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**“IN FAVOUR OF CULTURAL AND LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY : THE ROLE  
OF FORMAL BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND THE AUTHENTIC, DAILY USE  
OF THE LANGUAGE IN THE REVITALISATION OF IRISH AND WELSH.”**

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## Introduction

Within the European continent, there are several autochthonous languages that are, or were, close to extinction, as a result of the political and cultural dominion of another language that was designed as the official one for the state: for instance, in the United Kingdom, English is the official language, and has managed to overshadow autochthonous languages such as Welsh. It is the case of languages like Catalan, Galego, Basque, Frisian, Scottish Gaelic, the various indigenous languages in Argentina, Irish, or Welsh. The last two will be the focus of the following thesis: both belong to the linguistic branch of Celtic languages, and are spoken mostly in Ireland and Wales, respectively. The indigenous languages in Argentina will also be discussed in this thesis, as they present similarities with Irish and Welsh. Having been interested in Celtic culture from a young age, I considered studying the development, difficulties faced and revival of two Celtic languages an important contribution to my chosen area of studies, Sociolinguistics, and which I believe to be important within a multicultural context as the one we are currently part of. When I speak of revival, I refer to how, in spite of being near extinction in previous centuries, from the 1980's onwards, a process of revitalization has developed that has allowed these two languages to flourish once more. However, the status of English as a lingua franca, and the specific dominion of the British crown –both political and cultural- over the two countries where the languages are still spoken, make this revitalization more difficult. For an explanation of the status quo of these two languages at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, Sutherland (2000) will be used as a point of reference.

Firstly, a brief explanation must be provided to account for the relationship between English and these two languages, so as to explain their decline. Sutherland (2000) introduces the situation of both languages and how they came to be in the position previously described. Meanwhile, Mulligan (2016) and Prescott (2006, 2006) trace the decline of Welsh from different perspectives. Mulligan (2016) establishes a connection between Welsh and Hebrew, and the respective communities that speak these languages, through the figures of Taliesin and Moses, to explain how the dominion of another group of people –the British, in the case of Welsh- resulted in the gradual loss of the language. Prescott (2006, 2006), on the other hand, considers the situation from two points of view: in one, studying Anglo-Welsh relations in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in order to demonstrate that the Welsh did not accept English dominance quietly; in the other, to call attention to

Welsh bards, and their relevance in maintaining a history of the Welsh nation and its language.

As regards the field in which the following analysis is inscribed, namely that of Sociolinguistics, there are several authors who contribute the definition of key concepts regarding the topic. Mufwene (2004) discusses the birth and death of languages, and how the death of certain ancient languages has not been studied widely enough, even though it would be an important contribution to the understanding of the status of modern tongues. Mougeon & Nadasdi (1998) provide a revised definition of language community, allowing for sociolinguistic variation. In connection to this variation, James (2011) presents different Welsh dialects and their significance in the present context of the Welsh language in general. Dorian (1994) describes the difference between purism and compromise when it comes to endangered languages and comes to the conclusion that compromise is the best method for ensuring the survival of the language. A similar distinction is the one made by O'Rourke (2015) between authenticity and anonymity, and how these two approaches may affect the continuing usage of a language. Furthermore, in order to speak of these two languages, it is necessary to determine whether they are minority, community or heritage languages: Dunbar (2006) makes a case for calling them minority languages. Boon (2011), on the other hand, considers that Welsh, at the very least, should be classified as a heritage language, due to its speakers acquiring the language as children, but not acquiring it fully.

Dunbar (2006) not only classifies these languages as minority languages, he also justifies that they should be legislated for, on the basis of linguistic diversity. Something similar happens for Clots-Figueras & Masella (2013), who highlight the importance of language as a marker of national and individual identity, especially for minorities. The need to legislate for these endangered languages has led to the involvement of the government in some cases, as in Wales, where the Welsh Government (2020) regularly publishes reports on the state of the language, including an analysis of the factors that lead people to speak Welsh, whether they be religion, gender, social class, or region where they live.

This is not the only case in which the government has impacted on the revitalization of Welsh: as Edwards, Tanner & Carlin (2011) explain, the conservative Welsh government in the 80's and 90's resulted in legislation that helped further the cause of revitalization of this tongue. In addition to this, Dunbar (2016) introduces the concept

of territoriality to the discussion, in order to account for the differing language legislation in Ireland according to the region that one refers to. Mac Giolla Chríost (2012) expands upon the ways in which the Welsh language has pushed Wales into the field of international relations, framed by revitalisation efforts in favour of it. Stolz (2009) proposes a new term for the political side of this discussion: *least cost*, referring to politics within civic nationalism that will ensure that the interests of minority language speakers are respected without creating linguistic homogeneity. Apart from the importance of politics for the revitalization of community languages, economic perspectives are just as important, for this process is inscribed in a political and economic context. Manning (2004) explains how in the 19<sup>th</sup> century the ideal Welsh speaker was conflated with a specific type of worker that was capitalism-oriented, creating a link between economy and language. Suarez (2005) compares Ireland, Puerto Rico, and Singapore in relation to how their economic policies, centred on foreign investments, impact on their language policies and the presence of English within the country: in the case of Ireland, the relationship is more moderate than for the other two, due to Irish being in the process of being revitalised. On the other hand, the Welsh Government (2014) analysed how bilingualism has and may yet impact the economic development of the country.

In this political, economic, and socio-linguistic context, several methods for revitalization appear. Among them, formal education stands as the most important one. However, this method is not enough on its own, and must be complemented by others such as cultural movements –literature, music, and festivals-, religion, mass media–television, radio, and the press-, and informal education.

As regards education, general notions of bilingualism must be indicated before describing the particular situations in Ireland and Wales, from Irish-medium and Welsh-medium schools to the presence of the languages at different schooling levels. Wiley, Garcia, Danzig & Stigler (2014), along with Clots-Figueras & Masella (2013), and Tollefson & Tsui (2014) point out the significance of language in connection to diversity –Wiley et al. –, equity –Tollefson & Tsui – and identity – Clots-Figueras & Masella –, and use this as justification for the inclusion of minority languages within the educational system, as part of language policies.

As regards these language policies, Wiley & Garcia (2016) differentiate between types of language policies and planning, giving a detailed account of the various types and actors involved in the process. Brief comparisons with the situations in other

European countries are included, regarding the aforementioned languages in the introductory paragraph: Reljić, Ferring & Martin (2015) carry out, after defining bilingualism and bilingual programs, a meta-analysis of the general effectiveness of bilingual programs in Europe, coming to the conclusion that they are, indeed, effective and exalting the cognitive benefits of bilingualism; Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams (2014) contribute the influence of other socio-economic factors to the discussion of the cognitive benefits of bilingualism; Gorter & Cenoz (2011) compare Basque to Frisian, and point out the difficulties faced by community languages, including but not limited to a lack of teaching materials and even properly trained teachers; Van Morgan (2006) connects bilingualism to nationalist sentiments in the cases of Galicia and Wales. Conrick (2009) compares the situation in Ireland to the situation in Canada. Finally, in connection to bilingualism and models, Kandler, Unger & Steele (2010) discusses two divergent models where endangered languages can be placed according to whether a stage of stable bilingualism has been reached or not.

In spite of including brief mentions of similar situations regarding revitalisation occurring in other countries, the focus of this thesis will be on Irish and Welsh, as stated previously. This is due to an attempt to limit the study methodologically seeing that these two languages are both progressing in their revitalisation at a faster rate than other languages in countries near Ireland and Wales, such as Scottish Gaelic; they share a common history of British linguistic and cultural domination; they have both been upstaged by English; they both have their main speaking communities within the United Kingdom; and they are both Celtic languages, meaning that they share the same linguistic roots. Furthermore, the process of revitalisation in both Ireland and Wales has followed similar lines, particularly in the last decades, with formal education and television playing a key role.

For the description of the situation in Ireland, the thesis resorts to the following authors: Sutherland (2000) for her general comments on the effectiveness of educational programs, both in Ireland and in Wales; O'Donoghue & Harford (2012) for their account of the relevance of the Catholic religion in the advent of education in Ireland, particularly education in Irish, and their rejection of the Limond thesis that gives more agency to the British crown than they believe is due; Dörflinger (2015), who studies the attitudes towards the language and its formal learning within County Donegal, a part of the Gaeltacht, the supposed stronghold of the language in Ireland, that presents varying levels

of language development; Slomanson (2012) who, like Dörflinger (2015), delves into how the attitudes of Irish-speaking communities and parents have affected the survival of the language, especially when these attitudes have been tied to ideas of guilt, shame or trauma. Dunbar (2016), whose analysis of territoriality has been mentioned above, for his explanation of why the Gaeltacht – the Irish-speaking centre of the country – is so protected by legislation when it comes to language policies, including educational ones.

Regarding the interaction between Irish and other subjects, O'Donoghue & Ni Ríordáin (2009) are cited due to their focus on the connection between the Irish language and proficiency in Maths, demonstrating that the language's uses can and should be extended to a variety of disciplines. These authors also consider the difference between those who attend an Irish-medium school – a school where Irish is the main language of instruction – since their entry into the educational system, from those who access this type of education when they are older. Evans (2007) presents a similar study for Welsh-speaking students as regards mathematical evaluations and linguistic elements that are part of Maths, considering how different classroom environments and preparation have affected the results achieved by the students: from language elements in Welsh that seem to be easier to understand than the English equivalent, to more focus being placed on linguistic components of mathematical problems inside the Welsh classroom.

A more detailed study of the differences between early and late-comers into immersion is developed by Ó Muircheartaigh & Hickey (2008). The analysis of education in Irish in Ireland is not limited to primary and secondary school, however: Walsh (2014) gives an in-depth description of the process of creation of the National University of Ireland, and Blake (2003) reveals the lack of concrete support for Irish education at post-secondary level, praising the work of extension centres who complement the university's work. Finally, a brief comparison with the situation in Northern Ireland is made, based on Ó Riagáin (2007), taking into account that Northern Ireland is still within England's power, and does not enjoy its own constitution where Irish is pronounced the national, official language of the country, as is the case with Ireland.

As regards Wales and its educational system, the following authors are considered, some of them, like Sutherland (2000), Van Morgan (2006) or Boon (2011), appearing beforehand in connection to other sides of the analysis: as mentioned before, the reports from the Welsh Government give insight on the need for a bilingual Wales, and on the different motives that lead to people speaking the language, one of which is

the level of education acquired; Boon (2011), after defining what a heritage language is, focuses on the need to recognise heritage speakers and their strengths in relation to other types of monolingual or bilingual speakers for educational purposes, for their acquisition process may vary.

Van Morgan (2006) attributes the revitalization of the Welsh language during the 21<sup>st</sup> century to the rise of Welsh-medium schools that are positively valued, both for their quality and for the intellectual advantage of speaking Welsh. Furthermore, they point out that Welsh is now a compulsory subject at primary and secondary level education, supporting the hypothesis that formal education is an effective method for revitalization. Mann (2007), on the other hand, makes a point of the connection –already mentioned by other authors – between language, education and civic identity, supporting the case for education in languages spoken by minorities. Finally, Williams (2014) proposes that among the methods necessary to revitalise Welsh, bilingual education is one of the most important ones.

Ó Muirheartaigh & Hickey (2008), along with O'Donoghue & Ni Ríordáin (2009) are utilised to illustrate the effect that age of entry into immersion schools can have on young speakers, and on how long bilingual education should be maintained. A study carried out by McEwan-Fujita (2010) on adult Scottish Gaelic speakers also supports the continuation of formal education post-secondary school, taking into consideration some of the factors that plight adult learners, including affect –or anxiety – , a lack of willingness to engage from native speakers, and lack of confidence in their linguistic abilities. The conclusions from her study may be extrapolated to fit the context of Irish and Welsh, as Scottish Gaelic is also a Celtic language in revitalization within the UK.

To bring it to the national level, the closest comparison that Argentina possesses is that of indigenous languages, of which there are several in the territory, that have been disenfranchised by the use of Spanish as the principal language within the country. For this reason, some authors will be consulted in connection with what is called Educación Intercultural Bilingüe or EIB (Bilingual Intercultural Education), an educational process that tries to incorporate speakers of indigenous languages and/or members of indigenous communities. Cannizzaro (2017), Fernandez Castañon (2015), Hetch (2016), Hetch (2020), Lucas (2008), and Martinez Grau (2019) have all done research and discussed the different problems that indigenous populations face in Argentina, both as regards their



language, but also as regards their culture and identity itself, as they have been victims of strong discriminatory practices, which not only affects their living conditions directly, but is also an relevant factor when discussing the revitalisation of indigenous languages in Argentina.

As mentioned above, formal education is an effective method, but must be complemented by others, such as informal language and intergenerational transmission. Williams (2014) mentions community usage as one of them. This term may be associated to intergenerational transmission, which for Fishman is a key determinant of a powerful and healthy language, or to informal education. Dörflinger (2015) introduces Fishman to explain the importance of intergenerational transmission, which is coherent within the frame of his study, where he analyses attitudes towards the Irish language, coming to several conclusions about the usage of the language in the home and its transmission from one generation to the other. Another author who mentions Fishman for similar purposes, in order to reinstate the relevance of community, everyday use, is Watson (1996), whose analysis will also be taken as point of reference when discussing Irish television.

Within this spectrum, placenames, or toponyms, may appear relevant, for the historical and local value they carry: Kostanski (2014) gives an overview on the topic of how placenames can represent hegemonic stories between the dominant language and the one who is dominated over; Coupland (2012) specifies the matter as regards Welsh, focusing on different displays of bilingualism, one of which is a placename that is sometimes used for tourist purposes.

Another example of bilingualism on display in everyday conversations comes from Wolf (2009), who examines the use of bilingualism in jokes during the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Ireland, showcasing how bilingualism may be maintained through something as typical as a joke. Walker (2010) is another author who highlights the importance of community language usage, but specifically in the case of immigrants who intend to learn the language but do not receive sufficient support from the native community in doing so – and sometimes have difficulties of their own making learning the language. Her study is similar in scope and conclusions to the one that Mc-Ewan Fujita (2010) did in Scotland, and is a relevant justification for community use and educational extension.

Other methods for revitalization, as stated above, are mass media, cultural movements, and religion. As for the last one, Marfany (2005) opposes religion as an

effective method, dismissing its influence in spite of authors like O'Donoghue & Harford (2012), Dörflinger (2015), De Barra (2014), and Ó Riagáin (2007) supporting the Catholic Church as one of the main proponents in the revitalization of Irish.

The Welsh case presents an interesting characteristic, exemplified mainly by Chance (2009) and Mulligan (2016), the latter of which has already been mentioned, who link Welsh legend and myth with its revitalization. Considering that legend and myth may be considered variations of religion, or at least systems of belief, it should be noted that in the case of Welsh, the mythology connected to the language seems to bear great importance. It seems to provide a form of support for intellectual and linguistic superiority against the English, as the Welsh canon is presented as older than the English one, and with connections to mythical figures. For instance, Fulton (2012) discusses the main elements of the Welsh medieval canon in order to explain how they all tried to fulfil the purpose of showing that the Welsh had nothing to be ashamed of when compared with the English. Coward (2016) is another author who refers to the 18<sup>th</sup> century, this time focusing on possible origin myths for the Welsh that became part of the national consciousness and gave legitimacy to the population.

This is also the case when this issue is regarded from a literary point of view. Literature is one of the cultural movements that most help revitalize a language, usually through a 'literary revival'. The last two authors mentioned, coupled with Prescott (2006) support the value not only of myth, but also of Bards, another mainly Welsh figure belonging to the past that seem to have acquired an almost mythical status.

Ó Conchubhair (2005) analyses Irish novels after it became an independent state in 1922, dividing it into two periods: one where the narratives were mostly national, and forcibly so, and another where a counter-narrative was born, not so restricted by nationalist aims. Brewster (2009) makes explicit the dichotomies that have governed Irish society from the twelfth century onwards. In connection to Irish poetry, Jarniewicz & McDonagh (2009) examine it from 1990 to 2009, and most importantly, discuss the presence –or sometimes absence – of translation from Irish into English. Titley (2005) also contributes to this discussion on translation and Irish, but extends far past poetry. Marfany (2004), again, opposes literary revivals as an effective method for revitalization, but seems to be in the minority, and Johnston (2019) puts forwards biographies as a particular literary genre that can represent the power of a language through its inclusion of key historical figures.

Finally, apart from novels, poetry, myth and biographies, De Barra (2014) traces the influence from Welsh into Irish in the creation of festivals meant to promote literary and musical production in Welsh and Irish. This phenomenon, De Barra (2014) states, began with the Eisteddfod of the Welsh, and was then adopted by the Irish, but with poorer results due to a lack of literary production, for the Irish tried to copy the Welsh model without understanding what had made it work, which was mainly that the revitalization of the language was not limited to only literature or music, or the festival. Speaking of music, Aubrey (2008) is consulted for a brief comment on anthologies of Celtic language music, which is another part of the cultural baggage that the languages contain.

Furthermore, literary endeavours also extend to other fields or genres: O'Sullivan (2020) analyses the impact of Irish-language children's literature in the context of revitalisation, taking into consideration market perspectives, translation, and developmental implications. Martin (2007) studies the presence, or sometimes absence, of dramatic productions in Irish, and Harris (1995) does something similar for female Irish-language writers, tracing their absence and presence – often times unintentional – from the literary discussion for the language. Rosenstock (2012), himself a bilingual writer, summarises the literary history of the Irish language, reaching the present where bilingualism is an important factor, a similar conclusion to the one Glyn reaches in a newspaper article published by *The Guardian* in 2016. Glyn is also a bilingual writer, but for Welsh and English.

Both Welsh and Irish literature can be framed within a post-colonial perspective, meaning literature from former colonies, particularly when the linguistic medium is either of the minority languages. Mullaney (2010) and Onwuemene (1999) are quoted in this respect, discussing what language this literature should be written in. As regards language used for literature, Gilmartin (2004) delves into three figures – Synge, Hyde and Gregory – who were passionate about the Irish language and used an Anglo-Irish dialect for literary purposes, at the same time as they supported the linguistic revival that was trying to be effected during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Last but not least, another method analysed in this thesis, as support for formal education, are mass media communications. Hourigan (2007) develops the history of how specific television channels were created in Ireland and Wales to contain content in its autochthonous languages, after a series of protests, and how these channels have faced

difficulties in creating content that correctly portrays the reality of the speakers of these community languages. Watson (1996) only centres himself on Irish television and describes this as a complementary medium for communication in the language and as something necessary for the survival of the language during times when the television rules.

Another author who concentrates on Irish television is Goan (2007), who gives a first-person account of his role in the beginning stages of TG4, the Irish television channel that was born out of the RTE, the radio broadcasting service in the country. Lysaght (2011) concentrates on the 2011 political debate that was broadcasted by TG4 in Irish, the reactions it received, and how it impacted attitudes towards the language when it was used in the context of a political debate for a major election.

