University of Limerick

Minority Language Television as a Mechanism of Language Policy: A comparative study of the Irish and Basque sociolinguistic contexts.

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Thesis presented to the University of Limerick for the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Submitted to the University of Limerick, April 2007
Abstract

Minority language television as an effective mechanism of language policy: A comparative study of the Irish and Basque sociolinguistic contexts.

The present study brings together the disciplines of sociolinguistics and media studies. In recent years, the availability of media in minority languages has become an area subject to some research within the area of media sociolinguistics. It is widely accepted that the existence of minority language media is important for such languages, but exactly how important the availability of such media is to the efforts to revitalise minority languages has remained relatively unexplored. The current study seeks to compensate for this gap in the research by investigating to what extent minority language television functions as an effective mechanism of language policy. Drawing on the most recent theoretical thinking within the discipline of language policy studies put forward by Spolsky (2004) and Shohamy (2006), this thesis will investigate whether minority language television can function as a mechanism of language policy. The research focuses on university students between the ages of 18 and 25, who are not first language-speakers of two particular minority languages, Irish and Basque. The case research was conducted at the University of Limerick and at the University of the Basque Country and involved the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. These included a questionnaire stage, a media/language diary stage, and a focus group stage. The analysis of the emerging data reveals that minority language television, through the influences it has on the language ideology and language practices of the research participants, does function as an effective mechanism of language policy.
Acknowledgements

During the years that I have spent as a PhD student I have met many people to whom I am truly grateful and who have had a major impact on my thesis, my life or both. My last remaining task is to acknowledge all those people without whose unwavering support none of this would have been possible. This is a difficult task, but I am going to try anyway, and if your name is not listed, rest assured that my gratitude is not less than for those listed below.

This thesis would never have come into being without the invaluable advice, guidance and support of my two supervisors, Dr. David Atkinson and Dr. Tadhg Ó hIfearnáin, without whose constant support through the good and bad times alike, comments and constructive criticisms on my numerous ‘drafts of drafts’ and above all patience, I doubt very much that this thesis would have ever been completed. There are a number of colleagues who also deserve a note of gratitude. I owe a particular note of thanks to my colleagues at the Centre for Applied Language Studies. Each of you have helped me in a different way, however Professor Angela Chambers, Dr. Jean Conacher and Dr. Helen Kelly-Holmes deserve a special note of mention here. To all those members of the Humanities faculty at the University of Limerick who allowed me to administer questionnaires in their class time, thank you. To my Basque colleagues, particularly Edorta, Bea and Josu, who were an invaluable support to me during my field trip to the Basque Country, may I say Mile Esker. I would also like to gratefully acknowledge the vital contribution of the research participants, especially those involved in the second phase of the study and without whom there would be no data.

To all those who lived this experience with me I don’t think I could of done it without all those well deserved coffee breaks and culinary delights. The burden of writing this thesis was lessened substantially by the support and humor of my very special friends who I met while at the University of Limerick. To Mairéad Connelly, Lorraine Kelly, Louise Kingston, Jennifer Moore, Bróna Murphy, John O’Callaghan, Ailbhe O’Flatherty and Íde O’Sullivan who listened to me and read part of this thesis without even looking bored! Cheers buds!!
Closer to home, I’d like to thank my siblings Sean, Bríd, Siobhán and David, to my boyfriend Lorcan, thank you all for being there when I needed it most. For knowing when was the right time to mention the ‘T’ word and for knowing when it wasn’t a good time.

Finally, my utmost gratitude goes to my parents Michael and Margaret, without whose love and support this would not have happened. Thank you for the gift of learning.

For Mags and Mike and their wish of a floppy hat!
And, for nan, our angel who has earned her wings.
Declaration

I hereby declare that the dissertation, submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctorate of Philosophy, represents my own work.

Signed
Máiréad Moriarty
April 2007
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Key to Abbreviations

BAC  Basque Autonomous Community
GAA  Gaelic Athletic Association
EITB Euskal Irrati TeleBista (The Basque radio and television network)
ETB 1 Euskal Telebista 1
ETB 2 Euskal Telebista 2
IRCT Independent Radio and Television Commission
MORI Market and Opinion Research International
PNV  Partido Nacionalista Vasca
RnaG Raidió na Gaeltachta
Rna L Raidió na Life
RTÉ  Raidió Teilifís Éireann
TV3  The third channel available on Irish television (Private)
TVE  Televisión Española
TG4 Teilifís na Gaeilge
FF   Fiána Fail
TAM  Television Audience Measure
List of public presentations

2007

NORFACE Seminar Series: Multilingualism as a problematic resource. University of Jyväskylä, Finland

- Television: A bridge or a barrier to multilingualism?

2006

Sociolinguistics Symposium 16, University of Limerick

- The Role of Television in Reversing Language Shift: A comparative study of the Basque and Irish cases.

2005

Association of Contemporary Iberian Studies

- The Sociolinguistic Effects of Minority Language Television: The Case of ETB-1

2\textsuperscript{nd} Postgraduate CALS Conference

- Friends or Foes? Television and Minority Languages

IRAAL Postgraduate Symposium

- What future for Basque language maintenance?

2004

Association for Contemporary Iberian Studies (ACIS) Conference

- ETB: A Forgotten Tool in Basque Language Maintenance

1\textsuperscript{st} Postgraduate CALS Conference


UL/MIC Humanities Postgraduate Conference

- What Role for Minority Language Television in Minority Language Maintenance?

Sociolinguistic Symposium 15, University of Newcastle

- Poster Presentation: The Impact of TG4 on Irish language Maintenance

IRAAL Postgraduate Symposium

- TG4: A Forgotten Tool in Irish Language Maintenance?
CHAPTER ONE

Introduction
1.1 Background to the Study
As a result of a dramatic change in the European mediascape\(^1\) within the last decade the number and type of media services available in European minority languages has radically increased. One factor which is responsible for this change is the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (1998) Article 11, which provides institutional support for the presence of minority languages in the media. One aspect that is particularly striking is the rise in the presence of such languages on television. Similarly the vast growth in the presence of minority languages on digital media such as the Internet has been highlighted by scholars such as Karim (2003). The perception that this growth in the presence of minority languages in the public sphere is contributing to an improved situation for minority languages is an idea that is often alluded to in scholarly writing (cf. Cunliffe and Harris, 2005; Cunliffe 2004). However, to date, the number of studies that have investigated this issue remain scant. In fact the rationale for this study originates from what Cormack (2003:1) describes as:

The gap between this assumption of the media’s role and the lack of firm evidence concerning the media’s effectiveness in reversing language shift will be obvious to anyone who reads the relevant literature.

While Cormack refers specifically to reversing language shift, the focus of this study is to investigate the media’s effectiveness in minority language revitalisation. The present study seeks to address this gap in the research by investigating whether it is possible for television in minority languages to function as an effective mechanism of language policy. This issue is explored through an examination of the role of minority language television in minority language revitalisation amongst non first-language Irish and Basque speaking university students. By showing that language revitalisation via the educational system only can have a limited effect when these efforts are not coupled with an increase in the level of contact with these languages, this research aims to identify the importance of the availability of minority language television in expanding the domains in which non first-language speakers of Irish and Basque come into contact with these languages and the subsequent consequences for their language ideology and language practices.

\(^1\) The term mediascape refers to symbolic world available to those using modern globalised media as put forward by Appadurai (1990)
This introductory chapter highlights the aims and objectives of the research, offers a justification for the comparative nature of the research and provides an overview of the scope of each of the individual chapters.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The current research is a multidisciplinary study situated at the interface of minority language studies and media studies. As has been identified in section 1.1, the broad objective of this study is to examine whether minority language television functions as an effective mechanism of language policy. The specific aim of the research is to investigate the perceived effects of minority language television on the language practices and language beliefs of young adults who are not first language speakers of two particular minority languages, namely Irish and Basque. In so doing this thesis endeavours to add to the current body of literature on Irish and Basque language revitalisation. In order to meet the research objective and aim, six specific research questions are addressed in the thesis. These are:

Table 1.1 Research questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RQ1: What attitudes do non first-language Irish and Basque speaking university students exhibit to their respective minority language?</th>
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<tr>
<td>RQ2: Is there any significant difference between the level of support these students exhibit to their respective minority language, expressed through their language attitudes, and the level of actual support they provide Irish and Basque through their language practices?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ3: Has the students' perception of their ability in Irish and Basque changed since they completed compulsory education?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ4: What are the views of these students on their respective minority language television station namely TG4 and ETB-I?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ5: Do these students feel that TG4 and ETB-I provide enough quality programming to satisfy their respective viewing preferences?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ6: How do the research participants perceive the effects of watching television in Irish and Basque on their language ideology and language practices?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
These issues, the research objective, aim and questions, are explored through a comparative analysis of two case studies conducted at the University of Limerick, Ireland (IRL) and the University of the Basque Country in the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC). The research was conducted amongst third-level students from the age of 18 to 25. Therefore, in terms of age, level of education and class it is hypothesized that the data generated from this research provide important insights into the survival prospects of Irish and Basque amongst this particular sector of the respective population.

1.3 Justification of the Comparison

It is due partly to the comparative nature of this research that the study can be considered as unique. The benefit of employing a comparative perspective in the study of language in society has been highlighted by number of scholars. For example, Oakes (2001) argues that conducting a research study on two comparative contexts helps to offer a more comprehensive understanding of the implications of the findings. He argues that there is much to be learnt from contrasting results. In the case of this research a comparison of the Irish and Basque cases will allow for a better understanding of the nature of the relationship between minority language television and language revitalisation. Through a comparative approach the research seeks to provide a broader and more objective framework than focusing on just one of these sociolinguistic contexts. Ó Laoire (1995) states that investigations into single sociolinguistic contexts, particularly the case of Irish, have suffered from a lack of dispassionate analysis. He argues that to conduct a case study on more than one sociolinguistic context helps: “to safeguard against a discussion that may be flavoured by an over-introspective paralysis of analysis” (ibid. p. 224).

There are a number of reasons that help to justify a comparative study of the Irish and Basque sociolinguistic contexts. Firstly, both the Irish and Basque languages suffered greatly as a result of their individual political pasts. Both languages experienced a gradual decline when a shift to the languages of their political oppressors occurred. At the time of Irish Independence (1922) and Basque Autonomy (1978) both the Irish and Basque languages had experienced a dramatic decline as a direct result of migration out of rural areas, the traditional stronghold of both languages (cf. sections 3.1 and 4.1). The maintenance of Irish and Basque during the period of English and
Castilian advancement was largely aided by the presence of these languages in the schools. For this reason both governments focused their initial efforts to revive their respective minority languages within the realm of the educational system. Language revival efforts were not limited to the educational system; nevertheless, it is the area where most attention was focused. There have been some successes as a result of focusing the language revival efforts within the educational system. In both the Irish and Basque cases the number of people with some degree of competence in Irish and Basque has increased dramatically since Independence and Autonomy was achieved. Yet despite these successes, and a number of decades of language policy and language planning, both the Irish and Basque governments have failed, to varying degrees, to make their respective minority language one of habitual use in Irish and Basque society at large.

Another factor that is common to both sociolinguistic contexts is the fact that the Irish and Basque languages are minority languages that co-exist in a linguistic community where the majority language is also a major world language. While this is not a situation unique to the Irish and Basque cases, there is one factor which sets this comparison apart from, for example, a comparative investigation of Irish and Catalan, that is the notion of linguistic difference. Both Irish and Basque are linguistically far-removed from the majority language operating within the linguistic communities to which these languages pertain. Ruiz Vieytez (2004) argues that because Irish and Basque are so distant from English, Castilian, and French, respectively, there is no form of mutual understanding between the two language communities, which undoubtedly impedes the acquisition of these languages amongst language learners and also has particular connotations for the linguistic norms operating in these communities. First Irish and Basque language speakers are often forced to switch to English and Castilian in order to accommodate many of their interlocutors. In this way first language Irish and Basque speakers are, as O'Rourke (2004) maintains in the case of Irish and Galician, implicitly recognising the dominant/subordinate dichotomy between the majority/minority language by accommodating their language practices towards English and Castilian respectively. Also as a result of the linguistic difference it is less likely that individuals will acquire these languages passively, they have to learn them. But as Ruiz Vieytez (2004) points out, the willingness of individuals to learn these languages is lessened because they are perceived to be too
difficult as they are so far-removed from the dominant language, thus making the task of language revival and revitalisation more difficult.

Another similarity between the Irish and Basque sociolinguistic contexts is the fact that in previous sociolinguistic surveys (cf. sections 3.3.2 and 4.3.2) the majority of both populations exhibit strong positive attitudes to these languages, particularly with regard to these languages being important markers of Irish and Basque identity. Yet there is little evidence to indicate that these high levels of attitudinal support are being translated into actual use of the Irish and Basque languages. The use of both these languages outside of the traditional setting of the home and the educational system remains limited. Indeed, the issue of the infrequent use of Irish and Basque despite the positive attitude to these languages is one that receives much attention throughout the thesis.

It is also important to discuss the similarities between the Irish and Basque language television stations, TG4 and ETB-1. As the discussions offered in chapters three, four and seven demonstrate, the campaigns for TG4 and ETB-1 originated from the grass-roots level. However, both television channels were made a reality through governmental backing and financial aid. Hence TG4 and ETB-1 can be identified as examples of a synergy between ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ attempts to change the position of a minority language, an issue that is addressed in detail at various points throughout the thesis. The discussion in chapter seven focuses particularly on the perceived effects of TG4 and ETB-1 on language ideology and language practices. It investigates whether this perception has become a reality. The results of the research presented in this thesis point to the existence of TG4 and ETB-1 as important tools in encouraging a more positive situation for Irish and Basque amongst the respective research cohorts.

1.4 General outline of the Thesis

This thesis is comprised of seven chapters. The current chapter, chapter one, has served to situate the present research at the interface of language revitalisation studies and minority language media studies, to outline the aims and objectives of the present study as well as providing a justification for the comparison between the Irish and
Basque sociolinguistic contexts. In so doing this chapter has provided the background for the entire study.

Chapter two provides a review of the relevant literature and serves to contextualise the present study. Given the multidisciplinary nature of the thesis chapter two addresses important aspects of language recovery studies, such as language attitudes and language policy amongst other such concepts, as well as relevant aspects of media studies, namely the relationship between media, language and society. There are a number of basic concepts clarified in this chapter, for example the concept of language attitude has numerous different connotations and how the term is used within the thesis needs clarification at this stage. The theoretical framework that serves as a basis for the study is presented in chapter two. It includes theories from both language revival studies such as Spolsky's (2004) language policy and Shohamy's (2006) expanded view of language policy along with theories from media studies such as Habermas' public sphere model. Theories that bring together the central themes of this research are discussed in terms of the aims and objectives of the research. The discussion offered in chapter two is extended in chapters three and four, where the theoretical model is discussed with regard to the Irish and Basque cases respectively.

Chapter three and four serve to identify how the status and use of Irish and Basque respectively has changed as a result of language policy and language planning efforts. Chapter three offers an account of the present situation of the Irish language. It begins by providing an in-depth description of what the efforts to revive the Irish language have achieved to date. The chapter also traces the evolution of the Irish-language television station TG4. It highlights some of the failures of the station in the early years and shows how measures put in place to overcome these shortfalls have worked to the advantage of the channel, particularly in terms of its significant growth in audience share. Chapter four consists of an analysis of the current situation of the Basque language within the Basque Autonomous Community. It provides an in-depth account of the measures put in place to reverse Basque language shift. Like chapter three, chapter four also provides an account of the Basque language television station ETB-1. The chapter focuses on the campaign that led to the formation of the station as
well as the current situation of the station. Chapter four also discusses the growth in
the presence of Basque on the local media.

While the initial chapters serve to contextualise this study both within the disciplines
of sociolinguistics and media studies, and in relation to the minority languages under
consideration here, chapter five focuses on the methodology and research design
devised in order to conduct the comparative case research study. It includes a
description of the methodological approach, a justification for the research methods
employed, along with a detailed description of the research participants at each stage
of the research. A discussion of the reliability and validity of the research methods is
also provided.

Chapter six offers an account of the results of the comparative study. The chapter
presents an analysis of the research findings and addresses the research questions
outlined in section 1.2. The major outcomes of the research are summarised with
regard to the theoretical framework outlined in chapter two. The findings of the study
point to the significance of the availability of television in minority languages in
promoting minority languages, both in terms of ideology and language practices,
amongst non first-language Irish and Basque speaking university students.

Final comments and conclusions form the content of chapter seven. The chapter
conducts a critical analysis of the findings and summarises some of the more
important contributions of this research. Chapter seven presents an account of how
television in Irish and Basque can be perceived to be affecting the language ideology
and language practices of university students by exploring the issue under Shohamy’s
(2006) expanded view of language policy, thus indicating how the outcomes of this
research can influence current thinking on language policy. The contributions of this
research to the study of minority languages within media sociolinguistics form the
basis of the final section of chapter seven, as well as providing an outline of some of
the many possibilities for future research opened up by this research.
CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review
2.0 Overview
While the introductory chapter served to establish the principal topics under investigation within this thesis, the aim of this chapter is to situate the research within current thinking on sociology of language, sociolinguistics and minority language media studies. Through an examination of previous literature, this chapter will highlight the gaps in the research which this thesis aims to fill. This chapter also provides an account of the principal theoretical models that underpin this research: Strubell’s (1998; 2001) Catherine Wheel Model, Spolsky’s (2004) language policy theory and Shohamy’s (2006) expanded view of language policy.

The first section (2.1) addresses the main principles of sociolinguistics and the sociology of language that are applied within the thesis. It is necessary to define how concepts such as diglossia and language revitalisation are employed herein due to the complexity of their possible interpretations. Section 2.2 focuses on issues of language planning and language policy. The importance of positive language ideologies and attitudes to all aspects of language recovery forms the basis of section 2.3. In the final section (2.4), previous research incorporating the disciplines of mass media and sociolinguistics is discussed. The significance of the availability of media in minority languages to language revitalisation is also highlighted in section 2.4. By exploring these concepts this chapter will provide the conceptual framework for the study of the potential role of minority language television in language revitalisation and the possibility of identifying minority language television as an effective mechanism of language policy.

2.1. Sociology of Language and Sociolinguistics
The basic premise of research within both the discipline of sociology of language and sociolinguistics maintains that language is a societal resource, a fundamental part of society. The distinction between the two areas of research lies in how they approach the study of the relationship between language and society. The sociology of language is the study of the effects of language on society, while sociolinguistics examines the impact of society on language. Both disciplines investigate a multitude of subjects that, according to Spolsky (1998), all have one common thread which is the use of language in social contexts. The sociology of language and sociolinguistics include the study of issues such as: language contact situations, including examinations of
bilingual and multilingual situations; language problems such as language revival and language maintenance, as well as many other topics. The research undertaken in this thesis belongs to micro-level sociology of language studies as opposed to macro-level sociolinguistics. The latter can be understood as the study of a large group of speakers, whereby the former is predominantly concerned with a relatively small group of speakers. According to Swann, Deumert, Lillis and Mesthrie (2001) the distinction between macro and micro-level studies is a further distinction between the two fields of study of sociolinguistics and sociology (cf. Swann et al, 2001: 288-89).

Both the sociology of language and sociolinguistics make use of similar terminology. Examples of such terminology, which are important in relation to the research undertaken within this thesis, include “domain of language use” and the “speech community”. The term domain of use is a central element in Fishman’s writings on the sociology of language. Domains of use are defined by Fishman (1972) as the categorisation of day-to-day language exchanges into specific fields, as situations where language use may be observed. Domains where language exchanges may be observed include the family, the home, and the local community. Fishman, along with many other language planning scholars, argues that the use of a minority language in the family domain is of utmost importance if a minority language is to be revitalised and maintained. Boxer (2002: 4) comments: “The family domain is fundamental to the building of identity through language socialisation. It is in this domain that we are able to study the repercussions of face to face interaction”. The importance of the media in expanding domains in which individuals can come in contact with and also use minority languages is an issue that receives further attention in section 2.5.

There are also a number of definitions put forward to describe the concept of the speech community. The theory of the speech community was developed by Gumperz (1969) as a framework through which language behaviour could be assessed as an element of social behaviour. Eckert (2000) argues that the concept has been used by sociolinguists to delimit the social locus of their account of the language in use. She argues: “The description of a speech community is most importantly an account of that community’s linguistic place in the wider society” (ibid, p. 35). Essentially it is a language-based unit of social analysis. Membership in a speech community depends on the language behaviour of the individual because a speech community shares the
same language practices. In order for a minority language speech community to mobilise on behalf of a minority language it is important that there is, amongst other factors, sufficient symbolic capital attached to increasing the use of the given language. The relationship between language and symbolic power forms the basis of the next section.

2.1.1 The linguistic market

Bourdieu’s approach to language and society has been adapted into many studies within sociolinguistics and the sociology of language. For Bourdieu language is of particular importance to an individual’s understanding of their place in the wider social context. He argues: “The sense of value of one’s own linguistic products is a fundamental dimension of the sense of knowing the place which one occupies in the social space” (Bourdieu, 1991:82). A theory that has underpinned much of his writings on language in society is that of the linguistic market.

The concept of the linguistic market derives from Bourdieu’s wider sociological view of the social universe, where society is said to comprise a series of overlapping and interrelated markets, within which each element is afforded symbolic capital. In his writings on the linguistic market Bourdieu (1991: 18) argues:

Linguistic utterances or expressions are always produced in particular contexts or markets, and the properties of these markets endow linguistic products with a certain ‘value’. In a given linguistic market, some products are valued more highly than others.

According to Chambers (1995), the linguistic market begins with the idea that people have greater stakes in using one language over another, that one language or language variety has more symbolic capital than the other languages operating within the particular linguistic market. Bourdieu (1991: 18) argues: “in a given linguistic market, some products are valued more highly than others”. In the case of the linguistic markets in operation in Ireland and the Basque Autonomous Community it is English and Castilian respectively that are the languages that hold more symbolic capital overall. It is clear from Bourdieu’s writings that each linguistic market is also understood to comprise its own set of values. Within any given linguistic market there are a number of smaller markets, which were advanced by Milroy (1980) as social networks.
A notion that is central in order to understand the dynamics of Bourdieu's linguistic market is the idea of the linguistic habitus. He describes the habitus as: “a set of reflexes and forms of behaviour people acquire through acting in society” (Bourdieu, 2000: 19). The linguistic habitus can therefore be understood as the set of forms of language behaviour that one acquires in a series of different domains, such as the home, school and so on. May (2001) equates Bourdieu's concept of the linguistic habitus to the relationship between language and identity. He argues that the link between language and identity, like the linguistic habitus, comprises a set of dispositions acquired when learning to speak in social and cultural contexts. The linguistic habitus inclines an individual to speak in a certain way in a particular linguistic market. Through these speech acts an individual will either gain or lose linguistic capital, a form of capital that is created by language utterances within the linguistic market.

According to Bourdieu (1991), the position of legitimate language is the most powerful for any language or language variety. It is through the status of legitimate or official language that most symbolic capital is to be gained: “Language forms a kind of wealth through a system of specifically linguistic relations of power based on the unequal distribution of linguistic capital” (ibid., p.57). He identifies the state as central to the denotation of such status. According to Bourdieu (1991: 45), the official language:

(…) is bound up with the state both in its genesis and its social uses It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language(s). The state language becomes the theoretical norm against which all linguistic practices are objectively measured. Conversely, it is this very emphasis on the role of the state that is the main focus of much of the criticisms of Bourdieu's writings. Haeri (1997) contends that in the case of Arabic in Egypt, it is the religious bodies that have more right to claim control over the official language than the state does. Similarly, Stroud (2002) argues that Bourdieu's focus on institutional power is one of his fundamental flaws. Stroud also claims that Bourdieu over-emphasises the ability of the state to alter the realities of the linguistic market. He puts forward two main examples on which to illustrate his claim. Firstly, he examines the case of Catalan, drawing particularly on research produced by Woolard in 1985. Stroud maintains that Woolard's research has shown that Catalan was traditionally afforded higher symbolic capital in the private domain
than at the level of state domain. Stroud (2002) also argues, drawing on data from his own research, that in the case of Portuguese in Mozambique local agents have played a more important role in changing the linguistic market than the state has. He contends that:

(\ldots) a fundamental problem in the application of Bourdieu’s thinking is that not enough attention has been paid to the specific ways in which power and language are interrelated in historically and culturally distinct speech communities.  

(\textit{ibid}, p. 250)

It is fitting to provide a definition for minority language as it is applied to the languages under discussion in this thesis. The Irish and Basque languages can be defined as heritage languages that find themselves in the position of a numerical minority due to a political past which led to an ideological erasure of the symbolic value of these languages to the benefit of the language of those in power, namely English and Castilian. Conversely, the Irish and Basque governments did play a hugely important role in legitimising Irish and Basque, thereby increasing the symbolic power attached to using these languages. Both governments did change the realities of the linguistic market by ensuring that both languages became official following independence, in the case of Irish, and autonomy, in the case of Basque. The Irish and Basque governments still continue to alter the linguistic markets operating within their individual societies through the application of language policies and language planning activities. These issues are discussed in detail in section 2.3.

Prior to discussing the concerns of language policy and language planning, it is necessary to offer a discussion on how other sociolinguistic concepts significant to this study are to be understood. Irish and Basque can be characterised as languages that live in a minority contact position (against two major world languages) within their own linguistic communities. The main linguistic outcomes of these contact situations include language shift and diglossia.

2.1.2 Language shift

Language shift was defined by Fishman (1964) as the inability to maintain a language in the face of competition from a socially and numerically stronger language. Language shift is the change from the habitual use of a minority language to that of a more dominant language under pressure from the dominant group. However, the definition of the term that may be deemed more apt to the research undertaken here
was put forward by Dorian (1982: 44), where she defined language shift as: “the gradual displacement of one language by another in the lives of community members”. To use Bourdieuan concepts, language shift occurs when there is little or no linguistic capital attached to using a particular language or language variety and speakers switch to using the more dominant language form. In the case of Irish and Basque, the shift to English and Castilian respectively came about as a result of their individual political pasts. A more in-depth discussion on the factors that led to language shift in the Irish and Basque situations is offered in chapters three and four respectively. The consequence of language shift is language decline and language loss, which King (2001: 4) describes as occurring when “a particular group ceases to maintain its language”. The most extreme cases of language shift and language loss result in language death. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997: 273) claim that there are three key conditions which lead to language death. The three factors are:

1. Parents are reluctant or unable to pass on a language to their children
2. The language ceases to serve key communicative functions (registers) in the community
3. The community of speakers is not stable and/or expanding, but rather is unstable and/or contracting.

It can be argued that while the Irish and Basque languages declined significantly due to the process of language shift to English and Castilian respectively, because of changes to the traditional community of speakers, neither language found itself in immediate danger of language death. Or to use the definitions put forward by Krauss (1992) neither language was in a moribund state. Both languages were, however, endangered and in a state of unstable diglossia.

2.1.3 Diglossia

One consequence of language shift which deserves some attention given the context of the research undertaken herein, is that of diglossia. Many minority languages are in a diglossic relationship with a majority language, Irish with English and Basque with Castilian, for example. Diglossia, a sociolinguistic phenomenon described by Ferguson (1959), refers to a situation of language co-existence, where one language or language variety is considered to be more prestigious than the other(s) operating within the same linguistic environment. Historically, the debate has focused on and developed from definitions put forward by Ferguson. The concept has been subject to much research in recent times, which is demonstrated by the special issue on diglossia of the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* published in 2002. Much of
the current debate centres on the problems in theorising the concept. As Schiffman (2002: 141) argues: “The question of defining what diglossia is and what it is not is entangled with various theoretical issues, some of which themselves have not been carefully defined (...)

In Ferguson’s (1959) above-mentioned account of diglossia, it is defined as the distinction between two or more varieties of a language that are operating within the same linguistic community. Ferguson refers to the more prestigious variety as the H (high) variety and to the other variety or varieties as L (low) variety or varieties. The H variety is that which is used in the higher status domains such as education and the government, while the L variety is used in domains of lower status such as the family. Ferguson’s theory has been developed and extended upon by many scholars. Fishman (1967) expanded on Ferguson’s definition of diglossia to develop what he calls extended diglossia. The term was developed to encapsulate situations where the language forms existing in the linguistic community are genetically unrelated. Fishman (1980) describes the possibility for diglossia to exist in the following situations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genetically Related</th>
<th>Genetically unrelated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H as classical, L as vernacular</td>
<td>H as classical, L as vernacular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. Sanskrit and Hindi</td>
<td>e.g. Hebrew and Yiddish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H as written/formal, L as vernacular</td>
<td>H as written/formal, L as vernacular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g. English and Hindi</td>
<td>e.g. High German v Swiss German</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fishman also developed a distinction between ‘stable’ and ‘unstable’ diglossia. Stable diglossia represents a situation where everybody has some level of knowledge of the H and L variety, where the domains of use for both varieties are set and clear to speakers. In his later writings on reversing language shift, which are discussed in section 2.1.6, Fishman insists that stable diglossia is at the core of any attempt to reverse language shift, thereby ensuring that each language has its own space within the linguistic community, which in turn does not interfere with or threaten the space occupied by the other language.
The use of the concept of diglossia has been identified as problematic for some researchers. For example, Williams (1992) is highly critical of the notion of diglossia put forward by both Ferguson (1959) and Fishman (1980). He is particularly critical of the lack of attention given to the notion of power. He contends that both Ferguson’s and Fishman’s definitions alike over-simplify the relationship between the speakers of the languages. He argues that it is unlikely that speakers of minority languages consent to a diglossic situation. In his writings, Hudson (2002) attempts to disambiguate the numerous definitions of diglossia by putting forward a theory of diglossia. Within this theory Hudson suggests that: “diglossia is a special case of sharp functional differentiation of registers in which the H variety, or varieties is nobody’s mother tongue” (Hudson, 2002:12). However, Fasold (2002) argues that this definition does not account for situations such as Standard German and Bavarian German in Bavaria, where he suggests that: “(...) the typical case of “whole-language diglossia” would be eliminated, on the grounds of the presence within the community of speakers who learn the higher-status variety natively” (ibid., p.87). In spite of his criticism, Fasold does suggest that Hudson’s work is the closest any sociolinguist has come to creating an overreaching theory of diglossia.

Each of the three concepts outlined within this section are hugely significant to any discussion on language revitalisation and language maintenance as they allow for an understanding of the situations in which many minority and lesser-used languages find themselves. The difference between language revival, revitalisation and maintenance is discussed in the next section along with a discussion of two important models developed to aid the minority language recovery namely Fishman’s reversing language shift model (1991) and Strubell’s theory of the Catherine Wheel Model (1998; 1999; 2001).

2.2 Language Revitalisation and Language Maintenance
The theme of language recovery has been an important subject of investigation within the discipline of sociolinguistics since the onset of the discipline. Research under the broad theme of language recovery deals with different situations of languages in contact in a society where two or more languages exist and examines situations of language revival, language maintenance, language revitalisation, and reversal of language shift. The difference between these concepts is related primarily to the
situation of the given language or language variety. While, as Hornberger and King (1996) argue, each of these processes of language recovery involves similar and overlapping procedures, they differ greatly in terms of their goals and means of realisation of such goals. Paulston, Pow and Connerty (1993) describe language revival as the reintroduction of a language that was once native to a given speech community, but has become restricted in use and in some cases is in danger of disappearing from the language repertoire of the given community. In the initial post-Independence period Irish language planners were dealing with a situation of language revival. The situation for the Basque language in the initial years of Autonomy was more concerned with reversal of language shift, an issue that receives further attention below. The current study is concerned with the furthering efforts to revitalise both the Irish and Basque languages. The concept of language revitalisation is, as Hornberger and King (1996) argue, concerned with giving new vigour to a language that is already in use through expanding domains of language use. Similarly, King (2001: 23) describes language revitalisation as: “the attempt to add new linguistic forms or social functions to an embattled minority language with the aim of increasing its use or users”.

An important distinction between language revitalisation and language maintenance was highlighted by Hornberger and King (2001) who argue that the involvement of members of a given speech community in language revitalisation is essential. Conversely, efforts to carry out language maintenance can be government led only. Unlike situations of language revitalisation the involvement of members of the given speech community is important in situations of language maintenance but not essential. Language maintenance is concerned with measures to help prevent language loss. It can be described as: “the continued use of a language in the face of competition from a regionally and socially powerful or numerically stronger language” (Mesthrie, 1999: 42). As mentioned above, Ferguson’s work on diglossia is an example of early writings on language maintenance. In the sixties and seventies, scholars such as Fishman (1964) and Labov (1972) undertook studies that focused on linguistic variation in relation to a number of social and cultural factors in New York, particularly with many researchers investigating similar situations in other multilingual settings. According to Fishman (1976: 110):
No society needs or has two languages for the same functions. As a result, no society, not even those whose bilingualism has been most widespread and most stable, raises its children with two mother tongues.

Language maintenance can therefore be understood as a community’s endeavour to keep their language or language variety alive, in order to prevent a situation of language death. Kaplan and Balduaf (1997) argue that Nahir’s (1984) definition of language maintenance encapsulates the situations of language restoration and language reversal. It describes a situation where measures need to be taken to protect a language that is on the verge of extinction.

Fishman (1977: 116) highlights the role of education in the attempt to maintain minority languages: “For language spread, schools have long been the major formal mechanism involved”. The role of the government in providing official policies was also an issue of importance in initial language maintenance research. In 1991, Fishman published *Reversing Language Shift* within which he puts forward the Graded Integration Disruption Scale (G.I.D.S) thesis. Reversing language shift (RLS) is described by Fishman (1991: 8) as:

(...) an attempt on the part of authorities that are recognized by the users and supporters of threatened languages to adopt policies and to engage in efforts calculated to reverse the cumulative process of attrition.

The G.I.D. scale is best described as the programme outlined by Fishman (1991) to help counteract the effects of language shift and to enable a process of language revival and/ or language maintenance. It is an all-encompassing scale that aims to provide advice on how reversing language shift should be approached. The scale is set to measure the degree of loss of transmission of the language from generation to generation. Fishman likens the G.I.D scale to the Richter scale, where the number of the stage on which the language lies indicates the severity of the case. He firmly believes the there is no language for which nothing can be done. He has suggested: “that the problem is not whether to do anything, but what to do?; when to do it?; and how to do it?” (Fishman, 1991: 12).

The G.I.D scale holds that there are eight stages in reversing language shift. Fishman (2001) divides the components of the stages of RLS into power functions (education, government, mass media) and non-power functions (home use, intergenerational use). According to Fishman, investigations into family and home use of language are
crucial for revitalising and maintaining languages. He argues that the scale can be divided into two sections, the first is concerned with “RLS to attain diglossia” (stages 8-5) and the second with “RLS to transcend diglossia, subsequent to its attainment” (stages 4-1). Fishman (1991: 395) upholds that the sixth stage, intergenerational transmission, is the most important. A critical evaluation of the current position of Irish and Basque on the G.I.D scale is offered in chapters three and four respectively.

**Table 2.2** Fishman’s graded intergenerational disruption scale (G.I.D.S)

(Adapted from: Fishman 1991)

| Stage 1: | Language X used in education, the work sphere, mass media and by the Government. |
| Stage 2: | Language X is used in local/regional mass media and in governmental services. |
| Stage 3: | X is used in the local work sphere, by speakers of X and Y. |
| Stage 4a: | There are X-ish medium schools. |
| Stage 4b: | There are public schools offering instruction in X, but Y dominates. |
| Stage 5: | There are schools for literary acquisition, for the old and the young, but Y remains the language of instruction. |
| Stage 6: | X is used by all generations in the home, but Y remains the language of all sectors of the community. |
| Stage 7: | Only older generations use the language. Y remains the dominant language is use. |
| Stage 8: | X is almost dead, but some efforts are made to revive it. |

The process begins at stage eight, at which point the aim is to facilitate the revival of a language that has ceased to be regularly used within the speech community. The subsequent stages of seven through to five are to facilitate the use of the language in informal settings particularly the home. To this end Fishman highlights stage six as being the most crucial. He argues that the reversal of language shift in any given situation would not be successful without the aims of stage six being met. Once the aims of stages eight to five have been met, the language will exist in a diglossic relationship with the language that is dominant within the given linguistic community. Stages four to one endeavour to overcome this diglossic relationship in order to ensure that both languages enjoy equal status within the particular community in an effort to ensure a situation of balanced bilingualism. Fishman’s reversing language shift theory has contributed greatly to the study of language revitalisation and
language maintenance. However, Fishman himself also argues: “most efforts to reverse language shift are only indifferently successful” (Fishman, 1991: 1).

Fishman’s work has been assessed and criticised by many researchers. Lambert (2002) and Spolsky (2004) argue that Fishman’s treatment of all language policy choices as a dyadic choice does little to help the plight of smaller languages. Spolsky (2004: 130-134) contend that both languages should be treated as equals not discussed in the weaker Y versus a stronger X dichotomy, as the terminology employed by Fishman would suggest. Similarly scholars such as Fettes (1997) argue that this distinction between a strong and weak language often serves to belittle smaller languages. Hinton (2003: 51) maintains that the G.I.D scale fits European and bigger American indigenous languages, but is not as applicable, for example, to the indigenous languages of the Amazon regions. She puts forward two points on which she bases her argument. Firstly, she argues that many of these languages do not have a written standard thus preventing these languages from being the language of school instruction. She focuses on the example of Cochiti, a language that is forbidden to exist in a written form, to illustrate the argument. Her second rationale for the argument lies in the fact that in the Amazon countries there are many indigenous languages within the same country, which makes it impossible for just one language to become the language with which everyone can identify. In more recent research Romaine (2006) questions the privileged position that Fishman affords intergenerational transmission. She states that there is a need: “to reconceptualise what it means for a language to be maintained and survive without intergenerational transmission” (p.443). In drawing on the Irish and Basque contexts, Romaine shows that in some minority language situations there are more children learning the minority language in school than there are in the home.

A further criticism of Fishman’s model is put forward by Strubell (1998). He was particularly critical of the G.I.D scale. Strubell (1998) contends that the horizontal nature of the G.I.D scale limits RLS to a linear pattern of development. Furthermore, once the aims of all eight stages have been met, there is no further advice offered as to how to keep developing. As will be discussed in section 2.3, ensuring that a minority language keeps pace with the changes occurring within society is vitally important if any successes achieved through RLS are to be maintained. Strubell (1998; 2001) puts
forward an alternative model to aid the process of minority language revival. The model takes the form of a Catherine Wheel. He uses the metaphor of the wheel to indicate that the model is continuous and is applicable into any stage of minority language recovery. The aim of the Catherine Wheel Model is to increase the status or symbolic capital attached to using the given language. Strubell has argued that in order for RLS to be achieved, continuous efforts need to be made in order to meet the needs of existing speakers, while simultaneously ensuring that the language is attractive enough to encourage new speakers. According to Strubell (1998), the wheel is set into motion when a large enough group of people change their social language practices. It is also important to note at this point that Strubell’s model is not as straightforward as it may seem. In fact Strubell (2001: 208) warns: “any of the six stages may be subject to blockage, and it is the task of policy makers to overcome the causes of blockage with specific measures where they are required”. It can be argued therefore that, for Strubell, language planning is concerned with not only putting the wheel into motion, but also with allowing the wheel to stay in motion by removing any obstacles. An important conceptualisation of the Strubell’s model was put forward by Carreira (2002: 37), who argues: “the synergistic interaction of social and economic conditions can result in a powerful self-priming mechanism of language maintenance”
There are three forms of the model that differ only in terms of the motivation behind the activation of the wheel. The first two relate to the economic aspects of the relationship between language and society. As the version of the model illustrated in Figure 2.1 shows, the desire to change language practices may come about for economic reasons. The first arises from the desire to gain access to certain jobs, which may require proficiency or some degree of competence in a given language. For example, in order to work for the Basque autonomous government individuals need to have a high degree of proficiency in the Basque language. The second motivation arises from a desire to consume certain products in a given language, which may be described as a particularly important motivation when discussing the role of media in language revitalisation. The third form of the model, the social model, is the one recognised by Strubell as being the main motivating factor behind the Catherine Wheel Model. The social motivation is understood to arise from the desire to gain access to a social environment from which an individual is excluded because of the lack of certain language capabilities. Social changes in language practices come about when a large enough group of people make a similar decision about the use of a particular language, thus putting the wheel in motion. Perhaps one of the most significant aspects of Strubell’s model in terms of the current thinking on language
policy and language planning is that it relies on a synergy between top-down and bottom-up language activity on behalf of a given language, where top-down is understood as language planning from the governmental level and bottom-up is understood as language planning from a local level.

In her examination of recent language revival and maintenance literature, García (2003) stresses that for Fishman the use of a language at home by women of childbearing age is critical to language revitalisation and maintenance. However, she does go on to comment that there are other areas that would be fruitful for future research. García includes media within this list, which highlights the relevance of the research undertaken in this thesis. As has been previously discussed, for Fishman there should be a bottom-up approach when reversing language shift by teaching the language as a second language and then concentrating on the transmission of the language. However, a language needs powerful symbolic value in order to be revived and maintained without seeing the language as functioning outside the domains of the education system and the home it becomes difficult for people to perceive the language as capable of existing in a wider context. It is here that a study of the media may be seen to be particularly beneficial. Although Fishman recognises the potential role of media in RLS, he has often criticised researchers for over-estimating its power. For Fishman (1991: 404) the media: “are far from being cure-alls or even vitamins”. While the succeeding section focuses on the current thinking within the language policy and language planning aspect of language revival studies, the significance of the availability of media in minority languages to the processes of language revitalisation forms the basis of section 2.4.

2.3 Language Policy and Language Planning

Language policy and language planning have existed as fields of inquiry within the sociology of language and sociolinguistics for a number of decades. Both these fields of inquiry are important areas of study and particularly so given that many of the world’s languages are threatened in contemporary society. The growth in concern for linguistic human rights and minority rights has led to a renewed interest in the field and an increase in the amount of scholarly research that examines minority languages in recent times (cf. May, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). A description of language
policy and language planning are essential to a discussion of any situation of minority language revitalisation.

In some of the existing body of sociolinguistic research language planning and language policy are used as two interchangeable terms. However, scholars such as Schiffman, (1996), Grin (2000), Spolsky (2004) and Shohamy (2006) emphasise that there is a very clear distinction between these two concepts. The exact nature of this distinction has been the subject of much debate within studies of minority and lesser-used languages. One of the earliest descriptions of the distinction between the two concepts was put forward by Bugarski (1992) and highlighted by Schiffman (1996). Bugarski argues that:

(...) the policy of a society in the area of linguistic communication, that is, the set of positions, principals and decisions reflecting the community's relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential. Language planning is understood as a set of concrete measures taken within language policy to act on linguistic communication in a community

(Bugarski, 1992:18, quoted in Schiffman, 1996:3)

Grin (2003) describes language policy as the intention to modify the linguistic features of an environment, that is a society taking steps to influence the linguistic environment, while language planning is the functional realisation of these steps. Language policy is: "the entity of conscious choices concerning relations between language(s) and life in society" (ibid., p.6) Language planning is in a sense deliberate language engineering in order to realise the aims of the language policy. In minority language situations, language policy and language planning are necessary in order to change the existing linguistic imbalance, to alter the realities of the linguistic market and to increase the symbolic capital attached to using a minority language or language varieties. Calvet (1998) argues that, while a language policy can be elaborated by numerous groups such as the family, it is often only the governing body, be it State or Autonomous government that has the power and the means to plan and implement such a policy. The purposes and aims of language policy and language planning are dependent upon the individual linguistic context. For example, where the language is on the verge of extinction, that is to say when the only remaining speakers are elderly, the aim is language restoration; when the language is endangered the aim is language revival. As has been previously mentioned, in the case of Irish, the aim of previous language policy and language planning measures has been language revival. However, it can be argued that today the aim is language revitalisation amongst non
first-language speakers and language maintenance amongst first-language speakers. While in the case of Basque, it can be argued that the aim of current language planning initiatives is, like in the case of Irish, language revitalisation amongst non first-language speakers. However, in the case of first-language speakers the aim is to normalise the use of the language (language normalisation). Mar Molinero (2000) describes language normalisation as the act of making language normal. While the term linguistic normalisation has been used most frequently with regard to the Catalan situation, it is also used to refer to the other minority languages of Spain. The term was used in the initial post-Franco era to describe the act of reintroducing the use of Catalan, Basque and Galician to the normal level these languages enjoyed prior to the Franco regime. As the brief discussion offered here has identified, language planning and language policy are two very different concepts. Throughout the current study the term language planning is used to sum up the process of deliberate intervention on behalf of a minority language with the aim of altering patterns of language use, while language policy reflects the position of a language in a given society, taking issues such as language beliefs and language practices into account. A more detailed account of language planning and language policy is provided in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 respectively.

### 2.3.1 Language planning

Eastman (1983) points out that many scholars in the fifties and sixties defined language planning as almost exclusively language standardisation. However, the concept is now understood to encapsulate much more. A frequently cited definition of language planning is that which was put forward by Cooper (1989: 45), where language planning is defined as: “deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, and the functional allocation of their language codes”. Language planning is understood as the putting into practice of a language policy. As Ricento (2006) comments, language planning nearly always occurs in bilingual or multilingual communities and settings, given that in a community where only one language exists there would not be any need for planning on behalf of that language.

The goals of language planning are achieved by incorporating measures at the three basic levels namely status, corpus and acquisition planning. At the status planning
level the goal is to raise the position of the language, thereby raising the symbolic
capital attached to using the language and that attached to the speakers of the
language. Status planning measures are more often than not introduced at an official
level. For the Irish and Basque languages, the most important status planning measure
was the recognition of both languages as official within their respective communities.
The second level is corpus planning, where the aim is to develop lexical and
morphological elements of the language. Moreover, corpus planning measures also
ensure that new terminologies are developed to allow the language to keep up to date.
The final element is acquisition planning, a term developed by Cooper (1989) to
describe a language planning measure where the emphasis is on developing methods
to enhance levels of language learning. The majority of acquisition measures are
introduced in an educational setting. Baker (2003: 93) describes acquisition planning
as necessary in order: “to create language spread by increasing the numbers of
speakers particularly through the family and bilingual education”. Mar-Molinero
(1997) put forward the following understanding of the difference between status and
acquisition planning. She argues: “One could say that whereas status planning focuses
on the way society thinks about language, acquisition planning focuses on how it is
learnt” (ibid., p. 132). As the discussions in chapters three and four will demonstrate,
in both the Irish and Basque cases the majority of language acquisition measures have
been implemented via the educational system.

Language planning targets many aspects of language in the speech community. A
notion that is essential in all language planning measures is Fishman’s (1965: 80) idea
of “who plans what and for whom”. Cooper (1989, 58-98) extended Fishman’s
account of where language planning measures should be targeted. He put forward an
accounting scheme, which comprised a total of eight components: “what actors,
attempt to influence what behaviours, of which people, for what ends, under what
conditions, by what means, through which decision making processes, with what
effect” (ibid., p.89). In addition, Cooper (1989) also argues that all language planning
measures should be undertaken at both macro and micro levels. Kaplan and Baldauf
(1997: 99) highlight the significance of constantly updating planning efforts in-line
with changes that occur in society as a whole, thereby ensuring that the language is
not labelled as backward:
It is important to understand that language planning is not a one-off activity. It tends to generate its own needs. Because human societies are always changing, the planning process must change along with changes in the society. Planning, once undertaken, is an ongoing process.

It is also important for language planners to be more aware of the context of each language situation, thereby focusing their efforts appropriately. According to Dorian (1987), it is amongst young people that language planning efforts should be focused because it is amongst this age group that levels of language shift are greatest. Parallel arguments are put forward by Hornberger and King (1996: 440):

In a very real sense, revitalisation initiatives are not so much about bringing a language back, but rather bringing it forward; who better or more qualified to guide that process than the speakers of the language, who must and will be the ones taking it in to the future?

