IRISH LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND AND

NORTHERN IRELAND

by

Shannon Lally

A THESIS

Presented to the Faculty of

The Department of Anthropology

In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements

For Honors in Anthropology

Under the Supervision of Dr. Shalini Shankar

Evanston, Illinois

May, 2021

Abstract

The revitalization of endangered languages is both deeply personal and political, as language subjugation is directly linked to intentional efforts by colonizing powers to suppress and eradicate indigenous culture and dismantle local collective identity. Many studies have been conducted on how to promote endangered languages, but few evaluate the effectiveness of the movements and explore the underlying determinants of success, particularly how the relationship between minority language speakers and the colonizing powers may affect these movements. The Irish language revitalization movements in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland serve as a particularly valuable case study of the role of anti-colonial cultural movements especially as they relate to language; the Republic of Ireland is an independent country, while Northern Ireland is still part of the United Kingdom. Despite state-support for Irish language revitalization, census data shows that the Republic of Ireland saw a decrease in the percentage of speakers in all 26 counties from 2001 to 2011. On the other hand, the percentage of Irish speakers during this time in Northern Ireland increased in half of the counties, and decreased at a lower rate in the remaining counties. This research explores how nationalism drives language revitalization movements, and how the stage of decolonization determines its success. I argue that the presence of an identity conflict between colonizer and colonized increases the efficacy of language revitalization movements, as language is a component used to establish a separate identity and assert independence from a colonizer.

Language extinction is not a naturally occurring process (Pine and Turin 2017), yet 43% of the world's languages are either endangered or already extinct (Moseley 2010). In many cases, the decline of Indigenous languages can be attributed to intentional efforts of settler colonization to assimilate local peoples into the dominant culture (Meek 2010). Indigenous language suppression through majority language schools was at the core of many colonization efforts worldwide, with the goal of breaking down Indigenous people's sense of community under the guise of education (Reyhner 2017). Some Indigenous languages were even banned from being spoken, preventing the language from being passed intergenerationally (Rousseau and Dargent 2019). As the world entered a period of decolonization, language revitalization grew as a political act of resistance, and as a deeply personal act to preserve one's culture (Hermes et al. 2012). Arguably the most common language revitalization technique is the use of immersion schools, which not only teach the language but offer programs and spaces for people to speak the language outside of class (Wilson and Kamanā 2011). However, it is important for the community to determine what they need with regular language classes offerings, language policy, and media produced in the Indigenous language all being beneficial (Hermes et al. 2012).

The decline and subsequent revival of the Irish language follow the same pattern as other Indigenous languages subjected to settler colonial suppression and subsequent decolonization efforts. British occupation of Ireland began in 1169 CE, lasting 800 years until the Republic of Ireland gained independence in 1949 (Royle 2012). The first British movement to suppress the Irish language was in 1366 CE when Irish was criminalized, and an attitude of Irish inferiority was fostered even among Irish populations (Cahill and Ó Cathail, 2007). The criminalization of the Irish language succeeded in reducing the number of speakers to those living in the rural west of Ireland, who in turn were forced to leave the country during the Great Famine in order to

survive. Before the Great Famine, approximately 4 million people out of a population of 8.5 million people spoke Irish, which declined to about 1.5 million people after the Great Famine (Falc'Her-Poyroux, 2014). In 2016, census data found that 1.8 million people speak Irish, although most do not speak it daily (Central Statistics Office, 2016).

This increase in Irish speakers is partly due to revitalization efforts in Ireland. The first large-scale effort to revitalize Irish was the founding of *Conradh na Gaeilge* (The Gaelic League) in 1893, which published Irish-language literature and encouraged participation in Irish culture. Many other local organizations in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland have been founded over the years. Despite their popularity, governmental action for Irish language revitalization did not exist until recently, when the "Official Languages Act" was passed by the Republic of Ireland's government in 2003, the "20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language 2010-2030" in 2010, and the "Irish Language Scheme" in 2019. These acts all seek to promote the use of the Irish language and increase the number of speakers. Because Irish government assistance in language revitalization is so recent, there is little data on the status of the Irish language and long-term success remains to be determined.

However, analyses of census data in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland from 2002-2011 and 2001-2011 respectively, indicate that the success of Irish language revitalization is even more dubious. While the number of Irish speakers in the Republic of Ireland increased from a low point in the aftermath of the Great Famine, the percentage of Irish speakers in recent years has steadily declined. Despite the United Kingdom's lack of governmental support in Northern Ireland, the percentage of speakers during this period unexpectedly increased in half of the counties and decreased at a lower rate than the Republic of Ireland in the remaining counties. A common theme during times of increased Irish use in both

regions is the presence of an identity conflict between themselves and Britain. This conflict first came to a head against the British occupation of the entirety of Ireland leading up to the formation of the Republic of Ireland in 1949, followed by the more recent conflict in Northern Ireland between mainly Irish Catholic unionists and British Protestant loyalists.

As these actions suggest, language can be a powerful component used to establish a separate identity and assert independence from a colonizing nation, which often speaks a different language. Centering nationalist goals around language use not only serves as a rebellious act of resistance against the repression of the language by the colonizer but also provides evidence for a shared culture and history between members of the colonized group. This perception of a shared history is important in establishing a cohesive identity that can lead to the formation of a nation (Anderson 1983).

This thesis analyzes how nationalism drives the Irish language revitalization movement in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, and how the "stage" of decolonization may determine its success. I argue that the presence of an identity conflict between colonizer and colonized increases the efficacy of the Irish language revitalization movement, as evidenced by the greater language revitalization success seen in Northern Ireland in recent years. The Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland serve as a perfect case study for the role of anti-colonialism in establishing national identity, as they share a language and history of colonial domination by Britain. The Republic of Ireland is an independent country and therefore has no further need to establish a national identity with the goal of the formation of a nation, while Northern Ireland remains part of the United Kingdom and has an ongoing anti-colonial struggle.

This thesis is organized as follows: *Section One: Quantification and Visualization of the Success of Irish Language Revitalization* will detail the methods of analysis and make explicit

the motivation for the completion of this thesis. *Section Two: A Brief History of the Emerald Isle* and *Modern History of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland* will narrate a concise history of the island of Ireland, from the first British invasion to the split into the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland to the present day, and provide context for the decline of the Irish language. *Section Three: The Beginnings of a Global Language Revitalization Movement* will explore the history of global language revitalization movements, followed by *The Decline of the Irish Language* and *Early Revitalization of the Irish Language* which will focus on the Irish language revitalization movement's history in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. *Section Four: Current Irish Revitalization Efforts in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland - A Comparison* will analyze the success of the Irish language revitalization movement in both regions in recent years by examining census data and the change over time in the percentage of Irish speakers. In addition, this section will discuss the reason for the disparity in revitalization success between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, which I assert is the presence of an ongoing anti-colonial identity conflict between Irish people and British culture in Northern Ireland.

Section One: Quantification and Visualization of the Success of Irish Language Revitalization

The primary method of analysis is a literature review of secondary sources on the history of and current efforts in Irish language revitalization. The evaluation of the efficacy of current language revitalization efforts in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland was accomplished through analysis of census data. The data analyzed include the Central Statistics Office's 2002 and 2011 reports in the Republic of Ireland, and the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research

Agency's 2001 and 2011 reports in Northern Ireland. These particular reports represent the most recent comparable reports between the two regions. While the Republic of Ireland's most recent census was conducted in 2016, as they follow a five-year cycle, Northern Ireland's most recent report was published in 2011, with the next report being conducted in 2021. Although the 2001 census in the Republic of Ireland was postponed to 2002 and therefore does not correspond to the same year as Northern Ireland's 2001 census, this time period was selected because of its proximity to the present. This period is also particularly interesting as legislation promoting the Irish language was passed in the Republic of Ireland beginning in 2003, allowing comparison to be made between pre and post governmental support. Individuals who reported knowing any level of Irish were analyzed rather than distinguishing between those who can only speak, read, or write the language because the various combinations of skills would complicate the analysis past the scope of this thesis.

In order to better visualize the geospatial data and identify trends, ArcGIS was used to produce maps of the percentage of Irish speakers in each region by county during each census year, as well as maps of the difference in the percentage of Irish speakers from 2001 to 2011 or 2002 to 2011 depending on the region. The percentage of speakers was chosen as opposed to a raw number of speakers to eliminate the need to account for population trends from year to year. For example, a decrease in speakers coupled with a decrease in the total population may not necessarily mean a decrease in the percentage of speakers. This indicates that the efficacy of language revitalization movements did not decrease because one is just as likely to encounter an Irish speaker in either case since the percentage of Irish speakers remains the same.

The visualization of the percentage of Irish speakers using ArcGIS was accomplished by first adding a base layer containing data corresponding to the borders of each nation, followed by

a layer of county borders organized by county name. Then, four Excel spreadsheets were produced, each organizing a set of census data by the percentage of speakers within each county.

For the Republic of Ireland, these percentages by county were given by the census data besides County Tipperary, which was split into North and South Tipperary in the census report. In order to combine these regions into the singular County Tipperary, the raw total of Irish speakers was added and divided by the total population of both North and South Tipperary to yield the percentage of Irish speakers. For Northern Ireland, the census data only contained the raw numbers of Irish speakers in Local Government Districts (LGD), which did not match the historical six counties of Northern Ireland. In order to keep the maps consistent and comparable, each LGD was matched to its historical county. The total number of Irish speakers per county was then calculated by adding the raw numbers of each LGD within the county. The total population per county was found using the same method, and the number of Irish speakers was divided by the total population to find the percentage of Irish speakers. This was done for both the 2001 and 2011 census data. The spreadsheets were then joined to the existing county layer by county name, making the geospatial and census data linked. The percentage of Irish speakers was then displayed, and an appropriate color scheme and gradient was chosen, where dark green indicates a higher percentage of speakers and light green indicates a lower percentage of speakers. The intervals corresponding to each color were classified using the Natural Breaks (Jenks) classification, which is the default classification in ArcGIS. While this means that the intervals for each color are not equal, this classification groups regions with similar values and eliminates large gaps in data, allowing counties with similar percentages to be grouped in the same color scheme rather than be separated by an arbitrary line of my choosing. These intervals remained the same for each region regardless of the year, allowing for comparison over time to

be made. This was done four times, yielding maps of the percentage of Irish speakers by county in the Republic of Ireland in 2002 and 2011 and in Northern Ireland in 2001 and 2011.