James (2018) is referenced for his perusal of a television interview with Rhian Madamrygbi Davies as an instance of scripted bilingualism. Continuing the trend of connecting Hebrew and Welsh, Jordan (2014)'s remarks on the inclusion of Jews in British television is considered as another point of reference. Finally, in the field of journalism, Steele (2006) and Uí Chollatáin (2010) study this media sector from two different point of view: the former from that of the poetics of the news; the latter from the points of view of the historical development of Irish journalism.

The following thesis will be composed of three chapters. The first one is going to introduce important sociolinguistic notions, including a definition of community language, to further the understanding of this discipline which will be the main framework for the study. Furthermore, this chapter will analyse the impact of economic and political structures on revitalization, the importance of social attitudes as regards language revitalisation, and the history of the decline of Irish and Welsh.

Secondly, the following chapter will focus on the role of formal education in language revitalisation. After a general introduction to the topic, with reference to the experiences of other countries and languages such as the ones mentioned in the first paragraph of this introduction- Galego, Basque, or Frisian- the specific situations that have taken place in connection to Welsh and Irish will be explained. An enquiry into how long the formal education process should be extended in order to encourage revitalisation will be made. A final section in this chapter will delve into the educational situation in Argentina as regards indigenous languages.

Lastly, the final chapter will take into consideration other areas that have contributed to Irish and Welsh being revitalised, as complements to the formal education method. Cultural movements will be described first, with a particular focus on literature, then attention will be paid to religion, followed by media, where the spotlight will be on television; the last section of the chapter shall concentrate on community and informal language use, which affects the intergenerational transmission of a language, a fundamental element in ensuring its survival.

## Chapter 1: Minority Languages: Celtic Languages

### 1. Why are Celtic Languages Minority Languages?

In order to analyse the revitalisation of Celtic languages, some sociolinguistic definitions must be provided first. Among them, of special relevance is the distinction between community and minority languages. Both have been used to refer to Irish and Welsh, although the latter is generally the one most commonly used in the literature. However, the purpose of this section is to make a case for the use of minority language as the appropriate term, based on Dunbar (2006)'s definition of this classification. Furthermore, an addendum will be made as regards the use of the term 'heritage language' for Welsh.

Firstly, Dunbar (2006) categorises Celtic languages, including Welsh and Irish, as indigenous or autochthonous, which makes reference to these being the original, for lack of a better word, languages belonging to the territories that currently represent their biggest demographic: the United Kingdom. English should not be considered an indigenous or autochthonous language in the same manner than the Celtic languages are. Other Celtic languages that can be classified as indigenous include Gaelic, Cornish, Manx or Scots, but as explained in the introduction, the focus of this thesis will be on Welsh and Irish.

Secondly, Dunbar (2006) quotes the European Charter for Regional and Minority languages, in its first article, in order to provide a definition of what a regional or minority language, which would be "(...) languages that are traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population and that are different from the official language(s) of the state" (194). Dialects of the official state languages and languages spoken by migrants are not included within this definition.

According to this definition, both Welsh and Irish would be minority languages, because they are spoken by a smaller population than the totality of the country; in the case of Welsh, it is different from the official language of the state, but in the case of Irish, which is one of the official state languages according to the constitution of the Republic of Ireland, the other condition ie. number of speakers is still in place.

Thirdly, as regards heritage Welsh, the definition given by Boon (2011) refers to Americans, and comes from Draper and Hicks (2000), but its constituents may still be applied to Welsh:

Someone who has had exposure to a non-English language outside the formal education system. It most often refers to someone with a home background in the language, but may refer to anyone who has had in-depth exposure to another language. Other terms used to describe this population include 'native speaker', 'bilingual' and 'home background'. (41).

The characteristics mentioned here can easily fit into the definition of certain Welsh and even Irish speakers: those who partially acquired the language (which is not English) outside of the formal education system, meaning that they acquired it at home, through direct exposure. For the sake of convenience, the term 'heritage' speakers will be preferred over 'native speaker' or 'bilingual', whose meanings differ from that of a 'heritage speaker'.

To conclude, except for certain exceptions such as the analysis of Welsh as a heritage language, both Irish and Welsh will be referred to as minority languages, in accordance with the definition from the Languages Charter referenced in Dunbar (2006).

## **2. A Brief History of the Decline of Celtic Languages**

Welsh and Irish were once spoken by almost the entirety of the population of their respective countries, but over time, that place came to be occupied by English, and these two languages were relegated to a secondary and disadvantaged position. According to Sutherland, something that happened to Welsh was that it was connected to political subversion and dismissed as belonging to intellectually inferior sectors of the population. In addition to this, English became economically and socially beneficial in comparison to Welsh and Irish, which also furthered the decline of these languages.

In the case of Irish, the nineteenth century proved to be the most complicated as regards the survival of the language. As Wolf (2009) explains, after the Act of Union (1800), bilingualism became the norm in many Irish-speaking communities. Furthermore, "While it is estimated that in the first decades of the nineteenth century between one-third and one-half of all Irish-speakers knew only the Irish language, census records indicate that by 1851 only 21 percent were monoglots and by 1901 fewer than 4 percent were." (Wolf, 2009, 51). This meant that English had gained a considerable amount of power,

and that Irish monoglots were slowly but surely disappearing. Something similar happened to Welsh, which resulted in only 19% of the current population of Wales speaking Welsh, according to the 2011 U.K census, which would amount to 1.77 million. According to Dörflinger (2015), this represented an increase of 7.1% from the Census of 2006, but in reality, “(...) not even 80000 people use Irish on a daily basis outside of the education system. (...) 30.9 percent of all Irish students aged ten to nineteen years admitted that they could not speak Irish at all.” (Dörflinger, 2015, 88).

As for Wales, James (2011) states that English began to be used in the country to the detriment of the indigenous Welsh language with the Norman invasion of the 11<sup>th</sup> century, followed by migration from England in the 12<sup>th</sup> century, until certain areas of South and North Wales had been linguistically affected by the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Then, the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542 that annexed Wales to England made the situation worse, but the final nail in the coffin came in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, when industrialisation migration, economic problems, the First World War and attempts to homogenise the language in education resulted in a sharp decline from 54.5% in 1891 to 20.8% of the population in 2001.

However, another area of the decline may be explored, and that is, especially in the case of Welsh, how the decline was portrayed. For instance, Prescott (2006) claims that, while the general consensus assumes that Wales happily welcomed Anglicization during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, what happened in reality was that there was strong Welsh resistance as regards Welsh culture and language against the advance of English dominion.

Prescott (2006) goes on to state that as a result of the English efforts to construct an Anglo-centric narrative of Britishness, Scots, Welsh and Irish people tried to counteract these effects by placing more value on literary traditions of their own: in particular, they focused on Bardic nationalism, which put emphasis on the importance of the past, the traditions and the history of these countries.

This is something very similar to what occurred with the 16<sup>th</sup> century Welsh chronicle *Cronici o wech oesoedd* (“Chronicle of the Six Ages [of the World]”) written by Elis Gruffydd, who, according to Mulligan (2016), created a clear link between the poetic prophet Taliesin and the Judeo-Christian figure of Moses. This reformation or reinterpretation of the past through literature would serve as the basis for a specific



narrative of the Welsh language decline, where said language and its associated culture were victims of a process of dominion enacted by the English in the same manner in which the Jews were oppressed and then liberated by Moses. If the parallels are taken into consideration, Gruffydd's account would suppose a prophecy of the revival of Welsh language and culture, written and presented at a time when both of these indicators of Welshness were being eroded and alienated by Tudor's England.

### 3. What is a Linguistic Community?

As this is a thesis that is framed within the field of Socio-linguistics, a definition of linguistic community should be provided. According to the 1989 Labovian definition of a speech community,

The speech community has been defined as an aggregate of speakers who share a set of norms for the interpretation of language, as reflected in their treatment of linguistic variables: patterns of social stratification, style shifting, and subjective evaluations. This orderly heterogeneity normally rests on a uniform structural base: the underlying phrase structure, the grammatical categories, the inventory of phonemes, and the distribution of that inventory in the lexicon. (Mougeon & Nadasdi, 1998, 41)

However, researchers have found that this is not always the case, including in the context of minority languages. The following section will discuss a new definition of linguistic or speech community as presented by Mougeon & Nadasdi (1998), and will also include certain concrete examples of linguistic varieties in the Welsh context, to exemplify why the definition of speech community should be updated.

Firstly, Mufwene (2004) highlights the role of individual speakers in the processes of life and death of languages, particularly as a result of their selection and competence, based on what language is more beneficial, socio-economically speaking. For Mufwene (2004), languages could be studied as species that exist within a particular ecology, the way living creatures do: within that ecology, several factors that constrain their survival come into play, and speakers' personal will is one of them. Furthermore, Mufwene (2004) presents a series of sociolinguistic theoretical assumptions that are relevant when analysing the definition of linguistic community:

1. Languages are internally variable (between dialects and between idiolects)
2. Languages do not evolve uniformly

3. Languages may thrive in one ecology (socio-economic conditions, speakers) and not in another.
4. Language features may change several times. (203).

Taking this into consideration, it would seem clear that speech communities may present great degrees of variation, especially if individual speakers and their idiolects are taken into account. Regardless, it is not only idiolects that present variation, but also dialects, which can be either social or regional. In the case of Welsh, for instance, there is, as has been mentioned above, a group of Heritage speakers who partially acquired the language when they were young, but who present certain grammatical and morphological issues that separate them from other native Welsh speakers. Their variety of Welsh, although atrophied, should still be acknowledged, as will be developed in the second chapter.

Moreover, as James (2011) explains, there is an essentialist or homogenised discourse around Welsh, spread around the country, which does not acknowledge what happens in real life, with real speakers, where there exist several variations such as northern and southern Welsh, standard literary Welsh or colloquial spoken Welsh.

All of these sociolinguistic variations are integrated with the discontinuous patterns that Mougeon & Nadasdi (1998) have found in minority language populations. They encountered that certain subgroups of minority language communities that do not use their indigenous language very frequently due to not having had many opportunities to acquire the most complex aspects of the language, or because they show “(...) intersystemic convergence” (Mougeon & Nadasdi, 1998, 43), where two different linguistic systems interact.

In spite of these convergences, there is not a lot of research on discontinuities within minority language speech communities related to social limitations, such as class. What has been studied is, for instance, interindividual differences, as the ones that Dorian (1981) – referenced by Mougeon & Nadasdi (1998) – found among speakers of Scottish Gaelic, but which cannot be attributed to the level of proficiency or age of the speakers. According to Mougeon & Nadasdi (1998), Dorian calls these interindividual variations, personal-pattern variation.

Mougeon & Nadasdi (1998), because of these sociolinguistic discontinuities, consider that the definition of speech community that Labov proposed has to be revised in order to accommodate them, especially in the context of minority languages. Updating this definition would mean acknowledging and allowing for speakers of these minority language communities to sometimes deviate from the norm, and to accept that speakers will not necessarily share the linguistic rules and constraints –whether external (stylistic or social) and/or internal- that further limit these rules.

#### **4. Purism and Compromise: Impact on Linguistic Revitalisation**

Two other important concepts as regard linguistic revitalisation are purism and compromise. Both were presented by Dorian (1994), and they refer to the two possible reactions that language revitalisers may take as regards the language. On the one hand, they may decide to keep the language as pure as possible, using the language set forth in textbooks and grammar books as the ideal representative of how speakers should use the language, without considering sociolinguistic variations. On the other hand, the technique used could be that of compromise where the language that is taught is not conscripted and limited to the rules written in a grammar book, but is capable of compromising with the dialectal variations present in the communities that speak these languages. The conclusion that Dorian (1994) reaches is that, to fulfil the objective of language revitalisation, compromise is needed.

A similar distinction is that drawn between authenticity and anonymity, as presented by O'Rourke (2015). The former refers to a speech variety that is localised, and limited to a specific population where speaking the language is a staple of their social and geographical identity: generally, these spaces are economically backwards, and do not seem willing to enter modern economic developments, but the language would be more authentic, because it is spoken by these marginalised groups. As O'Rourke (2015) points out "The ideology of authenticity as Woolard (2008:304) points out, locates the value of a language in its relationship to a particular community" (64).

In contrast to this, anonymity refers to how a language may come from no specific place, because as Woolard (2008), cited by O'Rourke (2015), describes language in terms of anonymity is "(...) a neutral, objective object of expression, equally available to all users (...)" (65). This means that the value associated with the language is not limited to belonging to a certain community, but it is defined by the potential economic value it may have. This view of language, where it does not define national, social or cultural identity,

can be considered as the basis for language standardisation, a key feature for the inclusion of minority languages within the formal education system. However, as O'Rourke (2015) remarks, if it were not for the cultural value placed on the language by members of communities that could be deemed genuine, then it may have never reached the formal education stage. Consequently, the conclusion that O'Rourke (2015) reaches is that these two views of language could be placed within a continuum, instead of two opposite extremes.

To conclude, anonymity, with its obsession for standardisation could be equalled to purism, but the relationship between authenticity and compromise is not so clear. This is reflected in the conclusions reached by both authors: while Dorian (1994) chooses compromise as the better alternative, O'Rourke (2015) prefers to place authenticity and anonymity at both side of a spectrum of possible constructions of language that can further revitalisation aims.

##### 5. Influence of Social Attitudes towards the Language

An interesting concept that is introduced by Dörflinger (2015) is that of social attitudes, which for him constitutes a key element in revitalisation processes. Dörflinger (2015) considers that social attitudes towards minority languages, such as Irish, should be positive, on the part of both native speakers and prospective learners, and that the attitudes that people develop towards languages are shaped by a variety of factors, among which the home stands as a crucial one. By conducting research on the attitudes that people from County Donegal, in Ireland, have towards Irish, he came to the conclusion that children develop positive attitudes, such as thinking it useful, and being willing to use it, towards the language when they come into contact with it outside of the school setting: otherwise, if their only approach to the language is through education, their attitudes towards it were generally negative: they did not want to do any extracurricular activities in Irish, they would prefer to have subjects in English, and they find learning Irish to be useless.

Slomanson (2012) titled a paper "The Great Silence ..." in reference to a pamphlet written by Seán de Freine published in 1960, which is itself a term for the lack of debate about and research into the consequences – at least, in the field of historiography – of the language shift that occurred in Ireland from Irish to English.

There were three ways in which the shift was described. The first consisted of a short address, such as “(...) the strongly Irish-speaking areas were the hardest hit by the Great Famine, and this precipitated great demographic loss for the Irish language (...)” (Slomanson, 2012, 99). The second one was to describe the events ideologically and without much historical precision. The third strategy consisted of ignoring the issue because it did not have many social repercussions. Slomanson (2012) considers that the language shift over the 19<sup>th</sup> century took place as a result of a combination of factors: the Great Famine left the Irish traumatised and willing to reject their culture – including their language – in addition to finding Irish to be useless and being stigmatised for speaking the language.

Slomanson (2012) claims that schools suppressed the use of the language and as they marginalised it, it became useless as regards politics, economy and social context. This was then assimilated by communities and parents, who performed self-repression when interacting. According to him, acquiring Irish in English medium schools can be made difficult if repression and, most importantly, guilt (the idea that children should speak the language because it is part of their ancestry in some way) are brought into it.

Ó hlfearnáin, cited by Slomanson (2012) found that in West Múscraí (Irish-speaking) in Cork, parents retained the minority language from their kids, which resulted in language skills being diminished at school. Parents in general did this because they wanted their children to be bilingual and felt that English was not being taught properly. English-speaking children faced a similar issue from the other side of the spectrum. Slomanson (2012) is in favour of bilingualism and deems it necessary to make the Irish language appealing to younger people, and popular culture is a great tool for that. At the time of writing, Slomanson (2012) considered that Irish was heading this way, and keeping the language solely within school was not sufficient.

## **6. Why Should We Legislate in Favour of Minority Languages?**

Dunbar (2006) presents four reasons why minority languages should be legislated in favour of. Among them, we can include both languages belonging to immigrant populations and autochthonous languages, such as Irish and Welsh, which are also in need of legislation that will protect them. Such legislation must, according to Dunbar (2006), be constructed around the principles of non-discrimination, cultural diversity, access, and substantive equality. The following paragraphs will be devoted to explaining these four axes.

In the first place, non-discrimination refers to the necessity to put in place measures that will prevent the discrimination of ethnic or national minorities based on their language. Although in some cases the extent of the discrimination suffered by ethnic minorities is due to the minority language they speak, Britain has legislation in place to fight against such behaviour. For example, they are part of the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) whose article 14 refers to how the rights included within the Convention should protect everyone, regardless of language. Furthermore, the Human Rights Act of 1998 places this under domestic law as regards public authorities.

However, not all legislative measures will fully protect speakers of minority languages. For instance, the Race Relations Act (RRA) of 1976 states that discrimination based on race in training, education, employment, services, goods provision, etc is not permitted. But the grounds for discrimination refer to ethnicity, colour, nationality, and not language necessarily, because although it is an important category when defining an ethnic group, it is not a defining one.

This was exemplified by the case *Gwynedd County Council v. Jones*, which established that speakers of Welsh, meaning speakers of autochthonous minority languages were not considered as ethnic minorities, and as such, were not protected by the Race Relations Act 1976. What the appellants claimed was that they had been discriminated against because they were refused employment on the grounds that they did not speak Welsh, but the ruling made clear that differences in language were not enough to signify different ethnic groups, at least not under the meaning provided by the RRA. Dunbar (2006) deems it necessary for this language distinction to be taken under consideration when it comes to the RRA, in order to contemplate the cases of speakers of autochthonous minority languages such as Irish or Welsh.

Secondly, cultural diversity has been one of the main justifications for the creation of legislative acts that support the preservation of cultural and linguistic diversity in Europe. These include, among others, the Framework Convention, the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages, and the Draft Constitution of the European Union that states in article 1-3(3) “(...) that the EU shall respect Europe's 'rich cultural and linguistic diversity' and shall ensure that Europe's cultural heritage is 'safeguarded and enhanced’” (Dunbar, 2006, 194). The Framework Convention contains a preamble that presents cultural diversity and pluralism as relevant values. The same occurs in the preamble to the Languages Charter.

Although these measures did not automatically ask for the creation of the Welsh act, which was nonetheless created, they did demand that states should provide language services to speakers of minority languages, and that includes Welsh and Irish. Nonetheless, when the United Kingdom ratified the Languages Charter, it established Irish (in Northern Ireland) and Welsh (in Wales) as minority languages – or regional languages – which then connects with the third part of the Languages Charter that concentrates on minority languages in the domains of the media, the economy, education, civil service and authorities, culture and the law.

Thirdly, access is connected to the impossibility some speakers face to access services or have a proper entrance into the political, social and economic life of the country because they do not speak the majority language, which certainly leads to a reduced number of opportunities for them. Unfortunately, international law has not made a lot of progress on this front, and neither has British domestic law. An example of the law trying to increase participation of linguistic minorities can be found in the Council of Europe's Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities, where the fifteenth article “(...) provides that states create conditions necessary for the effective participation of persons belonging to national minorities in cultural, social, and economic life, in public affairs, particularly those concerning them.” (Dunbar, 2006, 187).