For this reason the data presented in the current study will provide important information for Irish and Basque language planners given its focus on the 18-25 year old cohort.

2.3.2 Language policy

As has already been identified within the thesis, the term language policy is used to describe decisions concerning the positions of language in society. Mackey (1991: 51) describes language policy as: “the accommodation of society to language diversity”. In general it can be said that language policy tends to be less interventionist than language planning. In recent times there have been significant developments in how scholars believe the issue of language policy should be approached, particularly within the last five years. One of the most important contributions to this change in approach to language policy is Spolsky’s (2004) Language Policy. According to Spolsky, a language policy is made up of three components. As Figure 2.2 illustrates, these components include language practices, language beliefs and language management.

**Figure 2.2 Spolsky’s language policy model**
He sees language policy in the following way:

The three components of the language policy of a speech community: its language practices - the habitual pattern of selecting among the variables that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology - the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management. (ibid., p. 5)

Spolsky suggests that in order to gain a more in-depth account of the position a minority language holds within its community, it is imperative to examine the difference between the beliefs people have about their language behaviour and their actual language behaviour; the differences between what people say they do and what they actually do are related to the complex nature of language ideology and language practices. Central to Spolsky’s argument is the idea that language policy is only going to experience limited success if it is not in line with the language practices and language beliefs of the given speech community, and its potential members, and with the factors that influence their language practices. Spolsky (2004) suggests that a language policy that concentrates solely on the state’s centralised language planning will miss many of the significant features which influence language practices and language behaviour, namely the family and home domains. He calls for more synergy between top-down (de jure) and bottom-up (de facto) language policies. He argues that:

The real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices than in its management. Unless the management is consistent with the language practices and beliefs, and with the other contextual forces that are at play, the explicit policy written in the constitution and laws is likely to have no more effect on how people speak than the activities of generations of school teachers vainly urging the choice of correct language. (ibid., p.222)

Spolsky also identifies a number of different fora in which types of language policy can be elaborated, such as supranational, nation state, regional, state in federation and so on; all of which remain within the traditional nation-state structure. However, Spolsky has received criticism for not moving beyond this traditional structure. Scholars such as Mar-Molinero and Stewart (eds) (2006), and Wright (2004) argue that there is a need to expand issues of language policy beyond the limitations of the nation-state paradigm given the changing nature of the traditional nation-state structure which have come about as a result of Europeanisation and Globalisation. Wright (2004) calls for more research into how the three levels: global, national and local are interacting; an issue that still remains under researched.
Drawing on the work of Spolsky, Ricento (2006: 17) argues that domains of inquiry are a better way to approach the field than theories of language policy. He suggests that “(...) researchers tend to ask questions about particular issues or domains, which involve language matters, rather than searching for data to prove some sort of a priori theory”. Similarly, Bratt Paulston and Heidemann (2006: 298) suggest: “(...) no language policy is likely to be successful in the long run if it goes counter to the existing socio-cultural forces acting on the local contextual situations”. The discussion offered in chapter three will indicate that this is in fact one of the major failures of language policy within the Irish context; it has failed to keep up with changes in Irish society. On the other hand, the situation of Basque, like Catalan, shows the benefits of updating language policy, of incorporating the previously discussed concept of linguistic normalisation into the language policy, thereby ensuring the language is integrated at the level of everyday use.

Shohamy (2006: 54) in her expanded view of language policy argues that language policy should not be limited to the study of just official statements about language recovery. She says:

An expanded view of language policy argues that language policy should not be limited to the examination of declared and official statements. Rather, the real policy is executed through a variety of mechanisms that determine de facto practices. There is a need therefore to examine the use of mechanisms and study their consequences and effects on de facto language policy.

Shohmay (2006) builds on Spolsky’s call for more synergy between de jure and de facto language policies by focusing on how de facto language policies serve as a means of turning language ideology into practice. She highlights the importance of focusing on mechanisms of language policy. According to Shohamy (2006), a mechanism of language policy functions as a tool that affects language ideology and language practices. She defines a mechanism of language policy as follows:

It should be noted that mechanisms, or policy devices, are used by all groups in society, top-down and bottom-up whenever they use language as a means of turning ideology into practice and of creating de facto policies. (ibid., p.54)

A mechanism of language policy is understood to be the connection between language ideology and language practice, it affects language perception, people’s behaviour and in turn de facto language policies and it is via these different mechanisms that ideology can affect language practices.
Mechanisms, or policy devices, are part of the expanded view of language policy (LP) where LP is interpreted not through declared and official documents but is derived through different mechanisms used implicitly and covertly to create de facto language policies. (ibid., p.57)

While Shohamy focuses on the linguistic landscape to exemplify how language mechanisms affect, manipulate, and impose de facto language practices in covert way, the aim of this research is to investigate whether or not television in minority languages can function as a mechanism of language policy.

From the discussion above on language policy and language planning, it becomes evident that in order for any language planning effort to be successful it is necessary to nurture positive language ideologies and attitudes. The importance of language ideology and attitude research within sociolinguistics and the sociology of language, in particular to language policy and language planning, forms the basis of the next section.

2.4 Language Ideology and Attitude Research

In the context of this research, language ideology and attitudes are examined from the point of view of non first-language speakers of Irish and Basque, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. The language ideology of these young adults is investigated not only in order to indicate to what extent they view Irish and Basque as markers of their identity and as a cultural resource, but also to show when these young Irish and Basque adults deem the use of the language appropriate and in what domains. Also, given the nature of this research, the examination of how the presence of Irish and Basque on television impacts on their language ideology is of particular importance. A discussion on the methodology employed to investigate the participants' ideology forms the basis of chapters five and six. The aim of this section is to provide a rationale for the inclusion of language ideology research by highlighting the importance of positive language attitudes to ensure a successful outcome of language policy and planning measures.

Language ideology and language attitudes are two concepts used frequently in language policy and language planning literature. It is important to highlight the difference between these two concepts at this juncture. For Woolard (1998), language ideology refers to the beliefs of set groups rather than individuals, to a given
communities beliefs about language and language choice. According to Spolsky (2004) there is a distinct difference between the terms language ideology and language attitude. Language ideology is understood as a set of shared beliefs about language, beliefs that are underpinned by certain social and cultural values. As Tollefson (1999) argues language ideology refers to socially constructed assumptions about a language. Shohamy (2006: 130) argues that language ideology is connected to the political ideology of the nation-state, where language plays a fundamental role in marking identity. Conversely, a language attitude, as is described by Spolsky (2004), refers to the beliefs an individual holds about a language. However, there are a vast number of research perspectives and a plethora of labels used to describe the concept of language attitude, therefore it is imperative to define what is meant by the term language attitude within the present research. A language attitude can be described as an individual’s inclination to react to a particular language and/or to the speakers of a particular language in a positive or negative way. Baker (1992) equates the importance of attitudes to a particular language with that of an individual’s attitude to their health, claiming that it has implications for the restoration, preservation, decay and death of a language. Similarly Tulloch (2004: 41) argues:

Attitudes about the symbolic and practical value of a language indicate personal attachment to (or detachment from) the language and are, as such, indicative of individual desire and commitment to maintaining, acquiring, or giving up a particular language.

Within this thesis language attitudes refer to the value that young Irish and Basque adults, both individually and as a group, ascribe to their respective languages, in the symbolic and practical sense, as put forward by Tulloch. It is important to provide a commentary on the nature of previous research on language attitudes within the discipline of sociolinguistics, before analysing the importance of language attitudes to language planning and in particular to minority languages.

2.4.1 Language attitude research in sociolinguistics
Language attitude research has been present within the discipline of sociolinguistics virtually since its inception. The first most significant example of language attitude research is Lambert and Wallace et al (1966) matched-guise technique, which was conducted in Quebec in the 1960s and examines the attitudes to French and English held by Canadians. Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) examine some of the language

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2 MGT is where a set of judges evaluate language recordings in an attempt to investigate linguistic stereotyping.
attitude research that existed at that time and comment on the need for further research within the area. In the eighties a large corpus of language attitude literature began to emerge. The majority of language attitude research deals with the attitudes to varieties of the same language and language attitudes within bilingual situations.

The main purpose of attitude research, according to Ladegaard (2000), is to examine the association between particular attitudes and a number of other variables and to investigate the extent to which an individual’s attitude to a language may impact on their sociolinguistic behaviour as well as on their treatment of speakers of certain languages. The difficulty in measuring attitudes, due to their psychological nature, is an issue highlighted by many sociolinguistic researchers (Agheyisi and Fishman, 1970; Baker, 1992). Traditionally, attitudinal research has been conducted from either a behaviourist or a mentalist perspective. The behaviourist approach has received much criticism due to what Fasold (1984) describes as the lack of a flawless means of assessing a person’s internal mental process from only their behaviour. The mentalist approach to study of language attitudes has been most favoured by sociolinguists when conducting language attitude research.

The mentalist approach stems from the discipline of social psychology, from the idea that an attitude is composed of three elements, which are illustrated in the graph below, originally developed by Rosenberg and Hovland (1960). Agheyisi and Fishman (1970) highlight the fact that the description of an individual’s attitude is not complete without examining all three components, to one extent or another. Ryan, Giles and Sebastian (1982: 7) argue that in taking a mentalist approach to studying language attitudes they become what they describe as: “any affective, cognitive or behavioural index of evaluative reactions toward different language varieties or their speakers”.

Figure 2.3: The components of a language attitude
Several authors, such as Siguan and Mackey (1986), and Baker (1992), have argued that there is a close relationship between language attitudes and language behaviour. This relationship is studied from both a psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspective. According to Baker (1992), language attitudes need to be tapped by attitudinal items. Language attitudes have been investigated using either direct (e.g. surveys and questionnaires) or indirect (e.g. matched guise technique) methods. Recently, scholars such as Ladegaard (2000) argue that due to the complexity of language attitudes it is imperative that both direct and indirect methodologies be applied to future language attitude research. Attitude questionnaires are a good tool for measuring attitudes, but there are a number of methodological issues associated with using the questionnaire method. Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003: 66) argue: “we need a complex of methods to match the inherent complexity of language attitudes, as entertained by different individuals and groups”. A questionnaire and focus group were employed to investigate the language ideology and attitudes of the research participants, the results of which are discussed in chapter five.

2.4.2 Language attitude research and language policy and planning

Language attitudes are a hugely important element of all language policy initiatives and are also an important factor in the effective execution of language planning. Choi (2003: 81) contends that: “Attitudes have a decisive influence on processes of linguistic variation and change, language planning and the maintenance or loss of languages in the community”. The importance of language attitudes to language revitalisation and maintenance is related to the impact that an individual’s language attitude has on their language behaviour. Previous research has demonstrated that language attitudes indicate to speakers when it is appropriate to use one language or language variety over another. Tulloch (2004: 25) argues that in the case of Inuit: “Favourable attitudes about the value of the language can help to maintain a stable linguistic situation at least temporarily”.

In the case of minority languages, the attitudes people hold towards the language will impact on the possibilities for language revitalisation and maintenance. Grin and Vaillancourt (1998: 28) argue: “research on language policy and language planning, no matter what discipline it hails from, confirms that positive attitudes are a sine qua non condition of language revitalisation”. Language attitudes are important predictors
of language behaviour and subsequently can be seen as important in influencing the
direction language planning should take. Tulloch (2004) suggests that current trends
in sociolinguistic research show that an investigation into language attitudes is a
precursor to any language-planning project. By examining the attitudes of young Irish
and Basque adults, the research undertaken herein is in line with this current trend.

There is much research that identifies the importance of positive language attitudes in
order to ensure the recovery of minority languages. Scholars such as MacDonnacha
(2000) argue that language attitudes are a key component of language revival as they
can encourage people to take action. Similarly, Strubell (2001) identifies positive
language attitudes as key to setting the wheel in motion when outlining his Catherine
Wheel Model. He argues that supply can only ever follow demand. The
unpredictability of language attitudes is problematic to all language planning
initiatives according to Tulloch (2004). She suggests that extensive research should be
conducted on language attitudes prior to the implementation of any language planning
processes. Language planners should develop their strategies around prevailing
language attitudes or should engage in some attitude-influencing activity prior to
implementing their strategies. Tulloch (2004: 45) puts forward the following
suggestion: “When the people’s language attitudes are in line with the aims of the
language plan, language behaviour is most likely to coincide with the target of the
language plan”. Nevertheless, one of the major issues with relying on such a strategy
was previously highlighted by Baker (1992). He argues that very often there are
inconsistencies in what an individual expresses as their language attitude and their
actual language behaviour. King (2002: 167) draws on a comparison between the Irish
and Welsh cases in this regard, when he declared that: “(…) the Irish situation
parallels the Welsh where the number of parents who want their children to learn
Welsh far outweighs the number who actually speaks Welsh to their families”

In the case of Irish and Basque, if governmental level support for these languages is to
remain, it is crucial that positive ideology exist amongst the general population. There
is a wealth of previous research into the ideology that people hold to Irish and Basque
respectively, predominately in the form of sociolinguistic surveys conducted by both
governments. These surveys are discussed in detail in relation to Irish and Basque in
chapters three and four respectively. The language ideology of young adults in
relation to these languages has often been included as a sector of the population. However, the number of surveys that focused on young adults, in particular on those who do not have Irish or Basque as a first language remain scarce. An issue that arises from an examination of these surveys, which is necessary to discuss here, is the lack of attention given to the factors that actually impact on the attitudes that individuals have to Irish and Basque and on the factors that affect their language ideology. It is from this perspective that the research undertaken here will be adding to the existing volume of work on language attitudes and language ideology. Furthermore, this research addresses the call put forward by Williams (2000) for more comparative research between Celtic languages and their European counterparts. Gardner (1996) argues that attitudes are adopted and therefore may be subject to change, and in terms of language attitudes this change may occur in the social value of a language, thus influencing linguistic behaviour of individuals pertaining to a particular linguistic community. It is in this regard that an examination of the role of minority language media may be beneficial.

2.5 Mass Media and Sociolinguistics

As is outlined in the introductory chapter to this thesis, the research undertaken herein is of an interdisciplinary nature, incorporating the disciplines of media studies, sociology of language and sociolinguistics. The number of studies incorporating these disciplines has grown in recent times, with much scholarly interest lying in the relationship between the media and sociolinguistic features such as language attitudes and language behaviour. Of considerable note is the recent growth in studies incorporating media in minority languages and sociolinguistics, which is evidenced by research groups such as the Mercator Minority Media Network and the recent publication by Cormack and Hourigan (eds) (2007) entitled Minority Language Media: Concepts, techniques and case studies. Although much of the new research examines the impact of contemporary forms of media such as the Internet and other digital media, for the purposes of the research undertaken within this thesis the focus remains on traditional mass media, predominately television.
2.5.1 Media and minority languages

The relationship between minority languages and media has been one of contention for many decades. Undoubtedly, the fact that a hierarchy of languages exists in today’s society is related to the now colossal media industry, which emerged following the invention of the printing press. According to Anderson (1983) and Popp (2006), the introduction of mass printing was instrumental in fostering the concept of a national language, which more often than not was the language of the dominant class. Lesser-used languages were not present in these early forms of media. Basque, which has survived because of its rich oral tradition, is an example of a language that did not benefit from the advances of the printing press. Similarly, in the early days of broadcast media, it was the dominant language and language varieties that benefited from most airtime, which had a negative impact on attitudes to lesser used languages and language varieties. Hilmes (1997) argues: “the uninflected tone of early radio talk cast regional and ethnic accents as inadequately ‘American’” (quoted in Popp, 2006: 7). Minority groups became less tolerant of the lack of presence of their languages on the broadcast media, and as a result of campaigns and social movements these languages were given the airtime that they deserved3.

Although media, the broadcast media in particular, have often been recognised as important for the promotion of minority languages, the role of the media in the revitalisation of minority languages is an issue that until recently remained under-researched. As is discussed in section 2.1.3, Fishman warns that the role of minority language media in maintaining minority languages should not be overestimated. Conversely, the various contributors to Riggins’ Ethnic Minority Media published in 1992 highlight the shortcomings of some of the early criticisms of the media’s role in minority language maintenance. Riggins (1992) highlights the broadcast media as important tools that can be used to the advantage of minority languages and cultures. According to Riggins (1992: 282): “minority media are making a substantial contribution to the continued survival of minority languages”. Cormack (2003) notes the importance of Riggins text to the growth of the field of study, but he also suggests that one of the major shortcomings of the work was the limited amount of space given to European minority languages. One of the first significant contributions to the study

3 See Hourigan (2003) for a discussion on the role of social movements in the creation of minority language media
of European minority language was the formation of Mercator Media in 1995 and the subsequent creation *Media Forum Journal*. The journal has since produced several articles on issues relating to the provision of media services in European minority languages. However, there is still a lack of comparative research, which remains an issue for Cormack (2003) who states that the majority of existing research, with the exception of that conducted by Riggins, has focused on very specific settings and circumstances. In general terms, previous research has shown the positive political, cultural and linguistic effects of the existence of minority language media.

### 2.5.2 Minority language media function

The availability of media in minority languages fulfils an important symbolic function for the speakers of the given minority language. The impact that the presence of minority languages on the media has on actual language practices is indirect and is mediated through language attitudes. It has been suggested by researchers that it is amongst teenagers and young adults that these effects are greatest. For example, Baker (1992: 110) states: “Television, records, cassettes, videos, satellite broadcasts, films, radio and computer software are often regarded as having an influence on the language attitudes of teenagers in particular”. The importance of the availability of minority languages in the media can best be appreciated in the following application of the Habermasian concept of the public sphere.

The concept of the public sphere was introduced by Habermas (1991), whose influential study *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* stressed the importance of the public sphere in modern society. In earlier writings Habermas (1974, 1989) describes the public sphere as the coming together of private individuals to discuss public matters, a sphere that intercedes state and society. He defines it as: “a sphere where individuals interact for the greater good of their community” (1989, p.27). Habermas also suggests that the public sphere can be understood as: “…that realm of our social life where something approaching public opinion can be formed” (1974: 29). Although Habermas was never very clear in his writings as to how one can participate in the ‘public sphere’, he describes the coffee houses and saloons of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the traditional forum for it to exist in. Within these coffee houses and saloons individuals became involved in what
Habermas describes as civic dialogue. Habermas maintains that the availability of newspapers and books within these coffee houses and saloons was a significant contributory factor in creating civic dialogue. In his writings, Habermas accounts for two forms of the public sphere. The first is the political public sphere where individuals come together to discuss issues of politics. The second form is the literary public sphere where the concern is on social behaviour and taste. A contemporary understanding of the public sphere is suggested by Fraser (1993: 120), who comments: "(...) each public sphere can be seen as providing a space where participants with similar cultural backgrounds can engage in discussions about issues and interests important to them".

Habermas' public sphere model has been subject to much criticism, with some researchers arguing that if it existed at all it did so only for a brief period during the Enlightenment and with others scholars, such as Roberts and Crossley (2004), criticising it for being too idealistic and class restricted. However, there are many theorists who put forward the notion that the public sphere has been transformed in contemporary society due in part to the onset of the broadcast media. Notably, Habermas himself points out the importance of media to the contemporary public sphere when he said: "Today newspapers and magazines, radio and television are the media of the public sphere" (Habermas, 1984: 52, quoted in Livingstone and Lunt 1994:19). Fraser (1993) also argues that today the link between state and society, between institution and the public, between public events and the public sphere, occurs via the channels of media. He suggests that the media is the forum for civic dialogue in contemporary society. Similarly, Silverstone (1994: 176) describes how influential scholars such as Scannell (1991) suggests: "(...) that the contemporary politics of everyday life has been transformed by the media and a new kind of public sphere has emerged". Significantly, the media, particularly television, are understood to be aiding the creation of a public sphere to which all citizens have access. As Silverstone (1994: ix) suggests: "television has colonised the basic levels of social reality as it is embedded in the multiple discourses of everyday life".

Indeed, Habermas' model of the public sphere has been used extensively to examine the impact of television on advanced industrial societies. Although it is often criticised for dumbing down knowledge, television is a particularly important media
tool in shaping public opinion, which is a result of its power to reach almost everybody within a particular community. Furthermore this is an indication of the role television plays in the creation of the political public sphere. As Morley and Robbins (1995: 118) argue: “broadcasting has functioned as the space in which the imaginaric of a national community is reflected and shaped”. The power of the television medium comes from the fact, as Arana (1997) argues, that for the majority of people it is the main source of information and opinion. Croteau and Hoyne (2003) maintain that television is a hugely powerful agent of socialisation and it is here that television can be understood to be impacting on the literary public sphere through the influences it has on tastes and behaviours.

The existence of a public sphere in minority languages is vital to their identity. In recent times, the Habermasian concept of the public sphere has been used to investigate the effect of the existence of minority language media on minority language communities. Leitner (1996) argues that media discourse might change the language repertoire of a society, by helping to create a public forum or public sphere in a particular language, which will have consequences for the social uses of the given language. Guyot (2003) argues that the audiovisual media are essential tools in bringing minority languages into the public sphere. In relation to minority language television in particular, Hourigan (2003: 34) says that such channels provide “an opportunity to create a new definition of social reality which conforms to the linguistic and cultural experience of these minorities”. Indeed, as Amezaga (2000) points out, the presence of Basque in the public sphere due to the advent of ETB-1 following Basque autonomy helped to consolidate a sense of Basqueness amongst the population in the post-independence phase. Cormack (1998) describes how minority language media can help to create the conditions necessary for the public sphere to exist. He contends that there are three important elements particular to the media that aid the link between public events and private lives, namely: (i) regular news outlets, (ii) current affairs output and (iii) public access to the media. By providing a minority language community with these resources, media in minority languages create a sense of community. As Amezaga (2000:3) argues:

We thus understand the public sphere to be a space in which, through the means of communication, the members of the community delimited by the area of these media, enter into contact with each other and constitute themselves into a ‘we’.
The relationship between media studies and sociolinguistics forms the basis of the next section.

2.5.3 Media effects research and sociolinguistics

There is a huge volume of research within the discipline of the sociology of the media that indicates that media, particularly television, affect behaviour. Traditionally research focused on the negative aspects of the effect of media on behaviour, particularly in relation to violent behaviour. However, in the eighties researchers began to examine the positive effects of the media. In relation to television, much of the research focussed on the importance of soap operas in this regard (cf. Ang, 1985). McQuail (2004) focuses on how media affects social behaviour, particularly para-social interaction. He postulates that the main finding from previous research is that a simple assumption of some effect from mass media is a sound one. However, the direction, degree, durability and predictability of effect are each uncertain and have to be established case by case (McQuail, 2004: 447). Television saturates our daily lives and has had a profound effect on society since its invention in the fifties. Silverstone (1994: 4) maintains: “television has colonised the basic levels of social reality as it is embedded in the multiple discourses of everyday life”. There is a large volume of work within the discipline of the sociology of the media which demonstrates that television does affect social behaviour. Television is a hugely powerful instrument that influences social behaviour. According to Pérez-Ortiz (2002:3): “Television conveys information regarding rules of social conduct that the individual remembers and that directly shapes overt behaviour”. The power of the medium being in what Bourdieu (1996) describes as the ability of television to reach everybody. Research to show that television does affect linguistic behaviour is not as vast. As Stuart-Smith (2006:1) argues: “The advent of television represents one of the most significant social phenomena of the twentieth century and yet oddly, whether television might influence language or not, is a neglected area of sociolinguistic research”. Nevertheless there are some key contributions to this area of study that deserve some attention here. Early writings on the relationship between media and language were focused on the features of the language used in the media. Research produced by groups such as the Glasgow University Research Group, for example, examined issues related to the language used on broadcast news. Bell (1991) examines the
language used on the news arguing that it creates a speech community of its own (Bell, 1991: 9).

Trudgill (1986; 1988) was one of the earliest sociolinguists to investigate the impact of television on society. He examines how television aided the diffusion of certain linguistic features, principally the spread of /th/ fronting outside of the London area. Trudgill found that television was only indirectly affecting the spread of such patterns, arguing together with Milroy that because television viewing does not involve face-to-face interaction its effects are limited. In spite of these comments Trudgill did contend that television impacts on attitudes to certain linguistic features. He argues: “The sheer spread of the changes may be due to a ‘softening-up’ process produced by the engendering of favourable attitudes through television programmes” (Trudgill, 1988:44, quoted in Stuart-Smith, 2006:4). In recent times, there have been a number of studies conducted that show television to be affecting language practices in minority language situations. For example, O’Donnell (2000: 300) comments on the sociolinguistic impact of the production and consumption of Catalan telenovelas in the 1980s:

Though there is no reliable way of measuring the linguistic impact of productions such as these, there can be little doubt that they have been important elements in the process of normalisation of Catalan, and there is some evidence of Castilian speakers learning Catalan in order to follow them better and to participate in the discussions they evoke.

Similarly, Carvalho (2004: 127-151) describes how television in Portuguese has increased the spread of Uruguayan Portuguese in a bilingual town on the Brazil-Uruguay broader.

2.5.4 Minority language media and language maintenance

Traditionally, minority languages were absent from the media because of their low social status. The rise in the availability of media in minority languages was beneficial for a number of reasons. The most obvious of these reasons is that the existence of media in minority languages allows people to read newspapers, listen to the news, and watch television in these languages. The presence of minority languages within the media is of huge significance when one considers the power the media has in society. As discussed by Devereux (2003: 11), the media create a definition of social reality for their audience. He argues:
The mass media are centrally involved in the social construction of reality for audience members, giving them an understanding of both their immediate and their more distant social consequences. The mass media are highly visible fora for minority languages and today, as Cotter (1999: 144) suggests, the media are used: "(...) on behalf of the obsolescing language to counteract its decline instead of functioning as a catalyst or a cause of obsolescence". Media in a minority language are also, according to Riggins (1992), a crucial tool in the preservation of ethnic identity. Hourigan (2003: 34) argues that minority language media provide: "(...) an opportunity to create a new definition of social reality which conforms to the linguistic and cultural experience of these minorities". Similarly, Popp (2006: 5) suggests: "The ways of speaking featured in media texts act as symbols that tie into prevalent ideas about what language can and should do in society". One of the most important benefits of media in minority languages is their potential role in the revitalisation and maintenance of these languages. Browne (1996) describes media in minority languages as having seven main purposes, which are all important elements in the processes of minority language revitalisation and maintenance. The seven purposes include: (1) to rescue the language, (2) to increase self-esteem, (3) to combat negative images, (4) to work for greater cohesiveness and through this for political influence, (5) to provide a visible and audible symbol of indigenous society, (6) to provide an outlet for creative production, and (7) to provide a source of employment. The presence of minority languages on the broadcast media shows, as Cotter (2001) argues, that such languages as Irish and Basque are capable of competing in the contemporary marketplace. The broadcast media are hugely beneficial in expanding the domains in which use of minority languages is acceptable. As Williams (1984: 89) argues:

Broadcasting does have an innovative role in the sense that it is able to portray in fantasy form the use of a minority language in domains, which in real life, it does not exist. This, over time, leads to the acceptance of the potential of the use of the minority language across a variety of domains within which it may not exist.

The potential of the media for maintaining minority languages has also been discussed by Grin, who uses symbolic economic terminology to highlight such potential. Grin (2000) equates the maintenance of minority languages with the economics and marketing terminology of capacity, supply and demand, where he argues that efforts need to be made in all three areas if the future of a minority language is to be secured.
He argues that capacity can be understood as a metaphor for linguistic competence in a given minority language. However, in many minority language situations there is an over-emphasis on the capacity side, which Grin warns will only result in market failure, where market failure is to be understood as: “an inappropriate level of production of some commodity where ‘inappropriate’ means ‘too much’” (Grin, 2000: 5). He suggests that there is a necessity for developments at the levels of demand and supply to keep in line with those at the level of capacity. According to Grin, by supporting the existence of minority language media governments are contributing to the supply of a linguistic environment. He says: “By creating opportunities for the people to use their language outside of the strictly private sphere authorities contribute to the supply of a linguistic environment” (Grin, 2000: 9-10). Grin warns that the real test as to how media are benefiting minority language revival occurs when the growth in supply intersects with the growth in demand: “It is important, when assessing policy interventions in the field of the media, to think not only in terms of supply, but also in terms of demand and hence to investigate the intersection of supply and demand” (Grin, 2000: 11). He describes this as the acid test of what can be achieved by minority language media. Grin (2000) stated that so far these issues have not received the level of scholarly attention that they deserve. He argues that there are numerous studies that provide data on the variety of minority language media available, but little data on how the availability of these media actually influence language revitalisation. It is this very issue that the research undertaken within this thesis will address by investigating how the supply of television in Irish and Basque impacts on the language ideology, attitudes and practices of the Irish and Basque languages amongst young adults.

2.5.5 Minority language television

In the late eighties and early nineties scholars began to examine media in minority languages. Before offering a discussion on this research it is necessary to first provide a brief description as to how media in minority languages first began to emerge. Television impacts on language behaviour in a number of different ways. Bell (1991) suggests that the broadcast media are dominating presenters of language in society. Significantly, prior to the onset of minority language broadcasting, radio and television were understood to be aiding the decline of minority languages. Language activists initially saw television as posing a significant threat to the future of such
languages. Leitner (1996) points out that in the early seventies researchers held the broadcast media responsible for influencing language shift in multilingual societies. On the other hand, the absence of minority languages from the television medium served only to increase the association of such languages with the label of backward (O’Connell, 2003; Ó Laoire, 2002).

Before initiatives were taken to create separate minority language channels many European minorities, such as Scots Gaelic, Welsh and Irish, were allocated limited amounts of airtime on the national broadcasters. However, it was not long before minority language campaigners recognised the potential of television as a minority language promoter and the campaigns for minority language television began to emerge. The campaigns to obtain minority language channels are driven by what Thomas (1995: 5) describes as: “the realisation that, in the modern world, television in your own language is a necessity for cultural and linguistic survival”. Hourigan (2003) also points out how minority television helps the minority language community to compete with the dominant language community: “The establishment of minority language television services provides an opportunity to create a new definition of social reality which conforms to the linguistic and cultural experience of these minorities” (ibid., p.34). The existence of minority language television channels such as TG4 and ETB-I gives visibility to these languages and makes them available to anybody who may wish to tune in. As a result, minority language cultures now have much greater associations with “glamour, modernity and youth” (Hourigan, 2002: 8).

Television in minority languages fulfils a very important function for its audience members. However, it has not always being recognised as doing so. Even though Bevan (1984) recognises the importance of S4C in enhancing Welsh cultural identity, she remains doubtful that S4C would increase the use of the Welsh language and argues that it may serve to further alienate the Welsh and English language communities, particularly due to the fact S4C was taking the place of Channel 4. O’Drisceoil (1995) also comments that minority language television could only serve to further alienate minority language communities. He argues that because the Scots opted not to have a separate channel and instead to increase the number of programmes in Scots Gaelic on national broadcasters (BBC, ITV), they would
achieve high audience ratings\(^4\). The lack of presence of minority languages on
television increased the association of such languages with the label of backward,
with such languages being described as O’Connell (2003: 44-45) says “quaint relics
of the bygone days”. The changing global mediascape is helping to increase the
number of television offerings in minority languages. The increase in the number of
television stations available, which is a result of digital television, has led to a
decrease in viewership of traditional television, which has had particular connotations
for the presence of minority languages on television. The growth in the presence of
Irish and Basque on the television medium can largely be attributed to this change, an
issue that will be discussed in chapter six.

While one of the aims of this research is to investigate whether minority language
television has a significant role to play in enhancing attitudes to these languages, it is
clear that one advantage of the existence of television channels in such languages is
that it enables a public sphere to exist. One of the major difficulties for minority
language speakers is the lack of sufficient public arenas where they can come together
and interact to feel part of wider speaking community. Minority language television
allows for a feeling of ‘we’ to exist amongst a linguistic community. As Guyot (2003)
argues such forms of media ‘speak’ to the people and have a concrete link with the
people’s experience of the world. This is hugely significant in the case of languages
such as Irish and Basque given that speakers of these languages are dispersed.
Television in Irish and Basque creates a sense of belonging for the speakers who
otherwise would have no public arena. Watson (2002) and Amezaga (2000) both
stress the importance of the existence of television in Irish and Basque respectively in
enabling a public sphere in these languages to exist. Watson (2002: 752) comments:
“Irish speakers can participate as citizens in the public sphere by watching TG4”,
while Amezaga (2000: 2) argues that: “Media, particularly television, play a
fundamental role in the formation of a Basque public sphere”. The ease of
accessibility to television in Irish and Basque is important to the existence of these
public spheres.

\(^4\) A Scots Gaelic television service, Seirbheis nam Meadhainn Gaidhlig, has been broadcasting since
2003. The service is set to broadcast as an actual channel in later 2007.
achieve high audience ratings\(^4\). The lack of presence of minority languages on television increased the association of such languages with the label of backward, with such languages being described as O’Connell (2003: 44-45) says “quaint relics of the bygone days”. The changing global mediascape is helping to increase the number of television offerings in minority languages. The increase in the number of television stations available, which is a result of digital television, has led to a decrease in viewership of traditional television, which has had particular connotations for the presence of minority languages on television. The growth in the presence of Irish and Basque on the television medium can largely be attributed to this change, an issue that will be discussed in chapter six.

While one of the aims of this research is to investigate whether minority language television has a significant role to play in enhancing attitudes to these languages, it is clear that one advantage of the existence of television channels in such languages is that it enables a public sphere to exist. One of the major difficulties for minority language speakers is the lack of sufficient public arenas where they can come together and interact to feel part of wider speaking community. Minority language television allows for a feeling of ‘we’ to exist amongst a linguistic community. As Guyot (2003) argues such forms of media ‘speak’ to the people and have a concrete link with the people’s experience of the world. This is hugely significant in the case of languages such as Irish and Basque given that speakers of these languages are dispersed. Television in Irish and Basque creates a sense of belonging for the speakers who otherwise would have no public arena. Watson (2002) and Amezaga (2000) both stress the importance of the existence of television in Irish and Basque respectively in enabling a public sphere in these languages to exist. Watson (2002: 752) comments: “Irish speakers can participate as citizens in the public sphere by watching TG4”, while Amezaga (2000: 2) argues that: “Media, particularly television, play a fundamental role in the formation of a Basque public sphere”. The ease of accessibility to television in Irish and Basque is important to the existence of these public spheres.

\(^4\) A Scots Gaelic television service, Seirbheis nam Meadhanan Gaidhlig, has been broadcasting since 2003. The service is set to broadcast as an actual channel in later 2007.
Other advantages of television in minority languages include increasing the symbolic capital attached to using the language. Guyot (2003) describes how the presence of Breton on television gives credibility to the language through its airing of programmes in the Breton language, while also helping to raise the market value of the language. Furthermore, as Bourhis (2004) suggests, minority language television expands the domains in which such languages are used. Minority language television aids the language by adding to the supply of a linguistic environment outside of the educational setting, which is hugely significant to the young. Of similar importance for Bourhis is how it impacts on minority language use within the home domain. He says: “through its invasion of the home it influences our language behaviour in the most personal and intimate domain of our daily life” (Bourhis, 2004: 5). Television in minority languages also has the potential to impact on language attitudes. Cotter (1999: 145) contends that: “Innovations in broadcast media also mean consequences for traditional attitudes about the language”. The aim of this research is to examine the extent to which the above-mentioned advantages of minority language television hold true in the case of Irish and Basque, which according to Grin (2000) is an issue that has been insufficiently researched.

2.6 Conclusion
Through an analysis of previous research, this chapter has identified the key theoretical strands on which this research can be based. The chapter has also shown how sociolinguistic concepts such as language revival and maintenance are to be understood with regard to the next two chapters. Chapters three and four provide an analysis of the current situation of the Irish and Basque languages respectively with regard to the principal themes of this research, namely: (1) language revitalisation, (2) language policy and language planning, including language attitude research, and (3) minority language media.

5 There is an association know as "Brezhoneg barzh an tele !" (Breton on Television!) that has been successfully in getting F3 to broadcast some Breton programming across the historical Breton region.
CHAPTER THREE
The Irish Language Today
3.0 Overview
The aim of this chapter is to offer an account of the situation which the Irish language finds itself in today. In order to discuss what efforts to revive and revitalise the Irish language have achieved to date, it is necessary to provide a brief historical account of the decline of the language and early attempts to revive the language. An in-depth account of previous language policies and language planning strategies, together with an account of their successes and failures, is also presented. Although Fishman’s G.I.D. scale received some criticism in the previous chapter, it provides a useful barometer, in some ways, with on which to measure the current position of the Irish language. The latter part of the chapter deals with the presence of Irish in the media, with a particular focus on the Irish language television channel TG4, focusing specifically on the role it has to play in Irish language revitalisation.

3.1 Historical Background
From a historical perspective the current linguistic situation in Ireland, that of English/Irish bilingualism, is the result of a political past, which worked to the detriment of the Irish language. Although the English language had gained some ground in Ireland in the early seventeenth century, the country remained largely monolingual (Irish) until the end of the 1800s; the exception being within areas of large English settlement known as the Pale, which were located along the Eastern coast. During the eighteenth century, as a result of the plantations and legislations adopted by new English landlords, Irish-speakers were prevented from participating in economic life (Ó Riagáin, 1997). At that time, English had already been established as the language of the urban centres and had been adopted as the language of political and social advancement, while Irish was the language of the rural population and it began to be associated with backwardness. Kelly (2002: 5) points out that: “Of greater importance was the fact the Irish people were surrounded by a world whose business was carried on through the medium of English, a world which was seen as economically more prosperous than Gaelic-speaking Ireland”. Mac Giolla Chríost (2005: 84) argues it was the dissociation of the language with modernity which led to a further decline in Irish as the more popular vernacular. Similarly Murtagh (2003:4) comments: “It would appear that parents from socio-economically prosperous areas saw the learning of English as necessary for their children’s progress and survival”. 
The Irish language also experienced rapid decline in the mid-1800s as a result of the educational policies adopted by the English whereby Irish did not form part of the curriculum. The Great Famine of 1845-1849 had an even more profound impact on the linguistic reality of Ireland. The decline in the language occurred because Irish-speaking areas which were economically self-sufficient up to that period, now had to turn to English because it had become the language of education and also the language of emigration. Nic Craith (1994) highlights the fact that the shift to English advanced rapidly in the years following the Great Famine. A situation which is similar to that described by Dorian (1981) with regard to the decline of a dialect of Scottish Gaelic in fishing communities of East Sutherland. The Irish language declined significantly as a result of the changes to the Irish economy. According to figures from data collected in 1851 just under 30% of the population spoke Irish, a figure which declined significantly in the initial post-famine decades (Fitzgerald, 1984). In fact there were serious question marks over the future of the language in the 1871 census report: "(...) there can be no error in the belief that within relatively a few years Irish will have taken its place among the languages that have ceased to exist" (quoted in Hindley, 1990: 20). Ó Riagáin (1997) points out that a closer examination of the 1891 census figures reveals that the transmission of Irish to a younger generation had almost ceased by the turn of the twentieth century. Ó hIarlannáin (2000a) points out that in 1891 only 19.2% of the population had some ability in the Irish language, a figure which is unlikely to have increased prior to the formation of the government of the Free State in 1922. Moreover between 1891 and 1926 the Irish-speaking population suffered from a further decline, when Irish society found itself in a continuing state of transitory bilingualism English held the upper hand. At the turn of the twentieth century the number of Irish-speakers had dropped to just above 17% (Kelly, 2002:115). As Fitzgerald (2003) argues, during this period all those who spoke Irish were by and large native speakers; it was unlikely that the language was being acquired in later life.

Although, as has been illustrated above, the shift to English had gained considerable grounds by the late nineteenth century, there was a movement emerging which set about to preserve the Irish language. *Conradh na Gaeilge* or The Gaelic League, an organisation established to promote Irish language and culture in the 1893 is recognised by many scholars as marking the beginning of the attempts to revive the
Irish language (Ó Riagáin, 1991; Ó Laoire, 2005; 1995 and Murtagh, 2003). Although Ó Murchú (2001) highlights the importance of the organisations that predate Conradh na Gaeilge. These include Cumann Buan Choimeádtana Gaeilge (1876) [Society for the preservation of the Irish language] and Aontacht na Gaeilge (1878) [The unity of the Irish language].

Douglas Hyde’s Necessity for the de-Anglicisation of Ireland (1893) is understood to have led to the emergence of Conradh na Gaeilge (Ó Laoire, 1995). The revival of the Irish language was one of the core elements to the campaign as Hyde viewed the language as essential to the cultural development of Ireland. He argues “We have no business condemning the English as the scourge of the country while we are at full bent to imitate these same English” (Hyde quoted in Purdon, 1999: 39). The organisation was concerned with the development of a modern Irish literature as well as educating existing Irish-speakers to become literate in their language. The Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) was also involved in a similar ethno-revival movement through its promotion of traditional Irish sports. There were numerous branches of the Gaelic League spread across the country where Irish-speakers were taught these literacy skills. Members of the Gaelic League were also successful in securing a place for Irish as a subject within the British education system in 1900, when Irish was allowed to be taught either during or after school hours (Ó Riagáin, 1997; Kelly, 2002). MacNamara (1971) and Ó Laoire (1995) argue that the Gaelic League’s focus on cultural elements and the educational system failed to attract and include working class people; therefore early revival attempts were predominantly for the benefit of the middle to urban classes. This was in line with many of the state policies of the time where the focus was on altering the socio-economic structure in order to expand the middle class.

Following the War of Independence and the inception of the Irish Free State, the revival of the language became the remit of the newly formed government. The government put a language policy in place where the central aim was to revert back to a monolingual Irish-speaking Ireland, however, this was not the original aim of the Gaelic League. Many researchers, such as Ó Laoire (1995), point out that Hyde’s

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5 In 1904 the Gaelic League had 600 branches.
principal aim was to create a situation of societal bilingualism, but the state was intent on creating an all-Irish-speaking Ireland that was entirely distinct from Britain with the language becoming endowed with the political agenda, a fundamental symbol of Irish identity. A symbol which was used to separate the Irish-speaking community “us” from the English speaking “them” (cf. Ó Laoire, 2007; 2005).

3.2 Irish Language Policy and Language Planning

As is discussed in chapter two, attempts to recover the Irish language can be divided into two clear phases. The first phase, from the 1922 until the end of the 1960s involved the implementation of a dual policy concerned with the reversal of language shift in areas outside of the Gaeltacht, regions of Ireland where Irish is the major language, and maintenance within these regions (cf. Ó Laoire, 2007: 165). The second phase, which began in the 1970s, saw a change in the government’s thinking with regard to the language. Efforts to reverse the shift to English had not been successful and it became necessary to approach the bilingual reality of the country, with the emphasis within the Gaeltacht remaining on maintenance and the expansion of domains of use. The government was concerned with attaining an Irish-English stable diglossia (Ó Laoire, 2005). Arguably, the government has entered a third phase in how they approach the Irish language. Within the last ten years there has been a level of synergy between the government and language policy initiatives from the bottom-up, which is perhaps best exemplified by the launch of TG4.

In the initial stages the government identified two key areas in which efforts to revive the Irish language were to be focused. The first relates to language maintenance within the Irish-speaking communities, regions known as the Gaeltacht. The second key area was the notion of revival via the educational system, which incorporated key aspects of acquisition planning. Ó hífléarnáin (2001) describes two other aspects which were important in the early phase of Irish language planning, namely aspects of status and corpus planning. Each of these four aspects is discussed in detail below.

3.2.1 The Gaeltacht

One of the major problems facing the first government of the Irish Free State was the fact that the majority of the Irish language speakers were based along the western seaboard. Speakers lived in rural pockets that were isolated from one another, in areas
that were very sparsely populated. These Irish-speaking areas became officially known as Gaeltacht areas in 1926. The Gaeltacht Commission (1926) report defined the areas where 80% of the population used Irish as their daily language as *Fior-Ghaeltacht* or the true Gaeltacht and areas where 25% of the population spoke Irish as *Breac-Ghaeltacht* or the speckled Gaeltacht (Kelly 2002). The report offered the first account of the language in these areas and it concluded that the language suffered from low prestige and held little linguistic capital. Also, there was no symbolic capital attached to using the language and, consequently, parents did not see the language as having any economic benefit for their children. As a result of the findings published in the Commission report, the government believed they would have to implement measures in order to raise the value attached to using the language in order to keep the Irish language alive within these communities. Furthermore, the government had to devise measures to curb migration out of the areas. It is argued by Ó Riagáin (1991) that the government adopted a policy of language maintenance via population maintenance. Ó hIseáin (2001: 100) describes how the ideology behind this approach was captured by a government minister in 1975 who proclaimed: “no jobs, no people; no people, no Gaeltacht; no Gaeltacht, no language”.

Following the establishment of the Department of the Gaeltacht in 1956 the Irish-speaking communities were brought under review. A report issued by the department led to a considerable reduction of the areas that were considered to be belonging to the Gaeltacht. Under the Gaeltacht Areas Order (1956) areas such as West Clare, which were previously classified as Gaeltacht areas, were no longer considered to be Irish language communities. In an effort to combat any further decline in Gaeltacht areas the state created an agency known as *Gaeltarra Éireann* or the Gaeltacht Development Authority in 1958. It was through this agency that the State provided incentives for companies willing to make maximum use of Irish to base themselves in the Gaeltacht. The agency was in charge of advancing the economy of the Gaeltacht by providing employment for the indigenous population and for returning immigrants and it also had a role in preserving and strengthening the Irish language within the community. While these industries did provide some employment for semi-skilled labourers, positions of higher authority had to be filled by people outside of the Gaeltacht as there were no training facilities based in the Irish language communities, thereby highlighting the inability of the state to employ young native Irish-speakers
profitably at home (Hindley 1990). In 1979 a further government agency known as Údarás na Gaeltachta was created which took over some of the duties of Gaeltarra Éireann. Údarás na Gaeltachta is a state run agency that was created in order to aid the economy of the Gaeltacht. In more recent times the agency has also become involved in the maintenance of the Irish language and culture. In 2005 the agency launched its new cultural programme 2010.

Paradoxically, in spite of its efforts to improve the situation of the Gaeltacht Údarás na Gaeltachta has had in reality an anglicising effect on these linguistic communities. Walsh (2002) identifies Údarás, based on the results of a report published by Bord na Gaeilge in 1989, as leading to “an erosion of the Irish language”. Údarás was seen to be having a negative effect on the position of the language in these areas for a number of reasons which have been outlined by researchers such as Ó Cinnéide, Keane and Cawley (1985) and Hickey (1991). Although those who took up the aforementioned positions of higher authority were largely returning migrants, the number of English-speaking families living in Gaeltacht areas still increased as they were returning with families that had been living in countries such as England and Scotland. For example, in Ó Riagáin’s 1986 survey of the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht he found that the majority of immigrants were women who had married men from the locality who had returned to take up an Údarás position, but more significant is the fact that English was the home language for the majority of such families. Similarly Hindley (1990) describes how in many of the secondary schools in North Western Gaeltacht areas, such as Mayo, many of the pupils were first language English speakers. Hickey (1991) argues that the lack of a well-defined language policy within Údarás na Gaeltachta itself has hindered the effectiveness of the agency, particularly when English is the international business language. The loss of native speakers and the increase in non-Irish-speakers placed Gaeltacht communities in a very fragile position. Nevertheless, the changes that have occurred within the Irish economy in more recent times mean that Údarás na Gaeltachta has been focusing on securing more attractive high end jobs, which it is hoped will draw younger people back to the Gaeltacht, something that the agency had failed to do previously. The media industry that has developed in the Connemara Gaeltacht in particular provides attractive employment for young Irish-speakers. In the 2005 Annual Report published by
Udarás, the agency states that it is currently responsible for the employment of 7,658 people in Gaeltacht areas.