To better illustrate the difference over time in each region, two additional Excel spreadsheets were created where the percentage in each county in either 2001 or 2002 depending on the region was subtracted from the percentage of speakers in 2011, yielding the difference over time. These spreadsheets were linked as before, using the shared county names to add the new calculations to each county. Negative values indicate a decrease in speakers over time, while positive values indicate an increase over time. The Natural Breaks (Jenks) classification was used to create the data intervals and an appropriate color scheme was selected, with red representing a decrease in Irish speakers within a county over time, and green representing an increase. Darker colors indicate a higher rate of increase or decrease, while lighter colors represent lower rates of change.

My interest in Irish language revitalization lies within my identity as an Irish-American with an Irish-born grandparent. Living with my Irish great-grandmother, I learned a lot about what it was like growing up in rural Ireland in the 1920s. One thing that particularly struck me (besides the fact that she traded wild baby rabbits that she found on her farm for homework answers) was the fact that my great-grandmother expressed regret at learning Irish in school. She could barely count to ten in Irish and said that learning Irish was a waste of time because no one speaks it outside of Ireland. She even discouraged me from learning the language myself. Although her background as an Irish emigrant from a rural area outside of Dublin makes her less likely to appreciate the language compared to my great-grandfather from the rural west of Ireland, this sentiment shocked me. Unfortunately, I was never able to speak to my great-grandfather about Irish as he passed away when I was too young to understand language decline

and revival. The knowledge that part of my cultural heritage was endangered saddened me, especially considering I could not speak to family members who cared the way I did. However, the Irish language revitalization movement gave me hope that not everyone was as jaded as my great-grandmother. I became interested in the results of the movement so far, especially since I knew that legislation had been passed to promote the language. I first analyzed the most recent census data, and the surprising finding that the use of Irish decreased in all counties in the Republic of Ireland but increased in half of Northern Ireland's counties prompted me to research the sociopolitical history of the Irish language revitalization movement to find an explanation. The Irish language revitalization movement has a complex history, including many of the trends seen in language revitalization history as a whole. In order to understand this history and current efforts of the Irish language revitalization movements in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, it is necessary to explore the history of the island of Ireland and its language.

Section Two: A Brief History of the Emerald Isle

The history of the Irish language's rise, decline, and subsequent revival begins with the migration of Celtic-speaking groups to the island of Ireland around 200 BCE. (Duffy 2005). By 500 CE, Gaelic culture was flourishing and the island was split into five kingdoms- Ulster, Leinster, Connacht, Munster, and Meath- with smaller clans dispersed throughout (Ross 2002). The arrival of Christianity facilitated the preservation of the Irish language and Irish literature, as monasteries became centers for learning (Maier 1989). Monks recorded oral histories in Latin and Old Irish and produced religious illuminated manuscripts, contributing substantially to Irish art and culture (Alexander 1978).

The first invasion of the island was by Norwegian Vikings in 795 CE, which began an extensive period of occupation of the region that has persisted until the present day. In 841 CE Vikings established the settlement of Dublin, which would later become the capital city of the Republic of Ireland. The presence of the Vikings was challenged for centuries until they were definitively pushed back in 1014 CE by Brian Bóruma, one of the Irish kings (Ross 2002).

English invasion of Ireland began in 1169 CE when the Anglo-Norman Henry II launched a campaign to establish authority in Ireland (Royle 2012). He gained control over various territories across the island and named his son John Lord of Ireland. John became King of England, making the Lord of Ireland and the King of England one and the same (Connolly 2007). This set the precedent of Ireland being included in the birthright of the King of England, contributing to the longstanding belief of Englishmen that Ireland rightly belonged to the King of England and should remain under his rule. Irish kings initially were allowed to remain heads of counties as long as they required to swear fealty to the Lord of Ireland, but soon saw their power eroded (Duffy 2005). This undermined the clan system traditional to Ireland, where clans were united under the various kings of the five kingdoms, in favor of an English ruling system. War between France and England allowed local Irishmen to take advantage of England's relative absence to regain their ancestral lands (Duffy 2005). The process of land reclamation continued as the Black Plague came to Ireland, as urban centers affected the most by the plague were dominated by English people (Connolly 2007). The foreign populations in Ireland declined, while the rural communities of Irishmen remained relatively untouched, allowing them to move back into urban communities. Because of the reduction of foreign influence, the aftermath of the Plague led to a period of Gaelic resurgence, where Gaelic culture, including the Irish language, flourished. Only the area surrounding Dublin remained under English influence, which was

referred to as The Pale. English influence continued to decline as English rulers were preoccupied with the Wars of the Roses, and the power of local Irish clans was legitimized (Royle 2012). However, in an attempt to reclaim power over Ireland, the Statutes of Kilkenny were passed in 1366 by local Norman-English rulers. These statutes aimed to diminish the control of Gaelic culture over the island, criminalizing the use of the Irish language in the presence of English people and forbidding the intermarriage of Irish and English people. The passing of Poynings' Law in 1494 required laws passed in Ireland to first go through the British parliament, further reestablishing the control of Ireland by English nobility (Edwards and Moody 1941).

English involvement in Irish affairs increased after this point, as the King of England, Henry VIII, officially crowned himself King of Ireland in 1541 (Royle 2012). The enactment of this centralized kingdom was not well received, and many Irish and English lords resisted. One of these acts of resistance was the Desmond Rebellions, which lasted from 1569-1573 and from 1579-1583. During these rebellions, the Earl of Desmond, an English lord located in the region of Munster, resisted the implementation of the British monarchy in Ireland (Connolly 2007). These rebellions were followed by the Nine Years War (1593-1603) which was fought by native Irishmen in Ulster and across the country in opposition to English rule (Duffy 2005). These insurrections were put down by the English government, and plantations across the country, notably in Munster and Ulster, were established where English settlers purposely colonized areas to form a numerical majority that would both discourage future insurrections as well as provide political support for the king (Royle 2012).

The plantations in Ireland were established in order to remove power from the native Irish people and "civilize" them by attempting to convert them to Protestantism and adopt

Anglican customs. Irish Catholics were stripped of their land, which was given to English Protestants (Duffy 2005). In 1641 Irish Catholics rose up against their brutal oppression, beginning the Eleven Years' War. This led to the majority of Ireland being ruled by Irish Catholics as the Confederation of Kilkenny from 1642 to 1649 (Ross 2002). However, in 1649 English general Oliver Cromwell re-conquered Ireland, and thousands of Irish citizens were either killed or exiled as slaves to the American colonies, especially the Caribbean (Rodriguez 1997). Irish landowners were again stripped of their land as punishment for the insurrection (Royle 2012).

Beginning in the late 17th century, the Penal Laws were passed, which were a series of laws designed to subjugate Irish Catholic people and solidify the cultural authority of English Protestants. Under these laws, Catholics could not hold public office, join the military, intermarry with Protestants, vote, practice law, attend a foreign school, attend universities, sign a lease over 31 years, adopt children, inherit Protestant land, own a horse worth over five pounds, or teach children. Catholics had to pay a fine for not attending Anglican services, and Protestants were not allowed to convert to Catholicism. Catholic priests initially could be arrested or exiled, but eventually just had to register with their local court, and could not come within five miles of towns. Benefits for converting to Protestantism included the eldest son gaining full control of his father's land as opposed to splitting it equally with his male siblings had he remained Catholic (Parnell 1808). Most of these laws were eventually removed by the late 18th century (Winstanley 1984).

At this point, even the ancestors of the original English Protestants desired more independence from Great Britain, which now included England, Scotland, and Wales (Duffy 2005). Inspired by the French and American revolutions, the Society of the United Irishmen was

founded in 1791 by Presbyterians unhappy with the preferential treatment of Anglicans. The Society of the United Irishmen campaigned for independence and promoted rights for Irish Catholics, culminating in the failed Irish Rebellion of 1798 (Royle 2012). Following the rebellion, the Irish Parliament was stripped of its independence, and in 1800 the kingdoms were combined into the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland (Connolly 2007).

As part of the deal for unification, Catholics were promised an end to their discrimination, but this was blocked by King George III until 1829 when the Catholic Emancipation Act was signed (Ross 2002). However, the Catholic Emancipation Act did not end all discrimination against Catholics, as they were still required to pay a tithe to the Anglican Church, resulting in the mostly nonviolent Tithe War of 1831-1838. Protest ended when tithes were relabeled as rent costs (Ross 2002). However, the extra payment requirement was not repealed until 1869, when the Anglican Church of Ireland was disestablished (Connolly 2007). In 1845 the Great Famine struck Ireland after a failed potato crop, and the population dropped by about 20% (Connolly 2007). The rural west of Ireland was most affected by the famine, leading to mass death and emigration of the country's largest population of Irish speakers (Falc'Her-Poyroux 2014). Not only was the number of Irish speakers greatly affected by the Great Famine, but the general population number has never recovered (Connolly 2007). As a result of the severe economic oppression experienced by Irish workers due to inability to own land and sustain themselves after the Great Famine, reforms were introduced in the late 19th century that either reduced rent or allowed Irish workers to buy land back from their British landlords living abroad in Britain (Winstanley 1984). After calls for Ireland to govern itself became popular among nationalists in the 1870s, the Local Government Act of 1898 was passed. This act

allowed Irish people to participate in local elections and introduced the right for some women to vote for the first time in Ireland (Ross 2002).

While this period greatly advanced the rights of Irish people to own land and participate in society without owning land, nationalists, who called themselves republicans, were not content without establishing Home Rule. Home Rule entailed the right of Ireland to have their own parliament in Ireland, rather than be governed without representation by a foreign power abroad. These republicans were mainly Irish Catholic people living in rural areas, while unionists were generally Protestants living in northern urban areas who did not want to give up the political power and economic stability gained from being part of the United Kingdom. The tension between republicans and unionists increased, as the question of self-government was postponed until after World War I (Royle 2012).

This political conflict culminated in the 1916 Easter Rising, a rebellion of republicans that took place in Dublin in order to protest British rule in Ireland and ended in the execution of sixteen republican leaders, some of whom were executives of the Gaelic League (Ross 2002). While the rebellion ended in surrender by the republicans, increased support for their cause was won due to the severe retaliation by the British army and the progressive political party Sinn Féin gained power in 1918 (Royle 2012). In 1919 Sinn Féin's representatives formed their own parliament in Ireland and declared independence as the Irish Republic (Ross 2002). The Irish War of Independence began this year between the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and the British Army, lasting until 1921 when the Anglo-Irish Treaty was signed (Connolly 2007). Before the peace treaty was signed, Britain passed the Government of Ireland Act in 1920, which established Home Rule in Ireland and partitioned the island into the unionist majority "Northern Ireland," made up of six counties, and republican majority "Southern Ireland," made up of the

remaining 26 counties. This set up the terms for the Anglo-Irish Treaty, which allowed Northern Ireland to opt-out of the newly formed Irish Free State, a self-governing dominion of the British Empire replacing the Irish Republic (Duffy 2005). Northern Ireland, purposely dominated by unionists, chose to remain part of the United Kingdom (Royle 2012).

