

PhD

Attitudes towards Minority Languages:

***An Investigation of Young People's Attitudes towards
Irish and Galician***

by

Bernadette O'Rourke, BA

Supervisor: Dr. Bill Richardson

**School of Applied Language and Intercultural
Studies**

Dublin City University

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DECLARATION

I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of Doctor of Philosophy is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: Bernadette O'Rourke ID No.: 99145782

Bernadette O'Rourke

Date: 27 / 7 / 05

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It might be said with a certain metaphoric licence that languages are seldom admired to death but are frequently despised to death. (Nancy Dorian 1998: 5).

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ABSTRACT

This study compares young people's (aged 17-25) attitudes towards two of Europe's lesser-used or minority languages. The first is Irish, spoken in the Republic of Ireland and the second is Galician, spoken in the Autonomous Community of Galicia in the north-western part of Spain. Quantitative data on attitudes towards these two languages were collected through a sociolinguistic questionnaire. This questionnaire was completed by a sample of 817 Irish and 725 Galician university students in Dublin and Vigo, Ireland's and Galicia's respective major cities.

The results of the survey confirm general levels of support for each language. However, sizeable minorities, particularly amongst Irish students, were found to have consistently more negative attitudes. Moreover, despite general support for the presence of these languages within their respective societies and as symbols of identity, the study provides some evidence of the continued presence of deep-rooted stigmas which are attached to these languages.

An analysis of the factors influencing language attitudes amongst the two student groups highlighted important differences between the Irish and Galician contexts. Most favourable attitudes towards Galician were expressed by students whose political and ethnic allegiances were most closely tied to the ideal of a Galician national identity. Positive attitudes towards Galician as a result of a strongly held Galician national sentiment were also found to be contributing to changes in the language behaviours of younger age-groups. The factors which were found to be most influential in determining attitudes towards Irish appeared to be related to these young Irish people's experience with the language within the Irish education system. The level of support for Irish was affected by students' academic performance in Irish as an examination subject at school, which in turn was found to govern their ability to speak and ultimately, to put the language into use.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AML	Attitudes towards the Minority Language (Scale)
APC	Advisory Planning Committee
BNG	Bloque Nacionalista Galego
CILAR	Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research
CUVI	Campus Universitario de Vigo
DCU	Dublin City University
DPXL	Dirección Xeral de Política Lingüística
FF	Fianna Fáil
FG	Fine Gael
ITÉ	Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (Linguistics Institute of Ireland)
MSG	Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia (Sociolinguistic Atlas of Galicia)
PML	Perceptions about the Minority Language (Scale)
PP	Partido Popular
PSOE	Partido Socialista Obrero Español
SF	Sinn Féin
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

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INTRODUCTION

Background

It is generally agreed that there are somewhere between 5,000 and 6,000 languages spoken in the world today. However, experts predict drastic changes in this picture over the course of this century. A small number of languages including Arabic, Chinese, English and Spanish are being used by an ever-increasing percentage of the world's population, while a great many others are set to die out. Although just how many will disappear is widely debated, according to the more pessimistic predictions of Michael Krauss (1992), over 4,000 of the world's languages will cease to be spoken at the end of the century. The most threatened languages are usually those spoken by peoples who in the past entered into political, economic or colonial relations which favoured the use of one or more dominant languages or language varieties. In language contact situations, where economic and political power is vested in one language group, the position of the other language or languages becomes 'minorised'. Thus, the rise or decline of any language cannot be seen as a 'natural' phenomenon that occurs without human or social agency. In a significant report on the 'minorised' languages of Europe, which was carried out by the European Union in 1996, Nelde, Strubell and Williams note the following:

The concept of minority by reference to language groups does not refer to empirical measures, but rather, to issues of power. That is, they are language groups, conceived of social groups, marked by a specific language or culture, that exist within wider societies and states, but which lack the political, institutional and ideological structures which can guarantee the relevance of these languages for the everyday life of members of such groups (Nelde et al. 1996: 1).

Purpose of the study

Within the past two decades, much discussion in sociolinguistics and the sociology of language has centred on concerns over the survival prospects of lesser-used or minority languages (see Dorian 1989; Woolard 1989; Fase et al. 1992; Grenoble and Whaley 1998). The aim of the research being reported on here is to shed light on two such language cases. The first is Irish, spoken in the Republic of Ireland and the second is Galician, spoken in the Autonomous Community of Galicia in the north-

western part of Spain. The 'minorisation' of Irish and Galician is closely related to their historically subordinate relations with a non-autochthonous speaking centre of political power. In the Irish case these relations were with Britain, its nearest and most powerful neighbour. The 'minorisation' of the Galician language can be understood in the context of Galicia's political and economic relations with Castile, later emerging as the centre of Spanish political power.

Since political independence from Great Britain in 1922, attempts have been made to enhance the status of the Irish language and to increase its relevance within Irish society. Irish enjoys constitutional support as the official language of the Irish Republic and it is as Fishman (1991) points out, one of the few minority languages in Europe and perhaps in the world, with a state dedicated to its protection. By the end of the nineteenth century, language shift to English had already reached an advanced stage in Ireland and according to the 1926 census, less than one-fifth of the Irish population were Irish-speaking. As a result of more favourable linguistic policies the numbers in the population reporting a knowledge of the language has increased with every census. According to most recent census results in 2002, some 43% of the population in the Republic of Ireland report an ability to speak the Irish language. Nevertheless, the number of active Irish speakers in the population has remained much lower and survey research would seem to indicate that only about five percent of the population use Irish with any degree of regularity.

As a result of decentralisation policies in Spain since the 1980s the relevance of Galician as well as Catalan and Basque has been enhanced. The form of regional self-government allocated to Galicia and the other autonomous communities within Spain has led to the emergence of the political and institutional structures necessary to guarantee the relevance of Galician within the community. In this new political context, Galicia holds co-official status with Castilian within the Autonomous Community of Galicia. However, unlike the Irish case, where the minority language is the official language of the Irish State, the co-official status of Galician with Castilian is confined to the territorial boundaries of the Autonomous Community of Galicia. In the broader political context of the Spanish state, of which Galicia forms a

part, Castilian in the only officially recognised language. Although Galician continues to be spoken by the majority of the Galician population, the process of language shift to Castilian has gained momentum over the past fifty years, especially amongst the younger generation.

While it is generally agreed that the survival of a language depends on the degree to which it is used by members of a community (see Fishman 1976; 1991), changes in language use and behaviour are notoriously difficult to document on a large scale given the infinite number of linguistic practices existing in any particular speech community (Woolard and Gahng 1990). However, these accumulated practices can be more readily captured through an analysis of language attitudes. While previous research has found that attitudinal data are not always an accurate measure of actual language use, an analysis of language attitudes in this research will be used to provide insights into broad pre-behavioural trends in the Irish and Galician sociolinguistic contexts. It will therefore be argued that while language attitudes are not the only variables influencing the survival of a language, in order for language revitalisation to occur, favourable attitudes constitute a very important condition.

In this study insights into the survival prospects of Irish and Galician were collected through a quantitative analysis of language attitudes amongst two university student populations in Ireland's and Galicia's largest cities, Dublin and Vigo, respectively. As well as the practical considerations associated with investigating student populations, from a theoretical perspective, the socio-demographic profile of this sub-sector of Irish and Galician society provides important insights into the future of the two language cases under investigation. The majority of the Irish and Galician respondents queried in this study ranged in age from between 18-24 years old. Their views can tell us something about the types of views held by younger sectors of the population towards each language case. Previous research on minority language situations indicates that the attitudes of the younger generation have important repercussions on the linguistic prosperity of a speech community since it is ultimately their views on the language which will determine the direction that changes will take in the near future.

As university students, the attitudes of the Irish and Galician respondents queried in this research reflect those of young educated and predominantly middle-class sectors of Irish and Galician societies. Given the link between education and the labour market, it is likely that their educational qualifications will also allow them access to more privileged social class positions within Irish and Galician society. Crystal (1999) points to the importance of engaging support from higher social groups in the process of language recovery as such groups are often instrumental in providing the necessary leadership that can bring about mobilisation for language change to occur. Moreover, changes in attitudes and behaviour tend to filter down through the social hierarchy, with those at the upper end of the social scale providing role models for the rest of society. The ideas about what constitute prestige and status symbols tend to be developed amongst upwardly mobile or dominant groups. University student groups are particularly prone to such mobility, exposed to the more national and international forces of the labour market. The attitudes of these societal groups towards minority languages such as Irish and Galician are therefore likely to be powerful in defining the terms on which other members of society would be expected to evaluate their situations and the meaning which would come to be attached to these languages. Social and geographical mobility is said to decrease visibility of people's social origin. Both in terms of age, level of education and social class, it was thus assumed that the attitudes towards Irish and Galician amongst university students could tell us something meaningful about the future of the two languages investigated in the current study.

Although the main focus of the study is on the language attitudes of young educated individuals in the Irish and Galician sociolinguistic contexts, data was also collected on patterns of language proficiency and use, as well as information on the social and demographic characteristics of respondents, with a view to explaining the attitudinal data. Therefore, in addition to determining the level of support amongst this sub-sector of the Irish and Galician population, the study also sought to examine the factors which were influencing attitudes within these groups.

While a vast number of sociolinguistic studies have been carried out on each individual language case, no formal comparison of the two language cases has yet been conducted. This study therefore constitutes an attempt to compare these two languages in a systematic way. This kind of contrastive research provides an opportunity to explore how and why attitudes towards minority languages change in different sociolinguistic contexts. Furthermore, this research allows us to observe whether there is a cross-national correlation between the attitudes of young educated individuals in two European contexts toward linguistic diversity in an increasingly globalised world and to identify the salient features found in the types of views held about a minority language more generally. This will allow us to assess the degree to which a more localised sense of identity is being maintained through cultural symbols such as language.

Chapter Outline and Structure

The study is presented as follows: Chapter 1 provides a review of the literature in the area of language attitudes. The purpose of this literature review is to contextualise some of the main and most useful approaches to inquiry in the field and to draw specifically on those which could be most fruitfully applied to the comparative analysis of attitudes towards minority or lesser-used language cases. The definitions, theories, perspectives and methodologies discussed in this chapter provide the analytical framework which guides a formal study of attitudes towards Irish and Galician, the two language cases being investigated.

Chapter 2 defines how language attitudes have been understood in the current study and presents the rationale behind the choice of method for the purposes of this research. The remainder of the chapter outlines the different steps which were taken in the elaboration of the research instrument, questionnaire design, the sampling methods used, the distribution of the questionnaire and the choice of statistical techniques in the analysis of the data.

Chapter 3 provides an overview of the way in which attitudes towards Irish and Galician have evolved. The chapter presents an overview of the Irish and Galician sociolinguistic contexts and is therefore intended to set the scene for the attitudinal data which will be presented in Chapters 5 and 6 of the thesis. The chapter begins with a brief description of the historical circumstances which led to the minorisation of each of the language cases under investigation. The socio-political and socio-economic factors which shaped the languages' sociolinguistic histories are also reviewed. In this chapter we also examine key changes in language policy relating to Irish and Galician and situate these changes in the broader context of socio-economic and political changes taking place in Irish and Galician societies. Chapter 4 examines the effects of such policies on language attitudes and behaviour in Ireland and Galicia. Finally, an overview of sociolinguistic survey research on Irish and Galician will be presented with a scrutiny of the defining features of the particular sector of Irish and Galician populations on which the current study has focused.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the questionnaire survey of language attitudes from a sample consisting of 817 Irish and 725 Galician 18- to 24-year-olds. The opening pages of this chapter outline the socio-demographic and sociolinguistic profile of these two student samples. This is followed by a preliminary overview of responses to a range of statements and questions which were used to measure the level of support amongst respondents for their respective language cases. The remainder of the chapter examines the pattern of language attitudes underlying students' responses.

Chapter 6 relates the attitudinal patterns described in Chapter 5 to a number of possible explanatory variables and their statistical significance is presented. The chapter concludes with a summary of the variables which were found to be most predictive of language attitudes amongst Irish and Galician respondents.

Chapter 7 summarises patterns in the attitudes of Irish and Galician respondents towards their respective minority language cases and highlights some of the implications of these findings for the vitality of each language. The second part of

the chapter looks more specifically at the factors which seem to be influencing the attitudes towards Irish and Galician amongst younger age-groups. These factors are discussed in the context of existing research and their implications are assessed. This is followed by overall conclusions on the attitudes elucidated in both sociolinguistic contexts.

**CHAPTER 1 - LANGUAGE ATTITUDES: A REVIEW OF
PERSPECTIVES, THEORIES AND METHODS**

1. Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to contextualise some of the most salient theoretical approaches to inquiry in the field of language attitude research and to draw specifically on those which could be most fruitfully applied to the cross-national comparison of attitudes towards two minority or lesser-used language cases. The definitions, theories, perspectives and methodological approaches discussed in this chapter provide the analytical framework which will guide the formal study of attitudes towards Irish and Galician, the two language cases investigated in the current study. This framework will be applied to and used to guide subsequent analyses, the discussion of methodologies and the empirical findings.

1.1. Introduction

As stated in the introduction, one of the aims of this research is to shed some light on the linguistic vitality and future survival prospects of two of Europe's lesser-used languages, Irish and Galician. In determining the outcome of language contact situations and the survival prospects of these and other languages, early studies on language maintenance and shift tended to implicate macro-social events as direct causes of language survival or decline (see Weinreich 1968; Fishman 1976a). However, later research has highlighted that it is only through an analysis of the interpretative filter of beliefs about language that the effects of macro-social factors on language maintenance and shift can be assessed (Mertz 1989: 109).

The 'interpretative filter' of beliefs, to which Mertz (1989) refers, can be looked at under the frequently cited generic heading of *language attitudes*. The general area of attitudinal research is in itself significant in all social sciences concerned with explaining patterns of human behaviour. The perceived utility of *attitude* in the context of language-related research stems from an understanding of language as a form of social behaviour and a recognition that the evolution of linguistic structures and uses necessarily involves an analysis of speakers' ideas about the meaning, function and value of different ways of speaking and the use of different languages (Silverstein 1985: 220). According to Woolard (1998: 11), this stance moves beyond that taken in earlier linguistic and anthropological studies in which language attitudes and ideologies were seen as a distraction from the primary and thus 'real' linguistic data. She notes that Bloomfield (1933: 22), for instance, referred to such studies as a 'detour' to the explanation of the structure of language.

Woolard (1998: 10) highlights that the emphasis of ideological analysis on the social and experimental origins of systems of signification such as language helps counter the treatment of such systems as 'natural', forcing us to question how seemingly essential and natural meanings of and about language and language use are socially produced as effective and powerful. Implicit or explicit judgements and evaluations

about language varieties which often lead to their categorisation along bi-polar lines as being 'better' or 'worse', 'correct' or 'incorrect', 'logical' or 'illogical', 'beautiful' or 'ugly', capture the social conventions within speech communities concerning the status and prestige of the different languages or language varieties spoken.

While it is unlikely from a linguistic point of view that language and language varieties are 'better' or 'worse', such judgements are commonly made (Edwards 1994). However, as Fishman (1976b: 331) points out, the absence or presence of a "kernel" of truth (or verifiability itself) is entirely unrelated to the mobilising power of such views. Spitulnik (1998) stresses that language ideologies and processes of language evaluation are never just about language. She highlights that:

Language ideologies are, among many other things, about the construction and legitimisation of power, the production of social relations of sameness and difference and the criterion of cultural stereotypes about types of speakers and social groups (Spitulnik 1998: 164).

Although much of the work on *language attitudes* has been conducted under the rubric of the social psychology of language, other disciplines including linguistic anthropology, the sociology of language, sociolinguistics and education have also shared overlapping concerns and involvement. Despite the extensive survey of work in the area, a great deal of attitudinal data is, however, also overlooked due to the lack of terminological consensus surrounding *language attitudes* as a concept across different research disciplines, where several other terms including *opinion*, *belief*, *habit*, *value*, *evaluation*, *perception* and *ideology* are frequently used.

Given the welter of research perspectives and the wide range of labels used to describe the concept, the invocation of *language attitude* in the research programme announced in this thesis does not aim to resolve such terminological debates. The initial choice of the term *language attitude* derives from the fact that this term is most frequently used in the literature and thus its choice for this study is in many ways as much circumstantial as considered. Although the literature on *language*

attitudes will be reviewed from the broadest possible perspective, this review cannot aspire to be exhaustive. Instead, the purpose here is to contextualise some of the key and currently most productive approaches to inquiry and to situate the work described in this thesis within these trends.

1.2. Towards an Understanding of Language Attitudes

1.2.1. Language Attitudes in the Area of Social Psychology

While it is essential to recognise the multiplicity of existing traditions in *language attitude* research, it is generally acknowledged that much of the work in the area draws specifically on the social psychology of language (see Baker 1992; Giles et al. 1987). This is perhaps not surprising given that the term *attitude* itself is what Edwards (1994: 97) describes as ‘the cornerstone of traditional social psychology’. As Baker (1992: 11) points out, the incorporation of the term into the area of social psychology can be traced to Allport’s (1935) classic definition in which he describes *attitude* as :

[...] a mental or neural state of readiness, organised through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual’s response to all objects and situations with which it is related (cited in Baker 1992: 11).

Since this initial contribution, the use of the term has proliferated and the concept of ‘attitude’ is, according to Allport (1985: 35), ‘probably the most distinctive and indispensable concept in contemporary (American) social psychology’. However, despite its popularity, even within the core discipline of social psychology, there is no general agreement on its definition as an examination of any text of social psychology will demonstrate (Edwards 1982: 20). Amongst the countless definitions which have been formulated, one of the most widely used is that offered by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975: 6) who define *attitude* as a learned predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object.

According to this definition, an attitude is not innate but 'learned' through a socialisation process which begins in early childhood and, as Allport's (1935) definition highlights, is 'organised through experience' within the social world. This means that attitudes are not fixed but are instead constantly fluctuating and shifting according to their social environment; hence the name given to the science in which attitudes are generally studied – *social psychology* which draws on both sociology and psychology.

Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) definition, like that proposed by Allport (1935), reflects the *mentalist* perspective within attitude studies in which an *attitude* is viewed as 'an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response' (see Williams 1974: 21). According to the *mentalist* perspective, an *attitude* is a deep-seated and private 'state of readiness rather than an observable response' (Fasold 1984: 147). In contrast to this is the *behaviourist* perspective which views attitudes as overt and observable responses to social situations, thereby essentially by-passing *attitudes* per se and concentrating directly on expressed behaviour (see McGuire 1969). However, as Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) have pointed out, resorting solely to the *behaviourist* model makes *attitude* a dependent variable and as such it loses its capacity to account for and explain social behaviour. Although Giles et al's (1983: 83) review of the literature on *language attitudes* includes behaviourist elements such as 'self-reports concerning language use', the more conventional practice among scholars in the field tends towards a mentalist perspective (see Agheyisi and Fishman 1970; Cooper and Fishman 1974; Baker 1992).

Attitudes, so defined, are seen to be made up of hypothetical constructs which are formed from a number of different components. While there is not universal agreement on the actual number of these components nor the relationship between them, social psychologists often operate with three different components: cognitive (entailing beliefs about the world), affective (involving feelings towards an object) and behavioural (encouraging or promoting certain actions), with more or less complex componential models of *attitude* constructed across different theoretical

approaches. Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) theoretical approach for instance, distinguishes along these three componential lines but these authors change their labels to 'attitude', 'belief' and 'behavioural intention'. According to this framework, the term 'attitude' corresponds specifically to the affective dimension and is used to indicate an evaluation or a degree of favourability towards an object. Beliefs, on the other hand, are used to describe the cognitive dimension and indicate a person's subjective probability that an object has a particular characteristic. Behavioural intentions constitute the third componential division and, according to Fishbein and Ajzen (1975), describe a person's subjective probability that he/she will perform a particular behaviour towards an object. According to Ajzen (1988), these three components merge to form a single construct of attitude at a higher level of abstraction. Ajzen (1988) gives the following explanation of how this hierarchical model of attitude accounts for the way in which attitudes affect behaviour:

The actual or symbolic presence of an object elicits a generally favorable or unfavorable evaluative reaction, the attitude towards the object. This attitude, in turn, predisposes cognitive, affective and conative responses to the object whose evaluative tone is consistent with the overall attitude (Ajzen 1988: 22-23).

Although theorists such as McGuire (1969: 157) have questioned the validity of making these three distinctions claiming that '...theorists who insist on distinguishing them should bear the burden of proving the distinction is worthwhile', Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975) work in the field provides evidence that componential differentiation is in fact necessary and worthwhile from both a theoretical and empirical point of view. Their theory postulates that there is no necessary congruence between the affective, cognitive and behavioural dimensions of attitudes, thus justifying the need to analyse attitudinal components separately. Componential separation in the context of language attitudes is also justified according to Edwards (1994: 98) who notes that a person might believe that a language is important for career prospects (beliefs) but at the same time loathe the language (feelings). In attitude measurement, formal statements about a language generally reflect the cognitive component of an attitude which tends to contain surface evaluations about the language. There are doubts as to whether deep-seated, private feelings (affective component), especially when incongruent with preferred public statements, are truly

elicited in attitude measurement (Baker 1992). However, this point will be taken up again in Chapter 2 and looked at in more detail in the discussion of methods used in the measurements of language attitudes.

1.2.1.1. Socio-Psychological Definitions of Language Attitudes

While noting that no single definition of attitude carries universal approval, Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975: 6) definition of the concept as a learned 'predisposition to act in a favourable or unfavourable way towards an object' provides a useful starting point. In the case of language attitudes, which is what concerns us here, the 'object' towards which such predispositions are held is language. However, language attitude studies are seldom confined to language itself and are more often extended to include attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or variety as well as a range of language-relevant 'objects' such as language maintenance and shift, planning efforts, linguistic policies, language use. Ryan et al. (1982: 7) define language attitudes as 'any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers'. Adegbija (2000) views language attitudes from a broad perspective:

[...] which accommodates evaluative judgements made about a language or its variety, its speakers, towards efforts at promoting, maintaining or planning a language, or even towards learning it (Adegbija 2000: 77).

Such language-relevant 'objects' can be further extended to include language-relevant 'institutions' and language-relevant 'events' in line with Ajzen's (1988: 4) definition of attitude as 'a disposition to respond favorably or unfavorably to an object, person, institution, or event'. Language attitude is therefore what Baker (1992: 29) describes as an 'umbrella' term under which resides a variety of specific attitudes. Indeed Giles et al's (1983) review of the literature in the area of language attitudes highlights the extensive range within which the term can be understood, which includes:

[...] language evaluation (how favourably a variety is viewed), language preference (e.g., which of two languages or varieties is

preferred for certain purposes in certain situations), desirability and reasons for learning a particular language, evaluation of social groups who use a particular variety, self-reports concerning language use, desirability of bilingualism and bilingual education, and opinions concerning shifting or maintaining language policies (Giles et al. 1983: 83).

However, as pointed out earlier, although Giles et al. (1983: 83) include behaviourist elements of language attitudes such as ‘self-reports concerning language use’, more conventional studies of language attitudes, especially within the socio-psychological perspective, tend to make an explicit distinction between attitudes in the mentalist and behaviourist sense. Similarly, the inclusion of ‘opinions’ under the heading of language attitudes is not widely agreed upon. Baker (1992: 13) explicitly distinguishes between ‘attitude’ and ‘opinion’ and defines the latter as an overt belief without an affective reaction. Nevertheless, Giles et al.’s (1983) literature review in the area of language attitudes and their inclusion of behaviours and opinions, clearly implies recognition of the diverse approaches and theoretical perspectives which the area encompasses.

1.2.2. Socially-Grounded Approaches to Language Attitudes

Although the discussion thus far has looked at language attitudes from a socio-psychological perspective, language attitudes have also been fruitfully assessed within the rubric of sociology and anthropology. According to Woolard (1998: 16), such socially-grounded approaches to *language attitudes* (see Gal 1979; Dorian 1981; Woolard 1989) recast the interpersonal attitude which grew up within the social-psychological tradition as ‘a socially derived, intellectualised or behavioural ideology akin to Bourdieu’s ‘habitus’. The replacement of the term *attitude*, by *ideology*, in Woolard’s (1998) definition, marks a different research perspective and emphasises the more sociological as opposed to the traditionally psychological focus of language attitude research. In doing so, the term *ideology* highlights the importance of the group as opposed to the individual and uses the term to refer to codification of group norms and values (Baker 1992: 15), rather than the more

individualistic representations manifested through *language attitudes* within the social-psychological framework.

1.2.2.1. Socially-Grounded Definitions of Language Attitudes

As with the term *attitude*, *ideology* is also associated with a very often confusing tangle of definitions and meanings. Woolard (1998: 5-6) emphasises that contemporary uses of the term point to several recurring strands and, while recognising that none of them is universal or untroubling, singles out a number of key themes from the literature on ideologies. Within one such school of thought, ideology is viewed as ideational or conceptual and as something that refers to mental phenomena. According to this interpretation, *ideology* is part of our consciousness and is made up of subjective representations, beliefs and ideas. The subjectivist and mentalist siting of *ideology* can be loosely compared with the *mentalist* perspective which is commonly adopted in the social-psychological interpretations of *attitude*. However, this interpretation of *ideology* constitutes a minority trend which is not universally accepted amongst scholars of *ideology*. According to Woolard (1998), the most influential view of ideology over the past few decades is one in which ideology is viewed as behavioural and where the signification or meaning through lived relations rather than ideation in a mentalist sense is the core phenomenon.

We will recall that in Woolard's (1998: 16) socially-grounded definition of *attitude*, she draws a likeness between this 'socially derived, intellectualised or behavioural ideology' and Bourdieu's 'habitus'. The concept of 'habitus', which draws on the broader sociological programme of the French sociologist, Pierre Bourdieu, can be understood as:

[...] a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks (Thompson 1991: 12).

Obvious conceptual parallels can be found between the social-psychological interpretation of *attitude* and *habitus* in that both highlight the presence of a dispositional quality which can be used to explain behaviour. In the context of Bourdieu's theories on language and society, the 'socially-derived ideology' of the *linguistic habitus* constitutes a key concept in the understanding of his sociological theory of language behaviour and language use. This theory highlights the interactive nature of language contact situations, in which the *linguistic habitus* which functions as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions helps explain what happens between two speakers in a language contact situation. The componential structure of attitudes is also present in this sociological interpretation, 'as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions' which can be compared with what are referred to as the cognitive, affective and behavioural components in the terminology used in social psychology. As was already pointed out in the discussion of the term *ideology*, the two broad perspectives, distinguishing the *mentalist* and *behaviourist* orientations within social psychology, are also present in Woolard's (1998: 16) definition through her reference to 'intellectualised' and 'behavioural' approaches to ideology.

We will recall from the earlier discussion of language attitudes within a socio-psychological perspective that an attitude is understood as a 'learned' disposition (Fishbein and Ajzen's 1975: 6) which follows a process which begins in early childhood and is organised through experience within the social world. Sociological perspectives, however, tend to place more emphasis on the external socialisation processes involved in shaping language attitudes. As Bourdieu (1991: 82) points out, as a result of this socialisation process, the system of successive reinforcements or refutations has constituted in each one of us a certain sense of the social value of linguistic usages and all subsequent perceptions of linguistic products. Therefore, while sociologically-grounded approaches do not refute the fact that dispositions towards a language are acquired by an individual, they stress that such dispositions reflect a common response to a set of common societal conditions rather than to individualistic conditions.

1.3. Language Attitudes as Predictors of Language Behaviour

It is generally agreed that the survival of a language depends on the degree to which it is used by members of a community (see Fishman 1976, 1991). It thus follows that the behavioural dimension of language attitudes is of most interest in the studies concerning the future of lesser-used or minority languages. However, understanding and measuring this behavioural dimension has also proven most problematic. In the area of social psychology, attitude-behaviour relations have been a major concern for many years and, although several experiments have been carried out with the aim of analysing the complex relationship between people's attitudes and their behaviours (see Wicker 1969 for an overview), the conclusions are far from unanimous. Cohen (1964: 138), for example, says that in most work on attitude-behaviour relations, 'attitudes are always seen as precursors of behaviour, as determinants of how a person will actually behave in his daily affairs', but LaPiere's frequently cited study (1934) provided counter-evidence (He concluded, for example, that the attitudes overtly expressed by U.S. hotel managers in terms of serving a Chinese couple were often inconsistent with their actual behaviour). Likewise, Wicker (1969: 65), who provides a detailed review of attitude-behaviour research, argues that 'it is considerably more likely that attitudes will be unrelated or only slightly related to overt behaviours than that attitudes will be closely related to actions'. Within the social psychology of language, experiments have been used to analyse the complex relationship between language attitudes and language behaviour (see Bourhis and Giles 1976; Kristiansen and Giles 1992; Fishman 1969; Ladegaard 2000) but, as with those in the core discipline of social psychology, conclusions are not unanimous.

The lack of consensus, conceptual difficulties in defining the term and subsequently building on theory brought attitude research under severe criticism regarding its role and utility in predicting and explaining human behaviour (Wicker 1969; McGuire 1969). Behaviourist models especially question the role of attitude research and suggest concentration on actual behaviour rather than 'behavioural intentions'. Thus, there was and continues to be a growing tendency to question the ability to predict action from attitude or indeed attitudes from action. These criticisms are also to be

found in language attitude research and the mismatch between language attitudes and behaviour has led some writers to suggest by-passing language attitudes altogether and studying language use directly (see for example Boyd 1985).

However, such criticisms of attitudinal research have led to a more sophisticated understanding of attitudes and what they can tell us about behaviour. According to Ajzen (1988):

Every particular instance of human action is (...) determined by a unique set of factors. Any change in circumstances, be it ever so slight, might produce a different reaction (Ajzen 1988: 45).

It thus follows that apparent differences between attitude and behaviour can be explained by the specificity or generality of the attitude and the behaviour under investigation. Broad attitudes, for instance, will be poor indicators of very specific action. As Baker (1992) highlights:

Human behaviour is mostly consistent, patterned and congruent in terms of attitudes and action, so long as the same levels of generality are used (Baker 1992: 17).

Consequently, a general attitude towards a language will be a poor indicator of specific behaviour such as use of that language with friends during lunch-break at school.

Wicker (1969: 67 - 74) outlines, from a socio-psychological perspective, some of the personal and situational factors which may affect behaviour and his theories provide a clearer understanding of the apparent mismatch between language attitudes and language use. The personal factors, which, according to Wicker, can be seen to influence behaviour include a person's verbal, intellectual or social abilities. When applied to language attitudes, this means that a person might, for example, express positive attitudes towards increasing use of a minority language but, because of low levels of linguistic competence in the language, feel unable to change his/her language accordingly. A second personal factor to consider, according to Wicker (1969), is that of competing motives which might influence different types of

behaviour. Subjects may, for instance, be faced with a situation in which they have to choose between using the language of the peer group or the language of parents and the subsequent consequences associated with these choices.

The situational factors identified by Wicker (1969) include the actual or considered presence of certain people. Peer group members may for instance influence a speaker's language choice even though they are not directly involved in conversation interaction. Another situational factor which needs to be considered is that of normative prescriptions of what is considered to be proper behaviour. A person may for example have positive attitudes towards a language but might be reluctant to put it to use because the language is considered inappropriate for certain social contexts.

Wicker (1969) also suggests that alternative behaviours available to subjects should be considered. For example, a person may have fairly negative attitudes towards the minority language but may be required as part of the school curriculum to be able to speak that language during oral examinations, in which case necessity is more influential than attitude. A final situational factor which, according to Wicker (1969), may affect behaviour, is that of the expected and/or actual consequences of various behavioural acts such as how a person is perceived by others if he or she speaks the minority language, involving the use of stigmatised labels such as 'old fashioned', 'backward' or 'country bumpkin'.

From a sociological perspective, the role given to situational factors in Bourdieu's (1991) theoretical model on language exchanges can also help explain the complex interplay between the socially-derived ideology of the 'habitus' (understood as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions) and language behaviour. According to this model, individuals adopt strategies with regard to the use or non-use of language based on the 'profit' or advantage that the speaker can derive from the situation. Bourdieu's theoretical model on language exchanges suggests that practices, including linguistic ones, follow a logic that is economic. According to Bourdieu (1991):

Every speech act and, more generally, every action, is a conjuncture, an encounter between independently causal series. On the one hand, there are the socially constructed dispositions of the linguistic habitus, which imply a certain propensity to speak and say determinate things and a certain capacity to speak, which involves both the linguistic capacity to generate an infinite number of grammatically correct discourses, and the social capacity to use this competence adequately in a determinate situation. On the other hand, there are the structures of the linguistic market, which impose themselves as a system of specific sanctions and censorship (Bourdieu 1991: 37).

Therefore, language attitudes are not only socially constructed through the linguistic habitus but are at the same time determined by the broader social context of the 'linguistic market'. This market can be understood as the broader macro-social, economic and political context impacting on language attitudes and behaviour at a more micro-level.

According to Bourdieu's framework, languages are always spoken in a particular market or within a certain social field. Within these markets or social fields, languages are accorded certain values and it is part of the 'practical competence' of the speaker to know when, where and with whom to use a certain language in order to derive maximum 'profit' from the situation. The linguistic and social competence which individuals possess in a language functions as what Bourdieu terms 'linguistic capital'. Language choice is determined by the speaker's knowledge about the social meanings or values attached to the different languages or language varieties available on the linguistic market. These values can be purely economic or monetary, but can also have a symbolic value such as prestige or honour, and a cultural value in the form of educational qualifications or skills. These values can vary across different markets or social fields. A language may, for example, have a low economic value but may be highly valued as a symbol of group identity.

1.3.1. The Merits of Language Attitude Research

Although the relationship between language attitudes and behaviour has been shown to be spurious, inconsistencies between what people say and what people do have perhaps as much if not more to do with the complexity of language behaviour itself as with the inadequacies of language attitudes. Therefore, eliminating attitudinal research from the equation does not resolve these complexities but instead can be seen to diminish our understanding of language behaviour. Most writers agree that attitudes provide imperfect indicators of behaviour but they also emphasise that such imperfections do not justify a move towards sole concentration on behaviour since direct analysis of linguistic behaviour is also problematic, on both a theoretical and practical level.

From a theoretical perspective, Baker (1992: 16) notes that observation of external behaviour does not necessarily lead to an accurate and valid understanding of social reality. Instead external behaviour, consciously or unconsciously designed to disguise or conceal inner attitudes, may in fact produce miscategorisation and wrong explanations. On a practical level, changes in language use and behaviour are notoriously difficult to document on a large scale (Woolard and Gahng 1990) given the infinite number of linguistic practices existing in any particular speech community. Thus, the ability to capture these accumulated practices through language attitudes offers a more efficient and methodologically practical mode of data collection.

Much criticism surrounding attitudinal research has concentrated on the shortcomings of such inquiry and as a result, valuable insights that can be gained from a knowledge of language attitudes tend to be overlooked. Although countless studies have shown inconsistencies between language attitudes and actual use, Baker (1992: 16) points out that, in fact, 'attitudes may be better predictors of future behaviour than observation of current behaviour'. Woolard and Gahng (1990: 312) make a similar point in support of attitudinal studies suggesting that because of '...the mediating import of symbolic values, it is useful to consider changes in

language attitudes and values even when behavioural changes are not (yet) apparent or are not readily documented'. In the context of lesser-used or minority languages, as predictors of future behaviour, language attitudes provide a useful barometer for language planners and policy makers, who are in a position to intervene and enhance conditions for language use. As highlighted in the earlier discussion of the personal and situational factors (Wicker 1969) which may affect behaviour, this might involve enhancing intellectual and social abilities such as linguistic competence in the language through, for example, the provision of language classes. Such measures are of course in response to the incidence of positive attitudes towards the language in a community. However, language planners also need to be aware of negative attitudes towards a language because, as Baker (1992) points out:

Attempting language shift by language planning, language policy making and the provision of human and material resources can all come to nothing if attitudes are not favourable to change. Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community. Having a favourable attitude to the subject of language attitudes becomes important in bilingual policy and practice (Baker 1992: 21).

Mac Donnacha's (2000) *Integrated Language Planning Model* includes language attitudes as a key component (although not the only component) in ensuring the maintenance or loss of a minority language and offers three reasons why positive attitudes towards the target language are important. The first reason given in support of language attitude research by Mac Donnacha is that highly positive attitudes toward the target language may cause individuals to take direct or secondary action towards that language. For Mac Donnacha, direct action might include, for example, learning the language and using it in various settings. This may require considerable sacrifice in terms of time, effort and sometimes money by the individual or group.

Secondary action, on the other hand, involves a more passive stance and might include providing one's own children with the opportunity to learn the language or sending them to a school which teaches through the medium of the target language or making personal financial contributions to language organisations or activities. The second reason why positive attitudes towards a language are important according to

Mac Donnacha is that positive attitudes towards the target language amongst the community in general can provide a form of moral support for those who speak and/or are promoting the target language. Finally, in order for any government to sustain high levels of investment over long periods of time to maintain or revive a minority language, positive attitudes amongst the population are necessary.

Similarly, Grin (2003: 44) and Grin and Vaillancourt (1999: 98), include positive language attitudes as one of the three conditions necessary for increased language use in a community. Like Mac Donnacha (2000), these authors are careful to point out that language attitudes are not the only variables needed for languages to thrive, emphasising that linguistic capacity and opportunity to use the language are also key conditions needed to increase language use. Nevertheless, according to Grin and Vaillancourt (1999: 98), for language revitalisation to occur, ‘...favourable attitudes probably represent the single most important condition, and one that eventually pulls the others; in other words, we believe that in general, *supply follows demand*’ (emphasis in the original).

1.4. The Multidimensional Nature of Language Attitudes

As previously noted, Giles et al’s (1983) review of the literature on language attitudes includes a wide variety of language-relevant ‘objects’, ‘persons’, ‘institutions’ and ‘events’ towards which favourable or unfavourable dispositions can be held. In understanding the survival of lesser-used or minority languages, which is the objective of this research, it is not sufficient to look at attitudes towards the language itself but to find out about and distinguish between attitudes towards the language across different domains such as the home, education, administration, as well as reactions to linguistic policies, institutional support for the language and the desired future of the language.

Mac Donnacha (2000) for instance, points out that a distinction has to be made between attitudes towards the target language and attitudes towards specific policies

concerning it, noting that research in relation to Irish has shown that, although there is widespread support of the language, there is also considerable opposition to policies which are perceived to involve any sort of unfair advantage, coercion or favouritism in connection with language. Various language-related issues or themes may be more or less favoured by members of a community. Therefore, attitudes tend to be multidimensional rather than unidimensional and tend to contain several layers of meaning.

Lewis (1975), makes a sixfold conceptual distinction between dimensions of attitudes towards Welsh, which he categorises according to a number of themes. The first category looks at people's general approval of the Welsh language, which is operationalised through an attitudinal statement such as 'I like to speak Welsh', with no reference to where, why or with whom. The second category assesses more specific attitudes towards the Welsh language, which Lewis labels commitment to practice, which in turn can be operationalised as 'I want to maintain Welsh to enable Wales to develop'. National ethnic tradition, economic and social communicative importance, family and local considerations and, finally, personal, ideological considerations constitute the four other conceptual distinctions identified by Lewis in assessing attitudes towards Welsh.

One potential problem with such conceptual distinctions is in establishing whether or not such distinctions are present within the personal constructions of individuals. However, because language attitude studies can now draw on sophisticated statistical methods such as factor analysis, which allows attitudinal dimensions to be explored (see section 2.3. for a more detailed discussion), this problem is to a large extent resolved. What is considered more problematic is replicating these conceptual dimensions across time, context and sample. Although the conceptual categories used in Lewis' (1975) study were apt for the sample of Welsh respondents that he looked at, such conceptual constructions may differ in another language context or even across a different sample of Welsh respondents.

Baker (1992: 31) points to 'instrumental' (the desire to get ahead in some way) and 'integrative' (the desire to be accepted by another group) dimensions of language attitudes which have in fact been identified by researchers across boundaries of time, sample and nation. These two dimensions which correspond to socio-psychological distinctions between different forms of motivations can be traced to Gardner and Lambert's (1972) influential study of second-language acquisition. 'Instrumental' and 'integrative' dimensions roughly correspond to the labels 'status' (or prestige) and 'solidarity' used, for example, in socially-grounded distinctions made by Gal (1979) and Dorian (1981) to account for language maintenance and shift. Studies have found for example that attitudes towards a language may be positive in terms of the 'solidarity' dimension but negative in terms of 'status' values or vice-versa.

1.4.1. The 'Integrative'/ 'Solidarity' Dimension of Language Attitudes

The 'integrative'/ 'solidarity' dimension of language attitudes stems from the idea that language binds, or integrates, people into a community of shared understandings and hence identity. Subsequently, the strength of a minority or lesser-used language can be predicted by the degree to which speakers value their language as a symbol of group or ethnic identity. The language and identity perspective as an attitudinal dimension is based on the well-established premise that language plays an important role in defining or symbolising a sense of 'ethnic' or group identity and thus making it a valuable resource to be protected.

For Anderson (1991: 133) language constitutes an important symbol of identity because of 'its capacity for generating imagined communities, building in effect *particular solidarities*' (emphasis in the original). Languages are taken to symbolise group solidarity and as a means of marking distinctions across different ethnic or social groups and in doing so serve an important boundary-marking function (Tabouret-Keller 1997; Heller 1994, 1999), which, in Barthian terms, can be used to distinguish 'them' from 'us' (see Barth 1969). May (2001: 131) suggests a parallel between the boundary-marking function of language and Armstrong's (1982) notion of 'symbolic border guards'. The 'border guard' concept to which Armstrong (1982)

refers is linked to specific cultural codes such as language, and these codes function to identify people as members or non-members of a specific national collectivity. It thus follows that in cases where language boundaries are used as a demarcating feature of a collective identity, a blurring of these boundaries is sometimes regarded as a threat to the group's existence (Khleif 1979). Similarly, where language is central to defining a group or, in Smolicz's (1995) terms, where language acts as a 'core cultural value', the weakening of language as a demarcating feature can be perceived as a means of endangering the legitimacy of the group.

According to Fishman (1987: 639), the potential symbolic role of any language derives from its intricate indexical and part-whole relationship with its associated culture. The *indexical link* between a language and a particular culture 'is, at any time during which that linkage is still intact, best able to name the artifacts and to formulate or express the interests, values and world-views of that culture' (Fishman 1991: 20). This proposition constitutes a weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis according to which people who speak different languages display different cultural outlooks as a result of a culturally-specific structuring of reality through language (see May 2001: 133). Language is thus seen as influential in shaping our customary way of thinking (Edwards 1994), a notion which, according to May (2001: 133) is akin to Bourdieu's linguistic 'habitus' which comprises a set of dispositions which are acquired in the course of learning to speak in particular social and cultural contexts.

As well as an indexical link between language and a particular culture, Fishman (1987: 639) also refers to a *part-whole* relationship between language and culture. Fishman (1991) argues that because so much of any culture is verbally constituted through its history, stories and songs, there are parts of every culture that are expressed via the language with which that culture is most closely associated. It thus follows that patterns associated with a particular language are culturally or locally rather than universally applicable. As we will see in Chapter 5, this relationship is highly relevant in understanding young people's attitudes towards Irish and Galician.

1.4.1.1. The Predictive Power of the 'Integrative'/ 'Solidarity' Dimension

The literature on language maintenance and shift (see Fishman 1991; May 2001; Paulston 1994) highlights the fact that support for a language as a symbol of ethnic or group identity does not necessarily in and of itself prevent language shift. For some individuals and groups, the language and identity link may be little more than a superficial marker of identity, and positive support for the language on this level need never move beyond its symbolic role. According to Eastman (1984: 275), language use constitutes a surface feature of ethnic identity and therefore, in adopting another language, ethnic identity in itself is not affected. According to this position, the original language of the ethnic group becomes what Eastman (1984) calls an 'associated' language, where the language continues to be upheld by the group as a constituent part of its heritage but is rarely if ever used.

The 'associated' function of language has clear parallels with the weak form of social mobilisation adopted by minority language groups which Paulston (1994) terms *ethnicity*. In her conceptual model for the prediction of maintenance or loss of a minority language, Paulston characterises different types of social mobilisation adopted by minority groups on a four-point continuum ranging from *ethnicity* to *geographic nationalism*. She uses the concept of social mobilisation to describe firstly, the level of recognition amongst members of a minority group of certain cultural features (including language) particular to the group, and, secondly, the perception that the minority group has of its relation with some dominant 'other'.

Ethnicity, which is the first point on the social mobilisation continuum, is defined as a type of social mobilisation which is based on learned behaviour associated with a common past and common cultural values and beliefs (Paulston 1994: 30-31). Minority groups that adopt this type of social mobilisation tend not to feel discriminated against or to feel that they are participating in a power struggle with

another ethnic group. For minority groups that fall under this category, although language continues to be recognised as a defining feature of the group (or in Eastman's (1984) terms, the language continues to be recognised as an 'associated' language), the language use aspect of identity disappears due to the lack of perceived necessity by the group to explicitly demarcate ethnic boundaries on the basis of language. Paulston (1994) predicts that the closer a minority group's social mobilisation comes to *ethnicity*, the more likely the group is to lose the minority language and to assimilate to the dominant group.

However, language use as an aspect of identity increases for minority groups where *ethnicity* turns 'militant' (Paulston 1994: 32), adopting the second form of social mobilisation within the four-point continuum which Paulston terms *ethnic movement*. In addition to identifying with common cultural values such as a specific language, the members of minority groups who fall into the *ethnic movement* category also see themselves competing with another ethnic majority for scarce goods and resources. As a result, language becomes symbolic of the power struggle between the minority and the dominant group. The third point on the continuum is *ethnic nationalism*, which incorporates access to territory by the ethnic group and the goal of political independence. Paulston also adds a fourth point on the continuum which she terms *geographic nationalism* defined as a nationalist movement which is territorially but not ethnically based.

As well as distinguishing different minority language cases, Paulston's (1994) framework can also be used to explain the varying relationships to their language or languages amongst different sections of the community and across different groups. Intragroup differences are also recognised by Smolicz and Secombe (1988) who, as well as postulating that some cultures are more language-centred than others, also differentiate four broad approaches to minority languages that are evident between and within ethnic-minority groups. Those with a *negative evaluation* of the language are categorised as the first group and are followed by a second group which shows *indifference* towards the language with low levels of interest and support. The third category is those with *general positive evaluation* for the language. These groups

tend to regard the language as a vital element of ethnicity but are not prepared personally to learn or use it, thus mirroring fairly closely Eastman's (1984) notion of an 'associated' language and the concept of *ethnicity* as defined by Paulston (1994). The final category within Smolicz and Secombe's (1988) framework is termed *personal positive evaluation* whereby the language is considered a core cultural value and this language commitment is put into practice.

1.4.2. The 'Status', 'Demographic' and 'Institutional Support' Dimension

The inability to predict the survival chances of a language through the 'integrative', 'solidarity' or 'ethnicity' dimension alone, prompted a widening of the research scope by seeking to incorporate additional measures of 'vitality' along with identity. As Giles and Coupland (1991: 136) put it, 'the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality originated as an attempt to incorporate individuals' construals of societal conditions as factors mediating individuals' interethnic attitudes and behaviour'. Three components are used to determine the level of linguistic vitality in a community: 'status', 'demography' and 'institutional support'. Information on, and perceptions of, the latter two components, are gathered by specially designed questionnaires.