In addition to providing support for the State’s mission to maintain the language, the Gaeltacht Commission Report of 1926 considered the Gaeltacht population as having a role to play in the reversal of language shift in non-Gaeltacht areas. From the early 1930s the state set about creating new Gaeltacht communities in Co. Meath. The government attempted to achieve this by transporting 122 families from the differing Gaeltacht areas to the towns of Baile Ghib, Allenstown and Rath Cairn, the latter being the only success story. Rath Cairn prospered as a Gaeltacht because it was the only village where all the families had moved came from the same Gaeltacht and spoke the same dialect of Irish. Baile Ghib provides us with an example of the lack of practicality associated with these moves. An English-speaking population was already well established in Baile Ghib and in order for these Irish-speaking families to integrate they had to speak English.

The most recent review of the Gaeltacht boundaries was undertaken between 2000 and 2002. The findings were published in a report by the Gaeltacht commission in 2002. The report found that the language had declined in many of the important Irish-speaking areas, particularly in terms of social use of the language. It can be argued that the English language is the language invested with most linguistic capital even in these regions. For example the report found that: “Even in the strongest Gaeltacht areas, the current patterns of bilingualism are yielding to the primacy of English in the life of the community and the use of English is increasing in these communities” (Gaeltacht Commission, 2002:10). The Commission has suggested that declining Gaeltacht areas, such as Dingle, be given seven years to improve the status of the language in their area and advised that all efforts should be made to increase the community use of the language arguing that “community efforts to maintain and extend the use of Irish in all domains will result in a significant increase in the use of Irish within such communities” (Gaeltacht Commission, 2002: 11). The report suggests that new policies need to be put in place to encourage the continued transmission of the language from generation to generation and to increase the daily presence of the language in the home, school and community. As will become evident through the discussion offered in the following sections, the lack of community use of
Irish is one of the major problems which has impeded the normalisation of the use of the language thusfar.

3.2.2 Acquisition planning: Irish language revival via the educational system

Educating a population in a minority language is an important part of any minority language revival or maintenance effort. Yet, as the renowned bilingual education scholar Baker (2003) warns, the education system alone cannot be expected to bring about change. He argues: “Language acquisition planning via bilingual education becomes essential for language revival, but insufficient by itself” (ibid., p.96). Nevertheless, probably the biggest problem for the revival and revitalisation of Irish has been placing the burden on the educational system. Early Irish language planners envisaged the educational system as holding the key to the revival of the Irish language. Following independence there were no more obstacles to the implementation of such a policy and from 1922 instruction in Irish was compulsory in all schools for a minimum of half an hour per day. Ó Laoire (1995) suggests that the decision by the government to focus on the educational system was related to school being one of the major agents that facilitated the shift to English and the more simplistic view that if children learn to speak Irish then they will use it. Similarly Kelly (2002: 6) notes:

The philosophy of the revival movement was founded on the incorrect assumption that if English had replaced Irish as the language of the country primarily because of the anglicised education system, then the reverse could be brought about by a native government.

Furthermore, some politicians felt that the policy of revival via the educational system would be successful even without family support, with one politician commenting: “the popular schools can restore our native language. They can do it even without positive aid from the home” (Quoted in Kelly, 2002: 10). Apart from the issues associated with the lack of opportunities for these new pupils of Irish to use the language in wider society, which is given some attention below, it is doubtful that the teachers at that time had sufficient proficiency in the language to fulfil the aims put forward by the State, although it should be mentioned that the government quickly went about introducing strict Irish language policies in teacher training colleges.

The way the language was taught was brought into question when it became apparent that children were not gaining a good level of proficiency despite studying the
language for ten years or more. The inadequacy of the revival policy through teaching the language alone was recognised only a short few years after it has been put into action. Perhaps even more noteworthy is the fact that Eoin Mac Neill, a co-founder of the Gaelic League, argued as early as 1900 that such a strategy would not be successful. He said: “There can be no greater delusion than to imagine that a language can be kept alive alone by teaching” (quoted in Ó Laoire, 1995: 54). In 1963 the Commission on the Restoration of the Irish language pointed out that revival of Irish would be hindered until such time as a practical day-to-day use of the language outside of schools was fostered. Similarly Ó hUallacháin (1994) described as problematic the insufficient back up for the Irish learned at school in the community, arguing that the available class time should be spent on developing children’s communicative skills in the language whereby the language is seen to have a real function. The importance of the existence of speech communities of use has been highlighted in chapter one and clearly there is a need to develop speech communities so that the language skills learned at school can be put to use in the wider community.

Baker (2003), speaking from a more general perspective, demonstrates the importance of the availability of a speech community outside of school. He comments “The minority language may be effectively transmitted and competently learned in the classroom. Once outside the school gates, children may switch into the majority language” (ibid, p.10). Kelly (2002), who examined the achievements of the compulsory Irish policy, found the lack of a speech community was hindering the success of Irish language revival via the educational system. He argues that “The problem was that schoolchildren and their parents realised there were limited opportunities to use Irish in the broader society, while teachers themselves were the only group charged with effecting the revival” (ibid., p.103). Similarly Ó Laoire (2002) argues that Irish language pedagogy fails to prepare students to successfully integrate into an Irish language speech community. Recent changes made to the teaching curriculum (2000-2002), which encourage teachers to focus on spoken competence, may have an important role to play in this regard. TG4 may also be an effective tool in helping Irish language speech communities to develop. Through the use of the language on the channel it becomes apparent to children and young adults that the Irish language is capable of functioning outside of the educational system. The inclusion of the Irish language soap opera Ros na Rún in the transition year
curriculum proved to be very successful in promoting the language during its pilot scheme in the academic year 2003/2004.

The situation of Irish language recovery vis-à-vis the education system is not much more satisfactory nowadays. The first Irish Language Commissioner, Sean Ó Cuirreáin called for a radical review of the position of the language in the education system in his inaugural report (2005). He expressed concern that after thirteen years of learning Irish the majority of children have little ability in the language. It is an issue of much concern and Ó Cuirreáin suggests that a radical review of the system is necessary in order for the service to improve. Ó Cuirreáin's demand has been met with mixed opinion for Irish language enthusiasts. He is correct in his assertion that there needs to be a vast improvement in terms of the resources available. However, it is clear that any review would have to encourage the introduction of a policy more intent on developing spoken competence and should be introduced along with other measures to improve the presence of the language in the community. As Ó Riagáin (2001: 206) suggests relying on the education system alone is to place Irish language recovery in a very vulnerable position.

As has been mentioned above, the educational policy of the late 1920s allowed for the introduction of all-Irish medium schools; however, these schools were not as successful as the government of that time would have wanted. The schools reached their peak of influence in the 1940s as a mere 5% share of the total number of primary schools in the country (Coady and Ó Laoire, 2002; Kelly, 2002). By 1970 there had been an enormous decline in the number of schools of this kind. According to Ó Riagáin (1997), only 1% of this type of school remained in use in 1970. The position of Irish within the education system changed dramatically in 1973, when it was no longer compulsory to take state examinations in the language, although the language remained as a compulsory subject on the curriculum in any school in receipt of state funding. However, during the same period, as a response to the deterioration in the teaching of the language in the existing immersion schools, a new parent-led initiative to form new Irish-only immersion schools was underway. These schools, which became known as Gaelscoileanna, used Irish as the means of communication between

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6 English was taught through the medium of English
teachers as well as with the students. Gaelscoileanna were not considered as re-workings of the previous Irish immersion schools, but rather as new and welcome additions to the education system (Ó Riagáin, 1992, 1997; Coady and Ó Laoire, 2002). There has been a steady growth in the number of Gaelscoileanna, with recent figures indicating that there are 168 Gaelscoileanna for primary level and 38 at secondary level (www.gaelscoileanna.ie, accessed 30.01.07) The success of these schools is attributable to the fact that Gaelscoileanna are driven from the bottom-up, with parents playing a fundamental role in the establishment of these schools through gathering support and some financial backing, where necessary. However Irish-immersion schools have not been as successful as all immersion schools in other minority language contexts such as Maori or French-Canadian, for a variety of reasons, some of which are discussed below.

The acquisition of Irish amongst pupils attending primary level Gaelscoileanna has been investigated by scholars such as Harris, Forde, Archer, Nic Fhearlail and O Gorman (2006); Coady and Ó Laoire (2002); Harris and Murtagh (1999); and Hickey (1998). Tovey and Murtagh (1999) conclude from their research that pupils attending Gaelscoileanna generally display a positive attitude to the language and to the use of the language. Tovey and Murtagh (1999: 306-7) also argue that teaching methods, which focused more on communicating through the language, were received more positively by the pupils, which indicates that students themselves respond best when the language is invested with a sense of purpose. In an examination of the patterns of language use of students in Gaelscoileanna, Coady (2000) found that the level of Irish language use within Gaelscoileanna has been affected by a change in the linguistic profile of those attending these schools. She points out that 66% of the children attending these Irish-medium schools are from English-speaking homes:

As a result, English-speaking students have less exposure to native Irish-speaking peers in school, and teachers are vigilant of the uses of Irish and English in the language environment of the school. (ibid., quoted in Coady and Ó Laoire 2002:149)

However, the findings of the Harris et al (2006) study confirm the success of Irish language immersion schooling in producing a high level of Irish language proficiency. The survey found that 90% of pupils attending Gaelscoileanna are reaching a high level of spoken competence, a label which accounts for fluency in oral description, communication and speaking vocabulary. Interestingly the report shows that students attending these schools who have no linguistic, social or educational advantage reach
the same level of competency in the language. These findings show that Gaelscoileanna are contributing to the growth of the Irish language speech community outside of the Gaeltacht because of the high level of spoken competence students attending these schools achieve.

In more recent years there has been an increase in the number of Irish language preschools, known as Naionraf. These Irish-medium preschools were developed initially in Gaeltacht areas in the 1960s to provide support to first language Irish-speaking children and early immersion of second language learners. In 2002 there were 292 Naionraf around the country, 72 of which were based in Gaeltacht areas. Hickey (1997, 1998, 1999, 2001) has conducted a large amount of research on Naionraf. In the results of her 2001 survey, she highlights the fact that use of the Irish languages amongst native speaking pupils is also surprisingly low, which she attributes to the lack of sufficient Irish-speaking playmates. She concludes that at the pre-school level:

A balance must be achieved between addressing the language needs of L2 learners and the equally urgent needs of the L1 minority language children for active language support and enrichment. (ibid., p.17)

Although Gaelscoileanna and Naionraf present an opportunity for the proliferation of the language in non-Gaeltacht areas, their success in terms of language revitalisation and maintenance has been limited. There is a tendency for the pupils attending these schools in larger urban settings to be from middle to upper class families due to the small student: teacher ratio. It is for this reason that Gaelscoileanna have a reputation for being elitist which, according to Ó Riagáin (2001), has both positive and negative implications for the long-term societal support for Irish.

Many scholars have questioned the effectiveness of the educational system as the sole means of language revival. Kelly (2002) is highly critical of the role of the education system in Irish language revival. Admittedly the policy of revival through the education system did not achieve the grandiose aims that it set out to achieve; however, it has not been a complete failure, although some researchers, such as Kelly (2002), would lead us to believe that it has. Ó Riagáin (1997) is adamant when he argues that the number of people with some capability in the language has increased dramatically which he writes is a result of the presence in the language in the education system. Ó Laoire (1995: 223) agrees that “The production of secondary bilinguals through the educational system compensates somewhat for the demise in
numbers of native speakers (…). One of the major obstacles to Irish language revitalisation is the lack of contact with the language outside of the educational setting and once compulsory education has been completed. As will be discussed in chapter six the level of language attrition amongst the Irish participants in this research is high.

3.2.3 Corpus planning

Corpus planning, or the process of standardising and expanding the Irish language, was hugely important when efforts to reverse Irish language shift began. One of the major issues which impeded the acquisition of the Irish language was the lack of a standard form of the language; without the creation of the standard variety, attempts to revive the language through the education system would have been virtually impossible. The differences between the dialects are considerable and have led to recurrent difficulties in defining a standard variety. There are three major dialect groupings in Irish that correspond to the three provinces where the language is strongest namely Connacht, Munster, and Ulster. Ó hFearnáin (2006) notes that the creation of standard Irish was necessary to allow for national planning. The process of creating a standard form of the language was set in motion with the establishment of a Translation section within the Dáil in 1922. From that point, the State set about creating what is now known as an Caighdeán Oifigiúil. In his account of the process of standardising the Irish language Ó Baoill (1988) describes how in the mid-1940s DeValera had asked the translation service to devise a shorter spelling system which would aid teachers in their duty of educating school children in the language. In 1958 Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge was published. One year later the first English/Irish dictionary, which used the new revised form, was published. It was also during this time that the traditional Irish alphabet was abandoned and the more accessible roman alphabet was adopted (Ó Baoill, 1988; Murtagh, 2003). However, as is the case for the created standard variety of any language, native speakers tended to continue to use their own dialect as they see the standard form as artificial. Although the standard spelling and grammar system is the form taught in the education system, one of the major criticisms of this process has been the fact that the government neglected to create a standard spoken form (cf. Hickey, 2001). The use of the Caighdeán on Irish-language media and particularly on TG4, is important for the diffusion of the language amongst language-learners, but can be frustrating for many
first-language Irish speakers. As will become evident in chapter four, the spread of a standard form of Basque has been hindered by similar issues.

3.2.4 Status planning

The Irish state has altered the status of the language in three significant ways since the inception of the Irish Free State. Firstly, in the constitution of 1922, the Irish language became an official language of the Irish Free State. Its position was enhanced in the 1937 Constitution when Irish was declared the first official language of the state. To recall elements of Bourdieu's linguistic market theory discussed in section 2.1.1, Ó Riagáin (1992) argues that the 1922 government used its power to change the structure of the linguistic market. He argues that the policies they put in place and the language planning methods employed were important in changing the symbolic, cultural, and economic value attached to using the language (ibid., p.16). The status of first official language is not common amongst minority languages and Ireland has been criticised by many researchers, particularly Fishman, for not using this position to full advantage. Secondly, the Irish government has secured more prominence for the language in the public forum through the Official Languages Act (2003). The act puts the onus on public bodies to offer their services in both Irish and English. The aim of the Act is:

(...) to promote the use of the Irish language for official purposes in the state, to provide for the use of both official languages of the state in parliamentary proceedings, in acts of the Oireachtas, in the administration of justices, in communicating with or providing services to the public and in carrying out the work of public bodies.

(Official Languages Act, 2003: 8)

The Act also led to the creation of the post of the Language Commissioner who works as an Ombudsman ensuring that public bodies are enacting all the elements of the Act. The Official Languages Act hopes to lead to an increase in the presence of Irish in the public forum; how or even if the Act will impact on attitudes to the language remains to be seen. The third manner in which the government has aided the status of the language relates to the recognition of the language on the European stage. In 2005 it was announced that Irish was to become the twenty-first official and working language of the European Union; this took effect on January 1st 2007. The recognition of the language at European level represented a huge boost for the language and has led to an increase in the number of jobs for which proficiency in Irish is required. However, the announcement of this status for the language caused some controversy.
amongst some Irish language enthusiasts. For example the editor of the Irish language weekly newspaper Foinse, Seán Tadhg Ó Gairbhí, argues that the money that will be spent translating documents that are unlikely to be read by a large section of the population would be much better spent in areas which would impact on the everyday presence and use of the language. Similarly Viviane Reding, EU Commissioner (Audiovisual and Cultural Matters), argued that what is really needed is a policy that will encourage the actual use of the language.

You know what you [Irish] should do in Ireland? Speak Irish, write Irish, be proud of Irish, use Irish in everyday language and show Irish culture to the 24 nations around you. But making it an official language doesn't bring you a thing.

TG4 can also be seen as a further indication of the government’s support for the language, an issue that is discussed in further detail in section 3.3.

3.3 The Irish Language Today

Through the brief discussion offered above it is clear that the government has made some efforts to revive the Irish language. The impact these efforts have had on the actual current situation of the language forms the basis for discussion in this section. It will examine the current situation of the Irish language by drawing on census figures and results from various sociolinguistic surveys. An assessment of where previous efforts to reverse Irish-language shift have left the language is also offered. Prior to examining the situation of the language it is necessary to describe how Irish-speakers can be classified. In general it can be said that there are two main divisions, first language speakers and second language learners. Ní Neachtain (2001: 3) draws attention to the fact that second language learners now outnumber first language speakers and there are no longer any monolingual speakers over the age of three.

3.3.1 Census data

The census provides the most consistent data on the Irish language over the last 150 years. An Irish language question has featured in the population census since 1851. The census was conducted at ten-year intervals until 1986 and since then it has been conducted every five years. A significant change was made to the language question in the 1996 census when individuals are asked to qualify and quantify their relationship with the Irish language; prior to 1996 the language question only

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7 Personal communication 20/07/05
8 Quoted in Staunton, Irish Times 15/07/04
investigated ability. Ó Gliasáin (1996: 27) has been particularly critical of the early census question, he argues that “Ability data are ‘Irish-friendly’ insofar as ability levels throughout the state will far exceed usage levels for the foreseeable future”. He suggests that the data produced from the census do not provide an accurate account of the situation of the Irish language within society and called for more probing of the household use of the language as it is within the home that the most accurate account of language use can be calculated (Ó Gliasáin, 1996). In 1996 the census language question was altered and marked a major departure from the language question in previous censuses. The previous language question asked respondents to write ‘Irish only’, ‘Irish/English’ or ‘read but cannot speak Irish’. In the 1996 census the language question was shortened and now asks “can the person speak Irish?”. If the respondent answers ‘yes’ they are then asked to qualify the use to daily, weekly, less often and never. Ó Riagáin (2001) argues that those who chose the “read but cannot speak option” in previous censuses are now returning themselves as Irish-speakers rather than admit that they know no Irish at all, which indicates that data gathered from the census language question is at best questionable. The results from the 2002 census suggest that 42.8% of the population have some ability in Irish. Daily use of Irish has declined by a little over 3% since 1996, with approximately 21% claiming to use the language on a daily basis in 2002. The reported use of the language in Gaeltacht areas remained quite high, with 72.6% reporting daily use of the language. Figure 3.1 shows that the highest proportion of Irish-speakers is to be found amongst the school-going age groups, particularly between the ages of 10 to 14 and 15 to 19. The significant drop between the 15 to 19 age-group and the 20 to 24 age-group, an issue which the research undertaken in this thesis addresses, highlights the limited use of the language when young adults leave compulsory education. Of those who could speak Irish in 2002 but indicated that they never spoke it, just over 56 per cent were aged 20-44 years (CSO, 2004:28).
The language question in the census was further altered for the 2006 census, where it asked for people to rate their proficiency in the language and also to qualify when their use of the language occurs. The provisional results of Census 2006 show that the total number of Irish speakers has declined by just over 1%, from 42.8% in 2002 to 41.9%⁹ in 2006. The highest proportion of Irish speakers is found amongst the 10-14 age-group, where 72.5% were reported as Irish speakers. An interesting trend with regard to this research is also to be found in the Census results. It shows that 53.27% of those aged 15-19 use Irish on a daily basis within the educational system. While only 5.58% of those aged 20-24 report daily use of Irish within an educational setting. It is argued that these results show that the limited space for the Irish language in the public domain has increased the association of the language with schooling, with individuals seeing no purpose for the language once they complete compulsory education. It is here that the potential of TG4 in Irish language revitalisation can be identified. TG4 provides a forum for the language outside of the educational setting thereby adding to the supply of an Irish-language environment.

Of course there are many issues attached to relying on census data. Census data is problematic for a number of reasons that have been discussed in much of the available language recovery literature. Fishman (1991) warns of the risks associated with relying on data of a self-report nature and the tendency for individuals to answer-up.

⁹ Figures from www.cso.ie [accessed 13.04.07]
In the case of the Irish census, the fact that it is filled out by the head of the household may undermine some of the results, as often they over-estimate the ability of their family. Murtagh (2003), focusing particularly on Irish data, argues that the term Irish-speakers describes individuals with very different levels of proficiency. Notably, one of the contradictions highlighted by an examination of data on the Irish language questions in the census is that the number of people who claim to have some ability in the language has increased, but that the number of people who use it is declining. Also, census figures “tend to conceal the real decline of the Gaeltacht taken as meaning a community characterised by the use of Irish in most spheres of activity” (Ó hUallacháin, 1994:155). Language surveys, although not without their own issues, can provide a more in-depth account of language use. The following section deals with the more important sociolinguistic surveys that have been conducted to assess the situation of the Irish language.

3.3.2 Sociolinguistic survey data

There have been three main national sociolinguistic reports conducted within Ireland, the first of which was undertaken by the Committee for Irish Language Attitude Research (CILAR) in 1973, the results of which were published in 1975. The CILAR report and subsequent surveys in 1983 and 1993, which were conducted by the Linguistic Institute of Ireland (ITÉ), have become a standard reference point for Irish sociolinguistic research. The ITÉ reports followed the same pattern as the CILAR report; ITÉ felt this to be the appropriate action to take because the results from all surveys would then be comparable (Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin, 1994). There have been other less significant nationwide surveys carried out, such as Mac Gréil 1988-89. There have also been a number of reports that deal specifically with particular Gaeltacht regions, for example, Ó Riagáin (1992) conducted a survey on the Corea Dhubhine Gaeltacht, Ó hIfearnáin (2003) conducted a survey on the Múscraí Gaeltacht. There are further surveys which examine attitudes and use amongst particular sectors of society, for example Ó Fathaigh (1996) examined the attitude to and use of Irish amongst staff at University College Cork.

The data from the surveys provide us with a large corpus of data relating to four main categories: (i) attitude to Irish (ii) ability in Irish, (iii) acquisition of Irish and (iv) use of Irish, as well as certain areas of attention that are particular to each of the surveys.
The data provide a diachronic account of the sociolinguistic situation of the language, an account which is much more in-depth, and exemplifies the reality of the situation more closely than the aforementioned census data. The survey data, though not without its own difficulties, has to be considered more accurate than the previous census data because of the type of questions asked. The three surveys pre-date the aforementioned changes to the census language question in 1996 and for that reason the surveys depict a more realistic account of those considered Irish-speaking. Individuals were asked to rate their level according to the results. Table 3.1 indicates the findings across all three surveys, which shows that the pattern of levels of spoken ability remained constant over a twenty year period. There was a continued increase in the percentage of respondents to the surveys who answered positively to the statement “I am committed to using Irish as much as I can” (from 11%, to 13% to 19%)\textsuperscript{10} and “I wish I could use the Irish I know more often”(from 41%, to 43%, to 45%). Furthermore, the relationship between ability and use is shown to be strong across all three surveys.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & 1973 & 1983 & 1993 \\
\hline
No Irish & 21 & 16 & 18 \\
\hline
The odd word & 27 & 32 & 32 \\
\hline
A few simple sentences & 22 & 19 & 17 \\
\hline
Parts of conversations & 17 & 20 & 22 \\
\hline
Most conversations & 10 & 10 & 10 \\
\hline
Native speaker ability & 3 & 3 & 2 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Irish-speaking ability (%)}
\end{table}

As well as examining aforementioned issues, each of the three surveys also examined the position of the language amongst a special sample. The CILAR report focused on collecting data on the attitudes of Irish people to the language and to language policy, but it also treated Gaeltacht areas as a special sample. The Report’s main finding in relation to people’s attitude to the language and to continued efforts in language planning was that the Irish language is a highly valued symbol of national identity;

\textsuperscript{10} Figures taken from Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin, 1994
72% of those questioned believe that “no real Irish person can be against the revival of Irish” (CILAR, 1975: 25). It is important to note that the idea of the language as central to ethnic identity remained consistent in all three language surveys with 56%, 66% and 61% responding positively to the question: “Without Irish, Ireland would certainly lose its identity as a separate culture”, in 1973, 1983 and 1993 respectively. The three sociolinguistic surveys also show that parents want their children to learn Irish in school and a significant percentage are willing to send their children to immersion schools, however, this willingness does not extend to use of Irish in the home or community.

The CILAR report concluded that bilingualism had become the dominant language pattern in almost half of the Gaeltacht communities (Commins, 1988). The report also found that the distribution of competent speakers was below the densities needed to maintain a community of Irish users. It can be deducted from the findings that some of the initial policies put in place by Gaeltarra Éireann (cf. section 3.2.1) had already begun to impact on the linguistic situation of the Gaeltacht. This anglicizing effect was occurring in the home and it is suggested that the process of intergenerational transmission had, by the early 1970s, declined despite all governmental efforts. Ó Riagáin (1988) argues that the CILAR report demonstrates that by the 1970s the home had ceased to be a base for developing good Irish language skills.

The 1983 ITÉ survey followed, more or less, the same format as the CILAR survey, however, some changes were made in accordance with the criticisms researchers had made of the CILAR survey (Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin, 1984:1). New, more refined questions were introduced and of particular importance to the research undertaken here was the introduction of a question that examined respondents’ television and radio habits. The 1983 report was particularly concerned with the attitudes of young adults to the Irish language. The main national sample was 791 with an additional 240 respondents under the age of thirty-five, giving a sample of 420 people under the age of 30 or approximately 53% of the respondents (Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin, 1984:2). In order to gain insights into the patterns of Irish language use of these young adults, the 1983 survey expanded the school related questions and included media questions

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11 Figures obtained from Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1994)
for the first time. In general terms the 1983 report found that there was a favorable attitude to the language amongst young people. In relation to patterns of use of Irish media, the survey found that readership of Irish language print media was low in comparison to the listenership and viewership of Irish language broadcast media. Equally, the 1993 survey found that the viewership figures were also high for Irish language radio and television programmes, which suggests that such media can be seen as important assets to the efforts to revive the Irish language.

The 1993 survey does not include a special sample of any particular sector of the population, however, it does include a more in-depth examination of attitudes to foreign languages than the surveys of 1973 and 1983. The question as to the importance of a foreign language vis-à-vis Irish was repeated in all three surveys, however, in 1993, 71% felt that it was more important for a child to learn a foreign language than it was to learn Irish (Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 9). Languages such as French and German were perceived to hold more linguistic capital. Ó Riagáin and Ó Gliasáin (1994) suggest that the Irish language was not considered to be as useful as foreign languages, an issue that can be understood to have worked to the detriment of the language; the language was not associated with economic advancement. Furthermore, one of the most significant findings of the 1993 survey shows that in the early 1990s Irish was never used in approximately two-thirds of Irish homes, which further indicates that the process of intergenerational transmission was not occurring in the Irish language context. Overall the three surveys show that Irish people are in favor of a bilingual Irish society, but that the level of individual commitment to using the language is limited. A finding that is also evident amongst the cohort studied in this thesis.

Smaller surveys have also been conducted in specific areas as well as amongst particular sectors of the population. An example of such a survey is the aforementioned survey of the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht by Ó Riagáin in 1986. The survey found that although there had been a revival in the levels of community bilingualism in Dingle town, the gateway to Corca Dhuibhne in the mid-1980s, it was still not seen to hold much symbolic capital. He concludes that: "Irish has little social value in the pivotal areas of child socialisation and personal interaction because the cultural division of labour clearly indicates the minority status of Irish as a cultural
resource” (Ó Riagáin, 1992: 73). In addition, if one considers the finding of the Gaeltacht Commission report of 2002, it would seem that the situation of the language in Dingle deteriorated somewhat in the intervening ten-year period since Ó Riagáin’s survey. Ó Fathaigh (1998) investigated the attitudes to the language amongst the staff at the National University of Ireland, Cork. He concluded that the attitudinal profile shows that there is a strong positive attitude to the language amongst the staff. Antonini (1999) also compared the attitudes to Irish in the Conemara Gaeltacht with that of the Donegal Gaeltacht as part of a wider study that focused on the use of the language in family and community domains. She concludes from the study that: “language use and, thus, maintenance in the South Connemara Gaeltacht is generally stronger than in the Donegal Gaeltacht, both at the community and the family level”. (ibid, p.12)

3.3.3 Irish RLS

As regards the future of the position of the Irish language, it is fair to say that it is in a healthier, more robust position than many of the world’s minority and lesser-used languages. However, despite the favourable political status, and the various attempts that have been made to safeguard the language, it still remains in a vulnerable position. The attempts made to revive the Irish language have, as the aforementioned figures indicate, led to an increase in the number of people with some ability in the language, but this has not been translated into use in public and private domains. Conversely, the failure to transmit the language from generation to generation and to create Irish language speech communities is a significant threat to the future of the Irish language. Although Strubell’s Catherine Wheel Model was identified as a better model on which to base language recovery, Fishman’s G.I.D. scale is beneficial in gauging the current position of the Irish language. It is difficult, however, to pinpoint where exactly the Irish language lies on Fishman’s G.I.D. scale; as has been pointed out by Ó Riagáin (2001), in the case of reversing Irish language shift, there has been no clear advancement from stage to stage in the G.I.D. scale, instead all aspects were incorporated together. According to Fishman (1991) and Ó Riagáin (2000) efforts to reverse Irish-language shift have focused predominately on stages 4(a) and above (cf. Table 2.2)
As has been mentioned in section 2.2, stage 6, the stage of intergenerational transmission, is for Fishman the most crucial stage in any effort to reverse language shift. In his 1991 account of the Irish case, Fishman criticises the lack of emphasis Irish language planners afforded the use of the language in the home within their language policies. Fishman argues:

By focusing most of their attention on stages 4a and above and by limiting its efforts on behalf of stage 6 to episodic experiences, Ireland has achieved most of what schools can be expected to achieve, an intergenerationally transmitted second language primarily associated with late adolescence and that achievement seems to have been fairly stabilised. (ibid., p.144)

Ó Laoire (1995: 228) also criticises the lack of attention afforded to this stage of RLS. He claims the problem lies in the fact that: “The centrality of intergenerational transmission was never stressed and education became the key to survival”.

Furthermore, Fishman has argued that if significant achievements are not made within these stages of RLS, people will settle for tokenism rather than continue to pursue the language as a “generally spoken language” (1991:141). The lack of any significant efforts in stages 8-5 is problematic. Azurmendi (2001) argues that these stages represent the minimum needed to guarantee the natural intergenerational transmission of a language in order to ensure the success of RLS efforts. Fishman is adamant that the focus should be on this stage when he writes that “Neither goodwill nor competence nor even leisure-time language use translates automatically into the basic building blocks of home-family-neighbourhood-community life that alone can lead to the intergenerational language transmission” (Fishman, 1991:130). The use of Irish on the television medium clearly has a role to play in this regard. By bringing the language to the homes of those both within and outside the Gaeltacht, TG4 has the potential to increase contact with the language in the home context, which may enable Irish to advance from stage six of the G.I.D. scale.

3.4 Have Irish Language Policies been Successful?

From the analysis of the current situation of the language, it is evident that the language planning measures undertaken by the Irish government have not brought about the desired reversal of the shift to English. It is fair to say that the policies have not resulted in a situation of balanced societal bilingualism. One of the major obstacles to success has been the result of over-emphasis on the educational system and the lack of any sustained presence of the language in society.
May (2001) describes as problematic the fact that the language was endowed with a symbolic role given the link between the language and ethnicity rather than a more functional role. The lack of planning as regards presence for the language in the public domain seriously hindered the success of Irish language revival vis-à-vis the educational system. Ó Laoire (1996) describes how there has never been a great leap in the revival of Irish; that is a spontaneous process of language revival which brought the language taught in the classrooms outside of the school walls and on the lips of young people on the streets. The level of language attrition after compulsory education is reflected in the low incidence of use of the language in Irish society. The lack of employment opportunities has also impeded on Irish language revival. Traditionally, there has been little opportunity to work using the medium of Irish outside of Gaeltacht communities and therefore the language possesses little linguistic capital for the urban young. However, since the establishment of TG4, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of posts available in highly sought after media jobs. Similarly, as a result of both the Official Languages Act and the Status of Official working language at a European level, a number of posts have been created for Irish language translators and interpreters, thus increasing the profile of the language and encouraging young people to see it as a viable career option.

There is a strong feeling amongst some researchers that in the case of Irish there is a need to think about the language in terms of survival rather than revival, but it is clear that this is not the case. Although, as is apparent from the analysis offered above, the efforts to reverse Irish language shift have not been as successful as they could have been, previous language planning initiatives have been successful in increasing the number of people with some level of ability in the language. As Ó Riagáin (2001: 197) argues: “It (Irish language planning) did slow down a long-established process of language shift, but it clearly altered the spatial and social structure of bilingualism in Ireland”.

It is evident, through a reading of the available literature on the Irish situation, that future efforts need to focus on encouraging the use of the language in public domains, as well as promoting language use in the home, thereby offering the language a legitimate space in an individual’s social reality. As Ó Laoire (1995: 234) points out, “we need to study the domain of youth culture, so that the language, currently
undergoing a positive revival among young people might, within the context of bilingualism begin to play a larger part in our identity and culture”.

3.5 The Irish Language Mediascape
The Irish language occupies more space on the Irish language media-landscape at the present time than it has ever done previously. In particular, there has been an immense improvement in the availability of Irish language broadcast media, which is due in part to the licensing of local and community radio stations in 1989 by the Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC), which led to an increase in the presence of the language on the airwaves. The establishment of TG4 in 1996 has also increased the Irish language media offerings. The language also occupies vast space on the digital media. Although recent years have seen a significant improvement in the quantity and quality of the available Irish-language media, the ratio of Irish-language media to English-language media remains low. The print media produces more Irish monolingual media than the broadcast media does, despite the fact that the number of broadcast media that provide Irish language services has increased. Raidió na Gaeltachta is the only medium that continues to broadcast entirely through the medium of Irish, although since 2005 it has begun to broadcast some music with English lyrics (only after 9 p.m.). Prior to providing an outline of the media available in Irish, it is important to point out that the availability of such media is very important as a result of how it contributes to the supply of the language in public domains.

3.5.1 The print media
The number and frequency of Irish language newspapers in particular, and to lesser extent magazines, has increased significantly over the last decade. Lá was published on a weekly basis from 1983 until 2003, but is now published on a daily basis. Lá which is printed in Belfast, has enjoyed some success but this has been somewhat hindered by its association with the Republican movement in Northern Ireland. This problematic association is related, in part, to the notion that the Irish language’s symbolic and political weight is felt more keenly in Northern Ireland than in the Republic. In 2003 the newspaper changed its name to Lá Nua, and because the paper is in receipt of substantial cross border funding it is now available free on-line. Significantly, Lá Nua is the longest running Irish language newspaper. In 2004 the
undergoing a positive revival among young people might, within the context of bilingualism begin to play a larger part in our identity and culture”.

3.5 The Irish Language Mediascape

The Irish language occupies more space on the Irish language media-landscape at the present time than it has ever done previously. In particular, there has been an immense improvement in the availability of Irish language broadcast media, which is due in part to the licensing of local and community radio stations in 1989 by the Independent Radio and Television Commission (IRTC), which led to an increase in the presence of the language on the airwaves. The establishment of TG4 in 1996 has also increased the Irish language media offerings. The language also occupies vast space on the digital media. Although recent years have seen a significant improvement in the quantity and quality of the available Irish-language media, the ratio of Irish-language media to English-language media remains low. The print media produces more Irish monolingual media than the broadcast media does, despite the fact that the number of broadcast media that provide Irish language services has increased. Raidió na Gaeltachta is the only medium that continues to broadcast entirely through the medium of Irish, although since 2005 it has begun to broadcast some music with English lyrics (only after 9 p.m.). Prior to providing an outline of the media available in Irish, it is important to point out that the availability of such media is very important as a result of how it contributes to the supply of the language in public domains.

3.5.1 The print media

The number and frequency of Irish language newspapers in particular, and to lesser extent magazines, has increased significantly over the last decade. Lá was published on a weekly basis from 1983 until 2003, but is now published on a daily basis. Lá which is printed in Belfast, has enjoyed some success but this has been somewhat hindered by its association with the Republican movement in Northern Ireland. This problematic association is related, in part, to the notion that the Irish language’s symbolic and political weight is felt more keenly in Northern Ireland than in the Republic. In 2003 the newspaper changed its name to Lá Nua, and because the paper is in receipt of substantial cross border funding it is now available free on-line. Significantly, Lá Nua is the longest running Irish language newspaper. In 2004 the
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twentieth anniversary of the paper was celebrated with the publication of Ár nuachtán laethúil, a book which is a compilation of articles over its initial twenty-year period. Irish-speakers in Northern Ireland can also read the Irish language column printed in the Irish News. The Irish language weekly newspaper Foinse has also enjoyed some success since its foundation in 2000. Foinse is published in the Connemara Gaeltacht and has a circulation rate of c.a. 8,000 copies per week. Foinse is a publication aimed at all those with an interest in the language, but it has a clear focus on issues that affect Irish-speaking communities. Foinse also has the potential to reach the Irish-Diaspora through its on-line edition. The monthly on-line Irish-language learners’ paper Beo also enjoys some success. There are three Irish language articles in one of the main dailies, The Irish Times, which are also popular and, through the inclusion of a dictionary of more complicated vocabulary in one of these articles, An Teanga Beo, important for language acquisition. There are a number of magazine publications in Irish also, for example Comhth. However, due to their specialist topics they often attract a small readership. By and large, the majority of contact which people have with the media in Irish is today via the channels of the broadcast and digital media (cf. Ó Laoire, 2007).

3.5.2 Broadcast media

The Irish language has had some presence on the broadcast media during the past eighty years, albeit a presence that was limited for many years. One of the major advantages of the broadcast media over the print media is, according to O’Connell (2003: 6), the fact the broadcast media have “(...) an immediacy and potential to work in an interactive way that was unimaginable in the heyday of the print media”. The presence of the Irish language in radio and television has increased significantly within the last two decades. The aforementioned establishment of Irish language television station TG4 in 1996 is perhaps the most influential change to the Irish language mediascape. As mentioned in section 3.5, there has also been an increase in the number of local and community radio stations that offer some Irish language programming since the early 1990s. This section will provide an account of the radio services available in the language and a general description of television in Irish. Due to the centrality of TG4 to the thesis, a more detailed analysis is provided of the channel in the succeeding section.
3.5.2.1 Irish language radio

Radio was a new medium when the process of rebuilding Ireland began following the war years and was seen by the government to be an essential tool in the rebuilding process. Following independence, the government of the Irish Free State was faced with the challenge of creating a culturally distinct nation. In this vein the Irish language was seen as a critical marker of what was distinctly Irish. The first government *White Paper on Broadcasting* (1923) called for the establishment of an Irish-language radio station in order to broadcast programmes which dealt specifically with aspects of Irish cultural life, namely GAA, religion, and the Irish language thus aiding the formation of what Watson (1997, 2003) describes as a “culturally unique nation”; thus reinforcing the idea there was a desire to separate ‘us’ from ‘them’. The first radio station, 2RN, began broadcasting in 1926 and was integral to the creation of a shared sense of ‘Irish’ identity (Watson 2000). Even though the amount of Irish programming on the station was limited to 5%, it was of enormous symbolic value to the language (Watson, 2003). 2RN later became Radio Éireann; the initial plan was to slowly increase the level of Irish language programming until Radio Éireann was broadcasting only Irish language programmes. However, this never came to fruition and the level of Irish language programming actually decreased.

By the 1960s, members of the Gaeltacht community who were dissatisfied with the services the Irish government were providing for them across all facets of daily life came together to form a Gaeltacht Civil Rights group known as Gluaiseacht ar son Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta. The group was particularly discontented with the media service hitherto made available to them and in 1969 a separate Gaeltacht radio station was called for. The government was not willing to listen to the calls made by the group, and as a result of being dissatisfied with the situation, the group decided to set about creating their own pirate station. The station, which was known as Saor Raidió Chonamara, broadcast from a studio in the Galway Gaeltacht for a period of four days during March 1970 (Watson, 2003; Ó hIfearnáin, 2000; Hourigan, 1996). Although the radio station was short-lived, it put enormous pressure on the government to provide a radio service for Irish-speakers. This well-fought campaign culminated, in 1970, in the government’s plans to establish Raidió na Gaeltachta.
Raidió na Gaeltachta (RnaG) began broadcasting in 1972 from Casla in the Connemara Gaeltacht. The aim of the station was to provide a service for Gaeltacht people as well as a service for Irish language speakers living outside of the Gaeltacht. The station has enjoyed some success in its thirty-five year lifespan. It now has a broadcasting studio in each of the three major Gaeltacht areas, that is Donegal, Kerry, and Galway as well as in Dublin, which enables it to cover a wide range of local and national current affairs. Conversely, one of the issues which concerns those who have examined the station, is the notion that it is unclear whether the station sees itself as a national station or as a local station. Watson (2003) and Hourigan (1996) both argue that the station attempts to fulfil both functions and this may have impacted on low audience levels in the past. Another difficulty has been the attempt to meet all the aims of the station. A recent survey conducted on Irish language radio found that for RnaG: “Historically, the difficulty has been balancing the educational imperative, promoting the Irish language to those who do not speak it, while providing broadcasting services to those who do” (MORI, 2005:4). These issues have particular repercussions for the low level of listenership amongst young Irish people. Many researchers (cf. Watson, 2003; Hourigan, 2003; Cotter, 1999) have criticised RnaG for failing to provide a sufficient service for young people. The policy of not allowing music which contained English lyrics meant there was little attraction to the station for young people living within Gaeltacht areas or young Irish-speakers outside of the Gaeltacht. In 2004, Market and Opinion Research International (MORI) conducted a survey into the attitudes of young Irish adults to Irish language radio. The results were published in a 2005 report called Turning on and Tuning in to Irish Language Radio in the 21st Century. Some of the more significant results as regards the research undertaken are discussed below; however, firstly it is important to note the feeling held towards RnaG’s programming policy. It is argued in the report that: “Clearly a one-size-fits-all approach cannot be considered appropriate in light of these results” (MORI, 2005: 14). The report also suggested that “There is a clear mandate for change in the way Irish language programming is delivered” (ibid., p.25)

One of the main reasons the MORI survey was conducted was to examine if there is a need for a separate Irish language radio station for young people. The report found that young adults, both first language and non first-language Irish speakers, are unhappy with the Irish language radio service available to them. With regard to RnaG
the report found that only 3.4% listen to the station on a daily basis and that 25% feel that RnaG does not meet their needs as Irish-speakers (MORI, 2005:12-14). The report concluded that 75% of those surveyed were strongly in favour of an Irish language radio station that broadcast music with English lyrics and 84% agreed with the statement “I would listen to a music programme with English language music and Irish language links” (MORI, 2005:18). Overall the report found that 77% of those surveyed felt there should be an Irish language radio station dedicated to meeting the needs of young people. Since the publication of the survey there has been no announcement as to whether another state-funded Irish language radio station aimed at younger listeners will be established. However, one significant change has occurred at Raidió na Gaeltachta, in that the station has started to include music with lyrics in English in a new programme called Anocht FM. It is broadcast from 9 p.m. to 1 a.m. and is aimed at young people with alternative music tastes. The show, which has been broadcast since May 2005, marks a departure from the long running no-English policy of the station.

Community radio stations also provide an Irish language radio service that is attractive to young listeners. As mentioned previously, local and community radio stations were licensed by the IRCT in the late 1980s. One example of such a station is Raidió na Life (RnaL), a community radio station in Dublin which is aimed at young people. RnaL has been in existence since 1993 and now broadcasts approximately 152 hours per week. It provides a media outlet outside of the classroom for the increasing number of young people with an interest in the language in the capital and its immediate environs. Cotter (2000) argues that because the station’s signal reaches the Co. Meath Gaeltacht of Rath Cairn it can be understood to be providing a service for the young people of that area as well providing an arena for the language in an urban context. The station broadcasts contemporary music, much of which has lyrics in English, through the medium of Irish, a policy that better reflects the bilingual reality of the country. It is mostly young volunteers who constitute the staff of the station whose proficiency in the language varies from fluent to limited Irish-language ability. Cotter (2000) describes how the station is creating an Irish language speech community of its own as all business in the station is conducted through Irish. The first station manager, Ronan Ó Dubhthaigh, describes this policy as an attempt to get youngsters involved in an Irish language activity. He contends “Get them on the air,
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get them using it (Irish), get them wanting to improve it, get them enjoying it. Give them the chance’ (quoted in Cotter, 1999:138). Cotter (2000: 307) says that RnaL is “striving to promote Irish in an indirect, non-didactic way”. One of the major differences between RnaL and RnaG is that the former is focused on building an Irish language speech community in an urban context, a context which RnaG can never reach because often the issues discussed and put to the fore on RnaG bear no relevance to urban life. Other community radio stations that provide an Irish language radio service in urban centres include FLIRT FM a radio station that broadcasts from National University of Ireland, Galway and WIRED Luimnigh, which broadcasts from Mary Immaculate College in Limerick. A new radio station, Raidió Fáilte, has recently (October 2006) begun broadcasting in Belfast. It is to function in a similar vain to RnaL. Undoubtedly, Irish-language radio provisions have improved dramatically since the creation of the community radio stations which provide an Irish language service. However, it is clear, as the MORI survey suggests, that there is a need for a national radio station which would broadcast through the medium of Irish, but play popular music with English lyrics, in order to meet the needs of young people interested in the language.

3.5.2.2 Irish on television

The struggle for prominence for the Irish language on television began in the early 1950s; in fact the need for the provision of an Irish language television service was raised from the moment the initial steps were taken to create a television station in Ireland. In the late 1950s, Gael Linn, an organisation founded in 1953 to promote the Irish language and culture, submitted a proposal to the government that it would take responsibility for the creation and running of a national broadcasting company. Watson (1997; 2003) and Ó hÍfhearnáin (2001) both argue that Gael Linn’s proposal was rejected on the basis that the government feared they would use the broadcasting company as a vehicle to spread the aims of the Irish language revival movement, which went against the role the government envisaged for the national broadcaster. The Broadcasting Act of 1960 led to the formation of the semi-state broadcasting company, Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTÉ) and the first television station, RTÉ 1, began broadcasting a year later. A limited amount of Irish language programming was broadcast on the station from the beginning and it is fair to say that the amount of time the national broadcaster has devoted to the language has never been adequate to
meet the needs of Irish-speakers. In the late 1960s, Irish language activists took up this issue. Watson (2003) describes how in 1968 Coiste Práinne na Gaeilge, the Irish Language Urgency Committee, wrote a letter to the then Taoiseach Jack Lynch in which they voiced their demand for a separate radio and television service for Irish-language speakers. The plea put forward by the Committee was rejected and dismissed by the government on the grounds that such an initiative would be too expensive (Watson, 2003: 62).

Following the establishment of Raidió na Gaeltacta in the early 1970s, Bord na Gaeilge began campaigning for a separate Irish language television station. However, concurrently, the national broadcaster was deciding whether or not to create a second channel and some campaigners were content with fighting for more presence on the two national channels. However, not all Irish language activists were happy with the pause in the campaign for a second channel. O’Connor and Kelly (1997) argue that with the advent of RTÉ 2 it was feared by certain groups that Irish language programmes might be relegated to the less popular second channel, which is exactly what occurred. Watson (2003: 65) argues: “This transfer of Irish language programmes to what has sometimes been termed ‘the less popular channel’ has been regarded as causing a decline in the audience of these programmes”. The decline in audience share also had a negative impact on Irish language programming. As RTÉ was only partly state funded it had to rely heavily on the income generated through advertising. RTÉ was concerned with attracting high audience figures and consequently high advertising revenue, something which Irish language programming could not attract because advertisers were not interested in running their campaigns during programmes that had a low audience share. Irish programmes were therefore broadcast at off-peak times on the less popular RTÉ 2, with the exception of An Nuacht, the Irish language news service. While, as is commented on by Ó hIfearnáin (2001), RTÉ produced good quality Irish language programming, often the type of programming that was produced served to reinforce the stereotypical ideas of Irish-language speakers as backward. All in all, Watson (1996: 265) is correct to argue “most efforts are shown to be futile when depending on RTÉ whose apparent disregard for Irish language broadcasting has hindered its progress”. Figure 3.2 illustrates the decline in Irish language programming over five decades. Corcoran
(2004) also criticised RTÉ for failing to meet the programming needs of Irish speakers.