Modern History of the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

The Anglo-Irish Treaty, despite establishing the Irish Free State, did not satisfy the entire republican movement. These anti-Treaty supporters did not want to accept merely self-government, but pushed for full independence. This clashed with pro-Treaty supporters, who saw the treaty as a successful step towards independence. The Irish Republican Army of the Irish War of Independence split into the pro-Treaty official Free State Army (backed by the British government), and the anti-Treaty Irish Republican Army (IRA) who believed that the goals of the original IRA had not been met (English 2012). These forces fought each other in a civil war that lasted from 1922 to 1923, leading to a pro-Treaty victory (Foster 1988). Despite the loss of the anti-Treaty supporters, their cause gained traction and in 1937 the Irish Free State adopted a new constitution and was renamed Ireland, subsequently leaving the British Commonwealth in 1949 to become the Republic of Ireland. The new constitution included Northern Ireland in its definition of "Ireland," solidifying reunification as a national goal (Duffy 2005). After gaining independence, the Republic of Ireland wanted to be included in the European Economic Community, now the European Union, as this signified their legitimacy as a European country with much to offer Europe culturally, politically, and economically. However, due to economic problems, the Republic of Ireland was not able to join the European Economic Community until 1973 (Tonra 2021). Since the 1980s, the Republic of Ireland has seen high levels of economic

growth and immigration, up until a global recession in 2008 that it has yet to completely recover from (BBC 2020).

The aftermath of the Anglo-Irish Treaty saw continued resistance by the anti-Treaty Irish Republican Army (IRA) in Northern Ireland, which attacked strategic locations in order to destabilize British rule (English 2012). This period was characterized by mass migration of Catholics out of Northern Ireland into the Republic of Ireland, and Protestants out of the Republic of Ireland into Northern Ireland (Royle 2012). This strengthened the division between the unionist north and republican south. Within the region of Northern Ireland, gerrymandering continued on a smaller scale to ensure unionist control (Coakley 2004). Catholics were discriminated against in the job market and had lower voting rights, leading to even further Catholic emigration from Northern Ireland. The political party Sinn Féin was repeatedly banned from participating in the government in Northern Ireland, and even Catholic unionists were excluded from political power as Catholics and republicans and Protestants and unionists were considered one and the same (Gillespie 2008). Inspired by the Civil Rights Movement in the United States, the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association was founded in 1967 (Zenker 2012). Tension increased between civil rights protestors and unionist police, culminating in outbreaks of violence during marches, both incited by unionist mobs on civil rights marches and by Irish nationalists on unionist marches through Catholic neighborhoods (Gillespie 2008).

The next thirty years would be characterized by violence between Catholic nationalists and Protestant unionists, referred to as The Troubles. The increase in violence led to the British Army being deployed to Northern Ireland in 1969, which only led to increased discrimination against Catholics and further violence between the British Army and the IRA (Gillespie 2008). In 1971, Northern Ireland carried out Operation Demetrius, with the goal of imprisonment of

suspected IRA members (Gillespie 2008). Some prisoners were tortured, and many were not members of the IRA. As a result, deep distrust and resentment towards the unionist government were widely developed among even moderate Catholics. On January 30, 1972, British soldiers shot into a crowd of protestors against internment, wounding twelve and killing fourteen. This event became known as Bloody Sunday and further deepened hostilities, leading to an increase in support by Catholics for the IRA. Two months later, the British government applied direct rule to Northern Ireland as an emergency measure to restore order and removed the Northern Irish government from power (Gillespie 2008).

In 1973 the British and Irish governments passed the Sunningdale Agreement, which aimed for peace by giving nationalists more political power and allowing for collaboration between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland (Gillespie 2008). While centrists supported the proposal, the IRA opposed the continued role of Britain in Northern Ireland's affairs and unionists opposed the increased power of nationalists (English 2012). Unionists organized a general strike in opposition, and the Sunningdale Agreement fell through (Gillespie 2008). In 1985 the Anglo-Irish Agreement was signed by the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, signaling an agreement between both countries in helping to bring an end to The Troubles (Ross 2000). Both the unionist and republicans rejected this agreement, as unionists felt betrayed by the British government and republicans would not rest until Northern Ireland was free from British rule. However, the political success of Sinn Féin and the representation of republican politicians in the 1990s caused the IRA to begin backing down on their paramilitary presence, as they began to seek out peaceful ways to achieve political independence (English 2012). On April 10, 1998 the Good Friday Agreement was signed by Northern Ireland, Great Britain, and the Republic of Ireland, which asserted that Northern Ireland would remain part of the United Kingdom unless a

majority of people in both Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland agreed on unification

(Royle 2012). As part of this agreement, the Republic of Ireland removed their goal of the

reunification of Ireland from the constitution (Duffy 2005) The Good Friday Agreement also

required an end to discrimination based on ethnicity, religion, or language, and reestablished the

Northern Ireland parliament, now known as the Northern Ireland Assembly (Aughey 2005).

Paramilitary organizations, including the IRA, were also required to give up their arms. The IRA

completed this process in 2005, while unionist forces such as the Ulster Volunteer Force were

decommissioned by 2010 (English 2012 and BBC 2011).

Despite the relative cooperation of the IRA in decommissioning, a group called the Real

IRA split from the IRA in order to continue to fight for Irish reunification, but failed to receive

the same levels of support (English 2012). Disputes within the Northern Ireland Assembly over

whether the IRA was actually decommissioning led to the British government enacting direct

rule, lasting from 2002 to 2007 (Wilford 2010). The British Army was called out of Northern

Ireland in 2007, following the St. Andrews Agreement signed in 2006 between Northern Ireland

and Great Britain. This agreement authorized the Northern Ireland Assembly to meet once more

as long as Sinn Féin endorsed the police, and the Democratic Unionist Party shared power with

Sinn Féin (Wilford 2010). This shared power between the two radical political parties did not last

very long. Since the St. Andrew Agreement, the Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Féin have

had issues working together, resulting in a governmental stalemate from 2017 to 2020

(McCormack 2020). In March 2021, violence broke out once again in Northern Ireland between

Catholics and Protestants over the implementation of the United Kingdom's decision to leave the

EU, referred to as "Brexit," although it is unclear if paramilitary groups are involved (Fox 2021).

It is important to note that the conflict between Protestant unionists and Catholic republicans was

not based on religious differences, but was based on political conflict and the history of Irish Catholic subjugation by British Protestants on the whole island throughout most of its history. Irish language revitalization is situated within this historical context, as well as the global language revitalization movements characteristic of decolonization efforts.

Section Three: The Beginnings of a Global Language Revitalization Movement

Interest in endangered languages first began amongst anthropologists, who had begun recording various cultures as a way to preserve cultural data that they could later analyze (Carr and Meek 2013). During this time, ethnography of "exotic" cultures was popular, and primarily white male anthropologists would flock to the most isolated communities they could find in order to report their findings on the mysterious cultures around the world. These ethnographies were not only of academic interest but were popular amongst the general public. Many of the communities of interest were feared to be at risk of losing elements of their culture as globalization began to connect previously unconnected populations. Some anthropologists took it upon themselves to record the cultural practices of a community before they disappear so that retroactive ethnographies and analysis could be conducted. The goal was not a thorough analysis of the results, but rather a race to document as much as possible before the inevitable extinction of the cultural practices. The nature of the work of anthropologists during this time often led them to communities of people oppressed by colonization, where cultural practices that could not be assimilated into the dominant culture, such as language or religion, were purposely and violently suppressed. This led to a growing increase in the "salvage" documentation of languages, primarily through the creation of dictionaries and other texts (Carr and Meek 2013).

This salvage approach was problematic for several reasons. First, it assumed the inevitable extinction of cultural practices, as if Indigenous people had no agency in the proliferation of their own culture. This also placed the anthropologist, often privileged in regards to race, gender, and class, as the "savior" of the culture. The assumption was often made that Indigenous people were not trying to save their own culture. In reality, infrastructure for the "salvation" of a culture had never been needed before colonialism. The ways in which people did transmit cultural practices, such as through oral histories, were also not seen as valid methods of knowledge transmission. Because of these biases, the opinions of the members of the communities on how they should transmit and preserve their culture were ignored. A standard of purity and staticness was imposed on people, where they were not allowed to adapt and change their practices to fit the times as this was seen as part of the extinction process (O'Rourke 2015). Paradoxically, the salvage method's goal was not to promote the cultural practice it aimed to document. Instead, Indigenous people were expected to freeze in time in order to let an anthropologist document them in the name of "saving" cultural practices, only for the anthropologist to leave without actually helping the communities. The salvaging of endangered languages was particularly problematic because it primarily involved the creation of dictionaries that did not document context or other cultural practices. Instead, they were written by outsiders who did not know what words were particularly important to the community, instead simply translating the language into isolated words and phrases of the dominant language.

As anthropologists began to recognize the faults of the salvage ethnography approach, they instead began to focus their efforts on active language revitalization, with the goal of increasing the number of speakers and promoting the language. The primary method of language revitalization is language classes, whether in state-sponsored schools, in immersion schools

where all subjects are taught in the language, or through programs put on by local language organizations (Wilson and Kamanā 2011). However, media such as television shows and radio, and online software or games have become increasingly important as tools for language learning (Hermes et al. 2012). Additional techniques include exposure to the language, whether on street signs, on menus, or in other public places, as well as social hours where people can converse in the language. However, many of these techniques work within the hegemony of the dominant language, with language learning structured around the techniques suitable for learning the dominant language such as standardization and dictionary creation for the use of written language or state-sponsored schools. Because this recreates the conditions for the initial decline of the endangered language, these techniques are often unsuccessful (O'Rourke 2015). The type of language learning technique used depends on the relationship between the endangered language and dominant culture; for example, formal education in state-sponsored schools is indicative of a positive relationship while underground social hours may be preferred if the state is hostile towards speakers of the endangered language. State support of the revitalization of an endangered language may be more unsuccessful than techniques developed by communities to fit their needs because state-sponsored education falls within the hegemony of the dominant culture.