Lastly, substantive equality attempts to ensure that the cultural and linguistic identity of minorities is considered with the same respect as that of majorities. The cultural and linguistic identity that is assumed has effects on the life opportunities that person has and, moreover, it has been the case in linguistic minorities that they have been forced to abandon their original language, and consequently, certain aspects of their culture in order to conform to the needs of the majority language. This occurred because the majority was indifferent to their culture and linguistic identity, and as a result, they suffered the loss of language services, mass-media presence and educational opportunities. Only by supporting the provision of these services, can the survival of minorities' cultural identities be moderately guaranteed, as happened with the Welsh act, for example, that tried to countermeasure the decline in linguistic and cultural presence the Welsh suffered and is “(...) consistent with the promotion of this difference-aware equality” (Dunbar, 2006, 191).

In a similar vein to Dunbar (2006), Wiley et al. (2014), when discussing the rights of people to their native language, describe an approach to minority languages where they

should be promoted in order for their speakers to develop a “(...) positive identification with their languages and cultures” (Wiley et al., 2014, VIII). This type of minority languages rights protection was represented in a resolution from the UNESCO, according to which children possess the right to gain literacy in their mother tongue.

If the focus is placed on the rights of minority languages in education, Wiley et al. (2014) refer to Joel Springs (2000), who made a proposal in relation to the topic – language rights in education – that concentrated on the relevance of language and cultural rights. Moreover, he defended the rights of people to have an education provided in their language where the teaching methods used are fitting for their cultural standards; he stood for “(...) an education that teaches the following:

1. An understanding of their own culture and their relation to it
2. Their mother tongue
3. The dominant or official language of the country
4. An understanding of the effect of the world culture and economy on their own culture and economy” (Wiley et al., 2014, VIII).

These four points can be easily applied to the situation of Welsh and Irish, languages that are tied to national and cultural identities that potential speakers should have a right to acquire, meaning children with family members who speak it, and in the specific case of the Republic of Ireland, anyone could be applicable considering that Irish is the first official language of the country. However, at the same time, they also have the right to learn the dominant, or majority, language of their countries, which would be English, because it is going to allow them to participate in the economic insertion not only of their own nations, but also of the world in general.

The importance of identity in minority language settings is echoed by Masella & Clots-Figueras (2013), who also establish a connection between linguistic and cultural identity, which impacts on the national identity of individuals, because the language learnt at school may result in certain political and economic preferences due to the fact that the identity of the students is affected: school would come here to act together with the family as regards cultural transmission. In addition to this, if bilingual education is made compulsory then this could have implications for the economic outcomes, because it would change the degree of integration to the country experienced by minorities.



## 7. Role of Political and Economic Structures in Language Revitalisation

Even though language revitalisation is studied from a socio-linguistic perspective with a strong emphasis on its cultural implications, language is also inscribed within political and economic structures. This is not only the case for majority languages, but also for minority ones, where they depend on governmental action taken in their favour, and where they may be dismissed as having no economic value. The following section will explain certain instances where economic and political goals have impacted on the use of Welsh and Irish.

In the first place, as regards economy, as Manning (2004) describes, during the 18th century there was a confluence in liberal thought between the ideal Welsh speaker and the slate-quarrier, a specific type of manual labourer. One form of production was valued over the others in order to present an idealised version of Welsh speakers that was willing to enter into modernity –and by extension, into capitalism– while at the same time showing values of respectability.

To give a more current example, Suarez (2005) describes the process through which Irish entered a careful balance with English as a result of the desire of officials to attract foreign capital and investors, which would require to have a labour force that spoke English, which caused the teaching of Irish to be moderate rather than high as in, for example, Chinese is in Singapore. Fortunately, the value placed on Irish, although not as high as English, is still higher than that placed on Spanish in Puerto Rico.

Additionally, the Welsh Government published a response to the Welsh Language and Economic Development Report in 2014 which “(...) recognises the synergy between nurturing economic growth, the provision of jobs, the creation of wealth, and the well-being of the Welsh language (...)” (Preface). Furthermore, as an example of the importance of bilingualism when it comes to economic development, they state in their first recommendation that Welsh and bilingualism should be used as a marketing tool to attract local customers and to strengthen some brands, because it is a method that has worked in other global settings.

As concerns the political side of the discussion, Stilz (2009) introduces the notion of a least cost model, after differentiating between liberal culturalism and civic nationalism. The former considers that language and culture should be placed along national lines, and that one specific national language or culture should predominate over

others; civic nationalism, on the other hand, regards this policy as unfair, and would rather that language not be associated with nationality in such a manner. What Stiliz (2009) adds to the discussion is a practical application of the principles presented by civic nationalists, by proposing a model of layered multiculturalism, or as mentioned before, least cost model. This means that minority languages, as long as they have a considerable aggregate base of supporters, should be encouraged and protected alongside majority languages, because while a common language should be established, it should be to the least cost to the other language interests of citizens, i.e. without dismissing minority languages and creating language homogenisation.

Finally, some specific cases should be explored in order to make clearer the role of political structures within language revitalisation. One case, discussed in Edwards et al. (2011), is connected to the involvement of the Welsh Government in policies of language revitalisation during the decade of the 1990's. During this time, pressure from Welsh civil society, quangos, and public opinion, in addition to certain European trends, made it difficult for the Conservative Government and Party to ignore the plight of minorities, and in particular, Welsh language minority, even if Thatcher considered legislation to be useless when it came to revitalising a language. However, not all government officials supported this view, especially when it did not benefit their political goals and when the lack of compromise could mean the loss of moderate opinion. Among this climate of criss-crossed political intentions, the Welsh Language Act of 1993 was passed, which demonstrated "(...) the impact of Welsh civil society, (...) it also displayed the continuing role of more traditional elements in policy formation" (Edwards et al., 2011, 550).

Another specific case, on the other hand, concerns Irish. Dunbar (2016), citing Patten and Kymlicka (2003), draws a distinction between the 'personality principle' and the 'territorial principle'. According to the former, citizens will enjoy the same language rights regardless of their spatial position in the country, whereas the second maintains that the language rights of citizens may vary according to specific conditions at the local level. One such region in Ireland where language rights may vary is the Gaeltacht, which has come to represent the stronghold of Irish speakers and, at one point, a certain nostalgic idealised version of Irishness. However, this legislative variation is not a sure thing because as Irish is one of the national languages of the Republic, there is also a strong need to avoid such territoriality.

In connection with this issue of territoriality, Dunbar (2016) discusses in depth the application of such legislative measures as the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (FCNM) and the aforementioned European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) to the specific situation in the UK and in the Republic of Ireland. The ECRML, firstly, defines regional or minority languages as those “(...) used traditionally within a given territory of a State (...)” (Dunbar, 2016, 460) by a reduced number of citizens in relation to the total population of the state, and which differs from the official languages of the state. This definition is then complimented in an explanatory report by the concept of territoriality, because these languages tend to remain contained within a specific territory, which is “(...) where a regional or minority language is spoken to a significant extent, even if only by a minority (...) corresponds to its historical base (...)” (Dunbar, 2016, 460).

As regards the FCNM, the provisions they list also apply to specific geographical areas that are inhabited either by a considerable population of minorities, or by minorities that traditionally belong there. Among these provisions, article 14 refers to the provision of minority language education, for example. Something similar as regards the provisions is the case with the ECRML, where article 8, paragraph 1 stands for the provision of “(...) minority language education at the pre-school, primary, secondary and tertiary levels (...)” (Dunbar, 2016, 461) but this provision is limited to the territories where the minority languages are spoken, which means that the territory principle is still in place. The same occurs in article 11, paragraph 1, which relates to “(...) minority language radio and television broadcasting, audio and audio-visual production and distribution, and print media (...)” (Dunbar, 2016, 461).

Both of these international law documents have been ratified by the UK, who has also established the territory of its Celtic languages, subsequently defining the areas where it was legally obliged to its speakers: these territories are Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. On the other hand, the Republic of Ireland has not ratified the ECRML, but it complied with the ratification of the FCNM. According to Dunbar (2016), the reason why it did not ratify the ECRML is seemingly that the definition of regional or minority language quoted above would not be compatible with the status of Irish as a national language given by the Irish Constitution.

In connection with the document they did ratify, Dunbar (2016) explains, the Irish government made a state report where they commented mostly on Irish in the Gaeltacht.

In the report, this area was presented as one with a minister who was in charge of preserving Irish as a vernacular language, and of promoting the welfare –social, economic and cultural- of the Gaeltacht. As regards the promotion of the language, the minister's task is not limited to the Gaeltacht, but they are actually meant to design schemes to foster the language in all the country. This would mean that the territory principle, at least in this context, does not apply.

A final specific situation is the role of Welsh, a minority language, in its country's – Wales – international relations. Mac Giolla Chríost (2012) explains that in a 1997 referendum, Wales voted for devolution, which then implied that the Welsh language would fall under the National Assembly of Wales (NAfW) as established in the 1998 Government of Wales Act, something that was then developed in the 2006 one. This became even more explicit when the Welsh Language Legislative Competence Order was passed in 2009, which meant that the National Assembly of Wales could "(...) introduce primary legislation with regard to the Welsh language." (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2012, 15). Thanks to this legislative power of decision, the National Assembly of Wales has been able to pass the Welsh Language Measure of 2011 and create the Welsh Language Commissioner, a public office that could be of influence.

Mac Giolla Chríost (2012) asserts that The National Assembly of Wales does not have competence in international relations, as that is still reserved for the UK parliament, but through the Welsh language, the Welsh government and the National Assembly of Wales, can participate in this field, as in the British-Irish Council, the UK-China human rights dialogue and the Wales-Argentina program.

The first one has been active since 1999. Its establishment occurred thanks to the Belfast Agreement of 1998 that had calmed the situation in Northern Ireland. It connects the UK Government with several devolved UK administrations. The purpose of the British-Irish Council is to instil peaceful working relationships between a series of administrations, including devolved Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales, the Republic of Ireland, the UK Government, and UK Crown dependencies.

In addition to this aim, the British-Irish Council also seeks to protect minority, indigenous and languages that are not frequently used, focusing on "(...) language transmission within the family, adult education provision, and information and communication technologies (ICT)." (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2012, 16-17). The British-Irish

Council allows the Welsh government to project its country in a positive light internationally, and is part of the more successful Welsh language revitalisation campaign, when compared with the situation of Irish and Scottish Gaelic. The situation in Ireland has already been described, but in Northern Ireland, Mac Giolla Chríost remarks that the revitalisation process of the language had so far been "(...) politically divisive" (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2012, 17).

The UK-China human rights dialogue has featured the Welsh language as one of its main points, especially in connection with the "(...) growth of the language in the statutory education sector, driven both by parental demand for Welsh-medium education and by UK government and NAFW policy drivers." (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2012, 19). A meeting held in 2011 then used the UK educational policy for the Welsh language as an example of good policies for minority languages within the educational system. Furthermore, Mac Giolla Chríost (2012) describes how the integration of Welsh in education through government policy is considered to be a relevant factor in the revitalisation of the language within Welsh society.

Thirdly, the Wales-Argentina Program which centers on the Welsh-speaking immigrants who settled in Patagonia, the southern region of Argentina, and created "(...) a Welsh language community which, in contrast to Wales itself, would be safe from the increasingly pervasive influence of the English language." (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2012, 18). When the National Assembly of Wales was established, it made use of this region in Argentina in order to place Wales on the global map. What the Welsh government does in this territory is quite simple: in conjunction with the British Council and the Wales Argentina Society, it enables Argentinian people to visit Wales in order to attend and learn from what teachers do in Welsh language lessons for adults, and in schools where the medium of instruction is Welsh. Moreover, it also acts as support for Welsh language teachers that work in Patagonia.

Mac Giolla Chríost (2012) also makes note of the Menter Patagonia, which is an organisation that finds its basis and point of origin in a community, and whose aim is to plan activities involving the Welsh language, but within informal situations. According to Mac Giolla Chríost (2012), the British Embassy set in Buenos Aires calls attention to this project, which has its own equivalent in Wales. Both the Welsh and the Argentinian version of these community centers will be described by Williams (2014) in Chapter 3.

## Chapter 2: Methods for Revitalisation: Formal Bilingual Education

### 1. Notions about Bilingualism in Revitalisation Contexts

In the current context where multilingualism is a reality in several countries, due to globalization, immigration and other related processes, a question that arises is whether this multilingualism is reflected in socio-political structures, such as government policies, educational systems, or employment. Of particular importance to this thesis is the role of bilingualism, as one multilingual practice, in the context of languages that are fighting to be revitalised. This chapter shall focus on bilingual formal education in Ireland, Northern Ireland, Wales and Argentina as one possible effective method for the revitalisation of Celtic languages – and indigenous languages in the case of Argentina – whose situation has been explained in the previous chapter. After all, as Gorter & Cenoz (2011) claim “Efforts to revive minority languages usually begin with a focus on education” (655). Before detailing the bilingual education policy in Ireland and Wales, however, general notions about bilingualism should be developed.

These notions can be grouped around a series of axes: the concept of identity, both individual and social, and the role language plays in its construction; the connection between language and nationalist movements; the different types of language policies that governments may implement in order to diversify the educational offer at hand; the cognitive benefits of bilingualism; and the specific advantages that bilingualism can bring about as regards the revitalisation of community languages.

In the first place, Reljic et al. (2015) cite Garcia to define what a bilingual program is:

use the language as a *medium of instruction*; that is, bilingual education programs teach content through an additional language other than the children's home language" and provide "*meaningful and equitable education*, as well as an education that builds tolerance towards other linguistic and cultural groups. (Garcia, 2009, p. 6) (94)

Secondly, as Van Morgan (2006) states, “Language (...) permits communication and promotes personal ties. (...) language acts as a kind of ‘cultural codebook’, encapsulating and conveying a wealth of social customs, shared norms and traditions particular to a community or group.” (454) Van Morgan (2006) goes on to describe the importance of language to the construction of a national shared identity, and the manner in which language can be a marker of ethnicity, as is the case for Welsh and Irish speakers. Speakers of the former who were interviewed for this research paper position speaking

the language as the main feature of their 'Welshness', giving a clear example of how language, even when it is not a majority language, may serve to construct identity. The same article presents evidence that something similar occurs in the case of Galego, in Galicia.

Furthermore, Clots-Figueras & Masella (2013) provide similar evidence to account for the link between language, identity, and national identification in the case of Catalan. Both Galego and Catalan are examples of minority languages struggling to survive against a dominant language (Spanish, in their case), in a European country, as are Welsh and Irish.

As a result of this link between language and identity, the relevance of bilingualism and revitalisation becomes clear, as the former helps the other, and in doing so, constructs identity. Clots-Figueras & Masella (2013) make use of the Akerlof and Kranton framework in order to describe two different mechanisms through which education –bilingual, in particular- can affect individual identity. On the one hand, bilingual education may make it easier to learn the minority language, resulting in children being more willing to use it, because they can conform to its norms with less effort. On the other hand, associating the language to schooling may raise the status of the minority language in the eyes of the children, which as a consequence would mean that they would feel more comfortable speaking it. If more children are willing to use it, especially those whose home language is not the minority language, the chances of revitalisation are greater.

On the other hand, and considering the perspective of speakers of the non-dominant language, Kandler et al. (2010) discuss the idea that one language can have more or less status than another, and that said status may change over time is one which has also had an impact on the growth of bilingualism within the UK as regards Celtic languages. In relation to the status of Irish, for instance, Conrick (2009) affirms that Ireland presents differences with other countries going through a situation of bilingualism: in comparison with Canada, Ireland has only recently begun to become a multicultural nation, and their language policies are not the same either: even though Irish is being revitalised, it still does not have the same status as English, because it "(...) is not the language most commonly used for official or non-official purposes." (Conrick, 2009, 25), although it is the first official language as regards the country's Constitution.

Something similar is explained by Kandler et al. (2010), where the shift that has occurred between Welsh and English, and Irish and English, has responded not to the quality or beauty of the languages themselves, but to the economic, political, and social benefits associated with them, and those associated with English. In a context where English is the *Lingua Franca*, and as such is used by people whose first languages are different from each other's and not English either, because it is the language with the most power in academic, cultural and economic contexts, speakers of Celtic languages may find it more beneficial to be bilingual. This is explored by Kandler et al. (2010). They define 'language shift' as "(...) the process whereby members of a community in which more than one language is spoken abandon their original vernacular language in favour of another." (3855).

In the same article, the authors provide descriptions of two models of language shift. The first one, called the basic model, means the extinction of one monolingual population: without a transitional stage of bilingualism, the language to become extinct would be that with the lesser status (in the case of Welsh v. English, the former would be the loser). However, if the stage of bilingualism occurs, there is a possibility that the non-dominant language would survive, provided that the speakers of this language had a numerical advantage and therewith forced the hand of the speakers of the more distinguished language, who would have no choice but to become bilingual.

The other model, called the diglossia model, is one where a state is reached, characterised by "(...) stable societal bilingualism, by creating or preserving essential social domains (...) in which the endangered language is the preferred or only acceptable medium of communication." (Kandler et al., 2010, 3858). This is the case of what has taken place in Wales, for example, where the language has enjoyed a process of revitalisation over the last 40 years, handled by official authorities and policies in conjunction with local and popular initiatives that has resulted in stable bilingualism being the norm for the country. As Kandler et al. (2010) explain, different sociolinguistic domains, one of which include the educational system, were changed in such a manner that speaking Welsh was advantageous.

These initiatives are contained within the concept of language planning and policy. The first term is defined from the perspective of several authors by Wiley & Garcia (2016), but the one that will be chosen for this thesis is the following, put forward by Cooper in 1989, as cited by Wiley & Garcia (2016), where planning is said "(...) to



influence the behavior of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes.” (Wiley & Garcia, 2016, 49). Another important distinction as regards terminology that is made by Wiley & Garcia (2016) is that between corpus and status planning: the first refers to the selection and codification of the norms of the language, whereas the latter refers to the choices towards alternative languages, with implications for the use of varied languages in socio-political domains.

Within language planning, a specific type is that of language ‘acquisition planning’, a key concept for educational practices, which “(...) involves the formulation of policies that guide practice on a large scale, including the determination of which languages will be used as media for instruction.” (Wiley & Garcia, 2016, 50). All the policies may be carried out by different actors: official organisations, private ones, prescriptive linguists, or those involved in the community at the grassroots level. Finally, in between its definitions and classifications, Wiley & Garcia (2016) define the type of policy corresponding to the case of Wales, called translanguaging, according to which the heteroglossic (more than one language is involved) language practices of bilingual people are taken into account when developing educational language policies.