**Figure 3.2.** Decline in Irish-language programming on RTÉ
(Adapted from Watson, 2003:52)

Unhappy with the inadequate television service in Irish, the Working Group for Irish Language Television submitted an appeal to the RTÉ authority in 1987 to improve the situation of Irish language programming; their suggestions were rejected by RTÉ on the grounds that Irish language programme did not hold any investment value. The 1995 Green Paper on Broadcasting argued that it was a basic right of the Irish-speaking community to be served by their own television service. The situation today as regards the treatment by the national broadcaster of Irish-programming is not much better, but the advent of TG4 (see below) has led to a significant increase in the presence the language now enjoys on the television medium. Also, it is significant to note that the production of Irish language programming by RTÉ has increased because it is mandated to provide one-hour of programming to TG4 on a daily basis.

### 3.6 TG4

The Irish language television channel TG4 has been broadcasting since 1996. The station, which was originally known as Telifís na Gaeilge (TnaG), is an autonomous station that falls under the umbrella of the RTÉ authority, although legislation does exist to enable the channel to become a separate entity. In July 2005, an organising body was set up to pave the way for the independence of the station. TG4 separated form RTÉ on April 1st 2007 and has been transformed into an independent statutory

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12 Section 42 Broadcasting Act 2001
body known as Teilifis na Gaeilge. This section strives to trace the campaign which led to the foundation of the station, to examine some of the success and failures of the channel and to evaluate the relationship between the channel and Irish language revitalisation.

3.6.1 The campaign for Teilifis na Gaelige (TnaG)
As is evident from the discussion above (cf. section 3.5.2), Irish language enthusiasts were not happy with the provision the national broadcaster made for Irish language programming. The call for a separate Irish language television channel came to the fore in the late eighties. Watson (2003) describes how an organisation known as Meitheal Oibre Teilifis na Gaeilge became so frustrated with the government’s lack of interest in the issue that they decided to mimic the campaign that led to the formation of Raidió na Gaeltachta. The organisation set up a pirate television station in Connemara that broadcast for a three day period in November of 1987. As a result of this, other Irish language lobby groups saw that such a channel was feasible and they came together to form an umbrella pressure group known as Feachtas Náisiunta Teilifise. Eventually the government succumbed to the pressure and accepted the petition for the station, which was in part due to the support of the Minister for Communication of the time, Máire Geoghean-Quinn and the Minister for Gaeltacht Michael D. Higgins. An establishing committee was formed and recommendations were put to the government as to how the committee felt the station should be run. The committee recommended that the station should broadcast 3-hours daily, with one hour to be supplied by RTÉ and the two other hours to come from producers at home and abroad (Watson 1996, 2003). Finally on October 31st 1996, Teilifis na Gaeilge went on air and, in spite of some initial problems, the station has gone from strength to strength. One of the principal reasons for the increase in the popularity of the channel was the rebranding of the channel from TnaG to TG4 in 1999.

3.6.2 The TG4 brand
The station experienced some initial teething problems and from 1996-1999 when it did not appear to be as successful as had been hoped. One reason for this was early transmission difficulties; Walsh (2002: 131) comments “Transmission difficulties at its inception, which meant that the channel was unavailable in the heart of key Gaeltacht areas made TG4 some unwelcome enemies in its early years” (Walsh,
The channel received its lowest audience share in 1997 when it was attracting only 0.2% of the available audience. The TnaG board of directors decided that serious action needed to be taken if the channel was to retain its broadcasting viability. In 1999 the channel was rebranded and subsequently relaunched as TG4, thereby securing its place as the fourth national channel and as the fourth channel on analogue and crypted satellite. A new TG4 logo to encompass the brand’s image, was also launched in 1999. The logo is presented in Figure 3.3.

**Figure. 3.3: TG4: Súil Eile: Logo as a metaphor for station’s aims.**

**TG|4**

SÚIL EILE

As is illustrated in Figure 3.3, there are three main components to the TG4 logo which symbolise the three main aims of the channel. These are:

1. TG: A television station for Irish-speakers
2. 4: Resonance as the fourth national
3. Súil Eile (Other Vision): Television offering a different perspective

Since the 1999 relaunch TG4 has rectified some of the early problems experienced by the television station. TG4 is now available in Belfast and through much of Northern Ireland. It has successfully changed its programming policy to work to the advantage of the station (cf. section 3.6.4). The relative success of the channel is discussed in section 3.6.3.

### 3.6.3 Success of TG4

The success of any television station is judged quantitatively by audience figures and the diagram below indicates how the station has increased its audience share over the last ten years. The audience share that TG4 enjoys has grown from 0.8% in 1998 to 3.4% in 2006. Interestingly, TV3, the only private Irish television channel, and TG4, are the only two stations to have increased their audience share since 2000. The two RTÉ channels have dropped in popularity. Management at TG4 also suggest that there has been a shift in public attitude to the station. Attitudes to the station held by the research participants are discussed in detail in chapter five.
The channel has been particularly successful in attracting high audience figures amongst young children. Figure 3.5 illustrates TG4's share of children's audience is quite high, particularly when compared with the leading providers of children's programming.

Figure 3.5 TG4's share of children's audience (Figures from TG4)

Another important aspect of the station's success is the fact that it operates on a small budget. TG4 receives €24 million from the Irish government on an annual basis and it is estimated that the channel generates a further €2 million through advertising. To put this in perspective S4C gets €142 million per annum from the Welsh government, while RTÉ Radio One receives a budget of €34 million from the Irish government. One of the main criticisms of TG4 has been the repeat ratio for programming on the channel, but this is the result of the lack of funds to buy new programmes on a
continuous basis. The issue of funding will be a major concern for the station when it leaves the RTÉ fold in 2007. Yet it is clear that TG4 must be one of the most cost-effective television stations in Europe.

3.6.4 Programming

TG4 broadcasts both Irish and English language programming and for this reason the manner in which the programmes are scheduled has proven to be very important for the channel. From 1996-1999 the channel followed a schedule of block broadcasting Irish language programmes, which worked to the detriment of the channel because of their low audience levels. While the station is often criticised for the number of English language programmes it broadcasts, it is interesting to note that the station uses a scheduling technique known as hammocking\(^\text{13}\) developed by Reithian, whereby a popular English language programme is broadcast between two Irish language programmes in order to encourage people to stay tuned to the channel. For example, the popular American teen drama *The O.C.* is broadcast after a less popular chat programme, *Comhrá*, and before the very popular *Paisean Faisean*\(^\text{14}\), which are both presented through the medium of Irish. Esslemont argues that this technique encourages audience flow from English language programmes to Irish language programmes (and vice versa). Máire Geoghan-Quinn foresaw this change as “a clever exploitation of channel hopping so prevalent in television viewing. It gets people into the habit of checking out what’s on TnaG” (*Irish Times*, 1998). The technique has proved to be very successful.

According to Cotter (2000) TG4 has “changed the nature and quantity of Irish language offerings overall to some extent, particularly as RTÉ is now mandated to develop more Irish language programming” (Cotter, 2000: 304). TG4 provides three hours of original Irish language programming per day of a total of seven hours of Irish language programming. The channel receives 365 hours of programming from RTÉ per annum, which includes a news broadcast of half an hour. Under the 2001 Broadcasting Act, TG4 is obliged to commission and broadcast Irish language programmes and to reflect the cultural diversity of the whole island through its programming. The station is also obliged to broadcast Dáil proceedings under the act.

\(^{13}\) Personal Communication, Alan Esslemont, Director of Television TG4, 21/07/05

\(^{14}\) Programming schedule as of January 2007.
As Watson (1997) points out, children between the ages of 6 and 14 can be seen as a pivotal audience by the station; TG4 provides a fun use for the language outside of the classroom for these young people. Aware that young Irish-speakers more often than not get their ideas about what is trendy from the English-speaking community, TG4 set about changing this by commissioning new and very popular cartoons. TG4 has dubbed some of the more popular American, British and Japanese cartoons such as *Sponge Bob Square Pants*, thereby making children aware that Irish is just as capable of functioning in contemporary society as English is. *Sponge Bob Square Pants* draws an average of 9.4%\(^{15}\) of the available audience, which is significant when one considers the vast array of programming and channels available to children on other more established stations like the BBC.

The station has also conducted extensive research into what type of programming Irish-speakers enjoy and attempts to satisfy the needs by broadcasting programmes for specific groups during the peak evening hours. For example on a Monday evening the very popular fashion show *Paisean Faisean* is aired to attract women between the ages of 15 and 35 and on Wednesday evenings traditional music programmes are shown to satisfy the traditional audience. A Western film is shown one night a week also, in an effort to attract men in the 45+ age-group. Sports programming is an essential part of the schedule of TG4. The channel holds the rights to the National Football League fixtures, which attract a large audience. In summer 2005, the station began to broadcast major sporting events through the medium of Irish such as the tennis championship from Wimbledon, the Tour de France cycling tournament, and the World snooker championship, thereby attracting people who may never have watched the channel previously. These programmes attracted high audience levels during the summers of 2005 and 2006, periods which normally represent a lull in television viewing. They are also relatively cheap programmes to air, but more importantly, broadcasting these events further highlights the stations aim of tapping into niche markets, which has been highlighted as one of the main purposes of the channel.

\(^{15}\) Figure from Dave Moore, Audience Researcher with TG4
Hindley, a researcher who is highly pessimistic of the situation of the Irish language, argued in 1990 that there was not enough programming that reflected popular culture in the Irish language. There are many programmes that TG4 airs that fulfil this criteria, but the two most significant are the Irish language soap opera, *Ros na Rún* and the travel programme *Amú le Hector*. *Ros na Rún*, which has been running for ten years, enjoys high audience ratings and according to statistics offered by the station in May 2005, the soap attracts approximately 235,000 viewers per week. The soap opera, which deals with contemporary issues of divorce, gay-marriages, and so forth, ensures that people see the language as having a role in modern Irish life, thereby extending the domains of language use. The soap has been bought by an American television station based in Philadelphia, which perhaps indicates that the show is dealing with issues of contemporary significance. *Amú* is one of the most popular shows on the channel. It is a travel-type programme presented by a colourful character called Hector. The brand Hector was put forward by TG4 as fun, entertaining, and above all, Irish speaking. Hector has had a significant impact on the use of the language amongst the Irish cohort studied within this thesis, an issue which is discussed in great detail in chapter six. The data presented in section 6.5.2 indicate for the Irish research participants Hector is the personality who has exerted most influence on their Irish language attitudes and practices. The aforementioned MORI radio survey refers to “Generation Hector”, a significant group of young adults, the majority of whom are second language Irish-speakers, who are the core audience for Hector’s travel programme. Kelly-Holmes and Atkinson (2005) argue that:

> The popular television presenter Hector Ó hEochagáin is often credited with increased viewing figures for Irish language programmes among L2 speakers and for challenging the traditional media boundaries within which the language operates in Ireland.

More recently, the Hector Factor is being complemented by a more popular ‘sexy’ image for the TG4 brand. The channel has begun to focus more on what is referred to as the ‘TG4 babes’. This issue is subject to further debate in section 6.5.2.

TG4 sees the early evening timeframe as representing the greatest challenge for them, as during this time period the station is competing with the popular soap operas on other channels. In an attempt to attract young people to the station TG4 launched a new programme aimed at 15-24 year olds, presented by the popular presenter Síle Ní Bhraonáin which runs between 17.00 and 19.00. A new Irish language teen drama,
Hindley, a researcher who is highly pessimistic of the situation of the Irish language, argued in 1990 that there was not enough programming that reflected popular culture in the Irish language. There are many programmes that TG4 airs that fulfil this criteria on, but the two most significant are the Irish language soap opera, *Ros na Rún* and the travel programme *Amú le Hector*. *Ros na Rún*, which has been running for ten years, enjoys high audience ratings and according to statistics offered by the station in May 2005, the soap attracts approximately 235,000 viewers per week. The soap opera, which deals with contemporary issues of divorce, gay-marriages, and so forth, ensures that people see the language as having a role in modern Irish life, thereby extending the domains of language use. The soap has been bought by an American television station based in Philadelphia, which perhaps indicates that the show is dealing with issues of contemporary significance. *Amú* is one of the most popular shows on the channel. It is a travel-type programme presented by a colourful character called Hector. The brand Hector was put forward by TG4 as fun, entertaining, and above all, Irish speaking. Hector has had a significant impact on the use of the language amongst the Irish cohort studied within this thesis, an issue which is discussed in great detail in chapter six. The data presented in section 6.5.2 indicate for the Irish research participants Hector is the personality who has exerted most influence on their Irish language attitudes and practices. The aforementioned MORI radio survey refers to “Generation Hector”, a significant group of young adults, the majority of whom are second language Irish-speakers, who are the core audience for Hector’s travel programme. Kelly-Holmes and Atkinson (2005) argue that:

> The popular television presenter Hector Ó hÉochagáin is often credited with increased viewing figures for Irish language programmes among L2 speakers and for challenging the traditional media boundaries within which the language operates in Ireland.

More recently, the Hector Factor is being complemented by a more popular ‘sexy’ image for the TG4 brand. The channel has begun to focus more on what is referred to as the ‘TG4 babes’. This issue is subject to further debate in section 6.5.2.

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Aifric, has been included in the schedule from Autumn 2006. Paul Mercier who is involved in the production of Aifric, sees the programme as important for the promotion of Irish commenting that “When you add in the Gaeltacht dimension, it is even more important to give teenagers a sense of confidence in their own language and culture” (quoted in Siggins, 2005). TG4 developed a blog\textsuperscript{16} for viewers to talk about the show; the majority of the discussion takes place through the medium of Irish and highlights the show’s role in increasing the linguistic capital of the language amongst teenagers and young adults. It can also be argued that the Aifirc blog is helping to create an Irish language public sphere for young Irish teenagers.

The inception of TG4 has had a huge impact on the Irish language television production sector. The majority of television programmes aired on the channel are bought from independent production companies. Companies such as TeleGael Media Group are producing very high quality programming for the station. The company has been involved in some very significant projects such as the dubbing the popular children’s movie Harry Potter into Irish, which was broadcast on the 31\textsuperscript{st} of October 2005. Notably, the arrival of TG4 has also been a huge boost for the Irish language film industry. A number of short films produced for the station have won awards at international film festivals. One such film is Yu Ming is Anim Dom, a satirical account of the linguistic reality of Ireland as experienced by a young Chinese tourist.

3.6.5 TG4’s language policy

TG4 is marketed as an Irish language channel even though it broadcasts programmes both in Irish and English; the inclusion of English-language programming is vital to the channel’s survival. As Watson (2002: 754) argues “TG4 is subject to larger market forces that demand larger audiences than the Irish-speaking public can provide. To overcome this TG4 devote almost half of their airtime to programmes in English”. The channel does not envisage that in the near future it will become a monolingual channel. Esslemont argues that if TG4 were to broadcast only Irish-programming audience levels would drop and the channel would be lost in what he describes as the digital jungle\textsuperscript{17}. TG4 has no official language policy, although the channel did produce a style handbook when it first began broadcasting. The channel

\textsuperscript{16} www.aifric.tv/comments.asp [accessed 21/02/07]

\textsuperscript{17} Personal communication 21/07/05
does have a strict policy of using the standard Caighdeán Irish in children’s programming, in order to promote the extension of use of the variety of Irish that is learned in school. In most other programming there is a mix between local dialects and the standard form.

An important point to highlight in any discussion on the language policy of the station is, as Fennell pointed out that “TG4 sees itself first and foremost as a television station, not a language revival movement” (Fennell, 2000: 146). Nevertheless, it is felt that the channel has an indirect role to play in Irish language revitalisation. One of the major advantages of television over radio is the visual image; people with limited competence can still watch Irish language programmes, as the visual image will enhance their understanding. The use of English subtitles also aids comprehension amongst Irish language learners, as well as the obvious role subtitles play in aiding the hearing impaired. Subtitles in English appear on all pre-recorded Irish language programming. While TG4 does not broadcast any programme for Irish language learners, the availability of subtitles on TG4 plays an important language-planning role (O’Connell, 2000). The use of Caighdeán Irish promotes reading and comprehension of the standard variety even amongst native speakers. Significantly, in the previously discussed MORI 2005 survey, 85% of those who rated their Irish language skills as poor had watched TG4 in any case (MORI, 2005: 10).

3.6.6 TG4 and Irish language revitalisation

There has been a considerable change in attitude and perception of the Irish language within the last ten years. To what extent TG4 has been the catalyst behind this change and/or a creative reaction to the increasing popularity of the language, is an issue that demands further attention. It can be argued that TG4 is just one of a number of measures put in place by the government within the last ten years in order to improve the situation of the Irish language. Other measures include the previously discussed Official Languages Act, the appointment of a Language Commissioner, the official status for the language at the level of the European Union and so on. However, it is vital to mention that for many people, and for the cohort studied within thus thesis particularly (cf. chapter six), TG4 has been the main driving force behind the change in their perception of the language. The channel does see how TG4 can play an
important role in aiding the revitalisation of the language. Pól Ó Gallchóir (2005), former director of TG4 claims:

TG4 has been the catalyst for the palpable change in attitudes to and the profile of the Irish language, particularly among children, young people and in the Gaeltacht communities. It has become the primary means of providing an attractive daily point of contact for the language outside of the school and has been a showcase for new talent and in promoting a new, youthful and more confident image for Irish.

TG4 clearly has a role to play in the three main facets of language planning, namely status, corpus and acquisition. Firstly, the presence of the language on television and existence of a service dedicated to its promotion may help to raise the status of the language. Ó Laoïre (2000:152) says that by being present on television, minority languages are: “no longer confined to the rurality and staid backwardness in the minds of ‘people’ who live outside these languages”. The Irish language cannot be considered ‘dead’ when it is reaching the homes of Irish people on a daily basis. In terms of corpus planning, TG4 aids the diffusion of new terminology through the use of such words on the television medium. For example, following the decision to broadcast the Wimbledon Tennis Championships, the station had to set about coining words for ace and other tennis terminology. In relation to acquisition planning, the station provides an excellent language-learning tool, as well as aiding inter-dialectal comprehension. As Ó Laoïre (2000: 53) argues; “When the broadcast medium directs itself both at the target population and non-population, it increases its potential for acquisition planning”. Subtitles are an important inclusion if these aims are to be met, but perhaps the inclusion of Irish-language subtitles would be more beneficial to those beginning to learn the language. The extent to which TG4 has impacted on the language ideology and language practices of the study’s cohort is explored in chapter six. It can be argued, on the basis of the results of this research, that TG4 has achieved more in terms of the ideological stance of the Irish language in the last ten years than other language policies previously enacted by the State have done.

3.7 Conclusion

The availability of an Irish language television station is important for the supply of a linguistic environment outside of the traditional setting of the education system. By bringing the language into the homes of Irish people on a daily basis this medium can support and encourage people to increase their fluency in the language. This is of great importance to Gaeltacht communities, which, as has been in discussed in 3.2, are
suffering from a severe decline in the crucial intergenerational transmission stage of Fishman’s G.I.D. scale. Similarly, because of the geographical separation of the major Irish-speaking communities, the channel enables them to come together and participate in their own public forum via the television channel. O'Connell (2001) argues, the presence of minority languages on television guards against language shift in the home and in social domains. It is also an important tool in the formation of an Irish language public sphere and it enables the Irish language to permeate the English language sphere. The extent to which the existence of TG4 is affecting both the language ideology and language practices of the research cohort is presented in chapter six, while, the degree to which TG4 can be identified as a mechanism of language policy is outlined in chapter seven. The following chapter provides a comparative account of the current situation of the Basque language.
CHAPTER FOUR
The Basque Language Today
4.0 Overview
The aim of this chapter is to offer an account of the situation the Basque language finds itself in within the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) today. As was already indicated for the Irish case in chapter three, in order to discuss what the efforts to revive Basque have achieved it is necessary to set the historical context. An in-depth account of the measures put in place to reverse Basque language shift follows. An evaluation of the effectiveness of these language-planning measures drawing on data from the various sociolinguistic surveys conducted within BAC is then offered. This will enable the current position of Basque on the G.I.D. scale to be gauged. An examination of the availability of Basque on the media in the BAC is provided, along with an in-depth account of the Basque television channel ETB-1.

4.1 Historical Background
As one of the oldest languages in Europe Basque has survived the threat of various Indo-European languages, including Latin and Castilian. The Basque language is currently characterised by its position as a minority language within its own territory. The current situation of Castilian/Basque bilingualism is the result of a historical background that did not favour Basque monolingualism. One of the factors that impeded the spread of Basque monolingualism was the lack of a written tradition in the language. The tradition of written Basque did not develop until the sixteenth century; the first Basque-language book *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae*, was published in 1545. In fact, as Basterra (1996: 88) points out, between 1545 and 1879 only 587 books were published in Basque. This meagre output of books in Basque lacked linguistic unity because there was no standard form of the language and all authors generally wrote in their own dialects. As a result of the late development of a written standard, most Basques were for the most part illiterate monolinguals, which meant that the number of people with the ability to read these books was limited. Lasagabaster (2001: 403) argues that because Basques were an illiterate group and because the language was not used as the language of administration, the sociolinguistic situation provides a good example of stable diglossia; Basque and Castilian had their own functions and neither language was threatening the other. Gardner (2000) describes how this situation of stable diglossia remained intact until the middle of the eighteenth century.
During the eighteenth century the process of Basque attrition and shift towards Castilian gained considerable momentum. The Industrial Revolution in particular had a significant impact on the decline of the Basque language. It had severe negative effects on the Basque rural population which, like in the case of western Ireland, was the traditional stronghold of the language. The Industrial Revolution impacted in two ways on traditional Basque agrarian society. Firstly, the developments in machinery meant that many jobs traditionally performed by man were being carried out by machinery. Secondly the tradition of single inheritance of family farms meant that family members who traditionally helped on the family farm were being replaced by the new machinery and were left without employment (Basterra, 1996). Both of these elements led to a huge rise in the level of migration out of rural areas. Many migrated to the urban centres such as Bilbao, while many more left for North America and South America. Gardner (2000: 26) argues that for many Basques who moved to urban centres there was a need to learn Castilian to gain employment: “Basques who had not previously needed Spanish found it necessary to learn and use it”.

The huge growth in manufacturing and shipbuilding based industries also impacted on the linguistic reality of the Basque country. The industrial boom provided attractive employment opportunities for people from the more impoverished areas of Spain, particularly the south. This led to a huge increase in the presence of Castilian in Basque urban centres (Basterra, 1996). By the end of the nineteenth century Basques had begun to worry about the position of their language within its own territory and started to plot for the reversal of the shift to Castilian. At the turn of the twentieth century Sabino Arana, the father of Basque nationalism, emphasised the importance of the language to Basque identity (Gardner, 2000). Arana was involved in a number of campaigns to promote the language, which culminated in the formation of the (Royal) Academy for the Basque Language (Euskaltzaindia) in 1919, the institution that strives to protect the language. The Academy is responsible for the formation of the standard variety of the Basque language known as Batua or unified Basque. Batua was created in an attempt to bridge the gap between the numerous dialects of the language, which had until that point infringed upon the spread of the language. Batua is largely based on the Guipuzkoan and Lapurdian dialects. Block (2005) argues that these dialects were chosen because Guipuzkoan and Lapurdian were spoken by half of
the population in the 1960s and they were the principal dialects used in Basque literature of that time.

It is argued by Tejerina (2005) that the Basque language, as a result of the factors mentioned above, suffered a severe decline in its communicative function prior to the Franco regime (1936-1975). Under Franco’s regime the language suffered from repression that led to a further decline in its communicative function. The use of Basque was banned in all public arenas and it was forbidden for the language to be taught in schools. The Basque country, along with Catalonia and Galicia, suffered the most during the initial decades of Franco’s dictatorship. Consequently they were the first regions to experience reprieves in the latter years of the regime (cf. Mangan, 2001). Many of the Basque schools that had gone underground during the dictatorship, such as Ikastolak, were from 1977 more freely able to teach the language to both children and adults. Despite these late measures the language did suffer a huge decline and from the early 1900s to the late 1970s the number of speakers had declined by 59%, with just 24% of the population of the BAC claiming competence in the language at the end of the 1970s (Etxeberria, 1999; Lasagabaster, 2001). Gardner (2000) argues that attempts to revive Basque can be divided into two main phases, the first from the 1950s to the 1970s and the second from the 1970s to the present. Lasagbaster (2001) argues that within these two phases the most significant period was the transition to autonomy following the death of Franco and the initial years of autonomy.

4.2 Basque Language Policy and Language Planning

From the 1950s to the 1970s the major concern was to reverse Basque language shift, while from the 1970s to the present day efforts are focused on normalising the use of Basque and expanding the domains in which people come in to contact with the language. During the initial period of the 1950s-1970s attempts to reverse Basque language shift were led by voluntary groups. The Ikastola movement (Basque Language Schools) was vitally important during this period. The aim of Ikastolak was “to claim back Basque and to ensure that it would once again become a language of daily communication” (Lopez-Goñi, 2003:14). Ikastolak, which were semi-clandestine in nature, were financed by the families involved, by individuals committed to the survival of the language and through church fund-raising events
(Torres-Guzmán and Etxeberria, 2005; Amorrortu, 2002). According to Tejerina (2005), between 1960 and 1975 a total of 160 Ikastolak were formed in the BAC, which undoubtedly had a profound effect on the survival of the language. The Ikastolak were a precursor to the model D immersion schools in operation today (cf. section 4.2.1). Great efforts have been made to revitalise Basque since the fall of Franco’s dictatorship. Basque gained official status in the 1978 Spanish constitution and became a co-official language of the BAC following the signing of the Statute of Gernika, the Basque Statute of Autonomy in 1979. The Statute of Autonomy provided the legal basis for language policy in the Basque country. In 1982, in an effort to promote the use of the language, the Basque autonomous government passed the *Ley Básica de la Normalización del Uso del Euskera* (Basic Law Normalising the Use of Basque) where provisions were made for the use of Basque in education, administration and the media. The main focus was on Basque revitalisation via the education system. Basque language planners focused on the education system for the same reasons Irish language planners did, that is schools were the main agents for the spread of Castilian and English respectively and therefore would be instrumental in reversing the shift to Basque and Irish respectively.

The Basque autonomous government has implemented measures which relate to the three main aspects of language planning. As is the case with many minority language situations, in the BAC acquisition planning has been the focus of the educational system, although efforts have also been made in administration and the media. Corpus planning efforts were carried out in order to standardise and modernise the Basque language. Status planning efforts were also carried out on behalf of the Basque language. Each of these elements is discussed in detail below.

### 4.2.1 Acquisition planning: Basque in education

Once autonomy was achieved, a debate developed as regards the role the schools would play in the normalisation of Basque, with the conclusion being that both Basque and Castilian medium education should be made available. Prior to autonomy there were three types of schooling available in the Basque country: public, private and the Basque medium schools Ikastolak. The aforementioned 1982 Basic Law Normalising the Use of Basque allowed for the Basquisation of the educational system. Article 5 of this law stipulates that everyone in the Basque Autonomous
Community has, "the right to receive or the right to be taught in both official languages". Following the implementation of the Basic Law Normalising the Use of Basque, the autonomous government passed the Decree on Bilingualism (138/1983), which led to the creation of four models of education in the BAC. Table 4.1. offers a description of the four models: A, B, D and X.

### Table 4.1. Educational Models in the BAC

| Model A: Castilian is the language of instruction, Basque is taught as a subject. |
| Model B: Students receive their education through both languages |
| Model D: Basque is the language of instruction, Castilian is taught as a subject. |
| Model X: Everything is taught through Castilian, Basque is not even a subject. |

Although there are four models available, the three bilingual models are in effect the only functioning models of education in the BAC. There are almost no Basque students receiving their education through model X; in fact Orgei Zarautz (1990) points out that by the mid-1980s model X schools had virtually disappeared with only c.a.1% of students attending such schools. Gardner (2000: 28) argues:

(...) very few individuals are taught under this model, usually on the basis of individual exemptions on account of temporary residence in the Basque Country or arrival at a late stage of compulsory education. They have never been very numerous and at present constitute less than 1% of the entire volume of pre-university students.

This represents a major change from the early 1980s when 75% of all those enrolled in state schooling were attending model A and X primary and secondary schools. The three functioning bilingual models can, according to Grin and Vaillancourt (1998: 139), be viewed: "as a reflection of the diglossic patterns of life in Euskadi and to the fact that the functional distribution of language over domains is not unique but changeable between individuals and groups".

EUSTAT (Euskal Estatistika Erakundea), the Basque statistics office, published a report in 2004 in which the successes of the different models of education were examined. The report illustrates that in the academic year 2002-03 model D schools were the most popular stream. The EUSTAT report also shows that from the period 1993-94 to 2002-03 model A schools suffered a decline of 50.5%, while during the same period the percentage attending model D schools increased by 30.6% (Eustat, 2004: 17/18). Many researchers have interpreted these increases as a response to the
growing interest and demand for education in Basque. For example, Grin and Vaillancourt (1998: 139) conclude that:

To sum up, we can say that a steadily increasing share of pupils is schooled partly or wholly in Euskera, and given the voluntary nature of enrolment in one or another model, the establishment of the current system can be interpreted as a response to social demand.

Indeed, Figure 4.1 indicates that in the short period of time between the academic years 2002-03 and 2004-05 the number of pupils attending model D schools has further increased, with over half of students in the BAC now attending model D schools.

**Figure 4.1.** % of students attending each model of education in the BAC 2002-03

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Model</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>27.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>21.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(http://www.eustat.es [accessed 02/02/07])

As is the case with Naíonrái, in Ireland there has been a significant growth in the number of Basque language pre-schools in recent times. Amorrortu (2002) illustrates that there has been a dramatic increase in the number of pupils attending model D pre-schools. In the ten-year period 1991-2001 the number of pupils attending such pre-schools increased from 36% to 61%, whereas model A experienced a 19% decrease. Amorrortu (2002) argues that the reason the model D pre-schools have risen in popularity is due to the realisation by parents that their children will acquire Castilian in society anyway, and that by attending model D pre-schools their children are guaranteed some level of proficiency in Basque from a young age. Furthermore, third level education is much more widely available through the medium of Basque in the BAC than it is through the medium of Irish in Ireland. The public University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHV) offers a number of degrees in Basque and the number of teaching staff with the ability to teach through the medium of Basque has been steadily increasing since the 1980s, which is in contrast to the Irish context where there have only been minimal increases in the number of third level courses available through Irish. Lasagabaster (2007) points out that there has been a significant increase in the number of students undertaking degrees through Basque. He says: “Ten years ago 17% of the students were studying in Basque, whereas nowadays this percentage has risen to 41%” (ibid., p.71). Moreover, according to Nogales (2003), there are now more than 1,000 teachers who instruct through the medium of Basque at the
UPV/EHU. However, as some of the Basque research participants commented, the degree through the medium of the Basque language is often considered to be less prestigious. In addition, the number of textbooks published in Basque continues to be limited. This is an issue that needs to be tackled by language planners and some researchers argue that the academic register is as yet underdeveloped. Nogales (2003: 152) comments that “En euskera esto todavía, este registro culto, en cierta manera, no está desarrollado”.

The availability of education in Basque at all levels meant that there was a need for new teacher-training methods so that the supply of teachers with enough competence in Basque would meet the demand for education through the medium of Basque. When one considers that in 1977 only 5% of primary level teachers could teach Basque it is evident that this was a huge task (Lasagabaster, 2001: 408). The first autonomous Basque government put vigorous measures in place whereby the Department of Education would give grants to those wishing to train or indeed to retrain as Basque teachers under the IRALE (Irakasleen Alfabetatze Euskalduntzea) programme, which was also responsible for providing courses for civil servants to gain sufficient Basque language skills. Similarly, the Basque government saw there was a need to provide linguistic backup for parents and put a number of measures in place to facilitate the Basquisation of adults. HABE (Helduen Alfabetatze eta Berreuskalduntzerako Erakundeak), a central facility which is run by the Department of Linguistic Policy, provides language courses, as well as teacher training and materials. HABE, along with independent groups such as AEK (Alfabetatze eta Euskalduntze Koordinakundeak) run language courses which are popularly known as euskaltegiak. Azuke and Perales (2005) state that there are currently 1,532 fully accredited Basque teachers in the BAC.

The bilingual educational models have been in operation in the BAC for more than twenty years and have had two major achievements that are important for the future of the language. Firstly, the number of people with knowledge of the language has increased dramatically and secondly the bilingual educational models have increased the prestige or symbolic capital attached to using the language. Research into the linguistic and sociolinguistic effects of the educational models began to appear in the late 1970s, although a large body of research did not appear until the late 1980s. The
research which is of relevance here, was conducted from the late 1990s up to the present day, where the main focus has been on the levels of Basque acquisition. Studies that have examined Basque acquisition show that those who attend model D schools gain the most proficiency in the language during compulsory education (Cenoz and Perales, 1997). However, the growth in non-native speakers attending these schools is impacting negatively on the language competence gained by being educated through the medium of Basque. Although, as Lasagabaster (2001) argues, students who attend model D schools are closest to balanced bilinguals due to their high level of competence in both Basque and Castilian. In contrast, Lasagabaster and Cenoz (1998) argue that there is ample evidence to show that those attending model A schools do not develop a high level of competence in Basque. Significantly, in a recent examination of the success of the three models Fernández Ulloa (2004) contends that model D students do not perform as well as would be expected in written exams in Basque. She attributes this underperformance to the use of Batua. Students are educated through the medium of Batua, but they are often more proficient in their own local variety and are often lacking written competence in the standard variety.

Amorrortu (2002a), in her examination of four decades of Basque acquisition, highlights that although the bilingual educational models have increased the number of people who can use the language, the level of competence and the actual use of the language remain issues of much concern. Research conducted by Urrutia Cardenas (2001) led to similar conclusions to those of Amorrortu. Through an examination of more than 1,000 students attending all models of both public and private (including Ikastolak) secondary schools, Urrutia Cardenas discovered that students have a positive attitude to Basque and are favourable to learning it, but there is little use of the language outside of the educational setting and in general teenagers show no social identification with the language. He concludes that schooling could impact on the use of Basque through the teaching of the language, as well as creating positive attitudes to the language, but this alone cannot bring about sociolinguistic change within the community or in the home. Echeverría (2000) points out that in the majority of cases Spanish was the language used by these students in all contexts outside the Basque language classroom, which is significant when considered the following comment by Aldekoa and Gardner (2002:5): “Achieving spontaneous informal use of the minority
language at break-time seems to be implicitly regarded as the acid test of successful language planning at school.” As is the case with many minority languages, being schooled through the language is only one factor that may influence whether a student becomes an active user of the given minority language.

Basque language planners, like their Irish counterparts, have been criticised by sociolinguists for placing too much emphasis on the education system in the attempts to revive the language. Criticism of the overemphasis on the education system began to appear in the 1990s. Fishman (1991: 168-9) argues:

The question that remains is whether the Basque competence that the schools of these types achieve can subsequently be maintained in out-of-school and in after-school life, to the point that the general environment too can ultimately be Basquised thereby and this Basquisation intergenerationally transmitted rather than artificially endangered from without.

As a result of Fishman's comments a number of Basque and Spanish sociolinguists set about examining these concerns in more detail. Martínez Moya (1999) comments that the Basque case shows that education does play an important role in language revitalisation. However, there is a need for these efforts to be complemented with more presence of the language in the individual’s social reality. Likewise, Echeverría (2001) views as problematic the fact that attempts to promote Basque through the education system did not focus on encouraging the social use of the language. Through her analysis of children attending model D primary schools she found that: “(...) fun uses of Basque are not coming from school, students get their model for such uses from an environment saturated in Spanish” (ibid., p.252). Lasagabaster (2001), in describing a research study conducted by Balluerka, Gorostiaga and Stock (1996), argues that bilingualism is unbalanced in favour of Castilian even when children attending model D schools are living in areas where large percentages of the population can speak Basque because the presence of Spanish in the public sphere is so strong. Similarly Gardner and Zalbide (2005: 70) maintain:

(...) little work is at present being done to ensure that the education initiative feeds back into intergenerational language transmission; relatively few steps have been taken to ensure the continuation of the work of the school into the Basque speakers’ adult life at home and in the local community.

In a more recent study, which builds on the work of Romaine (2006) discussed in chapter two, Lasagabaster (2007: 68) argues that: “Institutional action alone, without the support of social movements is incapable of carrying out this task (RLS) successfully”. Nevertheless, as Ó Riagáin (1997) argued in the case of Irish, the fact the number of people with some degree of competence in Basque continues to
increase can be attributed, for the most part, to the presence of Basque in the educational system.

4.2.2 Acquisition planning: Basque in administration

The 1982 Basic Law for Normalising the Use of Basque states that all citizens of the BAC have the right to receive the services of the public administration in either of the official languages. In order to meet the criteria set out by the law it was necessary to implement measures to provide civil servants with the required language skills. The first stage of the plan led to the basquisation of civil servants in the parliament, Basque government and local governments, as well as the administrative staff of the public University. The second stage, which is currently in operation, involves the basquisation of the police and health services, as well as other public bodies. Although Basque is not a requirement for all jobs in the public service, the Basquisation process did affect 33% of jobs during the first stage of the process (Cenoz and Perales, 1997: 266). The level of competence in Basque that is required depends on the position that the civil servant occupies. There are four different linguistic profiles, with the demand ranging from a basic level of proficiency to advanced expertise in the language.\(^{17}\) Civil servants attend classes in the aforementioned euskaltegiak and have to sit a series of exams. The classes are free and civil servants receive their full salary if they have to attend these classes on a full- or part-time basis. If an individual fails the exams he/she may then be forced to move to a different, often less rewarding post. The failure rate in these exams is high, which Martínez Arbelaitz (1996) attributes to a number of factors: Firstly, the number of people working in the Basque civil service who have moved to the BAC from other parts of Spain is high. Learning Basque is exceptionally difficult for these people, particularly when one takes into consideration the distance between Basque and Castilian in linguistic terms; secondly, some civil servants may be lacking motivational factors, which are imperative if language-learning is to be successful. This is particularly relevant in this case, given the fact that the task of learning Basque is being imposed from the top down. Overall, and in comparison with the acquisition planning via the educational system, the Basquisation of the public administration has had limited success. There are a significant number of people doing well in these

\(^{17}\) For a detailed description of the linguistic profiles see Cenoz and Perales (1997)
exams, but those who would have had no previous contact with the language do not appear to be doing as well. A series of modifications were made to the structure of the exams in 1993 (Martínez Arbeitaiz, 1996). Further changes were made in 1997 (Decree 86/1997), but the failure rate remains high. Although there are some issues with this process of language acquisition via public administration, it has to be argued that the requirement of a relatively high degree of competence in Basque for posts in the Basque civil service adds to the socio-economic value of the language. As is discussed in chapter six, some of the Basque participants in the case research were attending night-classes in Basque because they were hoping to get a job in the Basque civil service.

Exactly how these measures impact on the actual use of the language within the administration of the BAC has not been subject to much research, but it is fair to argue that few government departments use Basque as their work language and consequently the rights of Basque speakers only have a formal guarantee. Gardner (2000: 22) comments: “Rather than encourage Basque speakers to use the language; some officials frankly discourage use of the language. There is a clear discrepancy between official guidelines and the practice of many civil servants”. The Basque Observatory for Linguistic Rights (Behatokia) handles complaints of breaches of these policies. The presence of Basque in administration is hugely important for native speakers, but it also indicates to Basque language learners that Basque has an important function within their society and although these policies have increased the number of civil servants with some level of competence in the language, it does not affect the use of the language in intimate social domains.

4.2.3 Corpus planning
Corpus planning efforts are an integral part of any language recovery effort. The importance of the development of a standardised variety of both Irish and Basque is crucial to inter-group communication because of the respective dialectal differences that exist. As has been previously mentioned (cf. section 4.1) one of the major problems that contributed to the decline of the Basque language was the lack of a standard written form of the language. Following the development of Batua, language planners had to implement measures to help promote the use of the standard form. The task of spreading Batua has largely been undertaken by the Deputy Ministry for
Language Policy since the 1980s. Batua is now the form used in all official capacities, as well as in public media, and it is the variety taught in schools. Use of Batua in these areas has led to the rapid implementation and expansion of the standard variety. Gardner (2000) argues that use of Batua in print and broadcast media is mainly responsible for the extension of its use as the standard written form. Eckert (1983) argues that although the reason for creating a standard variety is to modernise and promote the use of a lesser-used language amongst second-language learners, it often leads to negative attitudes amongst native speakers who feel their dialect is in danger. This is not uncommon in other minority language situations. For example, Luykx (2004) argues that native speakers of Bolivian Quecha hold a very negative attitude to the standard form because it has put some of the older dialects in danger. In the case of Batua there was some tension from native-speakers in the early years but this has decreased, predominantly due to the fact that the Basque Academy has made clear on a number of occasions that their intention is for Batua to ease communication between speakers of all the dialects of Basque, not for it to lead to the decline of local dialects (Gardner, 2000).

4.2.4 Status planning

As is stated in section 4.1, Basque gained official recognition as a regional language of Spain in the 1978 Constitution and it became a co-official language of the BAC in 1979, when the Basque Statute of Autonomy was approved. In an effort to improve the status of Basque the autonomous government introduced legislation to provide an arena for the language within society in the form of the aforementioned 1982 Basic Law Normalising the use of Basque. The 1982 Law led to the use of Basque in public administration and media since the early days of autonomy and this has helped raise the social prestige attached to using the language. Furthermore, in the late 1990s Basque language planners realised that there was a need to encourage more social use of the language. With these ideas in mind the Basque autonomous government approved the General Plan for the Promotion of Basque in 1999. The aim of the plan is:

To consolidate Basque language transmission and knowledge, to widen up the field of Basque use socially, to have greater presence of Basque in the media and to bring about cultural products in Basque which are adapted to needs.

(Berripapera18, 1998:1)

18 http://www.euskadi.net/euskara_berripapera/ingles/61ing.pdf [accessed 25/01/07]
Mateo (2005) highlights the fact that the 1999 Plan transcends the traditional approach to the Basque language adopted by the 1982 Law, which centred on the Basque language as a heritage language, by focusing on the Basque speaker as the foundation for language revitalisation. The goal is to make Basque both suitable and desirable for use in multiple domains. Block (2005: 28) highlights that an important aspect of the Plan is to improve the popular perception of the language. In order to do this he argues that it is necessary to:

(... ) remove the stigma associated with Euskera, which has historically been regarded as the language of the poor and uneducated since Castilian became the principal language of the cities and of the ruling class.

The status of the Basque language in the other two regions that together with the BAC, make-up the Basque country, is varied. In Iparraldea, the Basque region within the French state, the language has no official status. Navarre is divided into three linguistic regions and the status of the language differs in each one. In Northern Navarre Basque enjoys the same status as it does in the BAC, while in southern Navarre the language is not recognised at all. Torres-Guzmán and Etxeberría (2005: 509) highlight the argument put forward by Azurmendi (2001), Cenoz and Perales (2001), and Lasagabaster (2001) that:

(... ) the legal difference in the recognition of the officiality of Euskera in the different communities have had implications on the pace of revitalisation of the language.

Basque does not enjoy the same status as Irish at EU level. While Basque is an official language of the EU it has not gained the status of a working language. The language is unlikely to gain such status at present due to the political reality of its territory.

4.3 The Basque Language Today
The analysis offered above indicates that the Basque language is in a much better position now than it was twenty five years ago. The measures that have been put in place since autonomy have helped to increase the presence and knowledge of Basque within the BAC. As Gardner and Zalbide (2005: 69) argue: “It is clear that the number of people claiming knowledge of Basque is on the increase and this is widely attributed to schooling”. In spite of these successes the minority situation of Basque is still characterised by the lack of use of the language in social domains. The aim of this section is to provide an account of the present condition of the language, drawing on the results from previous censuses and from sociolinguistic surveys conducted by the
Basque government, as well as on surveys carried out by individual researchers and research groups.

4.3.1 Census data
As is the case with the Irish census, the language question in the Basque census provides a diachronic account of the situation of the language in the Basque Country since autonomy. A census of the population has been conducted at five-year intervals since 1981. The Basque census language question investigates three elements of the relationship of Basque people to their native tongue. The questions focus on gathering information on the levels of proficiency in Basque. The first question examines the level of competence in the Basque language, at the levels of the oral, written and listening capacities. The second question asks people to indicate their ‘lengua materna’, which is classified as the language spoken at three years of age, while the third question seeks information on the language used in home (lengua habalada en casa).

The five censuses that have been conducted to date indicate that the measures put in place in order to revive the Basque language have been partially successful in the BAC. In reporting the results of the language census EUSTAT divides the population into three categories. These are:

1. Basque speakers: Fluent Basque speakers
2. Quasi-Basque speakers: Those who have a good understanding of Basque, but speak it with difficulty
3. Castilian speakers: Fluent Castilian speakers

Table 4.2. illustrates the growth of Basque speakers and the decline in monolingual Castilian speakers over the twenty year period from 1981-2001. The figures show that the number of people with some capacity in Basque (Basque + quasi-Basque speakers) has increased from 36% to 55.4%. Within the BAC itself the highest proportion of Basque speakers live in the province of Gupizkoa, where 57% of the population claims some ability in the language. It is also important to note the significant drop in Castilian monolinguals from 64% to 44.6% over the twenty-year period. As Lasagabaster (2001: 406) argues, the results of the previous Basque censuses illustrate that while the situation of Basque is improving consistently there is
still a lot of work to be done to improve the condition of the language. He concludes that:

Therefore it can be stated that there is a steady, albeit small, increase in the number of people who can and do speak Basque in their everyday life especially among young people; but despite this, Basque is still clearly a minority language.

A further notable feature of the census data outlined by Lasagabaster (2001) is the increase in the presence of the language in large urban centres, such as Bilbao, where the increase has been most significant amongst young people who seem to have adopted the language.

Table 4.2: Basque Census Language Question 1981-2001

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basque Speakers</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quasi-Basque Speaker</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>23.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castilian Monolinguals</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>53.9</td>
<td>49.4</td>
<td>44.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The issues that were raised in relying on Irish language data (cf. section 3.3.1) generated from the census are equally applicable here. Fernández Ulloa (2004) points out the dangerous of relying on such data in the Basque case. He argues that government commissioned surveys often do not reflect the actual linguistic situation because there is a tendency for individuals to over-estimate their ability by answering up. However, in an attempt to counteract the repercussions of relying on census data a street usage survey has been conducted every four years since 1989 by the Basque Sociolinguistic Institute, SEI (Euskal Soziolinguistika Institutua). The Street Usage Survey is conducted using the direct observation method and does not involve the use of any questionnaires. Surveyors gather the data by recording the language used on the street in towns all over the Basque Country during a particular timeframe. The individuals involved are not aware that they are being recorded. The survey specifies the time and place the data was gathered and how many people were speaking Basque, Castilian or French, as well as specifying gender, approximate age and the make-up of a group. More reliable data is gathered from this technique because, as described by the SEI: “the subjectivity of data recorded in polls is avoided and more reliable results are achieved” (SEI, 2002). The Street Usage Survey data can then be compared to census data to check the validity of the latter. Amorrortu (2003) stresses that each of these surveys confirms the use of the language is lower than what is reported in the census. As is the case with Irish, the advances in the use of Basque
have been modest when one considers the growth in number of people with some degree of capacity in the language.