Thus, despite good intentions, many language revitalization movements face some of the same problems that salvage ethnography perpetuated. The most common issue is not including members of the community when designing language revitalization programs, leading to the focus of the programs being what outsiders think communities may want and benefit from and not what they actually need. This can take the form of programs where people learn how to translate popular words and phrases from the dominant language into the endangered language without learning culturally specific words and phrases that historically would have been used, as

well as a focus on texts that discount the experiences of communities that teach through oral histories. Many language revitalization programs are beginning to recognize these problems, and are adjusting their techniques to better include the communities they serve. An example of one such program is the Kaska "House of Language" Workshop, which taught the Kaska language, a First Nations language spoken in Northern Canada (Carr and Meek 2013). This series of workshops, organized by the Kaska Tribal Council, provided five-day programs where First Nations children learned Kaska with their elders. Time was allocated not just for grammar and vocabulary lessons, but cultural sessions where children and elders worked together on important tasks such as moose hide tanning and spoke about what they were doing in Kaska. This promoted the use of Kaska in situations where it would traditionally be used, rather than adapting the language to describe Western ideas. The students also listened to stories given in Kaska by their elders, emphasizing the importance of storytelling and performance in the Kaska culture. The use of storytelling in language revitalization passes down oral traditions that include information important to the community, as well as encourages the performance of language, which involves the creation of new combinations of words and phrases that include personal flourishes rather than reproducing phrases found in textbooks.

The Irish language revitalization movement follows the same pattern of colonial subjugation and decentering of Indigenous people leading to the severe decline in the use of the language. This long-lasting period of colonialism is followed by revitalization methods of varying success, depending on how each technique is rooted in the anti-colonial struggle.

The Decline of the Irish Language

The history of Irish language revitalization is nested within the imperialist and colonial structures that have pervaded Irish history for the past 800 years. The language revitalization movement in Ireland is a response to the severe decline of the use of Irish due to intense subjugation by English colonizers to promote their own culture. This decline began with the passing of the Statutes of Kilkenny, followed by the Penal Laws and other legislation that banned the use of the Irish language in Ireland, especially around English people. Because English people resided mostly in towns, Irish people primarily spoke Irish in rural areas in the west of Ireland where they would not get caught. The concentration of Irish speakers in the rural west had devastating consequences during the Great Famine. Farmers and other rural townsfolk had to emigrate or risk starvation, leading to a severe decrease in the Irish-speaking population. The amount of Irish-speaking people in Ireland fell from 4 million people to 1.5 million people during this time (Falc'Her-Poyroux, 2014). As an aftermath of these catastrophic events, the Irish language began to be associated with the rural west of Ireland, carrying a negative connotation among the wealthier, more educated populations living in more populated areas. Irish was viewed as an antiquated language, with the transition to English offering modern luxuries (Chollatáin 2010). The combined fear of persecution by majority language colonizers and imposed shame from other members of the non-speaking ethnic community reduce the likelihood of minority language speaking in public, as well as the transmission of the language from parent to offspring (McEwan-Fijita 2010). This not only reduces the number of speakers as people refuse to speak the language, but also harms future language revitalization efforts as children are not taught the language at home and do not practice their language skills outside of school. Locals are also more likely to speak the dominant language to outsiders out of fear of persecution

or judgement, even when approached in the minority language (McEwan-Fujita 2010). This lack of visibility contributes to the idea that minority languages, including Irish, are not as useful as their dominant counterparts. A positive feedback loop then occurs in which the amount of speakers decreases and causes the perceived value of the language to drop, leading to fewer people learning the language.

Early Revitalization of the Irish Language

While oral traditions are essential in reproducing Irish, the early use of texts has been credited with the spread of the Irish language and the creation of an Irish linguistic culture (Chollatáin 2010). Illuminated religious texts and Irish poetry were important in not only defining the early artistic culture of Ireland but also in preserving Old Irish. By the 19th century, journalism became an integral part of Irish literature and the Irish revitalization movement as a natural transition from oral storyteller to literate newscaster. In other parts of the world, journalism was not seen on the same level as artistic writings such as poetry or literature and was therefore looked down upon. In Ireland, however, journalism was used as a tool to disseminate art and literature to the masses, including literature written in Irish (Chollatáin 2010). The benefits of journalism as a public forum were realized by early language revivalists, who took advantage of journalism's wide reach in order to promote the use of Irish. Indeed, the language most often printed is the dominant language, encouraging the creation of Irish newspapers (Hourigan 2007). One such publication that was created to spread interest in the Irish language was "Bolg an tSolair," or "Gaelic Magazine," published in Belfast in 1795. This article appealed to the reader's interest in their ancestors' language as a way to popularize the importance of the cultural preservation of the Irish language (Chollatáin 2010). Additional journals were created

with the same goal in mind: to preserve the Irish language, to unite Irishmen on the subject, and to avoid discussion of divisive political issues. Journalism proved to be such an integral part of the Irish language revitalization movement that Douglas Hyde, cofounder of The Gaelic League, accredited journals as the catalyst for the movement. The Gaelic League was founded in Dublin in 1893, with the goal of creating a unified Irish identity centered around the Irish language, regardless of gender, class, or religion (Nic Congáil 2012). This sentiment was expressed in the Gaelic League's journal, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, where the goal of the journal was stated as the "creation of an Irish-reading public" (Chollatáin 2010). Other journals also acknowledged the need for Irish to be adapted to the modern world in order to survive, primarily through writing.

An Claidheamh Soluis served as a platform for the Gaelic League's increasingly nationalist views, where co-founder Eoin MacNeill asserted the necessity of the reconstruction of the Irish language to modern life in order to make Irish "the language of a nation" (French 2009). He goes on to say that the widespread belief that Irish was inferior to English caused Ireland to no longer recognize the necessity of a national language in asserting a national identity. This nationalist sentiment became widespread in the years leading up to the Irish War of Independence. For the founders of the Gaelic League, the Irish language was a means to unite Irish people in an anti-colonial war against British occupants of the country (Nic Congáil 2012). This led to a surface-level goal of revitalizing the Irish language, with a true goal of Irish independence as their own nation-state. To accomplish this goal, Irish revitalization had to be widespread. Therefore, standardization of the language was discouraged, and the Gaelic League instead promoted heterogenous use of the language in order to unite the most people rather than divide along dialects, as well as preserve the robustness of the language (French 2009).

The Gaelic League and revolutionary politics became explicitly intertwined when Eoin MacNeill called for the formation of citizen militia groups to put pressure on the British Empire and fight for the independence of Ireland. He was successful in mobilizing citizens for this cause, directly leading to the establishment of the armed group the Irish Volunteers who played a major role in the 1916 Easter Rising. The politicization of the Gaelic League's goals upset some members, who wished to simultaneously remain apolitical and nonsectarian domestically but establish an Irish nation separate from the British Empire. As a result, Douglas Hyde resigned from his position as president of the Gaelic League, paradoxically condemning the politicization of the Gaelic League but supporting the nationalist goal of a unified Irish identity and nation. These opposing viewpoints were reconciled by the idea that the Gaelic League was not meant to take a side between Catholics and Protestants or Unionists and Republicans, but rather promote a unified Irish nation encompassing all sides. However, due to the nature of the nationalist, anti-colonial conflict, it was impossible for the Gaelic League to be apolitical.

On a global scale, Irish was argued to be one of the oldest European languages, contributing to the collective European culture. This both justified the independence of Ireland as a nation-state and argued for its inclusion in global European affairs, such as the United Nations once it was established. However, in order to put forth an image of a homogenized people that would make up the nation-state, the homogenization of language through standardization became necessary, contrasting with the promotion of heterogeneous language use by the Gaelic League in order to unite the Irish people. Standardization also clashed with the founders' reluctance in relying on central institutions to revitalize the language. This issue of optics and practicality has created tension within the Irish revitalization movement that still exists today.

To accomplish the goal of creating a unified national identity against British colonialism centered around the Irish language, the Gaelic League employed many strategies. In addition to language classes, schools, and social events, the Gaelic League established an Irish-speaking community on the Aran Islands, which was already an isolated Irish-speaking community (Nic Congáil 2012). The Aran Islands served as a testing site for the Gaelic League's plans of an Irish-speaking community encompassing the whole of Ireland, as it was seen as a pure, untouched community. The Gaelic League took advantage of the isolated communities of the Aran Islands to impose their own models of Irish identity, including festivals, competitions, and classes in Irish language, music, and dance in order to determine how Irish language revitalization communities would work. This imposition of the Gaelic League's cultural standards created an unintentional hierarchy between members of the Gaelic League and the inhabitants of the Aran Islands, especially along class lines (Nic Congáil 2012). Indeed, the Gaelic League's members during this time have been described as "bourgeois," contrasting with the poor, isolated communities of the Aran Islands (Foster 1988). In addition, the emphasis on intergenerational transmission of Irish from mother to children seemed on the surface to be a progressive move towards gender equality. However, Aran Islands residents were discouraged from emigrating, preventing women from taking on roles outside of the home. These sources of tension blurred the results of their experiment on the effectiveness of their techniques, as the Aran Islands were not allowed to change with the times and were forced to operate in isolation.

Despite this, the Gaelic League's efforts did produce tangible results. The establishment of an Irish language school on the Aran Islands produced Irish language teachers, allowing for the creation of Irish language programs in schools across the country. As a result, the number of schools that offered Irish language classes increased from 88 in 1900 to 1,983 by 1904 (Nic

Congáil 2012). During this time most of the Gaelic League's efforts focused on schooling and

the establishment of Irish language programs at universities, but also succeeded in raising public

opinion of the language. Today, the Gaelic League lobbies for Irish language legislation in both

the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland such as the Official Languages Act 2003, promotes

funding for Gaeltacht areas, and advocates for the option of Irish language governmental services

in addition to their traditional techniques of offering classes, festivals, and competitions. The

results of these efforts in recent years as well as new developments in the Irish language

revitalization movement provide insight into the effectiveness of language revitalization

techniques based on their relationship to anti-colonial and nationalist movements.

Section Four: Current Irish Revitalization Efforts in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland - A Comparison

In order to analyze the effectiveness of Irish language revitalization movements, census

data detailing the percentage of Irish speakers in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

from 2002 to 2011 and 2001 to 2011 respectively was analyzed. This data was then uploaded to

ArcGIS and maps were made in order to better visualize the spatial distribution of Irish speakers

in both regions.

The first map created was the percentage of Irish speakers per county in the Republic of

Ireland in 2002 (Figure 1). The percentage of speakers per county ranged from 36.3% to 52.1%.

Only two counties contained Irish speakers composing more than half of their residents,

including County Clare at 50.5% and County Galway at 52.1%. Although not reaching more

than half the population as County Clare and County Galway did, County Mayo, County

Limerick, and County Kerry were among the counties with the highest percentage of Irish

speakers. The county with the lowest percentage of Irish speakers was County Louth, with 36.3% of their residents speaking Irish. Amongst the counties with the lowest percentage of Irish speakers were County Louth, County Cavan, County Dublin, County Wicklow, and County Wexford. Unsurprisingly, the greatest percentage of Irish speakers is concentrated in the rural west of the Republic of Ireland, where the Gaeltacht regions are located. The percentage of speakers gradually decreased the further a county was from the Gaeltacht region, as indicated by the gradient from dark to light green as seen on the map. County Dublin, where the capital city of Dublin is located, was among one of the counties with the lowest percentage of Irish speakers, despite being a major center for Irish language revitalization. A possible explanation for the low levels of Irish use in this county may be a higher foreign population within the capital city compared to the rest of the Republic of Ireland. The census data supports this, as subregions within the county indicate that the percentage of Irish speakers was much smaller in the city of Dublin (34.6%) than in other regions within County Dublin: 42% in Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown, 41.1% in Fingal, and 38% in South Dublin.