Another account of the necessity of language planning comes from Wiley et al. (2014), who point out that in the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption scale, “A total of 71% of the world's languages fall in this range (from Developing to Threatened) [my parenthesis]. (...). It is precisely in these mutable states that policies and programs can have the greatest impact (...)” (xiv).

As mentioned above, discussion about bilingual practices is not limited to its importance to the development of identity, or the policies that bring it about, but also to its potential effects, both as regards cognitive abilities and equity in access to education. Regarding the latter, Tollefson & Tsui (2014) consider that instruction in the mother tongue of language minorities can signify a more equal access to educational services, as is the case in Wales, which is one of the examples that the aforementioned authors offer. And in connection to the former point, the revitalisation of Irish and Welsh implies a situation of bilingualism because these two Celtic languages would need to coexist with English, and that bilingualism is purported to cause some cognitive advantages, including, according to Reljic et al. (2015): working memory, metalinguistic awareness, metacognitive awareness, attentional control, abstract representational skills, and problem solving.

Fromkin et al. (2014) seem to have a slightly different consideration in regards to the cognitive consequences of bilingualism. They clarify that research into the topic at one time used to be influenced by the social and political situation at the time and had some methodological issues. Nowadays, what research has found is that bilingual people – particularly children – have a greater metalinguistic awareness, meaning that they are consciously aware about language, and are able to speak the suitable language according to the context; they perform better than monolinguals in specific types of problem-solving tasks, for instance, in sorting games when the rules are altered without warning, they adapt more easily. However, Fromkin et al. (2014) also point out that when children are shown to perform better academically, sometimes what needs to be taken into account in these cases is that other extralinguistic factors also play a role in this result, such as the prestige assigned to the two languages spoken by the children, the educational context, the economic or social status of the child's community, or the enthusiasm that the parents have in their children learning them in the first place.

Not everything is positive, however, seeing that bilingual programs, especially in revitalisation contexts, face several challenges. Some of the obstacles pointed out by Gorter & Cenoz (2011) in connection to the Basque Country and Friesland are the lack of qualified teachers and proper learning materials in the minority language, lack of a strong tradition as an academic language, difficulty to acquire specialised training in order to teach the minority language or through said language, new communication technologies, globalisation, and tourism.

## **2. Education in Ireland: Role of the Church**

Within the Irish education system, primary and secondary-school students may choose between attending an Irish medium school, or an English one. However, the availability of options between these two mediums of instruction varies between the Gaeltacht (Irish speaking area) and the non-Irish-speaking areas of the country. In the former, the language spoken by the majority of the community is Irish, even if at present the strength of the language in the area is not what it once was. Regardless, the presence of Irish is extended through the Gaeltacht in a way that differs from the rest of the country, seeing that this area is the stronghold of the language in the Republic. That being said, the rest of the country also offers school options where Irish is the medium of instruction, having English as a separate subject.

When discussing the topic of bilingual education, or monolingual education in Irish in the Republic Ireland, some of the following factors ought to be taken into consideration: the development of Irish medium education in the country, from primary to university level; the legislation that supports it; the attitudes towards the use of the language in educational settings, and the comparison with how the same sector of society functions in Northern Ireland. As has been stated in the previous chapter, the Republic of Ireland recognises Irish as its national language in the Constitution, setting it apart from how the language is viewed in Northern Ireland, still under British domain.

Firstly, as regards the development of the Irish education from the moment of Independence in 1922 when the Free Irish State was born, O'Donoghue & Harford (2012) contest the Limond thesis in order to trace back the initial moments of this development. The two of them acknowledge the powerful influence exerted by the Catholic Church in this process, as well as contesting Limond and stating that the British educational system was not the only one that impacted on the Irish one, dismissing the idea that Limond puts forward where Ireland, even post-Independence, maintains a post-colonial perspective heavily controlled by British ideals of education.

The relationship between education and Catholicism in Ireland is an important one, which is also supported by Dörflinger (2015). From the point of view of O'Donoghue & Harford (2012), the main influence of the officials of the Catholic Church occurred in the previous century, particularly in the forty years after the separation from the British crown. According to them, after the creation of Irish Free State, the Catholic Church was content with its power over school curricula, both at primary and secondary level, coupled with the appointment of teachers, managers and principals in secondary schools, and with its role in revitalising the Irish language, and remained that way until 1937 when the government wanted to intensify the revival process, which could lead to a decline in the use of English and Latin, both of which were key to the religious life that officials in the Church safeguarded. The protests which came from the Catholic Church meant that the innovations that the government proposed never came to happen.

As for the lack of influence of British educational ideals, O'Donoghue & Harford (2012) note that the curricula in Ireland differed from that of its former colonisers. The Irish curricula not only placed said language in a position of power and insisted on its use as medium of instruction, but it also reinforced the teaching of certain subjects –like Geography or History- so as to foster a more pronounced national identity. Another

difference between Ireland and Britain was the power of the Church: to quote O'Donoghue & Harford (2012), "What is central to understanding Irish education at the time, as has already been emphasised, is that Catholic schools, both primary and secondary, constituted the great majority of schools in the country." (342).

Another area of education where the influence of the Church can be seen is in the origins of the National University of Ireland. This University still exists today, and is one possible – formal – path for the continuation of Irish-language learning after primary and secondary school. The Catholic Church supported it because its authorities wanted, as Walsh (2014) reveals, a university whose character was Catholic, as well as Irish, reflecting the nationalist sentiment that pervaded societal structures at the time when the National University came to be, in 1908. According to Walsh (2014), Eoin Macneill, an Irish Gaelic revivalist and Irish scholar and politician, considered that "(...) the new university should not be another English institution in Ireland such as he regarded Trinity College, but should be Irish in ethos and tone." (Walsh, 2014, 319).

Patrick Pearse, another nationalist and scholar, agreed with this view, and even went so far as to ask for compulsory Irish at the National University, in an attempt to push the rest of the educational system to teach Irish so that students could then access higher education. This proposal, however, was not well received by all, even those within the language revival movement. Walsh (2014) states that something similar was the case as regards the idea that Pearse had for the University in general, as some believed that the intellectual should not overshadow the economic benefits of university education. Regardless of opposition to the implementation of compulsory Irish, in 1910 the Senate of the National University of Ireland proclaimed that Irish would be compulsory for entrance, from 1913 onwards, a requirement that remains to this day.

Walsh (2014) limits himself to describing the historical process that established this University, but Blake (2003) reflects on the function and effectiveness of the University in present times, explaining that in spite of the ideals that were supposed to be part of this institution, the reality is that the government, in spite of funding universities in the country, has not helped Irish-speaking people in the Gaeltacht the way it claimed it would, including as regards their university education. As a result of this neglect and dismissal of Irish-language education, the National University of Ireland, Galway –one of the constituent universities of the federal National University- has set out to provide courses in Irish at postsecondary level in Carna, Gaoth, Galway and Ceathrú Rua. Blake

(2003) describes how centres have been established to grant courses on information technology, tourism, computer skills, computer software, and in Irish, among other subjects, to post-secondary school students. All of these measures are the effect of the lack of proper governmental action as regards higher education for Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht.

The neglect surrounding higher education has trickled down to other areas: Blake (2003) points out the almost non-existence of science texts in Irish, or the existence of teachers willing and capable of teaching through the medium of Irish at primary and secondary-level. Furthermore, Blake (2003) explains how a proposal required that businesses write bilingual or Irish annual reports, which would not be read, instead of asking for certificates, training manuals, applications, or textbooks either in Irish or in Irish and English. This demonstrates the absence of understanding from the government towards the Irish-speaking stronghold of the country.

Regarding the legislation in favour of Irish language education, Dunbar (2016) mentions the Government of Ireland's 20-year strategy for the Irish language, which covers the period from 2010 up to 2030, and which proposes measures for education in the Gaeltacht.

As for the social attitudes towards the use of Irish in education, Dörflinger (2015) conducted an investigation into the attitudes that schoolchildren had in connection to the Irish language in County Donegal, which is part of the Gaeltacht, a region that the Gaeltacht Commission has divided into three sectors (A, B, C) depending on the percentage of Irish speakers, with C being the weakest. Some of the questions were centred on the utilisation of the language within school bounds, and in those, the results were that those children who do not speak Irish outside of school are not interested in extra-curricular activities in the language, and would prefer subjects to be taught in English. Moreover, 23% of the respondents "(...) consider learning Irish to be a waste of time." (Dörflinger, 2015, 105). In spite of this, a majority of the respondents see Irish as useful to speak about modern topics, and they "(...) state that their Irish made great progress since they started going to school." (Dörflinger, 2015, 105).

The final statement is coherent with what Dörflinger (2015) claims at another point in his research, which is that school is, for many children, the first instance where they come into contact with the language. Sometimes this occurs because the children

have no parents or grandparents who speak the language, and other times it is because their relatives speak it, but sparingly in front or with them. Similarly, school is a source of Irish language learning for those children who live in the C areas and, as such, do not enjoy great use of the language in community settings: in those, teachers and local priests are the biggest interlocutors with whom they can communicate in Irish, once again proving the relevance not only of education, but also of religion in the revival of the Irish Gaelic language.

Ní Ríordáin & O'Donoghue (2009) are two other authors who refer to attitudes towards the Irish language in education. Their research has centred on the relationship between language and the solving of mathematical problems, but in their introduction, they acknowledge that there are parents outside of the Gaeltacht who are willing to send their children to Irish-medium schools because they recognise the importance of the language. In addition to this, their research is relevant because it allows Irish language to gain importance outside of the realm of linguistics or humanism, and to showcase that it can also be used in connection to other disciplines, such as Mathematics, in the same manner as English might be used. Ní Ríordáin & O'Donoghue (2009) found that

Gaeilgeoiri's performance on mathematical word problems is related to their linguistic proficiencies in both languages. For primary-level Gaeilgeoiri in the transition to English-medium second-level mathematics education, Gaeilge language proficiency (the language of learning) was found to be of more significance than proficiency in English. Also at this transition, Gaeilgeoiri's performance on the English version of the mathematics test was highly correlated with their performance on the Gaeilge version of the test. (56).

This finding reflects what Cummins puts forward in his Developmental Interdependence Hypothesis (1979): which is that the level of proficiency a student has in their first language is directly proportional to abilities they will possess in a second language, which means "(...) that the greater the level of academic language proficiency in a student's first language, the stronger the transfer of skills across to the new language of instruction" (Ní Ríordáin & O'Donoghue, 2009, 56). In this particular case it signifies that children proficient in Irish were able to transfer their abilities in Maths to their use of the English language, and as so, had a good test performance.

Lastly, Ó Muirheartaigh & Hickey (2008) studied the anxiety felt by students who arrived later to immersion schooling, and the attitudes they and their parents had

towards the language. Immersion education, available at preschool, primary and secondary school levels, is a school where all subjects are taught in Irish, apart from English as a subject at primary level, and then a foreign language in secondary school. Although most enter into immersion schooling at preschool or primary school age, some do it when they start secondary school, at ages 11/12: the first case would be early immersion, while the latter would be late immersion.

Entering this type of schooling so late in the game leads children to feel anxious about communicating in their second language, Irish, which may impact their learning. Ó Muirheartaigh & Hickey (2008) cite Singleton (2001) to explain that late arrivals usually interact with other late arrivals, leading to a lack of interaction with earlier arrivals. Moreover, early immersion students have gained confidence in their language skills by the end of primary school, and feel less or no anxiety about speaking in Irish; late arrivals, on the contrary, will compare themselves with their peers and feel too anxious to participate actively in class and to use the language outside of school.

This does not mean that late immersion students are not capable of acquiring the language properly, as there is evidence that, by using the literacy skills and learning strategies they gathered in their first language, they can come close to the level of the early immersion students. This finding is presented by Ó Muirheartaigh & Hickey (2008), using Johnstone (2002) as support.

Finally, in connection to Northern Ireland, two important agreements ought to be explained as regards this country's language policy: the Good Friday Agreement, and the St. Andrews one. The former, as Ó Riagáin (2007) describes, promises to comply with the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, established in 1992, and already described in chapter 1. Among the objectives that should be accomplished, Ó Riagáin (2007) states, is the facilitation of the language in the private and public spheres, according to the existing demand. Similarly, the St. Andrews agreement aims to encourage the creation of a language act like the ones in the Republic of Ireland and Wales, which would mean further protection for the Irish language in a country that is still under British rule.

Interestingly, Ó Riagáin (2007) establishes a strong connection between Irish and education, and Irish and religion- Catholicism, to be specific-, explaining that those who have had access to higher education tend to describe themselves as speakers of Irish. In

addition to this, Catholics also claim to speak Irish, and a strong majority are interested in the language being taught at school, particularly in primary school, contrary to what Protestants want.

However, Ó Riagáin (2007) recognises that there is a considerable minority of Catholics who is not interested in an active language policy, and that there is also a minority of Protestants who are in favour of the language being revitalised through the medium of education, so perhaps the lines between the two religious groups are not so clear-cut. In designing potential language educational policies for Northern Ireland, Ó Riagáin (2007) claims, the actors in charge of this should not only take regional distribution into account, but also community and home usage and parental attitudes towards the language.

Sutherland (2000) contributes to the discussion of Northern Ireland her finding that Catholic secondary schools are one of the main sites of teaching and learning of the language, again reinforcing the connection between education, religion and revitalisation. Furthermore, she adds that this process has not been easy due to a lack of textbooks – similar to what was described previously for the Basque country and Friesland- and dialectal differences. Another finding that she proposes is that the teaching of Irish at the start of the century was not that well established in primary schools, but that there still existed some guidelines for Irish-medium schools, emerging from the Department of Education in 1990.

To conclude, it is clear that religion bears a strong influence on Irish-medium education, and has done so since the beginning. In spite of difficulties and lack of governmental support, tertiary Irish education seems to be striving for improvement, and the situation in Northern Ireland, despite its differences, does look similar in some ways to the one in the Republic of Ireland.

### **3. Education in Wales**

As regards bilingual education in Wales, the same applies as for Irish: there are some schools where English is the medium of instruction, and there are others where Welsh is the medium of instruction. In order to deepen the understanding of this topic, some elements have to be taken into account: the development of Welsh-medium education, focusing on parental, religious and governmental support; the legislation behind the rise of Welsh-medium education; its strengths and weakness; the presence of



Heritage Welsh speakers and their relevance inside the classroom; the impact of language learning on civic identification; and the incorporation of immigrants into this language community, with all the difficulties that it entails, especially in the case of adult learners.

Among the different domains that are key for Welsh language revitalisation, Williams (2014) makes special emphasis on education. He traces the development of Welsh-medium education in Wales, signalling the period of 1948-1988 as a key one when the foundations of the current system were laid. However, along with its strengths, this system is also plagued by several problems that have carried over to the 21<sup>st</sup> century, which will be explained later.

Firstly, Williams (2014) positions parental choice as an important factor in the development of Welsh education, particularly in its beginning stages. For example, in the period between 1948 and 1972, “(...) the growth in the number of Welsh-medium schools offered an opt-in choice for parents in some areas who wished their children to pursue a bilingual education.” (Williams, 2014, 249). However, this period did not present any comprehensive systematic approach to the language, which only arose in 1988, when the Education Act established Welsh as one of the four Core Subjects in the National Curriculum for Welsh-medium schools, and a compulsory subject for all other schools for students aged 5 to 16 years, which encompasses the statutory period. Students within this age range, according to Williams (2014), developed varying degrees of fluency, with some approaching a certain measure of bilingual ability; the varying levels of proficiency also constitute a weakness of the educational bilingual system, because catering for all these students can be difficult. Regardless, in spite of the difficulties, Williams (2014) posits this Act, and its effects on the implementation of Welsh-medium education, as one of the causes for the upturn in the number of Welsh speakers that was registered in the 2001 census.

Four strengths of the Welsh educational system in terms of the revitalisation process emerge from the perspective of Williams (2014):

(...) the professional commitment of highly motivated teaching staff, very strong parental support, high academic achievement, and a supportive cultural and community basis to the educational provision that promotes a meaningful and rich school experience and rewards innovation and engagement. (251).

The high academic achievement, unfortunately, may have detrimental effects as well, as Lewis (2010), cited by Williams (2014), explains. Even if a considerable number of students perform well, those who do not are generally encouraged to continue their studies with a stronger focus on English, instead of Welsh, which means that these students may never acquire the level of proficiency in the language that they should have and could have if only they had been given the necessary support. Observed critically, this may lead to a lower number of Welsh speakers in the workplace, and to a lack of bilingual community usage.

Secondly, concerning governmental support, and as regards its projects for the future of Welsh-medium education, Williams (2014) mentions the plans proposed by the Welsh Assembly Government, proposed in 2009, where six main objectives were put forward: to improve provision planning for both pre-statutory (3-5) and statutory (5-16) and for post-14, as well; to contribute to informal use of the language; to train practitioners; to develop language skills and continuity, which as mentioned before, was something that was lacking; and to improve resources –such as textbooks- and qualifications.

Further support for a bilingual education comes from two reports from the Welsh government. In the first one, from 2020, a quantitative analysis carried out by the government has proved the correlation between higher levels of education and apparent proficiency in Welsh, according to what the people surveyed claim. Another document, this time connecting bilingualism to economic development, states among its proposals that

The Group recommends that businesses in receipt of a grant from the Welsh Government should be required to demonstrate an ability to provide a service bilingually. Any signage or other advertising material relating to a grant-aided project should be bilingual. (Welsh Government, 2014, 18).

As can be seen in this quotation, the Welsh Government is concerned by the growth of a bilingual society with the support of economic structures, and workplace involvement, to ensure that the education received in primary, secondary and tertiary level does not remain locked within those spaces.

The parental support that was introduced by Williams (2014) is further supported by Van Morgan (2006), who states that Welsh is now regarded as a staple of intellectual

advantage and the fact that Welsh-medium schools seem to be popular due to their high-quality services, have resulted in an increase in parental support for a stronger Welsh-medium education. In spite of all the improvements described, Van Morgan (2006) contributes another issue to the discussion, which is that some nationalist activists find the development of a bilingual society with Welsh as another language co-existing with English as something negative, for they would prefer linguistic purity. However, as this would require imposing certain limitations in terms of migration, for example, those nationalists who are not in favour of bilingualism remain mostly silent, as concerns language planning and policy.

Thirdly, as regards religious support, Sutherland (2000) makes a point of emphasising the influence of the Church in education, by stating that, coupled with government support, the Sunday School movement in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for example, was used to support the revitalisation of the Welsh language.

Sutherland (2000) also introduces several difficulties suffered by Welsh-medium schools. For instance, some of the problems that she points out are related to the lack of well-prepared teachers who speak Welsh, and to the reluctance showed by school principals to include Welsh teachers in their staff, when, in their opinion, teaching another European modern language would be more efficient; teachers also object to the lack of disposal of free time in primary schools for other academic pursuits as a result of the time spent teaching the Welsh language, or English in Welsh-medium schools, and may not appreciate the differences with the English curricula. Furthermore, in the region of Wales that borders with England, English parents find that making their children learn this minority language is unnecessary and a waste of their effort.