### 4.3.2 Sociolinguistic survey data

The Deputy Ministry for Language Policy of the Basque Government has been conducting sociolinguistic surveys of the Basque Country at five-year intervals since 1991. The surveys provide a detailed account of the position of the Basque language in Basque society. The Basque sociolinguistic surveys of 1991, 1996 and 2001 provide a comprehensive account of the actual sociolinguistic situation of the Basque Country. The surveys include all provinces of the Basque country, but the data from the BAC will be the focus here. The surveys provide a corpus of data on language competence, language use in various private (home) and public domains (work), and attitudes to Basque and to the promotion of Basque and in this way can be understood as part of a more extensive account of the situation of Basque than the census data, albeit that the data is not as accurate as that which can be obtained from the street usage surveys. The Basque surveys also present an analysis of the rate of intergenerational and familial transmission of the language, which indicates that Basque language planners are more aware of the importance of this stage of reversing language shift than their Irish counterparts are. Within the Basque surveys individuals are classified under four main headings: monolinguals (Castilian), passive bilinguals (those who speak Basque with difficulty, but understand it well), bilinguals with Basque as a second language and bilinguals with Basque as a first language. As has been already mentioned there are almost no remaining monolingual Basque speakers and, therefore, such a category is not required. The number of competent bilingual and passive-bilinguals has increased significantly in the BAC since 1991, particularly in the 16-24 age group. Figure 4.2 illustrates the results in relation to the number of Basque speakers across all age groups.

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19 The results for the 2006 survey were not available at the time of writing.

20 According to the 2001 0.4% of the population are monolingual (Basque) (cf. Aizpurua Telleria, X. and Aizpurua Espin, J. (2005))
As Figure 4.2 shows, in 2001 48.5% of those within the 16-24 age group claimed they were bilingual. It is also evident from Figure 4.2 that levels of ability in Basque drop in the BAC once compulsory education has been completed. There is a sharp decrease in the level of ability between the 16-24 age group to the 25-34 age group with those claiming to be bilingual decreasing from 48.5% to 32%. The level of Basque language attrition is similar to the Irish case, where there is also a significant drop in language ability in the years immediately following compulsory education, which can be at least partially attributed to the lack of social use of Irish and Basque. These figures are also a further indication of the importance of extending contact with Basque and Irish outside of the educational system.

Amorrortu (2000: 30) is quick to point out: "(...the fact that a speaker reports being able to speak a language or even passes a standardisation test, does not guarantee communicative competence or use of the language". The issue of the proficiency level has been one of much concern in recent research on the Basque case (cf. Azurmendi, Bachoc and Zabaleta, 2001; Amorrortu, 2000), but it is the level of Basque use that is of primary concern here. The 1991, 1996 and 2001 surveys consistently show that the highest rate of Basque usage is amongst the 16-24 age group, which is not unlike the Irish situation. However, regular use of the Basque language, as in the case of Irish, also remains low. Table 4.3 demonstrates the use of Basque and Spanish over the ten-year period. Although the number of people who use Castilian only has declined since 1991, the number of people who use more Basque than Castilian has declined by 2.5% between 1996 and 2001. A possible explanation for this is the decline in use of Basque within the home. In their evaluation of the 1996 survey Grin and Vaillancourt
(1998) found that the use of Basque had increased in all areas except in the home. The level of Basque transmission within the family has declined across the entire Basque country. In the ten-year period 1991-2001 it declined from 21.7% to 13% in the BAC

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.3: Basque Use (1991-2001)</th>
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<td>(Sociolinguistic Survey of the Basque Country, 2001:17)</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Type of Use</th>
<th>1991</th>
<th>1996</th>
<th>2001</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More Basque than Castilian</td>
<td>10.9%</td>
<td>14.4%</td>
<td>11.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>As much Basque as Castilian</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Basque than Castilian</td>
<td>8.6%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>16.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Castilian Only</td>
<td>75.7%</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
<td>64.4%</td>
</tr>
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The 2001 survey also shows that the greatest increases in use have occurred in private domains (cf. Lasagabaster, 2007). In his introduction to the 2001 survey Bourhis argues that there is: "(…) a need to increase the range of services available in Basque and extend their scope beyond the school environment to encompass other areas of use also" (Bourhis, 2001: 21). In the survey he also argues that there is a need to encourage those within the 16-24 age group to use the language, as well as a need for rates of familial transmission to increase. This is an area in which the role of media in Basque language revitalisation is potentially crucial. It is argued by Bourhis in his introduction to the 2001 Basque sociolinguistic survey results that availability of Basque on television will benefit use of Basque because it: "(…) invades the intimacy of our own homes and has such a significant influence on our language behaviour in the most private, intimate and personal areas of our daily life" (Bourhis, 2001: 21).

There are also a number of smaller sociolinguistic surveys that have been conducted to assess the situation of the Basque language that examine specific sectors of the population as well as specific aspects of the sociolinguistic make-up of the BAC. Santa Cruz (1996) examines the social use of Basque amongst Basque youth as part of a wider investigation of the cultural values held by young Basques. He concludes from his survey that the Basque language held no legitimate social use for Basque youth. Etxebarria Arostegui (2001) examines the reality of the language situation in

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21 Figures from Basque Sociolinguistic Survey, 2001: 48
the city of Bilbao, focusing on the attitudes to and use of Basque. She points out that attitudes to the bilingual situation and to the use of the Basque language were favourable. She concludes that Bascophones attribute great value to their language, but they don't find it to be sufficiently valued in their social environment. In 2004 the Basque government carried out a survey on the use of Basque amongst 1500 young people aged between 15 and 29. The results show that although use of Basque (only) within the home is usual amongst 27% of the cohort, almost half of the respondents reported that they use Basque or a mix between Basque and Spanish with their friends (cf. Lasagabaster, 2007: 67). In his own study of University students Lasagabaster found that Basque language use was most frequent within the educational setting, with 44.1% reporting that they always use Basque with their lecturers.

There is also some independent research on Basque language attitudes, which deals with particular sub-sections of Basque society. Echano (1989) examines the attitudes of school-going teenagers to Basque and Castilian using the matched guise technique and concludes that there was no negative stereotype attached to Basque speakers:

(...) the overall acceptance of speakers of both languages in terms of likeability or status without any significant discriminatory image which could reach a level to establish the existence of a self-diminishing image by some speakers or even a compensatory one in terms of Social Attractiveness to make up for a situation of weakness in social status.

(Echano, 1989:353, quoted in Amorrortu, 2003: 75)

In the late 1990s Amorrortu conducted research using the matched guise technique on university students to gauge attitudes to the standard variety of Basque. She finds similar results as Echano, but also discovers that Batua is not considered to be a more prestigious variety. Her data also shows that students consider the local varieties to be more natural: “The preference for Biscayan over Batua may be associated with the idea that vernacular dialects are more authentic than the newly codified Batua (…)” (Amorrortu, 2003: 827). Echeverria (2005), through her examination of the attitudes to Basque held by young people in San Sebastian, contends that it is the domains outside of the school that influence the attitudes young people have to Basque. She highlights that for those young people vernacular Basque is the variety associated with fun: “As standard Basque has joined Spanish as a language of formality and schooling, vernacular Basque has taken up the “surplus of sociolinguistic meaning” as the language of informality and fun” (ibid., p.261). The rise in popularity of using vernacular Basque is given more attention below in relation to the growth of its presence on the media.
The results of these surveys serve to further underline the fundamental issue that knowledge of a language does not equal use of a language. Language use depends on a number of factors that relate to the presence of a language in an individual's reality. Presence of a language in the media is one such factor, particularly presence in broadcast media as these have higher rates of consumption. The mass media contributes to the power attraction of Basque not only as a language of public prestige, but also as a language of private use with friends and family, thus promoting the intergenerational and familial transmission of Basque in the home.

4.4 Basque RLS
In section 3.4 Fishman's G.I.D scale was outlined as an important model with which to measure the situation of the Irish language. The aim of this section is to provide an analysis of the current position of Basque with regard to the G.I.D scale. There is no doubt but that the Basque language is in a much healthier position now than it was thirty years ago. The various language policies and initiatives adopted by the autonomous government have brought about an increase in the knowledge of the language and in the presence of the language in the Basque linguistic landscape. Yet, in spite of these advances, some of the crucial stages of RLS have not been met in the case of Basque. Fishman (1991) and Azurmendi et al (2001) offer the most extensive accounts of the efforts to reverse Basque language shift to date. Fishman (1991; 2000) is critical of the failure of Basque RLS to meet stage 6 on the G.I.D. scale and Azumendi et al discover that the level of intergenerational transmission had not improved a decade later. However, unlike the Irish situation, the Basque government is very much aware of the importance of stage 6 if Basque RLS is to be successful. Ariztondo Akarregi (2000: 79) comments that the Deputy Ministry for Language Policy will be taking measures in the future to increase family transmission of the language (Ariztondo Akarregi, 2000:79). Another major problem facing Basque RLS is getting those who have competence in the language to use it. Bourhis (2001) argues that one of the major challenges in the case of Basque is to convince both first and second language speakers to use Basque in public domains. It is argued that the media has the potential to benefit Basque RLS by aiding the language to overcome the issues mentioned above. As López Basaguren (1999: 156) argues, the availability of media in Basque provides the language with huge social presence:
In a comparative context both Basque and Irish RLS efforts have been successful on a number of levels. The functional allocation of the languages has changed as a result of the policies put in place to reverse Basque and Irish language shift respectively. Both languages now enjoy a higher level of linguistic capital as a result of the increased status. Furthermore, knowledge of these languages has increased dramatically due to the acquisition measures that were put in place. It is no longer only those who would have acquired the language anyway as a result of their family background who have acquired these languages. Today in both the BAC and Ireland even some children who immigrated into these areas have a high level of proficiency in these languages. However, in both cases there has been an over-emphasis on the role of education in reversing language shift. As Hornberger and King (1996:439) warn: “Foremost amongst the negatives, we must acknowledge that there is a limit to the amount of linguistic impact that the school can have”. Similarly, Barceló (2003: 97) argues in the case of Basque: “no se puede pedir a la escuela, quiero decir a la escuela sola, que normalice el uso social del euskera. Es un objetivo imposible para la escuela, desde mi punto de vista”. Scholars such as Grin and Vaillancourt (1998) argue that the Basque educational system has been more successful than the Irish educational system in aiding RLS. They comment: “A comparison between the Irish and Basque system suggests that the latter, which relies on partial or full immersion, is more efficient than the former, where the target language is mostly taught as a subject” (ibid., p.173).

Cenoz and Perales (2001) argue that the future of Basque lies with the generations who have it now. This argument is equally applicable to the Irish case. Government efforts in both areas have been directed towards ensuring the acquisition of the languages by younger generations, but there has been no consideration as to what should occur once compulsory education is completed. It is here that the role of television in minority languages is most applicable, an issue that is discussed in great detail in chapters six and seven.
4.5 The Basque Language Mediascape

The fostering of the use of Basque in the media was the third core element of the 1982 Law for Normalising the use of Basque, the educational system and administration being the other two. The Law guarantees the right to the availability of both print and broadcast media in Castilian and in Basque and underlines the importance of the existence of media in Basque to the process of Basque linguistic normalisation. Although Article 22 of the 1982 Law states that the government will take measures to ensure that there is an equal presence of Basque and Castilian in the public media, there is a linguistic imbalance with regard to the number of offerings in Castilian media. The presence of Basque is low, while Castilian media remains dominant. However, the Basque language does enjoy more presence today in the media landscape of the Basque country in general, and in particular in the media landscape of the BAC, than it has ever before. In spite of this, the production of monolingual Basque media remains low in both the print and the broadcast media. The recent rise in the presence of Basque is predominantly due to the rise in local media offerings within the BAC. The aim of this section is to describe the available media in Basque, as well as to highlight the importance of the growth in local media to Basque language revitalisation efforts.

4.5.1 The print media

The Basque print media has been the subject of much more political controversy than Basque broadcast media. The number of Basque newspapers increased in the early years of Basque autonomy, but two of these newspapers have since been shut down. There has only been one monolingual Basque newspaper created while the presence of Basque in the rest of the papers ranges from 0% to 17% (Amezaga, Arana, Basterretxea and Iturriotz, 2000: 22). Egin was the first newspaper to be published with some content in Basque. The first issue of Egin was published in 1977 and the paper quickly became associated with the Basque nationalist movement, which is similar to the case of the Irish-language newspaper Lá (cf. section 3.5.1). The anti-terrorist Judge Garzón closed Egin down in 1998 because of the alleged association with ETA. There was evidence of financial links with ETA. In 1986, Deia, the first new newspaper since autonomy with some content in Basque was published and it remains in circulation today. Even though Deia promotes itself as the daily newspaper of the Basque Country, it gives just a limited amount of space to the Basque language.
In 1990 the first monolingual Basque paper known as *Euskaldunon Egunkaria*, which translates as the paper of those who speak Basque, began publishing. The paper suffered a similar fate as *Egin* and was closed down by the Spanish authorities in 2003, with ten members of staff being arrested on suspicion of involvement with ETA\(^22\). The closure of the only monolingual Basque newspaper has been the subject of much opposition from many linguistic rights activists, as well as from a huge number of Basques. This opposition was exemplified through the demonstration held in San Sebastian on March 16\(^{th}\) 2003. A newspaper known as *Egunero* has been created to take the place of *Euskaldunon Egunkaria* while it remains under investigation. *Gara*, a daily Basque newspaper printed in Guipuzkoa also publishes some content in Basque. *Gara* started publishing in 1999 and was created to fill the gap that was left following the closure of *Egin*. Local newspapers are plentiful in the Basque country and Azpilaga (2002) estimates that 400,000 people read between 30 and 35 local newspapers in the BAC.

There are a number of magazines that publish in Basque also. An example of such a magazine is *Argia*, a weekly general interest magazine that is very popular. There are several special interest magazines, for example *Aizu!* and *Jakin*. There are also numerous magazines published at local level. Urla (2001) emphasises the importance of local magazines in the diffusion of the Basque language, particularly in the diffusion of Batua. She argues that the local media are hugely important to minority languages because they encourage local involvement and discussions on local issues. Despite the vast array of print media available with differing degrees of Basque language content, Basque people, like their Irish counterparts, consume more broadcast media in Basque than they do print media.

4.5.2 The broadcast media

One of the major differences between the Basque and Irish cases as regards the media is the fact that by the time Basque autonomy was achieved both radio and television were well-established broadcast media. The government of the BAC was aware of the urgency of providing media in Basque, especially when one considers that up to that point the broadcast mediascape was saturated by Castilian radio and television.

\(^{22}\) [http://www.egunkaria.info/dokumentuak/itxiera-ing.htm](http://www.egunkaria.info/dokumentuak/itxiera-ing.htm)
The presence of Basque on the broadcast media did not come about until the early 1980s as a result of the ban on the language during the Franco era. The initial steps toward providing media services in Basque were taken immediately after Basque autonomy was granted. In the Basque Statute of Autonomy the importance of creating a Basque broadcasting company was highlighted. Article 19.3. of the Statute states: “El País Vasco podrá regular, crear y mantener su propia televisión, radio y prensa y, en general, todos los medios de comunicación para el cumplimiento de sus fines”. Law 5 of the 1982 Law for Normalising the use of Basque led to the formation of the Basque radio and television network, Euskal Irrati Telebista (EITB). EITB began broadcasting with one radio station and one television station. In general, the attitude to the availability of media in Basque remains positive. According to Arana, Azpillaga and Narbaiza (2003: 4) the 1996 Basque census shows that 42% of Basques agree with the statement “All radio and television broadcasters in the Basque Country should have more programmes in Basque”.

4.5.2.1 Radio in Basque

There are numerous radio stations broadcasting in the Basque Country that can be classified into six main categories, namely state, public, regional, municipal, local and pirate radio. The level of Basque content ranges from no Basque at all to monolingual Basque, although it must be pointed out that the number of monolingual Basque channels remains relatively small in comparative terms. There are stations that fall into each of these six categories in the BAC. The EITB network has five public radio stations that broadcast in the BAC. Two of the stations broadcast entirely in Castilian, while one, Euskal Irratia, broadcasts entirely in Basque. The fourth station Euskadi Gazteza can be classed as bilingual with emphasis on Basque. Euskadi Gazteza is aimed at young people where most programmes are presented in Basque with lyrics of songs being played in a variety of different languages. The fifth is the EITB Radio channel which is a music station where listeners choose the songs. Bizkaia Irratia and Donostiako are examples of regional radio stations, while Getxo Irratia is an example of a municipal radio station that broadcasts through the medium of Basque.

There are a number of local and pirate radio stations in Basque, which is evidence of the popularity of the radio medium in the BAC. Palazio (1996) argues that radio listenership in the BAC was higher than the national Spanish average in 1995 and
radio listenership remains high today. According to Zabaleta\textsuperscript{23} there are thirteen local radio stations who broadcast entirely through Basque within the BAC. Interestingly, seven of these stations are broadcasting in Gipuzkoa, which further highlights that the province is very much a Basque stronghold. Urla (1993: 114-116) examined how pirate radio stations were helping to reaffirm Basque identity in the post-Franco years by putting Basque language and culture into the public sphere. Urla describes how this is particularly important to the maintenance of Basque amongst young adults as it allows them to participate in linguistic and cultural creativity through the recruitment of radio staff from the local community. In fact Lasagabaster (2007) found that 12.6\% of the students he surveyed usually listened to radio in Basque (only). It is in this regard that Basque pirate radio can be seen to perform a similar function as Raidió na Life, the Irish language community radio station that is dedicated to young people. Recently Urla (2003) has reiterated the importance of minority language broadcast media for the maintenance of minority cultures, as radio and television reflect the everyday in such languages and cultures.

4.5.2.2 Television in Basque

Prior to the launch of ETB, the two channels of Televisión Española (TVE) were the only channels broadcasting within the BAC. Despite the fact that TVE did offer a news bulletin in Basque, Castilian was the dominant language of the television medium. As will become evident below, the Basques were in need of a channel in their own language. As Ictea Mariartu (1989:57) commented: “tenía una urgencia, había una ofensiva muy fuerte de TVE”. It was during the period of transition to autonomy that the first calls for separate Basque language radio and television stations were made. During the elections of 1977 the Basque nationalist party, Partido Nacionalista Vasco (PNV), included the idea of the creation of television and radio stations in Basque in their campaign: “El Partido Nacionalista Vasco incluye en su programa electoral para los cómicos que tendrán lugar el 15 de junio 1977, la propuesta de creación de una radio y televisión publica vasca” (Díez Urrestarazu, 2003:30). The notion of the possibility of television and radio in Basque generated a lot of support from the public, even from non-Basque speakers. In a survey conducted

\textsuperscript{23} Personal communication 04/09/05
in 1979 which asked non-Basque speakers if they were in favour of television in Basque, 84.4% agreed that it was a necessary service (Ibañez, 1995:162).

Although Basque had been present on television since 1975, initially in the form of weekly news bulletins on Telenorte, Díaz Noci (1998) describes how Basque speakers were never content with this token gesture, particularly when it was obvious that the bulletins were a direct translation of the news in Castilian. Article 20 of the Spanish constitution guarantees the existence of sufficient media in all the official languages of Spain, which led to daily Basque language news bulletins being broadcast on Telenorte. However, this was in no way sufficient to meet the needs of Basque speakers and RTVE has often been criticized for the failure to meet the guarantees of Article 20. Cobreros (1989: 50) points out that RTVE: “no cumple en absoluto el papel de comunicación de una sociedad bilingüe”. The television channel of the EITB network, ETB, was the first to offer regular programming in Basque. ETB began broadcasting in 1983 and at that time both Basque and Castilian were present on the channel, albeit the presence of Castilian was limited to news bulletins and to subtitling. The presence of Basque on the channel was a huge boost for the language in the early years of autonomy. The principal objective of the channel was to fulfil the aim of Articles 19 and 20 by providing the Basque speakers with a media service in their language but, in a wider context, the channel was concerned with the diffusion of the Basque language. The Basque government saw the channel as an essential tool in the revitalisation of Basque: “Euskal Telebista se considera un instrumento fundamental para la supervivencia y normalización del euskera” (Díez Urrestarazu, 2003: 32).

The Basque language currently has to compete for an audience share against more powerful Spanish television stations available in the BAC. Arana et al (2003) point out that, excluding satellite and local television stations, the one Basque channel, Euskal Telebista 1 (ETB1) is fighting for its place against five powerful Castilian stations in the Basque country. These channels are TVE 1, TVE 2, Antena 3, Tele5

24 Telenorte is a regional station of TVE
25 Article 20. 3 “La ley regulará la organización y el control parlamentario de los medios de comunicación social dependientes del Estado o de cualquier ente público y garantizará el acceso a dichos medios de los grupos sociales y políticos significativos, respetando el pluralismo de la sociedad y de las diversas lenguas de España.”
and Canal +. The BAC was the first of the Spanish autonomies to set up a television service in 1983. The Catalan channel TV3 began broadcasting later in 1983 and the Galician channel TVG was set up in 1985. It is argued by many Spanish media scholars like Díez Urrstarazu that the creation of these regional television stations paved the way for the private television channels like Antena 3 and Telecinco. These television channels began broadcasting in the early 1990s and now dominate the Spanish media landscape. According to Díez Urrstarazu (2004) ETB was the first channel to challenge the monopoly of RTVE: "(...) la primera que acabó con el monopolio de RTVE". Similarly, the Irish channel TG4 was also the first television to challenge RTE's command of the Irish television market, although RTE had been competing with UK channels such as BBC for a long time.

ETB-1 remains the only public channel that broadcasts entirely in Basque. However, the presence of Basque on television has increased dramatically over the last decade, primarily due to the huge rise in the number of local television channels broadcasting in the BAC. According to Arana et al (2003), there are twenty-three different local television channels broadcasting in the BAC, eleven of which have some level of Basque presence, for example TeleBilabo, Txingudi Telebista, TeleDonostia. In 2004 local television accounted for 7.4% of the audience share in the BAC (EUSTAT), which is over twice the audience share of TG4. It must be pointed out that the programming shown on the local Basque channels is not of local interest, for example many dubbed American sitcoms are shown on these channels. This is a result of the need to attract advertising revenue. Santos Díez and Pérez Dasilva (2004) argue that in order for local channels to compete with the bigger more established channels they have to import programming as well as produce their own. For some of the local channels in the Basque country the focus is on transmitting local news and magazine programmes but for others the focus is on audience share, and those are the channels which broadcast mostly imported programming. For example, 75% of the programming on the channel Bilbovisión is bought from other channels and then dubbed (Santos Díez and Pérez Dasilva, 2004: 210). Local television channels in the BAC, which have come about as a result of grass-roots initiatives, are important tools for the promotion of the minority languages. As Urla (2001) argues, radio creates a shared sense of identity through reporting on issues of local interest. The same can be said for local television. It is also an important tool for aiding Basque language shift.
As Arana et al (2003:8) comment: “Local television is at once a means for the transmission of information and content, social integration, the reinforcement of identity and linguistic normalisation”.

More recent research which looks at ETB and several channels which are described by Prado and Morgas (2002) as proximity channels, shows how the presence of Basque on television is helping to promote the language. Arana et al (2003) argue that Basque television is a particularly important tool for language normalisation, especially if it is coupled with the Basque educational system. Local television is seen to play a much more important part in the BAC than in Ireland, where proximity television remains underdeveloped. Indeed, the first Irish local channel City Channel began broadcasting for the Dublin area in October 2005 and although it does not broadcast any programme in Irish, it does broadcast programmes for the Polish community living in Dublin.

There are a number of changes occurring in the European television discourse. The traditional monopoly of state broadcasters is being threatened by the rapid influx of satellite and digital channels, while local television threatens their monopoly from below. These issues prompted Díaz Noci (1998: 459) to argue that the channels broadcasting, through the medium of Basque can be assured of their future: “Hoy por hoy sólo los medios en euskera de EITB parecen tener garantizado su futuro”. The importance of television to Basque language maintenance amongst Basque diasporas has also been subject to some research. Amezaga (2004) demonstrates how the EITB satellite channel, Canal Vasco, is benefiting Basque language maintenance amongst the Basque Diaspora in both America and Latin America. He argues that providing linguistic space is one of the principal aims of satellite television. Similarly, Amezaga et al (2000:9) argue that “it is necessary to examine in greater depth both the challenges and the opportunities satellite television offers as regards the development of minority languages”. This highlights again that the role of television in minority language revitalisation and maintenance is an under-researched topic.
4.6 ETB-1
ETB-1 has been broadcasting since 1986 when the ETB channel was divided into two separate channels with two distinct agendas. It is the main service of the Basque public television network EITB. In its short history of little over twenty years the channel has been successful in a number of ways, which together with an account of the implications of ETB-1 on Basque language revitalisation are discussed in detail in section 4.6.1.

4.6.1 Division of ETB
In 1986 ETB was divided into two separate channels ETB-1, a monolingual Basque, channel and ETB-2, a monolingual Castilian channel. The decision to divide the channel came about as Basque speakers became less tolerant of the presence of Castilian on the channel. It was felt that if ETB continued with one channel and had to broadcast in Castilian to meet the needs of those who do not speak Basque the presence of the Basque language would be completely absorbed by the presence of Castilian. When talking about the possibility of both languages being present on ETB, Josu Ortuondo, former director of ETB, said “una sola cadena bilingüe tendría problemas para mantener la audiencia” (quoted in Garitaonandía, 2004: 201). The debate culminated in the formation of a second channel, ETB 2, which broadcasts in Castilian with the aim of providing a service for non-Basque speakers. As a result ETB-1 now broadcasts entirely in Basque, although Castilian subtitles did remain on the channel until 1993. In order to ensure that the Basque used on ETB-1 is as accurate as possible the channel employs a language officer. In contrast no such position exists in TG4.

4.6.2 ETB-1 programming
While the breadth of programming broadcast on ETB-1 is wide, the focus remains on three main programming types, Basque culture, sport, and children’s programming. When the above discussed division of ETB in to ETB-1 and ETB-2 occurred it was decided that each channel would focus on broadcasting specific forms of programming in an effort to limit the competition between the two channels for audience numbers. Amezaga et al (2000) argue: “It is tacitly understood that it is the Basque channel’s (ETB-1) goal to promote Basque culture and language; whereas the Spanish channel (ETB-2) is devoted to information and social integration.” (ibid.,
p.32). By focusing the programming schedule around these programming types. As is
stated by Block (2005) ETB-1 aims to reflect the dual value of the language. He
claims:

On the one hand, it is a language deeply rooted in the history of the Basque people, a
keystone of a traditional and unified culture. On the other hand, it is a vibrant, modern
language that should be integrated into the daily lives of all Basque residents. (ibid., p.32)

As is the case with TG4, children’s programming makes up a large proportion of
ETB-1’s programming schedule, which is perhaps related to the role the channels see
themselves as playing in Irish and Basque recovery. The two stations of the ETB
network have the highest children’s audience rating. In 2004 the stations attracted
27.4% of the available child audience with its nearest rivals being TVE at 25.2% and
Tele5 at 15.7% (EITB, 2004: 14). The focus on children’s programming is important
for a number of language planning purposes. As Ictea Martiartu (1989:160) argues:
“(...)los niños ven que el euskara es lo suficiente importante como para que esté
presente en esa caja mágica”. Similarly Garitaonandia (2004: 205) argues:

ETB 1 intenta integrar, en lengua vasca a los niños y a los jóvenes, por lo que su volumen de
programación de ese género es de tres horas y cuarto diarias y alcanza un share de 34.8%
entre la población infantil (hasta 12 años) en el horario de máxima audiencia.

As is the case with TG4, ETB-1 enjoys a higher audience rating for children’s
programming than other channels such as TVE1 and TVE2.

One of ETB-1’s most popular programmes is the soap opera called Goenkale. It was
created following the success of the Catalan series Poble Nou. Goenkale has been
broadcasting since 1994 and in October 2004 it broadcast its two-thousandth episode.
Goenkale was the first soap opera domestically produced in the Basque country and,
as O’Donnell (2002) points out, its only competition, the Latin-American telenovelas,
were being aired in the late afternoon, while the former is broadcast in the night time
schedule. O’Donnell (1998) contends that much of the success of Goenkale is related
to the fact that it is not produced in the telenovela format. Drawing on the work of
O’Donnell (2000), Ortega Lorenzo (2002: 141) also attributes some of the success of
the programme to the fact that: “no se centra en un únic personatge protagonista sinó
en molts”. Garitaonandía (2004) estimates that Goenkale currently attracts an
audience level of about 35% and it is recognised as the most popular Basque language
programme of all time. The success of the soap opera was highlighted by one of its
directors Jabi Elortegi in a recent newspaper article. He said: “El secreto es que la
gente se ve reflejada, son historias de aquí, con caras de aquí y escenarios de aquí” (www.diariovasco.com [accessed 05/02/07]). Like Ros na Rún, Goenkale is involved in storylines that revolve around a number of contemporary issues and in this regard can be understood to be contributing to the efforts to modernise the Basque language. O’Donnell (2002) states that in an effort to satisfy the needs of young viewers who account for 65% of the audience of Goenkale, the number of younger characters has increased in recent times. However, as will become evident in chapter six, the Basque participants in this research were not satisfied with the service ETB-1 provides for them. It is important to note that since the Basque data was gathered a new comedy show, Martin, has begun broadcasting on ETB-1. To date this show has been successful in attracting a young audience.

Unlike its Irish counterpart TG4, ETB-1 receives a considerable amount of funding from the Basque government. ETB-1 is not subject to as much commercial pressure as TG4. This undoubtedly has implications for the type of programming that is shown. In 2004 ETB produced the highest amount of in-house produced programming of all the stations broadcasting in the Spanish state. A total of 70% of the programming on ETB-1 is produced by the network itself, while 100% of the magazine-style programming broadcast on ETB-1 is produced in-house (Garitaonandia, 2004: 205-208). ETB-1 has not always been fortunate enough to receive generous funding. In the early years the station had to buy American and British soap operas which were then dubbed. While some scholars criticised the broadcasting of programmes like Dallas (c.f. Ceped, 1987) because the programme bore no resemblance to Basque lifestyle, others have pointed out that watching these characters speak Basque was hugely significant for Basque speakers. Díez Urrestarazu (2003: 22) comments: “Todos los euskaldunes se quedaron perplejos la primera vez que oyeron a un color hablando en euskera”.

ETB-1 along with many of the other television channels of the autonomies are members of the television federation FORTA (Federación de Organismos de Radio y Televisión Autonómicos). FORTA has enabled these channels to acquire rights to television series, films, news broadcasts and most importantly to the Spanish football league, La Liga (Garitaonandia, 2004:197). The transmission of these programmes, La Liga in particular, undoubtedly has a significant impact on audience figures. It is
often football matches that top the table in terms of audience ratings for ETB-1. For example, in 2004 it was the football match between Real Sociedad and Atlético Bilbao that attracted the highest audience share (52%)\(^\text{26}\). As with TG4, because ETB-1 does not currently offer language-learning programming the inclusion of such high-profile sports programming is important from a linguistic point of view because it guarantees a high audience share. As Garitaonandía (2004: 206) contends: "(...) ya que un programa deportivo es de fácil comprensión y así se 'fureza' al público adulto a ver y oír programas en euskera". The audience of ETB-1 was relatively small at the beginning given that the Castilian monolingual audience was lost to ETB-2. However, the popularity of the station grew and in 2004 ETB-1 attracted 9.3% of the audience share, while ETB-2 attracted 33.1% of the audience share and local television attracted an audience share of 7.4%. (www.eustat.es, accessed 10/03/05)

### 4.6.3 ETB-1 language policy

There are three core aspects that merit some attention when discussing the language policy of ETB. The first issue concerns the presence of Castilian on ETB television prior to the division of the channel. The second issue discussed in this section is the use of Batua on ETB-1 and some of the problems associated with the lack of presence of local dialects on the channel. Subtitling is the third issue that needs to be addressed. Although some of the decisions made by ETB with regard to their language policies have been the subject of much criticism (cf. Ceped, 1987), the decisions made have been beneficial to the attempts to revive the Basque language.

As has been mentioned in 4.5.2.2, ETB was created with the aim of promoting and diffusing the Basque language and culture and from the beginning the official policy was to broadcast in Basque with some presence of Castilian subtitles. There was also a news bulletin in Castilian, Telebarri\(^\text{27}\), which was broadcast at midday. The inclusion of some Castilian content was important for audience numbers, particularly when one considers, as was pointed out by Garitaonandía (2004: 201): "sólo una cuarte parta de la población era capaz de entender y seguir una programación en euskera". The policy of Castilian subtitles was more important from the perspective of

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\(^{26}\) Figures compiled by Sofres A.M. on behalf of EITB

\(^{27}\) Telebarri received the highest audience ratings for ETB in the early years. It has been the regular news bulletin on ETB2 since 1986
Basque language-learners because it aided their comprehension of the programming. Conversely Castilian subtitles were removed in 1993 and today only Basque subtitling appears when programmes include Castilian or French speakers (Larrinaga, 2000). The decision to have two separate channels has been criticised by some researchers. (cf. Ceped, 1987). He disputes the rationale behind the decision to create two separate channels on the basis that it does not support the idea of a bilingual Basque society. He argues that both languages remaining on the same channel would better reflect the bilingual reality of the BAC and that Basque speakers would see their language to be capable of competing with Castilian.

The second element of the language policy of ETB, which is necessary to discuss in light of the aims of the thesis, is the use of Batua on the station. Due to the fact that one of the main objectives of ETB is the normalisation of Basque the decision to use Batua as the principal operating language of the station was crucial. The use of Batua on ETB-I allowed for the rapid spread of standard Basque. The presence of Batua on television provided back-up for those who were learning Batua at school or at the Euskaltegiak and thereby indicated to language learners that it had a place outside of the educational setting. Díaz Noci (2002) points out that the use of Batua in the press and media has converted it into the variety with most prestige. On the other hand, the dominance of Batua on ETB-I has been subject of much criticism from first language speakers. It is particularly problematic for first language speakers whose local dialect is far removed from the standard variety. In a number of conversations I held with Basque speakers it was pointed out that sometimes they do not like to watch ETB-I because it makes them feel that they speak bad Basque, as Batua is not the variety they speak. One participant in the Basque case research pointed out: “No llega a la gente tanto como debería. Muchos vasco-parlantes no se identifican con el euskera que ven”28. In order to provide a service to all Basque speakers ETB-I needs to include more features of the local dialects. There are a number of recent policy decisions that indicate that both the government and ETB are aware of this necessity. For example, the 1999 Plan for the Promotion of Basque shows an awareness of the need to promote local dialects, as well as Batua. Likewise, Díaz Noci (2002) points out that now there are a number of clauses in the ETB Libro de Estilo or style

28 Answer to an open-ended question from a student who was not included in the in-depth research.
handbook which allows for the use of local Basque dialects when reporting on events that take place in an area where a specific dialect is spoken.

The debate over the language used in subtitles on ETB-1 has been a long and heated one. The first issue of concern was the use of Castilian subtitles. As has been discussed above subtitles in Castilian remained on ETB-1 until 1993 even though the monolingual Castilian audience had stopped watching the channel by then. The debate then turned to whether or not subtitles should be present on the channel at all. In 1991 ETB carried out a sociological study of the linguistic model of films and dubbed television series and found Batua was the preferred variety amongst all the studied groups, although participants did say that in some incidences they found the use of Batua too artificial. Larrinaga comments on how the same survey shows that 47% of the people who regularly watched films on ETB-1 did not have the level of comprehension necessary to watch films dubbed in Batua without subtitles. Opting for subtitles in Batua has proven to be an excellent tool for the promotion of the standard variety. As Larrinaga (2003: ) argues:

En el caso de una lengua como el euskara, muy fragmentada dialectalmente y cuya variedad estándar tiene apenas treinta años, los subtítulos resultan ser un instrumento valioso para dar cabida en la pantalla a las hablas más alejadas de lo que podríamos llamar vascuene común.

He argues that subtitles enable television in Basque to be accessible to those who are learning the language and also reaches a wider audience, particularly when it would be impossible to represent all dialects of Basque on ETB-1. The use of Batua is therefore important in order to create a sense of unified Basque identity.

4.6.4 ETB-1 and Basque language revitalisation

The presence of Basque in the media is important for the spread of the Basque public sphere and also enables the Basque language to infiltrate the Castilian public sphere. In the initial period following autonomy the presence of Basque on television helped to create a feeling of collective Basque identity. It is evident from the discussion above that ETB-1 contributes to all aspects of language planning. The very existence of the channel on the broadcast media is important in terms of status planning, although this was perhaps more the case at the time of the inception of the channel rather than now. In terms of corpus and acquisition planning, ETB-1 has been vital to the diffusion of the language and also in aiding new terminology to be put in to popular use. In fact in 1987 ETB-1 broadcast a language-learning programme Bai
**Horixe** in order to accelerate the process of Basque acquisition amongst second language learners. The programme was produced by HABE and was aimed particularly at adults attending euskaltegiak. It can be argued then that ETB-1 has a pivotal role in the Basque language revitalisation. ETB-1 adds to the presence of Basque in intimate social domains given that the channel is accessible in the majority of homes in the BAC. Just as was discussed in relation to TG4, ETB-1 also helps to expand the domains of Basque use. As Garitaonandia (2004) says: “ETB ha tenido un papel fundamental en la normalización de la lengua en todos los ámbitos de la vida social” (Garitaonandia, 2004: 207). Díez Urrestarazu, (2003: 39) argues that the channel was created as: “una cadena que tenía que servir como vehículo transmisor para el fomento y la normalización de la lengua autóctona”. ETB-1, along with TG4, can also be seen to be adding to the supply of Basque and Irish in the linguistic landscape respectively.

### 4.7 Conclusion

Both the Basque and Irish cases indicate, through the levels of language attrition in the years following compulsory education, that to confine language planning to the educational system impedes the success of RLS and revitalisation efforts. The fact remains that in the cases of both Irish and Basque there is a gap between the level of knowledge of the particular minority language and actual use of the language in everyday life. There is a need for language revitalisation and normalisation measures to be combined with efforts which promote use of the language. The media has an important role to play in normalisation. The presence of the languages in such a powerful medium as television ensures that they reach a high percentage of Basque and Irish speakers on a daily basis. These issues are discussed in greater detail in relation to the studied groups in the succeeding chapters. Chapter seven focuses particularly on how the presence of Basque and Irish in more intimate domains and in the linguistic landscape via ETB-1 and TG4 affects the language ideology and practices of the research participants.
CHAPTER FIVE
Methodological Design
5.0 Overview

While the chapters thus far have served to contextualise the current research, this chapter discusses the methodological choices and outlines the research design devised to conduct a comparative case study of the Irish and Basque contexts. A clear elaboration of the methodology employed in order to conduct this research is critical to the present study because of the nature of the research questions that are addressed herein and because of the overall research aim and objective (cf. section 1.2). The methodology of the investigation was designed with the aim of obtaining detailed and specific information about the language ideology and attitudes, language practices, and minority language television use patterns, of Irish and Basque university students in order to discover whether minority language television can be described as an effective mechanism of language policy. The research methodology outlined in this chapter encompasses both the methods used to gather the data and the coding styles employed in order to facilitate the effective analysis of data.

Johnstone (2000:1) points out that contemporary sociolinguistics comprises a great many different sets of research questions, but all share the same belief that linguistic data must be based on empirical research. The research undertaken to meet the aims and objectives of this study is best described as comparative case research. Three research methods were employed in both contexts in an effort to fulfil the aim and objective of this research. These include one quantitative method, a questionnaire, and two qualitative methods, a diary and a focus group. The use of these methods in conjunction with one another is advocated for a number of reasons, which are outlined within this chapter. A triangulation of research methods was employed in an effort to decrease investigator bias. A supplementary research method, namely an informal interview, was employed to ease the transition between the quantitative and qualitative stages of the data gathering process. A full outline of the stages involved in the collection of the Irish and Basque data is presented in Figure 5.1. The aim of this chapter is to outline the structure of the research project, as well as to provide justifications for its design and to highlight the research strategy considerations taken into account when conducting the field research. Having determined a suitable research model a detailed description of the participants and
methods being employed to carry out the research is provided. A synthesis of the methodological advantages and limitations of using these techniques is also presented. In section 5.5 a discussion on issues of the reliability and validity of the research methods employed is offered focusing particularly on the strategies employed to overcome potential limitations.

5.1 Quantitative and qualitative research methods

There are important epistemological differences between quantitative and qualitative research methods. According to Bryman (1992), quantitative research involves the implementation of measurement techniques, where the aim is to get explanations and predict future happenings. While qualitative research methods adopt a more phenomenological approach to inquiries:

"At this level qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings attempting to make sense of or to interpret phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them."  

(Denzin and Lincoln, 2000:3)

Although Edge and Richards (1998) argue that historically quantitative methods have been more employed in language research than qualitative methods, this is clearly not the case. Indeed it can be argued that while early sociolinguistic research largely involved the use of quantitative methods, such data was subject to a qualitative analysis. For example, Lambert et al (1975) used a questionnaire to obtain quantitative data that was later analysed qualitatively. Many sociolinguists highlight some of the disadvantages of employing only quantitative research methods, for example, Cameron (1992) argues that sociolinguists should not be content with a methodology that restricts itself to simply cataloguing data. In recent times the use of qualitative methods is becoming increasingly popular in research on languages. In 1995, a special issue of TESOL Quarterly entitled Qualitative Research in TESOL was published in which these issues were debated. Lazarton (1995: 456) argues within this volume that: "qualitative research has made significant gains in terms of visibility and credibility in recent years". Many sociolinguists, such as Van de Mieroop (2005), argue that both quantitative and qualitative research methodology complement each other and allow for a more complete set of findings. According to Lockyer (2006), a wealth of literature exists that calls for an end to the dichotomous relationship between quantitative and qualitative research and a
closer integration of research methodology. Edwards (2006) reiterated this call for more research which incorporates the use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. Similarly, Garner, Raschka and Sercombe (2006: 67) argue: "Sociolinguistic research, if it is to be empowering, must employ interactive methods that allow the subjects to voice their own agendas and allow the researcher to respond to them considerately but critically". It is for these reasons that a triangulation of research methods is favoured in the context of the current research.

5.1.1 Triangulation

The benefits of employing a mixed method approach to research have been highlighted by many social scientists. Anderson et al (1994) discusses several advantages that are to be realised from using a combination of methodologies. Similarly, Paltridge (2000) points out that this is a dilemma that researchers are often faced with, the dilemma that too much emphasis may influence the event being examined, while too little might mean limited data. He states: "It is important, then, for fuller and more reliable descriptions, a number of different approaches to gathering data be drawn on" (ibid. p.72). Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005: 379) have a particularly strong stance in this regard arguing that: "Mono-method research is the biggest threat to the social sciences". For these reasons a triangulation of methods is employed within this research. Furthermore, according to Patton (1990), data gathered in this manner can be seen to be more reliable because the researcher is constantly comparing and contrasting the consistency of data derived by different means and at different times. As Morrison (1996: 1) observes: "If we are to understand a social situation with a degree of confidence this suggests that we use several conceptual, methodological and analytical lenses". Fielding and Fielding (1989) suggest that the important feature of triangulation is not the simple combination of methods, but the attempt to relate them so as to counteract the threats to validity identified in each. In short, the triangulation of methods involves combining the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative research methods.

As has been mentioned above, the methods used to gather data on which the research questions were to be tested included one quantitative method, a quantitative
questionnaire, and two qualitative methods, the media language diary and the focus group. An informal semi-structured interview was also employed as a supplementary research method. Figure 5.1 illustrates the stages involved in conducting the case research.
Figure 5.1 The four stages of the research design

5.2 Research Participants

Kruger (1988) argues that when choosing research participants it is crucial that those involved have experience of the phenomenon being researched. The number of participants necessary for studies of this type will vary depending on the nature of the study and the data collected along the way. Given that the language ideology and language behaviour of university students are the focus of this research, all of the participants are attending Irish and Basque universities respectively and are aged between eighteen and twenty-five. As has been discussed in chapters three and four, there is a very
limited amount of research that focuses on this particular age group, with regard to the current situation of the Irish and Basque languages. Research on this specific age group will provide Irish and Basque language planners with much needed data on the changes in language ideology and language practices following the completion of compulsory education. Also by examining to what extent TG4 and ETB-1 function as mechanisms of language policy amongst these students this research will also highlight the potential role of minority language television in language revitalisation.

In order to provide a better representation of a homogenous group, students were all undertaking courses within the humanities. There are a number of practical and theoretical reasons for involving these students. Above all, they offered a controlled group, which is vitally important when conducting comparative research. Another reason for focusing on these students was the relative ease of access given this researcher’s position as a language teacher at the University of Limerick. The ethical considerations of involving students in research are discussed in detail in section 5.2.1. At this point it is important to note that all students who did participate did so voluntarily and were assured that their participation in the research would not have any negative consequences. All participants were assured that they would remain anonymous, which was of great significance to those involved in stage three of the research. At this juncture it is important to point out that there are some limitations with regard to those who participated in this research. These limitations are discussed in detail in section 7.5.

5.2.1 Ethical considerations

One of the major ethical concerns when using individuals as research participants is to ensure that methods of recruitment maintain ethical standards. Scott-Jones (2001: 33) argues that: “The principles of autonomy, respect for persons, beneficence and justices undergrid the thoughtful researcher’s behaviour in the recruitment process”. For this reason the author was forthright with the aims of the research at each phase. The right to decline participation was highlighted at each phase.
Many studies within the social sciences have been conducted by using students as the research participants because of the relative ease of access that many researchers have to such groups. There are a number of ethical considerations that need to be highlighted when using students as research participants. As Ferguson, Younge and Myrick (2004) warn: “Faculty who engage their own students as participants in their research encounter specific research issues which emerge from their fiduciary relationship with those students” (Ferguson et al, 2004: 2). The number of students taught by this researcher that were involved in the research was limited given the pressure they may have felt to participate. As Ferguson et al (2004) argue, this fear arises from perceived repercussions such as lower grades. They argue that: “those individuals who are in dependent or restricted relationships with the researchers such that their ability to consent voluntarily is compromised or limited by their vulnerability to the power of the researcher” (ibid., p.6). Garner et al (2006) highlight the lack of attention given to such ethical issues within the disciplines of sociolinguistics and the sociology of language. In an effort to overcome this potential limitation, a number of ethical considerations were taken into account by this researcher. These considerations are discussed in detail below.

In order to ensure that this research conforms to ethical standards, informed consent was utilised at every stage of the research. The participants in the more-depth research were asked to sign their consent within which they were assured that the raw data would only be accessed by this researcher. A copy of these consent forms is attached in Appendices E and F. The students were also assured that the data would be reported in a way that their identity would only be discernible to this researcher (see 5.4.2.3). It is important to note that at no point throughout the research process did any participant express concern over their involvement in the research.

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29 As the research presented in this study was conducted during term time, it was easier to gain access through colleagues, which explains why such a large percentage of the participants in the Irish research were language students.
5.3 The Quantitative Instrument

As has been previously outlined, the questionnaire represents the quantitative element of the thesis. Although the questionnaire for both contexts were made up of closed-questionnaire items that were analysed using quantitative methods, in the case of the open-ended questions a qualitative analysis was employed. The research questionnaire method represents a well-established method that has proven to be effective in eliciting data from large groups of people in a relatively short period of time. Oppenheim (1992) states that one of the advantages of using questionnaires lies in the fact that they offer an objective means of collecting information about people’s knowledge, beliefs, attitudes and behaviour. Zörynei (2003: 14) highlights the benefits of employing this quantitative method:

> After all the essential characteristic of quantitative research is that it employs categories, viewpoints and models that have been precisely defined by the research in advance, and numerical or directly quantifiable data are collected to determine the relationship between these categories to test research hypotheses.

Milroy and Milroy (1999) highlight the usefulness of questionnaires in sociolinguistics, particularly with regard to examining issues such as language ideology and language attitudes. The use of questionnaire research is particularly apt to this current research because of its comparative nature. The Irish and Basque questionnaires allowed for the accumulation of a large set of comparable data, which was pivotal in meeting the aims of this research. As is further outlined in 5.3.1, in terms of age and level of education, the data generated from this research provide important insights into the future prospects from Irish and Basque amongst young adults who are not first language speakers of Irish or Basque.