Percentage of Irish Speakers in the Republic of Ireland by County, 2002

N

Atlantic Ocean

Donegal

Monaghan

Sligo

Leitrim

Cavan

Mayo

Roscommon

Longford

Louth

Westmeath

Meath

Galway

Offaly

Kildare

Dublin

Laoighis

Wicklow

Clare

Tipperary

Carlow

Kilkenny

Limerick

Wexford

Kerry

Waterford

Cork

Legend

Percent of Irish Speakers

35.6 - 38.6

38.7 - 41.4

41.5 - 44.6

44.7 - 47.6

47.7 - 52.1

Northern Ireland

Data by GADM, EDINA,
and the Central Statistics Office

Coordinate System: GCS WGS 1984
Datum: WGS 1984
Units: Degree
Map author: Shannon Lally
Date produced: 8/11/2020

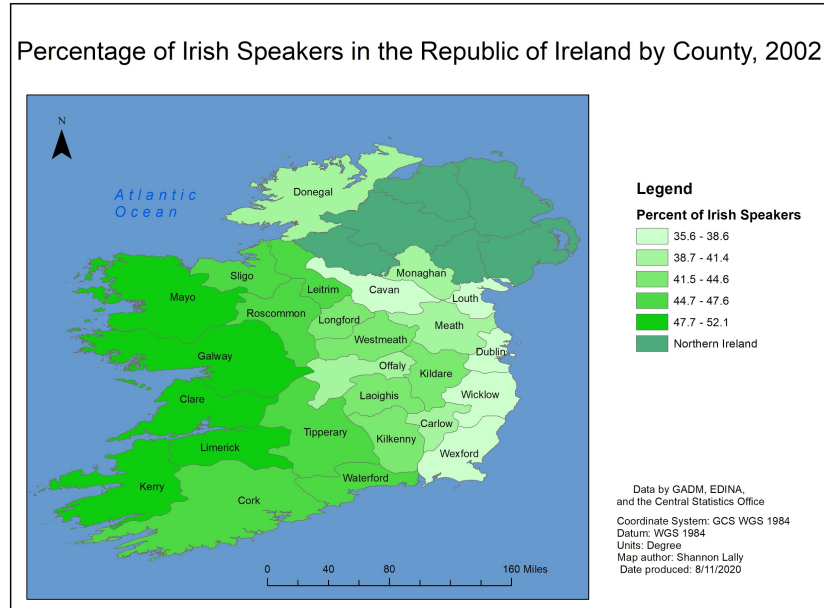0   40   80   160 Miles

Figure 1: This map displays the percentage of Irish speakers in the Republic of Ireland by county in 2002.

The second map displayed below shows the percentage of Irish speakers per county in the Republic of Ireland in 2011. Looking at color alone, it is clear that the overall percentage of speakers in the Republic of Ireland decreased, with thirteen counties total turning a lighter shade of green, including County Limerick which lightened by two shades. The percentage of speakers per county ranged from 35.6% to 48.9%, with none of the counties reaching above 50%. County Galway remained the county with the highest percentage of speakers and was joined solely by County Clare in the highest range of percentages of Irish speakers. County Dublin passed County Louth as the county with the lowest percentage of speakers, while County Donegal and County Carlow joined the ranks of the counties in the lightest tier. Within County Dublin, the city of Dublin had the lowest percentage of speakers at 32.1%, with 41.9% in Dún Laoghaire-Rathdown, 37.5% in Fingal, and 35.8% in South Dublin. Even accounting for the potentially larger number of foreigners living in the city of Dublin, every subregion within County Dublin also decreased, meaning that the decrease in the percentage of speakers in County Dublin from

29

2002-2011 cannot be entirely attributed to immigration to the city of Dublin. The greatest percentage of Irish speakers was again concentrated in the west of the Republic of Ireland, and the gradient from west to east largely remained intact, despite the lightening of the counties across the map.
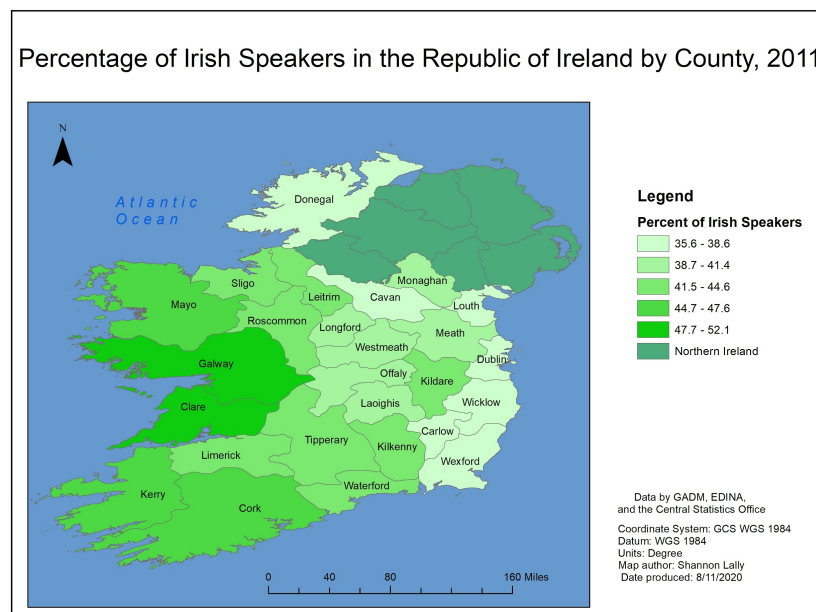

Figure 2: This map displays the percentage of Irish speakers in the Republic of Ireland by county in 2011.

Looking more closely at the widespread decrease in Irish speakers across the Republic of Ireland, the third map depicts the change in the percentage of speakers by county from 2002-2011 (Figure 3). This map shockingly reveals that every single county in the Republic of Ireland saw a decrease in the percentage of Irish speakers during this time period. The decrease in percentage ranged from -0.2% in County Louth to a whopping -4.3% in County Sligo. The counties that had the greatest decrease in the percentage of Irish speakers were County Sligo, County Leitrim, and County Longford, while the counties that had the smallest decrease were County Louth, County Wicklow, and County Wexford. Interestingly, the counties in the west had a greater decrease than those in the east, despite being centers for the Irish language. This

may be due to the fact that rural populations in the west are more likely to experience economic

disadvantages, and are therefore more likely to promote the use of English to advance
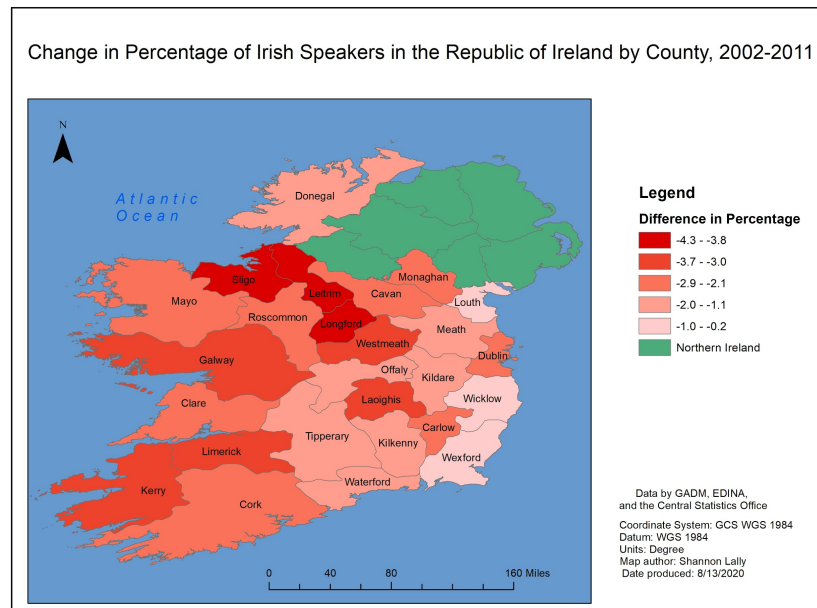
economically.

Figure 3: This map displays the change in percentage of Irish speakers in the Republic of Ireland per county from 2002-2011.

Focusing on Northern Ireland, the fourth map displays the percentage of Irish speakers

per county in Northern Ireland in 2001 (Figure 4). Overall, the percentage of Irish speakers per

county in this region is much lower than all of the counties in the Republic of Ireland, ranging

from 8.2% in County Down to 15.7% in County Tyrone. This is to be expected, as Northern

Ireland is a part of the United Kingdom and is less homogeneous culturally compared to the

Republic of Ireland. The distribution of Irish speakers is skewed towards the west, on the border

between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, most likely due to the proximity to the

Republic of Ireland. The two counties with the lowest percentages, County Antrim and County

Down, are straddled by the capital city of Belfast. As seen in the city of Dublin, this lower

percentage of Irish speakers may be due to increased numbers of foreigners residing in the city compared to the rest of the counties in the region.
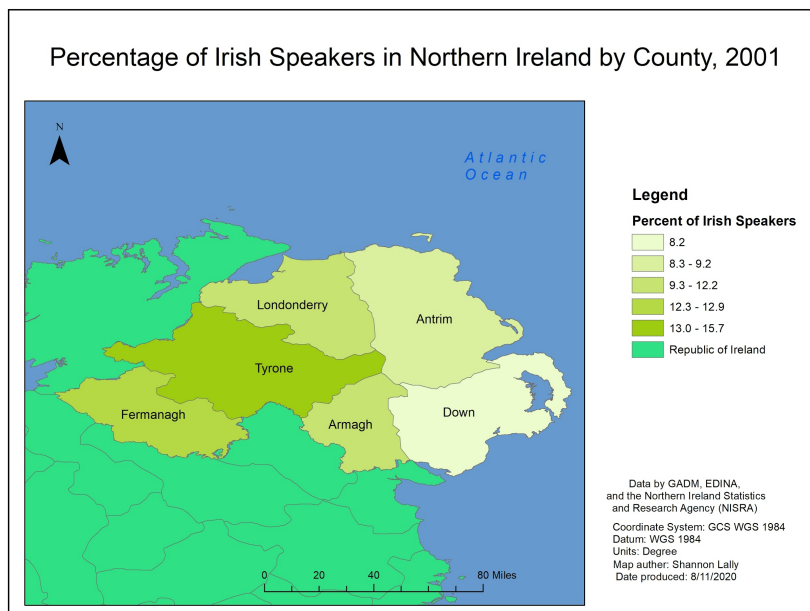

Figure 4: This map displays the percentage of Irish speakers in Northern Ireland by county in 2001.