The 'status' component is defined as 'a configuration of prestige variables of the linguistic group in the intergroup context. The more status a linguistic group is recognized to have, the more vitality it can be said to possess as a collective entity' (Giles et al. 1977: 309). The 'status' variable in Giles et al's model is broken down into three separate attributes including 'social status', 'economic status' and 'linguistic status'. The 'demography' component is defined in terms of 'the sheer numbers of group members and their distribution throughout the territory' (ibid.). Giles et al. note that ethnolinguistic groups whose demographic trends are favourable are more likely to have vitality as distinctive groups than those whose demographic trends are unfavourable and less conducive to group's survival. Finally, the 'institutional support' component is defined as 'the extent to which a language group receives formal and informal representation in the various institutions of a nation, region or community' (ibid.).

Giles et al. suggest that the vitality of a linguistic minority tends to be related to the extent to which its language is used in various institutions of the government, church and business. From this model, languages displaying low levels of vitality would include, for example, those which are perceived by their speakers as having a low status value, with a small number of speakers and as lacking institutional support. Later work on Giles et al.'s original ethnolinguistic model has progressively added other sociostructural variables such as networks, education and social class (see Allard and Landry 1992).

Although these components are presented separately in the ethnolinguistic vitality framework, there is considerable overlap between them. Institutional support for a language and its use in institutional domains such as the media, education and public services, for example, can be seen to affect the social, economic and linguistic status of a language. If the language is used in public services or in education, a knowledge of the language may be required to gain upward social and occupational mobility or social advancement to enter and manipulate these formal domains. Access to prestigious jobs may also be determined by a knowledge of a particular language. Moreover, the language of the economically dominant group is usually also the language of institutional dominance, the language that receives official support and that is necessary for entry into higher education or government (Bourdieu 1982). A language that is perceived as having institutional support also has a certain amount of power attached to it and therefore becomes associated with social advancement and upward mobility. It may also prompt parents to want their children to learn it and its utility will be recognised for gaining access to certain parts of the labour market making it, in Bourdieu's (1991) terms, a form of 'linguistic capital'. The perceived utility of Irish and Galician, the two minority languages under investigation in the current study, is assessed in the empirical study reported in Chapter 5.

1.5. A Review of Methodological Approaches and Techniques

Just as the concept of language attitude embraces a variety of interpretations, methodologically, the field of *language attitudes* also embraces many approaches and techniques. Ryan et al. (1988: 1068) organise these approaches into three main categories. These include an analysis of societal treatment of language varieties, indirect assessment within the speaker evaluation paradigm and direct assessment with interviews or questionnaires. This section provides a brief overview of these three techniques and discusses the main advantages and disadvantages of each.

1.5.1. The Public Treatment of Language Varieties

The first methodological approach within Ryan et al.'s (1988) categorisation looks at the public treatment of language varieties and their speakers within society. All techniques which do not involve explicitly asking respondents for their views or reactions would be classified under this category (ibid.). Garret (2001: 627) points out that such approaches generally tend not to be properly reviewed in 'mainstream' accounts of attitudinal research. The exclusion of many such studies from the literature on language attitudes is no doubt due to the implicit as opposed to the explicit reference to language attitudes. As a result, 'the public treatment of language approach' is very often ignored in discussions of language attitudes (Ryan et al. 1988: 1068). A useful illustration of one such study is Fishman's (1966) documentation of trends in the maintenance and loss of ethnic languages in the United States, in which an analysis of patterns in language use and language policies was used as a measure of the status of these languages compared with English. In their review of the literature in the area, Ryan et al. (1988: 1068) also cite Fishman, Cooper and Ma's (1971) study of Puerto Ricans in the New York area in which language attitudes were inferred from content analyses which compared the treatment of the Puerto Rican ethnic group, language and cultural concerns in both English and Spanish language newspapers.

Observational analyses, participant-observation and ethnographic studies of speech patterns in various settings and by different social actors can also be included in this first approach. For instance, Woolard's (1989) experience as an ethnographer, recounted in her study of bilingualism in Catalonia, provides revealing insights into language attitudes based on language choices amongst people she encountered in the city of Barcelona. In these and other such studies, people's attitudes to a particular language or variety are inferred from observation of language choices and behavioural patterns (see Heller 1999). Self-reports of language usage in large-scale language census questionnaires (see Fishman, Cooper and Ma 1971; Lieberman 1981) as well as language surveys (see Labov 1966; Trudgill 1975) and in-depth interviews are also used to provide information on the relative status of a language or dialect. Fishman et al. (1971) for instance, report a study in which bilinguals selected which language they would use in situations in which the person, place and topic were varied in order to determine which situation favoured each language and which of the situational factors carried the most weight in judgements of a language's appropriateness.

Although these approaches provide important insights into the status of a language or language variety within a community, as was already highlighted, from both a theoretical and a practical view point, not everybody would agree with the predominantly behaviourist approach to language attitudes which is frequently adopted in content analyses of societal treatment of language. Firstly, on a theoretical level, Baker (1992) highlights that behaviour does not necessarily give a true picture of social reality and secondly on a practical level, Woolard and Gahng (1990) have argued in favour of more explicit measures of attitudes based on the difficulties involved in conducting large-scale studies of language use and behaviour. Moreover, while Ryan et al. (1988: 1069) agree that content analyses of societal treatment of language can provide valuable insights into language attitudes, they also emphasise the complementary rather than stand-alone aspects of this approach. According to Ryan et al. (1988):

[...] content analyses of societal treatment provide a valuable description of the roles of contrasting language varieties as well as the broad foundation concerning historical and geographic

differences upon which the more sociolinguistic or social psychological studies are based. Direct observations and self-reports of language use can serve as valuable complementary data in conjunction with the more traditional measures of language attitudes (Ryan et al. 1988: 1069).

1.5.2. The Speaker Evaluation Paradigm

In contrast to the analysis of societal treatment of language, the speaker evaluation paradigm is generally considered one of the more 'traditional measures' of language attitudes in which explicit reference is made by the researcher in the study to language attitudes. This approach employs what Woolard (1989: 95) describes as a 'quasi-experimental' measure of language attitudes known as the 'matched-guise' test. The distinction between 'quasi-experimental' and 'experimental' is, according to Woolard (*ibid.*), an important one because, unlike in the natural sciences, subjects in the social world are not randomly assigned to groups. Instead, human groups can be found in society and are not manipulable by the experimenter.

In the matched-guise test, listeners are asked to rate tape-recorded speakers on a range of personal traits amongst which are commonly included ambition, leadership, sociability and sense of humour. In the test, each speaker on the tape reads the same prepared text once in each language under investigation, thereby controlling for differences related to the specific individuals' voices (see Ball and Giles 1982 for a more detailed description of the technique). The original matched-guise test can be found in Lambert et al.'s (1960) classic prototype of the speaker evaluation paradigm in which the socio-psychological effects of the bilingual situation in Montreal are tested. The two processes involved in Lambert's basic model are, firstly, the identification of the speaker's group on the basis of language and, secondly, the elicitation of stereotypes associated with that group. Since this initial study, similar designs have been used to investigate language attitudes in situations of dialect variation and bilingualism (see Giles and Powesland 1975; Carranza and Ryan 1975; Ryan and Giles 1982; Woolard 1989; Hoare 2000).

1.5.3. Direct Measurement of Language Attitudes

The third methodological approach identified by Ryan et al. (1988) is one in which language attitudes are measured directly through qualitative or quantitative interviews or questionnaires concerning specific aspects of language. Questionnaires and interviews addressing language attitudes have been widely and profitably used in research and provide valuable information concerning the attitudes towards a specific language or languages as well as attitudes towards language-relevant objects. Trudgill and Tzavaras (1977) measured the declining status of Arvanitika (an Albanian dialect spoken in Greece) in a questionnaire which asked respondents directly about their attitudes towards the language. Questionnaires have also been used, for example, to predict second language learning (see Gardner and Lambert 1972; Gardner 1982), to examine language policy issues such as bilingual education and the effects of language laws (see Bourhis 1984).

1.5.4. Advantages and Disadvantages of Direct and Indirect Methods

While both direct and indirect methods have been usefully employed by researchers in language attitude studies, like many methodological approaches, each is associated with a list of strengths and weaknesses. For example, a widely recognised limitation of the direct approach is that demand characteristics may call forth certain socially desirable responses and repress others (Lambert 1967) and hence openly expressed responses may not accurately reflect privately-held attitudes. For this reason, Lambert (*ibid.*) emphasises the advantage of using indirect assessments in language attitude studies such as the matched-guise technique as a means of gaining access to people's private, uncensored attitudes. The major strength of this technique is the elicitation of spontaneous attitudes, less sensitive to reflection and social desirability biases than a direct assessment of attitudes. On the downside however, because of the 'quasi-experimental' nature of the matched-guise technique, whereby data are collected in controlled settings, it can be argued that this method does not account for the variety of situational factors including the physical appearance of the speaker, which can potentially influence attitudes towards a language. Indeed, because of the

complexity of social behaviour (including language attitudes and language use), the degree to which such complexities can be captured under laboratory conditions is questionable. Moreover, because of the 'quasi-experimental' as opposed to a true 'experimental' design, correlations that are discovered may be spurious and researchers cannot be certain that they focused on the aspect of the social behaviour that truly explains the effect observed (Woolard 1989: 95). While it can also be argued that the direct measurement of language attitudes through questionnaire or interview is also contrived, it tends to be less so than the experimental method.

A practical disadvantage associated with the matched-guise test is that because the experiment must be set-up and conducted in laboratory-style settings, the process tends to be time consuming. As a result, the number of potential respondents that can be queried in any one study is reduced, thus limiting the possibility of generalising the results to a larger population. Comparatively, the direct method, especially the use of self-administered quantitative questionnaires, increases the number of respondents that can be queried in any one study and, because sampling procedures are used, the findings can be generated to a larger population beyond that of the sample surveyed. Therefore, as well as saying something about the structure of language attitudes themselves, more meaningful insights into the social factors such as age, gender, social class etc. can be gained. The patterns obtained in Trudgill and Tzavaras's (1977) direct open-question attitude questionnaire could for example identify clear patterns in language attitudes across different age-groups in the Arvanitika-speaking population which they were investigating. In reference to the same study, Fasold (1984: 160) notes that Trudgill and Tzavaras's (1977) direct open-question attitude questionnaire appears to give a more accurate picture of the function of a language as an indicator of group identity than seemingly more sophisticated matched-guise research. While matched-guise tests are credited for their ability to better capture an individual's 'true' feelings about a language, the results from many studies which use a direct method of data collection (see Trudgill and Tzavaras 1977; Ladegaard 2000) also suggest a fairly high degree of metalinguistic awareness amongst respondents. Therefore, according to Ladegaard (2000: 230), there is no reason to assume that direct assessments about language

attitudes (beliefs about language) may not also provide us with valuable insights into this complex question.

1.5.5. Different Layers of Attitudinal Experiences

While it is useful to recognise the limitations of each approach, it is equally important to recognise that the direct and indirect methods lay claim to quite different layers of attitudinal experiences and as such sometimes manifest seemingly contradictory, yet highly rational, attitude constellations. Indirect methods can search beneath the surface and capture deep-rooted feelings about languages and perhaps are most appropriate to an analysis of the affective component of attitudes. Direct methods, on the other hand, are best suited to a surface analysis of attitudes and to the analysis of the cognitive component of an attitude. Indeed, Edwards (1994) points out that, although often referred to as language attitude questionnaires, these questionnaires are in fact a measure of beliefs about language.

However, the methodological approach is ultimately determined by the objectives of the research. When the aim is to find out about deep-seated prejudices towards a language then a more indirect measure of language attitudes may be required so as to access the inner feelings of individuals. On the other hand, when the aim is to understand the level of support for the language amongst members of a society then an analysis of language beliefs and behavioural intentions through questionnaires or interviews tends to be a more appropriate approach to take. Given the objectives of the current piece of research, this is the approach which has been adopted in assessing younger people's attitudes towards Irish and Galician (see section 2.1).

1.5.6. The Quantitative-Qualitative Dichotomy in Attitudinal Research

While the discussion thus far has centred on Ryan et al's (1988) three-way categorisation of language attitude approaches and the advantages and disadvantages of each for the research question at hand, an equally instructive discussion of methodological choices can also be looked at from a quantitative-qualitative perspective. As in other areas of social science research, there is an ongoing debate concerning the relative merits of quantitative and qualitative methods in the collection of data on language attitudes (Heller 1999; Martin-Jones 2003). At a most basic level, this distinction derives from the trend for quantitative research to emphasise quantification in the collection and analysis of data on language attitudes while qualitative research concerns itself more specifically with words and meaning.

Within the quantitative tradition, language attitudes can be measured through experimental design in the matched-guise test or through closed-ended questions concerning specific aspects of language in questionnaires. In both the matched-guise test and language attitude questionnaires, responses are quantified from ratings on numerical scales which are designed and constructed by the researcher prior to the investigation. Qualitative designs, on the other hand, collect data on language attitudes from what social actors do and say in ethnographic studies, in-depth interviews or group discussions.

However, the debate on the quantitative versus qualitative distinction lies deeper than the superficial issue of the presence or absence of quantification. At the heart of the debate lie two contrasting epistemological considerations which concern the question of how the social world can and should be studied. On the one hand, proponents of quantitative research tend to advocate the application of the methods of the natural sciences as a means of studying social reality, leading them to adopt an epistemological position known as positivism. The experimental design adopted in the matched-guise approach clearly reflects this tradition as does the structured language attitudes questionnaire. On the other hand, qualitative researchers reject the

norms and practices of the so-called 'scientific model' and emphasise the ways in which individuals interpret their own social world. As Martin-Jones (2003) insists:

[...] ethnographic research provides us with a means of understanding what is happening 'on the ground' as policies are put in place and it gives us a means of gaining insights into the organizational and communicative strategies that teachers and learners deploy for dealing with local conditions (Martin-Jones 2003: 4).

Many of the distinguishing features used to describe the polarities between the two research strategies stem from these core epistemological differences. For instance, the commitment of the quantitative research strategy to a positivist epistemological position also orientates quantitative practitioners towards a view of social reality as an external objective reality. In contrast to this perception of social reality as static, qualitative researchers tend to envision social reality as a construction of the individual and therefore constantly changing. Quantitative and qualitative research strategies are also distinguishable in the role that each allocates to theory in relation to research. The quantitative approach is usually associated with a deductive approach, whereby existing theories and hypotheses are examined initially, with a view to determining a set of postulates which can then be tested during the data collection process. Qualitative methods tend to work in the opposite direction, emphasising an inductive approach to the relationship between theory and research and the generation rather than the testing of hypotheses.

Because of fundamentally contrasting epistemological beliefs about what can be considered acceptable knowledge in an analysis of the social world, quantitative and qualitative researchers are shown to exhibit differences in their approaches to data collection. Quantitative researchers are concerned with objectivity and research as a 'value-free' science and endeavour to distance themselves from their subjects, arguing that objectivity reduces the contaminating influence of the researcher along with the biases and values he/she may possess, thereby enhancing the validity of the results. Quantitative researchers are concerned with data validity which leads them to a more structured approach to data collection whereby respondents answer questions in the same way, leading to a set of hard reliable data and providing a sound basis for

the testing of hypotheses. Additionally, since the quantitative research method is frequently based on carefully calculated representative samples of a population, it is also generally agreed that this approach facilitates the generalisation of results to a larger population beyond that of the sample itself. Since qualitative researchers view social reality as being constantly constructed by the individual, close contact with subjects is regarded as an essential component in their research method. In opposition to quantitative approaches, they argue that the quantification of data implies that researchers envision society as a mere aggregate of individuals and that, in doing so, the rich, varied and complex phenomena inherent in social interaction are ignored.

Language attitude research has been frequently criticised for its lack of authenticity and for remaining a discipline predominantly concerned with laboratory-based experiments (Edwards 1985). Likewise, studies which employ quantitative language attitude questionnaires could be criticised for replacing 'real' behaviour in authentic social contexts with 'inauthentic' behaviour, such as completing vignettes in a questionnaire (Côté and Clément 1994), or providing more or less information on a questionnaire in response to accent A or B (Giles and Farrar 1979). However, while a qualitative methodological approach may be capable of capturing these complexities more adequately, the less-structured way in which data are collected is often criticised for being too impressionistic, too subjective and lacking reliability. One of the drawbacks of qualitative research is the fairly limited number of observations which can be collected by any individual researcher and the data that are collected tend to be less structured than quantitative approaches. Moreover, it is not always clear how the conclusions reached using a qualitative approach can be generalised to a larger population, given that the data are not gathered on the basis of statistical sampling. Indeed these limitations are recognised even by those who favour qualitative methods, as Coupland (1985) clearly illustrates in his comments, when he pointed out that:

[...] qualitative studies may have to live with criticisms of particularism and untidiness as a consequence of their commitment to be true to the social psychological and sociolinguistic dimensions of day-to-day talk (Coupland 1985: 168).

One possible response to the recognition of the strengths and weakness of both methods is to adopt a multi-strategy approach involving a combination of the research methods (see Hammersley 1992). Nevertheless, while there has been increased support for a combined methodological approach, not all writers support its use. Objections to an integrated methodological research approach reflect the continued epistemological distinction on which quantitative and qualitative research methods were founded, and their differing views on how the social world can and should be studied renders them incompatible. However, both in the context of mono- and multi-strategy research, according to Bryman (2001: 454), there seems to be a growing preparedness to think of research methods as techniques of data collection or analysis that are not encumbered by this epistemological baggage.

While epistemological commitments may be associated with certain research methods, the connections are not deterministic and the distinctions outlined in previous paragraphs between the quantitative and qualitative methods can be viewed as tendencies rather than definitive connections. There is evidence that qualitative research very often has empiricist overtones (Bryman 2001: 429), and can be used to test hypotheses rather than generate them. Similarly, some quantification of findings from qualitative research can provide insights into the generality of the phenomena being described (Silverman 1985). Quantitative research does not necessarily have to test hypotheses. It can be and is also used in a more exploratory and hypothesis-generating manner. According to Silverman (2000: 11), dichotomies which differentiate quantitative and qualitative research strategies are in fact highly dangerous. At best, they constitute pedagogic devices for students to obtain a first grip on a difficult field and at worst, 'are excuses for not thinking, which assemble groups of sociologists into 'armed camps' unwilling to learn from one another'(ibid.). For many writers on the subject, what is more important is the nature of the research question (Bryman 2001; Hammersely 1992; Platt 1996; Silverman 2001). Moreover, Platt (1996: 275) points out that methodological choices are very often driven by practical considerations rather than adherence to a methodological and theoretical stance. Consequently, there are many circumstances in which the

nature of the research topic and the constraints on a researcher take precedence over epistemological considerations. In the words of Hammersley (1992):

We are not faced, then, with a stark choice between words and numbers, or even between precise and imprecise data; but rather with a range from more to less precise data. Furthermore, our decisions about what level of precision is appropriate in relation to any particular claim should depend on the nature of what we are trying to describe, on the likely accuracy of our descriptions, on our purposes, and the resources available to us; not on ideological commitment to one methodological paradigm or another (Hammersley 1992: 163).

As has been illustrated above, both quantitative and qualitative research strategies have both strengths and weaknesses and both can be criticised for not providing a perfect research method. In these circumstances, as Silverman (2000: 12) suggests, it is sensible to make pragmatic choices between research methodologies according to the research problem in question. Chapter 2 outlines these choices and explains the decisions governing the selection of the methodological strategy employed in the current piece of research.

1.6. Conclusions

As indicated in the opening paragraphs of this chapter, the purpose of this literature review on language attitudes was to contextualise some of the main and most useful approaches to inquiry in the field for this thesis. The definitions, theories, perspectives and methodological approaches discussed here constitute the analytical framework which has guided a formal study of attitudes towards Irish and Galician, the two language cases under investigation in this research. This framework will be applied to and used to guide subsequent analyses and discussion of methodologies and empirical findings which will be outlined in the remainder of this thesis. The opening sections of Chapter 2 will identify specifically the approaches and methods which can be best applied to the comparative analysis of attitudes towards the two minority or lesser-used language cases which are being investigated in the current piece of research.

CHAPTER 2 - A FORMAL STUDY OF LANGUAGE
ATTITUDES: METHODOLOGY

2. Overview

In the first part of this chapter we outline how language attitudes have been understood in this study and present the rationale behind the choice of method most appropriate for the purposes of the current piece of research. This is followed by a discussion of the different steps which were taken in the elaboration of the research instrument, the questionnaire design, the sampling methods used, the distribution of the questionnaire and finally, the choice of statistical techniques in the analysis of the attitudinal data.

2.1. Introduction

As was already stated in Chapter 1, one of the underlying aims of this study is to assess the survival prospects of two of Europe's lesser-used languages, Irish and Galician. It was noted however, that, while the survival of a language depends on the degree to which it is used by members of a community, measuring changes in language use and behaviour tends to be difficult on a large scale (Woolard and Gahng 1990) given the almost infinite number of linguistic practices existing in any particular speech community. As was already discussed in Chapter 1, one way of capturing these accumulated linguistic practices is through an analysis of language attitudes. While many studies have found that attitudinal data are not always an accurate measure of actual language use, research has also shown that more accuracy is attained when the level of generality or specificity of the language attitudes and the corresponding behaviour is the same. Moreover, many writers (Baker 1992; Woolard 1989) note that language attitudes provide better indicators of pre-behavioural trends that may not have yet become apparent in actual language use. Therefore, an analysis of the general attitudinal patterns of Irish and Galician student groups in this research will be used to provide insights into broad pre-behavioural trends as opposed to a measure of current language use.

While noting that no single definition of attitude carries universal approval, Fishbein and Ajzen's (1975: 6) definition of attitude as a learned 'predisposition to act in a favourable or unfavourable way towards an object' provided a useful starting point in this study. The 'object' which this study is concerned with is language. As was highlighted in Chapter 1, language attitude studies are seldom confined to language itself but are generally extended to include attitudes towards speakers of a particular language as well as a range of language-relevant 'objects' such as language maintenance and shift, planning efforts, linguistic policies, language use etc. While language attitudes in the current study are also looked at in this broader sense, the more behaviourist elements of language attitudes such as self-reports concerning language use are not taken as attitudinal measures.

Attitudes in this study are understood in the sense of what is defined in social psychology as 'mentalist' (Williams 1974: 2) or what more sociological approaches term, an 'intellectualised' sense (Woolard 1998: 16). In line with this perspective, a language attitude is taken to be a deep-seated and private 'state of readiness rather than an observable response' (Fasold 1984: 147). Attitudes, so defined, are also seen to be made up of hypothetical constructs which are formed from a number of different components. In the literature review in Chapter 1, it was noted that while there is not universal agreement on the actual number of these components or the relationship between them, social psychologists operate with the following three: cognitive (entailing beliefs about the world); affective (involving feelings about the object); and behaviour (encouraging or promoting certain actions), with more or less complex componential models of attitudes constructed across different theoretical approaches.

Understood in this 'mentalist' or 'intellectualised' sense, the measurement of language attitudes and their constituent components requires techniques which can elicit these inner responses. In the discussion of the various methodological approaches which have previously been used in the study of language attitudes (see section 1.5), it was noted that both indirect and direct methods can be used to access non-observable attitudinal responses. On the one hand, indirect methods such as the matched-guise technique were found to access more deep-seated attitudes, especially the more affective component of language attitudes. On the other hand, direct methods which involve the explicit questioning of subjects about their attitudes through questionnaires or interviews, tend to capture more surface level attitudes and tend to be more suitable for measuring the cognitive (beliefs) component of language attitudes. Direct and indirect methods therefore can be seen to lay claim to quite different layers of attitudinal experiences and as such sometimes manifest seemingly contradictory, yet highly rational, attitude constellations. As was already discussed in Chapter 1, when the aim of the study is to find out about prejudices towards a language it can be argued that a more indirect measure of language attitudes is required so as to access the inner feelings of individuals. Comparatively, when the main objective of the study is to understand more explicitly held views about a

language and the general level of support for a language amongst members of a society, then an analysis of language beliefs and behavioural intentions through questionnaires or interviews tends to be a more appropriate approach to take. As was already highlighted in the introduction (see page 3), in the current research the focus has been on understanding and measuring the general level of support for two minority languages (Irish and Galician) amongst younger age-groups. As a result, a direct measure of language attitudes was found to be a more appropriate methodological choice in the current study.

Within the direct approach of measurement, it was noted that language attitudes can be measured both quantitatively through questionnaires and qualitatively through interviews. Chapter 1 discussed the ongoing debate concerning the relative merits of quantitative and qualitative methods in the collection of data on language attitudes (Heller 1999; Martin-Jones 2003) and, as in other areas of social science, in language attitude research the distinctions between the two approaches tend to lie deeper than the superficial issue of the presence or absence of quantification. At the heart of the debate are two contrasting epistemological considerations which concern the question of how the social world can and should be studied. On the one hand, proponents of quantitative research tend to advocate the application of the methods of the natural sciences as a means of studying social reality, leading them to adopt an epistemological position known as positivism. On the other hand, qualitative researchers reject the norms and practices of the so-called 'scientific model' and emphasise the ways in which individuals interpret their own social world, adopting the so-called phenomenological approach. However, it was also noted that both quantitative and qualitative research strategies are associated with strengths and weaknesses and that neither provides the perfect research method. In these circumstances, as Silverman (2000: 12) suggests, it is sensible to make pragmatic choices between research methodologies according to the research problem in question. The following sections outline these choices and explain the decisions governing the selection of the strategy employed in the current research.

2.2. A Quantitative Approach to the Study of Language Attitudes

One of the main aims of this thesis has been to compare linguistic attitudes across two sociolinguistic contexts, namely the Irish and Galician contexts, to determine a broad overview of the structure of these attitudes and to identify the factors that are shaping them. In line with these objectives a quantitative methodological approach was considered a more appropriate choice for a number of specific reasons. Firstly, working at a macrosociological level of analysis which involves the study of large-scale groups or social systems requires a method which allows for data to be collected from a sufficiently large number of cases so as to allow the researcher to say something meaningful about the impact of certain sociological factors on the attitudes and behaviours of a society. This research has sought to determine the key social factors which are shaping attitudes towards minority or lesser-used languages in two sociolinguistic contexts – Irish and Galician.

The comparative cross-national focus of the research constitutes the second reason why a quantitative research strategy was selected in this study. Although both quantitative and qualitative research can be adapted to a comparative cross-national design method, the less structured way in which qualitative data are collected can potentially undermine genuine comparability. It is true that the issue of achieving true comparability also arises in quantitative research methods where particular attention has to be given to the translation of data-collection instruments from one cultural context to another (see Harkness 2003). However, while recognising these difficulties, on balance, the more structured way in which quantitative data are collected increases our ability to achieve ‘true’ comparability between and across different groups. In order to achieve this comparability, a quantitative approach was adopted in the current study.

In addition to the question of attaining true comparability is the question of the practical considerations of carrying out cross-national data-collection. Especially in the case of research carried out by a single individual, as is the case here, in terms of

time and management of a cross-national project, a quantitative research design offers a more efficient method for data-collection.

It might be objected that the simple statistical processing of attitudes through categories in a quantitative questionnaire ignores the complexities of the social world and the multiple meanings attached to it. However, because of the macrosociological and comparative focus of this research, this quantification was necessary. It can also be pointed out that while qualitative research lends itself better to the notion of allowing the researcher to gain access to the point of view of those being studied than quantitative research, this is assumed rather than demonstrated (Bryman 2001). Although qualitative researchers very often claim to gain deeper insights into participants' attitudes through intensive contact with their respondents, it is difficult to find conclusive evidence of this. Indeed, Bryman (2001: 432) claims that qualitative researchers rarely explicitly demonstrate through respondents' validation that a full understanding of the issues at hand has been reached. Bryman (2001: 432) also points out that if the design of attitudinal questions is based on prior questioning that seeks to tease out the range of possible attitudinal positions on an issue, questions aimed at eliciting attitudes may be better able to gain access to meaning. These issues will be taken up in more detail in the section dealing with the validity of attitudinal items used in the study (see section 2.2.2.5.).

2.2.1. Choice of Instrument

Within the quantitative methodological approach, the questionnaire survey was chosen as the instrument of research. The sociolinguistic questionnaire survey constitutes a well-established method of directly measuring language attitudes and behaviour and is one of the most efficient means of reaching large numbers of subjects, necessary for the generalisation of results. While a range of research methodologies are now available to social researchers, social research and, in particular, applied social research has tended to be dominated by the survey method. Nicholas (1994) notes a trend towards increased use of this research methodology in the study of language. Survey research is generally believed to have the advantage of

being conducted on a large scale and thus providing a representative and ‘balanced’ picture which also allows the use of sophisticated statistical analysis. Nicholas (1994) argues that public acceptance of the ‘objectivity’ of quantitative research can mean that surveys acquire considerable power to bring about social change when sufficient publicity is given to their findings and the implications of these are spelt out with care. However, as with all research instruments, the quality of these results is only as good as the research design and the way in which the research instrument is used. The following sections outline the steps taken to maximise quality at each stage in the elaboration of the survey, including the design of the questionnaire, sampling methods used, the distribution of the questionnaire and the choice of statistical techniques in data analysis.

2.2.2. Questionnaire Design

2.2.2.1. Cross-Cultural Comparative Design

The sociolinguistic questionnaire used in this study (see Appendix A) was designed to compare young people’s attitudes towards lesser-used or minority languages across two different cultural contexts. One of the key priorities when designing the questionnaire was to develop an instrument which, as well as being sufficiently context-specific to the Irish and Galician sociolinguistic situations, could also be used for comparative work between two minority language cases. Thus, along with the general principles and specific details of survey questionnaire design used in single case studies (see Converse and Presser 1986; Foddy 1993; Dillman 2000) additional steps were also taken to incorporate a cross-cultural (see Harkness et al. 2003) and cross-national design (see Perry et al. 2002) in line with the comparative focus of the research.

The first stage in the development of the questionnaire involved a review of the literature and existing questionnaire instruments within the field of study. The use of existing research instruments is often preferable, not only because it makes little

sense to re-invent existing surveys but also because there are significant advantages to using available instruments. According to Harkness et al. (2003: 24), previous use of a questionnaire acts as a pre-test to the survey, providing data on how the different questions in the questionnaire actually performed. Another advantage of adopting an existing questionnaire in new research is that replication of questionnaire items can also afford the researcher the opportunity to compare new data with data collected at different times and in different places. In this study, comparisons between the findings from the current study and existing research on attitudes towards Irish and Galician will be, for example, presented in Chapter 7.

A review of sociolinguistic research specific to the Irish and Galician contexts points to the existence of well-tested questionnaire instruments in each case. Longitudinal replications of a detailed sociolinguistic questionnaire on language attitudes and language use in Ireland can be seen to have gained this instrument what Harkness et al. (2003: 24) describe as a 'survey pedigree'. This sociolinguistic questionnaire was developed by the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research in 1973 and repeated in two largely similar national surveys of the Irish population, carried out by Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (ITÉ) (The Linguistics Institute of Ireland) in 1983 and 1993. Similarly, the questionnaire used by the Real Academia Galega in a national survey of language attitudes amongst the Galician population provides a large pool of tested items and questions particular to the Galician sociolinguistic context. The report entitled *Actitudes Lingüísticas en Galicia* was published in 1996 as the third volume of the Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia (Sociolinguistic Atlas of Galicia, henceforth MSG) (see Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1996).

Despite similarities in the thematic structure of questionnaire items in both instruments, semantic differences in the wording of certain items within each questionnaire potentially invalidate direct comparison across Irish and Galician responses. A frequently used method in comparative survey design is to establish one of the questionnaire instruments as the prototype questionnaire and to develop subsequent questionnaires for use in other cultural contexts through translation. In this research, the Irish sociolinguistic questionnaire was used as a model

questionnaire. This choice was as much circumstantial as considered and was based on the fact that ready access to Irish respondents could be gained at the time of the questionnaire design. However, the development of a prototype questionnaire design from this existing sociolinguistic instrument could not be taken as an automatic guarantee of its workability in the current piece of research. The Irish questionnaire was piloted to test the suitability of various items at a different period in time to when the instrument had previously been used and certain socio-demographic questions were adapted to make them more relevant to the particular population being tested.

Once the prototype questionnaire was designed and tested, it was ready for translation. The direct translation of the prototype questionnaire has a number of disadvantages, the most important being that questions developed for one sociolinguistic context (in this case the Irish context) tend to be culturally specific to that context. It thus follows that while cultural-specificity of the questionnaire may have contributed to its original success as a research instrument, it may detract from its suitability for other sociolinguistic contexts. Questions central to measuring relevant constructs in one sociolinguistic context may be irrelevant or impossible to ask in other contexts such as was the case with the statement 'If the Gaeltacht dies out, Irish will also die out' which was specific to the Irish context (see Question 13/4 of Irish questionnaire in Appendix A). While adapting questionnaire items can enhance the cultural-context suitability of the questionnaire, it also reduces direct comparability across questionnaire items as there are few statistical techniques available to deal with dissimilar stimuli across language versions.

In the design approach taken in this research the aim was to find an appropriate balance between, on the one hand, the cultural-specificity of items and, on the other, their comparability across two sociolinguistic contexts. The cultural content of the translated questionnaire was enhanced through a two-day collaboration between the researcher and Galician sociolinguistic experts. These included Fernando Fernández Ramallo, one of the researchers involved in the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* and Anxo Lorenzo Suárez, one of the authors of the 2002 Sociolinguistic Study on

use of Galician in Vigo (*Estudio Sociolingüístico sobre o uso da Lingua Galega no Concello de Vigo*) (see Vaamonde Liste et al. 2003). This collaboration allowed discussions on the relevance of questionnaire items for Irish and Galician students, suggestions for additional topics and questionnaire items and comments on the way in which items were worded.

An analysis of transcriptions and recordings from focus group discussions with university students on the topic of the Galician language (see Iglesias-Álvarez 2002a) also increased sensitivity to cultural-specific aspects of the Galician sociolinguistic context. The amended Galician questionnaire which emerged as a result of discussions with Galician sociolinguistic experts and the recorded voices of young Galicians themselves was tested on a small sample of Galician students to ascertain its workability. Based on their responses and more in-depth discussions with some groups of students, changes and suggestions were incorporated into the questionnaire.

2.2.2.2. Method of Data Collection

The method of data collection is an additional consideration which ultimately influences questionnaire design and which also needs to be considered here. An important feature of existing sociolinguistic questionnaires used to test language attitudes and behaviour amongst the Irish and Galician populations is that both were designed to be conducted in the form of face-to-face structured interviews. Choice of data collection methods in the current piece of research was guided by the need to find an efficient and reliable way in which to collect data from populations residing in two different countries.

Although modern technology is increasingly used in the process of cross-national data collection (see Sheehan and Hoy 2002), it was felt that for the type of information required, namely information on language attitudes, more control of the data than could be achieved through e-mail or internet surveys was needed. While

face-to-face interviews with respondents can increase data control, this method can also have the disadvantage of introducing interviewer bias and can lead to significant distorting of responses (Nardi 2003). Johnson and Van de Vijver (2003: 201) note that the cultural distance between respondents and interviewers can produce varying response patterns. They highlight that, for instance, in American studies, respondents have been shown to defer to the perceived values of other-race interviewers when answering relevant survey questions. In sociolinguistic studies, Labov (1966) also underlined the interviewer effect on response patterns. He pointed out that the 'observer's paradox', or the skewing of linguistic behaviour towards norms of correctness as a result of the presence of the fieldworker, potentially creates questions of validity for the entire sociolinguistic enterprise. In the preliminary stages of research on Galician students, face-to-face interviews between the non-Galician researcher and students suggested some distortion of answers through interviewer effect. Student answers seemed to reflect the image of the Galician language that they wished to portray to the interviewer as an 'outsider' rather than their personal opinion *per se*.

Moreover, on a practical level, face-to-face interviewing is more time-consuming and restricts the amount of data that can be collected. This is especially true in the case of individual research as opposed to group-driven research projects as would have been the case in Irish and Galician national surveys. Questionnaires are therefore more efficient tools for surveying large samples of respondents in short periods and less expensive than interviewing (Nardi 2003: 59). For these reasons, a compromise between these two data collection methods was made leading to a self-administered questionnaire which would be completed by students and returned to the researcher during regular class time.

On the one hand, the self-completion method eliminated interviewer bias and allowed for a faster and more efficient method of data collection. On the other hand, the presence of the researcher during the distribution and collection of the questionnaire acted as a control mechanism whereby students completed the questionnaire on an individual basis. Additionally, the researcher was available to

answer general questions about the task at hand and to clear up ambiguities about particular questions or items in the questionnaire. However, every effort was made during the design phase to eliminate such ambiguities and to make the completion of the questionnaire as easy as possible keeping intervention between students and the researcher to a minimum to control for interviewer bias. Many of the steps outlined in the literature on mail surveys were used to maximise questionnaire functionality (see Dillman 2002; Jenkins and Dillman 2002).

2.2.2.3. Structure and Content of Questionnaire

The self-administered questionnaire was piloted using 30 Galician and 40 Irish students. This also involved discussion with respondents on issues such as wording, comprehensiveness and relevance of questionnaire items. The items in the questionnaire reflect the following conceptual domains:

- Socio-demographic data about the informant such as course and year of study, age, sex, social class, place of origin, identity and political affiliation.
- Sociolinguistic information about the informant, the language in which students first learned to speak, degree to which the minority language is used, perceived linguistic competence, use of the language in different domains and with different social actors.
- Socio-demographic and sociolinguistic data related to parents including place of origin, occupation, level of education and use of the minority language.
- Linguistic attitudes of informants towards the minority language and social norms governing language use.

2.2.2.4. Attitudinal Items

Data on the language attitudes of respondents constitute the thematic nucleus of the questionnaire. The main part of the section on language attitudes is contained in question 13 of the questionnaire (see Appendix A). This question consists of a list of statements designed to gauge students' attitudes on a range of topics related to the minority language. Respondents indicated their reactions to the statements on a five-point strength-of-agreement Likert scale (Likert 1932) ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'.

A separate group of questions (Q.39, Q.40) was used to assess students' feelings about the degree to which the minority language should be used in the socialisation of the next generation i.e. how important the transmission of the minority language was for them as parents of the future. A Likert scale was also used with options ranging from support for a monolingual upbringing corresponding to the option 'All minority language' (Irish/Galician) to 'All majority language' (English/Spanish). Respondents were also asked about the perceived importance of the minority language in their future careers based on a five-point scale from 'no importance' to 'very important' (Q.61 and Q.59 in Irish and Galician questionnaires respectively).

Finally, at the end of the questionnaire (Q.88 and Q.85 in the Irish and Galician questionnaire respectively), students were asked about their preferred future for the minority language where eight options were given ranging from the most negative scenario for the language whereby it 'should be discarded' to the most positive situation in that it 'should be the principal language'. These eight categories were later collapsed into a five-point-scale to allow for analysis along with other attitudinal items in the construction of a scale which could be used to measure the level of support for the two minority languages under investigation. The content and reliability of this scale will be discussed in Chapter 5.

A number of other attitudinal questions was included in the questionnaire which asked students to evaluate the way the minority language was taught at school (Q.31, Q.33), their attitudes towards immersion schooling (Q.42) and social norms governing the use of the minority language (Q.79 and Q.80 in the Irish and Galician questionnaires respectively). Q.36 and Q.37 constituted two general questions on respondents' personal attitudes towards their respective minority languages at the time of the survey and during their school years.

Although the majority of variables tested in the questionnaire used a closed question format, a number of open-ended questions were also included. Open-ended questions were for example used to measure demographic variables such as age (Q.2), place of origin of respondent (Q.3) and parents (Q.10), degree course being pursued (Q. 44), respondents' future employment prospects (Q.59 in Galician questionnaire and Q.60 in Irish questionnaire) and fathers' (Q.14) and mothers' occupation (Q.17 in Galician questionnaire and Q.18 in Irish questionnaire). Responses to these questions were subsequently re-coded according to a smaller number of groupings. The remaining open-ended questions were used to supplement preceding quantitative questions relating to aspects of respondents' linguistic behaviour or language attitudes. These open-ended questions were assessed qualitatively and were used to provide additional insights into the issues at hand. These included Q.32, Q.34 and Q.41 in the Irish and Galician questionnaires. Respondents were also asked to comment on whether or not their attitudes towards the minority language had changed in any way since they had left school. This question appeared as question Q.37 in the Irish questionnaire and Q.38 in the Galician questionnaire.

2.2.2.5. Validity of Attitudinal Items

Given the importance of attitudinal items in this research, particular care was taken in both the wording of particular attitudinal statements and their position within the questionnaire. Questions were worded to control for the tendency amongst respondents to give socially desirable answers rather than their true opinions or feelings. While socially desirable answers are common in all questionnaires, they

tend to be even more frequent in intimate and subjective questions which relate to language attitudes. The fact that self-administered questionnaires were used in this research increases respondents' privacy and anonymity and in turn goes some way towards reducing socially desirable responses which may result from face-to-face interviews.

As well as the formulation of questions, the order in which they are placed within the questionnaire is also important. Much of the literature warns against beginning a questionnaire with compromising questions. For this reason, some socio-demographic and therefore objective questions were included at the beginning of the questionnaire and the main attitudinal section did not appear until question thirteen. Although the majority of attitudinal items were grouped together in question 13 of both Irish and Galician questionnaire instruments (see Appendix A), care was taken in the internal arrangement of the items to avoid acquiescence. For example, items used to test the relationship between language and identity such as Q.13/3 and Q.13/11 did not appear consecutively in the questionnaire. Instead, they were included amongst items used to test other attitudinal themes.

2.2.3. Choice of Respondents

In this research, data on language attitudes were collected from undergraduate students at university institutions in the cities of Dublin (Ireland) and Vigo (Galicia). The reasons governing the choice of respondents, which will be outlined in this section, were both theoretical and practical.

As pointed out in the introduction (see p.4) there are a number of theoretical considerations which make the choice of group meaningful as well as expedient for the purposes of this study. The majority of the Irish and Galician respondents queried in this study ranged in age between 18-24 years old. Their views therefore provide insights into language attitudes amongst younger sectors of the population. Previous research on minority language situations has found that attitudes of the younger

generation have important repercussions on the prosperity of the language as it is ultimately their views on the language which will determine the direction that changes will take in the near future.

As university students, it was hypothesised that the attitudes of respondents queried in the study would be likely to reflect those of highly educated and more middle-class sectors of Irish and Galician societies. Given the link between education and the labour market, it is likely that their educational qualifications will also allow them access to more privileged social class positions within Irish and Galician society. As was noted in the introduction to this thesis, according to Crystal (1999) it is important to engage support from higher social groups in the process of language recovery as such groups are often instrumental in providing the necessary leadership that can bring about mobilisation for language change to occur. Moreover, changes in attitudes and behaviour tend to filter down through the social hierarchy, with those at the upper end of the social scale providing role models for the rest of society. The ideas about what constitute prestige and status symbols tend to be developed amongst upwardly mobile or dominant socio-economic groups. The attitudes of these societal groups towards minority languages such as Irish and Galician are likely to be powerful in defining the terms on which other members of society would be expected to evaluate their situations and the meaning which would come to be attached to these two minority languages.

Therefore, in terms of age, level of education as well as social class, it was hypothesised that the attitudes towards Irish and Galician amongst university students could provide important insights into the survival prospects of the two minority languages investigated in the current study.

As well as the theoretical relevance of understanding the linguistic attitudes of Irish and Galician student groups, there were several practical reasons for choosing to carry out the survey in a university context and amongst university students. A major one was ease of access to these universities by acquaintances who worked in these institutions. Additionally, undergraduate university populations are pre-selected for

age (the majority tend to be between the ages of 17 and 25) and many respondents could be tested at the same time. Moreover, as Woolard (1989: 102) has previously noted, activities such as the completion of questionnaires and forms are already considered socially appropriate and meaningful in class-room situations. Respondents were therefore expected to be able to make sense of the survey as an event and to complete the task required of them with relatively little difficulty. Additionally, because of the comparative focus of the research and the homogeneity of student groups in terms of educational level, age and social class across Irish and Galician student populations, unwanted cross-cultural differences are controlled for and thus comparability of responses maximised (see Van de Vijvar 2003: 151).

2.2.3.1. Defining the Population

Because time and economic constraints made it impossible to survey all university students in Dublin and Vigo, a representative sample of two student populations was drawn from *Dublin City University* (Dublin) and *Universidade de Vigo* (Vigo). Existing research on the socio-demographic, socio-economic and geographical profile of the Dublin student populations shows that students attending *Dublin City University* (DCU) are broadly similar to those of the city's two other university institutions, *University College Dublin* and *Trinity College Dublin* (Higher Education Authority 2001). Therefore, the attitudes of students at DCU provide a representation of the kinds of attitudes and behaviours amongst these social groups in Ireland's capital city. Although the University of Vigo has two other campuses, these are situated some distance away in the two other Galician cities of Pontevedra and Lugo. Therefore, for practical reasons only students attending the Campus Universitario de Vigo (CUVI) were included in the current study. Moreover, because the type of degree courses offered in CUVI corresponded more closely to those offered at DCU, this further enhanced comparability when testing the two student populations.

Before deciding on the size and selection of the sample itself, the sampling frame was drawn up. A number of sources were used to define the distribution of these two student populations according to a number of key social and demographic factors. In

the Irish case, the Irish Higher Education Authority Report (2001) provided a starting point which was then supplemented with statistics provided through the DCU Registry. Similar data were available for the Vigo student population on the university's official web site. In all there were over 6,000 full-time students at DCU and 17,000 at CUVI when this research was being conducted. Table 1 provides a synopsis of the two university populations from which that sample has been taken.

TABLE 1 Synopsis of DCU and CUVI Student Populations

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES	DCU	CUVI
<u>GENDER</u>		
Female	49%	49%
Male	51%	51%
<u>AGE (years)</u>		
17 – 18	14%	9%
19 – 20	37%	22%
21 – 23	33%	36%
over 23	16%	33%
<u>FIELD OF STUDY</u>		
Humanities	17%	11%
Technology	27%	34%
Sciences	19%	16%
Business	36%	39%
<u>ORIGIN</u>		
	<i>Dublin</i>	<i>Vigo</i>
	55%	40%
<u>PROVINCE OF ORIGIN</u>		
	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Pontevedra</i>
	80%	72%
<u>SOCIAL BACKGROUND</u>		
Farmers	7%	2%
Higher/Lower/ Prof., Managers & Employers	57%	41%
Salaried Employees	9%	17%
Non Manual	13%	8%
Skilled Manual	11%	21%
Semi/unskilled Manual	3%	11%

Source: Irish Higher Education Statistics and University of Vigo Statistics (adapted)

2.2.3.2. Sampling

Sample selection was based on an attempt to survey a representative sample of Irish and Galician students at the two chosen universities. As the focus of the study was a comparative one, the sample design aimed for a representation of students across field of study, age, gender, social background and place of origin.

Stratification by field of study and number of college years completed was used in the sampling design. A stratified rather than a simple random design was chosen to achieve a better representation of the two student populations by reducing sampling error within the classification variables. The rationale for stratification by two variables was that students of different ages and pursuing different career paths would be better represented than might occur using a simple random sample method.

2.2.3.3. Sampling Frame

The sampling frame was based on a complete list of core modules for the main undergraduate programmes taught at each university which can be grouped into four disciplines: Humanities, Technology, Sciences and Business. Subject modules with the highest number of registered students were targeted for the survey and all students taking these modules were queried. This strategy achieved the dual goal of random sampling and helping to minimise errors due to selection bias.