In connection to tertiary education, Sutherland (2000) adds, continuing to learn Welsh is not seen as a benefit, for another language would, again, be more useful and would attract more foreign students. In addition to this, tertiary education in Welsh is not as developed as it is in primary and secondary school.

Sutherland (2000) is not the only one who brings up the decline in Welsh tertiary education. Williams (2014) also comments on this, describing how this decline has been due to the treatment of Welsh as “(...) an add-on feature and not integral to the institute’s remit and mission” (256), which has been countered by the appointment of qualified staff in underdeveloped tertiary fields such as Law, Education, Social Sciences, Health and

Engineering. Williams (2014) points out other obstacles faced when trying to strengthen Welsh language education, including a lack of consistency between what is done between the local authorities and the national government, which showcases the non-existence of a clear project coming from the government, even if several agreements and acts in the last decade have been working towards this aim.

This lack of a holistic approach has also been reflected, as Williams (2014) states, citing Lewis, in the discrepancies between the language of instruction and the language of examination: the former being Welsh in Welsh-medium schools, while the language of examination is English. This serves to demonstrate the lack of structural support for the language, and the inability to generalise the use of Welsh in immersion schools to the rest of society, further exemplified by the lack of language training in the workplace. In addition to this, geographical variation and diversity in models, which again amounts to a lack of consistency, may also count as problems.

Three other authors make important contributions to the analysis of Welsh language education. Mann (2007), for instance, links this type of education with civic identification. He points out that political devolution in Wales has allowed for the possibility of civic identification with Celtic languages, such as Welsh. According to him, Welsh speakers are always bilingual, and that even if they are part of a linguistic minority in comparison with English speakers, they may, at the same time, be considered a linguistic majority as regards other ethnic minorities. Furthermore, speaking the language may act as an incentive to create a civic identification with the place where they live. Mann (2007) also positions education, government and the media as considerable determinants in culturally integrating new members.

Evans (2007), on the other hand, studied the results in pre-testing of materials prepared in Welsh and English in the period of 2000-2002 that were meant for mathematical assessment of 7 year olds. They came to the conclusion that while some Welsh-medium students may have benefited from intrinsic properties of the language that gave them hints in order to solve the problems, it was equally possible that other factors had been at play, including, the pedagogy or materials used, how much of the curriculum was taught within the classroom and how, whether teachers placed a special emphasis on word problems or mathematical vocabulary, thus preparing the students for the testing. Furthermore, it should also be noted that “The emphasis in the list of standardized terminology published by the body responsible for curriculum and assessment in schools

(ACCAC) is on Welsh-medium technical terms and not English ones (ACCAC, 1998)” (Evans, 2007, 158).

Meanwhile, Boon (2011) describes the process that is undergone by Welsh heritage speakers, who started to acquire the language as their mother tongue as children, but never completed the process, because they shifted to English during the critical period of acquisition, which has resulted in them having almost native pronunciation, weak intuitions about the language, and a familiarity with colloquial and dialectal forms, but, at the same time, they also have limited vocabulary, problems with morphology and lexical retrieval while speaking – which may result in slow and short speech- and higher registers. This incomplete acquisition is sometimes accompanied by L1 attrition, meaning that not using the language leads to the atrophying of what was actually acquired. Finally, these speakers are constantly influenced by English, to which they are more vulnerable than average bilinguals, especially considering that, as both Boon (2011) and Mann (2007) maintain, speakers of Welsh are always bilingual, which means that there cannot be any monolingual control for the community language.

The Welsh spoken by these Heritage speakers is generally predictable, and serves as an advantage when they are adults over people who arrive late to the learning of the language as L2 learners, a term reserved for those for whom Welsh is not, and has never been, their mother tongue. As regards education, Boon (2011) states that it is important to identify Welsh Heritage speakers inside the classroom, because they do have some previous knowledge of the language, even if they have vocabulary and grammatical limitations.

Finally, Walker (2010) carried out research with immigrants in North Wales from 1970 to 2010, coming to several important conclusions. For example, she found that “ (...) the most common response was an awareness of the language, support for its development and attempts at learning, but for many reasons this did not always translate into language acquisition.” (Walker, 2010, 298). She also discovered that the migrants were not very familiar with the Celtic culture, and tended to rely on local stereotypes. Furthermore, she learned that several migrants attempted to learn the language, but they faced a few challenges and did not achieve fluency: lack of confidence, lack of insistence, lack of effort, lack of patience and willingness to engage from natives, time limitations, and sometimes the natives would not speak Welsh to them if they knew their mother

tongue was English. The issues with not getting help from natives were not limited to immigrants, as it was something that happened to language learners in general.

On a more positive note, Walker (2010) saw that immigrants were willing to learn the language, because they thought it was polite, even if the language did not belong to them, was not their own, and speaking it also benefited them, for it made them feel like they were part of the community. Finally, many of their children and grandchildren were Welsh speakers because they had learnt it at school, even if the children had been old when they moved. This is owing to “(...) its (Welsh language) prominence in the education system.” (Walker, 2010, 303).

To conclude, Welsh-medium education seems to present a careful balance between its strengths and weaknesses, but its impact on the revitalisation efforts is undeniable. Certain groups within Welsh society ought to be included in future discussions, such as Heritage Welsh speakers and English-speaking immigrants, and the support from the government remains key for the Welsh language situation.

#### **4. Extension of Bilingual Education beyond Young Learners**

In both Irish and Welsh education, there is a stark difference between the number of students attending primary and secondary school, and even more important is the difference between young and adult language learners. A comparison with adult learners of Scottish Gaelic will be described, in order to showcase the similarities between their experiences and those of Irish and Welsh adult learners, described by Mann (2007) and Ó Muirheartaigh & Hickey (2008). Furthermore, the connection between mathematical word problems and language proficiency will be explored once more, in order to introduce some precepts from Cummins, which will then be referenced by Ó Muirheartaigh & Hickey (2008). Finally, some general comments about the situation in Wales will be made.

Firstly, McEwan-Fujita (2010) carried out a research study into the learning patterns and experiences of a group of adult learners in the Western Isles of Scotland, where she found out that the respondents suffered negative affect, meaning negative emotions associated with an unwillingness on the part of the Scottish natives to engage in communication with them, preferring to use English once they noticed that English was their first language. As a result of this ideology, the learning process of these adults

was hindered, except in the cases where they found a guide or adviser who was willing to help them use the language to practice and gain more fluency.

This process is similar to what Mann (2007) explains happens in Wales with adult learners who want to learn the language out of some sense of civic responsibility to the new environment to which they have emigrated. As he illustrates, these learners depend on native Welsh speakers in order to practice their language skills, and in addition to this, he considers that the compulsion to learn Welsh is not as accepted when the purpose of learning is connected to the workplace as it is when the purpose stems from formal educational needs. Moreover, according to Mann (2007), adult language learning in Wales allows English speakers to engage in accommodation that is reciprocal, which means that they also have to accommodate their speech in order to participate in communicative acts with natives, and in this manner, they become part of the civic linguistic belonging in the country, signalling the importance of encouraging adult language learning.

As regards Ní Ríordáin & O'Donoghue (2009), who discuss the importance of mathematical word problems in the context of Irish language revitalisation, it is important to note that they base most of their methodological procedures on Cummins' (1979) distinction between basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP); the latter of those requires a considerable amount of time to develop, perhaps up to 7 years, particularly for a second language, as would be the case for Irish or Welsh. Unfortunately, as these two authors state, the Irish language is more important in the transition from primary to secondary school, where children shift from Irish-medium education to English-medium education, while English has a stronger incidence in the transition from secondary to tertiary education, where the former was Irish-medium, and the latter is English-medium. All of these findings are connected to mathematical abilities, but considering that the type of mathematical exercises that were taken into account were word problems, the significance of language proficiency cannot go understated.

Ó Muircheartaigh & Hickey (2008) also refer to Cummins' (1980) CALP concept in order to emphasize the importance of a stable CALP in students' first language, which would enable older students of a second language (such as Irish or Welsh) to develop said second language's CALP at a faster rate than younger learners. This finding is supported by Harley and Hart (1997), quoted by Ó Muircheartaigh & Hickey (2008), so as to

demonstrate that late immersion students rely on their analytic linguistic abilities whereas early immersion students rely on their memory ability.

More importantly, Cenoz (2003), cited by Ó Muircheartaigh & Hickey (2008), also revealed that “(...) when duration of exposure to a second language is held constant, older learners’ L2 attainment (in this case in English) was better across all performance categories.” (Ó Muircheartaigh & Hickey, 2008, 561). This could be replicated for the cases where Irish or Welsh are learnt as second languages. All of these theoretical findings make clear that continuing language education past primary school is necessary for the development of a second language, as would be the case for new speakers of Welsh and Irish.

Finally, Williams (2014) offers some concrete data as regards succession rates in Wales. He claims that the succession rates from primary to secondary and tertiary Welsh-medium education are poor in some areas, whereas in others like southeast Wales, this is not the case. Moreover,

Designated Welsh-medium secondary schools are to be found both in the predominantly Welsh-speaking areas of west Wales (Carmarthen and Ceredigion) and in the predominantly English-speaking eastern parts of Wales. (Williams, 2014, 251).

Finally, there has been an upturn in the emphasis placed on adult learning in Wales, discussed in Williams (2014) and, more significantly in Mann (2007), who spells out that “In 1993, a system of eight consortia was established in order to service geographical areas across Wales” (214). This was accompanied by weekly classes in schools, educational establishments and village halls.

To conclude, the continuation of language education in Welsh and Irish seems to be important in order to further the aims of revitalisation, because learners will be able to develop their CALP, will engage in accommodation and communication with natives, will be able to satisfy their employment and formal educational needs, and will contribute to the civic belonging of the two countries being analysed.

## **5. Situation in Argentina**

As has already been mentioned, Argentina has its own case where indigenous languages have been left aside in favour of a majority tongue. In this case, there are several languages that have suffered this fate. Martinez Grau (2019) remarks that the situations are very diverse: there are places where bilingualism occurs, others where



indigenous communities speak mostly Spanish, others where the indigenous language is still spoken within the community and the family, and others where the language is not spoken at all. The issue resulting from this is that, as has been explained in the first chapter, language is strongly tied to identity, and within the school, Mariana García Palacios, cited by Martínez Grau (2019), considers that there may be students who are considered to be less indigenous because they do not speak the language.

Cannizzaro (2017) expounds how, in 1884, the state of Argentina passed the law 1.420 (Common Education), where free, primary and compulsory education was promoted across the whole country because they wanted the inhabitants to learn to speak Spanish, as it became the more powerful, majority language in comparison with indigenous languages. However, there were some people, especially teachers, who tried to take note of the different indigenous languages spoken across the country because they thought that they would become extinct shortly. This became a useful tool for the present because it can be used as a source of knowledge.

Nowadays, these languages are in a very difficult position because intergenerational transmission has been lost to a certain extent, so children do not learn the language from a young age. Cannizzaro (2017) states that in order to revitalise these indigenous languages, it is necessary for different groups of people to interact together, from those in the Internet, to those in mass media, to traditional spaces. Having official plans that will make people use the language again is also necessary.

Martínez Grau (2019) also makes a point of putting political and linguistic plans as an important method for revitalisation and for protecting these languages: One of the official plans that was proposed in favour of indigenous people is an educational system called Educación Intercultural Bilingüe (Intercultural Bilingual Education) that is part of the Argentinian National Education Law 26.206 (chapter XI, article 52). This type of educational plan is meant to promote “a mutually enriching dialogue of knowledge and values between indigenous communities and ethnically, linguistically, and culturally different populations, and it promotes the acknowledgement and respect of those differences” (Martínez Grau, 2019, par. 9, my translation).

Furthermore, Martínez Grau (2019), citing Hetch, clarifies that EIB is oriented towards indigenous children that speak the indigenous language but they do not have a lot of contact with Spanish because they live in rural areas, but nowadays we also have

indigenous children who live in urban areas and may have different levels of proficiency in their indigenous language, something that should be taken into account by the legislation.

According to her research, Fernández Castañón (2015) can affirm that there are 13 indigenous languages in Argentina, and 11 of those are placed in the North of the country, and one of the issues that their speakers face, whether they are monolingual or bilingual, is that the indigenous languages and ethnicity may result in their being racially discriminated. That is why Fernández Castañón (2015) encourages actions that will respect their diversity. Fernández Castañón (2015) considers schooling and the education system to be a good space where indigenous languages and their communities can become present and the cultural identity that is connected to them can be accepted within a school system that indigenous communities were not previously a part of. It is key that bilingual teachers create more spaces within the school to foster this acceptance.

Hetch (2016) explains that education, as it tends to do, homogenises people, including as regards their language or socio-linguistic characteristics. The research she carries out tries to implement or offer options for an educational plan that will prepare teachers as they should and create materials that will benefit indigenous populations.

In another text, published in 2020, Hetch claims that EIB's reach is not enough for the entirety of the indigenous population in the country, especially because it is very diverse. In addition to this, indigenous languages are still being lost due to the power of Spanish as a majority language, and EIB tries to encourage equality between different social groups but it is not able to achieve that, because, as Hetch (2020) claims, it faces two challenges: on the one hand, it has to stand for ethnical and linguistic diversity, and on the other, it has to take into consideration the socio-economic issues that indigenous people may face. These issues do not depend on the educational system because they are part of structural poverty and inequality, something that indigenous communities struggle with as regards the possibilities they possess for their life conditions, their culture and their language.

Hetch (2020) describes two educational models that have been at play: one, which mostly occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, where the system was monolingual so the different needs of indigenous people as regards their culture or language were ignored in favour of the majority language, and other bilingual models that were created during a

neoliberal time after 1983 where they covered up the socio-educational and economic deficiencies that these people face.

Furthermore, Hetch (2020) describes how in EIB – a program promoted mainly by indigenous organisations and movements – there are two teachers. One is indigenous and the other is not. The former is supposed to teach the languages and their associated cultures; the latter teaches everything else. Before, the indigenous teacher was chosen by the community because of their wealth of knowledge; nowadays, it is somebody who has been educated by the hegemonic system and they may have different degrees of competence in the indigenous language. In general terms, they are the ones supposed to teach the intercultural knowledge (language, music, art: the contents assigned to the group deemed as other and separate), while the other teacher focuses on the hegemonic content. There is also a difference as regards the type of job they may be accepted for, or the place in the hierarchy. What happens with the teachers is a result of the education they receive, because the non-indigenous teacher does not come into contact with multicultural issues, and they only start to reflect on this when they come into contact with indigenous students at school.

Hetch (2020) goes on to point out other possible flaws in the system. As stated above, EIB was meant for indigenous children, which leaves out immigrants and non-indigenous students that should also be integrated within this educational community because that way the inequalities that indigenous children face will be more criticised, which may help indigenous children in the future when they are not in school any longer. The EIB thinks that the indigenous language ought to be part of the curriculum, but it does not take into account that the writing systems of these languages are of varied standards; the teachers, whether indigenous or not, may not have the proper preparation regarding didactics or linguistics; and that these languages are spoken outside of school to different levels – sometimes it is daily, or sometimes it is connected with identity and that is why it survives – in the latter case, the inclusion of the language is symbolic without proper policy and planning.

At the same time, there is not enough clarity as to whether the indigenous language should be placed in a bilingual method with Spanish, or into a multilingual one; whether Spanish or the indigenous language should be taught as the second language; or whether the indigenous language should be the medium of instruction as it sometimes happens in Irish or Welsh schools. As a result of this lack of clarity, what schools do may also be

unclear or confusing. EIB may transform the language into something exotic, instead of being regarded as a medium of communication, or a medium of transmission for indigenous culture and way of thinking.

Hetch (2020) also remarks that in this context of political, economic and cultural diversity, you need to debate the motive and purpose. Another issue that the EIB faces is that it mostly focuses on the first stage of education, mainly kindergarten and the first two years of primary school, as if it were a special project to solve a particular problem. However, it is supposed to continue to later stages of educational development. There is no continuation into schooling which affects how children value their own culture and language, and how they identify with these ethnic minorities.

Another challenge that EIB faces is that it takes monolingual indigenous speakers that have to learn Spanish to be the rule and the ideal, and ignores the prevalence of Spanish even within indigenous communities.

What Hetch (2020) proposes if you want to create an intercultural model, first it is necessary to study how the language is used within this particular context: is it their first or second language? Do they use it to transmit a certain kind of knowledge? When do they use it? How is it connected with their identity and pragmatics? If not, schools do not care about the cases where they have to teach children a language that is being lost. An important take-away from Hetch's (2020) proposal, which can be applied both to the situation in Argentina, and to Irish and Welsh, is that you cannot take education out of its historical and social context, so the discrimination faced by indigenous people has to be born in mind.

Lucas (2008) deepens the discussion around the pragmatic use of indigenous languages in Argentina by explaining that the reason and the manner in which they are used are key elements in the literacy process: when designing the syllabus, it must be remembered that students may come from social groups where interactions and pragmatics function differently from what the teacher is familiar with, and depend on attitudes, values, manner in which communities conceptualise or transmit knowledge. Furthermore, Lucas (2008) affirms that when productions in indigenous languages are made, whether orally or in written format, these must extend outside of the school setting, so that the language may be used in a variety of contexts.

To conclude, in Argentina the main method of revitalisation and preservation of indigenous languages that are in a similar position to Irish and Welsh is to integrate them into the educational system through the program called Educación Intercultural Bilingüe. However, this tactic faces several challenges, from racial discrimination that extends outside of the school system, to othering of both teachers and students, to extremely varied experiences on the part of the indigenous students as regards language use.

## Chapter 3: Other Methods for Revitalization

### 1. Cultural Movements: Literature, Festivals

Conrick (2009) states that the use of Irish outside of school is not high. This means that complements to bilingual education in revitalization efforts ought to be taken into account as possibilities for usage outside of school. Cultural processes such as literature, translation, legends and festivals constitute an important tool that allow speakers to get in touch with the language outside the school environment. The largest cultural process in question is literature, which has appeared in Irish and Welsh under different circumstances: novels, poetry, and in Welsh's case, mythology and legends. Translation has also affected both languages, whether they were the target or the source language, and festivals like the Eisteddfod and its Irish equivalent, Oireachtas, have become part of the larger picture as spaces where cultural and literary representation takes place.

Firstly, as regards literature, Marfany (2004) posits that within the three phases of revitalization that Miroslav Hroch offers, with Phase A consisting of a literary revival and Phase B of a nationalist effort, the second one usually occurs prior to the literary revival, and even then, one should not speak of a literary revival for a minority language because there is always some literature being written in the language. However, it is clear that different literary moments can be identified in the history of the two minority languages concerned here – from the literacy efforts performed in tandem with the Eisteddfod, to the medieval Welsh canon, to the different types of novels published in Ireland after the independence in 1922. These moments resulted from a series of motivations connected not only to a striving for independence, but also to a desire to preserve Irish and Welsh. This would mean that regardless of whether it came first or second, the relevance of literature or even of 'literary revivals' in a broader sense should not be dismissed.