The fifth map depicts the percentage of Irish speakers by county in Northern Ireland in 2011 (Figure 5). In contrast to the Republic of Ireland, the overall map darkens in color, indicating an increase in the percentage of speakers. The distribution of speakers seems to even out as County Londonderry, County Antrim, and County Down got darker, while County Fermanagh, County Tyrone, and County Armagh remained the same color. This stands in contrast to the Republic of Ireland, where most counties got lighter and the distribution remained strongly skewed to the west. While most speakers remain located in the west of Northern Ireland, Irish use increased in the east enough to make this difference less noticeable. The range of the percentage of speakers was 9% in County Down to 15.1% in County Tyrone, and these counties retained their place as either the county with the lowest or highest percentage of speakers respectively. While none of the counties joined County Tyrone in the highest range, no counties

remained in the lowest range. This again contrasts with the Republic of Ireland, where two counties fell into the lowest tier.
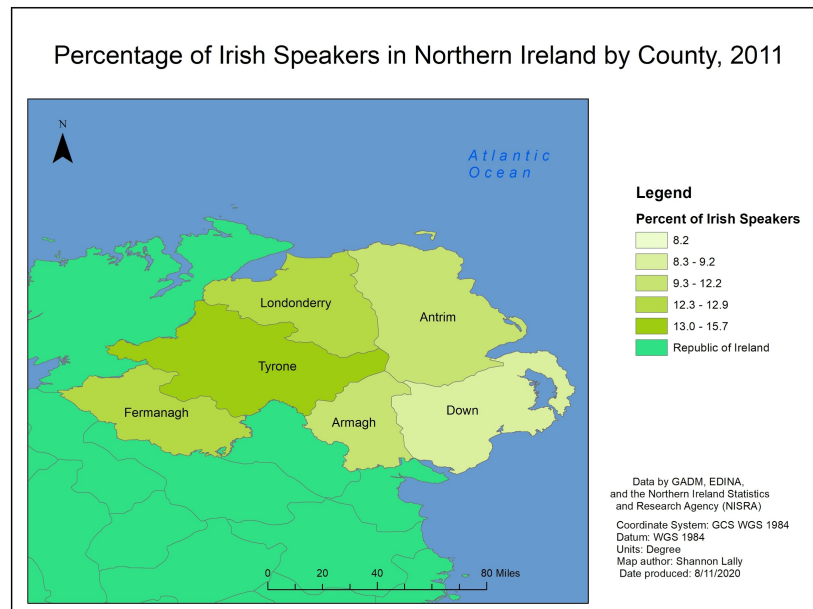

Figure 5: This map displays the percentage of Irish speakers in Northern Ireland by county in 2011.

Examining this contrasting change over time in Northern Ireland, the sixth map displays the change in the percentage of Irish speakers per county in Northern Ireland from 2001-2011 (Figure 6). The map reveals that of Northern Ireland's six counties, half decreased in the percentage of speakers while half actually increased. This is unexpected given the fact that the Republic of Ireland saw a decrease in all twenty-six counties despite having governmental support in language revitalization and a more homogenized Irish identity. County Armagh, which decreased the most in Northern Ireland, saw a smaller decrease than all but three of the Republic of Ireland's counties, which include County Louth, County Wicklow, and County Wexford. The Northern Irish counties that increased in the percentage of Irish speakers interestingly are locations that experienced heavy conflict during The Troubles, namely County

Londonderry and the city of Belfast, which sits on the border of County Antrim and County Down.
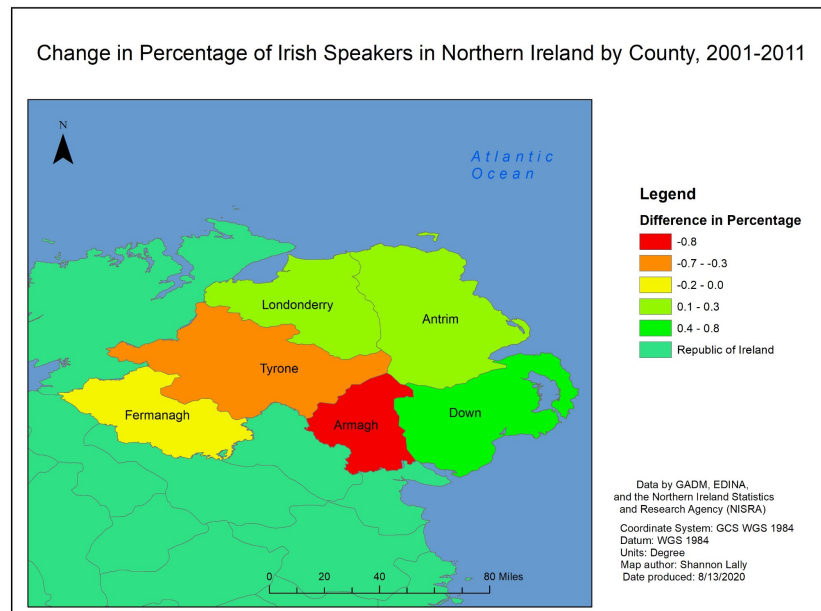

Figure 6: This map displays the change in percentage of Irish speakers in Northern Ireland per county from 2001-2011.

Many of the techniques historically used by the Gaelic League are still in use today by many language groups, such as the promotion of Irish-medium schools, the use of Irish in the home to promote intergenerational transmission, lobbying for funding, and hosting conversation groups (O'Rourke 2015). However, the current language revitalization movement in the Republic of Ireland is characterized by a few debates unique to this era. The first debate concerns questions of authenticity. Due to the threat of extinction, the preservation of endangered languages is often prioritized before active revitalization efforts. This leads to the identification and targeting of specific minority language communities that represent the most "accurate" and often politically, economically, and geographically isolated form of the language, free from the

influence of the dominant language and culture (O'Rourke 2015). In addition, the more pure a community's language is perceived to be, the easier it is to differentiate between the minority language and dominant language, facilitating the anti-colonial struggle. In regard to the Irish language, the communities that are ascribed authenticity are the Gaeltacht communities, located in the rural west of the Republic of Ireland.

The imposition of authenticity to a community is problematic for three reasons. First, these communities are often barred from evolving throughout time, especially through contact with other communities or cultures, as the "purity" of the language is maintained as much as possible (O'Rourke 2015). This isolation has detrimental effects outside of language and culture, especially economically. These communities, which started off fairly isolated and often poor, are kept in this state regardless of their own goals. Language learners who travel to these regions expect to gain an authentic experience by being spoken to in the language, especially as the regions are discouraged from evolving and are seen as fixed pockets of traditional language speakers. This places undue pressure on residents, who may not live up to tourists' expectations (O'Rourke 2015). The Gaeltacht is facing the struggles associated with ascribed authenticity, as they are forced to stagnate their growth. This can be seen in the Gaelic League's use of the Aran Islands as a center for language revitalization, purposely taking advantage of their isolation.

Second, language revitalization itself is complicated as ownership of a language is ascribed to the language community that is seen as speaking the purest form of the language. This arbitrarily leaves out other dialects that are not seen as valid forms of the language. The process of assigning authenticity to a particular community of language speakers is therefore not only random, but harmful to the communities that are not chosen as their dialect is not actively revitalized. Third, the idea that a language can be "from somewhere" may introduce cultural

barriers to foreign language learners, especially those without Irish heritage, and ostracize them from speakers of the "authentic" community, harming revitalization efforts (McEwan-Fujita 2010).

However, the benefit of assigning a location to cultural practices is that it creates a sense of community based on location centered around a shared practice. Participation in the shared practice facilitates a connection between members of the community. This would help further nationalist goals such as those of the Gaelic League, as the promotion of the use of the Irish language is tied to appealing to people's heritage. This has become a powerful tool in the promotion of the Irish language amongst descendants of the Irish diaspora, who feel connected to the language through their ancestry in Ireland despite not having cultural or current physical ties to the country. In fact, many tourists visit the Gaeltacht region to learn what they perceive as true Irish (O'Rourke 2015).

The presence of authenticity would seem to imply the absence of "anonymity" of language, where there are no ties to location and the language is seen as neutral and belonging to everyone who wishes to learn it. However, both authenticity and anonymity can coexist (O'Rourke 2015). In regard to the Irish language, the authentic form of Irish is Gaeltacht Irish, whereas anonymous Irish is standardized Irish. The question of standardization is the second debate within current Irish language revitalization movements, centered around the publication of an Irish Standard in 1958 (Murchadha 2010). The process of standardization involves selecting a model dialect to become the standardized language, codifying the language by creating universal grammar rules and dictionaries implemented primarily through schooling, and elaboration of the language to fit new uses until the standardized language is accepted as the correct form of a language (Murchadha 2010). Standardized language is beneficial as it

facilitates written language, and creates a cohesion that can be useful in creating a national identity surrounding language opposed to colonial powers. Standardization also often results in the simplification of a language, which can be helpful for new learners.

However, in the case of the Irish language, the simplification of spelling makes grammar rules more complicated, as well as promotes the Anglicization of the language which conflicts with the anti-colonial goals laid out by early language revivalists. In many cases, standardization reduces the number of dialects within a language, promoting cohesion but reducing the variety and robustness of the language. This process of homogenization historically reduced the use of minority languages in Europe as each nation pushed for its own homogenized nation-state (O'Rourke 2015). This leads to issues and even failure in language revitalization when standardizing minority languages as the revitalization efforts are working within the dominant language hegemony rather than based in anti-colonial processes. In addition, revitalization cannot rely on standard sets of rules, as language is always evolving to fit the current needs of the speaking community (Carr and Meek 2013).

Standardization of the Irish language is made complicated by the fact that Gaeltacht Irish is considered the most authentic version of Irish and standardized Irish is modeled after this authentic dialect. However, the process of standardization leads to changes being made to the language, such as simpler spelling. This causes a departure from the model dialect. Because the standardized language is then nationally promoted and used in schools, writing, and media, Gaeltacht Irish is undermined as the true form of the Irish language (Hourigan 2007). This creates a paradox where Gaeltacht Irish is idealized as authentic, while simultaneously being undermined and pushed out of use (Murchadha 2010). Gaeltacht communities then struggle to survive both linguistically and economically as a result of the processes of ascribing authenticity

and standardization. In addition to these issues within Irish language revitalization, "Revitalization Irish" is becoming more popular due to the Irish language revitalization movement, which models itself after standardized Irish and allows English influence as a means to increase the number of new speakers (Murchadha 2010). Revitalization Irish is yet another popular dialect that complicates which dialect should be spoken. The debates of authenticity and standardization depart from the historical goals of Irish language revitalization, as heterogeneous use of the language is abandoned for one version of Irish that is authentic and standardized.

