs in Irish	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I have an Irish surname and I use the Irish spelling	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> no
I am interested in dancing – style: <i>Riverdance</i>	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I am interested in dancing – style: <i>céilí</i> and set dancing	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I am interested in Irish games (Hurling, Gaelic football)	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no
I am interested in <i>sean-nós</i> dancing	<input type="checkbox"/> yes	<input type="checkbox"/> no

PART VI DEFINING THE GAELS

Who are the Gaels?

PART VII IDENTITY MARKERS

1. Do you agree that the following items are important for a sense of being Irish and/or for a sense of being a Gael / Gaelic ? (Fill in both columns please!) (+2 strongly agree; +1 agree; 0 neutral/don't care; -1 disagree; -2 strongly disagree; ? not sure)												
Items:	Irish						Gael / Gaelic					
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?
Speaking English with an Irish accent	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Identifying as a Gael or <i>Gaelach</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Having Irish ancestry	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Speaking fluent English	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish Christian names – Irish spelling (<i>Seán</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Place names – Irish spelling (<i>Gaillimh</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish traditional music	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Being Catholic	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Being born in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish citizenship	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Living in an Irish-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish surnames – English spelling (<i>Murphy</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
St Patrick's Day's celebrations	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish traditional songs in Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish dancing - style: <i>Riverdance</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Speaking some English	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Primary education in a <i>gaelscoil</i> (non-Gaeltacht)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Identifying as Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Being religious	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Speaking Irish at home	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish surnames – Irish spelling (<i>Ó Murchú</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Place names – English spelling (<i>Galway</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish traditional songs in English	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish dancing - style: <i>céili</i> , set dancing	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Being born in Ireland	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Living in an English-speaking community in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Speaking some Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Living in Ireland	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish Christian names – English spelling (<i>Shaun</i>)	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Speaking fluent Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish dancing: - style: <i>sean nós</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>											
Irish sports (Hurling/Gaelic football)	<input type="checkbox"/>											

PART VIII SELF IDENTIFICATION

1. How strongly do you agree with the following statements? (+2 strongly agree; +1 agree; 0 neutral/don't care; -1 disagree; -2 strongly disagree; ? not sure)							
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	?	
I am Irish	<input type="checkbox"/>						
I am a speaker of the Irish language	<input type="checkbox"/>						
I am a <i>Gaeilgeoir</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>						
I am a Gael	<input type="checkbox"/>						
I belong to <i>Muintir na Gaeltachta</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>						
I am a learner of the Irish language	<input type="checkbox"/>						

PART IX LEADERSHIP

1. How strongly do you agree that the following groups are responsible for the maintenance of the Irish language?							
(+2 strongly agree; +1 agree; 0 neutral/don't care; -1 disagree; -2 strongly disagree; ? not sure)							
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-	?
The Irish Government	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The public sector in general	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The private sector in general	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Language planning bodies	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
National schools	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
<i>Gaelscoileanna/Gaelcholáistí</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Irish language departments of Universities	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Irish language organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Irish people in general	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
People in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
People outside the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Native Irish-speakers	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me personally	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
2. How strongly do you agree that the following groups provide a major contribution to the maintenance of the Irish language?							
(+2 strongly agree; +1 agree; 0 neutral/don't care; -1 disagree; -2 strongly disagree; ? not sure)							
	+2	+1	0	-1	-2	-	?
The Irish Government	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The public sector in general	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
The private sector in general	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Language planning bodies	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
National schools	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
<i>Gaelscoileanna/Gaelcholáistí</i>	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Irish language departments of Universities	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Irish language organisations	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Irish people in general	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
People in the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
People outside the Gaeltacht	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Native Irish-speakers	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				
Me personally	<input type="checkbox"/>	-	<input type="checkbox"/>				

PART X VISION

1. What is the vision of the leaders of the Irish people for the future of the Irish language?

2. What is your own vision for the future of the Irish language? Be ambitious if you wish!

2. What do you think will happen to the Irish language and its speakers?