Concerning the Irish novel, Ó Conchubhair (2005) establishes two different types of novels in Irish after the creation of the Free State in 1922. The first of them was represented by a specific type of novel that supported the ideal Irish speaker, usually an inhabitant of the Gaeltacht, who had a particular lifestyle and oral culture, in order to reinforce Irish language and culture as part of a larger nationalist project. The image presented in these novels had strong links to Catholicism.

The main State publisher at the time, An Gúm, reinforced these type of narratives, and even went so far as to censor the publishing capabilities of novels that contradicted the Free State narrative. Said narrative was nationalistic, upheld a Victorian and Puritan

moral code, ignored the Civil War of 1922-1923, and had as its main themes those “(...) of fractured families, characters of uncertain identity, insecurity about legality, and the social condition of the Irish-speaking districts.” (Ó Conchubhair, 2005, 214). Furthermore, the narrative that An Gúm supported focused on the ‘Irishness’ of native speakers and their physical and moral superiority. The ideal Irish speaker represented in the novels of the Free State narrative are a remnant of one of the dichotomies that dominate Irish culture. As Brewster (2009) claims:

(...) recurrent dynamics of Irish culture and society that have been interwoven since the twelfth century: tradition and modernity, arrival and departure, native and foreign, art and politics, Irish and Anglo-Irish, the Gaelic and English tongues. (16)

As a consequence of this censorship and of the limitations of the narrative, a counter narrative was born which gained traction until it became the complete opposite of the Free State narrative championed by An Gúm. The way in which Irish literature had been represented, as religious, revivalist, rural and meant for nuns and children led to a counter narrative that defined itself in negative terms, as the opposite of the Free State one. Ó Conchubhair (2005) states that, among its subjects, these novels include topics previously repressed, such as homosexuality, drugs, religious and political conspiracy. However, these topics do not scandalise anybody, because the reader they have imagined as a result of the dichotomy of narratives they find themselves in does not exist. The actual readers of these novels are those who share its views.

In the field of the contemporary Irish novel, Ó Conchubhair (2005) also identifies another group, formed by writers who reject the standard language and want to bring Irish into contemporary life in all contexts. For them, going against the grain of the language backed up by the State constitutes a form of rebellion against State control and a way of returning the power over language to the margins. After ‘the battle of the dialects’ that took place in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, what is left now is a series of dialects that are used as a political and cultural marker, as Ó Conchubhair (2005) explains,

The use of dialect, non-standard speech, irregular grammatical forms, hybrid words, newly composed terms, international cognates, and transliteration all signal a rejection of the cultural nationalist passion for cultural purity. If one's language is impure, one's identity is also tainted; if one's language is hybrid, one's identity is multifaceted. (221)

Another point to be made as regards the contemporary novel is that it concentrates on the theme of identity, where being Irish and gay, or Irish and black influences the individual, contrary to the focus placed on the collective during the Free State narrative. In conjunction with this, writers aspire to create the ideal urban Irish novel, an equivalent for the creations made in English, but the problem they face is that writing an urban novel in a language that is not urban posed a challenge that, if fulfilled, would have represented a victory. According to Ó Conchubhair (2005), this challenge does not stand the same value now, when the lines between what is urban and what is rural are more blurred.

In spite of the variety of narratives, Ó Conchubhair (2005) claims that, while the number of publications has increased, the number of readers and of retailers stocking Irish-language fiction have not. This is attributed to, partly, to the difference between the language of the texts and that of pupils from Irish-language immersion schools.

Although the novels analysed by Ó Conchubhair (2005) were written in Irish, translation did not cease to exist, especially considering that the English-speaking market is much larger than the Irish-speaking one. Titley (2005) mentions the considerable number of translations from the Classics into Irish that were done assiduously until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, which were followed, up to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, by translations from the Romantic period from French and English. In addition to this, philosophical, medical, religious and scientific works were also translated until the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Unfortunately, from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards, as the English conquest moved into the territory, the power dynamics were reversed and now literature was not being translated into Irish, but out into English and other languages.

According to Titley (2005), during the Irish revival that preceded the establishment of the Irish Free State in 1922, the consensus was that translating the most important works of literature- *Don Quixote*, *Robinson Crusoe*- into Irish was key. Following the independence, An Gúm began a translation scheme and provided people with Irish-language works, something that was very positive, but that slowly faded away from the late 1930s onwards because the writers and editors it had trained were independent enough to create an Irish-language literature on their own, and consequently, give rise to another surge in translation.

Current translation, apart from the Classics, also includes other works that are not readily available or wanted by the average English reader. These translations are done



from the target language, whatever it may be, without using English as an intermediate. The translation of these rarer works shows a growth from the times when translations were criticised for translating works that were easily available and were translated from English, which meant that not a lot of people read them. As for genres, translation of poetry into English has been the most successful, although it is not done by the poets themselves, while the translation from Irish of novels has been lower, “(...) as the market seems to prefer rural autobiography for its sentimental depiction of rural life and its supposed authenticity.” (Tittley, 2005, 321).

Another point to be made as regards language is that Irish literature was not necessarily always written in Irish. Certain English language writers, who were part of the Irish Renaissance, saw the decline of the Irish language and tried to preserve it by translating poems and myths into an English that was also Irish, a new hybrid dialect which was termed Hiberno-English or Anglo-Irish. Gilmartin (2004) deals with this matter.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, interest in the Irish language was mostly academic as can be seen by the creation of The Royal Irish Academy (1789) and The Gaelic Society (1807). Hyde, first president of the Gaelic League – an organisation meant to revitalise Irish use and usage that was created in 1893 – was a strong defendant of the language, especially against the Irish middle classes that he saw as having given up their language and culture. He, along with other cultural nationalists, like his successors Gregory and Synge, aligned himself with the peasant class that represented authentic Irishness because they had not adopted English customs.

Hyde wrote about the Irish language in Irish, collected Irish poems and stories and published them together with translation in English. These translations were meant by Hyde to help the Irish student. However, his style would become the forerunner of Anglo-Irish, the aforementioned literary dialect. The same was done by Synge and Gregory, the latter of whom was dismissed and the former of which tried, according to Gilmartin (2004), to Europeanise Ireland.

For Hyde, his objective had been one of preservation of the Irish language rather than mediation between Irish and English. But for Synge, who wanted to make a European country out of Ireland, and who was critical of the Gaelic League, translations into the English language, seemingly infused with elements from Irish, was a means to

an end. Gregory, Gilmartin (2004) adds, for her part, collected the poems and stories of Irish poet Anthony Raftery with Hyde, translated into her dialectal English the works of Molière, and she also worked on behalf of the Gaelic League. Neither she nor Synge, despite a strong passion for the language, ever published in Irish, and used the hybrid dialect, something that they claimed they had heard the people use. Their novelty consisted of using this dialect in a literary context.

According to Gilmartin (2004), the use of this hybrid dialect offered a compromise to the linguistic conflict between Irish and English at the same time as it also disrupted linguistic imperialism. It also proves that language is a key element in cultural nationalism's struggle to find an appropriate medium for Ireland's literature, as is the case with a lot of postcolonial literatures. For instance, in the context of what language African writers should use, Onwuemene (1999) cites Mahood in a lecture she gave in 1954 referring to the process where Irish and Welsh writers combined the English language with elements from the aforementioned minority languages. Onwuemene (1999) then gives Hibernian English, used by Synge, as an example. Mullaney (2010) continues in the same vein of thought, questioning what languages post-colonial writers should use, and citing Irish as an example where a colonial language (English) overpowered an autochthonous one (Irish).

As for poetry in Irish, it is a genre that has sometimes been neglected, same as drama, even though it is prevalent. Titley (2005) mentions that poetry was reserved for strong emotions, and was not frequently narrative, something that appeared more in prose. An example of Irish-language narrative poetry presented by Titley (2005) is the Fenian ballads, which tend to be sharp and short and already presuppose a story. Jarniewicz & McDonagh (2009) present translation from Irish into English as a very important factor within Irish poetry. These translations have marked English verse with Irish prosodic features. These authors point out that translations elevated the Irish English dialect to a legitimate and autonomous language. Although poetry in Irish has been written and is, as Jarniewicz & McDonagh (2009) state, "(...) as socially and culturally challenging as its English-language counterparts." (131), it still faces the obstacle presented by translation into English, due to the fact that the readership for Irish is smaller: some poets resist translation while others give into it.

In the case of drama, Martin (2007) explains that the first recorded plays written in Irish are from the nineteenth century and were written by amateurs, even when Ireland

was full of professional writers. Furthermore, he states that many of these amateurs descended from English colonisers who had been one of the factors in the decline of the Irish language. Martin (2007) also describes that

(...) productions in Irish, though often depicting subsistence living on the western shores where Irish still manages to survive, have traditionally played to an urban middle class (in this regard, not unlike most “Irish” plays in English). (82).

The reasons why productions in Irish were not many are varied. For one, if writers and actors met at a venue like a theatre to share ideas, this could be a potential danger to English rule, whether clerical or local. Drama did not flourish in this ‘hidden Ireland’, as Martin (2007) calls it, after the Irish language lost its lustre in the 17<sup>th</sup> century with the advance of English. When this situation changed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, playwrights based themselves on continental European traditions. The purpose of these dramatic creations was not merely aesthetic, they were also crafted by political individuals whose first language was English.

Martin (2007) classifies drama in Irish into three groups which correspond to three historical moments: teachers, who belong to the Celtic revival that reached its peak in the 1890’s; hybrids, who were part of the period where a nation state was being developed, from 1918 to 1960; and finally ‘natives’, who correspond with the entrance of Ireland into a global culture. Martin clarifies, however, that even those who are ‘natives’, or those who are extremely immersed in the language, are not working in a monolingual Irish or Gaelic context, because there are several actors in the process of drama that are bicultural and bilingual.

The same neglect that poetry and drama suffer from also occurs with women writers in Irish and in Welsh – the latter at least applies to the exclusion of Welsh women writers from the medieval canon according to Fulton (2012) – who have been excluded from the canon, but who represent a strong force of creators both of prose and of verse in the language. For instance, Steele (2006) mentions the *Field Day Anthology of Irish Writing*, which includes content in Irish and English but still neglected female writers in its first edition published in 1991. Two extra volumes were published by a group of Irish studies critics who were also feminists where women were included, called the *Field Day Anthology: Irish Women’s Writings and Traditions*. Some women writers, Harris (1995) cites, find certain comparisons between the Irish language and femalehood that attracts

them to a language that is also downtrodden and forgotten or ignored by a sector of the population, but which still managed to survive. For others, Irish is just another method of communication.

Women writing in Irish have increased in the past three decades, especially in poetry, or at least their presence has been outright recognised. Their themes of religion, motherhood, love and sexuality have become more accessible thanks to translations and anthologies: translations have been particularly encouraged after the Arts Council asked for it in 1984. However, not everyone is in favour of those translations, for some feel that the content of the original language may be lost, for example, Biddy Jenkinson. Another concern is presented by the fact that there is a higher likelihood that poetry will be translated than prose. Regardless of these concerns, Harris (1995) affirms that there are women writers whose works are published both in Irish and English.

When the Gaelic League began to gain traction, women were allowed to participate in its efforts, but their role after independence was mostly limited to scholarship, translating and their writing to stories targeted at children. Prose written by women was reduced, and when they wrote short stories, for example, their roles were not in the foreground. As Harris (1995) states, “Poetry was better served” (29). As regards poetry, women are writing under a two-sided disadvantage: on the one hand, the lack of a literary tradition in Irish, and on the other, the absence of a tradition of writing in Irish by women.

O’Sullivan (2020), while analysing contemporary children’s literature in Irish, explains that there is a distinction between Irish-language and English-language publications in Ireland because the former are state subsidised, whether they are original material or translations, whereas English ones do not enjoy this benefit and have to compete with the powerful publishing houses in England. It was only in 2010 that an independent Irish press called Little Island began publishing texts in English translation, including children’s literature. While translations in English were ignored, translations in Irish were a key part of the revitalization project of the language. As O’Sullivan (2020) states, “As with other languages in need of revitalization and dissemination, such as modern Hebrew, literature in translation played and plays an important role in reviving and fostering the Irish language” (57).

The state support for Irish translations and the funding that Irish-language publishers depend on created a market with little competition and commercial pressures, which resulted in Irish-language material of lower quality than their English equivalents. This situation, O'Sullivan (2020) expounds, began to change thanks to demand of reading material for the children of native Irish speakers living in the Gaeltacht, coupled with the increase in the number of Irish-language schools, called Gaelscoileanna, which led to more young readers of Irish and wider possible audience for reading material for children in Irish, which propelled children's literature that was as good as the English one. As a consequence, Irish-language independent presses were created such as Futa Fata (2005) and Páistí Press (2011), among others, which together with some British publishing companies raised the quality standards of Irish-language children's literature.

In addition to this, nowadays, publishers are capable of receiving support so that up to a 20% of what they put out is translated, regardless of the source language, meaning that it can even be translated from English. This new publishing strategy not only consisted of original materials, but also of translations into Irish from other languages. The works translated sometimes already enjoyed a certain level of popularity, which helped further sales and made, according to Hackett (2019), who O'Sullivan (2020) cites, a number of bookshops commit to having an Irish-language children's section that was permanent.

Apart from that, translation of popular works led to two main effects: it elevated the apparent status of the language and encouraged children to read Irish-language texts. Concerning translations into Irish, O'Sullivan (2020) points out that, even if Irish is the first official language of the country, the linguistic competence of young adults is not at the same level as the rest of their emotional or intellectual development, and that is because they learn the language and develop their abilities as a foreign language. In order to deal with this issue, for example, the publisher Tadhg Mac Dhonnagáin translated short novels meant for children aged from eight to twelve, which had been commissioned from UK illustrators and writers. This tactic proved to be successful in schools to the point that Futa Fata plans to publish a series of Irish-language original short novels. As O'Sullivan (2020) describes, this shows that translation can have a positive influence on target language publication.

Another special feature of translation into Irish that O'Sullivan (2020) introduces is the adaptation –or domestication- of cultural elements from the source language into

Irish elements, especially in historical novels meant for children. Although this could lead to problems if children are familiar with the English original, as they are bilingual, there is a specific type of children's book that seems to avoid this potential pitfall. Picture books, Tadhg Mac Dhonnagáin (2019) – who O'Sullivan interviewed along with Hackett – considers, are usually unfamiliar to Irish-speaking children because their parents tend to read them stories in Irish. Furthermore, Tadhg Mac Dhonnagáin explains the connection between picture books translated into Irish and the oral elements in Irish culture:

Rhyming stories also integrate beautifully with our 'agallamh beirte' [dialogue for two] tradition, the (...) dialogue dramas very popular in Gaeltacht communities. Irish is basically an oral culture with an enormous heritage. Certain elements of the tradition are thriving – our thing is to connect that oral, performative energy with the world of books. (*ibid.*). (O'Sullivan, 2020, 63).

As regards literature in Welsh, a strong focus is placed on the Medieval Welsh canon and the bardic tradition by authors like Prescott (2006), Fulton (2012) and Coward (2016). Prescott (2006) explains the connection between Evan Evans, a Welsh poet, and Thomas Gray, an English one, when dealing with the massacre of the bards that Edward I caused after the conquest of Wales in 1282. Welsh bards were, and remain, an important cultural and literary figure that was supposed to act as a mouthpiece for political rights, for independence and for national pride. Their massacre symbolises the massacre of Welsh culture and language at the hands of English dominion ever since the conquest.

The manner in which Evans and Gray deal with this episode demonstrates the complicated relationship between English and Welsh writers in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, where mutual respect was accompanied by the knowledge that English had encroached on Welsh territory. This dynamic is, according to Prescott (2006) referred to as 'Celticism': for the Welsh, this implied that what the Welsh had to offer was only relevant when it affected England. At the time (18<sup>th</sup>), Scots, Irish and Welsh antiquarian writers began to establish literary and historiographic traditions that were national in nature in order to counteract the advance of a concept of 'Britishness' that was Anglo-centric. The development of this tradition was framed within the growth of other genres, such as historical fiction, and a bardic narrative that reinterpreted each nation's past.

Interestingly, it is Gray who first takes the bards' massacre for his literature, and represents it as the loss of national and cultural sovereignty because of the actions of

England, which would mean that he supported the claims of the Welsh antiquarians who desired to regain some of what they had lost. Prescott (2006), although focusing on the potential this text has as regards Welsh patriotism, does acknowledge that some commentators identify a 'British' quality in *The Bard*, where Gray tries to define a British national and poetic identity through the use of tropes such as Welsh scenery, bardic prophecy, and the Tudor dynasty. For the Welsh, this dynasty could be regarded as the realisation of the prophecies that placed Welsh rulers at the front of a united Britain, so the fact that Gray uses this trope could be seen either as appropriation of a Welsh cultural element that is subsumed under English rule, or as something positive.

However, although the Welsh appreciated Gray's text, the contributions made by Evans, a Welshman who explicitly signals the responsibility of the English in this event and who does not include Ireland and Scotland as part of a 'British' inclusiveness project, cannot be ignored. He emphasized the antiquity of the national history and culture of the Welsh. As regards the language used in the text, he printed the poems of the bards in Welsh, in addition to including a dissertation in Latin –that contained poetry in Welsh and its translation into Latin- and an essay in Welsh titled "*At y Cymry*" ("To the Welsh People"), which accompanied an English preface and translations.

The multilingual nature of his text, *Some Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards* (1764), Prescott (2006) claims, shows that it was a text meant for Welsh, as well as English readers. The chosen poems are framed by his footnotes, his editorial choices, his commentary and reference to the conquest and bardicide executed by Edward I. By including poems that are related to Welsh resistance to English colonialism, and by then framing those poems in the aforementioned manner signifies a sense of superiority and a victory over English dominion, because the cultural pride and values of the Welsh that are symbolised in the figure of the bards, have not died completely.

Fulton (2012), for her part, calls attention to the fact that Thomas Parry's *Hanes Llenyddiaeth Gymraeg hyd 1900*, or *A History of Welsh Literature to 1900*, which presents a literary canon for the Welsh language, devotes a considerable part of its chapters to the medieval period, an action that helped him build a Welsh medieval literary canon that is still upheld in schools and universities, which followed certain guidelines in order to reinforce a particular version of Welsh culture that would help further revitalization aims and that presents the Welsh as the meant rulers of Britain, in addition to showcasing that the Welsh were once an independent nation. Parry's canon reproduced

certain stereotypes that defined Welsh literature as historical, ancient and representative of a culture and a national language that predated the English ones. As literary histories in the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries were prompted by an educational drive, particularly focused on the universities, Parry's book is scholarly and comprehensive.