2.2.3.4. Sample Size

The sample comprised 825 individuals from a population of 5,174 Irish undergraduate students (from data on the previous year's course 2002/2003) and in the Galician case 765 individuals from a population of 12,704 undergraduates (from data on the previous academic year, 2001/2002). These samples represent 16% of the

DCU student population and the 6% of CUVI students. Samples of this size are subject to a sampling error of $\pm 3.5\%$ and $\pm 4\%$ in the Irish and Galician case respectively at the 95% confidence level (De Vaus 1991: 71).

2.2.4. Administration of Questionnaire

Access to students at both universities was gained through friends and acquaintances who worked and taught at each institution and their assistance ensured a cordial, interested and helpful reception for the research task. The survey was distributed in lecture rooms during class-time, with the consent and co-operation of all participants. The fieldwork was carried out during the academic college year. The Galician phase of the study was completed in May 2003. Data from Irish students were collected during November and December of the following academic year (2003/2004).

In the Irish context, instructions were given in English, except in the case of a minority of students taking class through the medium of Irish with whom Irish was used. Such students were pursuing degree courses in a special centre at DCU which offers enterprise education through the medium of Irish. In the Galician case, instructions were generally given in either Galician or Castilian with the assistance of the lecturer present, although, in the majority of instances, instructions were given in Castilian.

Prior to completing the questionnaire, respondents were informed that the questionnaire was designed to explore students' attitudes towards language. They were further instructed that they would be responding to questions about their place of origin, parents' occupation etc. but that this information was for statistical purposes only. Respondents were assured that the questionnaire was anonymous and that all data collected in the questionnaire would be used for research purposes only. They were reminded that the aim of the investigation was to assess each person's individual views on the topic and that the questionnaire should be completed without consulting with the person beside him or her. However, respondents were also told

that it was not an examination and that there were no right or wrong answers. The students were encouraged to ask questions if they had any difficulties completing the task. They were subsequently debriefed and thanked for their participation.

2.2.4.1. Response Rate

Because it was impossible to control for class absence, only those students present on the day that the questionnaires were administered could be surveyed. Students present on those days were generally co-operative in answering the questionnaire. Most respondents completed the questionnaire in the 40-minute time slot allocated for its completion and the students appeared to approach the task earnestly and patiently. The level of interest in the task can be gleaned from the fact that, in some cases, the subject prompted debate and discussion amongst students outside of class after the questionnaire was completed.

Of the 825 questionnaires collected from Irish students, eight were removed because they were found to be incomplete. Of the original Galician sample, five incomplete questionnaires were eliminated. A further sixty questionnaires, which had been completed by non-Galician students (from other parts of Spain or abroad) were also removed from the Galician sample. The final samples consisted of 817 and 725 Irish and Galician individuals respectively.

The overwhelming response rate in the survey can be attributed to a number of key factors. Firstly, direct contact between the researcher and the students when distributing the questionnaire helped increase student interest in the research project and encouraged their participation in the survey. Secondly, the frequently encountered problem in self-administered questionnaires of low-return rates was overcome by the fact that questionnaires were distributed and collected during class time. Finally, the nature of the population (i.e. receptive student population and with prior experience in similar tasks) also helped enhance response rates. These factors, combined with a strategy which aimed firstly, to create a professional survey

instrument, secondly, to ensure that respondents' efforts to complete the questions were simplified and finally, to highlight the importance of the study topic, can all be seen as contributing factors in the improvement of response rates.

Comments made after completion of the survey by a random selection of the student sample would seem to indicate that respondents understood the instructions for the task and took the survey seriously rather than simply marking the answer sheet in a haphazard way.

2.2.4.2. Weighting Techniques

Because core subject modules were used as the sampling frame in the study, in some cases over- and undersampling of subsamples within each student population occurred. To allow for this, the samples were weighted to bring their distribution in line with that of their respective populations.

TABLE 2 Weighting Percentages

	POPULATION		SAMPLE		COEFFICIENT
	N	%	N	%	Population/sample
<i>DCU</i>					
Humanities	774	17%	202	25%	$17/25 = 0.68$
Technology	1233	27%	187	23%	$27/23 = 1.173913043$
Sciences	858	19%	136	16%	$19/16 = 1.1875$
Business	1604	36%	292	36%	$36/36 = 1$
Total	4474	100%	817	100%	
<i>CUVI</i>					
Humanities	1413	11%	168	23%	$11/23 = 0.378260869$
Technology	4322	34%	194	27%	$34/27 = 1.259259259$
Sciences	2065	16%	197	27%	$16/27 = 0.592592592$
Business	4893	39%	166	23%	$39/23 = 1.695652174$
Total	12704	100%	725	100%	

The weight of the number of students in each field of study (in absolute quantities and percentages) as well as the weighting coefficient are shown in Table 2. Results were weighted back into the population distribution and made representative of students attending these universities.

TABLE 3 Characteristics of Irish and Galician Students Sample (unweighted)

DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES	DCU	CUVI
<u>GENDER</u>		
Female	53%	62%
Male	47%	38%
<u>AGE (years)</u>		
17 – 18	36%	14%
19 – 20	31%	25%
21 – 23	27%	40%
over 23	6%	21%
<u>FIELD OF STUDY</u>		
Humanities	25%	23%
Technology	23%	27%
Sciences	16%	27%
Business	36%	23%
<u>PLACE OF ORIGIN</u>		
	<i>Dublin</i>	<i>Vigo</i>
	45%	37%
<u>PROVINCE</u>		
	<i>Leinster</i>	<i>Pontevedra</i>
	82%	72%
<u>SOCIAL BACKGROUND</u>		
Farmers	7%	3%
Higher/Lower/ Prof., Managers & Employers	57%	45%
Salaried Employees	11%	13%
Skilled Manual	11%	15%
Semi/unskilled Manual	14%	23%

2.2.5. Demographic Profile of Respondents

The socio-demographic profile of the respondents in this study which is presented in Table 3 corresponds fairly closely to its source population with broadly similar breakdowns in terms of key social and demographic variables (see Table 1). This suggests that the questionnaire survey succeeded in representing all categories of key demographic variables such as age and place of origin. In the Galician case, over-sampling of Humanities and Science students inflated the number of female students in the sample leading to a gender bias of six females to every four males. However, when the sample is weighted, this bias disappears.

2.2.6. Coding and Data Entry

Once the questionnaires were collected, the coded responses were entered into an SPSS (Statistical Package for Social Sciences) database, version 11.0. Inter-coder reliability was not an issue in this research as only one data entry coder (the researcher) was involved in the coding process. During the initial pilot coding phase, randomly selected questionnaires provided the basis for refining case entries and helped resolve ambiguities. During the final coding phase, random samples were selected at regular intervals and checked against the original questionnaires. The literature provides little guidance on a suitable number of cases to use in order to control for coding errors in the data input stage (see De Vaus 1991: 245). It was estimated that every 30th questionnaire (approximately 27% of total cases) would provide a sufficiently adequate number of cases to eliminate possible coding errors. Errors which were detected at each stage were corrected before drawing the next sample of questionnaires. The remainder of this section outlines the statistical techniques used to analyse the data.

2.3. Statistical Techniques

In the questionnaire, Irish and Galician respondents were asked to rate their level of agreement with similarly worded attitudinal statements (principally contained within Q13 of each questionnaire), used to test a range of aspects concerning their respective minority languages. In the initial exploration of data, responses to attitudinal variables included in each questionnaire were examined separately through descriptive statistics (see Chapter 5). Simple descriptive statistics provide the researcher with a more detailed picture of respondents' attitudes and are therefore an essential first stage in the analytical process. Indeed, Baker (1992) highlights the importance of this analytical phase and emphasises the potential danger of overlooking important information contained within individual attitudinal items by immediately moving on to multivariate techniques such as factor analysis (see Chapter 5) and analysis of variance (see Chapter 6).

While a case-by-case analysis of individual attitudinal items provides a detailed picture of the issues at hand, the large amount of data which this obviously includes makes the interpretation of results more cumbersome and less manageable. Moreover, the reliability of responses to single attitudinal items has been shown by most socio-psychological research to be rather low (see Oppenheim 1992). Another disadvantage of examining attitudinal variables separately is that data in the form of individual attitudinal items do not facilitate more sophisticated statistical analyses such as analysis of variance (or t-test, its simple form) which are used to test the effect of independent variables (e.g. gender, social class etc.) on dependent variables (e.g. attitudes). The analysis of variance or ANOVA is a statistical technique which determines whether the differences between observed sample means are likely to exist in the population from which the sample was drawn (De Vaus 1991: 186).

To overcome the inadequacies of individual item analysis, a usual procedure used to examine attitudes in quantitative approaches is to group attitudinal items into broader clusters or factors that represent underlying constructs related to the theoretical and conceptual basis of the study. To this end, the statistical technique known as *factor*

analysis was used to examine the interrelationship among attitudinal variables and to reduce the original set of items to a smaller number of dimensions or factors (see Oppenheim 1992). As a simple example, if high scores on item 13/2 are generally associated with high scores on item 13/3 and 13/10 in the Galician questionnaire (see Appendix A), it could be hypothesised that there is some single source variable that creates this relationship among them and it may be possible to “extract” this variable from the data. To justify the aggregation of attitudinal items in a final scale used to measure attitudes towards the two minority languages under investigation, these items needed to be both empirically and conceptually related.

In addition to reducing the number of variables in a data set and thus providing greater coherence in the interpretation of results, factor analysis has the advantage of transforming the data from an ordinal scale of measurement to a continuous scale. Although ordinal data, such as Likert-scale attitudinal items in Q13 of both Irish and Galician questionnaires, are not strictly speaking appropriate measures to be subjected to analysis of variance, the standardised scores that can be generated from factor analysis are (see Agresti and Finlay 1997: 15). In the form of factor scores, the effect of demographic and linguistic variables on linguistic attitudes could then be examined using techniques of analysis of variance (see Chapter 6). To test the relationship between the background demographic and linguistic variables used in the current study the chi-square statistic was used. This statistical test was used to determine whether or not relationships between these variables were produced by chance.

2.4. Towards a Triangulation of Results

While the quantitative findings which will be reported in the following chapters provide the core data for this study, additional insights into the issues at hand were gained from qualitative data, collected through in-depth interviews and group discussions with a smaller number of Irish and Galician students. As these data were primarily intended to explain certain empirical results arising from quantitative research findings, their weight in the following chapters is of an additive rather than

a stand-alone nature. It must therefore be emphasised that the methodological rigour required for a truly in-depth analysis of qualitative data was not adopted in the current study.

2.4.1. Interviews and Group Discussions

Individual interviews which ranged in duration from forty minutes to an hour were conducted with eight Irish and seventeen Galician students and included both males and females from a range of academic disciplines, places of origin and age-groups. An analysis of the discourses produced by two Irish and two Galician student groups in discussions of the current situation of the minority language in their respective communities further elicited insights into the attitudinal data.

In the Galician case, an analysis of existing transcriptions and recordings from focus group discussions with groups of university students on the topic of the Galician language (see Iglesias-Álvarez 2002a) further added to an understanding of linguistic attitudes in the Galician context. As pointed out earlier, an analysis of these transcriptions and recordings from focus group discussions with students in the preliminary research phase of the study also increased sensitivity to cultural-specific aspects of the Galician sociolinguistic context when designing the quantitative sociolinguistic questionnaire.

2.5. Conclusions

While acknowledging the merits and limitations of the different methods available to measure language attitudes, in line with the objectives of this study, a quantitative approach was adopted. Data on the language attitudes of a sample of Irish and Galician respondents were collected through a self-administered questionnaire. The data were subsequently analysed using the statistical package SPSS 11.0. In the following chapters the findings of this quantitative piece of research will be discussed. While these quantitative findings carry most weight in this study, where

appropriate and in order to deepen our understanding of attitudes towards the two languages under investigation, in the discussion of results (Chapter 7), references will be made to qualitative results.

CHAPTER 3 - AN OVERVIEW OF THE IRISH AND GALICIAN SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXTS

3. Overview

This chapter reviews aspects of the historical background which have conditioned attitudinal dispositions towards Irish and Galician amongst members of their respective communities. The main aim of the chapter is to set the context for the discussion of the attitudinal data which will be presented later in the thesis. While an exhaustive analysis of the factors contributing to language maintenance and shift in the Irish and Galician sociolinguistic contexts is beyond the scope of this thesis, the identification of the most salient features in both cases is intended to provide the backdrop against which current attitudinal trends can be situated.

3.1. Introduction

As was already noted in Chapter 1, a basic premise of modern linguistics is that all languages are equal (Edwards 1979, 1994). Grillo (1989: 173) notes that, in the same way as anthropologists refuse to judge the relative worth of cultures, linguists believe that 'one language is as good and adequate as any other' (Trudgill 1983: 205). Nevertheless, as was also noted in Chapter 1, languages and cultures are very often evaluated and linguistic stratification tends to be the norm rather than the exception. However, the verifiability of negative judgements about different ways of speaking and about the speakers of different languages is unrelated to the mobilising power of such judgements (Fishman 1976: 331), especially if they contravene the basic premise of equality (Grillo 1989: 173). As Spitulnik (1998: 164) points out, language ideologies and processes of language evaluation are not just about language itself but are more closely related to the construction and legitimisation of power.

The present chapter sketches the social, economic and political framework within which the stratification of the Irish and Galician languages and their speakers has occurred. Like many of Europe's lesser-used or minority languages, the sociolinguistic histories of these two languages have been shaped by social, economic and political interactions between their respective autochthonous populations and an outside dominant political power. The sociolinguistic history of the Irish language can be understood in the context of socio-economic and political relations between the island of Ireland and England (later Great Britain). The history of Galician, on the other hand, is closely related to the ongoing social and political interactions between Galicia, in the extreme north-western corner of the Iberian Peninsula and the Kingdom of Castile, later emerging as the centre of political and economic power in Spain. The domination of Ireland and Galicia in political and economic spheres was gradually reflected in the diminishing status of their respective autochthonous languages. Ireland's political independence from Great Britain since 1922 and Galicia's autonomous status within the Spanish state since the 1980s, have provided a more favourable political climate for the Irish and Galician languages.

The final part of this chapter assesses key facets of linguistic policy and language planning initiatives which have taken place over these periods of political change.

3.2. Early Sociolinguistic Histories

3.2.1. The Irish Language

Irish, which is part of the Celtic family of Indo-European languages, came to be the autochthonous language of the inhabitants of the island of Ireland during the second half of the first millennium B. C. (Ó Huallacháin 1994: 10). Historical accounts (see Ó Cuív 1969, 1976; Ó Huallacháin 1994) would seem to indicate that up until the sixteenth century Irish was the main language used throughout the island. It was the language used by the majority of the autochthonous population and was used across a range of social and functional domains. These included domains of high culture where Irish had a reputable literary tradition in which poetry and, to a lesser extent, prose was written in Irish until after 1600 (Ó Cuív 1969: 27). Ó Huallacháin (1991) points to the prestige which was associated with the language up until that period:

This eminence, which was consciously awarded to the language of Irish society, especially to the cultivated varieties of it [Irish] which were used in the spheres of government, of literature and of certain professions and trades, indicates that it had a central and recognized role in the community (Ó Huallacháin 1991: 2).

3.2.2. The Galician Language

Galician is a member of the Romance family of languages (see Fernández Rei 1990b, 1993) and until the Middle Ages was broadly similar to the language variety spoken south of what constitutes part of the present political border between Galicia and Portugal. Linguistic differences between Galician and Portuguese began to emerge in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries following the political independence of Portugal from the rest of the Peninsula. Typical descriptions of the early sociolinguistic history of Galician point to the relative prestige which the language

continued to hold up until the end of the Middle Ages (see Monteagudo and Santamarina 1993; Frexeiro Mato 1997; Monteagudo 1999a; Mariño 1998). During this period Galician was used by all social classes as well as being the language of administration and the judicial systems. The vast majority of documents written in Galicia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were also in Galician, as was a flourishing literature, most renowned for its brilliant school of lyrical poetry (Monteagudo and Santamarina 1993: 120). Such was the prestige attached to this literary form of the language that its use extended beyond Galician borders through its use in the Castilian Court during the reign of Alfonso X (Recalde 2000: 14).

3.3. The Beginnings of Language Decline

These brief accounts of the early histories of the Irish and Galician languages provide an indication of the relative prestige that each language once claimed. However, the profound political changes which followed these periods were to have long-term consequences on the status of the speakers of these languages and consequently on the languages themselves.

3.3.1. Changes in the Status of Irish

The Anglo-Norman invasions of Ireland in the twelfth century had little direct effect on the linguistic and cultural practices of the autochthonous Irish-speaking population. Nevertheless, the long-term repercussions of their initial political foothold in Ireland are generally recognised and these invasions were seen to have sown the seeds for the more forceful military campaigns which followed. Explicit measures to detach the Irish from their culture and language can be traced to the early sixteenth century. Henry VIII's most determined effort to assimilate Ireland and excise the Irish language in the 1537 'Act for the English Order, Habit and Language' decreed that all Irish men and women were to speak the English language. Clergymen were obliged to ensure an English school was kept in each parish and parents were required to bring up their children speaking English (Durkacz 1983: 4).

During the Tudor campaigns of the seventeenth century, Irish aristocratic families were dispossessed and replaced by relatively large numbers of native-born English which led to the formation of a new landlord class in Ireland. These developments within the upper class gave a decisive impetus to the process of language shift towards English (Ó Riagáin 1997: 4). Wall (1969) explains the situation in these terms:

By 1800 Irish had ceased to be the language habitually spoken in the homes of all those who had already achieved success in the world, or who aspired to improve or even maintain their position politically, socially or economically. The pressures of six hundred years of foreign occupation, and more particularly the complicated political, religious and economic pressures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had killed Irish at the top of the social scale and had already weakened its position among the entire population of the country (Wall 1969: 82).

The emerging linguistic and social situation in Ireland was that of an Irish-speaking peasant population and an English-speaking aristocracy. As Dorian (1981: 15) points out, when such a dichotomy exists, prestige quite naturally accrues to the language of the higher socio-economic group. The position of Irish soon became unfavourable and Irish not only ceased to be socially dominant but also socially acceptable and was looked on as the language of a wild, savage people. The eighteenth century writings of Jonathan Swift clearly reflect these perceptions and point to the negative attitudes towards the Irish language amongst the ascendancy in Britain and Ireland:

I am deceived, if anything hath more contributed to prevent the Irish being tamed, than this encouragement to their language, which might easily be abolished and become a dead one in half an age, with little expense, and less trouble (cited in Grillo 1989: 86).

The wretched conditions of Ireland were seen to be related to the continued use of Irish amongst the peasant population, thus linking the language to economic, social and political backwardness. Ó hAilín (1969) highlighted the continuity of such prejudicial beliefs about the Irish language in his reference to a pamphlet written in 1822 which stated that:

[...] the common Irish are naturally shrewd, but very ignorant and deficient in mental culture; from the barbarous tongue in which

they converse which operates as an effectual bar to any literary attainment (quoted in Ó hAilín 1969: 92).

As we will see in Chapter 4 and 5, these deep-rooted stigmas about the Irish language continue to be found in contemporary attitudes towards the language, albeit in a more implicit form.

A number of key factors have served over the centuries to reinforce prejudices against Irish speakers and to exacerbate the stigmatisation of the language. As was already highlighted, the hierarchical divide between Irish-speaking peasants and the English-speaking upper strata of Irish society ensured a high status for English to the detriment of the Irish language. Closely related to the hierarchical divide between Irish and English speakers was the emerging spatial divide between the rural Irish-speaking countryside and English-speaking towns. The latter had become the main locations of British military and administrative influence. The physical isolation of the rural Irish-speaking population, which as Fishman (1971: 315) notes, is required for groups to maintain a separate language or dialect, helped sustain the language amongst the majority of the population up until the eighteenth century. While the poor economic conditions, isolation and rurality of the Irish-speaking population curbed the immediate decline of the Irish language, such conditions also provided the basis for a stigmatised social identity which would prompt future generations of Irish speakers to abandon the language. Over the eighteenth century, the shift to English spread to all urban areas and gradually made its way into the rural hinterland. According to the 1851 census, the first to include a language question in Ireland, just under 30 percent of the population were returned as Irish speakers. The majority of these speakers would probably have been bilingual in both Irish and English with an estimated 5 percent monoglot Irish-speaking population (MacNamara 1971). The monolingual practices within the scattered number of remaining Irish-speaking communities in the western, northern and southern parts of the country were sustained by their poor economic conditions, isolation and rurality. The extended period of isolation from cross-cultural contacts with English speakers, which had brought about a shift to English in Ireland more generally, allowed these isolated communities to maintain enclaves of Irish speakers, whose occupation and language

was stigmatised by the rest of society. A despised social status thus provided the resource for remaining Irish-speaking communities to maintain their language and culture. However, although sustainable for a time, the long-term repercussions of the social conditions in which language maintenance had been ensured, helped to reinforce existing prejudicial beliefs about the Irish language and its speakers.

The establishment in 1831 of a national education system, which was entirely through the medium of English, can also be regarded as a key factor which led to the undermining of the Irish language in the minds of the people. Arguably, the role of the schools in explaining the decline of the Irish language might be overstated, given the generally low levels of education amongst the Irish population up until the twentieth century. However, as Dorian (1981: 27) notes, although a policy of excluding the home language from formal education does not necessarily lead to its decay or demise, it does so in the context of hostility and prejudices toward the language and its speakers. The exclusion of Irish from the education system, therefore, helped to consolidate the already negative attitudes towards the language which had accumulated over previous centuries of cultural and linguistic conflict (Durkacz 1983: 217) and reinforced the fact that English was the most useful tool for any child with minimal ambition (Hindley 1990: 12).

The rapid decline of the Irish language, which gained momentum as the nineteenth century progressed, also tends to be attributed to the Irish famine (between 1845 and 1849) which reduced the population of the country by more than two million through both death and emigration. Significantly, those most affected by the famine were Irish speakers. According to the 1891 Census, the overall number of Irish speakers in the country had dropped to below 20 percent in the years immediately after the famine. An immediate effect of a 'natural' disaster such as famine can be related to what Crystal (2000: 70) terms 'the dramatic effect on the physical wellbeing' of Irish speakers given the one million deaths which it caused. However, in addition to these devastating 'natural' effects on the Irish language were the waves of emigration which it initiated (most pronounced in Irish-speaking parts of the country), which helped to further reinforce the already well-established link between the need to learn

English and social advancement. As a result, earlier prejudices against the language were kept alive and even further strengthened amongst upcoming generations of potential Irish speakers.

In the twentieth century, language shift to English continued and, according to the 1926 Census, only 18 per cent of those living in what is currently the Republic of Ireland were returned as Irish speakers. As well as constituting a numerically weak linguistic minority, these remaining Irish speakers possessed little in terms of social status. The occupational structure of Irish-speaking communities in the 1926 Census shows that the majority was engaged in small-scale farming and fishing. Outside of this small number of Irish-speaking communities, English had become the language not only of urban commercial and professional classes but also lower socio-economic groups, including those living in rural parts of the country. Therefore, as Ó Riagáin (1997: 171) points out, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, proficiency in Irish was of little economic or social value and thus provided little incentive for remaining Irish speakers to maintain the language or for others to learn it.

3.3.2. Changes in the Status of Galician

Many of the patterns identified in typical descriptions of the sociolinguistic history of Irish have clear parallels with the Galician context, where attitudes towards the language would seem to have evolved in a similar way. As in the case of Irish, where as Wall (1969: 82) has pointed out, the language died 'at the top of the social scale', the upper social strata of Galician society were also the first to abandon their indigenous language. From the fourteenth century, Galicia fell under permanent Castilian domination leading to the subsequent decline of the native Galician nobility. The increased move towards the consolidation of political unity by the Catholic Kings in the second half of the fifteenth century further advanced the subjugation of Galicia as a periphery of a Castilian-based centre of power.

With the decline of Galician fortunes and the rise in importance of the Castilian Court in the fifteenth century, the Galician language began to decline correspondingly in prestige. Henceforth, the people who represented authority in Galicia spoke Castilian. Rodríguez (1991: 62) points to the 'xugulación dunha clase dirixente autóctona' ('strangulation of an autochthonous ruling class') in the fifteenth century and their replacement by Castilian speakers. Therefore, as in the Irish context, a new role model was also being created for Galicians, built on the culture, language and values of a non-autochthonous centre of power as opposed to those of Galicia. As a result, those who sought social mobility in Galicia imitated the linguistic behaviour of the new Castilian-speaking dominant classes. The decline of the Galician aristocracy and the replacement of Galician nobles by Castilian-speaking ones led to the Castilianisation of higher social strata in Galicia and those seeking power or wishing to maintain it followed suit. According to Monteagudo and Santamarina (1993), language shift on the part of the dominant classes had consequences for the general population, making familiarity with Castilian a possibility if not an everyday occurrence. The early abandonment of Galician by the higher social classes of Galician society reflects a trend already identified in the Irish context (see section 3.3.1) and which Fishman (1991) has identified in the process of language shift more generally. Crawford (1996: 5) highlights the role in the process of language shift of social identifiers which prompt people to speak like those they admire or aspire to emulate. As a result, as Dorian (1981: 2) notes, the future of many languages in Europe has been threatened because the elite were abandoning them, which raised the distinct possibility that the rest of society would follow suit.

In the period that followed, Galician was effectively banished from public affairs and as a written language. Castilian appeared in formal domains of use, in a diglossic relation to Galician (in Fishman's 1967 sense of diglossia as a functional compartmentalisation of codes, regardless of their linguistic relation), and language shift began to take effect in some sectors. Although the language continued to be spoken by the majority of the Galician population, its abandonment in the spheres of power led to its devaluation in terms of social prestige. Therefore, as Recalde (2000: 24) notes, the de-galicianisation of the upper strata of Galician society had a

qualitative rather than an explicitly quantitative effect on the Galician language. Del Valle cites López Valcárcel (1991 : 136) who points out that:

The process of devaluation of Galician is an old one. Its immediate causes are to be found in the historical events that began with the imposition of Castilian in Galicia after the fifteenth century; an imposition which, because it came from the political administrative power, entailed the establishment of a correlation between social class and language that still exists today (cited in Del Valle 2000: 108).

It is noteworthy that, although no official linguistic laws were passed during the reign of the Catholic Kings, Isabel and Ferdinand in the fifteenth century, this period marked the emergence of an implicit link between the Castilian language and political and administrative power. More explicit references to linguistic uniformity were to appear under the Bourbon Dynasty in the eighteenth century during which use of languages other than Castilian began to be prohibited in the high functional domains of culture and education (Martin 2002: 21). However, such explicit legislation did not have any direct effect on the Galician-speaking population, the majority of whom were not exposed to formal education. Indeed much of the population continued to have low levels of literacy right up to the twentieth century (Recalde 2000: 26). As Bouzada (2003) points out:

[...] the prevalence of the use of Galician has been accompanied since the beginning of the 20th century by very low levels of education, with illiteracy rates greater than 15% along with immeasurable levels of functional illiteracy. The prescriptions of the *Ley Moyano* (Moyano Law), passed by the Spanish State in the year 1857 to establish certain minimum schooling standards for every 500 inhabitants, did not manage to have any effect in Galicia even as late as the first decades of the 20th century (Bouzada 2003: 326).

While the policy of excluding Galician from formal education may not have had an immediate effect on the largely illiterate Galician-speaking population, as we have already seen in the case of Irish, the exclusion of these languages from the school system was implicitly transmitting a low assessment of their value and utility to the community at large.

While there is little formal data on the number and socio-demographic distribution of Galician speakers at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, some information can be gleaned from the *Mapa Sociolingüística de Galicia* (see Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994), henceforth MSG, which deduces from the reported accounts of the language spoken by respondents' grandparents that in 1877, 88.5% of Galicians continued to be monolingual Galician speakers (MSG 1995: 52-53). Margariños (1979: 70), for example, also notes that Castilian was only spoken in Galician cities and amongst sectors of the bourgeoisie including merchants, industrial, administrative and intellectual middle classes. Up until 1900, over ninety percent of Galicians lived in rural areas, with less than ten percent concentrated in Galicia's urban centres (Fernández Rodríguez 1993: 28) and this divide can be taken to loosely correspond to the linguistic divide between Galician and Castilian speakers at the time. Regueira (1999: 859) cites Valladares' (1892) description of the social status of the Galician language at the end of the nineteenth century as 'un dialecto relegado al ignorante vulgo y que la gente culta, la gente fina casi no habla ya' ('a dialect confined to the vulgar ignorant and that the cultured people, the refined people rarely speak anymore'). Hermida's (1992) analysis of texts written at the end of the nineteenth century draws similar conclusions and identifies the visible divide between the Castilian-speaking upper social strata of Galician society and the Galician-speaking rural peasants. As Recalde (1997) notes:

La distribución lingüística era, pues, fiel reflejo de la estratificación social y este hecho contribuyó a que la lengua gallega padeciese en este período un enorme desprestigio. Abandonarla en favor del castellano fue, así, un requisito para los escasos individuos que conseguían incorporarse a la pequeña burguesía y deseaban ser aceptados por su nueva clase (Recalde 1997: 14).

[The linguistic distribution was a true reflection of the social stratification and this fact contributed to the low prestige which came to be associated with the Galician language during that period. Abandoning Galician in favour of Castilian was a requirement for the few individuals who succeeded in becoming part of the petit bourgeoisie and who wanted to be accepted by their new social class].

From these indirect accounts, the profile of Galician speakers at the turn of the twentieth would seem to largely resemble that of remaining Irish speakers at the time, comprising a predominantly rural, uneducated peasant population.

Geographic, socio-economic and cultural isolation of Galician speakers to a large extent explain an unusually long period of linguistic sheltering from Castilian up until the twentieth century. The geographic isolation of Galicia in the extreme north of Iberian Peninsula, which is also linked to its history of poor economic development, meant that it did not attract the waves of Castilian-speaking migrants who altered and continue to alter the sociolinguistic contexts of other linguistic communities in Spain, most notably those of Catalonia and the Basque Country. However, while Galicians were not affected by in-migration, similarly to the Irish context, they frequently found the need to migrate to other parts of Spain in search of work or to emigrate to elsewhere in Europe or to Latin America. According to Villares (1984), over one million Galicians left Galicia between 1860 and 1970, and it is likely that the majority of those who migrated and emigrated were Galician speakers (Recalde 1997). Compared with other parts of Spain, modernisation of Galician society occurred at a much later stage and even by the end of the twentieth century according to Monteagudo and Santamarina (1993: 123) 'the substitution of a precapitalist economy based on agriculture for an economy founded on industry was still far from complete in Galicia'. As Mar-Molinero (1997) points out:

Galicia was a backward and traditional society not experiencing the challenges of modernisation or industrialisation that were taking place in Catalonia and the Basque Country. It was also geographically very isolated, a feature that has always helped shape Galician history (Mar-Molinero 1997: 38-39).

Bouzada and Lorenzo (1997) and Bouzada (2003) use the concept of the 'speaker by necessity' to describe the long-standing monolingual practices of the rural Galician population, where lack of cross-cultural contacts with Castilian speakers meant that the 'need' to speak any language other than Galician did not arise. As the society began to modernise during the twentieth century, Galician speakers became less isolated and came into more direct contact with areas in which Castilian was used and needed. The impact of urbanisation and industrialisation on geographically-isolated language communities such as was the Galician case is well documented in the literature on language maintenance and shift. Gal (1979) points to the effects of these macrosociological factors on the process of language shift from Hungarian to German in the Austrian town of Oberwart. Similarly, Dorian's (1981) case study of

the East Sutherland variety of Gaelic spoken in Scotland, points to the rapid shift to English, as cross-cultural contacts between Gaelic and English speakers increased. While these and other language cases (including the Irish language case) provide support for the thesis that modernising societies become linguistically homogenous, proponents of this perspective on language maintenance and shift tend to accept the decline of some languages and the rise of others as a natural phenomenon. However, as Crystal (2000: 33) points out, there is no case for a Darwinian perspective of the survival of the linguistic fittest, because the factors which cause language death are, in principle, very largely under human control (see also Williams 1992). As Tovey and Share (2003: 333) suggest:

[...] the rise or decline of any language is not a 'natural' phenomenon that occurs without human or social agency, as the modernisation thesis tends to suggest. The relationship between the majority and a minority language is not one of modernity versus backwardness but one of power (Tovey and Share 2003: 333).

Therefore, it can be argued that it was not modernisation per se that led to the shift towards Castilian (or the shift in Irish speakers towards English) but rather the implicit understanding amongst Galician speakers that Castilian was the language of power and social mobility. The very factors (ignorance, poverty and rurality) which had allowed Galician to survive centuries of linguistic dominance as a subordinate of Castilian, were to provide the rationalisation for many Galician migrants to abandon their language as they moved from the countryside to Galicia's cities in search of work during the second half of the twentieth century. As access to education and the media increased amongst the rural population so too did their exposure to Castilian. Increased contact with Castilian speakers further strengthened the link between Castilian and progress, values associated with the modern world in the minds of many Galician speakers.

3.3.3. The Emergence of Irish and Galician as Low-Prestige Languages

The sociolinguistic histories of Irish and Galician up until the twentieth century mirror those of many of Europe's lesser-used languages in their patterns of language

shift towards a dominant contact language. The Irish case provides an example of what can perhaps be considered an example of unusually rapid decline, given the very advanced stage which language shift had reached as early as the mid-nineteen hundreds. In contrast to the Irish case, Galician illustrates a case where language shift has been comparably slower, corresponding to the less-advanced rates of linguistic substitution by English amongst the remaining Irish-speaking parts of the country in the Irish sociolinguistic context.

While much more historical work would be required to fully understand the complex interplay between factors influencing the varying rates of language shift in the Irish and Galician contexts, such an examination is beyond the scope of the current study. Nevertheless, this brief overview of the sociolinguistic histories of these two language cases up until the twentieth century clearly illustrates the very unfavourable views about the utility of each language amongst their respective populations. Both languages were highly stigmatised and their speakers were subject to severe social and economic penalties. The linguistic ideologies of the dominant political and economic strata of Irish and Galician society gradually filtered down to the rest of society. This trend is not uncommon amongst minority language groups, who tend to adopt majority attitudes toward themselves, even when such attitudes are hostile (see Lambert 1967; Tajfel et al. 1972).

An examination of the sociolinguistic histories of Irish and Galician shows that notwithstanding their different sized demographic bases, by the end of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, the socio-demographic profiles of their speakers were largely similar. Because the prestige of a language is generally inseparable from the status of its speakers (see Mackey 1973; Dorian 1981), the social meanings which came to be associated with speaking Irish and Galician mirrored those of their speakers and reflected a stigmatised identity from which those who sought social mobility wished to disassociate themselves. Therefore, reversing the low-prestige status associated with languages and not their demographic bases per se constituted the central language planning problem facing each of these

languages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. As the *Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language* noted in 1882:

The greatest danger that threatens the language, and one from which it is certain to suffer, is the prejudice entertained against it by the illiterate Irish-speaking people, whose phraseology it is. They fancy it is the synonym of poverty and misery, and that many of the evils from which they suffer are traceable to its continued use; that, if they could dispense with it altogether, they would elevate themselves socially, and be so much more respectable members of society (quoted in Ó Huallacháin 1991: 11-12).

3.4. Language Revival Movements and the Rise of Nationalism

According to Fishman (1991), the successful reversal of language shift is an invariable part of a larger ethnocultural goal. The impulses which were to bring language issues onto the public agenda in Ireland and Galicia at the end of the nineteenth century resulted from the ideological orientation of ethnocultural movements. Conscious language planning for Irish and Galician coincides with the rise of these movements and marks the first attempts to curb the process of language shift and the reversal of the negative social meanings which had come to be associated with the languages and their speakers. Ethnocultural movements in Ireland and Galicia were greatly influenced by the ideology of nationalism which had already been growing throughout Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (see Hobsbawm 1990), an ideology which portrayed the division of peoples into nations as a natural consequence of cultural differences across groups. Emerging nationalist movements also drew on the broader system of ideas known as Romanticism which at the time had come to dominate European intellectual life. Romanticism stressed the exotic, the local, and nostalgia for a glorious past which legitimised a community's uniqueness in the present (Mar-Molinero 2000: 7), and the reconstruction of this romantic imagery enhanced the justification for what was perceived as a people's innate right to nationhood. While, in a contemporary context, this romantic imagery can often appear overly nostalgic and exaggerated, at the time it was considered a necessary part of affirming and constructing a collective sense of identity.

The role of language within this imagery can be traced to late eighteenth-century German philosophy and to the work of Johann Herder in particular who characterised language as the 'genius of a people'. Within the Herderian perspective of nationalism, language constituted the core element in a group's claim to nationhood (see Fishman 1972).

3.4.1. The Irish Language Movement

In the Irish context, traces of the Herderian perspective on language are evident in the late nineteenth century writings of Thomas Davis and specifically in statements such as 'A people without a language of its own is only half a nation' and 'To have lost entirely the national language is death; the fetter has worn through' (Ó hAilín 1969: 94) which mark the beginning of what can be seen as the modern language revival movement in Ireland. Prior to this period, some attention was given to Irish through antiquarian investigation of the language in earlier movements such as The Gaelic Society of Dublin (1806) and the Ibero-Celtic Society (1818) (Ó hAilín 1969: 92). Thus, ascendancy antipathy to Irish prior to this period (see section 3.3.1.), was somewhat tempered by the antiquarian interest in the language which was displayed by some educated sectors of Irish society. Active efforts to restore the language in its spoken form began with the work of *Conradh na Gaeilge* (The Gaelic League), founded in 1893 by Douglas Hyde. Although this movement was exclusively concerned with the revival of the Irish language and culture, its members also provided leadership and inspiration in other spheres (Ó hAilín 1969: 96). Durkacz (1983: 207) notes that, as a result of the efforts of the Gaelic League, the bond between the Irish language and nationalism was consummated by many emerging political leaders in Ireland, who subsequently adopted the Irish language as a symbol of national identity.

As already highlighted in earlier sections, language shift to English had already reached an advanced stage and therefore, by the end of the nineteenth century, for the majority of the Irish population, the Irish language was not a part of their lived everyday experiences. The use of Irish was restricted to a small and geographically

isolated sector of the population along the north-western, western, and southern Irish sea-boards. However, it was to these communities that Hyde and *Conradh na Gaeilge* turned and on which the basis of a collective ethnic or national identity was to be formed. Tovey et al. (1989) note that:

The nativism of the Gaelic League was rooted in original myths which elevated the cultural and social residues surviving in western islands and the Gaeltacht [meaning Irish-speaking areas] into the fountainhead for a new society (Tovey et al. 1989: 19-20).

The romantic imagery which Hyde and the Gaelic League used in the construction of a distinctive Irish identity is often a source of ridicule (see Lee 1989) and has, according to Tovey et al. (1989: 16), led Hyde to be perceived as an 'anti-modernist who sought to purify the ancient Gaelic nation of intrusions from a vulgarised modern English culture'. However, Tovey et al. (ibid.) also argue that such exaggerated imagery can be seen as a necessary part of reversing the negative connotations which had come to be associated with a sense of Irishness and of providing an alternative identity to that which was being imitated by emerging elite groups in Ireland. The image of the noble and uncontaminated peasant who kept his language pure and intact, according to Fishman (1972: 69), provided a particularly frequent directive source of nationalist language planning. Within this imagery, an Irish identity was constructed in opposition to a British identity and symbols which could emphasise differences between Irish as a separate ethnic group were drawn upon. For instance, the Irish could trace their origins to the Celts and this differentiated them from the English who were perceived as a Saxon race. In a similar vein, the dichotomy between rural Ireland and industrial England was emphasised in the construction of this imagery.

The workings of the Gaelic League were not solely ideological but also involved the use of very practical initiatives to increase the presence of the Irish language within society. In contrast to antiquarian language movements of the mid-nineteen hundreds, the League was devoted to the maintenance of the language as the living spoken vernacular in those communities (collectively known as the *Gaeltacht* or Irish-speaking areas) in which the shift to English had not yet occurred. Although the

founders of the Gaelic League did not write anything in their constitution about making Irish the language of all the people of Ireland (Ó Cuív 1969: 128; Ó Laoire 1996a: 52-53, 1999), many of the activities of the movement were targeted at increasing the knowledge base in the language amongst the non-Gaeltacht population. A key initiative adopted by the League was to increase the presence and the status of the language in schools. Additionally, in 1910, the members of the Gaelic League succeeded in putting sufficient pressure on British authorities to introduce Irish as an essential subject for matriculation in the National University of Ireland, a position which Irish continues to hold to the present day.

Through the construction of an idealised romantic imagery, as well as practical initiatives to restore the language, the League therefore enhanced the status of what had become a low-prestige language. It also raised a sense of linguistic awareness amongst the population and according to Ó hAilín (1969: 96), 'revolutionised the attitude of the Irish people to their own language'. To a considerable extent also, the League provided the basis on which formal language policy would be shaped in the years following political independence in Ireland in 1922 (Ó Riagáin 1997).

3.4.2. The Galician Language Movement

As in the Irish case, antiquarian interest in the Galician language marked initial moves towards the restoration of the language's lost prestige. In 1840 such interest began to take the form of an intellectual movement, initiating the formulation of a sense of shared identity amongst Galicians through Galicia's history, culture and language. During what is usually labelled the *provincialist* stage in the development of Galician nationalist sentiment, pride of place was given to the bucolic character of Galician society, the beauty of the Galician countryside, as well as its glorious historic past (Recalde 2000: 30). Within this romantic imagery, the Galician language was seen as a defining quality of Galicians as a people, reflecting a Herderian perspective of the symbolic significance of the language (see Monteagudo 1999b). The Galician language constituted a key component within this romantic imagery and in the construction of a specifically Galician identity.

In time, the intellectual ideologies of 'cultural nationalism' became more politically orientated and gradually came to symbolise Galicia's peripheral position within Spain and the more deep-rooted socio-economic and political grievances linked to this position. This marked the transition to the next stage of Galician nationalism known as the *regionalist* stage. In the intellectual discourse associated with this phase of Galician nationalism, the Galician language as well as Galicia's independent historic past and its ethnic origins became symbolic of the perceived differences which existed between Galicia and Castile as the Spanish centre of power (Recalde 2000: 30). The boundary between 'them' (central Spain) and 'us' (Galicia) began to be more explicitly marked and language constituted a key symbol in demarcating these boundaries. Like Douglas Hyde in the Irish context, Manuel Murgía, leader of the *Asociación Regionalista Galega* (The Galician Regionalist Association), drew on an exaggerated imagery of differences between Galicia and Castile, emphasising Galicia's Celtic past as a key differentiating characteristic (O'Rourke 2003a: 140).

While there does seem to be archaeological evidence to support Galicia's claim to a Celtic influence in the region, Celtic influences in the Galician language (which linguists classify as a Romance language) are more difficult to find. Indeed, twentieth century nationalist writers in Galicia, such as Otero Pedrayo, can therefore be accused of veering towards what Patterson (2000: 63) refers to as 'propaganda' in his idealisation of the Celtic presence in the language. While the exaggeration of differences between Galicia and the rest of Spain can be criticised, as in the Irish context, this exaggerated imagery must also be looked at in the context of the broader European ideology of the time. Moreover, such idealisation may be seen as a means of reinforcing differences between Galician and Castilian which are very close in linguistic terms. Indeed, the linguistic proximity between the two languages was frequently used to justify classifications of Galician as a dialect of Castilian rather than as a language in its own right. The historical subordination of Galician had led to what Kloss (1967) refers to as 'dialectalization', which he defines as the politically-motivated process which occurs when enough structural similarity exists

between a dominant and a subordinate language to classify the latter variety as a substandard dialect.

A more clearly definable Galician nationalist ideology appeared in 1916 in the form of *Irmandades de Fala* or 'brotherhood of the language' whose role it was to protect and promote the Galician language (Henderson 1996: 242). This period saw considerable codification and elaboration of the forms of the language, with the setting up of a Galician language academy and the production of grammars and dictionaries. Unlike the preceding *provincialist* and *regionalist* stages, explicit proponents of Galician nationalism from 1916 onwards wrote and spoke publicly in Galician, claiming that it was only through the language that a true sense of Galicianness could be expressed (Recalde 2000: 31). The *Irmandades de Fala* laid the foundations for the *Partido Galeguista* (Pro-Galician Party) (Hermida 2001: 120) which was in turn to make demands on the Spanish central government for the introduction of Galician into public services and in education as well as for co-official status with Castilian. In 1936, the first *Statutes of Autonomy* for Galicia were drawn up under which Galicia was to be granted a form of regional government within Spain and the Galician language was to be awarded co-official status with Castilian within the new autonomous framework.

Although Galician political nationalism is considered timid in comparison to the other two Peninsular movements (Catalan and Basque nationalism) (Mar-Molinero 2000: 52), Santamarina (2000: 43) nonetheless points out that those who promoted the Galician language and culture provided a sense of leadership and their ideas came to be held in high esteem by the Galician population.

3.4.2.1. The 'Re-Stigmatisation' of Galician

Language revival movements in Galicia and the conversion of language into a symbol of a Galician political ideology had thus succeeded in putting sufficient pressure on the central government during Spain's Second Republic to bring about a

change in the official status of the language. In 1936 the language was to be given co-official status with Castilian within what was to become the *Autonomous Community of Galicia*. However, these changes were violently disrupted by the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the ensuing forty years of dictatorial rule under General Francisco Franco (1939-1975) imposed a highly centralised regime, politically as well as linguistically and culturally. Indeed, a major goal of the dictatorial regime was to make the whole of the Spanish state politically and culturally homogeneous and special efforts were made to eliminate the use of other languages including the Galician language. The methods used in attempts to eliminate these languages included severe direct repression and other, more sophisticated means of changing identity. Although Galician continued to be used predominantly in Galicians' homes and in informal conversation, Castilian became the only language permitted in public domains such as government, education and, through censorship, the media (Monteagudo and Santamarina 1993: 126). Whenever the language was used in public it was to show up a poor and ignorant society, using the language to scorn and ridicule (Hermida 2001: 120). A clear example of attitudes towards the language on the part of the regime can be discerned from the following excerpt which appeared in pamphlets distributed in the Galician city of Coruña in 1955 (Portas Fernández 1997). References were made to Galician as being 'barbaric' while speaking 'properly' was seen as synonymous with speaking Castilian:

Hable bien
 Sea patriota. No sea bárbaro.
 Es el cumplido caballero que usted hable nuestro idioma oficial, o sea, el castellano
 Es ser patriota.
 Viva España y la disciplina y nuestro idioma cervantino (cited in Portas Fernández 1997: 121).
 [Speak well
 Be patriotic. Don't be barbaric.
 It is the gentleman's obligation to speak our official language, that is, Castilian
 It is patriotic
 Long live Spain and discipline and our language of Cervantes].

Galician was also referred to as a dialect of Castilian rather than a language in its own right, reflecting the politically-motivated process of 'dialectalization' (Kloss 1967) referred to in section 3.4.2. above. During the Franco regime, Galician was

thus once again relegated to its pre-nineteenth century status as a stigmatised and sub-standard language which was again excluded from the echelons of power and prestige.