5.3.1 Research Questionnaire

The questionnaire was included in order to gather quantifiable data on what Fishman (1965: 80) describes as “who speaks what language to whom and when”. The aim of the questionnaire developed for the purposes of this research was threefold. Firstly, it was employed to ascertain the language ideologies and attitudes of young Irish and Basque students with regard to their respective minority language. It aimed to question both the symbolic and practical value they ascribed to the language. The questionnaires probed students’ attitudes to Irish and Basque under three main headings, which include: general
language attitudes, the relationship between the Irish and Basque languages and identity, and future attitudinal trends. Secondly, the questionnaire sought information on the participants’ language practices, focusing particularly on domain and interlocutor, while the third aim of the questionnaire was to gather information on attitudes to and use of TG4 and ETB-1 amongst the respective cohorts. At this juncture it is important to point out that the questionnaire used in the Irish research became the model questionnaire, which was adapted to meet the needs of the Basque research. Prior to offering a discussion on the specific issues taken into consideration when designing the Irish and Basque questionnaires, it is necessary to first outline some of the general issues that were taken into consideration when designing the model questionnaire.

It was important to ensure that the questionnaire was well designed so that the necessary information would be elicited from the participants. As Bordens and Abbot (1996: 183) argue: “a poorly designed questionnaire yields data that are confusing, difficult to analyze, and of little value”. There were a number of issues that needed to be taken into consideration when designing the research questionnaire. Firstly, the questions needed to be framed in such a way that they would yield meaningful answers. Brown (2001) warned that, in particular, one must avoid questions that can be answered with ‘I don’t know’. For this reason a variety of question types were included in the questionnaire. The majority of the questions are closed-questions. As well as facilitating the respondent, closed-questions were deemed suitable, as the primary aim of the questionnaire was to obtain comparative quantitative data. However, as Houtkoop-Steenstra (2000) argues, closed-questions may cause frustration amongst research participants because the researcher will not be in a position to include all potential responses. In an effort to limit this problem both questionnaires include a space for ‘other/otra’ in many of the closed question response options. The questionnaires also include a number of open-ended questions in order to gain a more in-depth view of the respondent’s opinion to certain questions. A questionnaire made up of all open-ended questions would have been problematic, particularly in relation to the evaluation of the data. Etxebarria Arostegui (2000: 400) points out that it would be extremely difficult to carry out a comparative analysis on data obtained through the use of only open-ended questioning. However, the
inclusion of some open-ended questions is worthwhile particularly when one takes the following point put forward by Zörynei (2003) into consideration. He argues: "(...) by permitting greater freedom of expression, open-format items can provide a far greater 'richness' than fully quantitative data" (ibid., p.47). It was also necessary to ensure that the more time consuming questions, that is the open-ended questions, did not appear in close succession to each other in order to ensure that a high a number of students would answer them. Moreover, it was important that the questions were framed in a non-biased manner. To this end a number of colleagues acted as reviewers of the questionnaire. The reviewers were asked to comment on the validity of the content as well as on any orthographical errors, which may have been overlooked. This is important when one considers that usually the author of a questionnaire is so close to the project that even the most obvious of errors may go unnoticed (Litwin 1995). Following the review of the questionnaire by colleagues, it was reconstructed and the style and navigation statements were applied. Several drafts of both questionnaires were created, which was necessary to ensure that the length, readability and layout of the questionnaires were going to achieve adequate and reliable results.

The Irish questionnaire is made up of a series of thirty-two questions in an eight-page document, while the Basque questionnaire contains a total of twenty-nine questions, also in an eight-paged document. The questionnaires may seem quiet long, but it was important from a stylistic point of view to ensure that the questions were not too close together. As Sudman and Bradburn (1982: 244) argue “A less crowded questionnaire with substantial white space looks easier and generally results in higher cooperation and fewer errors”. As has been highlighted in chapters three and four, it is widely recognised in the field of sociolinguistics that census data is limiting, both in terms of the type of questions asked, as well as the tendency for people to answer-up. DeVries (1998) also argues that language questions in the census often fail to tell us anything about the domain or interlocutor. Consequently, with these criticisms of census data in mind, the content of the Irish and Basque questionnaires owed much to the previous sociolinguistic surveys conducted in Ireland and the BAC. The previously discussed CILAR and ÍTE reports and the Basque sociolinguistic surveys were particularly appropriate. There were
some items from these surveys that did merit replication, while there were many areas which deserved more attention given the context of the research. One area of questioning which was lacking from previous Irish and Basque language surveys relates to the language practices of individuals, with regard to the frequency of language use within specific domains and with given interlocutors in particular. This study addresses this gap in survey research by asking the students to indicate how often they use Irish and Basque in specific domains and with specific interlocutors.

The content of the questionnaires was determined by the research objectives and hypotheses. These issues are addressed through four main sections in each of the questionnaires, which include:

1. **Personal identification data and sociolinguistic history**: The respondent was asked to answer a number of personal questions, which included name, age, where they were from and the course they were studying at university. This information is important in research of this nature for reasons outlined by Martínez Moya (1999: 1110). She argues: “El entorno social en el que se desenvuelve la vida de los estudiantes escuela, familia, amigos etc., influirá decisivamente en sus perfiles sociolingüísticos de usos y actitudes”. The data obtained from these questions was necessary for drawing comparisons, as well as for contacting those who were to be involved in the more in-depth research. This section also included questions relating to the individual’s sociolinguistic history, in which the respondent was asked to respond to questions such as: (1) what language(s) were spoken in the home and (2) the language(s) through which they were educated. The choice of variables included in this section was congruent with Baker’s (1992) study, where he argues that age, gender and sociolinguistic context are the variables which exert most impact on an individual language attitude. The variable sociolinguistic context combines the language used in the home and the medium through which they received their compulsory education.

2. **Language ideology and language attitudes**: The individual was asked to respond to ten questions that aim to measure the language ideology and the language attitudes of the individual respondent to the respective language. As has been
previously mentioned, this section of the questionnaire sought data on the participants’ language ideology through items such as “Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish speaking people”/ “Euskadi no sería Euskadi sin el euskera” and other items which examined socially constructed beliefs. While their individual attitudes were measured through statements such as “I would like to see an increase in the use of Irish”/ “Me gustaría que el uso del euskera en la calle aumentarà”. The primary measurement for this section of closed-questions was a 4-point Likert scale where the participant was asked whether he or she strongly agreed, agreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with a number of statements. The Likert scale represents a useful research tool when generating data for statistical analysis (Baker 1992). An equal number of positively and negatively framed statements were included so as not to bias the results.

3. **Language Practices:** The aim of this section was to gain insight into the students’ proficiency in Irish or Basque, as well as their use with different interlocutors and in different sociolinguistic domains. This section is made up of a series of seven questions, with all but one being closed-questions. The questions on language proficiency not only ask the students to gage their current ability in the language, but also ask if they feel their level has changed since leaving secondary school. This information is important for researchers in both sociolinguistic contexts, as it offers some insight into the success of the educational system in promoting these languages outside of obligatory education. The questions relating to use incorporate use of the language with whom, where and in what frequency.

4. **Minority language television:** The final section of the questionnaire is the most in-depth of the three sections. There are fourteen questions in this section, however many of these contain one or more sub-questions. It contains some open-ended questions to allow the student to give details as to why they chose certain answers. It was important to include these as not all of the students who filled in the questionnaire were going to take part in the further in-depth research, yet a large set of opinion data would be collected. The section begins by questioning the individual’s use of the television and then moves to examining the use of TG4 and ETB 1 respectively. The student then answers a series of questions about the
use of these channels amongst their friends. This cluster of questions then seeks information on how watching these channels impacts on the use of Irish and Basque amongst students. In both cases, this section represents the first time that such a large set of detailed data regarding the use of and attitude to minority language television has been gathered.

5. Coding the questionnaire: The final stage in designing the questionnaires involved preparing the method for analysis. To this aim both of the questionnaires were coded in order to facilitate the input of data into SPSS version 12.

As discussed in preceding sections, in order for questionnaires to yield results across both situations that are justifiably comparable, the instrument needs to be similar. One of the major challenges in the Basque research was the translation and adaptation of the questionnaire. The Irish questionnaire acted as the model questionnaire on which the Basque questionnaire was based. The creation of a translated imitation was deemed unacceptable given that many questions asked in the Irish questionnaire would bear no relevance to the Basque situation. Therefore, a number of alterations had to be made to the questionnaire.

The adaptations made to the Basque questionnaire were most numerous in the language ideology and language attitude section. The main reason for this related to the differing political and linguistic situations. For example, there is no equivalent to the Gaeltacht areas in the BAC, it was therefore necessary to change the questionnaire item to the following: Q.6 *El euskera es la lengua nacional de la nación de Euskadi.* Similarly it was not appropriate to ask a translated version of the question: Q.7 *I really dislike the Irish language,* simply because of the political connotations it is unlikely that anybody would admit to not liking the Basque language. Instead the Basque participants were asked: Q.7 *Es necesario usar euskera en todas las ocasiones posibles aunque haya algunas personas que no lo entiendan.*

There were also alterations made to the other sections of the questionnaire. Firstly, given the fact that the Basque educational system is more complex, as regards the language of
instruction, a more detailed question to this effect had to be added to the first section of
the questionnaire. Secondly, there were some changes made in the section on linguistic
proficiency and use. The Basque language use section is more detailed as the situations of
use in the Basque country are more complex. From the time spent in the BAC it became
apparent to this researcher that Basque students were more likely to use Basque to some
degree on a daily basis than their Irish counterparts were. The standard greeting in the
BAC is Kaixo, while Agur is the standard goodbye, even though that these two words
may be the only Basque some people can use. It was therefore not sufficient to frame the
questionnaire item on frequency of language use in the same manner as the equivalent
item in the Irish questionnaire was framed. The item was changed to gauge the frequency
with which the individual maintains a conversation in Basque: ¿Con cuánta frecuencia
mantienes conversaciones en euskera?. Thirdly, the media section of the questionnaire
was changed to suit the Basque situation. The names of the channels and television
programmes were changed. The question on subtitling was omitted because there are no
subtitles in Castilian on ETB-1.

Once a draft version of the Basque questionnaire had been created, it was necessary to
ensure it was a suitable instrument. Harkness et al (2003) argues that there are five basic
actions that need to be taken when producing an adapted version of a questionnaire.
These actions include (1) translation, (2) review, (3) adjudication, (4) pretesting and (5)
documentation. Due to the fact that this researcher is not a native speaker of Castilian the
various drafts of the questionnaire were given to a colleague at the University of the
Basque Country for review, Dr. Edorta Arana, and also to a colleague at the Deusto
University in Bilbao, Dr. Esti Ammorrotu, who corrected grammatical and
orthographical errors. The main change that came about following their reading of the
questionnaire was the suggestion that the register of the questionnaire be changed for the
formal ‘usted’ register to the more informal ‘tú’. Apart from minor typographical errors
both academics felt that the questionnaire was both culturally and linguistically specific
to the Basque context. As is the case with the Irish questionnaire a number of further
alterations were made to the Basque questionnaire following the pilot study. An account
of the alterations to both questionnaires is given in section 5.3.2.
5.3.2 Pilot study

As has been established in the preceding section, it is imperative that a questionnaire be designed in such a way that the researcher can be guaranteed to gain the data that is most beneficial to the research. Before administering the questionnaires on a large-scale basis both questionnaires were piloted with a target sample. Thomas (1999) argues that a pilot study should involve giving the questionnaire to a sample that represents the target group. The comments the sample make on the questionnaire then determine the researcher’s final approach. For the purposes of this research a pilot study of the Irish and Basque questionnaires was conducted amongst a group of ten and nine students respectively who represented the individual target groups. The objectives of the pilot study were:

1. To find out whether there was any confusion as to the way the questionnaire was to be filled out
2. To discover whether the questions posed were yielding the desired results
3. To verify the amount of time it took to fill out the questionnaire
4. To estimate the response rate.

The Irish pilot study was conducted amongst ten fourth year students of Applied Languages at the University of Limerick, at the end of October 2003. In addition to completing the questionnaire, each of the pilot study participants was requested to provide feedback on the content of the questionnaire and to indicate the amount of time it had taken them to complete the questionnaire. As well as fitting the criteria for the research, these students were chosen as it was felt they would be more capable of critically commenting on the content of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was administered to the sample at the end of class and they were asked to return it the next time the class would meet. The questionnaire was returned by a total of eight students, which indicated that an 80% return rate could be expected. The data gathered by the pilot study led to some changes, none of which were hugely significant. The majority of these changes involved improving the questionnaire guidelines. New and re-specified navigation statements were added to the questionnaire. The pilot study confirmed that the anticipated fifteen minutes was an ample time frame for the completion of the
The Basque pilot study was conducted at the beginning of November 2004 with a group of students at the University of Deusto. A total of nine students aged between twenty and twenty-four took part in the pilot study, all of whom were students of Basque philology. The Basque pilot study produced two major findings. Firstly, there was a significant amount of item non-response, particularly to the open-ended question. One possible explanation for this was the length of time allocated to fill in the questionnaire. It had to be conducted at the end of class and many of the students were rushing to another class. This limitation could not be overcome given that the access to students in the Basque situation was much more limited than in the Irish case research. Following the pilot study, it was decided that when approaching lecturers, it was more appropriate to ask if the questionnaires could be administered in the first twenty minutes of class. The second outcome of the pilot study related to the manner in which some of the questions were framed, with two participants commenting that the closed questions in the language ideology section did not offer a neutral choice. Overall, the results of the Basque pilot study indicated that the questionnaire was easy to complete. A further outcome was the realisation that a twenty-minute period was required in order to complete the Basque questionnaires.

5.3.3 Questionnaire administration

There are numerous modes of questionnaire administration. In the case of this research the mode of self-administration seemed to be the most appropriate. The main advantage being that students would be more likely to accurately report information (Fink and Kosecoff, 1998). There are a number of manuals which advise on a suitable process for questionnaire delivery. Boynton and Greenhalgh (2004: 1313) advise: “One key principal is to assure privacy and non-threatening surroundings when completing a questionnaire and total anonymity when analysing the responses”. For this reason, the administration of the questionnaire in both settings was based on the principle of consent. It was made clear to all students that participation was entirely on a voluntary basis and the students were
continually assured and re-assured that their confidentiality would be protected at all times. It was felt that to highlight this fact was hugely important in an effort to encourage the students to report accurately. Bordens and Abbot (1996) warn that participants may input false information when they feel they are being forced to answer the questionnaire. They argue: “few participants may express hostility about the questionnaire by purposely providing false information” (ibid., p.196)

At each stage of questionnaire administration this researcher was allowed a fifteen to twenty minute period at the beginning or end of class, depending on the preference of the individual lecturer. The aims of the research project were explained to each group. This was of significant importance because, as Gilham (2000: 38) argues: “If respondents are clear about what you are trying to find out and why, they are much more likely to respond appropriately and helpfully or indeed at all”. The Irish questionnaire was administered to Humanities students from first to fourth year inclusive at the University of Limerick between November 2003 and January 2004. A total of 220 questionnaires were administered with 142 being returned, 130 that were usable for the purposes of the research. The Basque questionnaire was administered to a total of 105 students at the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Deusto, Bilbao and the University of the Basque Country, campuses of Vitoria and Leoia during November and December 2004. The students from the University of the Basque Country were undertaking degrees in the Humanities such as English and German philology, as well as in History, Politics, Sociology, Journalism and Communications. A number of students at the Vitoria campus were studying for degrees in education. In all only 57 of the 105 questionnaires distributed were valid for use in this research, a factor which limits the results of the Basque data. A profile of the students whose questionnaires met the criteria of this research in both situations is provided in section 5.3.4.

30 The questionnaires were also distributed at the San Sebastian campus, but none were returned to the researcher.
5.3.4 Profile of the questionnaire respondents

There were a number of criteria for inclusion in stage one of this research. Firstly, all participants were aged between eighteen and twenty-five. Secondly, none of the participants were first language speakers of Irish or Basque, nor were they undertaking degree courses involving the study of the Irish and Basque languages. Lastly, each of the participants were studying for degrees within the Humanities, which is because of the ease of access to these students. However this has to be recognised as limiting the research findings, an issue that is discussed in detail in section 7.5. Figures 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 illustrate of the profile of the respondents at this stage.

Figure 5.2 Gender of respondents

As Figure 5.2 shows, the majority of the questionnaire respondents in both case studies were female (70.2% and 66.6% respectively). There is one main reason which helps to account for such a high proportion of female participants in the Irish case research, which is that the majority of the questionnaire respondents were undertaking language degrees (62.3%). However, this was not the case in the Basque context, where 44% were undertaking language-based degrees. One possible reason for the high number of female participants in the Basque research relates to the number of students who were undertaking degrees in education. Figure 5.3 shows that in both cases the majority of participants were in the third and fourth year of their studies respectively.
The most significant finding in relation to the analysis of the profiling of the questionnaire respondents relates to the language-used at home variable. As Figure 5.4 indicates an overwhelming majority of Irish respondents (89%) were from English speaking homes, with 10% coming from homes where both Irish and English were spoken and a mere 1% coming from an Irish speaking home. Conversely, as Figure 5.5 illustrates, just under 50% of the Basque respondents were from Castilian speaking homes. The fact that 24% of the Basque respondents reported themselves as second-language Basque speakers, despite the fact that they came from homes where Basque was spoken is an issue that deserves further attention. As will be discussed in chapter six, an investigation of this issue with one of the Basque participants at the informal interview stage revealed that, while Basque was the language used most frequently in the home, it centred around the presence of her father.
Once the questionnaire data had been analysed and stored in SPSS, the process of selecting participants for the in-depth research began. Participants in stage three, the qualitative stage, were limited to a maximum of ten in each situation. A discussion on the diary method and focus group methods is provided in section 5.4. But first it is necessary to discuss the results of the implementation of the transitional research method, the informal interview.

5.3.5 Supplementary research tool: Informal interview

Interviews are seen as a valuable research tool in the social sciences because, as Seidman (1991: 3) argues, they show: “an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience”. Cohen and Manion (1994: 271) describe interviews as one of the most effective qualitative research methods. They define an interview as: “a two-person conversation initiated by obtaining research relevant information and focused by him on content specified by research objectives of systematic description, prediction or explanation”. The function of the informal interview within this research was twofold. The first was to meet each of these candidates individually in order to discuss what their involvement in stage three of the research would involve. The second was to check the accuracy of the information provided by the participants in the questionnaires. Given that the questionnaires produced largely descriptive data, these semi-structured interviews served to gain more explanatory information. Boxer (2002) comments that there is often some discrepancy between what an individual reports as his
or her language attitudes and practices and how an individual actually behaves. She says: “People have a good idea of how they should interact, but reality demonstrates that their linguistic behaviour deviates greatly from this idealised notion” (ibid., p.16). The main objective of the informal interviews was to facilitate the probing and exploration of issues addressed by the questionnaire, thus providing clarification of some of the questionnaire responses. In the process of conducting the interviews the aim was to generate a body of data to supplement the major quantitative and qualitative methods employed to conduct the present research. In order to ascertain whether the questionnaire data represent an accurate account of the students’ language ideologies, their individual language attitudes and practices, each participant in the informal interview stage was asked a series of questions with regard to the responses they had given in their individual questionnaire. This was particularly useful when attempting to understand the answers they gave to the closed-questions. In the majority of the cases in both Ireland and the BAC, the participants felt that the questionnaire was an accurate account of their actual attitudes and behaviour. One of the participants in the Irish research did comment that her attitude to the language was more positive than what her attitude score reflected. While the overall aim of the interview was to discuss the results of the questionnaire with the individual participants, it also served to explain how the next stage of the research was going to proceed.

In both case studies the informal interview took place shortly after the questionnaires had been administered. Once the questionnaire data were processed, a number of students were randomly selected from the sample. In the Irish context a total of thirty-two students indicated a willingness to be involved in the in-depth research. Due to the fact that ten had already been decided as the optimum number for the in-depth research, a list of fourteen students was drawn with the hope that ten out of the fourteen would agree to participate in phase two of the research. A disproportionate number of males, four in total, made themselves available for the second phase of research. In the interest of gender balance, all four were contacted and agreed to be involved in phase two. A further

31 They were randomly selected from those who indicated that they would be willing to be involved in more in-depth research.
ten females were added to the list of potential participants. It is important to note that within this group each of the academic years was represented. Each of the ten girls was contacted and finally a group of six made themselves available for the remaining research. A week after contacting the students they were asked to meet in order to discuss what their involvement in further research would entail. The duration of the interviews varied from a period of twenty minutes to forty-five minutes. The results of the individual students' questionnaire were discussed. In eight of the ten cases the students felt the questionnaire was an adequate reflection of their attitude to the Irish language. However, two students felt that it was a misrepresentation of their attitude to Irish and more particularly to TG4. As already stated one student felt that her attitude to Irish was more positive than what her result indicated, while another student felt that there was not enough space for her to explain why she had answered the way she had in the questionnaire. Given that the interviews were a supplementary research tool they were not recorded, but important details from the interviews were written down at the first opportunity.

The process of identifying students to take part in phase two of the Basque research was almost identical to the process employed in the Irish case. The participants had indicated their willingness to take part in further research by ticking a box at the end of the questionnaire. Unfortunately, only eight people had ticked the box in the Basque case. Of these eight students, six were based in the Leioa campus and two were based in Vitoria campus of the University of the Basque Country. Due to fact that this researcher was based at the Leioa campus and after considering the impact the involvement of students from differing campuses would have on the dynamics of the focus group, it was decided to limit the participants to the Leioa students. This group was made up of two males and four females, all of whom were students in the media faculty. The informal interview stage took place over a one-day period in December 2004. The author met with each of the students individually to discuss the responses they had given to the questionnaire item. The students felt that the questionnaire was an adequate representation of their attitude to and use of the Basque language. On two occasions in the Basque informal interview stage an issue with the manner in which the questions on television in Basque
were framed was raised with two students commenting that many of the programmes that people of their age watched in Basque were aired on community and local television stations, which were not represented in the questionnaire. The interviews took place in the office space that had been assigned to the author in the Leoia campus. Although this may seem as a more formal context than the setting for the Irish interviews, they were conducted in a very informal manner. The duration of the interviews ranged from fifteen minutes to thirty minutes. Following the informal interview stage, the process of gathering the qualitative data began. The design and implementation of phase three of the research forms the basis of section 5.4.

5.4. Qualitative Research Instruments

As has been discussed, two qualitative research instruments were employed in the Irish and Basque case studies, namely the diary method and the focus group method. The purpose of the qualitative instruments was to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between university students and minority language television; to enable the research participants to provide an in-depth account of whether their respective minority language television station affects their language ideology, attitudes and language practices. While the data emanating from these qualitative research methods did provide qualitative back-up to the quantitative findings, these methods were very important when providing an answer to the research questions. The aim of this section is to provide an account of why these methods were beneficial to the current study and also to offer an account of how the diary and focus group methods were employed in each of the case studies. Section 5.4.1 focuses on the media/language diary, while section 5.4.2 centres on the focus group research.

5.4.1. Media and language diary

The diary research method functions as a journal-type of account and is used to collect detailed information about behaviour, events and other aspects of individuals’ daily lives. The role of the diary method in research is described by Carter and Mankooof (2005: 899), who argue that “The diary study is a method of understanding participant behaviour and intent in situ that minimises the effects observers have on participants”. Nunan (1992:
points out the importance of the diary method for research on languages. He comments: “diaries, logs and journals are important introspective tools in language research”. A fundamental benefit of the diary method is that diaries permit an examination of experiences in their natural context. The diary method was employed in this research for two main reasons. Firstly, the diaries would provide valuable insights into the language practices and media practices of the participants. The participants were to provide information on their own lived experience and the factors that affect any changes that occurred in relation to their language attitudes and language practices. Secondly, the diary also encouraged the participants to become more active consumers of their relevant minority language television channel.

The role of the media/language diary in the current research was explained to each of the participants in the Irish informal interview stage. Towards the end of the interviews each of the participants was provided with a notebook, which they were asked to utilise as a media and language diary. The students were provided with a list of guidelines of issues they were to take into consideration while filling in the diary. A copy of each set of guidelines is presented in Appendix C and D respectively. The participants were asked to comment on their language practices, their media practices with regard to TG4, and also to comment on how watching these minority language television stations affected their minority language practices. The students were asked to keep the diary over a period of one month and it was indicated to them that they were to be returned at the focus group. As was the case with the Irish research each of the Basque participants in this phase was provided with a notebook at the end of the informal interview, which was to act as their media and language diary. A detailed list of issues to consider when filling in the diary was also distributed. The Basque participants were asked to record their language and media practices, and also the effect of watching ETB-1 on their Basque language practices. The students were again asked to keep the diary over a one-month period, which included Christmas break, a factor that undoubtedly had an impact on the manner in which the participants filled in the diary. Of considerable note here is the fact that in both the Irish and Basque cases a low level of response limited the data gathered from the media/language diary. This may be the result of factors such as a lack of motivation and
distraction or simply to the fact that they were not accustomed to keeping a diary. However, as discussed in chapter six, it is felt that the diary method did fulfil its function of making the students more active viewers of TG4 and ETB-1 respectively, which in turn led to a better discussion within the focus group sessions.

5.4.2 Focus group

A focus group can be described as a topic specific group interview that aims to gather qualitative data from a small group of people. The growth in using focus groups as a legitimate research tool occurred following Merton and Kendall’s (1946) use of the method to study radio programming. Today, focus groups are used across a vast range of social sciences in an effort to obtain group ideas and attitudes. The method has been used extensively in media effects research, for example, Morley (1981) uses qualitative data that emerged from focus groups in his *Nationwide* study as a way of elaborating effects of media on difference sub-sectors of society. Focus groups are becoming an ever more popular research method in sociolinguistics (for example, Johnstone, 2006). Flores and Alonso (1995: 84) describe focus groups as “a non-directive technique that results in the controlled production of a discussion of a group of people”. Berg (2001) argues that focus groups are particularly suited to topics of a deep attitudinal nature and that the generally pleasant atmosphere of focus groups influences the level of participation. Similarly, Wilkinson and Kitzinger (2003) suggest that focus groups are attractive to researchers because they offer a halfway house between the elicitation of views and attitudes through interviewing and through the exploration of real life talk-in practices. The focus group method was deemed particularly valid in this context because it allows more natural interaction between the participants and the researcher than one-to-one open-ended interviews do. According to Gall, Gall and Borg (2003) focus groups stimulate participants to express feelings, beliefs and perceptions that they may not state in individual interviews. Although the aim of the focus group method was to obtain qualitative data, it also intended to bring to the fore issues not considered by this researcher. According to Kitzinger (1995: 299):

The idea behind the focus group method is that group processes can help to explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less accessible in a one to one interview (...) When group dynamics work well the participants work alongside the researcher, taking the research in new and often unexpected directions.
There are a number of other advantages to employing the focus group method, namely it is a very economic way of obtaining the views of a number of people simultaneously because it allows for more group interaction. As Morgan (1997: 2) comments: “the explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in the group. Other advantages of the focus group method were put forward by Krueger (1994: 87), who argues:

It is important to keep in mind that the intent of focus groups is not to infer, but to understand, not to generalise but to determine the range, not to make statements about the population but to provide insights about how people perceive a situation.

While there are clear advantages to using the focus group method, there are also a number of potential pitfalls that need to be taken into consideration. As Stewart and Shamdasani (1990: 16) argue: “Focus group are valuable research tools and offer a number of advantages, however they are not a panacea for all research needs and they do have their limitations”. One such issue first relates to the logistics of getting a group of willing participants together. As is discussed in sections 5.4.2.1 and 5.4.2.2, the Irish and Basque focus groups are limited by the relatively small group of participants. There are a number of issues that need to be taken into consideration when bringing a group of friends together. For example that fact that there is a pre-existing group dynamic demands that the researcher needs to be aware of the potential for participants to conform to the consensus of the opinions of their peers. Also, as Kerr, Cunningham-Burley and Amos (1998; 114) argue, it is important to have: “an awareness of the social context in which such accounts (focus groups) are expressed and of the social and cultural locations from which they are drawn”. Each of these factors had to be carefully considered when analysing the research data.

There are a number of factors to take into consideration when employing the focus group method. These include:

1. A small number of participants (4-12 people).
2. A relaxed venue.
3. Participation in an intensive and carefully planned discussion.
4. Moderator lead discussion.
5. The discussion is focused around the predetermined questions. The number of participants is a very important feature to any focus group. Small groups increase the opportunity for participants to express themselves fully as they are more likely to give and take than in larger groups. According to Morgan (1997: 74): “Smaller groups offer a distinct advantage when it is important to learn more about each participants experiences or thoughts”. Fink (1995) highlights the need to involve a homogenous group. To ensure that the dynamics of each of the focus groups that make up this research was good, an attempt was made to ensure that the participants had some previous connection with each other. However, as previously mentioned, when the focus group is conducted amongst group of people who know each other well certain issues need considered when analysing the data. For example with the Basque focus group it was important to check if any previously formed group opinions were coming to the fore when analysing the data.

The role of the moderator also deserves some attention given that the key to a successful focus group is a good moderator, particularly the interpersonal skills that he or she may possess. Denzin and Lincoln (2000) suggest that a good moderator needs to be flexible, a good listener, persuasive and, above all, objective. The moderator is present in order to lead and facilitate the conversation. The moderator must ensure that dominant characters do not control the conversation, while at the same time encouraging more inhibited participants to take part. In both the Irish and Basque focus group this researcher acted as the moderator, which was important for the interpretation of the data gathered. As Stewart and Shamdasani (1990: 8) argue:

\[
\text{The data are themselves the result of a unique interaction of moderator and group. Only an understanding of this interaction and the factors that contribute to it provides a sound basis for the interpretation of focus group data.}
\]

Also, due to the nature of the proceedings of the research it was deemed unnecessary that an assistant moderator be present, particularly when at that stage of the research the only contact had been with this researcher. It was felt that the students would not be as forthcoming with their opinions if someone they had not previously met within the context of the research were to be present. However it is also important to point out that
As a result, both the Irish and Basque focus groups were tape-recorded and later transcribed. A limited number of field notes were taken during the course of the focus groups. However, immediately after the focus group a detailed account of the dynamics of each of the groups was transcribed to provide a means whereby links between non-verbal and verbal communication could be inferred during the detailed data analysis. Both the Irish and Basque focus group involved a limited number of participants; they were made up of six and four participants respectfully.

In preparation for the Irish and Basque focus groups, a detailed set of discussion guidelines were drawn up. Many of the aforementioned guides to conducting focus group research argue that it is important to ensure that questioning should move from a general type to a more specific form of questioning in order to create an encouraging and open atmosphere. The main objective of the focus group within this research was to generate ideas and conversation. A focus-group plan was developed which included some key questions with which students’ attitudes and ideology would be probed. In each case these questions were developed so as not to mimic the previous methods. On occasions when the questions were mimicked it was to encourage a more in-depth conversation.

5.4.2.1 Focus group: IRL

One-month after the completion of the interview stage the participants were contacted with regard to their availability for the focus group stage. The beginning of May 2004 was the time proposed by the author to the participants, with the eight of May being the date that was most suitable for the participants. On that day only six of the participants presented themselves to take part in the focus group, which led to an initial feeling of disappointment. However, the group of students that did present themselves already knew each other well which led to a more open discussion, although the potential for this to be a limiting factor also needs to be highlighted here. This researcher, who acted as moderator, began the session by introducing a general topic for discussion, namely the probing of the students’ attitude to the Irish language. The steering of the conversation was conducted by working with the dynamics of the group. Overall the group were very respectful of each other’s opinion, which is a direct result of their pre-existing group
dynamic. The focus group session lasted for a period of forty-five minutes, a transcription of which is presented in Appendix G.

5.4.2.2. Focus group: BAC

The Basque focus group benefited from the previous experience of the Irish focus group. Given the fact that the Basque focus group was to take place through the medium of Castilian, which is not the first language of this researcher, it was decided that a pilot focus group study would beneficial. This proved to be extremely valuable for preparing the guidelines for the Basque focus group. The Basque lecturers knew all the students and were also able to give this researcher a few pointers as to how to ensure that a good level of participation existed from the beginning of the session. Due to the fact that the focus group session was occurring immediately after the Christmas holidays, it was necessary to remind the students of the focus group session. To this aim this researcher met with the group a few days prior to the previously arranged date to remind them of that fact. Each of the participants was reminded to bring the media/language diary to the focus group session. The focus group began by once again asking the participants to sign a form through which the students consented to the use of the tape-recorder (cf. Appendix F). On the day of the focus group session only four students attended, two female and two male. The session was slightly shorter than the Irish focus group, but the Basque students were not as shy in offering their opinion at the beginning as the Irish students were. The Basque focus group was successful given the limited number of participants. However, it must be commented that the fact that this researcher was an Irish person asking about the Basque language may have had the potential to skew some of the results, an issue which was given much consideration when analysing the data.

5.4.2.3 Focus group: Analysis

Analysing data gathered from focus groups poses some difficulties, as Asbury (1996: 418) argues: "Focus groups are not oral surveys; that is, participants' comments should not be tallied, counted, or otherwise taken out of the context in which the comments originated". Each of the focus groups was transcribed and a coding scheme was
developed in order to report the data accurately. The focus groups were coded in the following manner:

- FGIM1- Focus Group Ireland Male 1
- FGBF1- Focus Group Basque Female 1
- FGIR- Focus Group Ireland Researcher
- FGBR- Focus Group Basque Researcher

Both the Irish and Basque focus groups proved advantageous for a number of reasons. Due to the fact that issues were discussed and challenged in an efficient manner and dealt closely with the perceptions and understandings of the participants, the data that resulted from the focus group was of deep analytical value. In preparation for investigation of the focus group data, the transcripts were coded using thematic and content analysis. A qualitative analysis followed, the results of which are outlined in chapter six.

5.5 Reliability and Validity of the Research Methods

Every attempt was made to ensure that the data that resulted from the employment of the research methods discussed above was as reliable and as valid as possible. To this aim, a number of internal and external procedures were employed to handle these issues of reliability and validity. The employment of a triangulation of methods was the most important of the procedures employed, notwithstanding the fact that each method was subject to procedures to ensure their individual reliability and validity.

Given that the questionnaire produced predominately quantitative data, it can be identified as the method subject to least contaminating influence by the researcher. As the discussion offered in section 5.3.1 showed, in an effort to reduce research bias, the Irish and Basque questionnaires probed the same issues, albeit some of the questions were framed differently in order to reflect the nature of the individual situations. Other measures taken to increase the reliability of the questionnaires which were highlighted by Roger (1995) and implemented by this researcher include the standardisation of administration procedures, as well as, ensuring that the questionnaire items were clear and well written. Data generated from the questionnaire research is recognised as having a high level of reliability given the quantitative nature of the research method. However,
questionnaires are generally recognised as having a low level of validity because they do not explore questions in any detail or depth. Nonetheless the inclusion of the open-ended questions helps to overcome this potential problem. Section 5.1 identified the benefits of employing a mixed method approach in the research. The following quote from Wray, Trott and Bloomer (1998: 167) helps to reiterate the importance of employing a mixed method approach: “Many linguists feel that questionnaires are best used in association with other types of data elicitation because a fuller picture of the data can be accessed if it is approached from more than one angle”.

A number of procedures were undertaken to ensure the reliability and validity of the informal interview method and the diary method. The administration procedures, as was the case with the questionnaires, were identical for these methods. In the case of the diary method, one of the potential pitfalls is the possibility for retrospective bias. However, this was not an issue in the case of this research as those involved in keeping the media/language diary were providing information on experience they were actually living, thus the time lapse between living and accounting for the experience was minimal. The major qualitative method employed was the focus group. One advantage of the focus group method is the fact that it is capable of generating rich data. Livingston and Lunt (1996) argue that focus groups are capable of producing insightful findings, which is one of the major limitations of quantitative methods. They argue that qualitative methods compensate for their perceived lack of reliability by producing more valid data: “(...) the exhaustion of various things to be said on a given topic is part of the content validity of the method, offering a notion of reliability related not to the identity of two runs of the method but to the rate of information gain” (ibid., p.15).

5.6. Conclusion

To conclude this chapter it is once again necessary to highlight the benefits of the research methods employed. The quantitative methods employed within both the Irish and Basque research produced a large set of comparable data on the three main aspects of the thesis. The generation of such a large set of comparable data allows for “emerging generalities to be found which will permit comparison and classification of different
contexts under certain rubics” (Edwards, 2006:11). While the use of qualitative research methods, such as the interview and focus group methods employed in this research, provide a more experiential understanding which lies in the core of this research. The incorporation of a triangulation of research methods makes it clear that every attempt has been made to enhance the validity and credibility of the research findings. This discussion on the research methods employed and methodological considerations that arose throughout the fieldwork prepares the way for the analysis of the data. The analysis, which begins with considering the original intent of the study, forms the basis of chapter six.
CHAPTER SIX
Analysis and Results
6.0 Overview
The chapters presented thus far in the thesis have served to frame this research within current thinking on language revitalisation within the discipline of sociolinguistics, to provide an account of the current positions of the Irish and Basque languages and to introduce the methodologies employed to carry out this study. This chapter brings together the analysis and discussion of the results of the comparative case research. Both quantitative and qualitative findings are presented; as the methodology used to carry out this study triangulated questionnaires, media/language diaries and focus group research. The fusion of qualitative and quantitative findings increases the reliability and validity of the research results. The results are presented under five main themes drawn from the six research questions that guide this thesis, which were previously presented in chapter one (cf. section 1.2). The five themes are; (1) language ideology and attitudes, (2) language practices, (3) language ability, (4) minority language television, and (5) minority language television and language ideology. Overall, the results show that while the Irish and Basque languages enjoy a varied degree of support amongst the respective research groups, the presence of these minority languages on television is perceived to be of great benefit to the continued efforts to revitalise the Irish and Basque languages. This chapter provides a summary of the research findings. Section 6.8 looks more specifically at how these findings can be understood in relation to Strubell’s Catherine Wheel Model (1998; 2001) by providing a summary of the research findings in light of this model.

6.1 Language Ideology and Attitudes
The existence of positive language ideology and positive language attitudes is of vital importance to any attempt to revitalise a minority language. As the discussion offered in chapter two highlighted there is an important distinction to be made between the concepts of language ideology and language attitude. In the context of this research language ideology refers to the socially constructed assumptions the research participants make about their respective minority language, while a language attitude refers to their individually held beliefs about the given language. Previous studies (cf. Choi, 2003; Mac Donnacha, 2000) have shown that positive language ideology and attitudes can lead to an increase in the use of a minority language. For example, Grin and Vaillancourt (1998: 19) argue: "(...) positive attitudes are a sine qua non condition of language revitalisation". Attitudes to the Irish and Basque languages
have been extensively studied from numerous perspectives. However, the focus on university students in these comparative contexts provides important data as regards future efforts to revitalise and maintain these languages. The results of this research provide important information on the language ideology and attitudes of young adults in the transition from late adolescence to adulthood. Moreover, these results reveal issues that need to be addressed by those involved in Irish and Basque language policy and planning.

As has been previously discussed in chapter five, the ideology and attitude section of each of the questionnaires administered for the purposes of this research were included in order to gain insights into the language ideology of young Irish and Basque students and the attitudinal support they afford their respective minority language. This section presents and discusses the results of the relevant questionnaire items. Three main sub-themes serve as a framework for the discussion. The first, general attitudes, describes the level of attitudinal support of the students for general statements about their respective minority languages. The second, language and identity, seeks to explore to what extent these students see Irish and Basque as markers of their ethnic identity. By analysing the link between language and identity this section will provide some insights into the language ideology of the research participants. As García (2003: 6) argues: “Language ideology is a new way of accounting for attitudes for one’s ethnic language vis-à-vis the societally dominant language”. The third, future attitudinal trends, discusses what trends can be inferred from the response to the attitudinal statements with regard to the future of these languages amongst this cohort of second-language speakers of Irish and Basque. A summary of the results for all ten attitudinal items from each of the questionnaires is provided in Table 6.1.

Section 6.1.4 serves to examine the factors that define the participants’ attitudes to Irish and Basque respectively. More specifically, the variables identified as being most predictive of positive attitudes to Irish and Basque, are presented. In order to uncover the variables that account for attitudinal differences between both sets of data and to highlight the factors that define the language attitudes of the research participants, the data were analysed according to the model proposed by Baker (1992). In this model Baker argues that the three most common variables that exert
considerable impact on an individual’s attitude to a language are age, gender and sociolinguistic context. According to Baker, sociolinguistic context takes two variables into consideration, the language used in the home and the language through which the students were educated. However, a third element of the sociolinguistic context variable, which is drawn from previous studies by Lasagabaster (2005) on Basque language attitudes, is also included here. The participants’ degree of competence is identified as a factor worthy of investigation given that the research is conducted amongst students who are not first language Irish or Basque speakers. Baker’s age variable was also adapted to meet the aims of this research. Given that the research is age-specific, and also in an effort to gauge attitudinal change since leaving second level education, it was decided that the students’ year of study would be an important variable to test.
Table 6.1: A summary of the results of the attitudinal section of the Irish and Basque questionnaires.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>SA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>SD</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish-speaking people</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>I like to hear Irish being spoken</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>I believe it is better for people to speak Irish badly than not at all</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>I would like to see an increase in the use of Irish</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>I would like my children to speak Irish</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>40.8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>There is no need to know Irish as everybody in Ireland speaks English</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>I really dislike the Irish language</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>It is not up to me to keep the Irish language alive</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Only people in the Gaeltacht are responsible for keeping Irish alive</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>45.4</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Irish is a dead language</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>56.2</td>
<td>26.2</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>TA</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>DA</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Euskadi no sería Euskadi sin el euskera</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Me gusta escuchar a la gente hablar en euskera</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Es mejor que la gente hable el euskera mal que nunca lo hable</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Me gustaría que el uso del euskera en la calle aumentara</td>
<td>55.1</td>
<td>38.8</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Quiero que mis futuros hijos hablen euskera</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Todo el mundo habla castellano, no hay necesidad de saber euskera</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>59.2</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>El euskera es la lengua nacional de la nación Euskadi</td>
<td>44.9</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>La lengua vasca no aporta nada a la cultura vasca</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>73.5</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>El euskera corre el peligro de morir</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Es necesario usar euskera en todas las ocasiones posibles aunque haya algunas personas que no lo entiendan</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(G) = General attitudinal item, (E) = Ethnic identity attitudinal item, (F) = Future attitudinal item
6.1.1 General attitudes

By and large both sets of students have a positive attitude to their respective language, with the Basque students presenting more positive attitudes overall. As is discussed in 5.2.2, the attitudinal section of the questionnaire consisted of a four-point Likert-type scale. A calculation of the average attitudinal scores revealed that the Basque cohort has a significantly more positive attitude to their minority language than the Irish cohort does. The average attitudinal score for the Basque cohort was 37 out of a possible 40, while for the Irish cohort the attitudinal average was 32. The very high positive attitudes articulated by the Irish and particularly the Basque participants suggests that these languages enjoy a high level support amongst university students.

The general attitudinal items that received the highest scoring in Ireland and the BAC were identical and are presented in the Tables 6.2 and 6.3. The strong overall support for these respective statements respectively further highlights the positive attitudes of these students to their respective minority languages.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.2 General attitudes to Irish and Basque</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strongly Agree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like to hear Irish being spoken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me gusta escuchar a la gente hablar euskera</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results presented in Table 6.2 show that there is strong support for the presence of Irish and Basque in their respective societies, with 94.6% of Irish students and 95.9% of Basque students either agreeing or strongly agreeing with the relevant attitudinal statements. It is also significant to note that not one of the Basque cohort strongly disagreed with the statement ‘me gusta escuchar a la gente hablar euskera’. A further examination of the Basque data revealed that the 4.1% who disagreed with the statement all attended model A schooling, that is to say that they were educated entirely through the medium of Castilian, and each of the students also reported a low level of competence in euskera. Similarly, the 5.4% of Irish students who disagreed or strongly disagreed with the equivalent Irish attitudinal item reported that their Irish language ability was low across the competence spectrum. This suggests that both the
students' level of ability and experience of the relevant minority language via the educational system impacts on their attitudes towards the given language. This issue is discussed in detail in section 6.3. A second Basque attitudinal variable received positive support of 95.9%. The high level of support for the variable, 'Es necesario usar euskera en todas las ocasiones posibles aunque haya algunas personas que no lo entiendan', is further evidence of a more positive attitude to the minority language amongst the Basque cohort.

The second attitudinal item that received most support is presented in Table 6.3.

**Table 6.3 General attitudes to Irish and Basque**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is no need to know Irish as everybody in Ireland Speaks English</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Todo el mundo habla castellano, no hay necesidad de saber euskera</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>32.7%</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The high level of support for Irish and Basque amongst the research participants is again evidenced through the high levels of support for the above attitudinal item. In all 89.2% of the Irish students and 91.9% of the Basque students disagreed or strongly disagreed with the negatively framed attitudinal item. It is likely that these results are more related to the symbolic function of Irish and Basque in marking ethnic identity.

### 6.1.2 Minority languages as a marker of ethnic identity

The data demonstrate that the majority of participants see their respective minority language as an important symbol of ethnic identity, which indicates that this aspect of the participants language ideology is consistent with both national language ideologies, described in chapters three and four respectively.
Table 6.4 Attitude to Irish and Basque as marker of ethnic identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ideological statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly disagree</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish-speaking people</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>41.5%</td>
<td>13.1%</td>
<td>3.9%</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euskadi no sería Euskadi sin euskera</td>
<td>61.2%</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>16.4%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the data presented in Table 6.4 that the Irish and Basque languages fulfil an important symbolic function for the research participants. An overwhelming majority of students identify the minority language as a key marker of their ethnic identity, with 83% of Irish students either strongly agreeing or agreeing with the ideological statement: ‘Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish speaking people’ and a total of 83.6% reporting the same to a similarly worded statement in the Basque questionnaire. Further expressions of pride in and identification with the language as a symbol of Irish ethnicity were found in the qualitative data. One participant commented in response to an open-ended item in the Irish questionnaire: “We need to protect our language. It is our heritage, part of who we are”. The importance of the Basque language in fulfilling a culturally symbolic function is evidenced through the 98% of participants who either disagreed or strongly disagreed with the following ideological item: ‘La lengua vasca no aporta nada a la cultura vasca’. However, in both cases a sizeable minority of students, Irish (14.9%) and Basque (16.4%), did not see these languages as important markers of ethnic identity.

A more detailed analysis of the data reveals that language plays a more important role in marking Basque identity than is the case for the Irish cohort. This may be linked to the differences in the political situations of these two nations. Indeed O’Rourke (2005), in drawing on the work of Paulston (1994), points out that Irish independence from Great Britain worked to the detriment of the Irish language. The Irish language was no longer the basis on which the comparison between ‘us’ and ‘them’ was drawn. However, in the case of Basque, Euskera remains one of the main symbols separating the Basque nation from Spain and France. At various points throughout the analysis of the Basque qualitative data, statements linking the language to the political situation...
were present. An example of such a statement was found in the response to an open-ended questionnaire item, where the student remarked that: “es nuestro deber mantener viva nuestra lengua, la lengua de la nación Euskadi”. Although support for Irish and Basque as symbols of ethnic identity are high, this is not indicative of a prevention of language decline.