When the 20<sup>th</sup> century began, Welsh literary historians had established certain guidelines, which included privileging early named poets because they were antique, a chronological division of the poetry, and a dismissal of prose texts as they were placed into generic categorizations: this dismissal of prose literature is based, according to Fulton (2012) on the fact that prose was generally anonymous, and thus, lacked authorization, in addition to being fictional and to supposedly not contributing much to the development of the cultural identity of the Welsh.

Among other guidelines that the canon followed, one can find the relevance given to poetry as a genre due to its linguistic difficulty- which would highlight the quality of Welsh as a language, because the language was a relevant factor-, the wisdom that Welsh thought attributes to it, and the fact that this genre has been present since the origins of ancient Britain, which would give support for the Welsh as the original habitants and literature of that territory.

Another of the shared characteristics of this canon is its rejection of translations (Parry includes some, but regards them as lesser due to not being original Welsh material), and its teleological structure, because the canon reinforces and exists thanks to its nationalistic goal of showing the Welsh as an independent people. Other features include the necessity of having named authors, especially poets as has been mentioned, which becomes remarkable when Fulton (2012) notes that the number of named poets in medieval Welsh literature is higher than that of medieval English literature, and of constructing a claim for literary antiquity in Britain, so that both the canon and the language in which it was written would be superior to the English. Parry's canon stops in 1900, which is significant due to the decline of Welsh language and literature during that century, which would have made, as Fulton (2012) claims, a Welsh-speaking medieval canon all the more important.

This search for intellectual superiority in the canon in the face of political and social subjugation is echoed in the *Mabinogi*, a mythical key text in the native and medieval literature of the Welsh language, which is divided in branches. Chance (2009)



explains the transition in the Second and Third branches in the dominion of the isle Ynys Prydian (Britain) when Caswallawn takes control of the crown in London, which was the stronghold of sovereignty, and his rule begins and extends across the Third Branch over a location now called Lloegyr (which is Welsh for England). This transition from a British rule under Bendigeidfran to an English one under Caswallan is presented as consensual and both rulers are shown to be cousins, which would turn the Welsh into familial relations of the ones holding the power at the moment. In the *Mabinogi*, the Welsh accept English rule without losing their cultural, and literary, pride and while retaining a feeling of superiority, and is significant that one of the key texts in the language reinforces that.

This need for a claim to antiquity on the part of the Welsh in an attempt to legitimise their value as a nation—especially arising in the 18th century—also extends, as Coward (2016) proposes, to certain medieval texts that tie the origins of the Welsh to the Trojan Brutus, such as the one that Geoffrey of Monmouth presented in *Historia Regum Britanniae*, whose legend was also apparently responsible for naming the four nations that compose Britain. This legend was challenged during this period and other origin myths arose that were more internationally oriented, but that still reflected the importance of the Welsh language and certain themes from earlier realisations of Welsh identity – including the Brutus one. Moreover, they continued to place the Welsh as the original inhabitants of the territory and strengthened the link with Christianity.

Another origin myth that Coward (2016) describes is the one proposed by Paul Pezron, a Breton scholar, who claimed that the Celts were descendants of a grandson of Noah, called Gomer, who had migrated after the fall of the Tower of Babel into Europe. This myth was shared by other Welsh writers from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and furthered the belief that the Celts, and the Welsh, were not only aboriginal inhabitants of Britain, but also of most of Western Europe.

Other myths were created that endeavoured to establish a connection between the Welsh and ancient civilizations or other mythical figures, whether Classical or Hebrew. These stories sometimes also embellished reality in order to portray a history of the Welsh that presented them as peaceful rulers. All of these representations of Welsh antiquity were part of the literature of a period that was characterised by the construction of origin stories that continued to influence the way in which the Welsh perceived themselves after the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and that reflected “(...) changing ideological values, including the idea

of Celticism, the influence of Christianity, the rise of antiquarianism, and the process of romantic forgery and invention” (Coward, 2016, 168).

Johnston (2019) also reinforces the notion that for Welsh culture and literature, named figures and antiquity are relevant, for he discusses the creation of Welsh biographies where nationalist figures are included, and which are also presented bilingually, in Welsh and English, which not only shows the reality of Welsh people but also asserts its national distinctiveness. Wales was the first country in the UK to create a national biographical dictionary of their own, even if it was modelled after the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Its first volume, *Y Bywgraffiadur Cymreig hyd 1940* written in Welsh, was published in 1953, before the English version came out in 1959.

According to Johnston (2019), the already mentioned antiquarian revival that wanted to bring the past of Wales to its present was the source of Welsh biographies in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Then, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Welsh language became an alternative to English as the language used for writing biographies, but for some, like the clergyman Robert Williams, using English was the more proficient decision because of the association between Welsh and the past, which contrasted with the prevalence of English in the present and, supposedly, in the future. In addition to this, the English language would allow these publications to reach an audience outside of Wales.

The preference for using Welsh in some publications, like biographies, was a result of the power that Nonconformism had in 18<sup>th</sup> Wales. They placed a lot of attention on literacy, which they propagated in Sunday schools, so that the Bible written in Welsh could be read. As a consequence, this created an audience that was interested in Welsh-language publications. As for the biographical dictionary, Johnston (2019) describes, two institutions were relevant: the University of Wales that was the historian’s basis for research, and the National Library of Wales that provided the source materials. These two institutions had previously born an influence in the elaboration of a historical dictionary that concentrated on the Welsh language.

When the impetus for a biographical dictionary was instilled by the London Welsh, some choices had to be made regarding the language. One of the main figures in the project was John Lloyd, a History professor at the University College of North Wales, who would rather the dictionary was written in English because the history of the country should be English, and the Welsh version could come later. However, as has been

mentioned above, the Welsh version was published first. According to Johnston (2019), this can be explained due to the involvement of the National Library in the project, because Welsh was the language that they used for working purposes. Precedence as regards publication did not necessarily mean that Welsh held a higher status than English, but it does reflect that the market of Welsh speakers was safer as far as commercial possibilities should be considered.

An online equivalent of the dictionary was established in 2007, Welsh Biography Online/Y Bywgraffiadur Ar-lein, on the website for the National Library of Wales, and it contains digital versions of the five volumes that were printed, and readers can choose to read it in English or Welsh. This bilingual approach is held by the National Library as regards the entirety of their online resources. Johnston (2019) expresses the significance of this endeavour in the following manner:

As a fully bilingual source of information about the history of Wales, the DWB is a vital component in any strategy using education to promote the Welsh language, not only in practical terms but also for its symbolic value as one of a small but growing number of online resources which demonstrate to young people that Welsh has not been left behind by the digital revolution. (170)

The educational value of the dictionary is mainly for university level that has Welsh as the medium of instruction, and Johnston (2019) considers that it could be useful for students searching for information about key figures in their field.

Finally, as concerns festivals, the original one is the Welsh Eisteddfod. The first National one in Wales took place in 1861, after it had become popular in different communities. Originally, the impetus had come from Gwyneddigion Society in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Eisteddfod was a festival where competitions for poetry and music were held. Johnston (2019) attributes responsibility for the Eisteddfod to 18<sup>th</sup> century London Welsh societies, and perceives a strong influence from romantic antiquarianism on the festival.

According to De Barra (2014), after the Irish saw a rise in the literacy of the Welsh, which they wrongly attributed to the Eisteddfod, two Irish versions were created, one called Oireachtas, which was established in the 19<sup>th</sup> century by the Gaelic League, and another called Feis Ceoil held for the first time in 1897, with the Feis Ceoil Association being established by Annie Patterson in 1896, as she was interested in

creating a music festival for Irish that resembled the Welsh one. Furthermore, during the inaugural festival, the connection between the Welsh festival and the Irish one was emphasized.

It is important to clarify that during this period, De Barra (2014) considers that the Irish respected the Welsh for what they considered a great labour in favour of language preservation, sometimes to the point of idealization, which changed once Ireland became independent and the struggle became political rather than just cultural. Regardless, as regards the festivals, the apparently real reason why literacy in Welsh increased in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was owed, according to De Barra (2014), to the use of the language at Sunday school, meaning that it was a result of religious and educational resources rather than just the festival. Griffith Jones of Llanddowror set up from 1734 a system of circulating schools, which allowed children and adults to be educated in literacy in Welsh; his motivation was religious, which reflects the already mentioned impact of Nonconformity in Wales by the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The Irish, however, tried to emulate the festival hoping that it would raise literacy levels on its own, instead of as an accompaniment to the educational process that the Welsh had gone through. As a result of this, the Oireachtas faced issues because participants were not literate enough in Irish and usually resorted more to music than to poetry or other literary forms, which made some Gaelic League members feel that the festival was more for entertainment than for literacy. In spite of these issues, De Barra (2014) recognises the value that having a referent and an inspiration in Welsh meant for the Irish language and how it could be revitalised.

The influence of music was not limited to the festivals. Aubrey (2008) discusses the publication of traditional anthologies of traditional music –including Celtic- and divides it into three stages. The first one goes up to 1820, the second one until 1880 and the third ranges from 1880 up to 1920. The first period is characterised by a reduced number of anthologies that were published; the second one quite a few were published. During the third period, what is interesting is that the presenters wanted to define nationalism for the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially in connection with Celtic anthologies, to the point where one of the songs collected, “*Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau*”, would become the Welsh National Anthem. Furthermore, the availability of these anthologies where songs were standardised helped strengthen nationalism in the Celtic countries.

For accounts of contemporary writers, Rosenstock (2012) is an example of an Irish-language writer who also writes in English. He has written bilingual texts such as *Bliain an Bhandé/Year of the Goddess*. He has also traced the trajectory of Irish-language literature, including the myths and sagas, the passage from Old into Early or Early Modern Irish, and has recognised that Irish was a language influenced by English, Latin, and the invasions of the Normans and Vikings. Furthermore, he acknowledges the tension between the Christian and the pagan that features in Irish-language literature even in the present.

In a second part of his analysis on Irish literature, also from 2012, Rosenstock states that education alone was not enough to ensure bilingualism, and that the language needed to be used in authentic ways, in “(...) large areas of the real world (...)” (par. 9). Elements of language planning need revising to extend Irish into a wider population.

On the Welsh side, Glyn wrote on *The Guardian* on March 1, 2016. According to him, Welsh-language literature is more active than Scots Gaelic or Irish, in part due to the fact that Welsh is used daily by more people than are the other two languages. However, he also justifies this more energetic literature as the result of the interaction between traditions and new energy: for example, Welsh poetry still has a social function –in funerals, birthdays and weddings- that is similar to the one it had 1500 years before; the two poets are rewarded (by chairing and crowning them) in the annual Eisteddfod and the *Talwrn* (Cockpit) is a national radio show where teams of poets compete. For him personally, as a writer, English is both a colonial and an international language, and should be used alongside Welsh in literary pursuits.

To conclude, cultural movements have provided ample opportunity for the revitalisation of the language. They have extended the use of the language past the educational setting in the form of literature and translations –in prose, poetry, drama and literature meant for children- and also in the form of festivals. Moreover, particularly in the case of Welsh, literature in said minority language was not only for entertainment or authentic use, but also to further nationalist aims and to reinforce an established canon that represented the Welsh in a positive light.

## **2. Religion: Strengthens or Weakens?**

As De Barra (2014) states, literacy levels in Welsh were increased thanks to the participation of religious education in the form of Sunday school. This raises the question

to what extent religion in Wales and Ireland has helped further revitalization aims. Although Marfany (2005) considers –when taking the Catalan case- that religion does not actually help, but only serves to limit the freedom of the believers who tend to belong to the lower classes of society and as such, attain a lower educational level, other evidence seems to point to the significant contribution made by religious institutions to revitalise Welsh and Irish.

In a National Survey carried out in 2020 by the Welsh Government regarding the Welsh language, they found that religion, in particular the Christian religion with all its denominations, is one of the factors linked to a higher probability (around 20%) of people speaking Welsh both in general, and in everyday life.

There is also a strong link between religion and education, both in the case of Welsh and Irish. Sutherland (2000), O'Donoghue & Harford (2012), Ó Riagáin (2007), Watson (1996) and Dörflinger (2015) observe that there were periods where the Church was one of the main proponents to preserve the Welsh and Irish language. In Ireland, after the independence of 1922, the Church was responsible for most of the schools where Welsh was taught. In Wales, we have the example abovementioned of literacy in Sunday school.

### **3. Media Communication and Television: Protest, Design and Effective Representation**

Another method of revitalization is mass media communications, including the press and television, and both of them have acted as complementary spaces to education and literature where one can immerse oneself into the Irish or Welsh language.

A first example that can be presented about how television may impact minority identities comes from the Jewish community in the UK. Jordan (2014) makes sure to note that television was an active actor“(...) in the cultural construction of a national identity” (51). In a similar vein, Watson (1996) explains that mass media can defend and threaten a culture, and that is part of the reason why the Irish Government once it achieved independence tried to use the main mass media component at the time, the radio, to defend the Irish identity. Then came television in the 1960's, which seems to be one of the most important components of mass media that can defend or threaten Irish culture, especially as we are within an era of digital communications, where minority languages would not be able to survive without access to television.

Another author that exposes the benefits of television in connection with minority languages is Lysaght (2011), who affirms that, as in the case of Irish, broadcast media can change a language's image and may even be the sole access the public has to this minority language as a living, active one. She states that "For fluent speakers, it can help them feel at home (...). For learners, it can instigate a voyage of reconnection and re-familiarization with the language. Television can also afford non-speakers a chance to discover (...) this other cultural and linguistic world (...)" (Lysaght, 2011, 159).

According to Watson (1996), the creation of a television channel exclusive for Irish-language content was something not only necessary, but also supported by minority rights, because while it may not guarantee revitalization on its own, it did provide content for a minority population. The Working Group on Irish Language Television Broadcasting tried to establish the reasons for Irish-language broadcasting programmes: one reason is that in a plurilingual state, each individual has the right to choose the language they want to use and that "Approximately 84% of the population favours bilingualism as a national objective (...)" (Watson, 1996, 257). These motives hinge on minority rights rather than restoration or revitalisation efforts, which is in accordance with the shift that Watson (1996) claims had been performed by the government from restoration to minority rights. As stated above, this should be accompanied by other levels of language use, including community and familial. At the time of writing that article, Watson (1996) acknowledged that a new separate channel from RTE was necessary and the best possible option.

A decade later, Hourigan (2007) traces the steps that were taken to create channels for Irish and Welsh-language content in their respective countries. First of all, Hourigan (2007) also specifies that the campaigns that were successful involved getting governments to admit that the broadcasting services in existence did not satisfy the linguistic or cultural needs of the minority language communities in questions, something that also impacted on their identities.

The struggles in Europe for new broadcasting services that provided material in minority languages became a prevalent matter in the 1970's. The type of content that broadcast media gave linguistic minorities was short, usually reserved for the weekends, and generally related to religion or customs, but activists saw the potential in television, even as a source of prestige, as W. R. Howell has found, because children attach legitimacy to what they watch on television, and as they grow older, they may help make

the language fashionable. Moreover, the success of these campaigns also hinged on the symbolic and political status of the languages in question: in the case of Irish, it enjoys a political status as an official language that Welsh lacks, but they both hold symbolic status because of their association to nationalism.

Apart from the ideological basis for the campaigns, certain concrete actions were taken by activists. For example, Welsh-language activists took over studios and destroyed broadcast mast and refused to pay their licenses, actions that were replicated by Irish activists.

In the case of Welsh, the separate television channel found its origin in a 1962 lecture delivered by Saunders Lewis, a writer who foretold the end of the Welsh language. As a consequence, The Welsh Language Society began to campaign for a television channel in Welsh in 1966. Although it was mostly a student movement, nationalist and religious organisations supported it, and the movement used the tactics aforementioned. The turning point came when Thatcher refused to comply with the election promise that both the Conservative and the Labour parties had made before the 1979 general election about legislating in favour of the creation of a Welsh-language channel. This decision resulted in threats from the leader of Plaid Cymru to begin a hunger strike. Under the pressure of protest in Wales, the Conservatives changed their minds once again and the channel S4C, which was meant to be oriented towards the Welsh-speaking inhabitants of the country, was established in 1982. Because its audience was bilingual, the content in English could be seen on other services, and as such, subtitled or dubbed programmes would have been insufficient. François Grin and François Vaillancourt (1999, referenced by Hourigan, 2007) consider that because of this, there was a need to commission new content which distinguished them from other services.

Unfortunately, activists are not as involved in the process of negotiation once they have achieved approval for the creation of the channels, so the end-result is not what they had imagined. For instance, both in the case of Irish and Welsh, news services were provided by other broadcasting companies, such as BBC Wales, even though activists wanted news services of their own. In addition to this, the images of the community presented were not always the desired ones.

In the case of Welsh, there was an attempt to modernise the Welsh-language community in order to make it more palatable to audiences, something that some activists



reacted against, because they wanted a more traditional image focused on folklore and music. Welsh cultural agencies supported it, but parts of the audience did not like it much, and adolescents were the weakest link within the output. Even if the modernised image was not that well-received, it was an attempt to stop the associations between the language and antiquity. Regardless, the objective was fulfilled, which was a separate service, and in general, the cultural achievements were positive, and as Jones (2002), cited by Hourigan (2007), mentions, fluent Welsh got people jobs in the media and entertainment industry. Something similar is the case for Ireland, as Goan (2007) claims, because people are proud to have worked in – or be in association with- TG4, which in turn makes the Irish language more prestigious in the eyes of society.

As for Irish, the campaign lasted 20 years, from 1975 to 1995. Before that time, Goan (2007) describes how Irish-language broadcast was carried out by RTÉ, to the dissatisfaction of many. As regards the radio output of the RTÉ, also called Radio Éireann, which was the only radio service with a license in Ireland, it was regarded as paternalistic and old-fashioned in comparison with other services that attracted a younger and urban demographic. Another radio service was established when the government demanded that the RTÉ set it up, and it was called Raidió Gaeltachta. In 1972, feeder stations in County Donegal and County Kerry also started broadcasting. The issue this service faced was that it needed to reach out to people outside of the areas in which it was located, especially when within the Irish-speaking community there existed the tradition of not understanding dialects. Raidió na Gaeltachta changed this tradition somewhat, making it easier for people to understand each other despite dialects.

The campaign was started by the media committee of Conradh na Gaeilge, the most important Irish-language state organisation. Activists were motivated by what their Welsh counterpart had experienced, and followed their tactics, until in 1987 Gaeltacht groups joined the campaign and set up a pirate television broadcast in Connemara, which was successful enough to prompt Charles Haughey, Taoiseach (Prime Minister), into dedicating 500,000 Irish pounds to researching how feasible it would be to create an Irish-language television broadcast service. For two years the money went unspent until in 1990 FNT was established, an organisation that united Irish-language activists with campaigners from the Gaeltacht whose preferred model of television was of local-access.