The rejection and ridicule of Galician by the Franco regime no doubt had important psychological effects on Galician speakers. However, at the same time, the anti-Galician ideologies of the Franco regime became synonymous with the overall authoritarian ideology of the Franco dictatorship, a political regime which was increasingly hated by many sectors of society (Mar-Molinero 2000: 85) and resistance to this regime made the Galician language a politically-loaded question. Throughout the years of the dictatorship, many of the protagonists of Galician language and cultural movements, both in the form of clandestine groups and in exile, continued the work which had begun in the nineteenth century. Such groups were to play a leading role in the defence and use of the Galician language in the post-Franco years (see Fernández Rei 1990a).

Following Franco's death in November 1975 the complex and fragile process of democratic transition began in Spain. This process involved the restoration of Galicia's autonomous self-government which had been granted but not enacted in 1936. The process also involved the return of the Galician language into public life and marked the beginning of its recovery.

3.5. Changes in the Legal Status of Irish and Galician

In order to bring about a meaningful stabilisation of linguistic minority communities in a situation midst the power of a dominant political or economic group, it is deemed necessary for minority communities to control the institutions that affect their lives and to achieve sustainable improvement in their circumstances (see for example Corson 1990; Cummins 1988). The political changes which took place in Ireland in the 1920s and in the 1980s in Galicia allowed a legal framework to be put

in place, through which the status of their respective indigenous languages could be enhanced.

Following political independence in 1922, Irish constituted one of the key symbols which was used to reinforce and consolidate the legitimacy of the new Irish State. Under Article 4 of the constitution of the Irish Free State (*Saorstát Éireann*), Irish was proclaimed the 'National' language. This position was reaffirmed in 1937 in Article 8 of *Bunreacht na hÉireann* (The Irish Constitution) which states that 'the Irish language as the national language is the first official language' and that 'the English language is recognised as a second official language' (see Ó Máille 1990). Compared with other minority language cases, the nomination of Irish as the language of a state, awarded it a privileged position and has thus made it the only minority language in Europe and perhaps in the world with a state 'ostensibly dedicated to its protection' (Fishman 1991: 122).

Decentralisation policies in the context of Spain's transition to democracy in the post-Franco period led to a new legal framework which was to greatly enhance the status of the Galician language. Article 3 of the 1978 Spanish Constitution provided the first step towards the official recognition of linguistic diversity within the Spanish territory. Article 3 states:

1. El castellano es la lengua española oficial del Estado. Todos los españoles tienen el deber de conocerla y el derecho a usarla.
 2. Las demás lenguas españolas serán también oficiales en las respectivas Comunidades Autónomas de acuerdo con sus Estatutos.
 3. La riqueza de las distintas modalidades lingüísticas de España es un patrimonio cultural que será objeto de especial respeto y protección.
- [1. Castilian is the official language of the State. All Spaniards have the duty to know it and the right to use it.
2. The other Spanish languages are also official in their respective Autonomous Communities in accordance with their Statutes.
3. The wealth of Spain's different linguistic varieties is its cultural patrimony which will be the object of special respect and protection].

Similar to the Irish case, the Ga

lician language became a central prop in the legitimisation of a Galician national identity. The important role given to the Galician language is evident in Article 5 of the 1981 Statutes of Autonomy for Galicia which reinforces the co-official status of Galician with Castilian and declares Galician to be Galicia's 'own language' ('lingua propia'). As Monteagudo and Bouzada (2002) point out:

O idioma galego establece no plano simbólico unha diferenca cara a fóra, e unha homoxenidade cara a dentro. Este elemento diacrítico é un compoñente que facilita a xenación dun espazo de poder e intereses autónomo, en detrimento doutras fontes de poder (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002: 54).

[The Galician language symbolises Galicia's difference with the exterior and homogeneity within Galicia. This diacritical element is a component which facilitates the generation of a sphere of power and autonomous interests to the detriment of other sources of power].

Article 5 also articulates the commitment on the part of the newly established regional government (Xunta de Galicia) to guarantee the 'normal' and official use of both Galician and Castilian. Such a guarantee involves taking necessary measures to ensure adequate knowledge of both languages and to attain full equality with respect to the rights and duties of Galician citizens. According to Monteagudo and Bouzada (2002):

O novo marco autonómico establece as condicións para que as institucións galegas asumisen o "problema" do idioma, e convertelo nunha política incorporada á estrutura permanente de actuación pública. Tamén os axentes que promoven o idioma galego na sociedade dispoñen dun ámbito favorecedor que posibilita que as súas accións dispoñan de maior proxección social (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002: 54).

[The new autonomous status establishes the conditions in which Galician institutions can take on the language "problem", making it a policy which is incorporated into the permanent structure of public action. The agents who promote the Galician language in society are also working in a favourable environment in which their actions have a higher degree of social protection].

However, unlike in the Irish context, where Irish was established as the official language of the Irish state, the constitutional status of Galician is somewhat weaker. Although Galician is recognised as co-official with Castilian within the territorial confines of the Galician Autonomous Community, Castilian remains the first and only official language of the Spanish state, of which Galicians continue to form a part (see García Negro 1991, 1993).

The declaration of a language as official (as in the Irish Constitution or as co-official in the case of the Galician Statutes of Autonomy), is not of itself a necessary act of language planning as it does not necessarily bring about increased language use (Cooper 1989: 101). The essentially symbolic significance of Irish as the first official language of the state reinforces this point. Despite the declaration of Irish as the first official language of the Irish state, in practice English has continued to be the dominant language used for almost all parliamentary business. Therefore, declarations relating to the official status of a language must be looked at in terms of the symbolic significance of such statutory provisions rather than their immediate practical value. Cooper (1989) notes that:

[...] the statutory language symbolizes the common memory and aspirations of the community (or of the majority community), its past and its future. When a community gives a language as a symbol of its greatness, specification of that language as official serves to support the legitimacy of governmental authority (Cooper 1989: 101).

3.6. The Status Enhancing Function of Language Policies

According to Fishman (1991: 27-28), political independence (or autonomy as in the case of Galicia) is not enough in and of itself to guarantee the ethnocultural and ethnolinguistic distinctiveness of a group. Therefore, as he points out, various organisations and governments find it necessary to institute 'cultural policies' and 'language policies' to bring about change. The new constitutional status which was granted to Irish and Galician (discussed in section 3.5), became more concrete through the development of such specific *language policies* and *language planning*

efforts. Rubin (1977), Schiffman (1996) and Mar-Molinero (2000), for instance, have emphasised the need to distinguish between these two concepts, which they see as fulfilling different functional approaches. For Mar-Molinero (2000: 74), *policy* reflects decisions and choices which can be understood in the ideological and political context from which they are taken. *Planning*, on the other hand, involves the means by which policy makers expect to put policies into practice (ibid.). Cooper (1989) points to three broad categories within the *Language Planning* process in which he includes *corpus planning*, *status planning* and *acquisition planning*. Corpus planning refers to the form of the language or languages and focuses on standardisation processes and the elaboration of terminologies to respond to expanding domains of language use (Mar-Molinero 2000: 78). Status planning, on the other hand, is involved in promoting the status of the language by encouraging its use across a wide number of societal domains including public authorities, government and the judiciary. As Cooper (1989: 120) points out, status planning influences the evaluation of a language variety by assigning it to the functions from which its evaluation derives. Acquisition planning is the third category defined by Cooper (1989: 159) and is used to develop aspects of status planning by focusing on ways in which the language can be acquired and learned by different members of the society.

Through its role in facilitating the acceptance of a language by members of society, status planning is regarded as particularly important in improving attitudes towards a language. However, corpus and acquisition planning can also be influential in altering language attitudes and beliefs. Cooper (1989: 155-156), for example, points out that corpus planning efforts can strengthen the speakers' dignity, self-worth, social connectedness, and their ultimate meaning as a member of a group linked both to the past and to the future. Additionally, acquisition planning goals designed to create or to improve the opportunity to learn a language, as well as the incentives to learn it, might also be expected to have a positive effect on language attitudes.

However, language policies and language planning efforts do not exist in a social vacuum and, as writers on the subject (see Ó Riagáin 1997; Romaine 2002) have

previously noted, language-related policies are not autonomous processes. Therefore, in order to understand the effectiveness of language policies and language planning measures in Ireland and Galicia, it will also be necessary to consider the broader socio-economic and political context in which these policies are framed.

3.6.1. Overview of Key Policy Changes in Ireland (1922- Present)

3.6.1.1. Introduction

Language planning in Ireland since 1922 has concentrated on the three major areas of education, the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking parts of the country) and the public services in which policies related to the increasing presence of the Irish language in national radio and television can also be included. The inclusion of the Irish language in domains from which it had previously been excluded such as education, public sector employment and the media constitutes the status planning element of language policies in Ireland. Through the inclusion of the language in these key public spaces, status planning efforts sought to improve attitudes towards the language and to facilitate its acceptance within Irish society. However, as Williams (1992) points out:

Whenever the minority language enters into new domains it has repercussions for its corpus, not necessarily because of any 'deficiency' in that language but because of its social reconstitution. One feature of minority languages is that they tend to be systematically separated from those domains which are crucial for social reproduction, domains such as work, administration, etc. (Williams 1992: 147).

Therefore, along with the status-planning element of language policies in Ireland, the need for significant work in the area of corpus planning was also recognised. The latter focused on developing a standard language (see Ó Baoill 1988) and the facilitation of its use within a set of new functional domains from which it had previously been absent.

3.6.1.2. The Early Years of Language Policy in Ireland

Broadly speaking, the language policy adopted by the newly formed independent Irish government in 1922 followed a two-way strategy of preservation and restoration. Preservation policies sought to maintain and enhance the Irish language in the remaining fragmented Irish-speaking parts of the country, along north-western, western and southern seaboard. In economic terms the Gaeltacht areas were amongst the most underdeveloped in the country. Out-migration and depopulation were key characteristics of these areas and curbing these trends through a regional development programme was seen as a key element in maintaining them as Irish-speaking regions.

The second facet of linguistic policy, which was one of restoration or revival, involved an attempt to expand the Irish-speaking population outside of the core Irish-speaking Gaeltacht communities. The government's commitment to language revival in the early years following political independence in Ireland was understood as the displacement of English by Irish usage in as many of the spheres of national life as possible (The Advisory Planning Committee (APC) 1988: 40). Nevertheless, as Ó Riagáin (1997: 269) highlights, although individual politicians and spokespersons for the language movement may have expressed such a view, the constitutional and legislative provisions for Irish in the 1920s and 1930s do not suggest that anything other than the establishment of a bilingual state was ever envisaged.

Efforts to promote second-language acquisition often tend to rely on the school system and in this respect, the Irish case has not been any different. Attempts to increase the knowledge base of the Irish language amongst the predominantly English-speaking Irish population involved the inclusion of the language as a compulsory subject at school. The basis for language planning in the area of education had been substantially laid by the actions of the Gaelic League at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. It is estimated that by 1922, some 25 per cent of schools were teaching Irish (Ó Riagáin 1997: 11). Cooper (1989: 161) points out that language acquisition measures through the schools are more likely to

succeed if the target language is used as a medium of instruction as opposed to merely teaching the language as a target of instruction. In addition to Irish being taught as a school subject, the state also promoted the use of the language as a medium of instruction for other school subjects with the ultimate aim of replacing English with Irish. The number of Irish-medium primary and secondary schools increased during the early years of the state and by the late 1930s, between 25 and 30 per cent of secondary schools were teaching through the medium of Irish (Ó Riagáin 1997: 16).

Incentives to increase the presence of Irish in schools were introduced through grant schemes which were offered to those schools which included more Irish in their curriculum. Additionally, Irish was made an essential subject for the Intermediate Certificate examination (taken mid-way through second-level education) in 1927 and this was extended to the Leaving Certificate examination (the final examination at the end of second-level education). Along with these status-enhancing efforts was the fact that a knowledge of Irish had been made a requirement for entrance to the colleges of the National University of Ireland since 1910 as a result of the workings of the Gaelic League during that period, thus providing a further incentive to learn the language.

As well as attempting to increase the knowledge base of the language through its formal instruction, the inclusion of Irish in the education system can be seen as an attempt to influence society's evaluation of the language and attitudes towards it. While the exclusion of Irish from public domains such as education in previous centuries had reinforced the low status function of the language, its promotion by the newly formed Irish government provided an explicit display of favourable support for the language amongst the dominant segments of the Irish polity.

However, no matter how accomplished the schools are in imparting language acquisition, they are unlikely to bring about increased use of the language outside of the classroom unless there are practical reasons for such use (Fishman 1991; Cooper 1989). In the Irish context, although the most significant elements of language policy

and language planning efforts were in the area of education, a number of important initiatives were also taken to increase the use of Irish in the public services, which also involved its inclusion in national television and radio (see Ó hIfearnáin 2001; Watson 2003). In the public sector, for instance, a knowledge of Irish was made a compulsory requirement in 1925 and, by 1945, competence in the language became part of the assessment for advancement within Civil Service positions. Furthermore, since 1925, regulations had been issued for the use of Irish in official forms and correspondence with the public (see Ó Riain 1991).

3.6.1.3. Socio-Economic and Political Context of Language Policy

In the early years of language policy of the independent Irish state, Irish constituted a key symbol in the construction and legitimisation of an Irish national identity. Therefore, 'Gaelicisation' of the national education system in the early years of the state can be seen as an attempt to secure the loyalty of Irish citizens to the newly formed political entity which was the Irish state (APC 1988: 41). Additionally, the presence of the language in the media could also be seen as a means of promoting and consolidating a sense of Irishness amongst the population in the post-independence phase (see Watson 2003).

As well as reinforcing the value of Irish as a symbol of national identity, various aspects of language policies and language planning measures during the early decades of the twentieth century changed the 'rules' of the social mobility process in Ireland at the time, by awarding benefits to those with a proficiency in the language (Ó Riagáin 1997: 173). As a result of language planning in the area of education and public sector employment, a knowledge of the Irish language could increase one's possibilities of achieving educational certification, gaining access to higher levels of education and accessing certain sectors of the labour market. As a result of these changes, the value of Irish was enhanced amongst those who spoke the language and incentives were provided for those without a knowledge of the language to learn it. In doing so, attempts were being made to alter people's attitudes towards the language by converting the economic and social penalties (Dorian 1981), which had

come to be associated with speaking Irish in previous centuries, into economic rewards.

However, a number of factors limited the full potential of these efforts and certain sectors of the population were more directly affected than others. In his analysis of language policy in Ireland, Ó Riagáin (1997) notes that, during the revival phase of language policy, education itself was not widespread amongst the population and participation rates beyond primary school levels were low. According to Ó Buachalla (1988: 62), in the period that followed political independence in Ireland, outside of urban areas access to education beyond the primary school stage was available to less than one-tenth of younger age groups. Access to second-level education tended to be restricted to wealthier sectors of Irish society due to the fee-paying nature of schooling at the time. Therefore, only certain middle-class sectors of Irish society were directly affected by the requirement of Irish for educational certification and for access to the National University of Ireland. The relative effectiveness of language policies and language planning measures in the area of education was also restricted by the fact that, for a large sector of the population, social mobility was not attained through educational qualifications. Because the occupational structure at the time was one in which over half the population were employers, self-employed or employed within family-run businesses, predominantly in the area of agriculture (see Breen et al. 1990: 55), social mobility within these occupational sectors tended to be achieved through inheritance or sponsorship rather than education. Social mobility through the education system and subsequently language policy, affected only a small sector of society which included civil servants and those entering the professions. Outside of these social status groups, the commercial and industrial middle classes of Irish society were not directly affected by linguistic policies and language planning initiatives during the early years of the State (Ó Riagáin 1997; Tovey 1978; Tovey et al. 1989).

3.6.1.4. Changes in Language Policy in Ireland

The expansion of education in the 1960s and the necessity for good educational qualifications in order to obtain reasonable occupational status had the potential to enhance the effectiveness of language planning incentives by increasing the knowledge base and level of competence in the language across a broader sector of Irish society. However, by this time, the attitudes of the State towards the language had also changed and language policy entered a more advanced stage of stagnation and retreat as the revival strategy of language policy which had been adopted in the early years of the State was gradually weakened (Ó Riagáin 1997). Up until the mid-1960s, the popular understanding of Irish language policy was that the use of English was to be displaced through the revival of Irish. The displacement notion was formally set aside in the 1965 *White Paper on the Restoration of the Irish Language* and 'bilingualism' was used thereafter to describe the national aim (APC 1986: viii). The increase in all-Irish schooling had reached a peak in the 1950s and then gradually declined. It was becoming clear that by 1960 the focus of language policy in Ireland had turned from promoting bilingual or all-Irish programmes to fully developing the possibilities of teaching Irish as a subject (Ó Riagáin 1997: 21). By 1980-81, only about 3 per cent of primary schools were teaching entirely through Irish (Harris 1988: 70).

Changes specific to education and the role of Irish as a means of gaining access to the labour market are of particular interest here, given the special focus of the current piece of research on language attitudes amongst university student groups. In 1973, a change in language policy brought to an end the compulsory passing of Irish in state examinations in order to graduate from school with a certificate. This marked a further weakening of state policies in relation to the language. Furthermore, although Irish continued to be required for matriculation to the National University of Ireland, the increasing demand for education led to the emergence of new higher level institutions for which a knowledge of Irish was not a requirement. The newer colleges included Dublin City University (formerly a National Institute of Higher Education), the university institution surveyed in our current research project which

was outlined in Chapter 2. The occupational niche within public sector employment for Irish, which had been a requirement in the early years of the State, was also progressively weakened. Irish is, for instance, no longer a requirement for civil service employment except in the case of primary school teachers for whom knowledge of the language continues to be obligatory. More recently, since 1999, the requirement that all secondary school teachers pass an examination in Irish to receive full payment from the state has also been discontinued.

Watson (2003) points out that the period of stagnation in linguistic policies, characteristic of the 1950s and 1960s reflects the de-emphasising on the part of the State of the traditional symbols of national identity. Political independence had by then been consolidated and the symbolic value of Irish as a means of distinguishing 'us' from 'them' was therefore weakened. Moreover, nationalism as an ideology itself came into question in light of the negative connotations which had come to be associated with it in a European context where it was seen to have contributed to the two world wars. Closer to home, the increasingly violent events during that period in the North of Ireland further exacerbated the negative connotations of nationalism and its constituent symbols (see Tovey et al. 1989; Watson 2003). Arguably, the ceasefire and the positive peace initiatives which have followed in recent years in Northern Ireland may have changed these negative connotations.

Watson (2003: 6) points to the emergence of a 'modern' element in Irish national identity from the 1970s onwards, based on individual choices and individual rights. In this context, people had the 'right' to choose their own identity rather than it being imposed from the top-down through state intervention.

The decline in state intervention in language policies in Ireland has to some extent been counteracted by bottom-up movements. Since the 1980s, for example, there has been a slight and continuing recovery in the number of Irish-medium schools (Ó Murchú 1993: 480), fuelled principally by a desire on the part of certain parent groups for the provision of increased exposure to the language for their children. Pressure groups in the 1990s lobbied for the establishment of a separate Irish-

language television channel which began broadcasting in 1996. Nevertheless, while the state has supported these initiatives, its reluctance to clearly define language policy and planning initiatives (Ó Flatharta 2004) as well as its increasingly 'laissez-faire' policy towards the Irish language question more generally (APC 1988: 40; Ó Riagáin 1997: 281), point to a move towards survival policies amongst existing speakers rather than any widespread project of recovery of the language across broader sectors of society. The Official Languages Act which was passed in 2003 would seem to mark a further move in this direction. The latter constitutes the first piece of legislation to provide a statutory framework for the delivery of public services through the Irish language. The primary objective of the Act is to ensure better availability and a higher standard of public services through Irish. In their proposal for the Official Languages Act, Comhdháil na Gaeilge (the co-ordinating body for groups and organisations which promote the Irish language) points out:

Because Irish language rights already exist, with an international, historical, and constitutional basis, it is not necessary to create them anew in a Language Act. Therefore, the main purpose of enacting the Language Act is to give practical effect to the language rights of citizens. It is therefore recommended that the new Act shall be based on the above-mentioned rights and shall define and set out the State's duties and obligations in respect of the Irish language and give effect to the respect of citizens in relation to that language (Comhdháil na Gaeilge 1998: 16).

While this long-awaited Act is welcomed by language activists and promoters, Tovey (1988: 67) previously warned that, the more policy singles out 'Irish-speakers' as the target for language policies on the grounds of their rights as a minority group, (as the current Official Languages Act would seem to do) the less plausible it becomes to sustain existing policies to revive Irish. Ó Riagáin (1997: 282) also points out that a policy built around the provision of state services to Irish speakers may find that such speakers do not exist in large enough numbers nor are they sufficiently concentrated to meet the operational thresholds required to make these services viable. Therefore, as Ó Riagáin (2001: 211) emphasises, Irish language policy is now at a critical stage. As will be seen in the discussion of sociolinguistic research on Irish in Chapter 4, these are important issues facing the future survival of the language.

3.6.2. Overview of Key Language Policies in Galicia (1978- Present)

3.6.2.1. Introduction

Language policy in Galicia spans a comparatively shorter period than in the Irish case. In order to fulfil its statutory aims (outlined in the Galician Statutes of Autonomy) of defending and promoting the Galician language, in 1983 the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* (The Normalisation Law) was endorsed by the Galician Parliament. The principal aim of this law was to legalise the use of Galician, promote its use in all domains within Galician society and to reverse the process of linguistic substitution by Castilian which had begun to gain momentum over previous decades. In the same year, the General Directorate for Language Policy (Dirección Xeral de Política Lingüística (DXPL)) was appointed as the main government body in charge of the recovery of the Galician language.

3.6.2.2. Language Policy and Planning since the 1980s in Galicia

The concept of *normalisation*, which is very specific to the Spanish context, was first coined by Catalan sociolinguists, Aracil, Ninyoles and Valverdú, and was subsequently used as a model for language planners within Catalonia itself, as well as in Galicia and the Basque Country. Although the concept is widely used in the Spanish context by academics, policy makers and even amongst the general public, the way in which the term is interpreted across and amongst these different groups is not always the same. This had led to the somewhat confusing array of both technical and common-sense meanings which have come to be associated with the term.

In Spanish linguistic terminology the words *normalización* and *normativización* frequently appear in discussions concerning the process of language ‘normalisation’. On the one hand, *normalización* tends to refer to the extension of a standardised language to all areas of public life, corresponding to the concept of ‘status planning’ commonly used in English-language terminology (see Kloss 1969; Cooper 1989). On

the other hand, *normativización* involves the selection and codification of a standard language and therefore corresponds more specifically to the concept of 'corpus planning' in the terminology used in English. The status planning element of language policies in Galicia aims to increase the presence of the language in public spheres including the areas of education, public administration and the media, from which it had been excluded during previous centuries. To facilitate their use in these areas, as in the Irish context, corpus planning measures have been implemented simultaneously with status planning initiatives. Corpus planning measures have also paid attention to developing and promoting Standard Galician or *Galego Normativizado*. Although this variety is now used and accepted in the area of education and the media, it is contested by a small but vocal group within Galicia, calling themselves 'reintegrationists'. This group sees the goal of contemporary language normalisation in Galicia as the gradual adoption of standard Portuguese as the standard language in Galicia (see for example Henderson 1996; Regueira 1999; Monteagudo 1993; Herrero-Valeiro 1993, 2003; Alén-Garabato 2000 and Domínguez-Seco 2003).

The most significant provisions in the process of linguistic normalisation in Galicia have been in the education system and, as Portas (1997), points out:

De maior significación, porque é no campo educativo onde máis se centrou até agora o debate sobre a normalización lingüística e onde se produciu unha maior codificación legal (Portas 1997: 186).
[Of most significance because up to now, it is in the area of education that the debate on linguistic normalisation has been centred and where most legislation has been made].

Rodríguez Neira (1993: 64) notes that 36% of all legislation related to the Galician language is concentrated in the area of education and this proportion increases to over half of language-related legislation if Galician language courses outside of formal education are also included.

With the drawing up of the 1983 Law, the Galician autonomous government (Xunta de Galicia) issued a decree making Galician a compulsory subject along with

Castilian at all levels of education up to but not including university. Although the use of Galician is not a legal requirement at university level, Article 15.2. of the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* states that:

O Goberno Galego e as autoridades universitarias arbitrarán as medidas oportunas para facer normal o uso do galego no ensino universitario.

[The Galician Government and the university authorities will put in place the necessary measures to ensure the normal use of Galician in university teaching].

In accordance with Article 14.3 of the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística*, by the end of second-level education, pupils are expected to have acquired equal levels of oral and written competence in both Galician and Castilian. This article states that:

As autoridades educativas da Comunidade Autónoma garantirán que ó remate dos ciclos en que o ensino do galego é obrigatorio, os alumnos coñezan este, nos seus niveis oral e escrito, en igualdade co castelán.

[The education authorities in the Autonomous Community guarantee that at the end of school cycles in which the teaching of Galician is obligatory, pupils will have the same oral and written knowledge of the language as Castilian].

Linguistic policy in the area of education supports the progressive incorporation of Galician in the primary and secondary school curricula, with the aim of establishing bilingual programmes in all Galician schools.

In the early 1980s, attempts at defining language policy and language planning measures in education tended to be confined to Galician language and literature classes (Bouzada, Fernández and Lorenzo 2002: 55). However, an amendment of this legal mandate in 1988 made more explicit recommendations regarding the specific school subjects which were to be taught through the medium of Galician. Article 6 of the amendment outlined that 'nos ciclos medio e superior de EXB impartiranse en galego, *alomenos*, a área de Ciencias Sociais' (during the primary school cycles [between the ages of 8 and 14] *at least* Social Sciences will be taught through the medium of Galician) (Bouzada et al. 2002: 57, emphasis added). Another amendment to the legal mandate of Galician in the education system in 1995 and

later corrections in 1997 have further increased Galician minimum requirements at school (see Bouzada et al. 2002: 60). These changes are of particular interest given the special focus of the current piece of research on young people's attitudes towards Galician.

Outside of education, language policy also makes explicit reference to the promotion of Galician in other domains including the media. Article 18 of the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* makes explicit reference to the inclusion of Galician in Galician radio and television. In 1984 Galician Radio and Television was established with the aim of increasing the promotion and diffusion of Galician language and culture, as well as the defence of the identity of the Galician nationality (Recalde 1997).

Explicit measures were also taken to increase the presence of the language in the area of public administration. Between 1983 and 1987, for example, over 5,000 civil servants were provided with formal linguistic training. Additionally, the *Lei de Función Pública Galega* in 1988 as well as a modified version of the same law in 1992 made knowledge of Galician a compulsory requirement for access to public sector employment in Galicia.

3.6.2.3. Socio-Economic and Political Context of Language Policies

Similar to the situation in the first half of the twentieth century in Ireland, language policies and planning in the area of education and public sector employment in Galicia have been aimed at enhancing the social value of the autochthonous language. However, in contrast to the Irish context, where low participation rates in education can be seen to have limited the full potential of the earlier years of linguistic policies, in Galicia, language policies coincide more closely with a period of educational expansion. As noted earlier in this chapter, previous attempts by central Spanish governments to bring about linguistic homogenisation in Spain through the education system had little direct effect in altering linguistic practices

amongst the Galician-speaking population, given their extremely low levels of education in Galicia more generally (Bouzada 2003; Recalde 1997). The *Ley General de Educación* in 1970 made education free and obligatory for all six-to-fourteen-year-olds in Spain and since the 1980s, the number of school places has greatly increased, following institutional reform which has further extended the school-going age. Recalde (2000) notes the potentially positive effect this can have on the language, given that 98 per cent of the younger generation are currently exposed to the language through the education system.

The introduction of linguistic policy in Galicia in the 1980s also coincides with socio-structural changes which have been taking place in Galicia over more recent decades and the transformation of a rural society into a more urbanised one. The numbers engaged in the primary sectors of agriculture and fishing in Galicia have dramatically declined and in-migration to Galicia's main cities has increased. Statistics for 1990 show that 29% of the active population were engaged in agriculture and fishing; 15% in manufacturing industry; 9% in the construction industry and 41% in the service sector (Euromosaic website). Fernández Rodríguez (1993: 28) notes that up until 1900, over 90% of Galicians lived in rural areas compared with less than 60% at the end of the twentieth century. As Fernández Rodríguez (*ibid.*) notes:

Galicia está dejando de ser básicamente rural, y el proceso de concentración en las cabeceras de comarca, ya muy intenso en los últimos quince años, probablemente se intensificará más en los venideros (Fernández Rodríguez 1993: 28).

[Galicia is becoming less rural and the concentration of the population in the main cities of the region (a trend which already intensified in the last fifteen years), will probably intensify further in the future].

A direct outcome of the decentralisation process in Galicia since the 1980s has been an increase in employment opportunities related to Galicia's autonomous administration. While in 1977, 7.7% were employed in the public sector, this figure had increased to 16.5% by 1999 (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002: 48). This new occupational niche provides an opening for those with medium to high levels of

education to enter a sector of the Galician labour market, where knowledge of the Galician language is now a requirement. As Monteagudo and Bouzada (2002) point out:

Na situación de precaridade laboral das últimas décadas, o sector público converteuse nunha expectativa de estabilidade laboral, e nunha esperanza de empregabilidade para os sectores sociais que, cunha formación media ou superior, pretendían incorporarse ao mercado de traballo (Monteagudo and Bouzada 2002: 48).

[Because of the precarious situation of the Galician labour market over the last number of decades, public sector employment offered a sphere of stability and provided an employment outlet for social sectors of the population with medium to high levels of education].

Nevertheless, there does seem to have been a change in this trend in recent years as a result of increased employment opportunities in the private sector where Galician is not a requirement. Moreover, the broader labour market in Spain, on which the Galician economy is strongly dependent, provides occupational opportunities for Galicians where a knowledge of Galician is of no direct economic benefit. Although, as Hoffmann (1996: 104) notes, the government's provision for the Galician language has been designed for the whole population, language planning initiatives in the area of education and certain sectors of the labour market would seem to indicate a strong focus on young urban middle-class speakers.

As we have seen, during the period which followed political independence in Ireland, language constituted a key symbol in the construction and legitimisation of an Irish national identity. Similarly, the language policies adopted by the Galician Autonomous Government since the 1980s can be seen as an attempt to consolidate a Galician collective identity. The high abstention rates (71%) amongst the Galician population in the referendum prior to the passing of the Galician Statutes of Autonomy (Vilas Nogueira 1992) in 1980 point to the low degree of legitimisation of Galicia as a political entity amongst Galicians themselves. Therefore, legislative measures to increase the presence of the Galician language in all Galician schools, the media and public administration may be perceived as an attempt to secure the loyalty of Galician citizens to the newly-formed political entity.

However, although the policies promoting the increased presence of the language in Galician society can be viewed as a means of securing the loyalty of the Galician population, a key objective of the Galician administration has also been to avoid language policies which might provoke social conflict. Official language policy in Galicia promotes (although implicitly) the idea of 'harmonious bilingualism', that is the non-conflictual co-existence of Castilian and Galician within the community (see Regueiro-Tenreiro 1999 for a fuller discussion of the concept). Such a policy, according to Monteagudo and Bouzada (2002: 68), has reflected a political agenda which has sought to maintain the support of powerful sectors of Galician society, the majority of whom were Castilian speakers and amongst whom support for the autochthonous language has tended to be lowest.

The more cautious language policies of the Galician Administration also reflect the dominance of bi-party politics in Galicia which have oscillated between Galician branches of Spain's two main political parties – the centre-left *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE) and the conservative centre-right *Partido Popular* (PP), with the latter attracting most support amongst the population. Since 1993, however, support for the politics of the Galician nationalist party, *Bloque Nacionalista Galego* (BNG) has significantly increased, thus bringing a third party into the political arena in Galician politics and adding a new dynamic to language issues in Galicia.

In contrast to the official discourse of 'harmonious bilingualism', Galician nationalists tend to view the language contact situation between Galician and Castilian as conflictual and as one in which Galician speakers still remain in a dominated socio-economic position. Galician nationalists therefore tend to be highly critical of official language policy which they see to have been largely inadequate in reversing the process of language shift towards Castilian. In reaction to such criticisms, proponents of official language policy in Galicia condemn what they perceive to be a largely radical approach to resolving the Galician language problem on the part of Galician nationalists.

The politicisation of the language question in Galicia has potentially positive repercussions for the language in that it has helped stimulate debate alongside other social issues such as unemployment, poverty, health services etc., and, in effect, made the language question a subject of political debate, something which is largely absent from the Irish language question. However, the Autonomous Galician administration and the Galician nationalists' simultaneous undermining of each others' linguistic ideologies in their ultimate pursuit of political power is, according to Monteagudo and Bouzada (2002: 72), also working against the language (see also Del Valle 2000). The link between speaking Galician and the more radical elements of nationalism is for example one of the outcomes of this political confrontation and is thus replacing former social stigmas associated with the language with newer ones (Bouzada 2003; Recalde: 2000; Santamarina 2000).

3.7. Conclusions

An analysis of the early sociolinguistic histories of the Irish and Galician languages provides an indication of the relative prestige that each of these languages once claimed. However, as was noted, the profound political changes which followed these periods were to have long-term consequences on the status of their speakers and in turn on the languages themselves. In this chapter, the sociolinguistic histories of the Irish and Galician languages have been set forth in the context of the broader political, cultural, educational and economic forces which have shaped attitudes towards them and in which attitudes have evolved. These factors served to reinforce and exacerbate the stigmatisation of these languages, keeping earlier prejudices alive and even strengthening them.

In the larger perspective it is possible to see the alienation of these two languages and their speakers as part of a general fate which befell many of Europe's lesser-used or minority languages – the economic and political exploitation of peripheries by a dominant core as part of a modernising and centralising centre of power – Britain in the case of Irish and the central Spanish state in the case of Galician (see Hechter 1975). Within this perspective, Ireland's and Galicia's peripheral relationship with

non-autochthonous centres of political and economic power played a key role in the introduction of a dominant contact language – English in the case of Irish and Castilian in the case of Galician. In the cultural context a familiar pattern of language shift also emerges (Dorian 1981: 39), through the absorption of Ireland's and Galicia's social and economic elite with the resultant assignment of low prestige to the autochthonous languages. In this context, English and Castilian cultures were favoured and admired and competing Irish and Galician cultures were gradually disparaged. Once differentially ranked positions are assigned to two languages and cultures, Dorian (1981: 38) emphasises that, it is not surprising, given the concentration of political power distant from the periphery, to find the centre promoting its own language and culture with total disregard for the indigenous peripheral languages. Grillo (1989: 173-174) points to the fact that 'an integral feature of the system of linguistic stratification in Europe is an ideology of contempt: subordinate languages are despised languages'. Speaking Irish and Galician became synonymous with barbarity and the 'rooting out' of these languages came to be regarded as the first step in rendering the autochthonous populations more civilised (Dorian 1981: 39), thus reflecting the construction and legitimisation of power on the part of a dominant group (Spitulnik 1998: 164).

The degree to which the 'rooting out' of Irish and Galician languages was achieved differs in both cases. The Irish case provides an example of what can perhaps be considered a case of unusually rapid decline, given the very advanced stage language shift had reached as early as the mid-nineteen hundreds. In contrast to the Irish case, Galician illustrates a case where language shift has been comparably slower, perhaps corresponding to the less-advanced rates of linguistic substitution by English amongst the remaining Irish-speaking parts of the country in the Irish sociolinguistic context. However, Dorian (1981: 39) reminds us that it is sociolinguistically naive to estimate language survival solely on the basis of the number of speakers. She notes that *who* speaks the language is ultimately more important than *how many* speak it (emphasis in the original). MacNamara (1971: 65) for example, notes that the great numerical superiority of Irish speakers through at least the first half of the eighteenth century could not preserve Irish when it was clear that English, the language of the

ruling elite, was the prerequisite for social mobility. Similarly, in the Galician context, in the early nineteenth century Galician quickly passed from the status of a majority language to that of minority language once a Castilian speaking elite established itself in significant numbers, despite the fact that those numbers were small in comparison to the body of Galician speakers in the area. In a context where social mobility is possible, even though difficult to achieve, the linguistic behaviour of the elite can have a profound effect on the rest of the population. While much more research would be required to understand why the process of linguistic substitution has been slower amongst Galician than Irish speakers, it suffices to note for our current purposes that, notwithstanding their differently sized demographic bases, by the end of the nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, Irish and Galician speakers displayed largely similar socio-demographic profiles. The social meanings which had come to be associated with speaking Irish and Galician mirrored those of their speakers and reflected a stigmatised identity from which those who sought social mobility wished to disassociate themselves. Reversing the low-prestige status associated with Irish and Galician speakers and not their demographic bases per se constituted the central language planning problem facing each of these languages in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

As in the case of many of Europe's minorised languages, the impulses which brought language issues onto the public agenda in Ireland and Galicia at the end of the nineteenth century resulted from the ideological orientation of ethnonational movements. Conscious language planning for Irish and Galician coincides with the rise of these movements and marks the first attempts to curb the process of language shift and the reversal of the negative social meanings which had come to be associated with these languages and their speakers. However, compared with other ethnocultural movements in Europe such as the case of Catalan nationalism (Paulston 1992), political resistance to linguistic assimilation was much slower to develop in the Irish and Galician contexts, presumably as Inglehart and Woodward (1967-1968) have noted in relation to similar language contact situations, because of the low level of economic and sociopolitical development in those areas during the centuries when an elite of alien tongue was becoming most visible. As a result, sociopolitical

awareness came slowly to impoverished Irish and Galician peripheries, which had for so long been geographically, economically and politically isolated.

The political changes which resulted from these movements allowed legal frameworks to be put in place which had the potential to greatly enhance the status of the Irish and Galician languages. Ireland's political independence from Great Britain in the 1920s and Spain's more recent decentralisation policies, initiated in the 1980s, have provided new opportunities for Ireland's and Galicia's indigenous languages. The new constitutional status, which granted official status to Irish within the Irish state and co-official status to Galician within the Autonomous Community of Galicia, became more concrete through the development of specific language policies and language planning efforts. Through the inclusion of Irish and Galician in key public spaces such as public administration, schools and the media, status planning efforts have sought to improve attitudes towards these languages and to facilitate their acceptance within their respective societies. As Cooper (1989: 163) highlights, the difficulties involved in evaluating the effectiveness of language planning efforts presents considerable challenges since such planning never occurs in a social vacuum. In this chapter language policies and language planning efforts in the Irish and Galician contexts have been discussed in the context of the broader socio-economic and political factors in which these policies and efforts have been formulated. In assessing the effectiveness of such language policies, these factors will again be drawn upon in Chapter 4 as a means of understanding the findings of existing research on language attitudes and behaviour in contemporary Irish and Galician sociolinguistic contexts.

**CHAPTER 4 - THE EFFECTS OF LANGUAGE POLICY
ON ATTITUDES TOWARDS IRISH AND GALICIAN: AN
OVERVIEW OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH**

4. Overview

Based on sociolinguistic research on the Irish and Galician contexts, this chapter assesses the degree to which the status and use of these two minority languages have changed as a result of the language policies and language planning efforts described in the previous chapter. This overview will be completed with a scrutiny of the defining features of the particular sector of Irish and Galician populations on which the current study has focused.

4.1. Introduction

The difficulties involved in evaluating the effectiveness of language policy and language planning efforts have been noted by many researchers (Cooper 1989; Romaine 2002; Ó Riagáin 1997). As Cooper (1989: 163) highlights, evaluating the effectiveness of language planning is considerable since such planning never occurs in a social vacuum. Therefore, it is rarely simple to determine the degree to which a given planning goal has been met and is even harder still to determine the relative contribution of each factor to the outcome.

As was noted in Chapter 3, conscious language planning efforts to promote the use of Irish span more than eight decades and, because of this, some judgements can be made about the possible long-term impact of government policies on language attitudes and behaviour. In the Galician case, official attempts to promote the use of Galician cover a shorter period in the sociolinguistic history of the language and arguably, conclusions about the impact of the policy changes since the 1980s remain tentative. Based on existing sociolinguistic surveys and census results, the following sections review the extent to which language attitudes and behaviour have changed as a result of such policy changes.

4.2. The Effects of Language Policy in the Irish Context

Before survey research became available on the Irish language, the main linguistic barometer by which the impact of language policy could be assessed was the Census of Population. Despite the widely recognised inadequacies of census questions in measuring language behaviour, the availability of these data, nonetheless, provides some insights into the sociolinguistic situation in Ireland at that time (see Ó Gliasáin 1996). According to the 1851 census, the first to include a question on the Irish language, 29% of the population in Ireland reported an ability to speak the language. As was already highlighted in Chapter 3, this figure is indicative of the fact that

language shift to English had already reached an advanced stage. The highest concentration of these Irish speakers was to be found in southern and western coastland areas where 60 per cent of the population reported an ability to speak the language. Comparatively, the lowest concentration of Irish speakers was recorded in the more urbanised and economically-developed eastern part of the country. By the time linguistic policy was introduced in Ireland in the early 1920s, the number of Irish speakers had further declined and, according to the 1926 census, only about 18 per cent of the population claimed ability in the language.

However, an analysis of census data since that period points to an increase in the numbers in the population reporting an ability to speak the language. The 1971 census results showed, for example, that the numbers reporting an ability to speak Irish had increased by 10 per cent. The number of speakers in Irish had thus been restored to the same proportion reported in the 1851 census. Since the introduction of language policy, the number reporting an ability to speak in Irish has increased with every census and according to the most recent census results, as many as 43 per cent of the population claim an ability to speak the language.

From census of population results, an analysis of the spatial distribution of Irish speakers since 1926 clearly illustrates that in those areas where Irish had continued to be maintained, the shift to English, which had already begun to gain momentum at the beginning of the twentieth century, was not being curbed. However, outside of the Gaeltacht and within what had become predominantly English-speaking parts of the country, the number reporting an ability to speak Irish has shown a notable increase. The highest percentage increase in Irish speakers occurred in the eastern part of the country, an area in which earlier census results had recorded the lowest number of speakers. Ó Riagáin (1997: 146) points out that over half of Irish-speakers now live in the eastern province of Leinster (including Dublin) compared with about 5 per cent in 1851.

As well as changes in the spatial distribution of Irish speakers, some changes were also beginning to emerge in the socio-demographic profile of these speakers. An

analysis of the occupational status of Irish speakers prior to the implementation of language policy, shows that in the 1926 census, the majority were engaged in small-scale farming and fishing (Ó Riagáin 1997: 7). However, by 1971, this pattern had changed, leading to a notable increase in the number of Irish speakers engaged in public sector employment and in the professions. As many as 80 per cent of senior officers in the civil service and 50 per cent of those in the professional sectors claimed an ability to speak Irish (Hannan and Tovey 1978).

Changes in the social distribution of Irish speakers reflect the focus of language policies and language planning measures in the area of education and public sector employment. It will be recalled from the discussion of language policies in Chapter 3, that, since 1922, Irish had been made part of the school curriculum in all recognised primary and second-level schools. Up until 1973, in order to achieve school certification, students were required to obtain a pass grade in Irish in state examinations. In addition, access to further education was regulated by an initiative in place in 1910 in which Irish was required for matriculation in the National University of Ireland (although not required for the longest established university institution, Trinity College Dublin). Outside of policy initiatives in education, explicit language policies were also in place which required a knowledge of Irish for access to civil service positions. Additionally, competence in Irish formed part of the assessment for advancement within these civil service positions. Up until the 1960s, the predominantly agricultural-based Irish economy did not require an educated workforce. Access to civil service positions and the professions constituted the small number of occupational sectors in Irish society for which educational qualifications were a requirement. Subsequently, as census results for that period clearly indicate, these groups were most directly affected by the concentration of language policies in these areas.

Changes in the profile of Irish speakers had important repercussions on the status of the Irish language, previously a low-prestige language with little or no social value. There is, for example, some evidence from marketing research that, the link between social mobility and a knowledge of Irish had come to be internalised by a significant

proportion of the population. Almost three-quarters of those queried in a marketing survey which was conducted in 1964 were of the opinion that a knowledge of Irish increased one's chances of social advancement (cited in Ó Riagáin 1997: 177). Also positive for the language was the increased knowledge base in the language, especially amongst the younger age-groups. The highest numbers in the population reporting an ability in the language were and continue to be found in the 10- to 20-year-old category (Ó Murchú 2001).

From an analysis of census results since the beginning of the twentieth century, language policy in Ireland would appear to have brought about both quantitative and qualitative improvements for the language. In quantitative terms, as was previously highlighted, the number of Irish speakers in the population has increased progressively since the 1920s. On a more qualitative level, the status of the language has also been considerably enhanced in line with its increased use amongst certain middle-class urban sectors of Irish society. Additionally, in terms of the age of its speakers, the Irish case can be considered almost unique compared with other minority languages in that, as a result of changes in language policy, the largest proportion of Irish speakers is to be found amongst the younger age cohorts (Ó Riagáin 1997: 147). Ó Murchú and Ó Murchú (1999: 9) and Ó Murchú (2001: 5) point out that in the 1996 census of population, 80 per cent of those reporting daily use of the language were school-going age-groups.

However, these positive changes for the language also distract from a number of more negative facts. Firstly, the increased number reporting an ability to speak Irish in the population conceals the ongoing decline of the language in the Gaeltacht or core Irish-speaking parts of the country. In these areas Irish had continued to be spoken as a community language and the intergenerational transmission of the language in the home domain had not yet been broken at the time at which linguistic policy was introduced in the 1920s. Secondly, although the number of Irish speakers in the remainder of the country has increased, the acquisition of the language continues to be largely dependent on the education system. This has led to the production of secondary bilinguals rather than the reproduction of primary bilinguals

through intergenerational transmission within the home. The percentage of Irish-speaking homes has hardly moved from 5 per cent since 1926 (Ó Riagáin 1997: 147). Finally, while exposure to the language through the education system has led to increased levels of ability in Irish amongst younger age-groups, census results indicate that, once formal schooling is completed, ability in the language is not maintained into the adult years. As can be seen from Table 4, while, in 1981, over half of those in the 10-14 age cohort reported an ability in Irish, ten years later when this group had moved from early adolescence into early adulthood (20- to 24-year-old age-group), the numbers reporting ability in Irish had dropped to 38.6 per cent. These figures are of particular interest, given our special focus on 18- to 24-year-old students, outlined in Chapter 2. The figures are suggestive of 'slippage' or decline in levels of spoken ability in the language which occurs once formal schooling is completed (Advisory Planning Committee 1988).

TABLE 4 Ability to Speak Irish in Census of Population

Age-group	1971	1981	1991
5-9	27.6	27.8	27.3
10-14	50.6	50.8	50.9
15-19	51.5	51.0	54.8
20-24	37.0	40.0	38.6
Total (over 3 years)	28.3	31.6	32.5

Source: Census of Population 1971, 1981 and 1991 (cited in Ó Riagáin 1997: 147)

4.2.1. Survey Research on the Irish Language

Apart from the language question included in the census of population and a number of questions in general purpose market research surveys, the first large-scale systematic assessment of public attitudes towards the Irish language was not carried out until 1970 by the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (CILAR). This group was commissioned by the Irish government to examine the extent of public support for the Irish language and related language policies. Although the main focus of the study was on language attitudes, it also collected data on the levels of language competence and use in the population (see CILAR 1975). As well as

collecting data on the national population, a separate survey was carried out to test language attitudes and behaviour within Gaeltacht areas. At a more micro-analytical level, a separate project was conducted which examined sociolinguistic networks in these core Irish-speaking areas. Additionally, educational surveys were conducted to assess teachers and pupils' attitudes towards the Irish language. Finally, matched-guise techniques were used to examine stereotypes of Irish speakers amongst second-level pupils (see CILAR 1975: 453). The significance of the CILAR research is highlighted by the authors of its report, who noted that the sociolinguistic data constituted a valuable source for research and policy-making and provided a source for interested and competent researchers, as well as state agencies (CILAR 1975: 458). Hannan and Tovey (1978), for instance, subsequently used CILAR survey data to examine the relationships between measures of ethnocultural identity, social status and occupational characteristics. Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin's (1979) study of All-Irish primary schools in the Dublin area constitutes a more detailed study of the impact of these schools on home use of Irish, following CILAR's (1975) identification of the significance of Irish-medium schooling on language attitudes and use.