Despite these complications, Irish language revitalization in the Republic of Ireland since the Irish War of Independence has been publicly promoted nationwide as the new government supported the goal of increasing the number of Irish speakers. The explicit support of the Republic of Ireland's government was made clear in 1937 when Irish became the official language of the country (O'Rourke 2015). Irish was made a compulsory subject in schools, and knowledge of the language was required to work for the government until 1974, when this requirement was replaced with a bonus marks system followed by a competency-based system (Murchadha 2010 and Drisceoil 2016). In 2003, the government of the Republic of Ireland passed the "Official Languages Act," which aimed to increase the number of public services offered in Irish. This was followed by the "20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language 2010-2030" passed in 2010, with the goal of promoting Irish in education, the Gaeltacht, family, services, media, dictionaries, legislation, and the economy. In 2019 the "Irish Language Scheme" was passed as a requirement of the "Official Languages Act," which updated plans for increasing the use of Irish in governmental services.

The trajectory of Irish language revitalization in Northern Ireland is different than in the Republic of Ireland due to its continued membership in the United Kingdom, and the anti-

colonial nationalist conflict that ensued as a result. Because of this, less research has been

conducted on Irish language revitalization in Northern Ireland than in the Republic of Ireland.

However, the revitalization movement has a strong following in Northern Ireland despite the

differences in the history of the two regions. While the Republic of Ireland enjoyed

governmental support after its founding, the government of the United Kingdom continued to

neglect and suppress Irish in Northern Ireland, especially as the use of Irish became associated

with the IRA and Catholic republicans (Zenker 2012). Indeed, republicans viewed the Irish

language as a tool to subvert unionists and take back agency in the midst of their oppression in

everyday life. In Northern Ireland, Irish was only taught in Catholic schools as an optional

subject, solidifying the association of the Irish language with Catholic republicans. Language

revitalization efforts fell to local organizations such as the Gaelic Athletic Association, founded

in 1884 to promote traditional Irish sports and other cultural activities such as music, dance, and

language. However, the partitioning of Ireland weakened the influence in Northern Ireland of

many of the organizations founded in the south of Ireland. This led to the formation of the Ulster

Fellowship in 1926, which was the Northern Irish equivalent of the Gaelic League (Zenker

2012). The Ulster Fellowship, located near a majority Protestant area, declined in its language

revitalization efforts during The Troubles until they established a branch of the Gaelic League in

the Catholic part of Belfast. This branch put on language classes, dances, and concerts, attracting

mainly radical left-wing working-class people (Zenker 2012). Despite their political leanings, the

club aimed to remain separated from formal politics, as this detracted from effective language

revitalization. They also rejected the standard Irish promoted in the Republic of Ireland. An

interesting distinction between members of the Gaelic League in the Republic of Ireland and

Northern Ireland was that in the Republic of Ireland, revitalization efforts were focused in

middle-class areas, while in Northern Ireland working-class members not only promoted the use

of Irish but also fought for economic opportunities within their communities. This strategy

indirectly also supports language revitalization, as research has shown that reduced economic

disparity between speakers of the dominant and minority languages has led to an increase in

power of minority language speakers, who are then able to make greater demands surrounding

minority language promotion (Hourigan 2007). Northern Irish language revivalists often

operated outside of the law, establishing illegal schools that offered Irish classes (Zenker 2012).

These schools were later officially recognized as a result of their efforts. Irish journalism also

became important in Northern Ireland as a means of promoting the language, reminiscent of the

early history of Irish language revitalization.

While some Irish speakers in Northern Ireland tried to remain apolitical and learned Irish

simply to connect with their heritage, the very act of learning Irish was seen as a political act and

many people embraced the use of Irish as an anti-colonial tool (Zenker 2012). During the

incarceration of suspected IRA members in the 1970s, the role of Irish became an important act

of rebellion, as jailed Irish speakers would teach Irish to other prisoners as a way to both make a

political statement and communicate without the guards understanding. This led to the

development of a new dialect of Irish, termed "Jailtacht" (Zenker 2012). In addition to rebellious

acts, many language activists later became part of Sinn Féin, politicizing Irish use further. As a

way to appease rebels in Northern Ireland, the United Kingdom government provided funding

only to language organizations that were more moderate politically. As part of the Good Friday

Agreement of 1998 that established peace in Northern Ireland, the government promised to

promote the Irish language in the region and signed the European Charter for Regional or

Minority Languages, which provides funding for the promotion of minority languages (Drisceoil

2016). *Foras na Gaeilge*, an organization dedicated to promoting Irish in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, was established in the aftermath of the peace agreement. The support of the United Kingdom's government has now reduced the political association of Irish language use in Northern Ireland, although the formal peace agreement did not completely eradicate tensions between Catholic republicans and Protestant unionists.

The results of the analysis of the efficacy of Irish language revitalization in the 2000s show that all counties in the Republic of Ireland decreased in the percentage of Irish speakers. Three counties in Northern Ireland increased in the percentage of Irish speakers, with the remaining counties decreasing at a lower rate than most counties in the Republic of Ireland. The three counties that increased in the percentage of Irish speakers- County Londonderry, County Antrim, and County Down- are the counties where most of the conflict and anti-colonial action during the Troubles took place. The spatial distribution of Irish speakers over time, particularly the decrease in all counties of the Republic of Ireland and the increase in counties faced with the most violence during The Troubles in Northern Ireland, indicate that nationalism in the face of an identity conflict between colonizer and colonized is a major indicator of Irish language revitalization success.

Considering the history of the Irish language revitalization movement, with nationalism a central theme, these results are not surprising. In the Republic of Ireland, the Irish language revitalization movement is no longer rooted in anti-colonialism or nationalism. As previously mentioned, the Gaelic League's primary goal was using the Irish language as a means to unite Irish people and differentiate themselves from British colonizers, with the ultimate goal of the establishment of an Irish nation-state (Congáil 2012). This goal was achieved with the formation of the Republic of Ireland. In addition to the formation of a nation-state, early Irish language

41

revivalists aimed to gain recognition as a contributor to European culture and be admitted to the European Union. This goal was accomplished in 1973 (Tonra 2021). The accomplishment of these goals led to decreased pressure in promoting the use of Irish, despite the threat of the disappearance of Gaeltacht Irish in the next ten years (Drisceoil 2016). In addition, the tension between authenticity and anonymity and the friction between standardized Irish and Gaeltacht Irish force communities to stagnate linguistically and economically, lead to confusion in how to revitalize Irish, and go against the historical anti-colonial nationalist technique of promoting heterogeneous language use (Murchadha 2010 and French 2009). While media such as television, video games, and the Internet can be useful tools in language revitalization, the debates of authenticity and standardization are also seen in these formats. Television faces a unique struggle where networks are often forced to choose between catering to the needs of Irish speakers and producing television shows that garner the most views to make a greater profit (Hourigan 2007).

While the Irish language revitalization movement in the Republic of Ireland enjoys the support of the government, governmental efforts have been unsuccessful at best and detrimental at worst. Irish revitalization goals set by the government have not been met, particularly because language plans are pushed back or left to expire after cost-cutting reforms are introduced to reduce the obligations of the government, especially after elections when politicians reach their personal political goals (Drisceoil 2016). The option of Irish use is not mandated for all businesses and services and is no longer mandated for government employees. In addition, there is no agency primarily dedicated to the promotion of Irish. While the government provides funding to schools, particularly Irish-medium schools, there is little opportunity to use Irish after graduation. The government's lack of concrete action to follow through on Irish language

revitalization goals shows that their support is symbolic. This can be seen in their act to make Irish the official language, but refusal to mandate the equality of Irish and English and ineffective action in promoting Irish.

The Irish language's status as the first official language is often cited as a reason for why the Republic of Ireland's government did not sign the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which provides funding to promote minority languages. However, the Republic of Ireland would be able to sign the charter, as the ECRML allows official languages that are less widely used than another language. An additional fear of signing the ECRML was that Irish would potentially not be allowed to be elevated to an official EU language (Drisceoil 2016). However, it was made an official EU language in 2007, eliminating cause for concern. The fact that the Republic of Ireland has not signed the ECRML and taken this concrete step to promote Irish use is surprising considering the United Kingdom's government signed on behalf of the Irish language in Northern Ireland. The founders of the Gaelic League warned against reliance on central institutions in the revitalization of the Irish language, seemingly for good reason as the percentage of Irish speakers in the Republic of Ireland decreased in every county despite governmental "support" (French 2009). Indeed, the acceptance and visibility of a minority language community can decrease the nationalism of that group and their hostility to the dominant culture (Hourigan 2007). The effects of the passing of the "20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language 2010-2030" in 2010, and the "Irish Language Scheme" in 2019 have yet to be seen, as the data analyzed was collected in 2011. Perhaps this and future legislation will be more effective at Irish language revitalization than past efforts, although imitation of the systems that lead to the decline of minority languages has been widely unsuccessful (O'Rourke 2015).

In contrast, Northern Ireland is still operating under the same conditions that produced the anti-colonial nationalist movements, despite the formal peace agreement. The remnants of The Troubles are still fresh in Northern Ireland, especially since the resumption of violence in the region in March 2021. Tensions between unionist and republican political parties remain high, and nationalist sentiments in the language revitalization movement most likely continue. This is evident in the spatial distribution of Irish speakers in Northern Ireland, as the increase of Irish speakers is located in regions of conflict, especially since the data analyzed is temporally near The Troubles. The language revitalization movement in Northern Ireland is focused on national unity and the anti-colonial struggle against Britain, and is not concerned with the same issues of authenticity and standardization as the language revitalization movement in the Republic of Ireland (Zenker 2012). This is because the issues of the Irish language revitalization movement in the Republic of Ireland have changed as a result of their independence, whereas the current movement in Northern Ireland resembles the historical movement in the Republic of Ireland, which was ultimately successful until their freedom. As the Irish language revitalization movement in Northern Ireland continues to be associated with Catholic republicans and the conflict between Catholic republicans and Protestant unionists continues, the language revitalization movement still centers anti-colonial nationalist viewpoints, contributing to its success.