6.1.3 Future attitudinal trends

A number of the attitudinal items included in the questionnaires may help to predict some of the future attitudinal trends in Ireland and the Basque Autonomous Community. The results of an investigation of these variables are presented in Table 6.5

| Table 6.5 Attitudes as an indicator of future attitudinal trends |
|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|
|                      | Strongly Agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree | N    |
|_I would like to see an increase in the use of Irish_ | 53.8% | 36.9% | 6.9% | 2.4% | 130 |
| Me gustaria que el uso del euskera en la calle aumentara | 55.1% | 38.8% | 6.1% | 0% | 57 |
| I would like my children to speak Irish | 47.7% | 40.8% | 10% | 1.5% | 130 |
| Quiero que mis futuros hijos hablen euskera | 61.3% | 34.7% | 4% | 0% | 57 |

The results presented in the above table would suggest that the future for the Irish and Basque languages is very positive, with a very high percentage in each situation strongly agreeing with the future attitudinal items. In both cases the majority of students would like to see an increase in the use of their minority language, with 90.7% of Irish participants and 93.9% of the Basque participants agreeing with the relevant item. A limited number of students were against the increased presence of Irish and Basque in their relevant community.

Another important indicator of future attitudinal trends is the level of desire exhibited by the participants for their children to speak Irish and Basque. Again an
overwhelming majority in both cases supported this attitudinal statement. In total 96% of the Basque participants and 88.5% of the Irish participants agreed with these attitudinal items. Comparatively speaking there is more evidence of pessimism as regards the transmission of the Irish to future generations, with 11.5% disagreeing with the relevant attitudinal item, while a mere 4% of the Basque participants disagreed with a similar statement in the Basque questionnaire.

6.1.4 Predictors of positive attitudes to Irish and Basque

An analysis of factors influencing attitudes amongst the Irish and Basque cohorts highlighted some importance differences between these sociolinguistic contexts. The analysis involved testing the relationship between the dependent variables “attitude to Irish” and “attitude to Basque”, against the independent variables which were drawn from the previously discussed adaptation of Baker’s model. These include: gender, year at university, home language, educational competence and degree of competence. It was decided that the statistical test, regression analysis, was the most appropriate test to carry out in order to determine which of the aforementioned independent variables were most predictive of positive attitudes to Irish and Basque. Regression analysis is a correlation technique that measures the degree to which the dependent variable can be predicted by a number of independent variables. In the case of this research the dependent variable is a combination of the ten attitudinal items from each of the questionnaires. The results of this statistical test provide an index of the strength of the prediction, and the closer this figure is to 1 the more positive the result.

In the case of this research, two separate regression tests were carried out on both data sets, namely stepwise multivariate regression analysis and single regression analysis. An explanation of each these statistical tests is provided below.

The stepwise multivariate regression analysis test was used in order to rank the independent variables by degree of significance. This test provides the $R^2$ figure which represents the strength of the relationship between the dependent variable, the attitudinal items, and the independent variable, the factors which most predicts the participants attitudes. The point from which the relationship between the two variables is taken to be statistically significant is represented by Sig. The results of the Irish and Basque results are provided in Tables 6.6.
The result of the multivariable regression analysis revealed that students' degree of competence was the variable that exerts most influence on positive attitudes to Irish and Basque. For a total of 35.9% of the Irish participants and 34.9% of the Basque participants their degree of Irish language competence was the factor that most influenced their attitude to the language. The stepwise analysis also revealed the order of significance of the remaining four variables. However, since a stepwise multivariable regression analysis will not provide an analysis of how significant the remaining variables were, independent of the variable language ability, it was necessary to conduct the second regression test, single regression analysis. This test gives the result of the relationship between the dependent variables, the attitudinal items, and each of the independent variables individually. The results of this test on the Irish data are presented in Table 6.7 and the result of the equivalent test on the Basque data is presented in Table 6.8.

**Table 6.7 Results of single regression analysis of independent variables (IRL)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>R²</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational Model</td>
<td>0.231</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home language</td>
<td>0.188</td>
<td>0.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.133</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year at University</td>
<td>0.093</td>
<td>0.003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The test revealed that for 23.1% of the participants, positive attitudes to Irish are predicted by the medium through which they were educated, which serves to confirm findings from Kavanagh (1999), where students who attended Irish medium schooling were found to be overall more positive about the language. The remaining variables indicate that positive attitudes to Irish are predicted by the language used in the home for 18.8% of the cohort, by gender for 13.3% of the participants and by the student’s year of study for 9.3% of the Irish participants.
While the variable “year at university” was least predictive of positive attitudes to Irish, a further examination reveals an interesting pattern as regards change in the students’ attitudes to Irish over time. As Figure 6.1 illustrates the percentage of students who exhibit a strong positive attitude to Irish actually peaks amongst fourth year students.

**Figure 6.1** Attitude to Irish across year at university

A possible explanation for this finding can be drawn from the qualitative data. Two of the fourth year students involved in the informal interview stage commented on how their attitude to Irish had changed dramatically while studying abroad on the Erasmus programme. The two students reported that their attitude to Irish and particularly to use of Irish was negative prior to their experience on the Erasmus programme. It is significant that both students felt that their negative experience with the language in school was the cause of this level of negativity. However, their experience on the Erasmus programme led them to change their opinion to the language. One of these participants made the following comment in the focus group:

“It was mainly people from English Universities that we were friends with at the start and being able to speak Irish so that they couldn’t understand us was great. It really made me appreciate the fact that I can speak Irish. I felt proud of the language”

The results of the single regression analysis test conducted at the Basque data is presented in Table 6.8.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>$R^2$</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home Language</td>
<td>0.312</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Year</td>
<td>0.175</td>
<td>0.012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.115</td>
<td>0.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational Model</td>
<td>0.034</td>
<td>0.021</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the results of the single regression analysis of the Basque data illustrate that order of significance of the remaining independent variables is significantly different to the Irish case. Of particular interest is the fact that in the Irish data the medium of education was the second most predictive variable, whereas in the case of Basque it was the least influential variable (3.4%). Also, while the home language variable was an influential variable for 18% of the Irish participants, it accounts for 31.2% in the Basque data. The factor year at university is also more predictive of positive attitudes to Basque (17.5%) than in the Irish case.

Overall, the results of this research show that in the case of Irish and Basque the students' degree of competence is the factor that mostly predicts positive attitudes to these minority languages. Another important issue deserving some attention here is the fact that there is evidence to show, particularly in the case of Irish, that language attitudes are most positive amongst students in their fourth year of study. Furthermore, the results presented in section are in line with other previous studies on attitudes to Irish and Basque, (cf. O'Rourke, 2005a; Lasagabaster, 2005), that indicate that both languages will be preserved as languages of identity and tradition. The analysis above has served to gauge the adherence of the research participants to their respective minority language. Overall there are many commonalities between the Irish and Basque students as regards their language attitudes and the factors that affect these attitudes. Although it is clear that these young adults want their respective minority language to survive, they are in fact contributing to a possible decline in these languages by not putting their language ability into practice. The next section seeks to examine the language practices of the research cohorts in order to determine whether the high levels of attitudinal support follow through to actual use of the Irish and Basque languages.
6.2 Language practices

The language practices section of each of the questionnaires sought to discover the degree to which the minority language forms part of the students' habitual language patterns. The aim of this section is to discuss the findings from the analysis of the students' language practices. The data are presented herein under three sub-headings, namely: language use, which examined the frequency of minority language use amongst the cohort; the interlocutor with whom the participants reported using their respective minority language, and domain of language use.

A preliminary analysis of the data resulting from the questionnaire items relating to language use suggests that in both the Irish and Basque contexts, there was a clear disparity between the attitudes Irish and Basque students display towards their respective minority language and their actual use of these languages. The aim of this section is to present these quantitative findings, while qualitative data is used to further enhance the findings. The data from the informal interviews proved instrumental in uncovering the dimensions used by the research participants to clarify their understanding of concepts such as daily language use, for example. It is significant to note from the outset that the frequency of minority language use was higher amongst the Basque participants. This is not so surprising, given the differences in the make-up of the Irish and Basque cohorts (cf. Figures 5.2, 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5). The results from each of the questionnaires are presented individually because the questionnaire items that were included in order to map students' patterns of language use were framed differently in the Irish and Basque contexts. (cf. section 5.3).

6.2.1 Language use

The results from the questionnaire items that probed the frequency of Irish language use are presented in Figure 6.2.
Figure 6.2 shows that occasional use of Irish is the highest frequency of use to be expected amongst the Irish cohort, with 48.5% reporting that their use of the language is sporadic. It also shows that daily use of Irish amongst this student cohort is low, with only 4.6% of the respondents reporting daily usage, while only 10.8% report using the language on a weekly basis. Perhaps one of the more significant findings from the analysis of this questionnaire item is that a high of 36.1% reported that they never use Irish. A further examination of the respondents who reported never using Irish revealed that their lack of use of the language relates directly to a decline in their language competence as a result of not having any contact with the Irish language since completing second level education. For example, one student commented that: “Since secondary school I rarely hear Irish being spoken, never speak it and never read it”. However, it is important to point out that use of Irish amongst this group of university students is higher than that reported by the 15-24 age-group in the 2006 Census. In all, 63.9% of the university students reported some degree of language use, whereas only 54.5% within this age group of the national sample reported some degree of use of Irish in 2006.

Another issue of concern is how frequent the level of language use described as daily and/or weekly by the students actually is. When questioned about this issue in the informal interview stage, one student, who had reported that he uses Irish on a weekly basis, said that he uses the “odd few sentences” in Irish on a weekly basis. This token use of the language is consistent with findings of research conducted by Murtagh (2003). Notably, one female respondent who reported daily use of Irish stated that it was the language through which she communicated with her father. In fact in both the
Irish and Basque data the majority of students, (IRL 100%, BAC 85%), who reported daily language use in the home, stated that minority language use occurred only with their father. This finding corroborates other research where the male family members are identified as the main transmitter of minority languages in the home (cf. Pietikäinen 2006; Nolan 2006) and also supports Labov’s thesis on the loyalty of males to vernaculars.

For reasons previously outlined in chapter five (cf. section 5.3), the Basque questionnaire item, which probed frequency of Basque language use, was framed in terms of the frequency with which the participants conduct a conversation in Basque.

**Figure 6.3** Basque language use amongst university students \( (N=57) \)

The results, which are illustrated in Figure 6.3, show that more than half of the Basque respondents reported that they carried out a conversation in Basque on a daily basis (53.7%). Of this 53.7% almost half represents students in the Vitoria campus of the University of the Basque Country. The Vitoria students formed a special group within the Basque data for a number of reasons which are given further attention throughout this chapter, but at this juncture it is important to note that this group of students were unique as they were the only students who reported using only Basque with their university classmates. The number of students who carry out a conversation in Basque on a weekly basis is low at 5.6%, while 24.1% report that they converse in Basque on an occasional basis. The number of students who report never conversing in Basque is significantly lower than the Irish equivalent. However, as is similar to the Irish case, the qualitative Basque data shows that many of the students equate no longer carrying out a conversation in Basque with no longer having contact with
Basque speakers. This is evidenced through statements such as: “porque la gente con que ahora me relaciona no habla euskera”.

The significant differences between the two cohorts as regards the frequency of use of their respective language demanded a more in-depth analysis of the factors that affected language practices. The analysis revealed that the use of Basque is remarkably higher than the use of Irish amongst the respective cohorts which is indicative of the impact of schooling on language use, or more specifically the medium through which the students were educated. While only five of the one hundred and thirty Irish students were educated through the medium of Irish, twenty-seven out of the fifty-seven Basque participants were educated entirely through the medium of Basque. These issues are addressed in the next section in relation to language ability. Prior to this discussion and in an effort to provide a complete account of the language practices of these students, it is imperative to discuss the results of the comparative analysis of the interlocutor and domain of minority language use as reported by the research participants.

6.2.2 Language use by interlocutor

As is evident from the data illustrated in Figure 6.4, the interlocutor with whom both sets of students use their respective minority language most frequently is the friend interlocutor. In all, 64.6% of the Irish participants report that they use Irish with their friends, while 78.5% of Basque students report that they use Basque with their friends. Similarly, the high frequency of use with family suggests that levels of intergenerational transmission are not as low as those reported by Fishman (1991, 2000) with respect to both the Irish and Basque cases. In the Irish case, 53.8% of students report having some level of use of the language with their family, while 66.1% of Basque students reported the same in relation to Basque. It is significant to note that in the case of Basque, use of the language with family members represents the interlocutor with whom minority language use is least frequent. This finding is particularly noteworthy when one considers the high percentages of Basque participants from Basque-speaking homes. The great disparity in the frequency of use with classmates and lecturers between the two contexts is the result of the differing linguistic norms in practice at the University of the Basque Country and the University of Limerick. The University of the Basque Country is a bilingual
university, where students have the option to study through the medium of Basque if they so wish. Although it is possible to study Irish at the University of Limerick, it is important to note that the Irish language is not a requirement for entry to that University, whereas it is for the majority of Irish universities. The fact that 73% \((N=42)\) of Basque students occasionally use Basque with their lecturer is not a figure that could be replicated at the University of Limerick.

**Figure 6.4** Language use with interlocutor

A closer examination of the data presented in Figure 6.4 reveals that there are further distinctions between the two contexts in terms of the frequency with which interactions in the minority language take place with the above-mentioned groups. Figures 6.5 and 6.6 illustrate a breakdown in terms of frequency of language use by interlocutor for the Irish and Basque case respectively.

**Figure 6.5** Frequency of Irish language use per interlocutor \((N=118)\)
Although friends have already been identified as the interlocutor with whom minority language use is most frequent, a deeper analysis reveals that there are stark differences as to the rate of frequency at which language use occurs with their friends amongst the Irish and Basque participants. A mere 0.8% of Irish students reported that they always use Irish with friends, while a total of 30.3% of Basque students reported always using Basque with friends. The 30.3% relates to the previously mentioned special case Vitoria cohort, who account for 24% of the total number of Basque respondents. Similarly the 18% of the Basque cohort who reported always using Basque with their classmates all relate back to this special case. Also, while the number of students who reported use of their respective minority language in the home is high in both contexts, it is far more frequent in the case of Basque. A total of 29.4% report always using Basque with their family, while a mere 3.1% of the Irish students reported the same frequency of minority language use in the home.

6.2.3 Language use by domain
The questionnaire item that probed domain of language use provides some important information as to the contexts in which the students use their respective minority language. The domains of language use are presented comparatively in Figure 6.7, while the frequency of language use across domains is presented for each context in Figure 6.8 and Figure 6.9 respectively.
As is evident from Figure 6.7, the domain in which Irish and Basque language use is most frequent, as reported by the research participants, is the social domain. In all, 58.5% of the Irish participants and 75% of the Basque participants reported using their respective minority language while socialising. This is a notable finding across both situations, when one takes into consideration the results of previous Irish and Basque language surveys offered in chapters three and four, respectively. The results of these sociolinguistic surveys, carried out by ITÉ and the Basque autonomous government, indicated that up to now language use has been minimal in this domain. Scholars such as Kelly (2002) and Cenoz and Perales (1994) point out that the lack of presence of these languages in public fora has been a major obstacle to continued language revitalisation. However, in spite of this, the data presented here show that for these Irish and Basque students, their use of their respective minority language is most frequent in the social domain and amongst friends, which points to a definite and positive increase in language use outside of the more private domain of the home.

Given that this research centres on an investigation into the role of minority language television in influencing minority language practices, an investigation as to how watching TG4 and ETB-1 influenced the participants language practices was deemed necessary. The analysis involved carrying out the statistical test, Pearson’s correlation, which shows to the strength of the relationship between two variables. The strength of the relationship, which is represented by P, will vary between 0 and 1 and the closer the value is to one the more positive the relationship is. In the case of the Irish research, the variable ‘do you speak Irish in social domains?’ was correlated against
the questionnaire item ‘do you watch TG4?’. The results indicate that there is a positive correlation between those who use Irish in social domains and those who watch TG4, P being 0.148. While this shows that there is a positive relationship between the two variables, it is not a strong relationship. The identical test on the Basque data produced a slightly less positive result where P being 0.144. Therefore, it can be argued that as more of these students watch TG4 and ETB-1, it is probable that an increase in the use of Irish and Basque will occur in the respective social domain. The positive results also point to the importance of minority language television in aiding the diffusion of Irish and Basque language speech communities.

Figure 6.7 also identifies the home as an important locus for language use, with 56.2% and 64.3% of Irish and Basque students, respectively, reporting some level of minority language use in the home. This result is particularly significant for the Irish data when one considers that only 11.5% reported coming from a home where Irish was spoken. When the difference between the two universities is taken into consideration, it is not surprising that use in the university domain is significantly higher in the Basque data. But again it is the students from Vitoria that account for the majority of this difference. The relatively low use of Irish within the classroom is perhaps related to the absence of minority language speakers within the group. The low level of use of minority language in the work domain is understandable given the fact that the majority of these students have part-time jobs in the services industry where language use is a variable the student cannot control. Although it is not a factor addressed by this research, it is important to note that the relative lack of job opportunities for which competence in Irish is required is a factor that may affect the language attitudes and language ideology of university students.
The data presented in Figure 6.7 demonstrate that the use of Basque is more regular in the four domains than the use of Irish is, although in some incidences there is very little difference. A deeper investigation of the data does reveal that the use of Basque is much more frequent that the use of Irish in the above-listed domains. The results presented in Figures 6.8 and 6.9 show that while 22.8% of Basque students always use Basque in the social domain, only 0.8% of the Irish students do. However, there is not much disparity in the number of students who reported sometimes using Irish and Basque in the social domain, with 31.5% and 36.8% of the respective cohorts reporting use in this domain. The frequency of use in the home also differs greatly between the two contexts. A total of 3.9% of the Irish participants reported always using Irish in the home, while 30% of the Basque cohort reported that they always use Basque in the home.

Overall, the results of this analysis of students’ language practices show that while the use of Irish and Basque remains limited amongst the student cohort, it is increasing in domains and with interlocutors where minority language use has traditionally been minimal.
6.3 Language Ability

The presence of Irish and Basque in the educational system puts these languages in an enviable position for many other minority languages. The discussions offered in chapters three and four regarding the role of education in Irish and Basque revival, respectively, indicated how the Irish and Basque languages have clearly benefited from such policies. In both contexts, the teaching of these languages vis-à-vis the educational system is one of the factors responsible for the growth in number of second language speakers, as is highlighted in research conducted by scholars such as Ó Laoire (2001) and Amorrortu (2003). However, there is also evidence available for both the Irish and Basque situations, (cf. Murtagh 2003; Amorrortu, 2002b), to suggest that the level of language attrition is high amongst school-leavers, which is largely the result of the lack of contact with the given language once compulsory schooling has been completed. This section focuses on three main issues. First, an analysis of the students’ self-reported language ability is provided. Secondly, an examination of the effect of the medium through which the students were educated on their language ability is presented. Finally, an analysis of the changes in the participants’ language ability since coming to university is provided. It is important to note that the data presented below refer to spoken language competence, as this is the only aspect of the competence spectrum on which the Irish and Basque data can be directly compared.

6.3.1 Levels of language ability

The data presented in Figure 6.10 illustrate the results of the spoken language ability section of both questionnaires.

Figure 6.10 Minority language ability (%)

![Minority language ability graph]

- IRL N=130
- BAC N=57

Fluent, Well, With difficulty, No ability
It is clear from the data presented in the above table that the Irish and Basque language policies, which encourage language acquisition via the educational system, have had a positive effect on perceptions of language ability. As Figure 6.10 shows, the number of students who consider themselves to be fluent in Basque (45.6%) is considerably higher than the percentage of students who consider themselves to be fluent in Irish (6.2%). However, 49.4% of the Irish participants reported themselves as being able to speak Irish well. Yet, the percentage of Basque respondents who report having no ability in Basque (10.5%) is higher than the percentage of Irish participants who report the same (6.2%). There are a number of reasons why these differences in reported language ability might exist. First, the number of Basque students who come from Basque-speaking homes is considerably higher than in the Irish case (cf. Figures 5.3 and 5.4). Similarly, the number of Basque students who originate from areas recognised as areas where the Basque language enjoys considerable support, such as San Sebastian and Durango, is high at 34%. In order to test how important a factor place of origin was in influencing the students' language ability, a further Pearson’s correlation test was carried out on both data sets. The results from the Basque data indicate that origin is a very significant factor, (P= 0.292, sig. 0.004), while in the Irish case the results show a negative relationship between the two variables because the Pearson’s coefficient is not statistically significant (P= 0.051, sig. 0.564). This finding corroborates previous research on the Basque case, (cf. Mateo and Aizpurua 2002), where the density of Basque speakers in an individual’s social relational network was identified as a exerting considerable effect on language ability.

A second factor that may exert considerable influence on a student’s ability in their respective minority language is the level of contact they had with the given language during their compulsory schooling. It is unsurprising to note that the majority of students who reported being fluent in Irish and Basque had been educated through the medium of their respective minority language. However, there were some students who also reported themselves as fluent Irish or Basque speakers even though they had not attended Irish or Basque medium schools. In order to investigate the exact impact medium through which the participants were educated had on their level of language ability, a cross-tabulation of the relevant questionnaire items was carried out. The results of the Irish test are presented in Tables 6.9 and 6.10, while the results of the Basque test are presented in Table 6.11.
Table 6.9 provides a breakdown in percentage terms of the language ability of those students who received their compulsory education entirely through the medium of English.

**Table 6.9 Language competence of students who attended English medium schools (%)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fluent</th>
<th>Well</th>
<th>With Difficulty</th>
<th>No ability</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English only</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>44.8</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The data presented in the above table show that 109 of the Irish participants attended English language schooling. While a total of 44.8% reported that their level of ability in the language was weak, 38.4% reported that they found it difficult to speak Irish and a further 6.4% claimed they had no ability to use the language at all. Nevertheless, a notable 44% reported that they spoke Irish well. Even more significant is the 3.2% who claimed they were fluent Irish speakers even though they had been educated entirely through the medium of English. A closer examination of the 3.2% revealed that it refers to four participants. Three of these particular students were raised in homes where Irish was spoken. However, the fourth student who reported fluency in Irish did not have contact within the language in the home. Indeed he represents a genuinely unique individual across both sets of data. He was the only student who reported himself as fluent despite the fact that he had limited contact with Irish during his schooling. He formed part of the Irish in-depth participant group and when probed about these issues in the informal interview, he commented that he has a passion for traditional Irish music and has been listening to Raidió na Gaeltachta and attending feiseanna\(^{32}\) since he was a child. He remarked that he had acquired the language by what he described as “*osmosis*”.

Table 6.10 presents the results of a cross-tabulation of the language competence factor for the students who had been educated through the medium of Irish.

\(^{32}\) These are Irish language music and Irish dancing competitions
Table 6.10 Language competence of students who attended Irish medium schools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Fluent</th>
<th>Well</th>
<th>With difficulty</th>
<th>No ability</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gaelscoil</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Irish Medium</td>
<td>(Irish Medium</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary + Secondary)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Primary +</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English Primary +</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of participants who had received their compulsory education entirely or partly through the medium of Irish accounts for 12% of the Irish cohort. As was to be expected, these students report a higher level of competence than their counterparts who attended English medium schooling, with 10.4% reporting themselves as fluent or having a good level of competence in the language. However, one of the most notable results presented in Table 6.10, is the fact that one student who had been educated entirely through the medium of Irish reported that she had difficulty speaking Irish. A closer examination of her questionnaire revealed that she originated from a Gaeltacht area (Ballinskelligs), but she rarely used Irish and reported that she had lost her Irish since coming to university. This suggests that even those who would be expected to have a high level of competence in the language suffer as a result of non-contact with the language after secondary school. By contrast, no evidence of such issues was found in the Basque data.

Overall, as the results in Table 6.11 reveal, the medium through which a student was educated had a much more positive effect on the Basque participants’ level of language ability.
Table 6.11 Cross-tabulation of Basque language ability and educational model (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Model</th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Well</th>
<th>With Difficulty</th>
<th>No knowledge</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Model A</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>17.5%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model B</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>5.4%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model D</td>
<td>39.3%</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
<td>1.8%</td>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.11 shows that the students' reported level of competence directly correlates with the medium through which the student was educated, thus providing further evidence of the fact that the changes in the Basque educational system in the early eighties have been of great benefit to the efforts to revitalise the language. Of the 48% of the Basque participants who attended model D schooling (Basque medium schooling), the majority (38.7%) claimed that they spoke Basque perfectly. The students who were educated in model A schools, that is through the medium of Castilian, are those who claim the lowest levels of spoken competence in the language. It is clear from the analysis offered above that there is a need to expand the domains in which these young adults come in contact with their respective minority language. An analysis of the role of minority language television in this regard is presented in section 6.4.

6.3.2 Changes in minority language ability

For the majority of the research participants their most frequent contact with, and in some cases their only contact with, the Irish and Basque language was in the school domain. Hence, it is likely that their levels of ability in the relevant minority language have declined since coming to university. The questionnaire items that probed this issue in the Irish and Basque cases produced results that support this idea and lead to the realisation that there is a rapid decline in language ability of these students once they completed second level education. These results are illustrated in Figure 6.11.
As the data in the above show, an overwhelming majority of students in both Ireland and the Basque country reported that their ability in their respective minority language had declined since coming to university. In the case of Irish, 63.8% reported that there had been a decline in their ability, while 68.5% of the Basque cohort reported a decline in their language ability. Significantly, while 1.8% of the Basque cohort reported that their language ability had remained the same, while a further 24.5% reported an increase in their language ability. The 24.5% accounts for the students from the previously discussed Vitoria group. The Vitoria students consistently reported that they always use Basque with their classmates because their Basque-speaking classmates refused to switch to Castilian to accommodate those who were less proficient in Basque. Hence, the students felt that their level had increased, with one female student commenting that she had learned much more ‘euskera callejera’ (street Basque) since she began her course at university. It is also noteworthy that no Basque participant reported that they had lost all of their Basque.

In the case of Irish, 3.2% of students claimed their Irish language ability had improved since coming to university. Remarkably, a total of 2.4% reported that their increase in language ability was a direct result of watching TG4 and 5% reported no change to their level of language ability because of contact with the language via TG4. The following qualitative examples, drawn from an open-ended questionnaire item where students were asked to outline a reason for the increase or decrease in their Irish-language ability, provide qualitative backup to the claim that TG4 is impacting positively on students’ language ability.
"I continue watching TnaG (TG4) and listen to the commentary for matches as Gaelige"

"By frequently watching programmes on TG4"

A qualitative analysis of the Irish and Basque data also reveals that many students associate the language only with the educational setting with phrases such as: "No contact with the language", "Not having spoken it since I left school" and "Antes lo estudiaba pero ahora no", emerging as frequent replies to the open-ended questionnaire items asking students to provide a reason for the decline in their language use.

An additional finding of note in relation to TG4 points to the television channel as a source of contact with the Irish language once compulsory education has been completed. When questioned about the level of language attrition since leaving secondary school one participant had the following comment to make.

FGIR: Why do you think your level of Irish has declined since leaving school?

FGIF2: Well I think for me its because I haven’t spoken Irish since 6th year\textsuperscript{34} in school or I haven’t really heard it being spoken (except for TG4) and a language needs to be used to be remembered.

In order to map the changes in language competence over time, a cross correlation of the questionnaire variables ‘year at university’ and ‘has your ability in Irish changed since coming to university?’ was carried out on the Irish data and an identical test on the Basque data. Cross correlation is a standard method of estimating the degree to which two series are correlated. The results of this statistical analysis are presented in Figure 6.12.

\textsuperscript{34} The final year in the Irish second level educational system.
As was to be expected, the data illustrated in Figure 6.12 shows that the level of decline in language ability correlates directly with the students' year of study. In both contexts, the rate of language attrition increases across university year, with fourth-year students exhibiting the highest rates of decline. A qualitative analysis of both open-ended questionnaire items and the focus group research highlights some of the reasons why students feel their ability in their respective minority language has declined. In the case of Irish 29.2% of those who reported a decline in their language ability cited 'no opportunity to use Irish' as the predominant factor, while a further 22.5% felt that the 'lack of contact' with the language had a negative impact on their language ability. It also emerged from the data that students felt there was no support for the continued study and use of Irish at university, with the students providing comments such as the following to the open-ended item in the Irish questionnaire:

"Lack of support and resources for students who wish to continue speaking Irish"

"I haven’t used it much and I have seen no possibility of studying it as an extra subject"

It is important to highlight the growth in the number of students who reported an improvement in their Irish language ability in Year 3. Significantly, this refers to the previously discussed group of students who reported a more favourable attitude to Irish as a result of their Erasmus experience.
The analysis of the Basque data also showed that 68.5% of students who reported a decline in language competence related this to a lack of contact with Basque since starting at university, an issue evidenced by the following example:

"Antes lo hablaba todos los días porque estudiaba en euskera ahora apenas lo utilizo"

The Basque focus group also provided important insights into the factors that have impacted on the students' reported decline in language ability. For example, one of the Basque participants commented, in response to the question FGBR: ¿Y cómo es el nivel de euskera que tenéis ahora?:

FGBM1: "Eh bueno, yo la verdad es que hace 4 años desde que empecé en la universidad lo usaba bastante en el colegio y con alguna persona aislada pero desde que empecé en la universidad ha caído todo y el año pasado estuve fuera en el extranjero y no lo utilizó nada y ahora no, no tanto"

A further issue of note which emerged from an examination of the Basque data relates to the desire of some of these students to counteract the decline in their competence in Basque. A total of 20 participants made reference to attending Euskaltegiak, Basque language academies, in order to counteract the decline in their language ability. There were four references to the need to improve their level of competence because their career preference demanded a high level of proficiency in the language. One female participant commenting: "Voy a un euskaltegi donde estoy aprendiendo euskera ya que es importante para el trabajo". In response to an open-ended questionnaire item another Basque participant commented that she was trying to improve her level of Euskera because her level of ability had declined significantly since coming to university: "Aunque estoy por mi cuenta apuntada a un euskaltegi, durante los años que no lo he hablado he perdido mucho". These findings are in line with Lasagabaster (2007) who found that for 76.1% of Basque university students, he surveyed, the importance of knowing the language was associated with being able to get a job. There is no evidence of students attending Irish-language courses to improve their level of competence. The extent to which this relates to the lack of a necessity of the language in terms of gaining employment is an issue that deserves some further research.
The data presented within this section lead to two important findings. First, it is clear from the data presented in this section and in section 6.1 that both the Irish and the Basque students reported that their ability in their respective minority language had declined since coming to University. It is also evident that the attitudes of the research participants to the respective minority language has become more positive. While it is encouraging that such levels of attitudinal support exist for these minority languages, there is a need to counteract the decline in language ability. The second issue of note relates to the role of minority language television in aiding the decline in minority language ability. As is evidenced through the data presented above, by providing a domain of language contact outside of the educational setting, the presence of Irish and Basque on television has helped some participants to maintain and improve their language ability.

6. 4 Discussion: Research questions one to three.

The data emanating from the first step of the analysis reveal some important information for Irish and Basque language planners. These 18-25 year old students represent a hugely important group in relation to the future of the Irish and Basque languages. This section serves to discuss the results presented thus far in this chapter according to research questions one to three, as presented in chapter 1 (cf. section 1.2).

RQ. 1: What attitudes do non first-language Irish and Basque speaking students exhibit to their respective minority language?

The results show that both the Irish and the Basque participants exhibit a strong positive attitude towards their respective minority language, which is in accordance with the findings of previous Irish and Basque sociolinguistic surveys. The majority of Irish and Basque students queried expressed high levels of good will and favoured the transmission of these languages to the next generation. Of particular note is the strength of the linguistic consciousness of both cohorts, with the majority of Irish and Basque participants agreeing that they like to hear their respective minority language being spoken in the public arena. Both the Irish and Basque students see their minority language as essential in defining their national identity. The data also show that both sets of students have a positive attitude to the continued presence of Basque in their relevant societies, they would like to see an increase in the use of Irish and
Basque and would like their children to use these languages. But while this is true, the Basque students have a more strongly consolidated positive attitude to the Basque language than was the case for Irish students. It is clear that there is a strong level of ideological support for the Irish and Basque languages. Nevertheless, there is little evidence of these high levels of attitudinal support being translated into language use.

RQ. 2: Is there any significant difference between the level of support these students exhibit to their respective minority language, expressed through their language attitudes, and the level of actual support they provide Irish and Basque through their language practices?

An analysis of the language use data shows that the frequency with which these students use Irish and Basque respectively is higher than what previous surveys have indicated. When compared to the 2006 and 2002 Irish Census data and the 2001 Sociolinguistic survey of the Basque country, it is clear that the use of Irish and Basque is more frequent amongst the student population than reported in these surveys. In all 36.2% of the Irish cohort and just 16.7% of the Basque students report never using their relevant minority language. While over half of the Basque participants reported using the language on a daily basis, only 4.6% of the Irish participants reported daily Irish language use. A possible explanation for the more frequent use of Basque can be found in the higher percentage of Basque respondents from Basque speaking homes. Contrary to expectations, the analysis of the interlocutor with whom and domain in which the research participants reported use of their respective minority language revealed that language use is most frequent amongst friends and in social domains.

Even though language use is more frequent than outlined from previous research carried out in IRL and the BAC, it is not as frequent as the attitudinal levels would suggest. Through the analysis of the language practices of these Irish and Basque students it is clear that there is a great level of disparity between their attitudinal support for their respective minority language and their levels of minority language use, especially when one considers how positive the relative attitude scores were. The extent to which the lack of contact with these languages after compulsory education can be deemed responsible for this level of disparity is discussed in the next section.
RQ. 3: Has the students' perception of their ability in Irish and Basque changed since they completed compulsory education?

As has been previously discussed, children of school-going age are those who emerge as having the highest level of minority language competence in both Ireland and the BAC, which is evidence of the success of the presence of Irish and Basque in their respective education systems. However, there is little research, (cf. Murtagh, 2003), which examines levels of language attrition once leaving compulsory education. Indeed, the results of the research undertaken herein show that there is a dramatic decline in students' reported language ability once entering the university system. The results also show that the decline is consistent across each university year, with fourth year students in each case exhibiting the lowest level of language competence. Many students, 82% in the Irish context and 56% in the Basque context, identified the lack of contact with the relevant minority language as the major contributing factor to their language decline.

In accepting that there is a significant level of language attrition in the years immediately following compulsory education, it becomes clear that the priority for Irish and Basque language planners should be to provide more space for these languages outside of the educational setting, to increase the presence of Irish and Basque in their respective society. It is here that the presence of minority languages on television can be seen to be of benefit to the continued revitalisation of Irish and Basque. The existence of television in minority languages expands the domains in which second-language speakers come in contact with minority languages; it increases the supply of minority languages in the public sphere. It is evident from the discussion offered above that the priority for Irish and Basque language planners should be to strengthen the language competence of these students and to provide more space for these languages in their social reality in an attempt to encourage and support them in putting their language ability to use. One of the benefits of these channels is their ability to contribute to the existence of an Irish and Basque language public sphere, but also their ability to break in to the English and Castilian public sphere respectively. With these findings in mind the discussion will now turn to the analysis of the empirical findings that expose the relationship between the research participants and minority language television.
6.5 Minority Language Television and Minority Languages

Here, the results of the analysis of the frequency with which Irish and Basque students watch TG4 and ETB-1 respectively are presented. The section first examines how the students engage with their relevant minority language television channel by offering an examination of the factors that affect students’ viewing of the relevant channel. An analysis of how the programming broadcast on these channels impacts on the levels of viewership is also presented. There are two important findings included herein. These include the significance of the presence of Basque on local television in the BAC and the significance of the previously discussed Hector Factor for the Irish participants.

6.5.1 Minority language television viewership

The frequency with which the research participants watch their respective minority language television stations is presented in Figure 6.13.

![Figure 6.13 Minority language television viewership amongst students](image)

The data presented in the above figure show that daily viewership of the particular minority language television station is more frequent amongst the Basque participants than it is amongst the Irish participants. The number of students who watch ETB-1 on a daily basis reaches 30%, where as in the Irish data only 11.5% of students reported that they watched TG4 on a daily basis. However, the number of Basque students who reported that they never watch ETB-1 is higher (14.3%) than the number of Irish students who reported the same (9.3%). The findings of the Basque data are in line with those of Lasagabaster (2007) who found that 13.1% of the students who participated in his study never watch television in Basque. One possible reason for the
disparity in terms of viewership of these channels is related to the language policies of the stations. Although both channels appeal to both first and second language Irish and Basque speakers alike, ETB-1’s level of attractiveness is limited given its policy of broadcasting in Batua only. There is much evidence in the Basque qualitative data that indicates the level of dissatisfaction with the service ETB-1 provides the students, which stems from the Batua-only policy of the channel. One participant commented that: ‘No me gusta ETB-1 porque emite sólo Batua y Batua es la lengua del aula no de la calle’. The policy of bilingual broadcasting on TG4 would suggest that students who reported watching TG4 on a daily basis might watch programming in either English or Irish. An analysis of the relevant data demonstrates that of those students who watch TG4 on a daily basis the majority watch programming in Irish. Interestingly those who reported watching TG4 weekly and occasionally were predominately tuning into specific programming. A frequency list of the type of programming the Irish students reported watching is presented in Table 6.12. It identifies *Amú le Hector* as the most frequently cited programme, which further exemplifies the significance of the Hector Factor previously discussed in chapter three.

Table 6.12 Frequency list of programming watched on TG4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hector</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ros na Run</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage and history</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sport</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soaps</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comedies</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fashion</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiorsceal</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Current affairs</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>43.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>56.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a number of factors that may influence the moderate levels of frequent viewing of TG4 and ETB-1. One such factor is the extent to which the individual student understands the programming broadcast in their particular minority language. Given that the research is based on students who have Irish and Basque as a second language it is reasonable to suggest that this factor may affect levels of viewership of television in Irish and Basque. Figure 6.14 demonstrates levels of comprehension of the programmes that these cohorts watch.
It is interesting to note that 34.9% of the Irish cohort report that they need English language subtitles in order to understand the programmes that they watch in Irish. An investigation of Irish questionnaire item (30) What is your opinion on subtitles?, revealed that a total of 81.4% of the Irish participants saw the use of subtitles as positive. One of the major disadvantages of subtitles is how they interfere aesthetically with a television programme, yet only 7% of the Irish cohort found subtitles irritating. It was interesting to probe the students on this issue in the informal interviews and the Irish focus group as the students had many opinions as to why subtitles enhanced the service that TG4 offers. In the informal interview and focus group stage it became apparent that although, many of the Irish students felt that the subtitling on TG4 was not of good quality, they would not have tuned into as much Irish-language programming without them. Both the respondents in Ireland and in the BAC were against dubbing because they found it irritating and boring, with one Basque student making the following statement in the Basque focus group:

*FGBM1: Es aceptable dentro de sus limitaciones, por ejemplo cosas como ver una película doblada en euskera, es horroroso porque el doblaje es bastante mal, siempre son las mismas voces, pues allí no hay remedios (...)*

As has been previously mentioned, the language policy of ETB-1 of broadcasting in Batua was an issue for many of the students. There is evidence in the research to suggest that students consider the use of Batua off-putting, with one participant...
drawing attention to the fact that for many of the presenters on ETB-1 to speak Batua was not natural to them and they often use some sort of bizarre mixture between their own variety of Basque and Batua. However, there are also data to demonstrate that some participants were sympathetic to the impossibility of catering for speakers of all the different varieties of Basque on only one channel. A discussion in the focus group produced some interesting results to this effect, with one student arguing that it would be impossible for ETB-1 to cater for everybody:

FGBM2: Pero está bien, porque si tenéis que dirigir a los que saben vizcaína o a los que hablan Batua será un desastre. (...) si habrá un programa de ETB-1 que habla más en vizcaína igual me cuesta entenderlo.

The presence of Basque on local television was identified as a recurring theme throughout the qualitative data, with many students commenting on how a presence on these channels helps to cater for speakers of the various varieties of Basque. Stations such as Durango Telebista and Canal Euskadi were very popular amongst the students, with participants saying that they were particularly pleased with being able to watch news bulletins in their own dialect. The presence of Basque on local television is subject to more detailed discussion in the next section.

6.5.2 Minority language programming

In chapter three and four the specific characteristics of TG4 and ETB-1 were outlined. There are many similarities as well as differences between TG4 and ETB-1. One common problem experienced by these minority language television stations is attempting to provide programming to meet the tastes of both Irish and Basque first language and non first-language speakers across all age-groups, while simultaneously trying to maintain an audience level that will ensure that the stations are financial viable. Both channels have highlighted certain genres of programming on which they centre most of their broadcast time. TG4 and ETB-1 focus particularly on children’s and sports programming due the relative inexpensive in the production of such programming. The dubbing of American produced cartoons, such as Dora the Explorer, has proven to be particularly successful for both these channels. Much of the money that remains is spent on producing programming which relates directly to Irish and Basque culture, such as traditional music programming and also on chat
shows. As has been discussed in chapters three and four, the amount of programming broadcast on TG4 and ETB-1 in the respective minority language which is aimed particularly at the 18-25 age-group is limited. In fact in the case of TG4 only one hour per day is broadcast with the specific aim of attracting an audience aged between 15 and 35, ironically the programmes broadcast at this time 18.00-19.00 are in English. In the informal interview stage it became apparent that both the Irish and Basque\textsuperscript{35} participants would like to see more light entertainment and political satire programming aimed at their age profile.

It is evident from an analysis of both the quantitative and qualitative data that both Irish and Basque students were not happy with the type of programming that TG4 and ETB-1 provide for their age-group. The results of the questionnaire item that probed this issue are presented in Figure 6.15.

**Figure 6.15** Is there enough programming on TG4/ETB-1 to meet the needs of the students?

![Bar chart showing responses](image)

As the data presented in Figure 6.15 show, the Basque students were particularly unhappy with the service ETB-1 provides for their age-group. In all 64.8% felt that ETB-1 did not broadcast sufficient programming to meet their needs. Many of the Basque participants commented on the lack of interesting programming for their age-group in the open-ended item 21 in the Basque questionnaire. One student said: "La veo de vez en cuando, muy poco, la programación no me gusta tanto". The\textsuperscript{35} Particular reference was made to the need for a Basque version of *Vaya Semanita*, a political satire programme broadcast on Antena3.

\textsuperscript{35} Particular reference was made to the need for a Basque version of *Vaya Semanita*, a political satire programme broadcast on Antena3.
availability of programming in Basque on other channels does help to fill this gap left by ETB-1. Similar comments were made in the Basque focus group, with one of the male participants highlighting that there is limited choice of what people his age can watch on ETB-1:

FGBM2: Entonces no hay mucha variedad de programas dentro de que su variedad es muy grande, pero por ejemplo un programa que nosotros podemos ver en castellano y lo queremos ver en euskera no podemos porque hay otros programas, como Goenkale, una serie que los jóvenes tienen que ver porque es la única serie que más o menos que tiene personajes jóvenes (..)

The presence of programming on local television stations emerged as important here. One participant commented that she watches local channels because of the lack of sufficient programming on ETB-1: “no hay gran variedad por eso tengo que ver otros canales”. Nevertheless, there is also evidence to suggest that the Basque participants are aware of the difficulty of broadcasting programmes to meet the tastes of all age-groups. One student had the following comment to make in her questionnaire: “Intenta hacer del euskera un lenguaje cotidiano pero es difícil que una sola cadena satisfaga todos los gustos”. It can be argued that students are somewhat forgiving of ETB-1 because the option of watching other programmes in Basque on local television stations exists, an issue that demands further research.

The Irish participants were considerably more positive as regards the amount of programming to meet their needs broadcast on TG4, with 21.3% reporting that they are happy with the service that TG4 provides. One participant also commented that TG4 provided better programming for the 18-25 age-group than the national broadcaster RTÉ did. However, another student commented: “I would like to see more Irish programmes that speak slower and that are geared towards my age-group”. The positive attitude to the programming broadcast on TG4 largely relates to the popularity of the Amú le Hector programming, or to what has been termed as the ‘Hector Factor’. As mentioned in chapter three, there is a cohort of young Irish people, for whom Irish is their second language who have been significantly influenced by Hector. Many references to the ‘Hector Factor’ were found in the Irish data, with one student commenting: “The language is becoming fashionable thanks to
Hector”. Hector has been largely accredited by the press in successfully attracting young people to the Irish-language:

Tá ag éirí ag Hector Ó hEochagáin, láithreoir an chlair ‘Amú Amigos’ ar TG4, daoine a mhealladh i dtreo na Gaeilge nár chuir suim sa teanga ríma cheana.

(Edited by Beo 05/01/03)

However, until now, there has been little firm evidence to support this notion. An analysis of the programming that the Irish students reported watching on TG4 found that Hector’s travel programme, Amú le Hector, was the most popular. In all 51.4% of respondents report Amú as the programme that they watch most frequently on TG4. There is evidence to suggest that the students see Hector as a promoter of the Irish language, with students making comments such as the following from the open-ended item 31 in the Irish questionnaire:

“Programmes such as Amú help promote Irish as it is accessible to many people”

“(…) using people like that Hector guy creates an awareness of the language being ‘cool’”

Amú le Hector was also the programme type that the students would most like to see more of with 22.3% of students supporting it. An important point to mention is that since the Irish data was gathered in 2003/4 there has been a change in TG4’s programming and now the programme that enjoys most support from the 18-25 age-group is Paisean Faisean, a fashion based dating programme. It is estimated by TG4 that the current series of Amú receives about 5.2% audience share, while Paisean Faisean enjoys an audience share of 6.8%36. Indeed in a recent newspaper article37 the presenter of Paisean Faisean, Aoife Ni Thuairisc, was described as encapsulating the ‘TG4 babe’ phenomenon (cf. Kelly-Holmes, 2006). Similarly, journalist Frank McNally makes the following comment with regard to the popular presenter:

“Whenever I watch TG4 these days, I find myself wrestling yet again with the old question: does speaking Irish make you good-looking?”38

It is clear from the discussion offered above that the type of programming that TG4 and ETB-1 broadcast is one of the main obstacles to frequent viewership by the 18-25 year old cohort. But what has to be seen as a positive is that these students do watch

36 Figures obtained from TG4 audience researcher Dave Moore, 12/07/06.
37 Go maith: More speak Chinese that Irish’ by Fiona Looney Sunday Tribune 13/02/06.
38 An Irishman’s Diary, Irish Times, 4/10/06 p.17.
these television stations and furthermore, as is evidenced by the case of Basque, they will avail of other opportunities to engage with programming in Basque. The following section examines how watching TG4 and ETB-1 actually affect the language ideology and language practices of these students.

6.6 Minority Language Television and Language Ideology
The majority of the Irish and Basque participants report that they watch TG4 and ETB-1 with some degree of frequency. The data analysed here demonstrate how watching these minority language channels has had a positive effect on the language practices and language ideology of the research participants. First, an analysis of how watching these channels impacts on language use is provided. Secondly, an examination of the data that supports the notion that watching minority language television has a positive impact on language ideology and language attitudes is offered.

6.6.1 Minority language television and language use
As is mentioned in the preceding section, frequent levels of TG4 and ETB-1 viewership are moderate. In spite of this, the data show that watching television in Irish and Basque has had a positive effect on the use of Irish and Basque as perceived by the respective cohort. There is evidence from both the Irish and Basque data to show that the students either speak more or would like to speak more of their respective minority language as a result of watching TG4 and ETB-1. Nonetheless, there is great disparity in terms of the direct effect on frequency of use between the Irish and Basque cases. The results of the relevant questionnaire item, which are illustrated in Figure 6.16, clearly show that the effect on the Basque students' language practices was much more significant.
As is evident in the above figure, a total of 41.2% of the Basque respondents claim that their use of Basque has increased as a result of watching ETB-1, while a mere 12.5% of the Irish participants reported an increase in their frequency of Irish use as a result of watching TG4. Despite the fact that there are a number of reasons which may account for these discrepancies, two factors were deemed significant here. Firstly, ETB-1 is a much more established television channel than TG4. ETB-1 has always formed part of the television reality of the Basque participants, whereas TG4 was only seven years old when the Irish data was gathered. Secondly, the differences in terms of the language policies of the channels can also be offered as an explanation for these variations in effecting language use. Given that ETB-1 broadcasts only in Basque many of the Basque participants saw the channel as a language-learning tool. For example, one student commented: "La veo mucho menos que los demás, pero a veces la pongo para seguir ejercitando en euskera". Comparatively, there was no reference to TG4 fulfilling such a function in the Irish data.