Since the publication of the CILAR report, sociolinguistic research on the Irish language has greatly increased and includes a wide variety of aspects relating to the language from both macro- and micro-sociolinguistic perspectives. Many of these studies have focused on sub-sectors within the Irish population. Ó Gliasáin's (1990) and Ó Riagáin's (1992) studies, for instance, focused specifically on language shift in Gaeltacht or core Irish-speaking areas. Antonini (2000) has undertaken a comparative study of the use of Irish in community and family domains in two specific Gaeltacht areas. Because of the central focus of language policies and language planning initiatives in the area of education, it is not surprising that a significant amount of research has focused on Irish in the educational domain (see Harris 1984, 1988, 1991; Harris and Murtagh 1988; Hickey 1991). Ó Fathaigh's (1991) and Harris and Murtagh's (1999) studies, for instance, have assessed pupils' motivation to learn Irish at school. Researchers have also been interested in the degree to which school competence is maintained (Murtagh 2003) and how such

competence can be transformed into language use once formal schooling in the language is completed (see Ó Laoire 2000). Harris and Murtagh (1999) assessed parents' attitudes towards Irish as part of an in-depth study of teaching and learning of Irish in primary school classes. Ó Fathaigh (1996) analysed language attitudes, competence and usage amongst staff at University College Cork. Coady (2001) and Coady and Ó Laoire (2002) have focused more specifically on immersion education or *Gaelscoileanna*. Kavanagh's (1999) study compared students' levels of ability in Irish and attitudes towards the language in Irish- and English-medium schools. Working explicitly at a more micro-analytical level, Hickey (1997), for example, has concentrated on the effects of early immersion education amongst pre-school children. Ó Laoire et al. (2000) and Ó Laoire (2005) report on a number of small-scale studies which have looked at the effect of formal instruction in Irish on metalinguistic awareness. Of note also is Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes (2004) innovative research on the use of Irish in advertising.

Since the first large-scale study of language attitudes in 1973, a number of other national surveys have been used to test the level of support for the Irish language amongst the general population. These include the survey conducted by the Irish National Teachers' Organisation (1985) to assess the general level of public support for the inclusion of the language in the school curriculum (see also Ó Riagáin 1986). The Economics and Social Research Unit also carried out a national survey on the Irish language which included questions on language attitudes, competence and usage (see Mac Gréil 1977; Mac Gréil et al. 1990). In 1983 and 1993 Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (ITÉ) conducted follow-up surveys, repeating many of the questions contained within the CILAR report. Because of the longitudinal nature of 1973, 1983 and 1993 surveys, comparisons over this period can be reliably made. Given the size and significance of the national surveys conducted by CILAR and ITÉ, the results will be presented here in some detail. Moreover, because many of the questions contained within CILAR and ITÉ surveys have been adopted in our current study, direct comparisons with national results can also be made (see section 7.2.).

4.2.1.1. Language Attitudes

The findings in The Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (CILAR) published in 1975 and ITÉ survey reports published in 1984 and 1994 would seem to point to high levels of public support for the Irish language amongst the national population. The positive attitudes expressed by the majority of the Irish population contrast sharply with the historically negative views about the language which were highlighted in Chapter 3. The main value placed on Irish amongst the population is its contribution to national cultural distinctiveness, as well as a reluctance to see the language disappear from public domains of Irish life and the experience of future generations of Irish people. The three national surveys, carried out between 1973 and 1993, indicate that a consistent two-thirds of people share these views. Although comparisons across attitudinal data on the Irish language between these periods show minor differences in responses to questions contained within the three national surveys, such differences were not found to be very significant. Of some note, however, is the increase in the proportion of the population who disagree with statements such as 'to really understand Irish culture, one must know Irish' from a third to a half (Ó Riagáin 1997: 175), perhaps indicative of some decline in support for Irish as a symbol of ethnic identity.

However, while attitudes towards Irish as a symbol of ethnic identity have in general been consistently positive, CILAR (1975) observes the following:

But while this [ethnic identity] would appear to be the central attitudinal element (and its strength is sufficient to support a desire to guarantee the transmission of Irish) it seems to be qualified by a generally pessimistic view of the language's future and a feeling of its inappropriateness in modern life (CILAR 1975: 299).

Comparisons with the two later surveys conducted in 1983 and 1993 show little change in this pattern. Nevertheless, although the findings of the 1993 survey reveal that almost half of the population continue to hold doubts about the future survival of the Irish language, a certain optimism regarding its survival can be detected when compared with previous surveys (Ó Riagáin 1997: 175). Notably, while in 1973 as

many as 42% agreed with the statement that 'Irish is a dead language', this proportion dropped to 31% in the 1993 survey. Similarly, responses to the statement 'Most people see all things associated with Irish as too old-fashioned', show a six percentage point difference between 1973 and 1993 survey results. Attitudinal data collected in these surveys would generally seem to point to the fact that although the majority of the population attach a high value to the language as a symbol of national identity, many of the older ambivalent values historically associated with the language have been retained (Ó Murchú 1993: 488).

There is some evidence, however, particularly from earlier research, that the utilitarian value of the language had to some extent been enhanced through language policies and language planning initiatives in education and through the requirement of Irish for access to public service employment. As was already noted in section 4.2., prior to the availability of national survey data, some of the findings from market survey research indicate that the link between social mobility and a knowledge of Irish was recognised by members of the public. In a similar question included in the CILAR survey in 1973, where respondents were presented with the statement 'people who know Irish well have a better chance to get good jobs and promotion', almost three-quarters of respondents agreed (CILAR 1975: 64). However, although the increased importance of Irish in the process of social mobility was widely recognised, there was also a certain amount of resistance towards the 'compulsory Irish' element of language policies. Ó Riagáin (1993: 47), for instance, cites evidence from a public opinion poll conducted in 1964, in which almost three-quarters (71%) of respondents were not happy with compulsory Irish in state examinations.

According to Greene (1981: 7), insofar as attitudes towards Irish have changed, such changes have led to the development of a greater esteem for the language among the educated and the middle classes. CILAR (1975) observed that:

Respondents most likely to express very positive attitudes to Irish [...] are people who are upwardly mobile from a blue collar origin, mobile through the education system and having a high level of

education and of ability in the language, and whose parents were strongly in favour of Irish. Downward mobility, on the other hand, with its associated experiences of failures in the education system, particularly where this was associated with a low level of ability in Irish and with low parental support for the language, is strongly predictive of negative attitudes towards Irish (CILAR 1975: 83).

Differing levels of support for the Irish language across social groups reflect the effect of language policies and planning initiatives in the area of education and in regulating access to certain sectors of the labour market. The state requirement of a pass grade in Irish to obtain examination certification at school had the effect of transforming the subject into a marker of academic success or failure. As a result, educational success tended to foster a supportive attitude towards Irish while failure very often produced a more negative disposition (Tovey 1978: 20).

In a re-analysis of some of the attitudinal data collected in the CILAR survey, Hannan and Tovey (1978) identified clear differences in the levels of support for the language across higher status occupational groupings in Irish society. According to the study, the highest levels of support for Irish as a symbol of national identity and as a marker of cultural distinctiveness, were found amongst those employed in professional, government or semi-state occupations, while the lowest levels were to be found amongst commercial and industrial elite groups. Variations in language loyalty amongst different sectors of the upper social classes in Irish society at the time reflect the fact that, as pointed out earlier, for commercial and industrial elite groups, prior to the 1960s, educational qualifications were not needed to secure their occupational status. As a result, these groups were less directly affected by the status-enhancing language planning initiatives in the areas of education and employment.

However, as high educational qualifications became a necessity for social mobility from the 1960s onwards, the potential of existing linguistic policy in the area of education to extend its influence amongst dominant social sectors of Irish society was widened. This could be achieved through their increased exposure to the language at school, the compulsory passing of Irish in state examinations, as well as

the requirement of the language for matriculation to the National University of Ireland. Census returns in 1971 provide some evidence of an increase in the proportion reporting an ability to speak Irish in commercial and industrial groups, following the initial period of educational expansion in the 1960s (Tovey 1978: 22). However, specific changes in language policies, as well as an increasingly 'laissez-faire' attitude on the part of the government in the period that followed, would seem to have restricted the development of this potential and may in fact be further weakening existing support for the language amongst higher socio-economic groups in Irish society (APC 1988; Ó Riagáin 1997). Although Irish has continued to be taught to all students attending state-supported schools in Ireland, from 1973 onwards Irish ceased to be a compulsory examination subject or a requirement for entry to public service employment, policies which, as we have already seen, explain the increased presence of Irish and support for the language amongst certain middle-class sectors of Irish society. The requirement in place since 1910 of a knowledge of Irish for matriculation to the National University of Ireland has also remained, but, because access to newer higher level educational institutions (which were created to meet the increased demand for higher levels of education) was not regulated by language policy, it is now possible for upwardly mobile sectors of Irish society to bypass Irish altogether (Ó Riagáin 1997). Given the focus on university students in the current study, as we will see, these changes are of obvious relevance.

Ó Riagáin (1997: 178) also notes in reference to a question included in the 1993 ITÉ survey (which asked respondents if their parents wished them to learn Irish), that only 6 per cent of the national population saw knowledge of the language as a direct benefit in securing employment. Ó Riagáin's analysis of survey data (*ibid.*) over the 1973-1993 period would seem to indicate that attitudes relating to the socialisation of children through Irish are weakening in line with increasingly negative perceptions about the instrumental value accorded to the language. These evaluations about the relative utilitarian value of Irish would seem to reflect the changes in language policy which have occurred since 1973.

4.2.1.2. Language Ability

Although, as already highlighted, the main focus of the CILAR and ITÉ surveys was language attitudes, these surveys also collected data on the levels of language competence and use in the population. The availability of more detailed sociolinguistic data on language competence than could be obtained from census results has provided a clearer measure of the level of linguistic ability in the population. From national surveys on the Irish language, it would seem that the apparently reassuring increase in the proportion of the population reporting ability in Irish in consecutive censuses of population provides a somewhat inflated picture of the actual level of spoken competence in the language. While the number of Irish speakers in the population has increased from 18 per cent in 1926 to 43 per cent in 2002, survey research between 1973 and 1993 on the national population has found that only a small minority of the population are sufficiently competent in the language to put that ability into actual use (Ó Riagáin and Ó Glasáin 1994: 5). On the six-point scale used to measure ability to speak the Irish language (see Table 5), only about one-tenth reported either ‘native speaker ability’ or sufficient ability to allow them to engage in ‘most conversations’. Various other surveys of achievement in Irish during the 1970s and 1980s showed that only approximately one-third of Irish children were attaining mastery in listening and speaking in the language (see Harris 1984; Harris and Murtagh 1988).

TABLE 5 Ability to speak Irish in CILAR and ITÉ National Surveys

	1973	1983	1993
	%	%	%
No Irish	21	16	18
The Odd Word	27	32	32
A Few Simple Sentences	22	19	17
Parts of Conversations	17	20	22
Most Conversations	10	10	9
Native speaker ability	3	3	2
Total	100	100	100

Source: ITÉ National Survey (Ó Riagáin and Ó Glasáin 1994: 5)

Survey research in Ireland has also found a strong relationship between educational levels and ability to speak Irish. CILAR (1975) and ITÉ (Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliaáin 1984, 1994) reports have pointed to the concentration of competent Irish speakers within more highly educated groups. In the early years of language policy, potential increases in language abilities in Irish amongst the predominantly English-speaking population were restricted by the low levels of education quite generally. The fee-paying nature of second-level education in Ireland up until the 1960s made schooling a prohibitively expensive option for all but the wealthier sectors of Irish society. Moreover, within higher socio-economic groups, because the process of social mobility was achieved through inheritance or sponsorship, educational participation amongst these groups also remained low. As was already noted in section 4.2., the need for educational qualifications in the process of social mobility was confined to those engaged in public sector employment and the professions. Consequently, as we have seen, it was in these sub-groups of the population that reported spoken ability in Irish showed most perceptible increases.

Given the continued rise in the numbers reporting an ability in the Irish language in the census of population, it would seem that educational expansion since the 1960s has to some extent resolved this more limiting aspect of earlier language policies and planning measures. However, survey research shows that although the numbers reporting some ability in the language have increased, overall, levels of linguistic competence which are needed for language use have in fact declined. The decline can be discerned when the linguistic abilities of younger age-groups in the 1973 survey are compared with those two decades later in 1993. According to the findings of CILAR (1975: 386), between one-fifth and one-third of those in the 17- to 24-year-old age-group claimed an ability to speak Irish at the two highest points ('native speaker ability' and 'most conversation') on the six-point language-ability scale. However, in 1993 only 15.4 per cent of the 18-24 age-group claimed the same level of ability (Ó Riagáin 1997: 207)

A major factor affecting levels of ability in Irish, according to CILAR (1975), is the extent to which the language was used as a medium of instruction during a person's

primary and post-primary schooling. The report emphasised that only those schools in which all communication was carried on in Irish had been at all successful in generating sufficiently high ability amongst a large enough number of their pupils to enable this to be converted into sustained usage in later life. Subsequent research carried out by ITÉ in 1983 and 1993 largely confirms this finding, and points to the fact that full-immersion programmes in which the school curriculum is taught through the medium of Irish were up to six times more efficient than schools in which Irish was taught as a subject only (Ó Riagáin 1997: 196).

It will be recalled from our discussion of language policies in Ireland since the 1920s, that there was an attempt to introduce more intensive programmes in Irish in schools, through either partial or full-immersion programmes. The increase in all-Irish schooling reached a peak in the 1950s and thereafter declined, leading to the trend which is currently in operation in which Irish is taught as a subject only at school. Although since the 1980s there has been a small but steady increase in the number of all-Irish schools as a result of voluntary initiatives on the part of mainly middle-class parents to set up all-Irish schools or 'Gaelscoileanna', these account for a minority trend within the majority of schools where Irish is taught as a subject only. Irish-medium instruction in the core Irish-speaking parts of the country (Gaeltacht) and all-Irish schools outside of these areas accounts for 3.6 per cent of all schools (Murtagh 2003). Therefore, any increase in bilingual competence in the population is unlikely to be achieved by these schools alone. In large part, the production of high levels of competence in Irish is dependent on what happens in mainstream schools and through their teaching of Irish as a subject only. In fact, nearly 60 per cent of those reporting high levels of speaking ability ('native ability' or 'most conversations') in Irish had followed these mainstream programmes (Ó Riagáin 1997: 196).

In their analysis of the 1983 and 1993 ITÉ surveys, Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1984, 1994) sought to further understand differing levels of ability within the majority trend of mainstream schooling in Irish and to explain why only a small percentage of those exposed to the language as a school subject have lasting skills in the language.

They did this by looking at the effect of academic achievement in Irish as a school subject on one's reported ability to speak the language later. The majority of post-primary school students in Ireland are required to take two public examinations – the Junior Certificate (formerly the Intermediate Certificate) and the Leaving Certificate. The first is generally taken mid-way through post-primary school at the age of fifteen and the second is taken at the end of second-level schooling around the age of seventeen. In the case of the Leaving Certificate, students have the choice of following a 'Higher' level syllabus (which is considered academically more demanding) and a 'Lower' level syllabus. Within the conventions of Irish examinations, only those who sit the Higher level paper and achieve at least a grade C (corresponding to 55%) can be awarded an 'Honours' grade. According to the findings of the 1993 survey (Ó Riagáin 1997: 197-198), of those who had stayed long enough in the education system to take the Leaving Certificate examination, over half of those who had achieved an 'Honours' grade claimed high levels of spoken competence in Irish (i.e. 'native speaker' or 'most conversations'). Comparatively, only about one-tenth of those who reported a 'Pass' grade in this examination claimed similarly high levels of spoken ability in the language.

Although the numbers staying long enough in the education system to take this examination have increased since the 1960s as a result of the general expansion in education itself, the proportion of pupils with high performance in Irish as an examination subject has decreased. While almost 40 per cent of the pupils taking the examination in 1963 achieved an 'Honours' grade, this dropped to less than 15 per cent in 1990. Ó Riagáin (1997: 205) also notes that in 1990 one-quarter of Leaving Certificate candidates either did not take or failed Irish as an examination subject. The corresponding proportion in 1970 was around 15 per cent, and research has shown that the proportion of candidates by-passing or failing Irish is even higher for boys than for girls (Ó Riagáin 1997).

Lower grades in Irish language examinations and decisions to by-pass the examination completely over the 1960 to 1990 period can in part be explained by the increased numbers of less academically-focused pupils receiving second-level

schooling as a result of the introduction of free post-primary education since the 1960s. Research has shown that as a school subject Irish is considered difficult and therefore the subject has sometimes been dropped by less-academic students for whom the extra burden of learning Irish was considered too great (Tovey 1978: 20). However, sociolinguistic research on Irish would also seem to indicate that this trend is not confined to this group alone but constitutes a more general trend which also affects more high performing students.

It can be noted that, although the expansion in education since the 1960s broadened the class base of Irish speakers, those sectors of the population reporting high levels of ability in Irish are still more likely to be found in the higher social classes than in lower socio-economic groups. The continued existence of social polarisation in language abilities in Irish can be explained by the fact that the process of social mobility, which since the 1960s has come to be associated with high educational qualifications, continues to be regulated by linguistic policies, namely the continued requirement for all state schools to teach Irish on the school curriculum and the requirement for a knowledge of Irish in order to access the National University of Ireland. According to the findings of the 1993 ITÉ national survey, almost three-quarters of those who obtained an 'Honours' grade in their Leaving Certificate examination were from a higher social class background (Ó Riagáin 1997: 211). However, there are signs that the changes in language policies may be reducing the level of support for the language amongst these higher social groups. The removal of the compulsory passing of Irish in state examinations and the broader choice of higher-education colleges available to upwardly mobile sectors of the population, which do not require a knowledge of Irish, might explain the decline in the level of support for the language amongst higher social groups. A comparison between the examination performance in Irish within higher social groupings indicates that while 27 per cent of those in the over-35 age category had achieved an 'Honours' grade in Irish, in the under-35 age group this percentage had dropped to 18 per cent (Ó Riagáin 1997: 212). Ó Riagáin (*ibid.*) emphasises that because these social groups include the 'élite elements in Irish society', this tendency clearly has implications for the status of Irish and in turn, the long-term societal support for the Irish language.

Concerns about failure rates in Irish prompted curriculum reform in the language during the 1980s and 1990s with increasing emphasis on more communicative methods of teaching. As Ó Laoire (2000: 26) highlights, the aim of these changes was to render the Irish language programme more relevant and accessible. However, as Murtagh (2003: 8) points out, the impact of the effectiveness of these changes has yet to be objectively assessed. She does, however, note that examination results in Irish have improved in the last decade and the number of pupils failing Irish has dropped.

4.2.1.3. Language Use

Given the small percentage in the population with high levels of ability in Irish, it is not surprising that the number of active speakers of the language has remained low. Only a small minority of Irish citizens uses Irish extensively in their homes, community and at work. From the evidence of the CILAR and ITÉ national surveys, it would seem that the proportion who use Irish as their first or main language is around 5 per cent. Between one sixth and one fifth of the national sample said that they had used Irish 'often' or 'several times' since leaving school, when asked a more specific question about their use of the language in the preceding week, the proportions dropped to about 10 per cent (Ó Riagáin 1997: 158). A further 10 per cent or so reported the use of Irish less intensively in conversation, reading or watching television programmes in Irish.

The concentration of positive attitudes and high levels of ability amongst higher socio-economic groups highlighted in sections 4.2.1.1. and 4.2.1.2. is also carried over to language use. By their nature, these socio-economic groups tend to be more socially and spatially mobile and, as a result, social networks of Irish speakers within these social groups are constantly vulnerable to loss of existing members. Therefore, the already precariously low level of active use of Irish within the population is further weakened by the fact that Irish speakers do not exist as a community but as loosely-knit social networks. Although Irish continues to be spoken as a community language in core Irish-speaking areas of the Gaeltacht, the inhabitants of these areas

account for less than 2 per cent of the national population. Moreover, as a result of the ongoing shift to English, the Irish language is ceasing to be a community language in these areas and increasingly, its use is being restricted to particular social networks (APC 1988: xxvi).

Irish-speaking networks are dependent on the constant supply of bilingual competence within the population to replace those who, for one reason or another, are not retained within these networks. Up until now, it would seem that the education system has been able to supply this demand, given that the proportions in the population reporting use of Irish over the 1973-1993 period appears to have remained stable. However, because of the apparent decline in linguistic competence and, more specifically, the decline in sufficiently high levels of competence necessary for conversational interaction highlighted in recent survey research, the future of the Irish language is in a very vulnerable position and the already small incidence of bilingualism in the population is potentially under threat.

4.3. The Effects of Language Policy in the Galician Context

As pointed out in Chapter 3, until the end of the twentieth century there are few formal sociolinguistic data available on language use, competence and attitudes in the Galician context. However, more informal accounts of the number and distribution of Galician speakers provide some indication of the socio-demographic profile of Galician speakers at the end of the nineteenth century. In her analysis of texts written during that period, Hermida (1992), for example, deduces that Castilian was only spoken in Galician cities and amongst sectors of the bourgeoisie including merchants, industrial, administrative and intellectual middle classes. Some information can also be gleaned from reported accounts given by older interviewees in survey research conducted in 1993 by the *Real Academia Galega*, regarding the linguistic practices of respondents' parents and grandparents. From these reported accounts, Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira (1995: 52-53) estimate that in 1877, some 88.5% of Galicians continued to be monolingual Galician speakers.

Some insights into emerging trends in language attitudes and behaviours during the second half of the twentieth century can be gained from a number of sociolinguistic studies on the Galician language during this period. The *Guía Bibliográfica de Lingüística Galega*, published by the Instituto da Lingua Galega in 1996 cites over 600 sociolinguistic studies on the Galician language during the previous two decades. However, in many of these earlier studies, a number of questions relating to the Galician language formed part of more general purpose studies on other sociological issues. Moreover, such studies tended to concentrate on very specific sectors of the population and as a result their findings could not be generalised to the entire Galician population (see Iglesias-Álvarez 1998, 1999; Rei-Doval 2000).

The Foessa (1970) study for example included a number of language related questions as part of a larger sociological study in Spain and the sample of Galicians queried in this study consisted of 278 housewives. Despite the limitations of these and other such studies, they nevertheless provide some insights into the sociolinguistic situation in Galicia in the period immediately prior to the implementation of language policy in the 1980s. The Foessa (1970) study, for example, points to the very high incidence of oral competence in the Galician language where over 90 per cent of those queried reported an ability to understand and speak the language. The study also highlights marked differences between rural and urban Galicia, with the highest concentration of Galician speakers in more rural areas. However, the findings would seem to indicate that despite generally high levels of reported ability in and use of the Galician language amongst the respondents in his sample, there is also some evidence of negative attitudes towards the language.

Rojo's (1979, 1981) analysis of language attitudes and use amongst school-going age-groups and teachers, however, points to the emergence of a different trend, namely that of more positive attitudes towards Galician but generally lower levels of language use. The existence of more positive attitudes can be understood in the context of changes in the socio-political context in Spain following the death of

Franco in 1975 and the more liberal ideologies which were put in place during Spain's transition to democracy (see Iglesias-Álvarez 1998).

Studies carried out in the period after the 1983 Act such as Monteagudo et al's (1986) analysis of younger age-groups, draw attention to the process of language shift to Castilian amongst the younger generation of Galicians especially in urban areas, a trend which seems to have already begun to be recognised a decade earlier (see Alonso Montero 1973). Subsequent studies such as Rubal Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira's (1987) study of school-going age-groups, Rodríguez Neira and López Martínez's (1988) analysis of university students and lecturers and Rubal Rodríguez et al's (1991, 1992) later study of school-going age-groups, all confirm the decline in language use amongst sectors of the younger generation. Thus, studies carried out from the 1980s onwards particularly, highlight the emerging mismatch between, on the one hand, positive attitudes towards the language and, on the other, the declining levels of language use amongst the younger generation.

Monteagudo and Santamarina (1993: 126) note in their overview of the sociolinguistic history of Galician up to the 1980s that the official population censuses carried out in Spain up to then had never collected data about Galician. The first census to include a language question in Galicia was the one carried out in 1991 and thus provided the first large-scale analysis of the sociolinguistic practices of the entire Galician population. According to these census results, some 91% could understand Galician and 84% claimed speaking ability in the language (Instituto Galego de Estatística 1992). However, census returns showed that ability to read and write the language were correspondingly lower. Less than half the Galician population claimed an ability to read Galician and only one-third reported written skills in the language. Reported levels of language use were also shown to be lower, with less than half the population reporting regular use of the language and over one-third reporting more sporadic use. Differences in the sociolinguistic practices of rural and urban sectors of the Galician population identified in previous studies, were also confirmed in census results. The use of Galician amongst the urban Galician

population for instance, drops to one-fifth and the numbers reporting never using the language increases compared with the national average.

4.3.1. Survey Research on the Galician Language

The findings of the *Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* (MSG) published in three volumes in 1994, 1995 and 1996 provide the first large-scale detailed analysis and description of linguistic competence, use and attitudes amongst the entire Galician population (see Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994, 1995, 1996). In this study a total of 38,897 Galicians were queried, representing different socio-demographic and geographic divisions within the Galician population. The huge number of surveys which were completed as part of the MSG research project has also facilitated the more detailed analysis of certain sub-sectors of the larger sample. These include Ramallo's (1999) analysis of language attitudes and use amongst public sector employees in Galicia as well as a detailed analysis of the sociolinguistic situation in the city of Santiago de Compostela (see Cidadanía-Rede de Aplicacións Sociais 2001). Moreover, because of the size and scope of the MSG survey, it has also provided a key reference point for subsequent research on the Galician sociolinguistic situation. Therefore, as the report clearly outlines, the MSG does not claim to constitute an end product but a reference point for future research and language planning, 'de xeito que non só sirva para afondar no seu coñecemento, seño para futuras tarefas de planificación lingüística en Galicia'['so that it would not only deepen our knowledge but that it could also be used in future areas of language planning in Galicia'] (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1997: 11). The findings of a follow-up study to the MSG are currently being analysed (Lorenzo 2005 personal communication). Taken in conjunction, these surveys are intended to provide reliable data on possible changes in language attitudes and behaviour over this period.

Since the publication of the MSG report, sociolinguistic research on the Galician language has further proliferated to include a wide variety of aspects relating to the language from both macro- and micro-sociolinguistic perspectives (see Lorenzo

2003; BILEGA database). These include, for instance, Bouzada and Lorenzo's (1997) analysis of Galician in public administration and Ramallo and Rei-Doval's (1995, 1997) study of attitudes towards the use of Galician in advertising. A more recent study carried out by Bouzada, Fernández Paz and Lorenzo (2002) focuses specifically on Galician in primary education and assesses the effects of language policy over the past two decades in Galicia. Sociolinguistic analyses of students and staff at the University of Vigo (Lorenzo et al. 1997) and the University of Santiago de Compostela (Rodríguez Neira 1998) provide data on the support for and use of Galician amongst Galicia's university populations. In 2004 questions related to use of and competence in Galician were included in a large-scale study of 20,000 respondents in Galicia entitled *Encuesta de condiciones de vida de las familias gallegas* (Instituto Galego de Estatística 2003). The Concello da Cultura Galega are currently analysing these data and a final report is expected to be made available in June 2005 (Lorenzo 2005 personal communication). The preliminary results from this study again highlight differences according to age. For instance, figures for the entire Galician population show that almost 43% report the habitual use of Galician, this figure drops to 28% amongst those in the 5- to 29-age-group. More micro-analytical level analyses of the Galician sociolinguistic context include the work of Álvarez-Cáccamo (1993; 1996), Prego Vázquez (2003), Domínguez Seco (2003), Kabatek (2000; 2003) and Iglesias-Álvarez (2002b). A series of more qualitative studies on attitudes towards Galician have also been carried out by the Seminario de Sociolingüística to complement the more quantitative findings reported in the MSG (see González et al. 2003). However, given the size and significance of the MSG, the results are presented here in some detail.

4.3.1.1. Language Competence

The first volume of the MSG report, published in 1994, points to high levels of proficiency in the Galician language across all sectors of the Galician population and thus largely confirms the 1991 census results. According to the report, over 97% understand the language and as many as 86% claim an ability to speak it. Comparatively, however, the report notes that more formal skills such as reading and

writing tend to be much lower with only 45% of the population able to read Galician and as few as 27% reporting an ability to write in the language. Low literacy levels in Galician can of course be explained by the historical absence of the language from formal education and as a written medium prior to the 1980s. As part of a larger study entitled 'Vender en galego', Ramallo and Rei-Doval (1997: 28-30) tested respondents' reading ability in Galician and found that three-quarters of those queried in the study had little or no difficulty in carrying out the task. The mismatch between actual and declared ability to read Galician, therefore, highlights the population's continued lack of confidence in more formal language skills.

The positive reinstatement of Galician in the area of education since the 1980s does, however, seem to have brought about a considerable increase in literacy levels in the language amongst the younger generation. Almost three-quarters (73%) of those in the 16-25 age group report being able to read Galician well or quite well and a majority (64%) report high levels of written competence in the language. Nevertheless, despite these positive changes, the set policy goals of achieving equal competence in both community languages at the end of formal schooling in the language (see Chapter 3), is not being accomplished (Rodríguez Neira 1993). Despite a marked increase in linguistic competence in Galician, as Rubal et al. (1992) have also previously noted, the younger generation continues to report higher levels of competence in Castilian than in Galician. Rodríguez Neira's (1998: 33) study of university students provides further evidence of the higher levels of competence in Castilian reported by young Galicians on completion of the formal education system in Galicia. Neira's (1998) study shows that while the majority (90%) of students reported high levels of written competence in Castilian, corresponding abilities in Galician were reported by less than half (41%) of these students (*ibid.*: 29).

In contrast to the Irish case where intergenerational transmission of the language in the home is as low as 5 per cent, Galician continues to be transmitted from parents to children. Nevertheless, although almost three-quarters of Galicians learned to speak Galician in the home, the MSG report also provides clear evidence of changes in this trend, particularly amongst the younger generation. Just under half (45%) of

Galicians under the age of twenty reported Castilian as the language in which they first learned to speak in the home despite the fact that in some 54% of cases, the language used by their parents had been Galician. The situation for Galician is even more precarious when differences according to place of origin are considered, given that as many as 65% of young Galicians from urban areas report Castilian as their initial language.

Although, as was already highlighted, the majority of Galicians report an ability to speak the Galician language, differing levels of linguistic competence in the language are reported by mother-tongue Galicians compared with those whose mother-tongue was Castilian. While an overwhelming majority (97%) of mother-tongue Galician speakers report moderate to high levels of spoken ability in Galician, the proportion is almost halved in the case of mother-tongue Castilian speakers (57%). Moreover, Fernández Rodríguez (1993: 50) also points out that the inclusion of Galician in the area of education has not in fact led to substantial changes in levels of spoken competence in Galician amongst Castilian speakers, given that one-third of the 16-25 year age cohort continue to report low levels of spoken ability in the autochthonous language.

4.3.1.2. Language Use

Despite generally high levels of oral language proficiency amongst the entire Galician population, data on language use which were published in the second volume of the MSG (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1995) indicate that such skills are not being converted into actual use. Active use of the Galician language is highest amongst older age-groups, with 85% reporting 'habitual' use of the language. The lowest levels of reported use are to be found amongst the 16-25 age group, less than half (47%) of whom use the language habitually. The findings also point to the fact that schools continue to act as 'castilianising' agents in that they are not succeeding in 'galicianising' the speech habits of younger mother-tongue Castilian speakers. Schools are in fact having a 'de-galicianising' effect on mother-tongue Galician speakers, who tend to adopt more bilingual linguistic

behaviours leading to the increased use of Castilian rather than Galician. Bouzada, Fernández Paz and Lorenzo's (2002) analysis of attitudes towards and use of Galician in primary schooling in Galicia further contextualises these sociolinguistic trends. Their study points to generally high levels of support for the language within the primary school sector and increased levels of use of the language in class-room situations. Nevertheless, they note that although the legal requirement that schools provide a minimum number of subjects through the medium of Galician is being enforced, the study highlights the continued predominance of Castilian within the education system (see Bouzada, Fernández Paz and Lorenzo 2002: 305).

According to the MSG report, Galician speakers are to be found within lower socio-economic groups, amongst those with low levels of education and living in rural areas. Castilian speakers, on the other hand, tend to be found predominantly within the upper-middle class sectors of Galician society, possess high levels of education and reside in more urban settings. The social divisions between Galician and Castilian speakers in Galicia highlight a long standing trend in the Galician sociolinguistic context which reflects, according to Recalde (1997), the fact that:

[...] toda mejora en las condiciones de vida – nivel cultural, poder adquisitivo, estatus profesional, etc – de los gallego-hablantes iniciales está correlacionada con un paulatino abandono de su lengua materna (Recalde 1997: 29).

[...improvements in the standard of living of first language speakers of Galician, including their level of culture, purchasing power, professional status etc., are correlated with the gradual abandonment of their mother-tongue].

Nevertheless, Recalde (ibid.) also points to some changes in these social divisions through the increased use of the language amongst certain culturally and politically active sectors of Galicia's intellectual elite. There has therefore been some social infiltration of the language through its increased presence in the media and through the formal learning of the language at school. There is also for instance, some evidence from the findings of the MSG (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1994: 50) of a reversal of language shift amongst Castilian-speaking Galicians given that almost one-fifth of those brought up in Castilian-speaking homes reported the exclusive or predominant use of Galician. It can also be noted that although the

number of monolingual Galician speakers in the population has declined, this has not, at least as yet, led to a complete shift to monolingualism in Castilian but instead to increased bilingualism in Galician and Castilian (Rodríguez Neira 2003: 81). As in the Irish context where there has been a notable deterritorialisation of the Irish language from rural western parts of the country to the more economically developed urban centres in the east, a similar trend can be found in the Galician sociolinguistic context. As Ramallo (1999: 837) highlights:

Non parece esaxerado afirmar que nunca se falou tanto galego nas cidades como agora, pese a seguir sendo espacios altamente castelanizados (Ramallo 1999: 837).

[It does not seem exaggerated to say that Galician was never so widely spoken in the cities as it is now, despite the fact that Galician cities continue to be highly Castilianised spaces].

The increased presence of Galician in urban centres reflects the continued out-migration of Galician speakers from more rural parts of Galicia (particularly from the central provinces of Lugo and Ourense), to larger and more industrial coastal cities such as Vigo and Coruña. Ramallo (2000: 103) notes that 40% of the inhabitants of Galicia's seven major cities are of rural and therefore Galician-speaking origin. Although a very high percentage of rural Galicians speak Galician either predominantly or exclusively, given the increased urbanisation of Galician society, Fernández Rodríguez (1993: 28) emphasises that the extent to which the language is used in Galicia's cities is more likely to determine the future survival prospects of the language.

While overall, the findings on rates of language use point to a precarious future for the Galician language, it should also be remembered that the MSG data were collected in the early nineties, just ten years after official language policy was put in place in Galicia. Arguably, within such a short time span it is perhaps too early to judge whether or not linguistic policies and language planning efforts are having the desired effect on patterns of intergenerational transmission and language use. Many of the trends identified in the MSG report possibly still reflect the pattern of language shift to Castilian which seems to have gained momentum since the second half of the twentieth century. However, although there is evidence from the MSG of a reversal

of language shift amongst certain sectors of the population, such changes do not seem to be occurring on a sufficiently large scale to counteract the continued decline of Galician speakers, especially amongst the younger generation. The continued decline in the intergenerational transmission of the language to the younger generation led to UNESCO's classification of the language in 2001 as an 'endangered' language, one step down in UNESCO's survival continuum, from its previous classification of Galician as a 'potentially endangered' language. The UNESCO report also coincided with the results of a sociolinguistic survey of school-going age-groups (14- to 18-year-olds) in Galicia, carried out by the *Asociación Socio-Pedagógica Galega* in 2001. The findings on language use in this survey, like those reported in the MSG report, point to low levels of active use of Galician amongst the younger generation. The preliminary findings of the *Encuesta de Condiciones de Vida de las Familias Galegas* (Instituto Galego de Estatística 2003) would also seem to confirm this trend.

4.3.1.3. Language Attitudes

Perhaps more telling of the relative success of linguistic policies and the positive reinstatement of the language in Galicia since the 1980s, are the findings on changes in linguistic attitudes amongst the population. The third volume of the MSG report is dedicated to the findings of attitudinal research which was used to measure Galicians' attitudes towards and perceptions of the language, its speakers and its presence within Galician society. On a five-point scale, where 1 represents most negative and 5 most positive attitudes, Galicians score a 3.6 average in their ratings of the Galician language (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1996: 80). Although there does seem to be evidence that deep-rooted stigmas formerly associated with Galician have not been fully eliminated (see González et al. 2003), the MSG report confirms the absence of any explicitly held prejudices towards the language. The findings of the MSG on language attitudes in Galicia as Bouzada (2003: 331) suggests, 'point to a weakening, at least at certain levels of consciousness, of those coarser aspects of prejudice and sociolinguistic stigmatisation that have been working against the language for years'.

Although positive attitudes are to be found across all sectors of Galician society, the younger generation (those between 16 and 25 years old) score highest on the attitudinal scale (3.75 on the five-point scale). There is also some evidence of increased support for the language amongst educated and more middle-class sectors of the population. The report, for example, shows that these groups display most consolidated support for the language, especially in attitudes towards the transmission of Galician to the next generation (Fernández Rodríguez and Rodríguez Neira 1996: 559) and towards Galician as a symbol of identity.

Although lowest attitudinal ratings towards Galician are to be found amongst business sectors of Galician society and those entering the professions, Bouzada (2003: 330) notes that even in the case of these groups, attitudes towards the Galician language are clearly positive. Indeed, Bouzada and Lorenzo's (1997) survey of a sample of Galician businesses point to increased levels of linguistic consciousness amongst a powerful sector of Galician society, for whom, as was noted in Chapter 3, the Galician language had held little esteem. Nevertheless, as the MSG (1994, 1995) report on language behaviour clearly shows, positive attitudes are not being matched by increased language use amongst these sectors of the population. However, given the mediating import of symbolic values (Woolard and Gahng 1990), it might be hypothesised that the more positive attitudes expressed by the younger generation of Galicians as well as certain middle-class educated sectors of Galician society provide an indicator of future linguistic change amongst these groups. As pointed out in Chapter 1, linguistic attitudes tend to be more usefully interpreted as pre-behavioural changes which may not as yet have become apparent through actual language use (see Baker 1992: 16; Woolard and Gahng 1990: 312). The fact that Galician is most highly supported by younger age-groups, on whom the future of the language depends, provides an indication of the direction that changes for the language are likely to take. It is also significant that middle-class sectors of Galician society are attaching a high symbolic value to the language and are supportive of the need to transmit the language to the next generation, given that such groups were in the past least supportive of the language.

4.4. Conclusions

From these brief overviews of large-scale survey research on the Irish and Galician sociolinguistic contexts a number of salient concerns in each language situation seem to emerge which are of particular interest in the context of the objectives of the current piece of research. As was stated in Chapter 2, the aim of the present study is to analyse young people's attitudes towards Irish and Galician, as a means of gaining some insights into the current vitality and the future survival prospects of these two languages. The study has focused specifically on university student groups who, it was hypothesised, in terms of a number of social characteristics including age, social class and educational background, provide important insights into the future prospects of these two minority languages. Firstly, as the younger generation, the Irish and Galician students queried in this study can give us some indication about directions that the two language cases are likely to take in the near future. Secondly, because of the link between educational qualifications and the labour market, Irish and Galician university students are likely to constitute the more privileged social sectors of both societies. As the ideas about what constitutes prestige and status symbols tend to be developed amongst educated middle-class groups, finding out about attitudes towards their respective minority languages is particularly insightful.

From an overview of existing sociolinguistic research on the Irish language, university student groups in Irish society possess the characteristics of a group amongst whom conditions for the Irish language have tended to be most favourable. Previous research (CILAR 1975; ITÉ 1984, 1994) has found a strong relationship between a person's educational background and attitudes towards the language as well as levels of competence and use. The relationship between educational qualifications and the labour market has in turn introduced a class dimension to the Irish language situation, attracting favourable support for the language amongst middle-class sectors of Irish society. Most positive attitudes, highest levels of spoken ability and use of the Irish language have consequently tended to be concentrated within educated middle-class sectors of Irish society.

However, as was also noted in the discussion of survey results on the Irish language, there are signs that changes in language policy since the 1970s, as well as changes in the broader socio-economic context in which these policies were defined, are weakening the motivation within certain educated middle-class sectors of Irish society to learn the Irish language. The Advisory Planning Committee (APC 1986: 66) has previously noted that the emergence of alternative routes to higher education and social mobility within Ireland's educational elite, may be fragmenting support for Irish within this group. This weakening in support levels for the language has clear implications for the future survival prospects of the language as it threatens the continued supply of competent bilinguals necessary to maintain the already small number of Irish-speaking networks in the population. According to the APC (1986: 75-76) report :

[...] the position of Irish within the identity and social status meaning systems of middle class groups is becoming fragmented. The emergence of more instrumentally oriented educational objectives within some post-primary schools, and of a third level sector which does not impose an Irish requirement to entrants, has facilitated a situation in which high educational and occupational achievement does not necessarily include high competence in Irish. Again, those who follow this route tend to be occupationally concentrated (though more regionally dispersed), in the higher positions of the manufacturing and construction industries. While this section of the middle class may *not necessarily* be unfavourable in their attitudes to Irish, we might hypothesise that the language is likely to occupy a marginal position in relation to their own sense of understanding of social status which distinguishes the groups to which they belong (APC 1986: 75-76).

Our analysis of language attitudes amongst university students in the following chapters allows us to address some of these issues.

A review of existing research in the Galician sociolinguistic context, on the other hand, would seem to indicate that the socio-demographic profile of university students in Galicia brings together least favourable conditions for the minority language in terms of its intergenerational transmission and habitual use. However, the MSG report would seem to indicate that the new socio-political context in which Galicia has autonomous status and the co-official status which the Galician language

now enjoys are being internalised by key social groups within Galician society, given evidence of consolidated support amongst the younger generation, sectors of the population with highest levels of education and certain middle-class groups. The extension of the Galician language to key areas of public life such as the school, public administration and the media seems to be having a status-enhancing effect which is currently being manifested through increased support for the language amongst key social groups. Therefore, there is support for the language amongst prominent groups within Galician society who, it could be argued are best placed to organise language issues effectively and to influence government policy in the area. Our analysis of university Galician students in the following chapters allows us to further explore the strength of these predictions.

With these issues in mind, our discussion now turns to the analysis of the empirical findings on language attitudes amongst young educated groups within the cities of Dublin and Vigo. Chapter 5 is concerned with describing the type and pattern of attitudes displayed by Irish and Galician students towards their respective minority languages. In Chapter 6, we will go one step further in the analysis and will attempt to explain these attitudinal patterns by assessing the effects of other background socio-demographic and linguistic variables on these patterns. The implications of these findings will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

**CHAPTER 5 – A SURVEY OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES
AMONGST IRISH AND GALICIAN STUDENTS**

5. Overview

In this chapter we report on the findings of the empirical study of language attitudes amongst a sample of 817 Irish and 725 Galician respondents towards their respective minority languages. These findings are based on responses given in a quantitative sociolinguistic questionnaire which was distributed to a sample of university students attending university institutions within Ireland's and Galicia's largest cities. The chapter begins with an overview of the defining socio-demographic and sociolinguistic characteristics of these two student groups. This is followed by a preliminary overview of responses to a range of statements and questions which were used to measure the level of support amongst respondents for their respective language cases. In the remainder of the chapter we examine the pattern of language attitudes underlying students' responses. A more detailed discussion of the implications of these results is taken up in Chapter 7.

5.1. Introduction

The aim of the present study is to analyse young people's attitudes towards Irish and Galician, as a means of gaining some insights into the current vitality and future survival prospects of these two minority languages. The study has focused specifically on university student groups who it was hypothesised, in terms of a number of social characteristics including age, social class and educational background, provide important insights into the future prospects of these two minority languages.

Before discussing the type and pattern of attitudes displayed by Irish and Galician students towards their respective minority languages, the socio-demographic and sociolinguistic profiles of the two students groups will be summarised.

5.2. Socio-Demographic Profile of Irish and Galician Students

An analysis of the socio-demographic profile of the Irish and Galician students surveyed in this study (see Chapter 2) conformed to the expected characteristics of university student groups in Ireland and Galicia. The majority of respondents in the study were aged between 18-25 and, based on an analysis of parents' occupational status, were found to be from predominantly middle-class backgrounds. For practical reasons, an analysis of the entire Irish and Galician university student population is beyond the scope of this piece of doctoral research. The study has instead confined itself to student groups in Ireland's and Galicia's major cities – Dublin and Vigo respectively. A demographic breakdown of the Irish and Galician student samples queried in the current study shows that the majority were from an urban rather than rural background. Eight out of ten respondents in the Irish student sample were from the eastern part of the country and over half were from the broader Dublin area. In the case of Galician students, just under three-quarters of respondents were from the

southern Galician province of Pontevedra and almost a half were from the city of Vigo, one of Galicia's largest and most urbanised centres.

5.2.1. Sociolinguistic Profile of the Irish Student Sample

The linguistic profile of Irish students queried in the current study also appears to coincide with that of previous sociolinguistic research. As was noted in section 4.2.1.1., CILAR and ITÉ national surveys on the Irish language have measured ability to speak Irish on a six-point scale ranging from highest levels of competence which they categorise as 'native speaker ability' to 'no Irish'. To facilitate comparisons with the Galician student sample, the current study used a more general four-point scale ranging from 'High Ability' in the language to 'No Ability'. While these differences do not allow for direct comparison with national surveys on the Irish language, some general tendencies can be identified from the table below, in which the six-point scale used in ITÉ surveys has been collapsed into three cut-off points, corresponding to 'high', 'moderate' and 'low' ability. Ó Riagáin (1997: 151) has also used similar cut-off points in certain analyses of language abilities across sub-sectors of the Irish population.

As can be seen from Table 6, in terms of ability to speak Irish, the students queried in this study report somewhat higher levels of ability than in the 1993 national sample but lower levels of ability than younger national age cohorts (<20 year-olds). The latter may reflect the 'slippage' or the decline in one's ability to speak the language (see APC 1988) which occurs once the support of formal education has been removed, as is the case with these university students.