Conclusion: Towards a Successful Irish Language Revitalization Future

The history of the island of Ireland is categorized by 800 years of English colonization, leading to the subjugation and near-extinction of the Irish language. The revitalization of the Irish language, therefore, became a political act of rebellion against English colonizers with the

goal of establishing an Irish nation-state. This region is unique as the island only partially gained freedom to become the Republic of Ireland, while Northern Ireland remained part of the United Kingdom. The difference in proximity to colonization has led to surprising developments in the Irish language revitalization movements of both regions. Initially, the whole island's revitalization efforts were characterized by anti-colonial nationalism. However, after the Republic of Ireland gained independence, the Irish revitalization movement became focused more on authenticity and standardization, relying on symbolic government support. This led to a decrease in the percentage of Irish speakers in all counties from 2002 to 2011. In Northern Ireland, the struggle for independence has continued, especially during The Troubles, a violent ethnonationalist struggle between Irish Catholics who wanted to unify with the Republic of Ireland and English Protestants who wished to remain part of the United Kingdom. The nationalist sentiments of the Irish revitalization movement continued in Northern Ireland, as Catholic republicans used the language as a tool to differentiate themselves from Protestant unionists and subvert British rule in the same way the island used the language before the partition into the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. This continuation of traditional nationalist techniques in Irish language revitalization in Northern Ireland led to an increase in the percentage of Irish speakers from 2001 to 2011 in three counties. The role of anti-colonialism and nationalism in the revitalization results of the region during this time is evident in the fact that the increase in Irish speakers is located in the counties that experienced the most violence, and therefore most anti-colonial nationalist action, during The Troubles.

Additional research is needed in order to verify these claims. Despite being the most recent data available, the data analyzed is over ten years old. The 2021 census results published in 2022 in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland can be analyzed using the same

methods of this thesis to assess whether the trends viewed from 2001 to 2011 are consistent with current trends from 2011 to 2021. This will be useful in determining whether Irish language revitalization legislation passed by the Republic of Ireland since 2001 has been effective in increasing the number of Irish speakers, and whether Northern Ireland still is experiencing an increase in speakers. Additional census data that can be used is the breakdown of how often Irish speakers use Irish, which would help determine if people are actually speaking Irish more or less often over time, and the ability level of speaking, writing, and reading, which would be useful in determining the ability levels of various skills in Irish over time. In general, more research is needed on language revitalization in Northern Ireland, as studies mainly involve analysis of The Troubles, specifically the sectarian aspect. Language revitalization in Northern Ireland will be particularly interesting in the coming years, as the recent Brexit referendum was split between Catholics, who wished to remain in the EU, and Protestants, who wished to leave the EU, sparking a resurgence of violence in the region as the implementation of this decision began. It remains to be seen whether this conflict will lead to increased Irish language revitalization as nationalist sentiments rise once again. Ethnographic data such as participant observation and interviews would be beneficial in understanding the opinions of citizens of both regions on language revitalization as a whole, especially in determining how nationalist beliefs affect the support of language revitalization. Finally, the class component of Irish language revitalization remains to be explored. The language revitalization movement in the Republic of Ireland is primarily dominated by middle-class citizens, while the language revitalization movement in Northern Ireland is carried out by working-class citizens. The effect of class on the success of the Irish language revitalization movement can help in determining future revitalization techniques,

potentially involving economics, that would benefit the Irish language revitalization movement in both regions.

References

Alexander, J. J. G. 1978. *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century*. Oxford University Press.

Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Verso.

Aughey, A. 2005. *The Politics of Northern Ireland: Beyond the Belfast Agreement*. Routledge.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). 2011. Who are the UVF? Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-11313364.

British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). 2020. Ireland Profile - Timeline. Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-17480250.

Cahill, S. and S. Ó Cathail. 2007. The Politics of the Irish Language Under the English and British Governments. *The Proceedings of the Barra Ó Donnabháin Symposium, 2007*.

Carr, G., & Meek, B. 2013. The Poetics of Language Revitalization: Text, Performance, and Change. *Journal of Folklore Research*. 50(1-3): 191-216.

Central Statistics Office. 2004. Persons aged 3 years and over in each Province, County and City, classified by ability to speak Irish. Census 2002 Volume 11 - Irish Language. Central Statistics Office. Retrieved from https://www.cso.ie/en/media/csoie/census/documents/vol11_entire.pdf.

Central Statistics Office. 2012. Population Aged 3 Years and Over by Sex, Province County or City, Irish Speakers and Non-Irish Speakers and Census Year. Census 2011 Profile 9 What We Know - A Study of Education, Skills, and the Irish Language. Central Statistics Office. Retrieved from https://statbank.cso.ie/px/pxeirestat/Statire/SelectVarVal/saveselections.asp.

Central Statistics Office. 2016. Census of Population 2016. Census 2016 Profile 10 Education, Skills and the Irish Language. Central Statistics Office. https://www.cso.ie/en/releasesandpublications/ep/p-cp10esil/p10esil/ilg/.

Chollatáin, R. 2010. Irish Language Revival and 'Cultural Chaos': Sources and Scholars in Irish Language Journalism. *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*. 30: 273-292.

Coakley, J. 2004. ETHNIC CONFLICT AND THE TWO-STATE SOLUTION: THE IRISH EXPERIENCE OF PARTITION. *IBIS Working Papers*. 42.

Connolly, S.J (Ed.). 2007. *The Oxford Companion to Irish History* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Crone, J, and M. Dörrbecker. 2017. Northern Ireland Counties. [Dataset]. EDINA. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.7488/ds/1945.

Drisceoil, V. 2016. Antipathy, Paradox And Disconnect In The Irish State's Legal Relationship With The Irish Language. *Irish Jurist*. 55: 45-74.

Duffy, S. 2005. *A Concise History of Ireland.* Gill Books.

Edwards, R., & Moody, T. 1941. IV. The History of Poynings' Law : Part I, 1494-1615. *Irish Historical Studies*. 2(8): 415-424.

English, R. 2012. *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA*. Pan Publishing.

Falc'Her-Poyroux, E. 2014. The Great Famine in Ireland: a Linguistic and Cultural Disruption. *L'archive ouverte HAL-SHS*.

Foster, R. F. 1988. *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972*. Penguin Books.

Fox, K. 2021. What's behind the recent violence in Northern Ireland? *CNN*. Retrieved from https://www.cnn.com/2021/04/09/uk/northern-ireland-violence-explainer-gbr-intl/index.html.

French, B. 2009. Linguistic Science and Nationalist Revolution: Expert Knowledge and the Making of Sameness in Pre-Independence Ireland. *Language in Society*. 38(5): 607-625.

GADM. (2018). Ireland and ireland counties data. [Dataset] Retrieved from https://gadm.org/download_country_v3.html.

Gillespie, G. 2008. *Historical Dictionary of the Northern Ireland Conflict.* Scarecrow Press.

Hermes, M., Bang, M., and Marin, A. 2012. Designing Indigenous Language Revitalization. *Harvard Educational Review.* 82(3): 381-402.

Hourigan, N. 2007. CHAPTER 6 MEDIATING DIVERSITY: IDENTITY, LANGUAGE, AND PROTEST IN IRELAND, SCOTLAND, AND WALES. *Managing Diversity: Practices of Citizenship*. 137-164. University of Ottawa Press.

Maier, B. 1989. Sacral Kingship in Pre-Christian Ireland. *Zeitschrift Für Religions- Und Geistesgeschichte.* 41(1): 12-32.

McCormack, J. 2020. Stormont: What is it and why did power-sharing collapse in Northern Ireland? *British Broadcasting Corporation.* Retrieved from https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-northern-ireland-politics-50822912.

McEwan-Fujita, E. 2010. Ideology, Affect, and Socialization in Language Shift and Revitalization: The Experiences of Adults Learning Gaelic in the Western Isles of Scotland. *Language in Society*. 39(1): 27-64.

Meek, B. A. 2010. *We Are Our Language: An Ethnography of Language Revitalization in a Northern Athabaskan Community*. University of Arizona Press.

Moseley, Christopher (ed.). 2010. Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger. UNESCO Publishing. Retrieved from http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages/atlas.

Murchadha, N. 2010. Standard, Standardization and Assessments of Standardness in Irish. *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium*. 30: 207-235.

Nic Congáil, R. 2012. "Life and the Dream": Utopian Impulses Within the Irish Language Revival. *Utopian Studies*: 23(2): 430-449.

Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. 2001. Knowledge of Irish: KS24 (administrative geographies). Census 2001. Retrieved from https://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/PivotGrid.aspx?ds=8448&lh=73&yn=2001&sk=135&sn=Census+2001&yearfilter=.

Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency. 2011. Irish Language Skills (Daytime Population): DT204NI (administrative geographies). Census 2011. Retrieved from https://www.ninis2.nisra.gov.uk/public/ViewDataSet.aspx?ds=5872&lh=37&yn=2011&sk=136&sn=Census%202011&yearfilter=.

O'Rourke, B. 2015. Language Revitalisation Models in Minority Language Contexts: Tensions between Ideologies of Authenticity and Anonymity. *Anthropological Journal of European Cultures*. 24(1): 63-82.

Parnell, H. 1808. *A History of the Penal Laws Against the Irish Catholics: From the Treaty of Limerick to the Union*. H. Fitzpatrick.

Pine, A, and Turin, M. 2017. Language Revitalization. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics*. Oxford University Press.

Reyhner, J. 2017. Affirming identity: The role of language and culture in American Indian education. *Cogent Education*. 4(1).

Rodriguez, J. P. (Ed.). 1997. *The Historical encyclopedia of world slavery*. ABC-CLIO.

Ross, David. 2002. *Ireland: History of a Nation*. Geddes and Grosset.

Rousseau, S. and Dargent, E. 2019. The Construction of Indigenous Language Rights in Peru: A Language Regime Approach. *Journal of Politics in Latin America.* 11(2): 161-180.

Royle, S. A. 2012. Beyond the boundaries in the island of Ireland. *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures*. 1(2): 91-98.

The Statutes of Kilkenny. *Encyclopedia of Irish History and Culture*. Retrieved from: https://www.encyclopedia.com/international/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/statutes-kilkenny.

Tonra, Ben. 2021. Ireland and the European Union. *Oxford Research Encyclopedias.* Oxford University Press.

Wilford, R. 2010. Northern Ireland: The Politics of Constraint. *Parliamentary Affairs*. 63(1): 134–155.

Wilson, W.H. and Kamanā, K. 2011. Chapter 3. Insights from Indigenous Language Immersion in Hawai'i. *Immersion Education: Practices, Policies, Possibilities*. 36-57.

Winstanley, M. 1984. *Ireland and the Land Question 1800-1922*. Routledge.

Zenker, O. 2012. On Prophets, Godfathers, Rebels, and Prostitutes: Distributed Agency in the Irish Language Revival of Northern Ireland. *Zeitschrift Für Ethnologie*. 137(1): 23-45.