FNT put forward a model where the two sides could compromise: on the one hand, the television service would contain elements from the access model favoured by

Gaeltacht groups, while at the same time including elements from the model aligned with national aims supported by Conradh na Gaeilge. This was supported by a Labour politician called Michael D. Higgins who became Minister for Arts, Culture and the Gaeltacht in 1993 and then established two committees to measure the feasibility of creating such a service as the one that had been fought for since 1975. Finally, in 1996, Teilifis na Gaeilge was established, after a referendum had taken place in 1993, formulated by Higgins as a result of the actions of the committee. Cathal Goan, the first director of the channel who would then become director general of RTÉ, in Goan (2007) explains that originally the plan was for Teilifis na Gaeilge to depend on RTÉ temporarily, until it could become an independent service. Funding was, of course, an issue, and so was arranging the programming between Irish-language and English-language content, and as of the moment Goan gave his testimony, the funding is sufficient enough for six hours a day of original content in Irish.

Teilifis na Gaeilge had the potential to function as a different national television broadcast service, something that was utilised by means of its slogan, *Súil Eile*, which in English means ‘another perspective’, a slogan that represented what the management of the service had in mind, which was to turn Teilifis na Gaeilge into an alternative presentation of the identity of the country that had been ignored by other national broadcasts. However, this intention was not the same as the ones from the Gaeltacht had, because they wanted a service based on minority rights. This conflict of interest was reflected in the service in general, because while it catered to a more modern image of Ireland, people from the Gaeltacht were not accurately represented. It is a very similar issue to what the Welsh faced with their own television service.

Although the original name of the broadcast was Teilifis na Gaeilge, they had to change it to TG4 in an attempt to make it more marketable because the service had seen reception problems and a decrease in their audience within the first six months. The name would force cable companies to grant it a prominent space within the different national services they offered, which would help TG4 not lose government funding if the audience increased.

Goan (2007) offers confirmation of the importance of television for the Irish language, something that can then be extended to the same experience in Welsh. Goan (2007) sees a need for Irish-language broadcasting, and considers that “Irish-language television is the most visible and daily expression of government support for the language

(...)” (114). He also remarks on the necessity and relevant impact that Irish-medium schools have had, particularly when the effort came from the parents who wanted their children to have that education, which makes sure that TG4 will in future have a ready audience.

Within the content that can be included in a television service, an interview is one of them. James (2018) analyses several instances of transgressive bilingualism, and one of them occurs in sports interviews performed by a fictional character called Rhian Madamrygbi Davies that are done in southern Welsh but with “anglophone ‘switches’” (James, 2018, 38). The Welsh that she employs is too colloquial for a sports interview, but that is part of the transgressive quality of it. This character appeared from 2011 to 2014 in a weekly sports program called *Jonathan* that was broadcast on S4C.

Apart from the language in which the interviews are delivered, the very name of the character is an example of syncretism between anglophone and cambrophone elements: Rhian is a Welsh name that means ‘maiden’; Madamrygbi is where the real syncretism occurs, as it is a play on words where it could be divided as Madam followed by rygbi, which means rugby, or as the English adjective *mad*, followed by *am* which in Welsh stands for ‘about’ or ‘for’, and then rygbi/rugby; the surname Davies is common in Wales.

As regards the language in which the interviews are carried out, where anglophone elements are included to signal turns in speaking, to point to affective content, or for“(…) interpersonal phatic communion (...)” (James, 2018, 40), James (2018) cites Pietikäinen et al (2016), to explain that the language used is something that the Welsh can identify with, because for them Welsh cannot be a complete alternative to English, and these interviews and its syncretism “(…) lessen the burden of being ‘a real speaker of Welsh’” (Pietikäinen et al, 2016, 176 as cited in James, 2018, 40), and allow people to reconsider bilingualism and Welshness.

Another concrete example of television affecting the cultural landscape of the countries under study comes from the *The Leaders’ Debate* (*Díospóireacht na gCeannairí* in Irish), a three-way political debate (the first of its kind) that took place on February 16, 2011 and was televised in TG4. It was watched by five and six hundred thousand people, between the live and the subtitled versions. Its participants from Fine Gael, Fianna Fáil and Labour parties spoke in Irish, according to Lysaght (2011), with

the intention of reaching voters of a different demographic. Furthermore, TG4, even though its main audience demographic is supposed to be native Irish speakers, it should also try to target and reach a more national demographic that may not be fluent in Irish. This mandate is something that, according to Lysaght (2011), differentiates the service from other minority language services.

Taking this double aim into consideration, the national force of the 2011 debate was relevant because it gave TG4 the possibility of integrating itself and its values into the public domain while at the same time making Irish significant. The response to the broadcast proved that when people want to criticise the media, they do it in English most often, which is not uncommon for minority language situations. The response, as Lysaght (2011) describes, was emotional, especially when it came from non-speakers, for whom the language being used in the public sphere as in a political debate is an important matter.

As for the rest, Lysaght (2011) collected information from several spaces, in broadcast media, print media and the internet, and the consensus she presents is that Irish-language coverage concentrated on the contents of the debate and the policies discussed, whereas English-language coverage focused on the language rather than the content. She attributes this to the fact that the second category is composed of people with a complex relationship with the language. She did find proud comments in Irish-language coverage as regards the use of the language in a public media setting. Furthermore, she considers that the relatively positive reaction that the broadcast received shows the effect of TG4 on the audience, because this visual medium calls the attention of Irish speakers that are not fluent, and even of non-speakers, which results in a possible change in the image of the language and the attitudes that society has towards it.

A special response to the broadcast came from a Youtube video where a young man called Gaelgory, who does videos using the Irish language and a T-Rex, commented on the debate and, moreover, established a connection between different types of visual media while making the language accessible to a younger audience, and showing that it can be used for authentic communication. As Lysaght (2011) claims, “(...) an indirect effect of the broadcasts of TG4 for the past fifteen years has been to normalize the Irish language on screen for younger generations of viewers” (169).

Regarding the press, Steele (2006) presents the Irish Literary Revival that occurred from 1880 to 1930 as a period very rich in activism and art, in opposition with

a politically slanted focus that was subsumed by the cultural revival as a result of political failure, for example in the form of Parnell. However, this cultural revival and its literary force propelled a militant movement as a consequence of its concern for Irish identity.

The interaction between the artistic and the political is best seen in the press, according to what Steele (2006) presents. She took periodicals that belonged to the nationalist press and saw Irish artists –playwrights and poets, for example- becoming revolutionaries when writing in periodicals. Furthermore, she also proposes studying some “(...) dissident journalists (...)” (Steele, 2006, 399) that were not that well-known and who were mostly women, who published fiction that revitalised some of the most famous tropes in the cultural revival. Many of the nationalist periodicals that Steele (2006) analysed contained context about Irish nationalist history and Irish myths, in order to educate their “(...) Irish readership in Irish patriotism (...)” (Steele, 2006, 400).

Uí Chollatáin (2010) is another author that introduces journalism and the press as another public sphere where Irish-language writers could exist. She also highlights the apparent influence of a European tradition on the stylistic elements of journalistic writing and on the revival. The scholarly and literary practices that constituted the public domain before the advent of journalism at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century established a “(...) continuum for the Irish language urban community within the public sphere” (Uí Chollatáin, 2010, 274). Irish-language press did not care about maintaining the purity of their works so that the masses could not access it, and in reality, Uí Chollatáin (2010) states, these journalistic practices were responsible for making scholarly and artistic materials accessible to the masses, to the point where it allowed “(...) for cultural exploration and justification” (Uí Chollatáin, 2010, 274). As a consequence, during the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, they acquired new concepts, material and styles, and eventually became fit for native speakers in the Gaeltacht.

To conclude, mass media communication has functioned as a fundamental complement in revitalisation efforts, because it not only gives job opportunities to minority language speakers, it also introduces the language to a wide audience and contributes to the literacy process carried out in schools. Certain problems remain, including funding and achieving an accurate representation of the target populations.

#### 4. Informal Education: Intergenerational Transmission

In the first chapter of this thesis, a definition of linguistic community was provided that centred on linguistic differences among the people that are part of it. This section will discuss some examples that reveal the relevance of community use – through informal education, familial use or colloquial language and jokes – in the revitalisation process.

According to Wolf (2009), in the jokes told in 19<sup>th</sup> century Ireland, there was a clear division between bilingual jokers and audience, and the characters of the jokes were either English or Irish monoglots. Bilinguals were the ones that could really understand and tell the jokes because they could decipher the play on words, grammar, or linguistic ambiguity. That is why these jokes showed that bilinguals were trying to differentiate themselves from monolinguals (Irish and English), and that is why they are not the punchline of the joke. Furthermore, bilinguals portrayed Irish “(...) as an insider language of the local community” (Wolf, 2009, 74) and the language was used to communicate by the jokes’ characters and the jokers themselves. This humour could be enjoyed by many regardless of cultural or social limitations.

For Kostanski (2014), a very important concept, citing Levi-Strauss and Cresswell, is that “(...) of place positioning human landscape interactions (...)” (Kostanski, 2014, 273) and that this identification is represented by toponyms, which are place-names. This is connected with Seddon’s (1997) idea that toponyms, meaning words that appear in certain landscapes or places are carriers of culture that imply power relationships and values, which could include the identity of the community specially if they are indigenous. In relation with this place identification, Coupland (2012) shows different examples of language display in public places that stand for varied ideological linguistic positions. Some of them include:

- Nonautonomous Welsh, which represents English hegemony from a historical perspective;
- Institutionally dominant frame, where the text is bilingual (paralleled) in an affirmation of the equal values of Welsh and English;
- Nationalist resistance frame, where the heartland, especially in northwest Wales, of Welsh-speaking areas is given priority;
- Tourist-focused frame, where Welsh is an exotic “(...) cultural commodity with more ephemeral values” (Coupland, 2012, 21). This perspective makes sense due to globalisation. It is easier to present the language like this or in ceremonial

settings like a national anthem than it is to develop it at home or work, which are the priority of agencies occupied with revitalisation.

- Laconic metacultural celebration frame differs from the others, where language is what matters, because in this one what matters is cultural baggage outside of just the linguistic in a multilingual context. They even include other languages apart from English and Welsh, while simultaneously neither limiting nor neglecting Welsh.

Dörflinger (2015) references Fishman in order to demonstrate that revitalising a minority language needs intergenerational transmission, meaning that the language is passed down in the family. He recognises the value of television because it normalises the minority language and creates, as Hourigan (2003) puts it, a “(...) social reality which conforms to the linguistic and cultural experience of these minorities” (Dörflinger, 2015, 94). Moreover, showing the relevance of community, they quote CILAR (Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research) because the language is often used among friends where the choice of language depends on how they know each other.

As regards communal and familial use, Dörflinger (2015) mentions that families in the Gaeltacht get grants if they brought up their children using Irish. They also found that if children are raised with no Irish around, it is very unlikely they would become daily speakers, particularly if they live in areas where Irish is not really used within the community, whereas kids raised in Irish or as bilinguals (Irish and English) will use it regularly. However, even if parents use Irish with their kids, this does not mean that they will use it with their siblings. Moreover, in accordance with Ó Giollagáin (2015) – referenced by Dörflinger (2015) – kids may be more proficient in English because the use of Irish is restricted in some contexts and socialisation occurs mostly in English, which leads to an incomplete acquisition.

Watson (1996) makes reference to The European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages in connection to the sectors where minority languages are to be supported in order for them to be revitalised, such as economic and social setting, public authorities, mass media communications, and educational settings. He also agrees, or at least includes, that according to Fishman’s scale, intergenerational transmission, which is stage 6, has not been achieved in Irish and is key. For Fishman, as Watson (1996) explains,

initiatives at a local or community level should come before state interventions that affect the nation as a whole.

Williams (2014) also remarks that in order to revitalise a language, it needs to be present with public authorities, education and the community. For him, it is in the community, with its socio-economic everyday use that a language is shown to be alive. Planning for this area should consider the local situation along with socio-economic and sociolinguistic trends. This aim has been realised through the establishment of the Mentrau Iaith, 23 enterprise agencies for community language, almost all county authorities have one, including one in Patagonia, Argentina. They are currently funded by the Welsh Government. Williams (2014) also mentions three techniques for community revitalisation, basing himself on Williams and Evas (1997, 1998), which are: Local Action Plans which are in effect; county and national centers of resource which are not in effect; development of “linguistic *animateurs*” (Williams, 2014, 261), also not in effect. Finally, two recommendations by Jones and Ioan (2000) that helped the Mentrau grow were that

The WLB's statutory functions, funding and staffing levels must be extended in order to guarantee its influence and effectiveness in co-ordinating language planning initiatives both nationally and at community level; and secondly that any local language planning must be backed by national institutional power; otherwise, members of the local communities do not have sufficient power to achieve any change themselves (Jones & Ioan, 2000, 123 as cited in Williams, 2014, 261).

Walker (2010) discusses English immigrants who came to northwest Wales and were questioned about their relationship with Welsh. In general, respondents were aware of the language, in favour of its development, and willing to try to learn it. However, the willingness to learn did not necessarily guarantee it would happen, especially at a fluent level, due to factors such as an absence of people to practise with –they would switch to English-, an absence of confidence, effort, and from native speakers, inability to be patient. Some respondents who learned it to an extent stated that it granted them another type of experience and allowed them to feel like they were involved in the community. Even if some migrants did not become fluent in Welsh, their children and grandchildren did.

To conclude, using the language in the community seems to be a key factor in revitalisation, along with mass media communication and education, and is dependent on



the actions of the families, and what the government can help fun within a communal space, such as the Mentrau Iaith. Furthermore, the use of jokes –authentic use- can also be a representation of a linguistic situation, and many times what occurs within a community depends on its inhabitants, as is exemplified by the decisions taken by immigrants (both those who tried to learn the language and those who did not), and some members who tried to display the minority language within a public setting, as it is the case in the nationalist resistance frame described by Coupland (2012).

## Conclusions

In an increasingly globalised world, where English is that language of commerce, academia, technology, and entertainment, many languages have fallen by the way-side. This is not precisely the case of the two languages under inspection in this thesis, Welsh and Irish, which suffered the weight of the dominance of English centuries before, to the point where number of speakers decreased considerably, intergenerational transmission was lost, and plans had to be put into place in order to restore the two Celtic languages somewhere close to what they had once been, or at least to the closest possible option, which was a situation of bilingualism with English.

In order to achieve this aim, several methods were used, which have been discussed above. Formal bilingual education was one of them: using immersion schools and giving parents a choice about what kind of education they wanted their children to receive; making Irish an entry requirement in the national university; teaching either as a second language. This type of education was completed by other programs within local centres, such as the Welsh Mentre Iath, or was sometimes divided according to territory, as it occurred within the Irish Gaeltacht.

This method is quite similar to the situation in Argentina, where a series of indigenous languages are taught within a system called EID, but not without its difficulties. Many of them arise from the othering of indigenous populations, and the lack of care towards the economic and social possibilities that these people have due to the discrimination they suffer. Within the school, even if there is an indigenous teacher, their tasks are usually relegated to cultural and language activities, leaving them, and by extension indigenous experiences, outside of the rest of the educational experience. Regardless, this is the closest comparison there is in Argentina of an official, governmental effort to revitalise or improve the status of indigenous languages that have been left aside in favour of the majority one (Spanish in the case of Argentina), and those efforts being carried out mainly through education, but with the acknowledgement that it should be a collective effort from different sectors of society.

However, this was not the only method under consideration. The use of mass media communications, particularly television, was analysed as a strong complement to bilingual education, because children need to acquire and get in contact with the language outside of the educational setting. Furthermore, watching the language on TV resulted in

a change of attitudes towards it, because now it was regarded as something modern and present in real life, instead of just in a classroom.

Literature, whether original or translation, in any of its main genres – poetry, prose, or drama – is also fundamental, not only to transmit the language, but also to retain the history of the people who have spoken it and their legends, beliefs, and different literary stages that correspond with particular historical and cultural moments. The legends and beliefs are not only important in a literary sense, but also in a religious one. Although religion is not a method of revitalisation, the presence of the Church in the revindication of these languages cannot be ignored, as it has propelled education, literature, and community use.

The final element is also a relevant one, because one of the surest ways for a language to survive is for its linguistic community to use it, no matter how varied that use is, and for generations to pass on the language within the home. The use of the languages in the community may depend on jokes, traditional music, place-names, what parents teach and what community centres choose as activities, but all of them contribute to making the language a lived, authentic experience. Something similar happens when government offices, or business make use of both English and Welsh, or English and Irish, meaning that they present a bilingual front for citizens and customers, which allows them to choose between both languages and to feel as if the autochthonous Celtic languages stand on even footing with the global giant that is English.

The combined efforts of the governments and communities in turning education, television, community use, and literature, among others into bastions of language revitalisation appear to have been moderately successful. In the last thirty years, according to national censuses, there does not seem to be a steady decrease of speakers anymore. In the case of Welsh, for instance, there was even a slight increase between the 1991 and 2001 census. What exactly has led to these benefits can be considered conjecture, because it is difficult to determine, but the creation of Irish-language and Welsh-language television channels, the implementation of formal bilingual education, the insistence on Irish and Welsh-language literature, and the actions of the community at local level – sometimes with no help from the government – can be assumed to have played a role in the developments that took place in the last thirty years.

For example, Mac Giolla Chríost (2012) explicitly justifies the improvements made to the language situation in Wales in specific by stating that what helped was the insertion of Welsh into formal education; the Welsh Language Board, created in 1993 as a body of regulation for the minority language; the creation of a Welsh-language television service, called S4C, and its subsequent effect on the economy and the media enterprises; and the Welsh Language Act of 1993 which demanded that public services be provided in Welsh as well as English.

On the Irish-language front, it is Goan (2007) who connects two possible methods for revitalisation: television and education. For him, television is a visible form of support on the part of the government. However, another important revitalisation space is Irish-language education (which means that Irish is the principal medium of instruction), which, according to him, was not propelled by the government officials, but by parents themselves who wanted their children to learn the language.

Although the situation has stabilised in comparison with the previous century, a lot is left to be accomplished. For instance, in 2010, Ireland approved a 20-year language plan which aims to raise the number of Irish speakers to 250,000 by 2030. Ten years are left to reach the deadline of said plan, and it remains to be seen how the aforementioned methods and factors will continue to come into play in that time period and long into the future. Improvements in the educational method, such as teacher preparation, extension into higher levels of schooling, or provision of materials, ought to be taken under consideration in the future. Likewise, public funding for the television channels and maintenance of as diverse a programming schedule as possible are also necessary.

Finally, future avenues of study could analyse the status of Scottish Gaelic within Scotland, as it is also a Celtic language that has fallen by the way-side in the wake of English. Kandler et al. (2010) mention the necessity of creating jobs that require the use of the minority language: the effect of this enterprise on revitalisation efforts could also be studied in the future. In addition to that, further studies may explore the postcolonial status of Irish and Welsh, and the hegemonic implications of the struggle between these languages and English. A similar examination could be carried out in the context of indigenous languages in Argentina that are faced with the power of Spanish within the territory.

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