TABLE 6 Ability to Speak Irish in National Survey and Dublin Student Sample

		ITE National Survey 1993		Dublin Student Sample 2003
		Total %	<20 year-olds %	18- to 24-year-olds %
Native Speaker Ability				
Most Conversations	High	12	16	16
Parts of Conversations	Medium	39	52	41
A Few Simple Sentences				
The Odd Word	Low	49	32	43
No Irish				

As was pointed out in section 4.1.1.1., examination performance in Irish as a school subject has been used to provide insights into linguistic competence in Irish (see Ó Riagáin 1997). As can be seen in Table 7, over half (53%) of the Dublin student sample reported having attained the ‘Honours’ grade in Irish in the Leaving Certificate examination, the final examination taken at the end of their second-level schooling. Under half (42%) reported a ‘Pass’ grade and only a minority (5%) of students reported failing Irish as a school subject or bypassing it altogether. Students’ academic performance in Irish as a school subject is in sharp contrast with national figures cited in Ó Riagáin (1997: 205) which show that only a minority (15%) had received an ‘Honours’ grade in Irish as an examination subject.

TABLE 7 Students Examination Performance

	Honours	Pass	Fail	Not Taken
2003 Dublin Student Sample	53%	42%	2%	3%

In our discussion of language policies and language planning measures for Irish in Chapter 3, it was pointed out that Irish has been a requirement for access to the National University of Ireland since 1910. However, access to the newer universities such as Dublin City University (the institution selected for our current study) and the

University of Limerick do not require Irish for matriculation. Neither does the oldest university in the country, Trinity College Dublin. However, even though Irish is not an explicit requirement for access to these three universities, because competition for university places in Ireland is extremely high, it is likely that the majority of students queried in the current study were influenced by the requirement of Irish for gaining access to higher education. However, it is perhaps significant that a high proportion of these students had achieved lower academic grades in Irish, despite their high levels of academic ability in other subjects which have ultimately secured them a place at university level. This finding seems to confirm a similar trend previously highlighted in the report by the Advisory Planning Committee for Irish (1986).

As can be seen in Table 8, in terms of language use, the students queried in the current study show higher than average use of Irish. While less than one-tenth (9%) of the national sample reported using Irish in conversation in the week before the survey was conducted, this increased to almost one-quarter (24%) in the case of the Dublin students in the present study. Passive use of the language amongst these students is also higher than national figures. Over one-quarter (27%) of Dublin respondents reported watching television programmes in Irish at least ‘a few times a week’, twice the proportion reporting television viewing in Irish in the 1993 national survey.

TABLE 8 Active and Passive Use of Irish in National Survey and Dublin Student Sample

	ITÉ 1993	Sample 2003
Use of Irish in conversation in the past week?	9%	24%
Weekly viewing of TV programmes in Irish	12%	27%

In the question which asked students about their ‘habitual’ use of Irish compared to English, the majority (73%) reported the use of ‘English only’ and only a small minority said they used predominantly Irish or as much Irish as English (3%). However, the remaining 24% reported the use of ‘More English than Irish’ and thus acknowledging the use of at least ‘some Irish’ in their habitual linguistic practices.

From these figures alone it is impossible to discern what students actually mean when they report use of Irish in conversation. Open-ended questions included at an earlier stage of the research project, as well as in-depth discussions with a smaller number of students, would seem to suggest that language use was understood as the inclusion of Irish words and phrases in a predominantly English-language repertoire rather than conversations in which the Irish language is the predominant medium. It is possible as Murtagh (2003) suggests in her analysis of similar age-groups, that their use of Irish is nothing more than a token Irish phrase or word in English conversation. From discussions with a smaller number of students in the present study, the reported use of some Irish seemed to reflect their desire to use the language and not actual language use.

5.2.2. Sociolinguistic Profile of the Galician Student Sample

Compared with the Irish sample, Galician respondents were found to report higher levels of linguistic competence and use of their minority language. The majority of Galician students report high (40%) or moderate (45%) levels of spoken ability in the language and almost two-thirds claimed to have used the language in the week prior to the survey. Nevertheless, in comparison with national figures on use of the language amongst Galicians, its presence amongst these Vigo students is considerably lower. When asked about the language which they first learned to speak, the Vigo student sample was found to be clearly weighted towards Castilian and, as can be seen in Table 9, it is in sharp contrast with the broader sociolinguistic breakdown of the Galician population, the majority (62%) of whom report Galician as the first language in which they had learned to speak. Even compared with younger age-groups in Galicia where the number of mother-tongue Galician speakers drops to 40%, the proportion amongst Vigo students continues to be lower than the national average.

TABLE 9 Language First Learned to Speak in MSG and Vigo Student Sample

	MSG 1995		Vigo sample 2003
	Total	16- to 25-year-olds	18- to 25-year-olds
Galician	62%	40%	13%
Both	12%	43%	36%
Castilian	26%	17%	51%

The high percentage of mother-tongue Castilian speakers in the Vigo student sample can be explained by the fact that three-quarters of these students were from the southern Galician province of Pontevedra, which according to the MSG report shows lower levels of use of Galician than, for example, the more rural Galician provinces of Lugo or Ourense. Another defining characteristic of the Vigo student sample is that over half had grown up in one of Galicia's main urban centres. The MSG report and indeed other sociolinguistic research carried out before (e.g. Rojo 1979; Monteagudo et al. 1986; Fernández 1993) and after 1993 (see for example Bouzada, Fernández Paz and Lorenzo 2002; Iglesias-Álvarez 1998; Ramallo and Iglesias-Álvarez 2003), point to the sociolinguistic divide between rural and urban Galicia.

More specific comparisons can be made between the sociolinguistic profile of students at the University of Vigo and recent sociolinguistic studies of the inhabitants of the city of Vigo (see Vaamonde Liste et al. 1998, 2003). These studies indicate that only one-fifth of the Vigo population report Galician as their initial language (see Table 10) and that this figure drops to less than 5% in the 15-20 age cohort and 10% in the case of 20- to 30-year-olds. These figures therefore coincide more closely with those appearing in the Vigo student sample and show almost identical results to the 20-30 age group in the city of Vigo, clearly reflecting the high percentage of students (40%) at the University of Vigo who grew up in that city.

TABLE 10 Language First Learned to Speak in Concello de Vigo and Vigo Students

	Concello de Vigo (2002)			Vigo sample 2003
	Total	15-20	20-30	18- to 25-year-olds
Galician	22%	5%	10%	13%
Both	31%	37%	37%	36%
Castilian	47%	58%	53%	51%

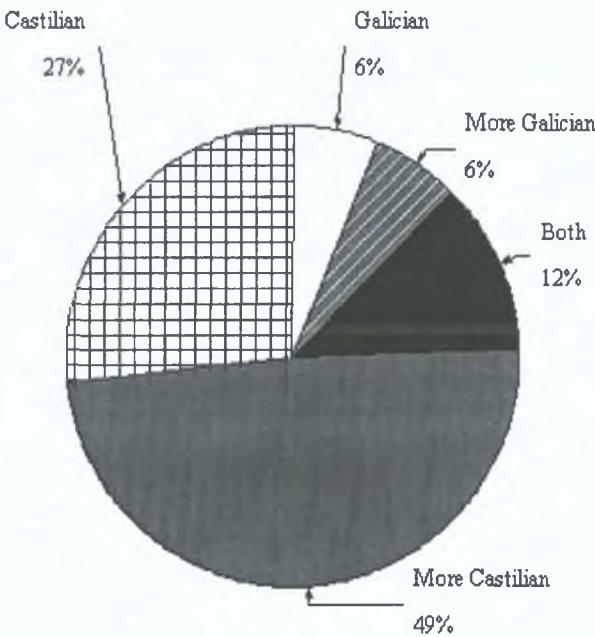
Fernández (1993: 31) highlights important differences in the sociolinguistic profile of the inhabitants of Galicia's seven main cities. Galicia's largest cities, Coruña in the extreme northern part of Galicia and Vigo in the south, close to the border with Portugal, as well as the highly industrialised cities of Ferrol and Pontevedra, constitute strongly castilianised urban areas. Comparatively, in the less industrialised cities of Santiago, Lugo and Ourense the shift to Castilian has not been as pronounced, although as Fernández (ibid.) notes, the predominance of Castilian amongst the inhabitants of these cities is nonetheless evident. The clearly identified differences in the spatial distribution of Galician speakers in the different parts of Galicia alert us to the dangers of any generalisations that can be made from an analysis based on specific geographic locations within Galicia. Indeed Fernández (1993: 48) even goes so far as to say that 'tal vez cada vila tenga también su historia sociolingüística específica' ('perhaps every small town also has its own specific sociolinguistic history'). However, Fernández (1993: 42) also adds that these spatial differences become less pronounced amongst younger age-groups, whose linguistic practices seem to be becoming more homogeneous irrespective of their place of origin. Therefore, it might be hypothesised that the linguistic practices displayed by the young Galicians queried in the current study reflect those of young, educated, urban Galicians residing in other Galician cities. This is, however, only partly confirmed in a comparison between students at the University of Santiago (see Rodríguez Neira 1998: 23) and the Vigo student sample in the current study as shown in Table 11. Nevertheless, despite distributional differences in the number of initial speakers of Galician, both Santiago and Vigo students are clearly weighted towards Castilian.

TABLE 11 Comparison between Initial Language of Santiago and Vigo students

	Santiago sample 1998	Vigo sample 2003
Galician	25%	13%
Both	11%	36%
Castilian	62%	51%
Other	2%	-

When asked about the language in which Vigo students usually spoke, just over one-quarter of respondents reported the use of Castilian. At the other end of the spectrum, 6% reported the exclusive use of Galician. The majority of Galician students reported some form of bilingual behaviour ranging from the predominant use of Galician (6%) to the predominant use of Castilian along with some Galician (49%). The remaining 12% of students reported equal use of both languages (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1 Language Spoken Habitually by Vigo Students



Although the ‘both’ category was not included in the MSG survey, Table 12 shows that the differences between results from the national sample and the Vigo student sample continue to be striking, with a very clear increase in monolingualism in Castilian and very low percentages of monolingual behaviour in Galician amongst Vigo students compared with the findings for all of Galicia (39%).

TABLE 12 Language Spoken Habitually in MSG and Vigo Student Sample

	MSG 1995		Vigo sample 2003
	Total	16- to 25-year-olds	18- to 25-year-olds
Galician	39%	23%	6%
More Galician	30%	23%	6%
Both			12%
More Castilian	21%	36%	49%
Castilian	10%	18%	27%

However, when compared with the findings particular to the city of Vigo (Vaamonde Liste et al. 2003: 34), the student sample shows similarly low numbers of Galician speakers (Table 13) although somewhat higher numbers report bilingual behaviour.

TABLE 13 Language Spoken Habitually in Concello de Vigo and Vigo Student Sample

	Concello de Vigo (2002)			Vigo sample 2003
	Total	15-20	20-30	18- to 25-year-olds
Galician	14%	5%	9%	6%
More Galician	16%	8%	8%	6%
Both				12%
More Castilian	32%	35%	35%	49%
Castilian	38%	52%	48%	27%

The low number of Galician speakers within the Vigo student sample also reflects the findings of previous sociolinguistic investigations of the student population at the University of Vigo (see Lorenzo et al. 1997) in which only 8% of students claimed habitual use of the Galician language. Comparisons with the two other university

campuses of Pontevedra and Ourense show that between one-tenth (Pontevedra Campus) and one-fifth (Ourense Campus) of students were returned as Galician speakers. As was already highlighted, previous research has shown important differences in the sociolinguistic profile of the inhabitants of Galicia's seven main cities with the industrial cities of Coruña, Vigo, Ferrol and Pontevedra constituting more strongly castilianised urban centres. Comparatively, in the less industrialised cities of Santiago, Lugo and Ourense the shift to Castilian has not been as pronounced. The higher percentage of Galician-speaking students within the Ourense university campus possibly reflects this overall trend. In Rodríguez Neira's (1998) analysis of students at the University of Santiago, which also included a question on respondents' habitual language, over two-thirds were returned as Castilian speakers. Because in this study only two main categories ('Castilian' and 'Galician') were used as a measure of habitual language, direct comparisons cannot be made with the response patterns found in the Vigo student sample. Broadly speaking, however, the Santiago and Vigo student samples point to a clear weighting towards Castilian as opposed to Galician.

The remainder of this chapter is mainly concerned with describing the type and pattern of attitudes displayed by these groups of Irish and Galician students towards their respective minority languages. In Chapter 6, we will go one step further in the analysis of results and will attempt to explain these attitudinal patterns by assessing the effects of other background socio-demographic and linguistic variables on students' attitudes. A more detailed discussion of the implications of these findings will be taken up in Chapter 7.

5.3. Overview of Preliminary Analysis of Students' Attitudes

As can be seen from Table 14, at the time that the study was carried out, the majority of both Irish and Galician respondents described their general attitude (Q.37 of Irish and Galician questionnaire Appendix A) as either 'strongly' or 'somewhat' in favour of their respective minority languages. Only a very small number of students in each sociolinguistic context described themselves as being either 'strongly' or 'somewhat'

opposed. As was pointed out in Chapter 2, because of over-sampling of some sub-groups of students weighting techniques were applied to the data. The percentage results presented throughout this chapter reflect these weightings.

TABLE 14 General Attitudes towards the Minority Language

	Irish Sample	Galician Sample
	%	%
Strongly in favour	41	28
Somewhat in favour	35	45
No particular feelings	13	21
Somewhat opposed	6	4
Strongly opposed	5	2

While responses to the attitudinal question presented in Table 14 provide a general indication of the level of support for each language amongst those queried in the study, they conceal the several possible meanings within individual responses. In other words, they tell us little about what respondents mean when they describe their attitude as favourable or unfavourable and the different possible language-related issues they may or may not be referring to. As was highlighted in section 1.4., attitudes generally tend to be multidimensional and contain several layers of meaning.

A more revealing interpretation of students' attitudes was gained from responses to more specific attitudinal items and questions (contained principally within Question 13 of the questionnaire, see Appendix A) on a range of aspects relating to the two minority languages under investigation. In the questionnaire, Irish and Galician students were presented with a number of statements and questions designed to measure attitudes towards a range of societal domains in which the minority language might be used. These attitudinal items measured students' views about the utility of the minority languages, their suitability for the modern world, respondents' desired future for each language, expected societal and government support for these languages and their transmission in the home and through the education system. Another group of attitudinal items was used to measure the degree to which the

minority language was valued as a symbol of group or ethnic identity. A number of other statements which were included in the questionnaire were designed to test respondents' attitudes towards Irish and Galician speakers as well as their perceptions about the survival prospects of these languages. The strength of support for a variety of statements amongst respondents was measured on a five-point Likert-scale from strong agreement with the statement to strong disagreement. Response categories included 'Strongly Agree' or 'Mildly Agree', 'Strongly Disagree' and 'Mildly Disagree' as well as the categories of 'No opinion' or 'Don't Know'. Each attitudinal statement or question administered to respondents was classified as either favourable or unfavourable to the minority language and for each item four categories of positive or negative response were allowed as well as a fifth category which was classified as 'neutral'.

The simple descriptive statistics of these individual attitudinal items and questions, provides a detailed picture of students' attitudes towards Irish and Galician (see Appendix B for a full break-down of unweighted results). A preliminary analysis of these data shows that the majority of Irish and Galician respondents favour measures which would increase the presence of the minority languages within their respective communities. The majority of Irish (80%) and Galician students (93%), for instance, were found to disagree that 'Attempts to keep Irish alive are a waste of money' / 'É unha perda de tempo e de cartos intentar conserva-lo galego'. Only small numbers (less than 1% of Irish and Galician students) wish to see the minority language discarded or forgotten. Also important for the survival of these languages is the fact that the majority of Irish and Galician respondents support the need to transmit their respective minority languages to future generations. Moreover, Irish and Galician students were shown to attach a high value to their respective languages as symbols of ethnic identity. Almost two-thirds of Irish students (61%) agreed with the statement that 'Without Irish, Ireland would lose its identity as a separate culture' and as many as 88% of Galician students expressed agreement with a similarly-worded statement. At the same time, however, positive attitudes towards these languages seemed to be accompanied by a general sense of pessimism amongst students about the future of these languages. Students were also found to have

negative perceptions about the relevance of each language in the modern world. Over half (53%) of the Irish student sample believe that 'Most people view all things associated with Irish as too old-fashioned'. A sizeable minority (41%) of Galician students was found to hold similar types of prejudicial beliefs about the Galician language. An examination of responses to statements used to assess the behavioural intention component of students' language attitudes also showed more negative ratings. Despite an explicit desire for increased personal use of these minority languages, the majority of students would not seem to be committed to converting good-will towards the language into active use. It is significant that only between one-fifth and one-third of these students agree with the statements 'I am committed to using Irish as much as I can' / 'Uso galego sempre que podo'.

This preliminary analysis of the data thus highlighted a number of apparently conflicting views about these minority languages. Baker (1992) has previously highlighted the importance of this preliminary analytical phase in language attitude research and emphasises the potential danger of overlooking key details contained within individual attitudinal items by immediately moving onto more advanced statistical analysis of the data. However, while a case-by-case analysis of each attitudinal item contained within the Irish and Galician questionnaires has provided a detailed picture of the issues at hand in this research, the large amount of data which this has included makes interpretation of the results more cumbersome and less manageable. Moreover, research has shown (Oppenheim 1992) that the reliability of single items as a measurement of attitudes tends to be problematic. As was already highlighted in Chapter 2, another disadvantage of examining attitudinal variables separately is that data in the form of individual attitudinal items do not facilitate more sophisticated statistical analyses such as analysis of variance, which is needed to test the effect of independent variables (e.g. gender, social class, age etc.) on dependent variables i.e. language attitudes. The next stage in the analysis therefore attempts to tackle these issues.

5.4. Exploration of Response Patterns to Attitudinal Items and Questions

To further explore apparently conflicting views about each of these minority languages outlined in our discussion of a preliminary analysis of results, the relationship between responses to different attitudinal statements and questions was analysed statistically through factor analysis. As already outlined in Chapter 2, in order to simplify the data analysis stage, factor analysis is a statistical technique which can be used to provide a summary of patterns among attitudinal items and to reduce a larger number of items within a data set to a smaller number of factors or dimensions. Furthermore, in the form of factor scores, differences in attitudinal responses within the Irish and Galician student samples, according to age, gender, place of origin etc. could then be examined and tested using techniques of analysis of variance or ANOVA (see Chapter 6).

As was already pointed out, the majority of attitudinal items tested in this study were contained within Question 13 of the Irish and Galician questionnaires (see Appendix A) and comprised statements concerning a variety of aspects related to each minority language. In most instances, the strength of support for these statements amongst respondents was measured on a five-point Likert-scale from strong agreement with the statement to strong disagreement. For the next part of the analysis each attitudinal statement or question administered to respondents was classified as either favourable or unfavourable to the minority language. Responses to the statements and questions, such as those discussed in section 5.3., were re-coded in such a way that a response indicative of the most favourable attitude was given the highest score. For instance, in positive items such as 'No real Irish person can be against the revival of Irish', 'Strongly Agree' was given a score of 5 and 'Strongly Disagree' was re-coded as 1. Conversely, in negative items such as 'Irish is not suitable for business, science and technology', 'Strongly Disagree' responses were given a score of 5 and 'Strongly Agree' a score of 1.

Responses to questions related to informants' desired future for the language which had seven categories (see Appendix B) were collapsed into five categories. A score

of 1 was given to the most negative scenarios for the minority language, i.e., that it should be abandoned, and a score of 5 was given to what can be considered the two most favourable situations for the language i.e. its exclusive or predominant presence in society. A value of 4 was given to a desire for a bilingual context but in which the minority language would have a secondary position and a value of 2 was allocated to support for the maintenance of the language for its cultural value or restricted to certain sectors of society. 'Don't Know' categories were allocated the middle point of the scale and given a score of 3. In the three questions used to measure respondents' attitudes towards the need to transmit the minority language to the next generation (see Appendix B), support for a monolingual education in the majority language (English or Castilian) was given a score of 1 and the most positive score of 5 was given to either exclusive or predominant use of the minority language. The 'Don't Know' responses formed the middle value and were re-coded as '3'. Finally, in the question which queried respondents about how useful they perceived the minority language in their future careers (see Appendix B), 'very' and 'fairly important' categories were re-coded as 5 and a value of 3 was given to 'Don't Know' responses.

Although ordinal data, such as the Likert-scale attitudinal items included in both Irish and Galician questionnaires, are not strictly speaking appropriate measures to be subjected to analysis of variance, the standardised scores that can be generated from factor analysis techniques are. In all, 29 ordinal variables (listed in Appendix C) were combined in a single attitudinal scale which could then be used to test the varying levels of support for their respective minority languages amongst different sub-groups (e.g. males versus females, humanities students versus technology students etc.) within the Irish and Galician student sample, for their respective minority languages (see Chapter 6). Nominal variables were not included in this scale and their analysis was restricted to descriptive statistics. Variables measured on a three-point ordinal scale, such as those measuring attitudes towards language use, were also excluded from this scale and were instead analysed as a separate grouping. Similar to items contained within Q.13, responses to statements used to measure attitudes towards language use were re-coded in such a way that a response

indicative of the most favourable attitude was given the highest score. For instance, in positive items such as 'I am committed to using Irish as much as I can', 'Yes' responses were given a score of 3 and 'No' responses were re-coded as 1. Conversely, in negatively-worded statements such as 'People in my circle of friends just don't use Irish', 'No' responses were given a score of 3 and 'Yes' responses a score of 1. 'Don't Know' responses were assigned the middle value on the scale.

5.4.1. Tests Prior to the Application of Factor Analysis

A number of standard statistical tests on both Irish and Galician data sets confirmed the suitability of attitudinal items for factor analysis. The *Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin* values for the 29 attitudinal items in the proposed scales were 0.917 and 0.908 for the Irish and Galician scales respectively, exceeding the recommended value of 0.6 to allow for factor analysis. Additionally, the *Bartlett's Test of Sphericity* reached statistical significance ($p = .000$) and thus further supports the factorability of the correlation matrix of the data. Additionally, the large number of attitudinal items and respondents (817 Irish and 725 Galician) in the current data set provides a robust sample size, well beyond what is recommended for statistical analysis.

Although inspection of the correlation matrix for both Irish and Galician attitudinal data sets revealed the presence of many correlation coefficients with values of 0.3 and above, a number of items showed coefficients below this standard cut-off point, indicating that they were distinct from other attitudinal items included in the questionnaires. The correlation between two or more attitudinal items describes the extent to which they are related to each other. This relationship is usually expressed as a correlation coefficient and is displayed in a correlation matrix. Correlation coefficients range from -1.0 to $+1.0$. A perfect positive correlation between two items occurs when both items are high or both are low. A negative correlation is one in which one item is high and the other is low. A correlation coefficient of 0 indicates that no relationship exists between attitudinal items or variables. To identify items with low correlation coefficients more clearly, before proceeding with factor analysis, Cronbach's alpha test for internal reliability (Cronbach 1951) was used to

determine the internal consistency of the 29 attitudinal items within Irish and Galician scales. As already discussed in Chapter 2, to allow for comparative analysis between Irish and Galician attitudinal items, measures were taken during the design phase of the questionnaire to maintain semantic coherence between Irish and Galician questionnaires. An additional function of the Cronbach alpha test in this study was therefore to determine statistically the extent to which comparability of attitudinal scales and the items contained within them had been successfully achieved across Irish and Galician contexts.

Although there is not widespread consensus on the required alpha value for an acceptable level of internal reliability in a scale, it is generally agreed that the higher the value the more reliable the scale. According to some sources, the value of alpha should be at least 0.7 (see De Vaus 1991: 256) while others suggest the value of 0.8 (see Bryman 2001: 71). Table I and II in Appendix C show the results of the individual Cronbach alpha tests for internal reliability when applied to 29 conceptually similar items in the Irish and Galician samples respectively.

The values of alpha in both the Irish and Galician scales were found to be high (0.8549 and 0.8048 respectively) which indicate that attitudinal items combined to form a unified scale in each case and thus can be taken to constitute a good measure of attitudes towards these two minority language cases.

However, an examination of item-correlation values shows eight of the attitudinal items in the Irish sample and nine items in the Galician sample (appearing in bold in Table I and II in Appendix C) to have values lower than 0.3, the standard cut-off point which is generally accepted in social scientific research for an item to be considered part of the same attitudinal scale (De Vaus 1991: 255). An analysis of the conceptual content of these items shows that they were measuring perceptions about Irish and Galician, their speakers and the survival prospects of each language. A preliminary analysis of these data pointed to more negative ratings of these attitudinal statements amongst both Irish and Galician students. Therefore, both conceptually and statistically, these attitudinal items could be considered distinct

from all others contained within the scale which was to be used to measure the general level of support for the two language cases under investigation and as a result were excluded from this part of the analysis. Furthermore, removing these items further increased the value of alpha to 0.8985 and 0.8993 in the Irish and Galician scales respectively.

Although item 21, 'Everyone who comes to live in Ireland should learn Irish'/'A xente de fóra de Galicia que vén vivir aquí debe aprender galego' had shown an acceptable item-correlation value in the Irish scale (0.45), its value in the Galician scale was less than the standard 0.3 cut-off point. This would seem to suggest that, although this item had been worded similarly in Irish and Galician questionnaires, the way in which it was interpreted by respondents differed across the two sociolinguistic contexts. Item 6, 'It is better to speak Irish badly than not at all'/'É mellor falar galego mal ca non falalo' was also found to be problematic and its removal increased the internal consistency of the Irish attitudinal scale. In order to maintain conceptual consistency across the Irish and Galician scales to allow for comparative analysis, both these items were dropped from the final scales.

The final attitudinal scale which was used as a measure of support for the minority language across the Irish and Galician sociolinguistic contexts contained 18 attitudinal items. For convenience this scale was labelled 'Attitudes towards the Minority Language Scale' (henceforth AML Scale). Although item 12 'It is more useful to learn a foreign language than to learn Irish'/'É mellor aprender unha lingua extranxeira ca aprender o galego' showed item-correlations higher than 0.3 in both Irish and Galician scales, it was decided nonetheless to remove this item from the final scale as exact comparison could not be assured due to semantic variation in its wording across Irish and Galician questionnaires between 'useful' (used in the Irish questionnaire) and 'mellor' (better) which was used in the Galician. In the preliminary analysis of results a clear majority of Irish respondents (82%) were found to agree with the statement that 'It is more useful to learn a foreign language than to learn Irish', compared with a minority (23%) of Galician respondents who believed that 'É mellor aprender unha lingua extranxeira ca aprender o galego'. It

could be hypothesised that had the word 'útil' been used in the Galician question, the result may not have been so positive. Because of this uncertainty it was decided to drop the item from both scales.

Finally, although the removal of item 3 'To really understand Irish traditions and culture, one must know Irish'/'Para entende-las tradicións e a cultura galega é necesario saber falar galego', (see Table I and II in Appendix C) would further increase the consistency of the Irish and Galician scales and lead to a slight improvement in the alpha value of each, the inter-item correlation of this item in both Irish and Galician scales was found to be above the accepted 0.3 value. Moreover, the conceptual content of this item was considered important from a theoretical perspective and thus further justified its inclusion in the final scale.

5.4.2. 'Attitudes towards the Minority Language Scale'

Eighteen conceptually similar attitudinal items contained within the 'Attitudes towards the Minority Language Scale' (AML Scale) were subjected to a type of factor analysis known as *Principal Components Analysis* in which the factor analysis sub-programme of SPSS 11.0 was used. *Principal Components Analysis* of these 18 items (through separate analysis of Irish and Galician samples) contained within the AML Scale revealed the presence of three components with eigenvalues exceeding 1, meaning that these components account for at least as much of the total variance as did any of the original items. In the Irish sample this explained 38 per cent, 7.9 per cent and 6 per cent of the variance respectively with largely similar percentages of 36.6, 8.4 and 5.8 per cent in the Galician sample. An inspection of screeplots (see Appendix C) revealed a clear break after the first component in both Irish and Galician scales and, arguably, because of the much lower percentage of variance in the second and third components, the factor solution could be reduced to a single component. However, the 8 per cent variance accounted for in the second component was considered sufficiently large to allow for identification of some other level of meaning within the broader attitudinal system contained within the AML Scale.

TABLE 15 Percentage of Variance Explained in a Two-Factor Solution

Component	Eigenvalue	Percentage of variance
<i>Irish Sample</i>		
1	6.844	38.02
2	1.436	7.979
Total		46
<i>Galician Sample</i>		
1	6.601	36.670
2	1.514	8.411
Total		45.082

Table 15 shows that the two factor solution explained 46 per cent of the variance in the Irish sample, with Component 1 contributing 38.02 per cent and Component 2 contributing less than 8 per cent. In the Galician sample the total variance explained in the two factor solution accounted for 45 per cent, and similarly to the Irish sample, showed that most of the variance (36.6 per cent) was concentrated in the first component with only 8 per cent in the second.

There are many mathematically equivalent ways to define the underlying dimensions of a data set and the solution obtained in the initial extraction is not necessarily the simplest to interpret (Woolard 1989: 110). To aid in the interpretation of these two components, the solution was rotated using the Varimax method, so that the final solution for each of the original 18 items was best accounted for and loaded on only one of the two principal components. This procedure rendered the semantic content of the two components more transparent and thus facilitated their interpretation. At the same time, the Varimax method allowed us to preserve components independence from each another. Table 16 below gives the factor loadings for the statements on the two extracted factors for Irish and Galician samples. A factor loading can be thought of as the correlation between an item and an underlying factor or dimension of meaning. A high factor loading indicates that respondents who expressed positive attitudes towards that item tended to have positive attitudes on

other items with high loadings and that respondents who expressed negative attitudes towards that item also tended to have negative attitudes towards other items which loaded onto that factor. The sets of items which loaded significantly onto each factor were then examined to see if the statistical regularity was capturing some identifiable variable across Irish and Galician scales.

The factor loadings presented in Table 16 show a very clear two factor model of evaluation of each language case. The first factor, labelled ‘Support for Societal Presence of the Minority Language’, combines educational items with more general issues of language learning and direct questioning on the future of the minority language. The factor therefore represents a broad range of components, incorporating a range of sub-themes which can be considered important for the survival of any minority language (perceived utility, suitability for the modern world, desired future of the language, societal support for the language and the inclusion of the language in education). The items loading on the second factor, labelled ‘Language and Identity’, are all concerned with the relationship between language and the construction of a distinctive sense of group or ethnic identity.

TABLE 16 Factor Loadings for Irish and Galician Items in Sorted, Rotated Factor Matrix by Attitudinal Variable

Attitudinal Variables	Factor 1 'Societal Presence'		Factor 2 'Identity'	
	Irish	Galician	Irish	Galician
1. Suitability for business, science etc.	.693	.691		
5. Common means of communication	.460	.585		
8. Less government spending	.601	.496		
16. Waste of time and money	.617	.532		
17. People should speak Irish/Galician	.618*			.616*
18. Shop signs in the language	.634	.552		
19. Minority language not other language	.477*	.529*	.434*	.553*
29. Desired future for the language	.675	.527		
26. Transmission of language in the home	.750	.734		
27. Transmission at school	.724	.717		
28. Transmission to own children in the home	.686	.590		
25. Future career	.424	.372		
2. No real person can be against revival			.574	.598
3. To understand culture and tradition			.638	.519
11. Language separate identity			.729	.683
6. Minority language speaking people			.688	.789
20. Outsiders should learn the language		.389*	.514*	
22. Language most important part of identity			.668	.711

As can be seen from Table 16, the factor structure of the two components is almost identical in the Irish and Galician samples and on the whole, the Factor Analysis groups together statements in an intuitively obvious way. Items 20 'People who come to live in Ireland should learn Irish'/'A xente que ven vivir en Galicia debe aprender o galego' and 17 'Irish people should speak more Irish'/'Os galegos deben falar máis galego' (appearing in bold in Table 16) were exceptions to this trend. For example, in the Irish scale, item 20 loads strongly on Factor 2, which as already pointed out, seemed to group together items relating to language and ethnic identity. It could therefore be hypothesised that what Irish students understood in this statement was that knowledge of the Irish language amongst all residents in the country was a necessary part of becoming 'truly' Irish and a knowledge of Irish was perceived in terms of its role as a symbol of ethnic or national identity.

Similarly, in the Galician scale, item 17, 'Os galegos terían que falar máis galego', loads strongly on Factor 2 indicating that Galician students' interpretation of this item differed from those of Irish students ('Irish people should speak more Irish'), whose responses loaded on Factor 1. For Galician students the idea that 'Galicians should speak more Galician' put forward in this attitudinal statement, seems to be linked to the notion that speaking the minority language increases their sense of ethnic identity and distinctiveness from the rest of Spain, that is, Galicians should speak more Galician because it is their language and a symbol of their identity.

While culturally different interpretations across the Irish and Galician responses to these two items are of interest in themselves, in order to maintain conceptual similarities between Irish and Galician scales which is considered necessary for comparative analysis (and which is the principal objective of this research), these items were removed from the final scale. Factor loadings in both Irish and Galician responses were low for item 19 'Irish is the language of the Irish not English'/'O galego é a lingua dos galegos antes do castelán' which loaded equally on both attitudinal factors. This seems to suggest that some respondents interpreted the item in terms of the societal presence of the minority language dimension of meaning

while others related the item to a sense of ethnic identity. These inconsistencies in the interpretation of this item led to its exclusion from the final scale.

The remaining set of 15 items (10 loading on Factor 1 and 5 on Factor 2) were highly internally consistent across Irish and Galician samples with alpha values of above 0.7 for each attitudinal dimension. The following sections discuss the conceptual content of these attitudinal dimensions according to a number of key thematic sub-groupings. The percentage distribution of respondents' ratings of individual items and composite scores are also reported. A more detailed discussion of the broader implications of these findings will be taken up in Chapter 7.

5.4.2.1. Student Attitudes towards the 'Societal Presence of the Minority Language'

Passive Support for the Minority Language

On a five-point scale, where one represents the most negative value and five the most positive, both Irish and Galicians score high on items relating to the continued societal and government support for their autochthonous languages. Of the items contained within this first attitudinal dimension, item 16, 'Attempts to keep Irish alive are a waste of time and money' / 'É unha perda de tempo e de cartos intentar conserva-lo galego' is awarded the highest rating (Table 17).

TABLE 17 The Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Item 16

		+					-				
		5	4	3	2	1					
16.	Attempts to keep Irish alive are a waste of time and money	50	30	5	9	6					
	É unha perda de tempo e de cartos intentar conserva-lo galego	66	27	3	3	1					

This result indicates that the majority of Irish and Galician students ‘mildly’ or ‘strongly’ disagree with this statement. In the Galician case particularly, the high percentage of students (66%) scoring ‘5’ on this item indicates their overwhelmingly ‘strong’ disagreement that efforts to maintain the Galician language are a waste of time and money.

As was already highlighted in section 1.3.1., positive attitudes, such as those expressed by Irish and Galician students, are not the only variables needed for languages such as Irish and Galician to survive. Linguistic capacity and opportunity to use these languages are also key conditions for increased language use. Nevertheless, according to Grin and Vaillancourt (1999: 98), for language revitalisation to occur, favourable attitudes probably represent the single most important condition, and one that eventually pulls all others; in other words, supply of measures to enhance the increased presence of a minority language follows demand for such measures to be put in place. The clearly favourable attitudes expressed by Irish and Galician students in response to this attitudinal item, points to a demand for supportive measures for their respective minority languages. Such a demand may act as a precursor for language planning measures aimed at increasing the supply of incentives to learn the language and opportunities to put language skills into use. Baker (1992) highlights the need for language planners to be aware of differing levels of support for a minority language and emphasises that ‘Language engineering can flourish or fail according to the attitudes of the community’. Even when positive attitudes do not lead to increases in language use, Mac Donnacha (2000) notes that passive support for a minority language is nonetheless important for its continued vitality. He also suggests that passive support amongst the community in general (such as is expressed by respondents in the current study) can provide a form of moral support for those who speak and/or are promoting the language.

As can be seen from Table 18, the percentage distribution of positive ratings for the next statement, ‘The government should spend less money in the promotion of Irish’/ ‘O goberno galego debe gastar menos na promoción da lingua galega’ is also high.

TABLE 18 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Item 8

		+					-				
		5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
8.	The government should spend less money in the promotion of Irish.	44	29	12	9	6					
	O goberno galego debe gastar menos na promoción da lingua galega.	52	32	9	5	2					

This result reflects Irish and Galician students' clear opposition to any move towards a decline in financial support on the part of their respective governments in the promotion of their autochthonous languages. This attitude is particularly striking in the Galician context where more than half of Galician respondents (52%) gave the maximum rating of '5'. While it must again be emphasised that expressions of passive support for these languages do not guarantee increased levels of use, Mac Donnacha (2000) reminds us that in order to sustain high levels of investment on the part of language planners or governments over long periods of time, it is necessary to maintain such positive attitudes amongst the population.

Desired Future for the Minority Language

In item 29, respondents were asked about the desired future for their respective minority languages (Table 19). As was highlighted in section 5.4, in this particular item, '5' represents support for monolingualism in the minority language or a bilingual situation in which the minority language would become the main language of the community. At the opposite end of the scale, a score of '1', which is regarded as the most negative scenario, represents the complete abandonment of the minority language.

TABLE 19 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Item 29

		+					-				
		5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
29.	Desired future for the Irish Language	21	40	11	27	1					
	O futuro do galego	65	19	7	9	-					

The fact that only small minorities of Irish and Galician students (1% of Irish and less than 1% of Galician respondents) wish to see their respective minority languages abandoned or forgotten (score '1') is positive for the future of the language. However, the intensity with which students wish to see their individual minority languages used at a societal level differs across the two sociolinguistic contexts. The high percentage distribution of strongly positive (score 5) ratings given by Galician respondents, highlights their support for a bilingual situation in which Galician would be the main language. Comparatively, the lower attitudinal scores displayed by Irish students indicate their desire for a sociolinguistic context in which Irish would play a more secondary role alongside English. Moreover, a sizeable minority (27%) of Irish students favour the limited use of Irish as a cultural artefact or in the Gaeltacht (score 2).

Attitudes towards Visible Presence of the Minority Language

While items 8 and 16 in this attitudinal scale measure general levels of respondents' support for the societal presence of each minority language, the more specific wording of item 29 alerts us to the threshold levels within which Irish and Galician students are willing to accept this presence. Item 19, 'Shop signs should be in Irish'/'As letreiros nas tendas deben estar en galego' further probes these threshold levels (Table 20). In more concrete situations or settings such as shop signs, which involve the visible presence of these languages, Irish and Galician students display less favourable attitudes.

TABLE 20 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Item 19

		+					-				
		5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
19.	Shop signs should be in Irish	24	25	9	27	15					
	As letreiros nas tendas deben estar en galego	27	33	17	16	7					

Less than half of Irish students (49%) award 'strongly' or 'mildly' positive ratings to this statement. Although Galician respondents display more positive scores, their ratings for this attitudinal item nonetheless mark a clear contrast with the very high levels of passive support for the language discussed in earlier items. The increased specificity of this attitudinal item also provides insights into the type of linguistic behaviour we might expect from these Irish and Galician students in situations which demand a more active encounter with their respective minority languages. As was highlighted in section 1.3., human behaviour is mostly consistent, patterned and congruent in terms of attitudes and action, so long as the same levels of generality are used (Baker 1992: 17).

Attitudes towards the Viability of the Minority Language

The most striking differences between Irish and Galician ratings of societal support for their respective minority languages were to be found in items 1, 5 and 25. As highlighted in Chapter 3, one of the key factors which led to the 'minorisation' of many of Europe's lesser-used languages (including Irish and Galician) was the failure to integrate these languages into the functions of the modern state. Instead, as the language of the peripheries, these languages became symbols of poverty and backwardness with their functions restricted to informal domains. Perceptions about the suitability of the minority language in the modern world were tested in the statements 'The Irish language is not suitable for business, science and technology'/'O galego non é axeitado para os negocios, a ciencia e a tecnoloxía' (Table 21).

TABLE 21 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Item 1

	+					-				
	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
1. The Irish language is not suitable for business, science and technology.	13	25	9	32	21					
O galego non é axeitado para os negocios, a ciencia e a tecnoloxía.	66	20	7	6	1					

The low ratings amongst Irish respondents for this item reflect the predominant belief amongst these students that the Irish language is not adequate for use in the modern world. As highlighted in Chapter 1, while it is unlikely from a linguistic point of view that languages are more or less equipped to fulfil different societal functions, such value judgements are frequently made (Edwards 1994), ultimately reflecting the perceived status of the language in society. Prejudicial perceptions about the Irish language are in sharp contrast with the very positive ratings of the Galician language displayed by Galician students for a similarly-worded item. These positive ratings reflect Galician students' strong disagreement that their indigenous language is unsuitable for the functions of a modern society. The fact that these young Galicians perceive the autochthonous language as suitable for the world of business, science and technology is significant, given that, as was highlighted in Chapter 3, up until a few decades ago, these were domains from which Galician was previously excluded. The status planning element of linguistic policy, which has led to the more explicit presence of the Galician language in public spaces such as schools, the media and administration, seems to have put in place new social conventions which are influencing perceptions about the relative prestige of the language. These new social meanings would seem to be reflected in Galician responses to item 1.

Another striking difference between Irish and Galician responses is their reaction to the statement 'Irish will never become the common means of communication in Ireland' / 'A extensión do galego a tódolos ámbitos non é posible' (Table 22)

TABLE 22 The Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Item 5

	+				-
	5	4	3	2	1
5. Irish will never become the common means of communication in Ireland.	1	7	3	27	62
A extensión do galego a tódolos ámbitos non é posible.	47	34	4	12	3

The majority of Irish students rate this attitudinal statement negatively, indicating their strong agreement that Irish will never become the language of wider communication in Ireland. Comparatively, however, the majority of Galician students display strongly positive ratings for this attitudinal item, reflecting their disagreement that the use of Galician cannot be extended to and used across all social domains. Galician students are optimistic about the possibility of achieving what is officially referred to as linguistic ‘normalisation’, leading to a situation in which the language would become the ‘normal’ means of communication in all social domains in Galicia (see Chapter 4). Similar to item 1, this item again points to the positive effect that status-enhancing measures seem to be having on Galician students’ language attitudes and beliefs.

Item 25 assesses the importance given to the minority language in students’ future careers. This item measures the degree to which the language is perceived as providing occupational positions and economic advantages for these students. Fishman (1977: 114) highlights that languages must either provide, or promise to provide entrée to scarce power and resources, otherwise there will be little reason for indigenous populations to adopt them for intergroup use. The perceived utilitarian function of Irish and Galician is therefore an important element in increasing the vitality of the minority language as the instrumental value also adds to its status. If, for example, access to prestigious jobs is determined by a knowledge of a particular language, parents are more likely to want their children to learn that language. Given the age group of respondents (18- to 24-year-olds), such work-related issues are likely to be becoming more relevant in the context of their transition from late adolescence to early adulthood.

As can be seen from Table 23, ratings for this attitudinal item amongst Galician respondents are lower than for other items and questions contained within the ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ attitudinal dimension.

TABLE 23 Percentage Distribution of Respondents’ Ratings for Item 25

		+					-				
		5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
25.	Importance of Irish in further employment	2	15	-	22	61					
	Importancia do galego na futura vida profesional	8	51	5	28	8					

Over one-third of Galician students provided negative ratings for this attitudinal item, indicative of the view that the language is of little or no importance to securing employment. Over half of these students display mildly positive ratings for this attitudinal item (score 4), reflecting their belief that a knowledge of the Galician language is of some importance in their future careers. This is perhaps of some significance given the traditionally low value attached to Galician in the process of social mobility (see Chapter 3). It is possible that the increased institutional presence of the Galician language is changing young peoples’ attitudes towards the language. The value awarded to a knowledge of Galician by a sizeable proportion of young educated individuals, possibly points to a positive re-evaluation for the language in terms of social prestige.

While these findings suggest that linguistic policies may be having some success in changing the ‘rules’ of the social mobility process (Ó Riagáin 1997), Galician language policies do not appear to be broad enough to affect all sectors of the Galician labour market. In this respect it is interesting to note significant differences across students’ perceptions about the utility of the Galician language according to the career path being pursued by these students at university level. While two-thirds of students taking Humanities type courses were returned as saying that the language was very or fairly important, the economic value of Galician is recognised by between one-fifth and one-third of Technology, Science and Business students and these differences were found to be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 148.695$; $p = .000$). Thus, for students of Humanities, amongst whom we are likely to find the potential

teaching and cultural professionals of the future, Galician would seem to be recognised as a valued commodity. Outside of employment sectors connected to the administrative structures of the Galician Autonomous Community, Galician continues to play a more minor role. Consequently, according to Bouzada (2003), the identification of upward social mobility with Castilian continues to be dominant and:

[...] the sensibilities of the business world, in general removed from the expressive caprices of the cultural world are routinely well-ensconced within a favourable instrumental concept of Spanish [...] (Bouzada 2003: 332).

As was highlighted in Chapter 4, language policy in the early years of the Irish state had to some extent 'changed the rules of the social mobility process' in Ireland (Ó Riagáin 1997) by providing economic awards to those with a knowledge of Irish. However, changes in language policies in 1973, as well as broader socio-economic changes in Irish society during that period, have weakened the role of the Irish language in the process of social mobility. This is clearly reflected in Irish respondents' ratings of item 23. The majority of Irish respondents display 'mildly' (22%) or 'strongly' negative (61%) scores, reflecting the view that, Irish is 'of little importance' or 'of no importance' in their future careers. Significantly, however, as in the case of Galician students, Irish students pursuing Humanities degrees were more likely to award a higher economic value to the minority language than Technology, Business or Science students ($\chi^2 = 157.398$; $p = .000$). These issues will be taken up again in our discussion of results in Chapter 7.

Transmission of the Minority Language to the Next Generation

The final three items used to measure 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language' relate to students' attitudes towards the transmission of their respective minority languages to the next generation. While issues relating to the importance of the language in children's education may not be of direct relevance to these 18- to 24-year-old students, as in the case of item 25 above, it is likely that these issues are beginning to take on more significance as students reach maturity. The first two of these items measures students' ratings of two general questions

relating to the degree to which the minority language should be transmitted in people's homes and at school.

In response to the first question, 'What language should children learn in the home?', just under half of Irish respondents display mildly (score 4) or strongly positive (score 5) attitudinal ratings (see Table 24). This result reflects the belief amongst these respondents that 'Both English than Irish' (score 4) or 'More Irish than English'/'All Irish' (score 5) should be transmitted to children in the home. However, as can also be seen from Table 24, just over half of these Irish students display more negative ratings of the language. Approximately one-third favour 'More English than Irish' (score 2) and a sizeable minority of students (16%) opt for monolingualism in English (score 1).

TABLE 24 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Items 26 and 27

		+					-	
		5	4	3	2	1		
26.	What language do you think children should learn in the home?	2	47	-	35	16		
	Na túa opinión ¿que lingua se lles debe aprender ós nenos en casa?	4	85	3	7	1		
27.	What language do you think children should learn in school?	4	55	-	32	9		
	Na túa opinión ¿que lingua se lles debe aprender ós nenos na escola?	1	90	1	7	1		

This general pattern follows for Irish students' ratings of the transmission of the language through the secondary socialisation agent of the school. It is nevertheless significant that the proportion of strongly negative ratings for item 27, related to the transmission of the language at school (score 1), drops by 7 percentage points and there is an 8 per cent increase in the proportion of students displaying mildly positive scores ('4') compared with attitudes towards home transmission of the language.

As can be seen from Table 24, the proportion of Galician students displaying strongly negative ratings of these two items is negligible (1%). This would seem to indicate that almost all respondents favour the transmission of the Galician language in the home and at school. A clear majority of students display mildly positive ratings (score 4) on both attitudinal items, reflecting predominant support for the equal transmission of Galician along with Castilian to children in the home and at school. Although the majority of Irish students also favour a bilingual upbringing for future generations of Irish children, as we have seen, over one-third favoured the predominant use of English as opposed to the predominant use of Irish.

While these two items provide insights into students' attitudes towards the intergenerational (in the home) and institutional (at school) transmission of each language, the third item reflects responses to the more personalised question of whether respondents would raise their own children in the minority language (Table 25). This question thus requires students to take a more active stance regarding the transmission of their respective languages in the home domain and provides a more accurate measure of the behavioural intention component of students' attitude.

TABLE 25 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Item 28

	+					-				
	5					4				
	3					2				
	1									
28. If you were starting to raise a family today, how much Irish would you use with your children in the home?	1	31	-	45	23					
E ti mesmo/a, se tiveras fillos, ¿canto galego utilizarías con eles na casa?	9	52	3	24	12					

While continuing to constitute a minority, the proportions of Irish (23%) and Galician students (12%) displaying strongly negative ratings (score 1) for this attitudinal item show perceptible increases when compared with the more general question asked in item 27 above (see Table 24).

The number of Irish respondents who favour the equal transmission of Irish and English in the home (score 4) is halved and the proportion of students opting for 'More English than Irish' (score 2) increases to 45%. This pattern is even more striking in the case of Galician students. It is significant that although the majority of the Galician student sample were found to favour the equal transmission of Galician and Castilian, the proportion opting to raise their own children bilingually drops to 52% (from 85% in answer to the more general question in item 28 above). Therefore, although the majority of Irish and Galician students favour the transmission of their respective minority languages to the next generation, the extent to which they are willing to actively participate in the transmission process is comparatively lower. It should, however, be pointed out that these behavioural intentions may also have as much to do with respondents' confidence in their perceived ability to transmit the language as with an explicitly negative attitude towards it.

Responses to an open-ended question, which asked students to explain their choice of language, provides further insights into the factors governing the process of language transmission in the home. While a predominantly English (score 2) or English only (score 1) option was in many cases related to Irish students' lack of confidence in their own linguistic abilities in Irish, explicit references were also made to respondents' perceptions about the utility of English compared with Irish. As we have already seen in response to item 25 above, Irish students would seem to attach a low value to the Irish language in the process of social advancement. Respondents who supported the inclusion of Irish in their own children's upbringing related this choice to the cultural importance of the language as part of a particularly Irish identity and culture. At the same time, however, they continued to recognise the economic value of English. Comments such as the following were frequently expressed: 'English is a necessity for life. Irish is part of our culture and heritage' and 'While English is important for modern living we should have a strong connection with our country's heritage'. These views are largely confirmed in students' own attitudes, as well as perceptions about their parents' attitudes regarding the instrumental value of the Irish language (see Q30a, Q30b and Q30c Irish frequency tables, Appendix B).

Quite generally, in the case of Galician students, respondents who favoured the exclusive use of Castilian, related their choice to an inability and lack of confidence on their own part to transmit Galician to the next generation. As in the Irish context, the inclusion of Galician in the process of home transmission of the language seemed to be related to the ethnocultural value which they attached to the language as a symbol of a Galician identity. Nevertheless, the need to recognise Castilian as the language of the Spanish state was also recognised by the majority of students as the following examples illustrate: 'Primeiro deben aprender o galego porque é de Galicia, de onde son e despois deben saber falar castelán porque Galicia pertence a España ó igual có resto das comunidades e provincias' and 'Soy gallega y es mi lengua, pero también soy española y el español está más extendido'. Although these responses were not subject to statistical analysis, they would seem to be typical of these young Irish and Galician people's views about the need to transmit their respective minority languages to the next generation. They also confirm the type of responses which had been elicited formally and informally by other groups of students during the preliminary stages of the research project (see O'Rourke 2002, 2003b). While the responses volunteered by Irish and Galician students would seem to suggest that materialism and pragmatism are influencing the choice of English and Castilian respectively, such values and belief systems come into conflict with the value attached to Irish and Galician as symbols of ethnic or group identity. The link between language and identity will be taken up our discussion of the second attitudinal dimension in section 5.4.2.2.

An additional question was included in the survey which measured respondents' support for educational establishments in which all subjects would be given through the medium of the minority language. Again as in the case of item 28 above, in this question respondents are asked more specifically about their own behavioural intentions regarding the transmission of the minority language. Because this question was measured using a nominal scale, it was not included in the overall scale used to measure Irish and Galician attitudes towards their respective minority languages. However, because of its relevance to the general theme of attitudes towards the transmission of the language to the next generation, responses to the question will be

discussed briefly here. As can be seen from Table 26, the degree to which full-immersion programmes in which the medium of instruction at primary school level would be through the minority language is favoured by a majority of Irish students (57%) and a very sizeable minority of Galician respondents (45%).

TABLE 26 *If there were an all-Irish/Galician school close to your home would you send you children ?*

	<u>Primary School</u>		<u>Post-Primary School</u>	
	%		%	
	Irish	Galician	Irish	Galician
Yes	57	45	31	42
Don't Know	16	25	21	28
No	27	30	47	30

Equally sizeable proportions of Irish and Galician students said they would not send their children to such schools or do not have an opinion on the matter. However, as can be seen from the table, there are perceptible decreases in the level of support for immersion programmes in post-primary education, especially in the case of Irish students. These choices possibly reflect more negative perceptions about the utilitarian function of the Irish language as children grow older.

Although the support for such schools is not shared by all students, the level of expressed support greatly surpasses current availability of immersion schooling in either community. It will be recalled that immersion-type schooling or ‘Gaelscoileanna’ in the Irish context constitute a very small minority of schools outside the broader mainstream system in which Irish is taught as a subject only. The high levels of support for Gaelscoileanna displayed by Irish students in this study confirm recent research by Coady (2001) and Coady and Ó Laoire (2002) who emphasise serious mismatches with national language policy. As a result, as Ó Laoire (2002: 7) points out, Gaelscoileanna as a bilingual education movement is largely untapped in its potential to provide active additive bilinguals to integrate with Irish language networks and thus to secure sustained reproduction levels of language use. In the Galician context, Galician is taught bilingually along with Castilian or as

a subject only in the majority of Galician schools. As was highlighted in Chapter 3, official language policy promotes ‘balanced’ bilingualism in which both community languages are required to be included equally in the school curriculum. Again, as in the Irish case, there seem to be mismatches between national language policy and support for the increased presence of Galician in the schools. Monteagudo (2000: 143), for example, is highly critical of the continued lack of initiative on the part of the Galician administration to provide such immersion-type schooling.

Attitudes towards ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’

The percentage distribution of respondents on the degree of their expressed favourable attitudes towards the ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ dimension, is shown in Table 27. In assessing these distributions a composite score was used which was formed by summing responses to the individual ten ordinal items discussed in the section above.

TABLE 27 Percentage Distribution of Irish and Galician Responses on the ‘Support for the Presence of the Minority Language’ Dimension

	<u>Irish Students</u>	<u>Galician Students</u>
	%	%
Strongly Negative Attitudes (score 1)	3.9	0.1
Mildly Negative Attitudes (score 2)	28.4	3.9
Neutral Attitudes (score 3)	48.1	18.5
Mildly Positive Attitudes (score 4)	18.9	64.2
Strongly Positive Attitudes (score 5)	0.7	13.3

From this table it is evident that while less than one-fifth of Irish students express ‘mildly’ or ‘strongly’ positive support for the societal presence of the Irish language, such support is expressed by over three quarters (77.5%) of Galician students in relation to the Galician language. Almost one-third (32.2%) of Irish students have clearly negative attitudes (score 1 and 2) towards the societal presence of the minority language compared with only less than 4% in the case of Galician students. Finally, almost half (48.1%) of Irish students were returned as having a ‘neutral’

attitude (score 3) towards the minority language, compared with less than one-fifth (18.5%) of Galician students.

5.4.2.2. 'Language and Identity'

The second attitudinal dimension which emerged from a factor analysis of attitudinal items contained within Irish and Galician sociolinguistic questionnaires was labelled 'Language and Identity'. The percentage distribution of respondents' ratings for the five items contained within the second attitudinal dimension are listed in Table 28 below.

As already highlighted in Chapter 1, the 'integrative' or 'solidarity' dimension of language attitudes which was measured in a separate group of statements included in the questionnaire stems from the idea that language binds, or integrates people into a community of shared understandings and hence identity. The language and identity perspective as an attitudinal dimension is based on the well-established premise that language plays an important role in defining or symbolising a sense of 'ethnic' or group identity, thus making it a valuable resource to be protected. It was thus hypothesised that some insights into the vitality of Irish and Galician might be gained from the degree to which respondents in the study valued their respective minority languages as symbols of group or ethnic identity.

The statements 'Without Irish, Ireland would lose its identity as a separate culture'/ 'Sen o galego, Galicia perdería a súa identidade e a súa cultura propia', 'Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish speaking people'/ 'Galicia non sería Galicia sen os falantes de galego' and 'No real Irish person can be against the revival of Irish'/ 'Un verdadeiro galego non pode estar en contra dun rexurdamento do galego', all measure the degree to which these two minority languages are used to build what Anderson (1991: 133) refers to as 'particular solidarities'. They also measure the extent to which the minority language is perceived as a boundary-marking function (Tabouret-Keller 1997; Heller 1999) and test what, in Barthian terms (1969), can be

referred to as distinguishing 'them' from 'us'. Contained in these statements is also the notion of language functioning as symbolic 'border guards' (Armstrong 1982) which questions the degree to which Irish and Galician are used to identify people within each sociolinguistic context as members or non-members of their respective national or ethnic collectivities. It thus follows that the stronger the level of agreement with these statements, the stronger the boundary-marking function (May 2001: 131) of the minority language for members of the community and the greater the chances of the language being maintained. Therefore if these languages are perceived as a demarcating feature of an Irish or Galician collective identity, a blurring of these boundaries may also be regarded by group members as a threat to the group's existence (Khleif 1979).

The Boundary-Marking Function of the Minority Language

On a five-point scale, where one represents the most negative value and five the most positive, both Irish and Galicians score high on items relating to the boundary-marking function of their respective minority languages. As can be seen in Table 28, positive ratings for a range of statements used to measure the relationship between language and ethnic identity indicate strong support for the minority language as a symbol of identity amongst Irish and Galician respondents. Both Irish and Galician students agree that the symbolic presence of the minority language plays a key role in the ethnic identification of their respective groups. Positive ratings for item 11 indicate that the majority of Irish (61%) and Galician (87%) respondents agree (score 4 and 5) that without their respective autochthonous languages, Ireland and Galicia would lose their distinctiveness as cultural entities. There are also positive ratings for the statement that 'Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish-speaking people', with 62% of the Irish student sample agreeing with the given statement (item 6). A majority (79%) of Galician students also agree with the similarly-worded statement that 'Galicia non sería Galicia sen os falantes de galego'. It can however be noted that the percentage of positive ratings on these attitudinal items points to more overwhelming support for the minority language as a symbol of a Galician ethnic identity.

TABLE 28 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Items 2, 3, 11, 6, 22

		+					-				
		5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
2.	No real Irish person can be against the revival of Irish	26	30	9	20	15					
	Un verdadeiro galego non pode estar en contra dun rexurdimento do galego	40	28	15	10	7					
3.	To really understand Irish culture and traditions one must know Irish	15	26	4	29	26					
	Para entende-las tradicións e a cultura galega é necesario saber falar galego	11	32	3	36	18					
11.	Without Irish, Ireland would lose its identity as a separate culture	31	30	4	20	15					
	Sen o galego, Galicia perdería a súa identidade e a súa cultura propia	54	33	2	7	4					
6.	Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish-speaking people	27	35	4	21	13					
	Galicia non sería Galicia sen os falantes de galego	41	38	3	12	6					
22.	Language is the most important part of the Irish identity	13	23	7	34	23					
	A lingua é a compoñente máis importante da identidade galega	28	42	7	18	5					

The Minority Language as a 'Core Value'

Because language is often just one of many symbols used in the construction of a collective or national identity, the more compromising statement 'Language is the most important part of the Irish identity' / 'A lingua é a componente máis importante da identidade galega' was used to test the degree to which each minority language was perceived as a 'core value' (Smolicz 1992, 1995) in demarcating a sense of 'Irishness' or 'Galicianness'. Although Irish students would seem to agree that the Irish language plays a key role in defining their ethnic identification as a group, ratings for item 22, 'Language is the most important part of the Irish identity' are notably lower. This finding would seem to suggest that while there is a general sense amongst students that the Irish language symbolises Irish identity, it does not

constitute a 'core value' (Smolicz 1992, 1995), thus implying that some other symbolic sources take precedence over language in the construction of a specifically Irish identity by these respondents. Given that the majority of Irish students reported either 'low' or 'moderate' levels of spoken ability in the Irish language (see 5.2.1), this finding might also suggest that their perceived lack of fluency in the language leads them to downgrade its importance in defining their Irish identity.

As can be seen in Table 28, the Galician student responses, on the other hand, point to higher levels of support for the minority language as a 'core' symbol of a Galician ethnic identity. When Galician students are required to take a more compromising stance in relation to the relative importance of their autochthonous language, compared with other potential components of what constitutes 'Galicianness', the majority (70%) of these young Galicians agree with the statement 'A lingua é o componente máis importante da identidade galega' (score 4 and 5).

The Indexical Link between the Minority Language and Culture

The statements 'To really understand Irish traditions and culture, one must know Irish' / 'Para entender as costumes e tradicións galegas hai que saber falar galego' measure what Fishman (1987: 639) refers to as the indexical link between these two languages and their respective cultures. This indexical link between a language and a particular culture is, according to Fishman (1991: 20), 'at any time during which that linkage is still intact, best able to name the artifacts and to formulate or express the interests, values and world-views of that culture'. The statement included in the questionnaire tests the degree to which Irish and Galician are perceived by younger members of society as influential in shaping their customary way of thinking (Edwards 1994). Along with an indexical link, Fishman (1987: 639) also refers to a *part-whole* relationship between language and culture. Fishman (1991) argues that because so much of any culture is verbally constituted through its history, stories, songs etc., there are parts of every culture that are expressed via the language with which that culture is most closely associated. It could thus be hypothesised that, if respondents in the study perceived their respective minority languages as indexical or

part-whole parts of their respective cultures, this would point towards a heightened level of vitality for the language.

For both Irish and Galician students, the ‘indexical’ link (Fishman 1987) between the minority language and ethnocultural identity is weak and for the majority of students, the minority language does not express the interests, values and world-views (ibid.) of an Irish or Galician culture. The fact that only 41% of Irish and 43% of Galician students agree that ‘To really understand Irish culture and traditions one must know Irish’/ ‘Para entende-las tradicións e a cultura galega é necesario saber falar galego’ (scores 4 and 5) seems to indicate that, for the younger generation, the minority language does not constitute an essential component in understanding their associated cultures.

Attitudes towards ‘Language and Identity’

Table 29 below shows the percentage distribution of respondents on the degree of their expressed positive and negative attitudes towards the minority language as a symbol of ethnic or national identity. As in the case of the first attitudinal dimension, in assessing these distributions, a composite score was used which was formed by summing responses to the five individual items (ranging from 1 to 5) contained within this attitudinal dimension.

TABLE 29 Percentage Distribution of Irish and Galician Respondents on the Degree of Favourable Attitudes towards ‘Language and Identity’ Dimension

	Irish Students	Galician Students
	%	%
Strongly Negative Attitudes (score 1)	5.9	1.4
Mildly Negative Attitudes (score 2)	23.9	10.2
Neutral Attitudes (score 3)	31.1	21.4
Mildly Positive Attitudes (score 4)	31.1	50.2
Strongly Positive Attitudes (score 5)	8.0	16.8

From Table 29 it is clear that over one-third (39.1%) of Irish students and two-thirds (66.8%) of Galician students show ‘mildly’ or ‘strongly’ positive support for the language as a symbol of identity (score 4 and 5). A sizeable minority (29.8%) of the Irish student sample express clearly negative attitudes, compared with just over one-tenth of Galician students (11.6%). Between one-fifth and one-third of students express a ‘neutral’ attitude towards this attitudinal dimension.

5.4.3. Linguistic Perceptions

As already pointed out in section 5.4.1., a Cronbach alpha test for internal reliability identified a number of attitudinal items which were clearly distinct from all others contained within the AML Scale used to measure the level of general support for Irish and Galician (see Table I and II Appendix C). These items appeared to be measuring perceptions about Irish and Galician, their speakers and the survival prospects of each language, and were subsequently combined to form a separate scale used to measure perceptions and beliefs about the two minority languages under investigation. For convenience, this scale was labelled *Perceptions about the Minority Language* (henceforth PML Scale). When the items contained within the PML Scale were subjected to factor analysis, a two-way factor solution explained 41 per cent of the variance in the Irish sample, with Component 1 contributing 26 per cent and Component 2 contributing just under 15 per cent. In the Galician sample the total variance explained in the two factor solution accounted for 42 per cent and,

similar to the Irish sample, showed that most of the variance (26 per cent) was concentrated in the first component with 16 per cent in the second.

An examination of the factor loadings (see Table 30) shows that top-scoring items (items 10, 13 and 14), contained within the first attitudinal factor, express beliefs and perceptions about the vitality and survival prospects of Irish and Galician. In the Galician sample, responses to two other attitudinal items, ‘A desaparición do galego está relacionada coa desaparición das zonas rurais’, and ‘Se non se fai nada por remedialo o galego desaparecerá dentro de 50 anos’, also load on the first attitudinal component (appearing in bold in Table 30). However, because these two items are not comparably located on both Irish and Galician samples, they were excluded from the next part of the analysis.

TABLE 30 Factor Loadings for Irish and Galician Items in Sorted, Rotated Factor Matrix by Attitudinal Variable

Attitudinal Variables	Factor 1		Factor 2	
	Irish	Galician	Irish	Galician
4. Decline of traditional language areas		-.411	.728	
7. Failure of government measures	.497	.409		
9. Disappearance of the language in 50 years		.572	.562	
10. People are not interested in the language	.756	.698		
13. Language too old-fashioned	.651	.649		
14. The language is dying out	.623	.720		
23. Link with nationalism			.194	.749
24. What constitutes the ‘real’ language			.637	.773

Item loadings on the second factor were found to differ considerably in the Irish and Galician samples. A possible explanation for this is that many of the items contained within this factor were specific to either the Irish or Galician sociolinguistic contexts and therefore their interpretation was culturally specific to each. An examination of the four items in the Irish sample, showing highest loadings on the second attitudinal

factor (see Table 30), appear to be measuring perceptions about the survival of the Irish language and its dependence on the core Irish-speaking areas of the Gaeltacht. Comparatively, the two single items which load on Factor 2 in the Galician sample would seem to be measuring perceptions about traits associated with Galician speakers.

5.4.3.1. Perceptions about the Vitality of the Language

The first attitudinal theme which emerged from a factor analysis of attitudinal items contained within the PML Scale was labelled ‘Perceptions about the vitality of the language’. This attitudinal grouping comprises four statements all of which measure respondents’ own perceptions as well as their view of societal perceptions of the minority language.

An analysis of student ratings of the attitudinal items listed in Table 31 clearly shows more negative evaluations of both the Irish and Galician languages. These data indicate, for example, that respondents within both Irish and Galician sociolinguistic contexts perceive government intervention in minority language issues as a failure. This perception contrasts with the more favourable views towards ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Language’ factor discussed in section 5.4.2.1. and specifically with the strongly held view amongst respondents that the government *should* continue to support the minority language. Responses to the statements listed in Table 31 would seem to indicate that the explicit desire to maintain their respective minority languages (see section 5.4.2.1.) and the well-established link between these languages and a sense of group identity (see section 5.4.2.2.), seem to be accompanied by a fatalistic attitude towards the future survival of these languages.

TABLE 31 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Items 7, 10, 13, 14

		+					-	
		5	4	3	2	1		
7.	The measures adopted by the government to promote the use of Irish were a failure	3	11	13	37	36		
	As políticas lingüísticas promovidas dende o goberno da Xunta foron un fracaso na promoción e na recuperación social do galego	5	14	23	36	22		
10.	Most people just don't care one way or the other about Irish	8	23	4	38	27		
	A maioría da población de Galicia non está interesada no galego	15	41	7	34	3		
13.	Most people view all things associated with Irish as too old-fashioned	14	26	7	41	12		
	Para a maioría da xente as cousas relacionadas co galego están pasadas de moda	18	31	10	35	6		
14.	The Irish language is dying out	3	11	2	44	40		
	O galego é unha lingua en extinción	9	27	3	47	14		

The low ratings for item 14 point to negative perceptions about the future survival of each language with the majority of respondents expressing serious doubts about the eventual survival of their respective minority languages (Table 31). Such negative ratings reflect Irish (84%) and Galician students' (61%) agreement that 'The Irish language is dying out'/ 'O galego é unha lingua en extinción'. Therefore, despite optimism expressed by Galician respondents that the language would one day become the 'normal' language of all societal domains in Galicia (see section 5.4.2.1.), these young Galicians seem acutely aware of the very real threat facing the future of the language.

In the case of Irish students, a low rating for item 10 indicates agreement with the statement that 'Most people just don't care one way or the other about Irish'. Again, this perception contrasts with the very high level of support for the language

expressed by students themselves in response to other attitudinal statements included in the questionnaire (see section 5.4.2.1.). These apparently conflicting levels of meaning within Irish students' attitudinal-system point to low levels of perceived group solidarity and as shown in items 10, reflect a fatalistic attitude regarding their own ability to bring about change in the Irish language question. This finding is confirmed in students' responses to a separate question about how they would rate the general attitude of other students towards the Irish language (see Irish frequency tables Appendix B). Approximately one-quarter of the Irish student sample were of the opinion that other students 'don't care' about Irish (Q.69). Almost half were unable to explicitly define other students' attitudes towards the language (Q.68), perhaps indicative of the lack of debate surrounding Irish language issues amongst these age groups. The fact that Irish respondents feel that their level of personal interest in the language is not shared by others around them, greatly reduces the possibility of mobilising collective action which might bring about change for the language across all members of society.

In contrast, the distribution of positive ratings for this item is higher in the case of Galician students given that the majority (56%) disagree that 'A maioría da poboación en Galicia non está interesada no galego' (score 4 and 5). However, this majority is by no means an overwhelming one and contrasts sharply with the very high levels of personal support for the language which was expressed by students themselves in response to other attitudinal statements (see section 5.4.2.1.).

Negative perceptions about these minority languages are also highlighted in students' ratings of item 13. The high percentage of negative ratings for this item amongst Irish students reflects the predominant belief that 'Most people view all things associated with Irish as too old-fashioned'. As in the Irish context, where the majority of students (53%) appear to have internalised an image of the Irish language as old-fashioned and lacking prestige, such an image would also seem to be to some extent associated with the Galician language. Galician responses to this item point to a lower incidence of negative perceptions about the language than in the case of Irish responses. However, despite the explicit recognition amongst Galician respondents

of the suitability of Galician for the modern world (see item 1 in section 5.4.2.1.), some of the former stigmas associated with the language continue to exist and are brought to light through the more implicit questioning of respondents about the way others around them view the language.

From an examination of the four items in Table 31, it can therefore be said that although Irish and Galician respondents are both personally and ideologically committed to the continued survival of their respective minority languages, many of them seem to be under the impression that this support is not shared by others and that these languages are perceived by the rest of society as backward and old-fashioned.

Despite the grouping of conceptually interpretable attitudinal items within this attitudinal factor, a Cronbach alpha of 0.5449 in the Irish and 0.6096 in the Galician sample found this attitudinal dimension to be weaker than the two dimensions 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Language' and 'Language and Identity' contained within the AML Scale (see section 5.4.2.). Therefore, although in Chapter 7 items 7, 10, 13 and 14 are discussed under the general themes in which they were grouped factorially, the reader is reminded of the more tentative nature of these groupings within the overall attitudinal-system of Irish and Galician student attitudes.

5.4.3.2. Perceptions about the Future of the Language and its Speakers

Although the remaining items identified through factor analysis are looked at under the general heading of 'Perceptions about the future of the language and its speakers', as in the case of the previous set of items, statistically items 4, 9, 23 and 24 combine only weakly, showing alpha values of 0.4 or less and thus well below the generally accepted 0.7 value which is required for the grouping to be considered a measure of an underlying concept or dimension.

Despite attempts during the design phase of the questionnaire to find cultural equivalents for these attitudinal items to allow for cross-national comparison, the items contained within this ‘dimension’ nonetheless differed across Irish and Galician samples. This, then, clearly points to the culturally specific facets of meaning contained within these items across the Irish and Galician sociolinguistic contexts. In the Irish sample, factor analysis grouped together the following three items:

- 4. If the Gaeltacht dies out, Irish will die out also
- 9. If nothing is done to prevent it, language will disappear over the next fifty years
- 24. The Irish spoken in the Gaeltacht is the real Irish

Although statistically, this grouping was found to be weak (Cronbach’s alpha = 0.4530), the conceptual grouping of these items is nonetheless interesting and worthy of some discussion. The common thread which appears to be linking these three attitudinal items is the link between the future of the Irish language and the continued existence of the Gaeltacht.

The low ratings awarded to item 4 are indicative of the fact that the majority of respondents within the Irish student sample agree that if the Gaeltacht dies out, the language will die out also (see Table 32). While such agreement does not point to explicitly unfavourable views about the Irish language, the fact that respondents believe that the future of the language depends on the survival of these Irish-speaking areas removes their own personal responsibility to actively maintain the language themselves.

TABLE 32 Percentage Distribution of Respondents’ Ratings for Items 4, 9, 24

	+					-				
	5	4	3	2	1	5	4	3	2	1
4. If the Gaeltacht dies out, Irish will die out also	6	12	4	35	43					
9. If nothing is done to prevent it, language will disappear over the next fifty years	4	13	7	33	43					
24. The Irish spoken in the Gaeltacht is the real Irish	7	16	19	30	28					

The negative ratings for item 24 ‘The Irish spoken in the Gaeltacht is the real Irish’ are indicative of the high proportion of respondents agreeing with this attitudinal statement. Like item 4, agreement with this statement does not reveal explicitly negative attitudes towards the Irish language. However, it could be interpreted as an implicit lack of confidence in the way respondents themselves speak Irish or a withdrawal tactic which frees them from personal responsibility for the revival of the language.

The two items listed below, grouped together in the Galician sample, point to a somewhat different ‘dimension’ of meaning:

23. A xente nova nas zonas urbanas que fala galego adoita ser máis nacionalista

24. O galego das aldeas é o galego autentico

The common link between these two statements would appear to be one in which perceptions amongst young Galicians about Galician speakers in a contemporary context are measured, as well as their reactions to the changing profile of these speakers. Negative ratings for the statement presented in item 23 are indicative of the fact that young Galicians living in an urban area and who use the Galician language tend to be considered strongly nationalistic (Table 33). Therefore, for the majority of these students speaking Galician constitutes a form of marked behaviour, associated with nationalist ideologies. The implications of this finding will be taken up again in Chapter 7. Negative ratings for item 24 reflect the high proportion of respondents (51%) who consider ‘real’ Galician to be that which is spoken in most remote parts of Galicia. This indicates the strength of the belief among these respondents that their own more standardised Galician is not the ‘real’ Galician (score 1 and 2).

TABLE 33 Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Ratings for Items 23, 24

	+					-
	5	4	3	2	1	
23. A xente nova nas zonas urbanas que fala galego adoita ser máis nacionalista	4	13	11	44	28	
24. O galego das aldeas é o galego autentico	10	29	10	30	21	

Even though the grouping of these attitudinal items has some level of conceptual validity, Cronbach alpha values of the sub-scales from this factor are low (0.4530 and 0.3858 for Irish and Galician samples respectively). Statistically, such scores are not sufficiently high to allow for the grouping of these items be treated as a measure of some underlying attitudinal dimension or set of meaning. Therefore, although in the discussion of results in Chapter 7 this set of items is looked at under the general themes in which they were grouped factorially, attitudinal items will be discussed individually as opposed to composite scale scores.

5.4.4. Attitudes towards Language Use

Many of the items relating to perceptions about the minority language and its speakers provide certain insights into the social norms which are possibly at work and influential in determining use or non-use of the minority language. It was hypothesised that the perception amongst both Irish and Galician students that their respective minority languages were ‘old-fashioned’ may be important deterrents in the conversion of generally strong levels of personal and ideological support for these languages into language use. Similarly, the widely-held association made by Galician respondents between speaking Galician and nationalism introduces a social norm governing the use of Galician in certain social contexts.

A number of more general statements were also included in the questionnaire. These assessed attitudes towards the more behavioural intention component of language attitudes whereby respondents were asked about the degree to which they would use

or would be willing to use the minority language in interpersonal interaction. Of the seven similarly worded statements included in Irish and Galician questionnaires used to measure attitudes towards the use of the minority language in interpersonal use, Cronbach's alpha test for internal reliability found four of these items to have item-correlation values of lower than 0.3 (the cut-off level for items to be considered part of a scale) and were therefore dropped from the final scale. The remaining three similarly-worded statements from the Irish and Galician samples are listed in Table 34 below with their corresponding factor loading.

TABLE 34 Factor Loadings for Irish and Galician Items Measuring Attitudes towards Interpersonal Use in Sorted, Rotated Factor Matrix by Attitudinal Variable

Attitudinal Variables	Irish	Galician
I am committed to using Irish as much as I can	.791	.791
Uso galego sempre que podo		
I wish I could use Irish more often	.654	.737
Ogallá pudiera utiliza-lo galego máis a miúdo		
I like to begin a conversation in Irish	.750	.799
Gústame comezar unha conversa en galego		

Again however, as in the case of items relating to perceptions about each minority language and its future (see section 5.4.3) although a factor analysis of items relating to attitudes towards interpersonal use of Irish and Galician identified a possible dimension of meaning underlying these attitudinal items, a Cronbach alpha of 0.5449 in the Irish and 0.6096 in the Galician sample showed this dimension to be weak. Therefore, although these items will be discussed under the general themes in which they were grouped factorially, the reader is again reminded of the more tentative nature of these groupings within the overall attitudinal-system of Irish and Galician student attitudes.

The three items listed in Table 35 express respondents' feelings about use of the minority language in interpersonal interaction. In difference to items discussed within previous dimensions which were measured on a scale of 1 to 5, items used to

measure attitudes towards language use range from a value of 1, indicative of negative attitudes towards language use to 3, which is indicative of most favourable attitudes.

An examination of responses to the three attitudinal items listed in Table 35 shows generally more negative ratings of the behavioural component of language attitudes towards Irish and Galician amongst the students queried in the current study.

TABLE 35 Percentage Distribution for Respondents' Ratings of Interpersonal Use of the Minority Language

		+			-		
		3			2		
		1					
Attitudinal Variables							
A	I am committed to using Irish as much as I can	23	6	71			
	Uso galego sempre que podo	36	1	63			
B	I wish I could use Irish more often	64	6	30			
	Ogallá pudiera utiliza-lo galego máis a miúdo	55	4	41			
C	I like to begin a conversation in Irish	17	6	77			
	Gústame comezar unha conversa en galego	32	5	63			

Low attitudinal ratings for item A indicates that the majority of Irish (71%) and Galician respondents (63%) are not strongly committed to active use of their respective minority language. Similarly, in response to the third attitudinal statement 'I like to begin a conversation in Irish/Galician', the low ratings displayed by the majority of Irish (77%) and Galician respondents (63%) indicate their agreement with the statements that 'I like to begin a conversation in Irish'/ 'Gústame comezar unha conversa en galego'. However, despite less favourable attitudes towards interpersonal use of the language, the majority of Irish and Galician students agree with the statement that 'I wish I could use Irish more often'/ 'Ogallá pudiera utiliza-lo galego máis a miúdo'. Therefore, here again we can detect a mismatch between an expressed will to use the language and real commitment to concrete action which would lead to changes in students' language behaviours. It might be hypothesised that the reluctance expressed by Irish respondents to use the minority language is as much to do with lower levels of linguistic competence in the language as with

explicitly negative attitudes towards it. This would seem especially relevant in the Irish context where as many as 42% of Irish students report 'low' levels of spoken ability in the minority language. However, given students' high level of expressed good-will towards Irish and Galician, there is potential for increasing the *supply* of initiatives to learn these languages and for opportunities to put language skills into practice in line with the clearly positive *demands* expressed by Irish and Galician students for increased language use (see Grin and Vaillancourt 1999).

5.5. Conclusions

A preliminary analysis of the Irish and Galician data sets revealed that the majority of students favoured measures which would increase the presence of the Irish and Galician languages within their respective societies. Preliminary results also highlighted support amongst students for the transmission of these languages to the next generation. Both Irish and Galician students also expressed favourable attitudes towards their respective languages as symbols of identity. At the same time, however, these positive attitudes seemed to be accompanied by a general sense of pessimism amongst students about the future of the Irish and Galician languages as well as underlying negative views about the relevance of the language in the modern world. To further explore these apparently conflicting views about each of these minority languages, the relationship between responses to different attitudinal statements and questions was analysed statistically through factor analysis.

Through factor analysis techniques, different dimensions of meaning were identified from the pool of attitudinal items and questions used in the study. Of these factorial groupings, two clear attitudinal dimensions were replicated in Irish and Galician samples in factor structure and in factor loadings of individual items. The first of these was labelled 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language' reflecting the conceptual content of this attitudinal dimension. When understood in this way, almost one-fifth of Irish students were found to display positive supportive attitudes towards the Irish language, about one-third held explicitly negative attitudes, and the remaining less than fifty per cent had a more neutral attitude

towards the language. Comparatively, the majority of Galician students held favourable attitudes towards the Galician language when understood within the first attitudinal dimension, and less than five per cent expressed explicitly negative views about the language.

The second attitudinal dimension was labelled 'Language and Identity' and combined attitudinal statements which were used to measure the degree to which the minority language was viewed as a symbol of ethnic or group identity. When understood in this way, almost forty per cent of Irish students expressed favourable attitudes towards the Irish language, one-fifth held a more neutral position towards the language and the remaining thirty per cent were found to have clearly negative attitudes. In the case of Galician students, over three-quarters expressed favourable attitudes towards the 'Language and Identity' dimension, one-fifth took a more neutral stance towards the language, and approximately one-tenth of Galician respondents displayed a negative attitude.

Two attitudinal groupings were also identified from a scale containing items relating to perceptions about each minority language, its speakers and its future. One further grouping was identified from a scale containing items which measured attitudes towards interpersonal language use. However, these three latter groupings showed less strength (hence their labelling as 'attitudinal grouping' as opposed to dimensions) and less clear replication across Irish and Galician samples. Consequently, attitudes towards the items within these groups are treated on the basis of individual item responses rather than as composite index scores. As a result of the weaker validity of these three attitudinal groupings, their use is limited to descriptive statistics and have therefore been dropped from subsequent explicative analyses in Chapter 6. Only the first two dimensions or factors ('Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language' and 'Language and Identity') will be used in these analyses. These two factors were subsequently used as dependent variables in tests for the analyses of variance (usually referred to as ANOVA) with independent variables. A dependent variable is the presumed effect in the study, so-called because it 'depends' on another variable. An independent variable is the presumed cause in

the study, i.e. a change in one variable, such as place of origin, age, sex, identity etc., produces a change in a second variable. As pointed out in Chapter 2, ANOVA tests are used to assess the statistical significance of the relationship(s) between the dependent and independent variables (see Chapter 6).

As was shown in sections 5.4.2.1 and 5.4.2.2., in assessing the distribution of respondents on these two attitudinal factors or dimensions, a composite score which was formed by summing responses to individual items within each factor was used. However, in subsequent analyses of variance, factor scores were found to have had a greater ability to differentiate between individuals with differing levels of support for the language than could have been done through composite index scores. On this basis, subsequent analysis proceeded using factor scores instead of composite scores. Factor scores (also referred to as component scores) were computed for each factor by taking the case's standardised scores on each variable, multiplying it by the corresponding factor loading of the variable for the given factor and summing the products.

Using the factor coefficients for each of the original items generated by the Varimax rotation, in the next phase of the analysis the original attitudinal data were therefore reduced to factor scores on each of the two core factors or dimensions identified from Irish and Galician responses. The outcome of the completed factor analysis is a set of scores on two factors instead of on 15 individual items. The 12,255 Irish cases (817 respondents \times 15 items) and 10,875 Galician cases (725 respondents \times 15 items) are maintained, but in this form the data are rendered more comprehensible and more manageable. Important also is the fact that in the form of standardised factor scores, the data are transformed from an ordinal scale of measurement to a continuous scale and thus rendered suitable for analysis of variance or ANOVA techniques. These were used to test the statistical significance of the relationship(s) between dependent and independent variables. The findings of these ANOVA tests will be discussed in the following chapter.

**CHAPTER 6 - THE EFFECT OF SOCIO-
DEMOGRAPHIC AND LINGUISTIC VARIABLES ON
LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF IRISH AND GALICIAN
STUDENTS**

6. Overview

This chapter reports on the different factors which are influencing language attitudes amongst Irish and Galician students queried in this research. The results of a series of ANOVA tests which were used to examine the statistical significance of these findings are reported here. The chapter concludes with a summary of the different factors which were found to be most predictive of language attitudes in the two language cases. The theoretical significance of these findings will be discussed in Chapter 7.

6.1. Introduction

The focus thus far in the analysis of results has been primarily on a description of the type and pattern of language attitudes amongst the Irish and Galician student populations under investigation. Chapter 5 reported on frequencies of responses to attitudinal items amongst Irish and Galician informants and in doing so summarised the level of support for these two minority languages amongst 18- to 24-year-old students within two university institutions.

In Chapter 5, using factor analysis we also identified core attitudinal dimensions of meaning in the response patterns of 1542 (817 Irish and 725 Galician) informants to a variety of questions and statements related to the two minority languages under investigation. The first of these dimensions related to the support amongst these informants for the societal presence of their respective minority languages (Irish and Galician) and was given the label, 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language'. The second attitudinal dimension measures the relationship between language and identity and was subsequently labelled 'Language and Identity'. Using the factor coefficients for each of the original items generated by the Varimax rotation (see Chapter 5), the original attitudinal data were therefore reduced to two factor scores.

The main aim of this chapter is to identify the variables which explain differences in the response patterns within the Irish and Galician student samples along these two attitudinal dimensions or factor scores. This involves splitting each sample into sub-groups and assessing the degree to which the ratings of Irish and Galician students' respective minority language cases (measured through mean scores) differ within and between sub-sectors of individual samples. As pointed out in Chapter 2, Analysis of Variance (usually referred to as ANOVA) is a statistical test which can be used to compare these mean scores. ANOVA tests ask whether the mean scores on a variable differ significantly from one group to another, taking into account variation within groups as well as between groups.

6.1.1. Background Variables

The sub-divisions identified within the Irish and Galician samples were based on a number of differentiating social, demographic and linguistic characteristics within each student group. Previous research (including research on the Irish and Galician language cases) has shown these background variables to be related to the origin of language attitudes (see Baker 1992). Social and demographic variables included place of origin, sex, political ideology (defined as support for a political party), age, social class (as perceived by the respondent), education and occupation of parents, career path (defined in terms of general academic discipline being pursued by respondent) and ethnicity (defined as identification with an ethnic or national collective).

Background linguistic variables included respondents' reported ability to understand, speak, read and write in the minority language as well as comparisons with their perceived linguistic competence in the majority language (English in the Irish and Castilian in the Galician context). The effects of the home and school, the two key socialisation agents in shaping the linguistic *habitus* (Bourdieu 1991) of individual students were also tested. The influence of the home, as the primary socialisation agent, was tested through an analysis of reported use of the minority language by parents as well as perceptions about parents' attitudes towards it. Respondents were also asked to report on their 'initial' language, defined as the language in which they first learned to speak. The influence of schooling as the key secondary socialisation agent during the formative years in the lives of Irish and Galician respondents was measured by the extent to which the minority language formed part of the school curriculum. An additional variable was used to test if attitudinal differences occurred according to where the language was first learned, differentiating between home and school transmission.

The following sections summarise the findings of one-, two-, three- and four-way analyses of variance which were used to test the effect of these socio-demographic and linguistic variables on students' ratings of the 'Support for Societal Presence of

the Minority Language' and 'Language and Identity' attitudinal dimensions. The symbols and values used in the expression of results are outlined in Appendix D. Because Irish and Galician samples showed quite different results, they will be presented separately. The main purpose of this chapter is to present these findings. The theoretical implications of these results will be taken up and discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

6.2. An Analysis of the Galician Student Sample

6.2.1. The Effect of Socio-demographic and Other Background Variables on 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language' Dimension

A number of one-way analyses of variance were conducted to explore the impact of a set of independent socio-demographic and other background variables (see section 6.1.1.) on Galician students' ratings of the first attitudinal dimension, 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language'. Five of these independent variables (see Table 36) showed a statistically significant effect on Galician students' attitudinal ratings. These variables include *Social Class* (as defined by respondent), *Place of Origin*, *School Type*, *Career Path*, *Political Ideology* and *Ethnicity*. Other variables such as *Gender*, *Age*, *Occupational Status of Parents* and *Educational Background of Parents* were not found to have a statistically significant effect on Galician students' ratings of the first attitudinal dimension.

TABLE 36 One-way ANOVA, Factor 1 on Socio-demographic and Background Variables

Variable	Sum of Squares	Degrees of freedom	F	Probability	Eta Squared
Social Class	4.767	2	7.330	.001	.020
Place of Origin	7.697	3	7.892	.000	.031
School Type	8.454	1	26.161	.000	.035
Career Path	7.384	3	7.825	.000	.031
Political Ideology	29.345	3	33.162	.000	.121
Ethnicity	53.514	3	68.328	.000	.223

In the case of the first four variables, *Social Class*, *Place of Origin*, *School Type* and *Career Path* (see Appendix D for full SPSS statistical output), despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between groups was quite small. As can be seen from Table 36, the effect size, calculated using eta squared, was in all four cases less than .05. Using the commonly used guidelines proposed by Cohen (1988), these results suggest small effect sizes.

Political Ideology and *Ethnicity* showed higher eta squared values and can therefore be taken as more important factors in determining the level of support for the Galician language amongst Vigo students. These two background variables are discussed in more detail below.

6.2.1.1. Political Ideology

Political Ideology, which was defined as the political party which the respondent most strongly supported, had four possible values, *Bloque Nacionalista Galego* (BNG), *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE), *Partido Popular* (PP) and finally a sub-group which claimed no political ideology (NA). As equal variance was not assumed in this variable ($F(3, 719) = 34.282, p = .000$), the significance value was set at .01 instead of .05. A Games-Howell post hoc test revealed that *BNG* supporters rated the ‘Support for Societal Presence of the Minority Language’

attitudinal dimension higher than all other groups ($p = .000$) who did not differ significantly from each other. The more positive attitudinal ratings of *BNG* voters compared with all other sub-groups can be seen more clearly in Table 37.

TABLE 37 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Political Ideology* on Factor 1

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
PSOE	2.87	.655	108
PP	2.56	.772	60
BNG	3.24	.311	220
None	2.88	.573	335

6.2.1.2. Ethnicity

Of the variables tested in this study, *Ethnicity* displayed the largest effect ($\eta^2 = .223$) on Vigo students' ratings of the first attitudinal dimension ('Support for Societal Presence of the Minority Language'). This variable was defined by the way in which respondents classified themselves as part of a larger ethnic or national collective and had four possible values, 'Galego' (*Galician*) 'Galego e Español' (*Galician and Spanish*) 'Español' (*Spanish*) and 'Europeo' (*European*).

Because Levene's test indicated that the assumption of homogeneity of variance had been violated ($F(3, 715) = 75.528, p = .000$), significance levels were set at the more stringent level of .01. Games-Howell post hoc tests showed that those who defined themselves as *Galician* gave significantly ($p = .000$) more positive ratings to this attitudinal dimension than those who defined themselves as *Galician and Spanish* or *Spanish*. However, those who define themselves as *European*, constituting a small minority of the student sample, did not differ significantly from any of the other three sub-groups (see Table 38).

TABLE 38 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Ethnicity* on Factor 1

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
Galician	3.23	.291	238
Both	2.96	.471	355
Spanish	2.38	.886	106
European	2.87	.540	20

6.2.2. The Effect of Linguistic Variables on ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ Dimension

The main background linguistic variables influencing variation in Galician student rating of the first attitudinal dimension (‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’) are summarised in Table 39:

TABLE 39 One-way ANOVA, Factor 1 on Linguistic Variables

VARIABLES	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	F	P	Eta Squared
Linguistic Competence					
Ability to write	3.303	2	4.840	.008	.013
Ability to read	3.523	2	5.530	.001	.014
Ability to speak	5.975	2	9.134	.000	.024
Ability to understand	8.029	1	24.801	.000	.033
Language spoken better	13.032	2	20.540	.000	.054
Galician at School					
Primary-level	6.492	3	6.622	.000	.026
Second-level	5.448	2	8.315	.000	.022
Domain of acquisition					
Home versus school	13.973	2	22.057	.000	.058
Parental attitudes and use					
Use of Galician by parents	15.750	4	12.583	.000	.066
Attitudes of parents	17.908	1	57.762	.000	.074
Linguistic Repertoire					
Initial Language	13.328	2	21.033	.000	.055
Habitual language	39.338	4	34.944	.000	.163

As can be seen from Table 39, despite reaching statistical significance (see Appendix D for more detailed results of statistical tests) the correspondingly low eta squared values ($<.05$) for the majority of linguistic variables indicate less significance on a practical and theoretical level. *Habitual Language* shows the strongest effect (eta squared = .163) on Galician students' attitudinal ratings (see Table 40). This variable is defined as respondents' reported regular use of Galician with five possible values, *Galician Only*, *More Galician*, *Both equally*, *More Castilian* and *Castilian Only*. A Games-Howell post hoc test was used to determine where differences in responses lay. It was found that those reporting the use of *Castilian Only* or *More Castilian* had significantly ($p < .01$) less favourable attitudes towards the societal presence of Galician than those reporting monolingual (*Galician Only*), 'predominantly' Galician (*More Galician*) or bilingual (*Both*) linguistic practices. These three latter groups were not found to differ significantly from each other. However, those reporting *More Castilian* had significantly higher ratings than the *Castilian Only* sub-group ($p < .01$).

TABLE 40 Mean Scores for the Effect of Reported Habitual Language on Factor 1

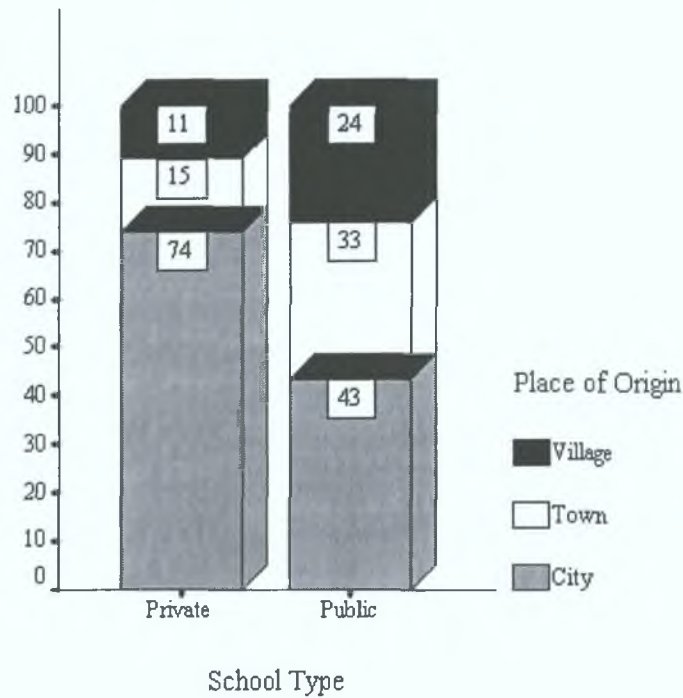
	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
Galician Only	3.33	.35	45
More Galician	3.25	.36	44
Both	3.18	.30	87
More Castilian	3.02	.53	353
Castilian Only	2.61	.66	194

6.2.3. Variation in Galician Student Ratings of 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language' Dimension: Towards an Explicative Model

Despite the fact that many of the individual background socio-demographic and linguistic variables tested in this study were found to be statistically significant, in a good number of cases, an analysis of mean scores across different sub-groups of the Galician student sample showed such differences to be of little practical significance.

Respondents, for example, who had attended publicly-run schools were found to have somewhat more positive attitudes towards Galician ($M = 3.04$) than those who had attended privately-run schools ($M = 2.82$), pointing to a .22 percentage difference in student attitudes across these two sub-groups. Similarly, the intensity of the Galician language programme during respondents' school years had only a small effect on attitudinal dispositions towards the language. The small practical differences between various sub-groups of the Galician study sample may reflect the homogeneity of attitudes within the Vigo student population as a whole. However, the fact that many of the variables which were tested in the study were strongly related to each other might also account for their low explanatory power. This point can be illustrated in the case of *School Type* attended by respondents which was found to be strongly related to many of the other background variables tested in the study, variables which in turn were also found to have an effect on language attitudes. These variables include *Place of Origin*, *Intensity of Galician Programme at School*, the *Domain of Acquisition of Galician* (home or school), *Parental Use of Galician* and *Parental Attitudes* towards it. *School Type* attended by Vigo students was for example found to be strongly related to respondents' *Place of Origin* ($\chi^2 = 63.974$; $p = .000$). As can be seen in Figure 2, almost three-quarters (74%) of students who had attended a privately-run school in Galicia had grown up in one of Galicia's main cities, compared with just over one-tenth who were from a Galician village. Comparatively, less than half (43%) of those who attended a public school had grown up in one of Galicia's main cities and almost one-quarter (25%) were from a more rural background.

FIGURE 2 The Relationship between *School Type* and *Place of Origin*



An analysis of what can be considered more ‘minor’ variables in terms of their ability to account for variation in Galician students’ attitudes, therefore, provides interesting insights into the complex set of interrelated factors which seem to be indirectly influencing these attitudes. A more detailed discussion of these factors will be taken up again in Chapter 7.

The more ‘major’ predictive variables identified thus far in our analysis of results include *Ethnicity*, *Political Ideology* and *Habitual Language*. A three-way ANOVA (Table 41) was conducted to explore the combined effect of these three variables on Galician students’ ratings of the first attitudinal dimension (‘Support for the societal presence of the minority language’). Because the number of Galician students defining themselves as *European* was too small to allow for further statistical analysis, this category was re-coded as *Spanish*. Although this leads to a slight skewing of the data, the general pattern holds. Similarly, *Habitual Language* was

reduced to three categories. The first three (*Galician*, *More Galician than Castilian* and *Both Equally*) categories were combined and relabelled *Galician*. This three-way analysis of variance of these three variables was found to explain 40% of the variance in Galician students' attitudes as measured by the first attitudinal dimension. The addition of other variables does not lead to any further increase in the percentage of variance which can be explained.

TABLE 41 Three-Way ANOVA, Factor 1 on *Ethnicity*, *Political Ideology* and *Habitual Language*.

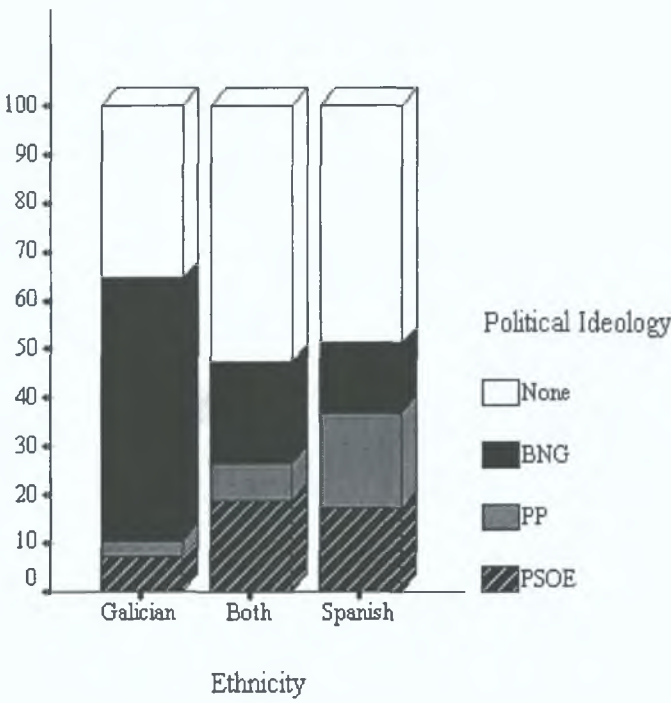
VARIABLE	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	F	Probability
Ethnicity (E)	6.970	2	16.775	.000
Political Ideology (I)	7.957	3	12.767	.000
Habitual Language (H)	8.591	2	20.676	.000
E × I	4.709	6	3.777	.001
E × H	3.896	4	4.688	.001

Table 41 above, shows that there is a significant main effect for all three independent variables ($p = .000$). As was discussed in previous one-way analyses of these background variables, the main effect for *Ethnicity* means that students who defined themselves as *Galician* displayed significantly more favourable ratings of 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language' attitudinal dimension than those who defined themselves as *Both* (Galician and Spanish) or *Spanish*. In the case of the *Political Ideology* variable, *BNG* supporters displayed significantly more favourable attitudes towards the Galician language than students who supported any other political party. Finally, respondents who reported *Galician* (*Galician*, *More Galician* and *Both*) as their *Habitual Language* showed significantly more positive attitudinal ratings than those reporting the predominant (*More Castilian than Galician*) or exclusive use of Castilian.

These three independent variables were also found to be strongly related to each other. From Figure 3 we can see that those who define themselves as *Galician*, for instance, were twice as likely to support the Galician Nationalist Party (*BNG*) than

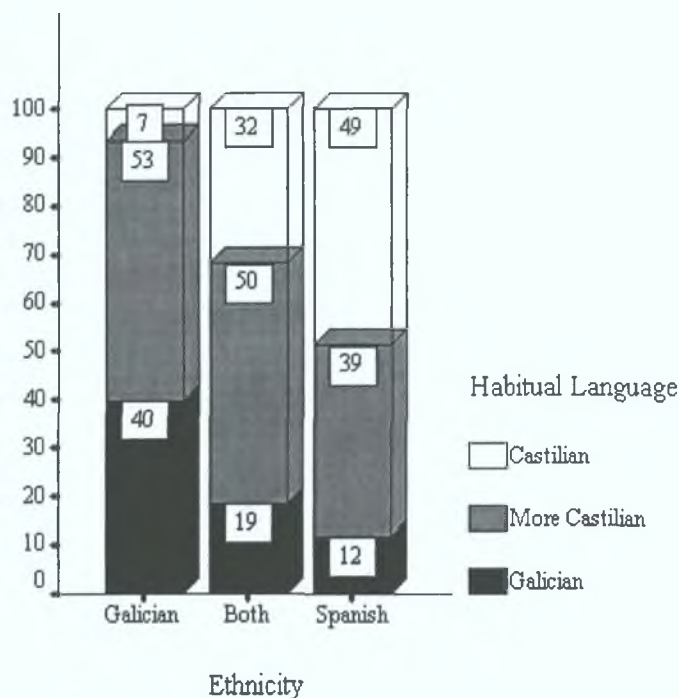
those who define themselves as *Both* (Galician and Spanish) or those who define themselves as *Spanish* ($\chi^2 = 114.715$; $p = .000$).

FIGURE 3 The Relationship between *Ethnicity* and *Political Ideology*



Chi-square tests also confirm a very strong relationship between *Habitual Language* and *Ethnicity* ($\chi^2 = 101.665$; $p = .000$) and to a smaller extent between *Habitual Language* and *Political Ideology* ($\chi^2 = 38.945$; $p = .000$). As can be seen in Figure 4, while only 12% of those who define themselves as *Spanish* report the use of *Galician*, this increases to 40% in the case of respondents who define their ethnicity as *Galician*. Monolingualism in Castilian is lowest (7%) amongst students who define themselves as *Galician*, increasing to 49% in the case of respondents who define their ethnic identity as *Spanish*.

FIGURE 4 The Relationship between *Ethnicity* and *Habitual Language*



As well as being strongly related to each other, there is also a significant interaction effect ($p = .000$) between *Ethnicity* and *Political Ideology* ($E \times P$) and *Ethnicity* and *Habitual Language* ($E \times H$) in their effects on Galician students' ratings of the first attitudinal dimension (see Table 41 above). An interaction effect is understood as the joint combined effect of two or more independent variables (e.g. *Ethnicity* and *Political Ideology*) on a dependent variable (in this case, *language attitudes*). Interaction effects occur when the relationship between two variables differs depending on the value of another variable. Mean scores which are given in Table 42 were looked at to find out what that relationship was.

TABLE 42 Mean Scores for Ethnicity × Political Ideology Interaction Effect, Factor 1

<i>Political Ideology</i>	<u><i>Ethnicity as defined by Galician respondents</i></u>		
	Galician	Both	Spanish
BNG	3.29	3.11	3.24
PSOE	3.20	2.93	2.43
PP	3.45	2.81	2.07
NONE	3.12	2.91	2.40

Looking down the columns in Table 42 above, an examination of mean scores reveals that in general (and as one might expect), as a group, respondents who define their *Ethnicity* in terms of a *Galician* collective identity, display highest levels of support for the Galician language irrespective of their *Political Ideology*. Although there were slight differences across mean scores within the *Galician* sub-group according to their *Political Ideology*, these differences were not statistically significant. The one exception to this trend was to be found amongst respondents who claimed no political ideology ($M = 3.12$), who were shown to have significantly ($p = .001$) less positive attitudes than *BNG* supporters ($M = 3.29$). Respondents who define their ethnic identity as *Both* (Galician and Spanish) (the second column in Table 42), follow a similar pattern.

However, in the sub-group of respondents who define their ethnic identity as *Spanish* (the final column in the Table 42), political allegiance plays a much more important distinguishing role in terms of language attitudes. Within this sub-group, a Games-Howell post hoc test reveals that *BNG* supporters tend to be significantly more supportive of the societal presence of the Galician language than respondents who support the centre-right politics of the Partido Popular (*PP*) ($p = .000$), or those claiming no political ideology ($p = .002$). However, *BNG* supporters show no significant differences from those who support the more centre-left ideologies of the *PSOE*. Overall, the most negative ratings of the ‘Support for the Societal Presence of Language’ dimension were given by students who supported the *PP* or who expressed no political ideology and who defined themselves as *Spanish*.

An examination of mean scores for *Ethnicity* × *Habitual Language* (Table 43), shows that those who define themselves as *Galician* and who report a predominantly *Galician* linguistic repertoire (first column in Table 43) tend to display most positive ratings of the first attitudinal dimension ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ (M = 3.28). As might be expected, the sub-group expressing less positive attitudinal ratings of the Galician language define themselves as *Spanish* and report monolingual behaviour in *Castilian* (M = 2.30).

TABLE 43 Mean Scores for Ethnicity × Habitual Language Interaction Effect on Factor 1

Ethnicity	Reported Habitual Language		
	Galician	More Castilian	Castilian
Galician	3.28	3.21	3.04
Both	3.16	3.03	2.71
Spanish	3.15	2.44	2.30

As can be seen from the table, the effect of *Ethnicity* is, however, most marked amongst those who report a predominantly Castilian (*More Castilian*) repertoire but with some Galician (second column in Table 43). There is a .77 difference in positive attitudinal ratings between those who define themselves as *Spanish* (M = 2.44) and those who define themselves as *Galician* (M = 3.21). Moreover, differences between these sub-groups were found to be statistically significant (p = .000). Comparatively, amongst those whose *Habitual Language* was Galician (first column in Table 43), there was no practical nor statistical difference across attitudes on the basis of *Ethnicity* (.13 difference between those who define themselves as *Galician* and those who define themselves as *Spanish*).

6.2.3.1. Summary of Results

The main factors influencing variation in attitudes towards ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ (Factor 1), amongst Galician students are as follows:

- (i) *Ethnicity*: The more closely respondents identified with a Galician national identity the more supportive they were of the Galician language. A small minority of students who defined themselves as European was not found to be significantly different from any other group.
- (ii) *Political Ideology*: Respondents who supported the Galician Nationalist Party (*BNG*) were significantly more supportive of Galician than those who supported Galician branches of Spain's two main political parties – *PP* or *PSOE*. The attitudes of *BNG* supporters were also found to be significantly more favourable towards Galician than those who did not support any political party.
- (iii) *Habitual language*: Students reporting more intensive use of Galician as part of their linguistic repertoire were significantly more supportive of the language than those reporting predominantly Castilian usage with only some Galician and those reporting monolingual use of Castilian. Significantly, however, students reporting predominantly Castilian linguistic practices but with some Galician were found to be more favourable towards Galician than those reporting monolingual behaviour in Castilian.
- (iv) Other factors were significantly related but their correspondingly low eta squared values indicate that differences in attitudes as between different categories of respondents within these variables are smaller in practical terms.
 - (a) *Social Class*: Students who defined their social class background as *Upper Class* had significantly less positive ratings of the first attitudinal dimension than students who defined their class background as *Middle* or *Working Class*, who did not differ significantly from each other.
 - (b) *Place of Origin*: Those brought up outside of Galicia (who constituted a small minority of the student sample) were found to have significantly

less favourable attitudes towards the language than those from a rural Galician background. No significant differences were found between students from urban or rural Galician backgrounds.

- (c) *School Type*: Respondents who had attended a public school during their primary and second-level education tended to be somewhat more supportive of the Galician language than those who had attended a privately-run school.
- (d) *Career Path*: Students pursuing degree courses in the field of Humanities displayed significantly more favourable attitudes towards the Galician language than students taking degree programmes in the area of Technology and Business. There were, however, no significant differences found between Humanities and Science students.
- (e) *Parental Support*: Respondents' perceptions of their parents' attitudes towards the Galician language had a moderate effect on students' ratings of the first attitudinal dimension, with those reporting positive attitudes on the part of parents showing stronger levels of support for the societal presence of the Galician language.
- (f) *Use of Galician by parents*: Passive exposure to Galician in the home was also found to have a moderate influence on language attitudes. Those reporting the exclusive or predominant use of Galician between parents were found to be significantly more favourable than those who reported the predominant or exclusive use of Castilian between parents.
- (g) *Initial Language*: Differences in students' evaluations of the Galician language were also affected by whether or not Galician was the first language in which they learned to speak. Where the intergenerational transmission of the language in the home had occurred, attitudes were

found to be more positive than among those brought up speaking both languages or speaking exclusively Castilian. These two latter groups also differed significantly from each other.

- (h) *Language spoken better*: The level of perceived spoken ability in Galician compared with Castilian had a considerable effect on language attitudes. Those reporting higher abilities in Galician showed the most favourable attitudes.
- (i) *Home versus school*: Students who reported learning Galician in the home displayed more positive attitudes than those whose initial exposure to the language was through the school.
- (j) *Primary School*: The amount of Galician received as part of respondents' formal education was found to have some effect on attitudes with those reporting no Galician in their early school years displaying significantly lower attitudinal ratings than those who had been taught entirely through Galician. There were, however, no statistically significant differences between those who were taught Galician as a subject only at school and those who were exposed to a more bilingual curriculum in which several subjects were taught through the medium of Galician.
- (k) *Second-Level Education*: The amount of Galician received as part of respondents' second-level education was also found to have an effect on students' attitudes. The more intense the Galician programme during second-level schooling, the more positive the attitudes. In difference to the *Primary School* variable, there were significant differences between respondents who reported several school subjects through the medium of Galician and those who had Galician as a subject only, with the latter displaying slightly less support for the language.

- (1) *Linguistic Competence*: Respondents' ability to understand, speak, read and write Galician was found to have some effect on attitudes towards the Galician language. Those reporting *high* or *moderate* abilities in the language were slightly more supportive of the language than those reporting *low* levels of competence.

Overall, therefore, differences in the way in which Galician students define their ethnic identity are most predictive of differences in attitudes to Galician on the first attitudinal dimension. The more strongly respondents define their identity in terms of a Galician national collective, the more positive their attitudes towards the minority language tended to be. The next most predictive is political ideology where those supporting the Galician Nationalist Party (*BNG*) were found to be more supportive of the Galician language than all other groups. The most predictive background linguistic variable was the degree to which Galician formed part of respondents' 'habitual' linguistic repertoire. The higher the reported use of Galician, the more favourable the attitude. Less positive ratings of 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language' dimension of attitudes towards Galician are most pronounced amongst students who define their ethnic identity as Spanish (as opposed to Galician or Both Galician and Spanish) and who, at the same time, express support for the Galician branch of the centre-right politics of Spain's Partido Popular (*PP*) or who do not claim to support any political party. Less positive ratings of the first attitudinal dimension were also to be found amongst Galician students reporting monolingual use of Castilian and who identify most strongly with a Spanish as opposed to a Galician national collective. Differences were also found between students reporting a predominantly Castilian linguistic repertoire but who also claimed to use some Galician. In this sub-group, those students who defined themselves as Galician were significantly more favourable to the Galician language than those who defined themselves as Spanish or both Spanish and Galician.

6.2.4. The Effect of Linguistic Variables on ‘Language and Identity’ Dimension

The effects of independent socio-demographic and other background variables on the second attitudinal dimension, ‘Language and Identity’ are listed in Table 44 below. In the one-way analyses of variance reported here, the effects of four independent variables were found to be statistically significant. These include *Age*, *Place of Origin*, *Career Path*, *Political Ideology* and *Ethnicity*. Other variables, including *Gender*, *Social Class* (as defined by respondents), *Occupational Status of Parents* and *Educational Background of Parents*, were not found to have a statistically significant effect on the second attitudinal factor. *School Type* (*private* or *public*) which had been found to have a statistically significant effect on the first attitudinal dimension did not show significant results on the ‘Language and Identity’ attitudinal dimension.

TABLE 44 One-Way ANOVA, Factor 2 on Socio-demographic and Background Variables

VARIABLE	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	F	Probability	Eta Squared
Age	10.102	2	8.552	.000	.023
Place of Origin	14.267	3	8.120	.000	.032
Career Path	13.551	3	8.354	.000	.034
Political Ideology	17.661	3	10.133	.000	.040
Ethnicity	44.820	3	27.396	.000	.103

Although *Age*, *Place of Origin*, *Career Path* and *Political Ideology* were shown to have statistically significant effects on the second attitudinal dimension, the practical differences in attitudinal ratings according to these three background variables, were found to be low (eta squared less than .05). *Ethnicity* was found to be the single most predictive variable of students’ ratings on the ‘Language and Identity’ attitudinal dimension.

As can be seen from Table 45, the value attached to Galician as a symbol of ethnic identity increases in direct proportion with a strong identification with a Galician collective identity. Because equal variance was not assumed for this variable ($F(3,715) = 20.079, p = .000$), the significance level was set at .01. A Games-Howell post hoc test showed that those who defined themselves as *Galician* gave significantly ($p < .01$) higher ratings on this attitudinal dimension than the three other groups (*Both Galician and Spanish*, *Spanish* and *European*), who did not differ significantly from each other.

TABLE 45 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Ethnicity* on Factor 2

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
Galician	3.26	.568	238
Both	2.83	.769	355
Spanish	2.74	.874	106
European	2.19	1.105	20

6.2.5. The Effect of Linguistic Variables on ‘Language and Identity’ Dimension

The effect of independent influencing linguistic variables on the second attitudinal dimension, ‘Language and Identity’ is shown in Table 46. Overall, as in the case of the first attitudinal dimension, despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between the groups was quite small. The effect size, calculated using eta squared, in almost all cases was less than .05. In line with guidelines proposed by Cohen (1988), these results suggest a small effect size.

Moreover, several of the variables used to measure respondents’ linguistic ability in Galician were not found to have a statistically significant effect on the second attitudinal dimension although they had been on the first. These include *Ability to Read*, *Write* and *Understand* Galician. Similarly, although the intensity of the Galician programme in respondents’ primary school education was found to have a significant effect on attitudes towards the ‘Language and Identity’ dimension, the

degree to which Galician was included in their second-level schooling did not lead to statistically significant differences across students' attitudinal ratings.

TABLE 46 One-Way ANOVA, Factor 2 on Background Linguistic Variables

VARIABLES	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	F	P	Eta Squared
Linguistic Competence					
Ability to speak	5.033	2	4.211	.015	.001
Language spoken better	21.604	2	18.797	.000	.049
Galician at School					
Primary-level	9.393	3	5.285	.001	.021
Domain of acquisition					
Home versus school	7.415	2	6.206	.002	.017
Parental attitudes and use					
Use of Galician by parents	24.491	4	10.646	.000	.056
Attitudes of parents	13.362	1	22.829	.000	.030
Linguistic Repertoire					
Initial Language	11.879	2	10.098	.000	.027
Habitual language	36.478	4	16.416	.000	.083

The linguistic variable which appears to have the strongest effect on Galician students' attitudinal ratings is again the *Habitual Language* used by the respondent (eta squared = .083) (see Table 47).

TABLE 47 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Habitual Language* on Factor 2

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
Galician Only	3.27	.442	45
More Galician	3.27	.628	44
Both	3.20	.584	87
More Castilian	2.97	.725	353
Castilian Only	2.61	.907	194

Equal variance was not assumed ((F 4, 718 = 12.926, p = .000) and therefore the more stringent significance level of .01 was required when testing this variable. A

Games-Howell post hoc test showed that students who report habitual use of *Castilian Only* (with no Galician used) differ significantly ($p = .000$) from all other sub-groups. Respondents reporting a predominantly Castilian repertoire (*More Castilian than Galician*) also differ significantly ($p < .01$) from all other groups. However, the three sub-groups, *Galician Only*, *More Galician than Castilian* and *Both Castilian and Galician* do not differ significantly in their ratings of the ‘Language and Identity’ attitudinal dimension. As can be seen in Table 47, monolingual speakers of Castilian display the lowest ratings on this attitudinal factor.

A combination of the most predictive background (*Ethnicity*) and linguistic (*Habitual Language*) variables in a two-way ANOVA explains 13% of the variance in Vigo student ratings of the ‘Language and Identity’ dimension. For the purpose of this two-way analysis *Habitual Language* was reduced to three categories. The first three (*Galician*, *More Galician than Castilian* and *Both equally*) categories were combined and relabelled *Galician*. As can be seen from Table 48 below, there is a significant main effect for each variable but no interaction effect.

TABLE 48 Two-Way ANOVA, Factor 2 on *Ethnicity* and *Habitual Language*

VARIABLES	Sum of Squares	Degrees of Freedom	F	Probability
Ethnicity	18.087	2	16.942	.000
Habitual Language	5.786	2	5.419	.005

6.2.5.1. Summary of Results

The main factors influencing variation in attitudes towards ‘Language and Identity’ amongst Galician students are as follows:

- (i) *Ethnicity*: The more closely respondents identified with a Galician national collective the more supportive they tended to be of the Galician language.
- (ii) *Habitual language*: Students reporting more intensive use of Galician as part of their linguistic repertoire were significantly more supportive of the

language than those reporting predominantly Castilian usage with some Galician and those reporting monolingual use of Castilian.

- (iii) Other factors were significantly related but their corresponding eta squared values indicate that differences in attitudes as between different categories of respondents within these variables are smaller in practical terms.

- (a) *Age*: Younger students (17- to 19-year-olds) were found to award a higher value to Galician as a symbol of ethnic identity than older students (over 21 years).

- (b) *Place of origin*: Students were found to differ significantly in their ratings of the 'Language and Identity' dimension based on their place of origin. The more rural students' place of origin, the more favourable the attitude.

- (c) *Political Ideology*: Respondents who supported the Galician Nationalist Party (BNG) were significantly more supportive of Galician than those who supported Galician branches of Spain's two main political parties – PP or PSOE. The attitudes of BNG supporters were also found to be significantly more favourable towards Galician than those who did not support any political party.

Overall, the difference in the way in which Galician students define their ethnic identity is the most predictive of differences in attitudes to Galician on the second attitudinal dimension. The more strongly respondents defined their identity in terms of a Galician national collective, the more highly they valued Galician as a symbol of a specifically Galician identity. The most predictive background linguistic variable was *Habitual Language*, defined as the degree to which Galician formed part of respondents' linguistic repertoire. The higher the reported use of Galician, the more favourable ratings on the second attitudinal dimension 'Language and Identity'. A combination of these two most predictive variables explains 13% of the variance in Vigo student responses on the second attitudinal dimension.

6.3. An Analysis of the Irish Student Sample

6.3.1. The Effects of Background Variables on ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ Dimension

One-way analyses of variance were conducted to explore the impact of variables on Irish students’ ratings of the ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ attitudinal dimension. In line with the comparative approach adopted in the current research, a similar set of variables to those used in the Galician sample was also tested in the case of Irish students. The three variables which were shown to have statistically significant effects are listed in Table 49. These variables are, *Gender*, *Political Ideology* and *Career Path*. Other variables such as *Age*, *Place of Origin*, *Social Class* (as defined by respondents), *Ethnicity*, *Occupational Status of Parents* and *Educational Background of Parents* were not found to have a statistically significant effect on the Irish students’ attitudes towards the minority language.

TABLE 49 One-Way ANOVA, Factor 1 on Socio-demographic and Background Variables

VARIABLE	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	F	P	Eta Squared
Gender	17.886	1	33.781	.000	.040
Political Ideology	15.829	4	7.411	.000	.035
Career Path	43.122	3	27.956	.000	.094

In the case of the first two variables, *Gender*, and *Political Ideology* (see Appendix D for the findings of statistical tests), despite reaching statistical significance, the actual difference in mean scores between groups was quite small. As can be seen from Table 49, the effect size, calculated using eta squared, was in both cases less than .05. Using the commonly used guidelines proposed by Cohen (1988), these results suggest small effect sizes.

Career path, however, showed a higher eta squared value and can therefore be taken as a more important factor in determining the level of support for the Irish language amongst Irish students. This background variable is discussed in more detail below.

6.3.1.1. Career Path

The *Career Path* pursued by respondents was defined as the general academic discipline in which students were pursuing their degree with four possible values, *Humanities, Technology, Business* and *Sciences*. A post hoc *Scheffé* test showed that *Humanities* students had significantly ($p = .000$) more positive attitudes towards the societal presence of Irish than any of the three other academic groups. Science students were not significantly different from Business students but differed significantly from Technology students. Despite slight differences in Technology and Business students' ratings of this attitudinal dimension, these differences were not found to be statistically significant (see Table 50).

TABLE 50 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Career Path* on Factor 1

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
Humanities	3.37	.750	202
Technology	2.74	.674	187
Business	2.91	.706	292
Sciences	2.99	.748	136

6.3.2. The Effect of Linguistic Variables on ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ Dimension

The main background linguistic variables influencing variation in attitudes as measured by the first attitudinal dimension are summarised in the Table 51.

TABLE 51 One-Way ANOVA, Factor 1 on Linguistic Variables

VARIABLE	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	F	Probability	Eta Effect
Linguistic Competence					
Ability to write	32.261	2	31.486	.000	.072
Ability to speak	37.165	2	36.708	.000	.083
Ability to read	36.513	2	36.006	.000	.081
Ability to understand	46.746	2	47.280	.000	.104
Language spoken better	18.496	1	34.983	.000	.041
Grade at school	26.505	2	25.539	.000	.059
School					
Irish in primary school	31.973	3	20.866	.000	.072
Irish in secondary school	28.563	3	18.488	.000	.064
Domain of acquisition					
Home versus school	30.809	2	29.964	.000	.069
Home					
Use of Irish by parents	25.285	2	24.199	.000	.057
Attitudes of parents	49.463	1	100.866	.000	.110
Linguistic Repertoire					
Initial Language	14.136	2	13.217	.000	.031
Habitual language	78.686	1	173.54	.000	.183

As can be seen from Table 51, as well as showing statistically significant effects on this attitudinal dimension, the eta squared values obtained for most of the linguistic variables tested in the study are high, indicating medium to large effect sizes. Only in the cases of *Language Spoken Better* and *Initial Language*, are the corresponding eta squared statistics found to be below .05, the generally accepted cut-off point between a low and moderate effect size (see Cohen 1988). Given the practical and statistical significance of almost all of the linguistic variables in their effect on Irish students' ratings of 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language', they will be reported in some more detail in the following section.

6.3.2.1. Reported Linguistic Competence

A one-way analysis of variance on the ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ dimension showed statistically significant effects ($p = .000$) for respondents in their reported ability to understand, speak, read and write in Irish. Post hoc Scheffé tests revealed that all sub-groups (*High*, *Medium* and *Low* ability) were significantly different from each other ($p = .000$) with support for the language decreasing in line with a decline in perceived ability to understand, speak, read and write the language. As can be seen in the final column of Table 51, the effect size in the case of each of these variables is also moderate to high and thus indicating practical as well as statistical significance between mean scores. Table 52 highlights this trend in the case of reported ability to understand Irish, pointing to a 0.7 drop in attitudinal ratings between students who report high ability compared with those reporting low levels of linguistic competence.

TABLE 52 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Ability to Understand Irish* on Factor 1

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
High Ability	3.32	.741	170
Moderate Ability	3.01	.710	389
Low Ability	2.65	.665	251

6.3.2.2. Examination Grade in Irish

This variable had three values which included, *Honours* (demanding higher academic ability in the language), *Pass* (less academically demanding) and *Fail* or *Exam not taken*. A one-way analysis of variance on this variable shows a statistically significant result ($p = .000$). A post hoc Scheffé test for multiple comparisons indicates that *Honours* students had significantly ($p = .000$) more favourable attitudes towards Irish than the two other sub-groups, who did not differ significantly from each other. An examination of mean scores in Table 53 points to a .3 point difference between *Honours* and *Pass* students. This is confirmed by the eta squared value of

.059, which according to Cohen's (1988) classification can be considered a medium size effect.

TABLE 53 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Examination Grade at School in Irish* on Factor 1

	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
Higher	3.13	.710	432
Lower	2.77	.728	342
Fail/Not taken	2.72	.776	30

6.3.2.3. Intensity of School Programme in Irish

The degree to which respondents were exposed to Irish through the secondary socialisation agent of the school was examined in this variable. It consisted of four possible values, *All Irish* schooling, *Some subjects through Irish*, *Irish as a subject only* and *No Irish*. Post hoc comparisons using Scheffé tests indicated that the means scores (see Table 54) for those reporting an all-Irish primary school education were significantly different from students reporting *Irish as a subject only* or *No Irish* ($p = .000$) but were not significantly from students reporting *Some subjects through Irish* during their primary school education. It must be stressed however, that the subgroup who had attended an all-Irish school represents a minority trend ($N = 52$) within the broader student sample. Those who had *Irish as a subject only* ($M = 2.88$) at school did not differ significantly from those who had *No Irish* at school.

TABLE 54 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Exposure to Irish in Primary School* on Factor 1

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
All Irish	3.58	.68	52
Some subjects through Irish	3.26	.68	75
Irish as a subject	2.88	.71	665
No Irish	2.71	.82	18

6.3.2.4. Parents' Attitudes and Use of Irish

The level of perceived home support for Irish was also shown to have both statistical ($p = .000$) and practical significance ($\eta^2 = .110$). This variable was collapsed into two values, *Positive Attitudes* and *Negative Attitudes*. As can be seen from mean scores in Table 55 below, respondents who perceived positive parental attitudes towards Irish tended to give the language higher ratings on the 'Support for Societal Presence of the Minority Language' attitudinal dimension than those who reported more negative parental attitudes.

TABLE 55 Mean Score for the Effect of *Perceptions of Parents Attitudes towards Irish* on Factor 1

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
Positive Parental Attitudes	3.15	.70	504
Negative Parental Attitudes	2.64	.68	306

Some level of reported use of Irish on the part of respondents' parents was also found to have a significant effect ($p = .000$) on attitudinal ratings (see Table 56). A post hoc Scheffée test showed that students reporting no parental use of Irish (*English Only* option) are significantly less favourable towards the language than those reporting the predominant (*Irish Only*, *More Irish* and *Both equally* options combined) or some use of Irish (*More English than Irish* option).

TABLE 56 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Parental Use of Irish* on Factor 1

	Mean Score	Standard Deviation	N
Irish	3.56	.632	24
More English (some Irish)	3.29	.678	115
English	2.88	.733	664

6.3.2.5. Linguistic Repertoire

The extent to which respondents’ reported active use of Irish was found to have a strong effect on their attitudes towards the language. Because the numbers reporting exclusive use or predominant use of Irish was small, this variable was collapsed into two categories. Respondents’ reported *Habitual Language* was also found to have significant effect on students’ attitudes (Table 57). Respondents who reported the inclusion of some Irish in their linguistic repertoire were significantly more favourable towards the language than those reporting exclusive use of English.

TABLE 57 Mean Scores for the Effect of *Habitual Language* on Factor 1

	Mean	Standard Deviation	N
Some Irish	3.50	.62	209
All English	2.78	.69	567

6.3.3. Variation in Irish Student Ratings of ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’: Explicative Model

A combination of the four variables, *School Grade in Irish*, *Parental Attitudes* and *Habitual Language* with *Career Path* accounts for 31.7% of the variance in students’ attitudes. This means that knowing the current field of study, academic performance in Irish at school, level of home support for Irish and respondents’ reported use of the language increases our ability to predict these students’ ratings of ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Language’ dimension.

The four-way analysis of variance in Table 58 below displays a significant main effect for the four independent variables but no interaction effect.

TABLE 58Four-Way ANOVA Factor 1, Career Path, School Grade, Attitudes of Parents and Habitual Language

VARIABLES	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	F	Probability
Career Path	6.497	3	5.390	.001
Grade	1.498	1	3.728	.054
Attitude of parents	12.232	1	30.447	.000
Habitual Language	13.913	1	34.632	.000

These independent variables were also found to be highly related to each other. Examination performance in Irish was for example found to be strongly related to the *Career Path* being pursued by respondents ($\chi^2 = 60.249$; $p = .000$). It was found that while 68% of students pursuing degree courses in the humanities had obtained the *Honours* grade in the final examination at the end of secondary school, this grade was reported by only 35% of technology students.

Academic performance at school was also related to the degree to which Irish was included in respondents' habitual linguistic repertoire ($\chi^2 = 58.715$; $p = .000$). Of those who report the inclusion of some Irish (*Irish Only*, *More Irish*, *Both*, *More English than Irish* combined), 78% had achieved a high academic grade in the language as a school subject. Similarly, 40% of all those who attained an *Honours* grade at school report some use of the language compared with only 14% who had achieved a *Pass* grade and 11% who had not taken the Irish paper.

Additionally, it can also be noted that these particular variables are also related to many of the linguistic variables tested in the study. Reported ability in Irish is, for example, strongly related to academic performance in Irish at school ($\chi^2 = 210.075$; $p = .000$). Of those reporting high levels of ability in Irish, 90% had achieved an *Honours* grade, compared with 70% of those reporting *medium* ability and 28% in the case of those reporting *low* ability. Looked at another way, of those who had

taken the *Honours* syllabus, 69% reported high (27%) or *moderate* (52%) spoken ability in the language. This compares with 34% (4% reporting *high* ability and 30% reporting *moderate* ability) in the case of those who had achieved a *Pass* grade in Irish at school.

6.3.3.1. Summary of Results

The main factors influencing variation in attitudes towards Factor I ('Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language') amongst Irish students are as follows:

- (i) *Career Path*: Students pursuing a degree in humanities type courses were found to differ significantly in their attitudes towards Irish from students within the three other main academic disciplines.
- (ii) *Habitual Language*: The degree to which Irish was reported as part of respondents' linguistic repertoire had a significant effect on language attitudes. Those reporting monolingual use of English were less favourable towards the language than those who included Irish, albeit in a small way in their linguistic practices.
- (iii) *Linguistic competence*: Reported ability to understand, speak, read and write Irish had a statistically significant effect on language attitudes, with those reporting highest levels of ability displaying most favourable attitudes. Of these four linguistic skills, ability to understand the language showed largest differences across mean scores.
- (iv) *Parental Attitudes*: Parental support for the language while growing up had a large effect on respondents' own attitudes towards the language with those whose parents were perceived as being strongly supportive of Irish showing most favourable attitudes.

- (v) *School*: The amount of Irish in the educational programme, i.e. from 'No Irish' to 'all-Irish' in Primary and Post-Primary schools had a significant effect on language attitudes amongst Irish students. Those who attended all-Irish schools or who reported the inclusion of Irish in other areas apart from that of an academic subject displayed most favourable attitudes towards the language.
- (vi) *School Performance*: Examination performance in Irish as an academic subject at school had a significant effect with those taking the most demanding syllabus showing most positive attitudes towards Irish.

Other factors were also found to have significant effects but the differences in attitudes between different categories of respondents were found to be of less practical significance.

- (a) *Political Ideology*: The single group responsible for this effect was those who supported the political ideologies of Sinn Féin. Supporters of this political party showed more favourable attitudes towards Irish than students who supported any of the other main political parties or those reporting no political ideology.

- (b) *Gender*: Females displayed more positive attitudes than males.

Overall, the career path being pursued by Irish students was the most predictive socio-demographic variable. Students pursuing a degree in humanities type courses were found to differ significantly in their attitudes towards Irish from students within the three other main academic disciplines. The degree to which Irish was spoken habitually by students also tended to have a positive effect on language attitudes with those reporting the inclusion of the language to some degree in their linguistic repertoire displaying more favourable attitudes than those reporting monolingual English behaviour. The attitudes of parents and the degree to which Irish was used

with them while the respondent was growing up had a substantial effect on language attitudes with those reporting favourable attitudes on the part of parents displaying highest levels of support for the societal presence of the language. Also important, but to a somewhat lesser extent, were factors such as respondents' perceived ability in the language, the intensity of Irish at school and the examination performance in Irish while at school.

Additionally, many of these independent background linguistic variables were also related to each other. Of those who reported high ability in Irish, 90% had taken the *Honours* course while at school. On the other hand, of those reporting low spoken ability in the language 63% had taken a less demanding syllabus while at school ($\chi^2 = 210.075$; $p = .000$). High ability in Irish is also related to the intensity of the Irish programme while at school where 61% of those from all-Irish schools report high spoken ability in Irish compared with 13% of those attending schools where Irish was taught as an academic subject only ($\chi^2 = 100.348$; $p = .000$). Those who attended an all-Irish school reported higher levels of use of Irish in the home ($\chi^2 = 56.357$; $p = .000$) and almost all came from homes where parents were favourable towards the language ($\chi^2 = 26.354$; $p = .000$).

6.3.4. The Effect of Background Variables on ‘Language and Identity’ Dimension

The second attitudinal dimension, ‘Language and Identity’, shows very little variance according to the socio-demographic variables tested in this study. Table 59 below shows that in the Irish sample, only two background variables are found to have a statistically significant effect, *Gender* and *Career Path*.

TABLE 59 One-Way ANOVA, Factor 2 on *Gender* and *Career Path*

VARIABLES	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	F	Probability	Eta Squared
Gender	8.551	1	12.371	.000	.01
Career Path	7.210	3	3.450	.016	.01

Again as in the first attitudinal factor, variation in Irish respondents' ratings of the 'Language and Identity' variable show that females ($M = 3.10$) tended to award a higher value to Irish as a symbol of ethnic identity than males ($M = 2.89$). Despite reaching statistical significance, the effect size is nonetheless small (.01) and as can be discerned from mean scores, there is little practical difference between the ratings of females and females.

6.3.5. The Effect of Linguistic Variables on 'Language and Identity' Dimension

Although many of the background linguistic variables which were shown to have a statistically significant effect on the 'Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language' attitudinal factor also have significant effects on the 'Language and Identity' factor, an analysis of eta squared values (less than .03) indicates few practical differences in the ethno-cultural value attached to Irish by different sub-groups of this student population (Table 60). Reported linguistic competence such as ability to understand Irish, which was shown to have a large effect (eta squared = .104) on the first attitudinal dimension, shows small differences across mean scores on the second attitudinal factor (eta squared = .03). Moreover, the intensity of the Irish programme during respondents' primary and second-level education which had been shown to have both statistical and practical significance on the mean scores of the first attitudinal factor, is not found to be statistically significant on the second. Therefore, it can be concluded that the value attached to Irish as a symbol of ethnic identity is more homogenous across all sub-groups within the student population.

TABLE 60 One-Way ANOVA, Factor 2 on Linguistic Variables

VARIABLES	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	F	Probability	Eta Squared
Linguistic Competence					
Ability to write	20.816	2	15.337	.000	.036
Ability to speak	22.033	2	16.312	.000	.038
Ability to read	19.882	2	14.662	.000	.035
Ability to understand	16.941	2	12.426	.000	.029
Language spoken better	9.185	1	13.303	.000	.016
Grade at school	10.983	2	7.948	.002	.019
Domain of acquisition					
Home versus school	9.669	2	6.999	.000	.017
Home					
Use of Irish by parents	8.657	2	6.465	.002	.015
Attitudes of parents	20.246	1	30.239	.000	.036
Linguistic Repertoire					
Habitual language	13.101	1	19.059	.000	.024

A combination of the three variables, *Career Path*, *Ability to Speak Irish* and *Habitual Language* accounts for 7% of the variance in Irish student ratings of the 'Language and Identity' attitudinal dimension. As can be seen in Table 61, these three variables show significant main effects but no interaction effects.

TABLE 61 Three-Way ANOVA Factor 2, Career Path, Habitual Language, Ability to Speak Irish

VARIABLE	Sum of squares	Degrees of freedom	F	Probability
Career Path	11.884	3	5.896	.001
Habitual Language	3.159	1	4.746	.030
Ability to Speak Irish	6.243	2	4.646	.010

6.3.5.1. Summary of Results

Although many of the variables tested in the study, including Career Path, Gender, Habitual Language and Linguistic Competence were significantly related to Irish students' ratings of the 'Language and Identity' attitudinal dimension, their corresponding eta squared values indicate that differences in attitudes as between different categories of respondents within these variables are small in practical terms. A combination of Career Path, Habitual Language and Ability to Speak Irish showed only a low degree of predictive power in explaining differences in students' attitudes towards the Irish language as measured by the second attitudinal dimension.

6.4. Conclusions

In this chapter we reported on the findings of one-way analyses of variance on a number of linguistic and social variables, conducted separately on each of the two factors, 'Support for Societal Presence of the Minority Language' and 'Language and Identity' for both Irish and Galician samples. Although many of the variables, both socio-demographic and linguistic, which were tested in the study, showed statistically significant effects on these two attitudinal dimensions, the actual difference in mean scores between population sub-groups showed effect sizes of less than .05 which according to Cohen's (1988) classification, constitutes a 'small' effect size. The generally small differences in mean scores across different linguistic and social sub-groups of the Irish and Galician student samples, point to the fact that attitudes towards these minority languages tend to be homogeneous within each student sample. This may be due to the homogeneity of these student groups in terms of social class (the majority are from middle-class backgrounds) and level of education (all have high levels of education). It can also be pointed out that although the effects of parents' education and occupation on the language attitudes of Irish and Galician student samples were tested in one-way analyses of variance, no significant results were found on these variables. It could be further hypothesised that the education system and the university institution itself have had a further homogenising effect on the linguistic attitudes and behaviours of these Irish and

Galician students. Therefore, any variation which might be expected to arise from differences in respondents socio-economic background is cancelled out by the high education levels of these Irish and Galician students. The close age range of respondents in Irish and Galician samples can also be considered an homogenising factor where no significant differences were found across this 18- to 24-age-group. Finally, as was highlighted in this chapter, the strong relationship between independent variables themselves also further explains why individual variables explain such little variance in language attitudes across different sub-groups of the Irish and Galician student samples. Nevertheless, the study identified a number of key variables which would seem to be most strongly affecting Irish and Galician student attitudes towards their respective minority languages. Table 62 and 63 provide summaries of the characteristics (socio-demographic and linguistic), which best account for differences within the Irish and Galician student samples in their ratings of the two attitudinal dimensions – ‘Support for the Societal Presence of the Minority Language’ and ‘Language and Identity’.

The way in which respondents defined themselves in terms of a collective identity was found to be the most important distinguishing variable in Galician student ratings of the first attitudinal dimension. Those who defined their identity in the context of a specifically Galician national collective were most supportive of presence of the Galician language at a societal level. The political ideology of the respondent was also a distinguishing factor with those who strongly supported the politics of the Galician Nationalist Party (BNG) displaying highest ratings. Finally, respondents who reported habitual use of Galician tended to be more favourable towards the presence of Galician within Galician society. The combined effect of these three variables explains 40 per cent of the total variance in Galician student ratings of the first attitudinal factor.

A different set of variables were shown to be salient in the Irish student sample. The Career Path being pursued by Irish respondents was found to be the most important background socio-demographic variable with Humanities students showing strongest support for the societal presence of the Irish language. The degree to which

respondents report 'habitual' use of Irish is also a distinguishing variable in terms of support for the language. A combination of these two variables with Career Path, Habitual Language, Academic Performance at School and Parental Attitudes, together accounted for almost 32 per cent of the variance in attitudinal responses and the addition of other variables added nothing further to the percentage of variance which could be explained.

In the case of the second attitudinal dimension, 'Language and Identity', the value attached to the minority language as a symbol of an ethnocultural identity tended to be much more homogeneous within both student samples. In the Galician context, ethnicity and habitual language were found to be the two most predictive variables and together account for just under 15% of the total variance. In the case of Irish students, variation according to career path, habitual language and ability to speak Irish constitute the three most salient variables but together account for only 7% of the total variance in student ratings of this attitudinal dimension. The following tables summarise the models which best explain positive attitudes amongst these two Irish and Galician student populations:

TABLE 62 Explicative Models: ‘Support for Societal Presence of Language’ Dimension

‘Support for Societal Presence of Language’ Dimension	
Galician Students	Irish Students
<p>MODEL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnicity • Political Ideology • Habitual Language <p>PROFILE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Define ethnicity as Galician • Support the Galician Nationalist Party • Report use of Galician 	<p>MODEL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Career Path • Academic Performance in Irish • Parental Attitudes • Habitual Language <p>PROFILE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanities students • High academic performance in Irish • Parental support of Irish • Some use of Irish

TABLE 63 Explicative Models: ‘Language and Identity’

‘Language and Identity’ Dimension	
Galician Students	Irish Students
<p>MODEL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethnicity • Habitual Language <p>PROFILE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Define ethnicity as Galician • Report use of Galician 	<p>MODEL</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Career Path • Habitual Language • Ability to speak Irish <p>PROFILE</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Humanities students • Report some use of Irish • High Spoken Ability