Neither the Irish nor the Basque questionnaire examined to what extent the reported increases in language use occurred. However, there is evidence from the qualitative research which helps to fill this gap. The data from the media/language diaries and the focus groups suggest that the increases in language use relate to an increase in frequency of use with particular interlocutors. In both cases students reported an increase in the use of their respective minority language with the interlocutor with whom they watched TG4 and ETB-1. Furthermore, as the below excerpt from the Irish focus group shows, students also reported an increase in the use of certain words and phrases they had acquired from watching TG4.
FGIR: Most of you said that you use Irish more as a result of watching TG4, what do you mean by this?

FGIF3: I suppose for me, it's just that it reminds me that I can speak it. I wouldn't say that I use it everyday or anything.

FGIF: I think it can help you learn new words like the other day I was watching Pop TG4 with Sharon, my flatmate, when describing how to enter a competition they were running the presenter used the word fon poca. We had never heard it before and we thought it was hilarious, a pocket phone! And now we keep saying that we'll call each other on the fon poca. Its such a great word.

For the Basque students watching television in Basque often served to remind them of their ability to actually use the language. In an informal interview a respondent commented that she would switch to speaking Basque if the person with whom she was watching ETB-1 could speak it also. She said that it reminded her that: “El euskera es una lengua como cualquier otro castellano, inglés y hay que usarlo”. In the Irish case, students showed an awareness of the potential of TG4 to positively impact on language practices. One student made the following comment in her questionnaire: “It shows the language is not dead. Yes it makes people aware that Irish is alive, that people speak it and that it is acceptable to speak it”. In fact there are several references in the Irish data to TG4 functioning as a lifeline for the Irish language: “The usage of Irish on the channel has killed rumours of an imminent death of Irish”. There is also reference to TG4 helping to create an Irish-language speech community, with one participant commenting that the channel “(...) gives people who are not living in the Gaeltacht access to Irish”. Similarly, one of the participants in the Irish focus group argued: “TG4 is great that way, unless you are living in a Gaeltacht your exposure to the language would be very limited”.

6.6.2 Minority language television and language ideology

The evidence to show that TG4 and ETB-1 positively impact on students’ language ideology manifests itself in three ways. First, the presence of Irish and Basque in the media consolidates a sense of Irishness and Basqueness amongst the research participants. Secondly, the existence of these channels has shown the students that Irish and Basque are capable of functioning in contemporary society. Thirdly, the participants see these channels as positive promoters of the language and as contributing to a change in the public perception of the Irish and Basque languages.
An analysis of the Irish questionnaire item, ‘do you think TG4 promotes Irish?’, and the equivalent Basque questionnaire item, ‘¿Piensas que ETB 1 está promocionando la lengua euskera?’, revealed that in both contexts students view their respective minority language television channel as an important tool for the promotion of their minority languages. This is exemplified in Figure 6.17 where it is shown that 94.5% of the Irish cohort and 81% of the Basque cohort agreed with the aforementioned questionnaire items.

![Figure 6.17 Do TG4 and ETB-1 promote Irish and Basque?](image)

As is evident through the data from the open-ended sections of both questionnaires presented below, the presence of Irish and Basque on television has helped to create an increased awareness of the usefulness of these languages amongst the student population. Students made the following observations:

- *It has made the language accessible to all people and has helped to initiate people’s interest in the language again.*
- *Porque hace ver que vivir en euskera en la sociedad actual es posible.*

The presence of Irish and Basque on television has had a clear effect on how the students perceive the utility of these languages. By becoming a daily reality within the homes of these young people Irish and Basque have gained important symbolic capital amongst the student cohort.

- *Being made a daily living reality it reminds people that the language is still in existence.*
- *Porque la mejor forma de promocionarlo es hablándolo y más en un medio de comunicación de masas.*
- *Divulga el idioma y lo hace cotidiano.*
TG4 and ETB-1 have had a positive effect on the language practices and language ideology of university students. From the data presented herein it is evident that minority language television represents a very important resource in any effort to revive a minority language, particularly amongst those for whom the given minority language is not their first language.

6.7 Discussion: Research questions four to six
Here the research questions four to six are discussed with regard to the research findings presented in sections 6.5 and 6.6.

RQ. 4: What are the views of these students on their respective minority language television station namely TG4 and ETB-1?
As is evident from the discussion offered in section 6.5.1 the research participants in both the Irish and Basque contexts do watch their particular minority language television station with only 9.3% of the Irish cohort and 14.2% of the Basque cohort reporting that they never watch TG4 and ETB-1 respectively, although the difference between the two cohorts as regards the frequency of viewership is notable. In the Irish context the highest percentage of students (39.7%) reported weekly viewership of TG4, when they tuned into particular programming. While, in the Basque context, daily viewership of ETB-1 was reported by the highest percentage of students (30.4%). The level of comprehension of the language used on TG4 and ETB-1 can be highlighted as one of the most significant factors in accounting for this discrepancy between levels of viewership amongst the respective cohorts. The presence of subtitles in English on programming broadcast in Irish was an important factor in encouraging the Irish participants to watch TG4. It is hypothesised that if TG4 were to remove the English language subtitling it would affect the level of viewership of the channel amongst non first-language speakers of Irish. In the case of Basque, it can be concluded that the presence of Batua on ETB-1 is important to the promotion of the language amongst language learners. The presence of other varieties of Basque on local television stations in the BAC helps to compensate for the over-reliance on the standard form of the language on ETB-1. Overall, it can be said that both TG4 and ETB-1 enjoy moderate levels of viewership amongst 18-25 year old university students who are not first language Irish or Basque speakers. A more in-depth account
as to how these students engage with specific programming on these minority language television stations is provided below in answer to research question five.

**RQ. 5: Do these students feel that TG4 and ETB-1 provide enough quality programming to satisfy their respective programming preferences?**

The fact that a limited number of Irish and Basque students reported never watching their respective minority language television channel is indicative of the success of these channels. However, frequent viewership of these channels remains quite moderate, even though the number of students who reported daily and weekly viewership of these channels was higher than those anticipated by this researcher. In both cases the lack of sufficient programming was identified as the main reason for students’ infrequent watching of TG4 and ETB-1 respectively. Participants in both contexts were not content with programming that TG4 and ETB-1 provide in order to satisfy their respective programming preferences, although this is notably more so in the Basque data. To a certain degree this lack of satisfaction with the programming was not surprising, given that both these channels have chosen to focus on children’s and sports programming. It is important to note that the Irish participants were more content with the service TG4 offers them, with the Hector Factor coming into play. Contrary to the Irish case, the Basque participants were not satisfied with the type of programming broadcast for their age-group on ETB-1. Nonetheless evidence was found of a level of satisfaction with programming on local television stations. Hence the importance of expanding the presence of Irish and Basque to other television stations and other media is highlighted. Levels of viewership of TG4 and ETB-1 are moderately high, with only a minority of students reporting that they never watched TG4. Nevertheless, viewership remains moderate due to a lack of sufficient programming to meet the needs of the students. In the Irish context, TG4 has implemented programming specifically aimed at the 18-25 year age-group since the data was gathered. It would be interesting for future research to examine how the change to TG4’s programming schedule has affected audience levels.
RQ. 6: How do the research participants perceive the effects of watching television in Irish and Basque on their language ideology and language practices?

The relationship between minority language television and the change in the language ideology and language practices is central to this thesis. The research shows that Irish and Basque students feel that TG4 and ETB-1 help improve the attitudes of the general population to the relative minority language through their promotion of the language, which is indicative of the effect of minority language television on language ideology. As the data presented in 6.6 demonstrate there is evidence from the research to show that watching television in a minority language has a positive impact on language practices. While a significant proportion of students in both contexts report that they would like to increase their frequency of use of their respective minority language, it is the Basque respondents who reported a more direct effect on their use of the language. However, it is only possible to refer to these changes as perceived effects, as the data are all based on self-reporting by the both sets of students. It is likely that the students perceive the effect of watching minority language television on their language ideology and language practices to be greater than what the actual effects would be. These issues are discussed in further detail and with regard to Spolsky’s (2004) theory of language policy and Shohamy’s (2006) expanded view of language policy in chapter seven.

It can be argued, that from the point of view of the students, watching their respective minority language television station has a positive impact on their language attitudes, language ideology and language practices. The importance of these television channels to the extension of Irish and Basque speech communities was also noted.

6.8 Summary of Findings

Here the research findings are summarised with regard to Strubell’s Catherine Wheel Model. It has been argued in chapter two that Strubell’s model, because of its emphasis on the need for continuous efforts on behalf of a minority language in order to ensure its revitalisation, offers a better model than Fishmans’ G.I.D. scale. Drawing on the results of this research Figure 6.18, in its adaptation of Strubell’s model, illustrates how beneficial the presence of minority languages on television is to the revitalisation of the Irish and Basque languages.
1. Consumption of minority language television
The results of this study show that Irish and Basque university students watch their respective minority language television station, although as the result of research question four revealed frequent viewership is moderate. The Basque respondents did report watching local television channels that broadcast programming in the dialect particular to a given region, for example, Durango Telebista.

2. Greater perception of the usefulness of minority languages
There is evidence from the research findings that the presence of Irish and Basque on their respective minority language television stations has greatly influenced the perception of the usefulness of these languages amongst university students. By presenting a public arena in which these languages are used, the research participants see languages as being capable of functioning outside of the educational setting. There is evidence in the questionnaire data to suggest that students see Irish and Basque as being hip and cool languages as a result of their presence on the television medium.
3. Greater motivation to learn and to use the minority language
The data demonstrate that there is more motivation amongst the students to learn and use Irish and Basque as a direct result of watching TG4 and ETB-1 respectively. As Figure 6.16 has shown there is more use of Basque from watching ETB-1, while in the Irish context students reported a desire to further their use of the language. The data also show that the presence of Irish and Basque on these channels has expanded the domains of language use. Particularly striking in the Irish data is the increase in the use of Irish in social domains as a result of watching TG4.

4. More learning of the minority language
The research findings show that TG4 and ETB-1 aid the diffusion of new terminology in Irish and Basque, with many of the Irish participants in the qualitative data reporting an increase in their acquisition of new vocabulary. The absence of a dedicated language-learning programme on both channels is notable, particularly when there is evidence from previous research to show the benefits of the existence of such programming. Gardner (1998), for example, demonstrates how the specific language-learning programme broadcast on S4C has been particularly beneficial in increasing the language competence of Welsh language-learners. However, both TG4 and ETB-1 have indicated that language-learning programming does not fall within their broadcasting remit, although the inclusion of English language subtitles on TG4 is advantageous to language learners.

5. More demand for goods and services in the minority language
The influence of minority language television on the demand for goods and services in Irish and Basque is also evident in the data. The students from both contexts highlighted the demand for more of certain types of programming. On a more general level, the existence of both television stations has increased the demand for media services offered in Irish and Basque respectively. As was previously mentioned in chapter three, there is now more demand for media services in Irish as a result of the success of TG4. For example, the provision of services for young adults in Raidió na Gaeltachta, Anocht FM, has to be seen as progressive. Similarly, the move to provide an all-Irish language youth radio station was created in an effort to meet the needs of the Hector generation. The
dramatic increase in the presence of Basque on local television stations reflects the demand for more media services in Basque.

6. Increase in the supply of media goods and services in the minority language
It is not possible to quantify exactly how the existence of TG4 and ETB-1 has led to an increase in the supply of general goods and services in Irish and Basque respectively. It is possible, however, to show that the foundation of these television channels has led to significant increases in the supply of media goods and services in both these languages. The existence of ETB-1 has led to an increase in the supply of other media in the Basque language. The most relevant here are the previously mentioned local television stations. Channels such as Durango Telebista emerged as a direct response to the lack of local dialects on ETB-1 and the desire amongst Basque speakers to receive at the very least a news broadcast in their own language variety. Similarly, the onset of TG4 has led to increases in media services available in Irish. The growth in television production has been particularly strong as well as the growth in the dubbing of major films such as, *Harry Potter agus an Seomra Diamhair* (cf. O'Connell, 2003).

The above adaptation of Strubell’s Catherine Wheel Model serves to confirm the idea presented herein that minority language television stations serve to change people’s perception of the usefulness of minority languages and also affect their language ideology and language practices. The very existence of a television service in a minority language aids the status of any given minority language. In today’s society school-goers are multiliterate therefore it is not sufficient to simply to concentrate on reading and writing skills in minority languages. There is a need to encourage spoken use and visual literacy. In this regard the incorporation of minority language television into the language classroom would be particularly beneficial. Indeed the pilot test of incorporating the Irish language soap opera *Ros na Rún* in the fourth year cycle of the second level educational system was very successful (see section 3.5). Certainly, the fun uses of minority languages that come from television need to be incorporated in to other aspects of a language policy.
6.9 Conclusion

Undoubtedly, the data presented in this chapter has shed light on issues that need to be addressed in Irish and Basque language policy. The results of this research presented and analysed in this chapter indicate that there is a clear need to extend contact with the Irish and Basque language beyond school. The lack of space for these languages outside of the educational system is a huge stumbling block to continued language revitalisation, particularly amongst those who are not first language Irish and Basque speakers. However, television in Irish and Basque does have an important role to play here. It is evident from the data that minority language television has a significant impact on the perceived language ideology and language practices of those who would otherwise have no contact with Irish and Basque after compulsory education. The findings of this research also indicate that the failure to see language revitalisation as an on-going process is of little benefit to any minority language.

While this chapter has provided an answer to the six research questions that underline this thesis, the overall objective of the research was to discover whether minority language television can be viewed as a mechanism of language policy. This issue forms the basis of the succeeding chapter, where the results of this analysis are also discussed with regard to the theoretical framework that underpins this thesis.
CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion
7.0 Overview

While there is a reasonably large body of previous research (cf. Cormack and Hourigan, 2007; Androutsopolous, 2006; Kelly-Holmes, 2005) which combines the disciplines of sociolinguistics, minority language and media studies, the manner in which the availability of media in minority languages affects language ideology and practices has remained relatively unexplored. In this study, the nature of the relationship between minority language television and university students, who are not first-language speakers of Irish and Basque, has been investigated. The results show that in the case of Irish and Basque, minority language television is a particularly valuable asset to language revitalisation amongst non first-language Irish and Basque speakers. The aim of this chapter twofold. Firstly, it will discuss the implications of the research findings for the research objective, which was to examine whether minority language television can be identified as an effective mechanism of language policy. Here the results are discussed with regard to Shohamy’s (2006) expanded view of language policy. The second aim of this chapter is provide a conclusion to the thesis. This begins by revisiting the research questions. The findings of the research are then discussed in relation to the theoretical framework on language policy put forward by Spolsky (2004). In doing so the major contributions of this research to the current thinking in the field are acknowledged. Furthermore, in identifying some of the limitations of the present study, this chapter points out some of the implications of the study for future research.

7.1 Minority Language Television: A mechanism of language policy?

The aim of this section is to outline to what extent minority language television can be identified as an effective mechanism of language policy, which was the main objective of this research. As the debate in chapter two identified (cf. section 2.3.2), for Shohamy (2006: 53-57), language policy manifests itself through the language used in the public sphere as well as through overt policy documents. She argues that mechanisms of language policy are capable of turning language ideologies into practice and therefore form part of her expanded view of language policy. The notion originates from the view that a mechanism serves to affect, manipulate and impose *de facto* language practices in a covert way. She argues that it is via a variety of language mechanisms that ideology can affect language practices. The findings of this research indicate that this explanation of the concept of language mechanism is applicable to
Irish and Basque language television channels. The increased presence of Irish and Basque in their respective linguistic environments because of the establishment of TG4 and ETB-1 respectively has affected the language ideologies and language practices as reported by the research participants. As has been demonstrated in answering research question 6, *How do the research participants perceive the effects of watching television in Irish and Basque on their respective language ideologies and language practices?*, watching minority language television has impacted on language ideology, which in turn has led to a perceived change in the language practices of university students who are not first-language speakers of Irish and Basque respectively.

However, an important issue of concern arises from the observation made above. TG4 and ETB-1 can be described as important mechanisms of language policy with regard to the research participants who are not first-language Irish and Basque speakers. Yet the extent to which these television channels can be identified as such for the overall population, including first language and non first-language speakers of Basque and Irish alike, is an issue that demands further investigation. There is a significant difference between the two contexts in this regard. In the case of Basque, ETB-1 formed part of a number of policy strategies put in place by the Basque government in the initial years of autonomy to reverse Basque language shift. The presence of Basque on television along with the increases in services available in the language formed part of wider efforts undertaken to promote RLS. Other efforts include policies such as the previously discussed language acquisition policy of RLS via the educational system, policies undertaken to spread the standardised form of the language and those undertaken to alter the realities of the linguistic market such as the recognition of the language as an official language within the BAC. The fact that the number of people who speak Basque has increased in the thirty-year period since Franco’s death is a result of the combination of all these efforts. Garmendia (1993) estimates that there was an increase of 95,000 Basque speakers in the ten-year period from 1981 to 1991 alone. ETB-1 has had some role to play in the process, but as part of a wider movement.
As has been argued in chapter three (cf. section 3.4), the Irish government has entered into a third phase of its approaches to Irish language policy and planning. Like ETB-1, TG4 is just one aspect of a series of acts, which have been undertaken to revitalise the Irish language in the last ten years. Other efforts, include the increase in spending on primary and secondary level Gaelscoileanna and the Official Languages Act (2003). Nonetheless, the perception of TG4 as being the driving force behind the more positive outlook for the Irish language is one that is put forward by the media. For example, *The Irish Times* journalist Farrel Corcoran recently wrote “in the last ten years TG4 clearly has repositioned the Irish language in the cultural life of the country” (*The Irish Times*, 31/10/06: 20). As the results of this research show, TG4 is changing the perception of the language, but it has to be seen as part of the wider movement that is aiming to improve the situation of the Irish language, rather than the catalyst of this change.

However, it is important to emphasise the fact that in the context of this research TG4 and ETB-1 can be identified as effective mechanisms of language policy. The presence of Irish and Basque on these television channels has impacted on language ideology and language practices as reported by the research participants.

### 7.2 Research Questions Revisited

The findings reported in this thesis are brought to a conclusion by returning to the research questions posed in section 1.3. Table 7.1 identifies these central research questions:
Table 7.1 Research questions revisited

| RQ1 | What attitudes do non-first language Irish and Basque speaking university students exhibit to their respective minority language? |
| RQ2 | Is there any significant difference between the level of support these students exhibit to their respective minority language, expressed through their language attitudes, and the level of actual support they provide Irish and Basque through their language practices? |
| RQ3 | Has the students’ perception of their ability in Irish and Basque changed since they completed compulsory education? |
| RQ4 | What are the views of these students on their respective minority language television station namely TG4 and ETB-I? |
| RQ5 | Do these students feel that TG4 and ETB-I provide enough quality programming to satisfy their respective programming preferences? |
| RQ6 | How do the research participants perceive the effects of watching television in Irish and Basque on their respective language ideologies and language practices? |

As the discussion in chapter 6.4 identified, with regard to research questions one and two, both the Irish and Basque research students exhibit a positive language attitude to their respective minority language, but this is not being transferred into an increased use of Irish and Basque. Section 6.4 also indicates that the rate of language attrition amongst these students is high once contact with Irish and Basque via compulsory education ceases. Similarly, with regard to research questions four to six, section 6.7 outlined that the university students who were involved in this study held positive views about their respective minority language television stations. The students saw TG4 and ETB-I as expanding the domains in which they came into contact with their respective minority language. The most negatively held views towards these channels were in relation to the lack of sufficient programming to meet the programming preferences of the research participants. The Basque participants identified the presence of Basque on local television as an important alternative to ETB-I. The type of programming broadcast on these channels was satisfying the viewing preferences of some of the participants. The results of research question six were also significant in allowing the research aim and objective to be met.
Overall, the research results show that the availability of minority languages on the television medium has the potential to affect both the language ideology and language practices of the research participants. The participants are more positive as regards the usefulness of the Irish and Basque languages. It can therefore be said that this research has accomplished the research objective of filling the gap in the research identified by Cormack (2003:1) (cf. section 1.1); by showing that in the case of TG4 and ETB-1 minority language television can be effective in efforts to revitalise minority languages. The aim of the next section is to discuss the significance of these findings in relation to the language policy theoretical framework which underlines this thesis namely Spolsky’s (2004) language policy theory.

7.3 Language Policy and Minority Language Television

The debate presented in chapter two places Spolsky’s (2004) thinking on language policy, along with Shohamy’s (2006) expanded view of language policy, very much at the forefront of current thinking in language policy studies. The aim here is to discuss the research findings in relation to the three key components of a language policy as identified by Spolsky (2004) namely language ideology, language practices and language management. The discussion will begin by analysing the effect of minority language television on language ideology and language practices of the research participants in the light of the research findings.

7.3.1 Language ideology

As the discussion in chapter two identified, within the context of this research language ideology refers to the shared beliefs about Irish and Basque held by the research participants, beliefs that are underpinned by certain social and cultural values. TG4 and ETB-1 have affected the language ideology of the Irish and Basque university students who took part in this study. Both of these television stations were identified by the participants as being important promotional tools for Irish and Basque respectively. A number of students involved in both the Irish and Basque in-depth study reported that watching TG4 and ETB-1 had impacted on their language ideology by increasing the relevance of these languages to their lives, although this is a factor more evident in the Irish case than in the Basque case. The Irish participants felt that the presence of the language on TG4 has improved the overall perception of the usefulness of the language in contemporary Irish society. In addition, the fact that
the majority of both the Irish (65.8%) and Basque (62.5%) participants felt it would be devastating for these languages if TG4 and ETB-I ceased broadcasting suggests that these stations do impact positively on the language ideology of this research cohort. Furthermore, it has to be noted that the subtitling policies of TG4 and ETB-I may also be affecting language ideology by increasing the presence of Irish and Basque in the linguistic landscape.

7.3.2 Language practices

Spolsky (2004) defined language practice, as the manner in which individuals use any language in their repertoire. As the data presented and analysed in chapter six has shown, watching these minority language television channels has had a positive effect on the language practices of the students. While the Basque students reported a higher level of increase in language use as a result of watching ETB-I (41.2%), a significant percentage of the Irish cohort (12.5%) also reported an increase in their use of the language. However, as the research results show, an increase in language use of the respective minority language is not the only manner in which watching TG4 and ETB-I has impacted on the language practices of the research participants. The data also show that the expansion of these languages into the public arena has been very beneficial, particularly in the case of Irish. As has been previously pointed out, one of the more significant findings in relation to the effect on language practices is the increase in the use of Irish and Basque in the social domain as a direct result of watching TG4 and ETB-I. This differs from previous examinations of Irish and Basque language revitalisation where minority language use was understood to be confined to the more intimate domain of the home and also to the educational domain.

Another way in which minority language television can be identified as influencing language practices is by providing a domain of language learning. Although neither TG4 nor ETB-I broadcast a language-learning programme some qualitative examples emerged in data where students identified the stations as influencing their language competence. In the Basque case, there was an explicit comment as to how ETB-I helps the individual maintain their Basque language skills (cf. section 6.5), while in the Irish case there were a number of examples where students identified TG4 as a medium through which they acquired new terminology in the Irish-language (cf. section 6.5). Similarly, the use of subtitles on TG4 is particularly advantageous to
second language learners, with many of the participants who reported low levels of competence in the language commenting on how they would not be able to understand or watch Irish-language programming without subtitles.

7.3.3 Language management

The main aim of language management, as highlighted by Spolsky (2004), is to affect language ideology and language practices. Taken overall, the results demonstrate that television in minority languages is not just providing a service for minority language use, but it can also be identified as a source of language management because it directly affects the situation of the respective minority language amongst the participants in this research. The first aim of language management is in setting functions for the minority language, thereby altering the domains in which the minority language is used. One of the principal findings of this research is the direct increase in language use in the social domain as a result of watching TG4 and ETB-1. These television channels are achieving the second aim of language management by cultivating the Irish and Basque languages through aiding the dissemination of new terminology (cf. Irish focus group transcription). The research findings also show that TG4 and ETB-1 have helped to increase the level of competence some of these university students have in the language, particularly in the case of TG4.

The discussion within this section has shown the relevance of the research results to Spolsky’s (2004) theory of language policy, while in section 7.1 the relationship between the research findings and Shohmay’s (2006) expanded view of language policy were identified. Indeed, the specific contributions of these findings to the current thinking within the wider discipline of language revitalisation studies form the basis of section 7.4. Prior to offering this discussion it is necessary to highlight some of the implications of the findings of this research with regard to the other theories that underpin this research, namely Bourdieu’s linguistic market and Habermas’ public sphere model. The increase of the presence of these languages in the public sphere, via TG4 and ETB-1, has altered the realities of the individual linguistic markets to which the research participants pertain. TG4 and ETB-1 help to create a micro Irish and Basque language sphere, which is exemplified through the Aifric blog for example. In addition, the presence of these languages on the television medium enables these languages to infiltrate the English and Castilian public spheres. The data
emanating from this research shows that in so doing these minority language television stations have altered the realities of the Irish and Basque linguistic markets. The ‘value’ attached to using these languages has increased amongst the research participants, an issue which is best illustrated by the positive relationship between an increased use of both languages in the social domain and watching the given minority language television station.

### 7.4 Contributions to Current Research

As the aims and objectives of the thesis identified in chapter one suggest, the current research aimed to contribute to research on language revitalisation in two main ways. These include specific information on the current situation of the Irish and Basque languages, on the role of minority language television in the revitalisation of these languages and also more general findings on the current thinking on language policy.

The first goal of the research was to contribute to the research specific to Irish and Basque language revitalisation. The results of the research indicate that there is a need to expand efforts to revitalise both Irish and Basque into domains other than the educational domain. Given that the presence of both languages in schools is central to the survival of these languages, it is perhaps unsurprising that both governments focused their initial efforts to revive Irish and reverse Basque language shift within the educational system. Yet, as has been uncovered by previous research also, Irish and Basque language policy makers have only achieved what was to be expected when efforts to improve the situation of a given minority language have been focused within the educational domain. There is a need to expand contact with these minority languages outside of the school setting. Media in Irish and Basque are contributing to this and, as the results of this research show, this has been of great benefit to the current efforts to revitalise the Irish and Basque languages.

The findings of this research presented herein also contribute to current thinking on language policy. The second interpretation of the research findings serves to confirm the idea put forward by scholars such as Spolsky (2004), Bratt Paulston and Heidemann (2006), and Shohamy (2006), that there is a need for more synergy between top-down and bottom-up language policies. The minority language television stations involved in this research are an example of how such a synergy can benefit
minority languages. As is discussed in chapters three and four respectively, the
campaigns for TG4 and ETB-1 originate from the grass-roots level, yet both
television stations would not have come into being without the backing of the Irish
and Basque governments. The data presented herein demonstrate that the existence of
these minority language television channels coupled with government efforts have
benefited the revitalisation of Irish and Basque amongst these university students by
affecting their language ideology and language practices. It is hoped that the
identification of minority language media as an important element of language policy
may stimulate subsequent research in the field. There are also other significant
practical applications of the research findings. An example of such an application is
the realisation that the data relating to the programming preferences of the young
adults involved in the research is particularly beneficial to those involved in audience
research with TG4 and ETB-1 alike.

7.5 Limitations of the Research
There are two specific ways in which the findings of the present research can be
viewed as limited, namely the research methodology and the research participants.
The specific limitations of the methodology used to carry out the comparative case
studies have been discussed in chapter five, but it is important to note that a number
of potential pitfalls of each of the methods were taken into consideration when
analysing the data. The focus in this section is on the research participants. Due to
involvement in the study being limited to a homogenous group, Humanities students
who were all non first-language speakers of Irish and Basque, it is not possible to
generalise the findings of the research beyond non first-language Irish and Basque
speaking students. Furthermore, given that the participants were all university
students, the data is limited in terms of class and level of education. The participants
in the qualitative research were all good friends therefore there was a need to watch
out for pre-existing group dynamics; a factor that could limit the research findings. In
order to gain a deeper understanding of the situation for the general population there
is a need to extend the research to a heterogeneous sample by extending the study to
include both younger and older members of the population, as well as conducting a
similar study amongst first language Irish and Basque speakers. Similarly, the data is
also limited to a comparison of the Irish and Basque contexts. However, as is
discussed in section 7.6, it would be fruitful to broaden the study to include

comparisons with other sociolinguistic contexts. To extend the study by investigating other forms of media would also help to further validate the research. Nonetheless, these limitations do not disregard the importance of the present study; rather they indicate possible avenues for future research.

7.6 Implications for Further Research

Although the present study has provided insights into the effectiveness of minority language television to the process of language revitalisation amongst university students, there is room for further studies building on the findings presented here. Firstly, as the discussion in section 7.3 identified, it is important to discover whether the findings of the present research are merely attributable to non first-language speakers of Irish and Basque. Thus, a possible area for future research is to expand the study to also include first-language Irish and Basque speakers. At various points throughout the thesis it has been argued that an examination of minority language revitalisation benefits from a comparative perspective. This is clearly the case. However, it would be fruitful to extend the study to incorporate other sociolinguistic contexts. Furthermore, in relation to the Irish and Basque contexts specifically it may also be worthwhile to broaden the study to investigate how watching Ros na Rún and Goenkale on satellite channels affects the language ideology of the Irish and Basque diasporas living in the United States.

A second prospect for future research is to expand the research in order to incorporate other forms of media, including both the traditional broadcast media as well as more contemporary forms of media. The effect of globalisation on the media has led to an increase in the forms of media available in minority languages, thus expanding the possibilities to consume such media. For example, the growth of rap in Sámi on both the radio and internet blog sites has proven to be greatly beneficial to the plight to preserve the language. Amoc, the young Sámi rapper, is popular amongst young adults and children alike (Pietkäninnen 2006). It was also evident through the findings of this research that forms of local media represent an important opportunity for these young adults to come in contact with their minority language. At various points throughout the Basque research there were references made to the importance of local television stations in filling the gap left by ETB-1, with participants emphasising the benefits of such stations in reflecting their individual linguistic reality by broadcasting
programming in their own dialect of Basque. Therefore, it can be argued that an important next step in the research on the benefit of media in minority languages would be to investigate local media rather than continue to focus on more traditional forms of national media, particularly when one takes into consideration the changing global mediascape and the possibilities this is affording minority languages.

Further areas for future research were uncovered indirectly through the research. As the debate offered in sections 3.6 and 4.6 shows both TG4 and ETB-1 do not want to be associated with the Irish and Basque language revitalisation movements, but, as the results of this research show, both television stations clearly are. A deeper investigation as to why the stations have adopted these attitudes would be revealing. Furthermore, research as to how a much more positive minority language ideology can be translated into actual language use is necessary if the role of minority language television in language revitalisation is to reach its true potential.

7.7 Concluding remarks

The central premise of the research undertaken herein was to examine the complex issue of the relationship between minority language media and language revitalisation. The goals of the present study were accomplished by conducting a comparative case study of the Irish and Basque cases. The comparative case research sought both to gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between university students and their respective minority language, as well as to uncover how the existence of minority language television in Irish and Basque can affect the language ideology and language practices of the students. The data presented in this thesis provide an account of the actual situation of the Irish and Basque languages amongst university students. However, the students do provide support through use of the languages. In both cases, use of the minority language still remains low, although it has to be highlighted that the increases in use in the non-traditional domains is particularly encouraging. In this regard the data generated from this research provide important insights into the survival prospects of the Irish and Basque languages.

Overall, the study has shown that minority language television is an effective mechanism of language policy, which has benefited Irish and Basque language revitalisation. The value of minority language television in expanding the domains in
which students come in to contact with minority languages was revealed. Taken overall, the data demonstrate that minority language television in Irish and Basque has enhanced the perception of these languages amongst university students, thus confirming common sense perception of minority language television as an important *de facto* mechanism of language policy.
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Appendix A

Irish Questionnaire
Please insert your personnel details below. This is necessary for research purposes only; the information will be later removed

Name: ____________________________
Age: ______________________________
Gender: ____________________________
Course and Year of Study: ____________________________________________________________
The village/town/city that you are from: __________________________________________________

Are you from?
1. An Irish speaking family
2. A mixture of Irish and English is spoken
3. An English Speaking family

Which of the following were you educated at?
1. A gaelscoil (primary and secondary)
2. A gaelscoil at primary level and an English speaking school at secondary level
3. A gaelscoil at secondary level and an English speaking school at primary level
4. All English speaking schools

-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

The instructions are indicated at the beginning of each section

Section One: Attitudes to Language

Please indicate to what extent you agree with the following statements by ticking the appropriate box

Q.1 Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish-speaking people
   1. Strongly agree  2. agree  3. disagree  4. strongly disagree

Q.2 I like to hear Irish being spoken.
   1. Strongly agree  2. agree  3. disagree  4. strongly disagree

Q.3 I believe it is better for people to speak Irish badly than not at all
   1. Strongly agree  2. agree  3. disagree  4. strongly disagree

Q.4 I would like to see an increase in the use of Irish
   1. Strongly agree  2. agree  3. disagree  4. strongly disagree
Q.5 I would like my children to speak Irish
1. Strongly agree 2. agree 3. disagree 4. strongly disagree

Q.6 There is no need to know Irish as everybody in Ireland speaks English
1. Strongly agree 2. agree 3. disagree 4. strongly disagree

Q.7 I really dislike the Irish language
1. Strongly agree 2. agree 3. disagree 4. strongly disagree

Q.8 It is not up to me to keep the Irish language alive
1. Strongly agree 2. agree 3. disagree 4. strongly disagree

Q.9 Only people in the Gaeltacht are responsible for keeping Irish alive
1. Strongly agree 2. agree 3. disagree 4. strongly disagree

Q.10 Irish is a dead language
1. Strongly agree 2. agree 3. disagree 4. strongly disagree

Section Two: Language Ability
Please tick one of the boxes
Q.11 How well do you think you speak Irish?
1. I speak Irish fluently
2. I speak Irish well, but I do make mistakes
3. I have difficulty communicating in Irish
4. I have no ability in Irish

Q.12 Do you understand spoken Irish?
1. I understand Irish without any difficulty
2. I understand Irish when spoken slowly
3. I have difficulty understanding Irish
4. I don’t understand Irish
Q.13 Has your ability in Irish changed since leaving secondary school?
1. My ability in Irish has improved ☐
2. My ability in Irish has remained the same ☐
3. My ability in Irish has declined ☐
4. I have lost all my Irish ☐
5. Other ☐

Q.14 Can you identify a reason for this? Please comment

Q.15 Do you speak Irish? Please tick appropriately
1. Daily ☐
2. Weekly ☐
3. Less Often ☐
4. Never ☐

Q.16 With whom do you speak Irish? Please tick the relevant box for each group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. always</th>
<th>2. sometimes</th>
<th>3. rarely</th>
<th>4. never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. My family</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. My friends</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. My classmates</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. My lecturers</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.17 Where do you speak Irish? Please tick the relevant box for each setting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1. always</th>
<th>2. sometimes</th>
<th>3. rarely</th>
<th>4. never</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. At home</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. At College/University</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. At work</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Section Two: Irish and the media

Please follow the instructions given

Q.18 How much of your weekly free time do you spend watching television?
Please tick the appropriate box
1. 0-5 Hours
   □
2. 5-15 Hours
   □
3. 15-30 Hours
   □
4. 30+
   □

Q.19 Please Rate the following television stations in order of your preference:
1. RTÉ
   □
2. BBC
   □
3. UTV/ITV
   □
4. Channel 4
   □
5. Sky Sport
   □
6. Tg4
   □
7. Other
   □

Q.20 Do you watch Tg4?
1. Yes □
   2. No □
If yes, do you watch it?
1. Daily
   □
2. Weekly
   □
3. Less Often
   □
4. Never
   □
If no, will you please provide a reason?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

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Q.21 Do you watch any of the following? **Please tick appropriately**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Ros na Rún</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Amú (Hector)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. Nuacht</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>D. Movie an Lae</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Cómhrá</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F. Spórt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G. Pop Tg4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If you have ticked other please specify the programme _______________________

Q.22 As a result of watching Tg4, which of the following statements best describe your use of the Irish language? **Please tick one box**

1. I speak more Irish  
2. I wish I were able to speak more Irish  
3. I still speak very little Irish  
4. I still don't use Irish

Q.23 Do you watch Irish language programmes on?  
1. Yes          2. No

If yes please indicate which channel(s)

1. RTÉ 1  
2. Network 2  
3. BBC  
4. UTV  
5. Other

Q.24 Do any of your friends watch Tg4?  
1. Yes  2. No  I don't know

If yes, how often?  
1. Daily  
2. Weekly
3. Less Often

4. Never

Q.25. Do any of your friends watch Irish language programmes on other channels?
   1. Yes  
   2. No  
   3. I don’t know  

   If yes, please list the name(s) of the programme(s) that they watch?

Q.26 Would you discuss Irish language programmes that you have watched? (on Tg4 or other channels) Please tick the relevant box for each section

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Socially</th>
<th>Privately</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>Neither</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. With family</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td>B. With friends</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. With classmates</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. I would not discuss them</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q.27 Are there sufficient Irish language programmes to suit your age group on Tg4 in particular? Please tick one box

   1. Yes, there are sufficient programmes ☐
   2. Tg4 provides reasonable well for my age group ☐
   3. Tg4 doesn’t provide enough programming for my age group ☐
   4. Tg4 programming is too young/too old for me ☐
   5. Other ☐

Q.28 Is there any particular Irish language programme that you would like to see more of?
   1. Yes ☐
   2. No ☐

   If, yes please give details

Q.29 Do you understand the Irish language programmes that you watch? Please tick one box

   1. I understand all the Irish language programmes that I watch ☐
   2. I understand only some of the Irish language programmes ☐
   3. I need subtitles to understand Irish language programmes ☐
4. I do not understand any Irish language programmes

Q.30 What is your opinion on subtitles? Please tick one box
   1. I like them as they help me to understand the programme(s)
   2. The presence of the subtitles has no impact on me
   3. I find subtitles irritating
   4. I would watch more programmes on Tg4 if there weren’t any subtitles

Q.31 Do you think that Tg4 helps promote the Irish language?
   1. Yes √  2. No

Please give details
____________________________________________________________________

Q.32. If Tg4 ceased to exist, do you feel that? Please tick one box
       1. It would be a huge blow to the language
       2. It would affect only a small percentage of the population
       3. The programmes on other channels are sufficient anyway
       4. There was no need for the station in the first place

If you would be willing to take part in phase 2 of this research please tick the box provided

I would like to take this opportunity to thank you for your cooperation.
Appendix B
Basque Questionnaire
Le agradezco mucho que dedique parte de su tiempo a rellenar este cuestionario. Las preguntas que se le formulen tienen como objeto recoger sus actitudes hacia el euskera, la situación sociolingüística actual de Euskadi y el papel de la televisión en euskera en el mantenimiento de la lengua. Constituyen parte de una investigación para la tesis doctoral de la autora.

¿Cómo contestar?
El cuestionario consta de tres partes. En la mayoría de las preguntas se proponen varias respuestas. En tal caso usted deberá indicar la casilla que se corresponda con la respuesta que elija. Existen también algunas preguntas abiertas y, en ese caso, deberá tratar de responder con sus propias palabras en el espacio blanco.

Para que los resultados del cuestionario sean válidos le pido que responda con la mayor precisión posible a cada una de las preguntas.

Mila Esker/Muchas Gracias
Máiréad Moriarty
Aunque le pido información personal, el anonimato de sus respuestas está garantizado. La información es necesaria para el análisis de los datos.

Nombre y Apellidos: __________________________________________
Fecha de Nacimiento: __________________________
Sexo: ________________
E-mail: __________________________
Curso de estudio: __________________________________________

Lugar de nacimiento
__________________________________________________________

Lugar de nacimiento de sus padres
__________________________________________________________

¿Dónde vives ahora?
__________________________________________________________

Lengua hablada en casa:
Siempre euskera    ☐
Casi siempre euskera ☐
Tanto euskera, como castellano ☐
Casi siempre castellano ☐
Siempre castellano ☐
Otra (s) ☐ Nómbrela(s)

¿Dónde fue a la escuela?: ______________________________________

¿Cómo era el modelo de educación al que asistió?
Modelo A- Español como lengua de enseñanza y euskera como asignatura ☐
Modelo B- Las dos como lenguas de enseñanza ☐
Modelo D- Euskera como lengua de enseñanza y español como asignatura ☐
Modelo X- Español sólo ☐
**Sección 1: Actitudes hacia la lengua**

Por favor indique la casilla que mejor refleje su postura ante las siguientes afirmaciones

1. Euskadi no sería Euskadi sin el euskera
   - Totalmente de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - En desacuerdo
   - Totalmente en desacuerdo

2. Me gusta escuchar a la gente hablar en euskera
   - Totalmente de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - En desacuerdo
   - Totalmente en desacuerdo

3. Es mejor que la gente hable el euskera mal a que nunca lo hable
   - Totalmente de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - En desacuerdo
   - Totalmente en desacuerdo

4. Me gustaría que el uso del euskera en la calle aumentara
   - Totalmente de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - En desacuerdo
   - Totalmente en desacuerdo

5. Quiero que mis futuros hijos hablen euskera
   - Totalmente de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - En desacuerdo
   - Totalmente en desacuerdo

6. Todo el mundo habla castellano, no hay necesidad de saber euskera
   - Totalmente de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - En desacuerdo
   - Totalmente en desacuerdo

7. El euskera es la lengua nacional de la nación Euskadi
   - Totalmente de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - En desacuerdo
   - Totalmente en desacuerdo

8. La lengua vasca no aporta nada a la cultura vasca
   - Totalmente de acuerdo
   - De acuerdo
   - En desacuerdo
   - Totalmente en desacuerdo
9. El euskera corre el peligro de morir
Totalmente de De acuerdo En desacuerdo Totalmente en desacuerdo
acuerdo □ □ □ □

10. Es necesario usar euskera en todas las ocasiones posibles aunque haya algunas personas que no lo entiendan
Totalmente de De acuerdo En desacuerdo Totalmente en desacuerdo
acuerdo □ □ □ □

Sección 2: Conocimiento y uso de la lengua
Por favor señale la casilla adecuada

2(a) Conocimiento

11. Usted diría que en general su conocimiento del euskera es:
   1. Excelente □
   2. Muy bien □
   3. Bien □
   4. Regular □
   5. Mal □

12. Conocimiento del euskera:
   Perfecto Bien Con Dificultad Nada
   Lo habla □ □ □ □
   Lo entiende □ □ □ □
   Lo lee □ □ □ □
   Lo escribe □ □ □ □

13. ¿Su conocimiento de la lengua euskera ha aumentado en la universidad?
   Sí □ No □
   ¿Por qué no?

2(b) Uso de la lengua

14. ¿Con cuánta frecuencia mantiene conversaciones en euskera?
1. Una vez o más al día
2. Una vez o más a la semana
3. Menos frecuencia
4. Nunca

15. ¿Ahora habla más euskera que antes de venir a la universidad?
   Sí   No

¿Por qué no?

16. ¿Utiliza el euskera para comunicarse con los siguientes grupos?
1. Familia
2. Amigos
3. Compañeros de clase
4. Compañeros de piso
5. Profesores

17. ¿Utiliza usted el euskera en los siguientes ámbitos?
1. En casa
2. En la universidad
3. En el trabajo
4. En la vida social

18. ¿Tiene familia y/o amigos euskaldunes?
   Sí   No
   Familia   Amigos

Si ha marcado si ¿en qué lengua habla con ellos?
1. Siempre en euskera
2. Principalmente en euskera
3. Tanto en euskera como en español
4. Principalmente en español
Sección 3: Euskera y la televisión

19. ¿Cuántas horas ve normalmente la televisión a la semana?
   1. 0-5 Horas
   2. 5-15 Horas
   3. 15-30 Horas
   4. 30-50 Horas
   5. 50 + Horas

20. Según sus gustos, ordene las siguientes cadenas, donde 1 es su favorito:
   1. TVE 1
   2. TVE 2
   3. Antena 3
   4. Tele5
   5. Canal +
   3. ETB 1
   4. ETB 2
   5. Otro(s) ☐ Nombrarlo(s)

21. ¿Mira ETB 1?
   Sí ☐ No ☐

   ¿Por qué no?

22. ¿Mira alguno de los siguientes programas?
   1. Gaur Egun
   2. Cine
   3. Metrópoli
   4. Oporrock
5. Deportivos  ☐
6. Otro(s) programa(s)  ☐
Si ha marcado otro(s), nombrarlo(s):

23. Cómo resultado de mirar ETB 1, ¿cuál de las siguientes afirmaciones describe mejor su uso de la lengua euskera?

1. Hablo más euskera  ☐
2. Me gustaría hablar más euskera, pero no lo hago  ☐
3. Desearía poder hablar más euskera  ☐
4. Todavía hablo poco euskera  ☐
5. No hablo euskera  ☐

24. ¿Hay programas en euskera en otras cadenas que mira?

Sí  ☐  No  ☐
Nombre la(s) cadena(s) _______________________________________

25. ¿Piensa usted que la mayoría de sus amigos miran ETB 1?

1. Sí, cada día  ☐
2. Sí, cada semana  ☐
3. Sí, de vez en cuando  ☐
4. No, nunca  ☐

26. ¿Cree usted que ETB 1 transmite suficientes programas para satisfacer las necesidades de su edad?

1. Sí, hay suficientes  ☐
2. Hay bastantes  ☐
3. No hay suficientes  ☐
4. Los programas que transmite son demasiado juveniles para mí  ☐
5. Los programas que transmite solo son para la gente mayor  ☐
6. Otro  ☐

27. ¿Entiende los programas en euskera que mira?

1. Sí, entiendo todo  ☐
2. Sólo entiendo un poco □
3. Necesitaría subtítulos para entender los programas □
4. No entiendo nada □
5. Otro □

28. ¿Piensa usted que ETB 1 está promocionando la lengua euskera?
   Sí □  No □

¿Porqué?

29. ¿Qué pasaría si mañana ETB 1 dejara de transmitir en euskera?
   1. Sería fatal para la lengua □
   2. Sólo tendría un impacto en un pequeño % de la población □
   3. No tendría ningún impacto, no había ninguna necesidad para la cadena en un primer momento □

Si estás dispuesta a formar parte en el segundo parte de la recerca, por favor señale la casilla.
Appendix C
Irish Media/Language Diary Instructions
INSTRUCTIONS

1. On the first page please put your name, age and course which you are studying here at UL.

ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES

2. When you watch TG4 make a note of the date, the programme you watch, how long the programmes lasts and who is with you when you watch the programme.

3. Comment on the following:
   
   Do you understand the programme that you are watching?
   Do you use Irish when you are watching it?
   Does it make you want to speak Irish more?
   Does it promote the Irish language?

4. Also think about what TG4 could do to improve their service, if anything.

5. What role do you think TG4 is playing in revitalising the Irish language?
Appendix D
Basque Media/Language Diary Instruction
Instrucciones

1. En la primera pagina escribe tu nombre, edad y la carrera que estás estudiando.

En las siguientes paginas
2. Cuando ves a ETB- marca: La fecha, el programa que ves, cuanto tiempo dura el programa y si estas solo o con otra gente.
3. ETB-I y el euskera:
   ¿Entiendes bien el programa a que ves?
   ¿Usas el euskera cuando ves a ETB-I?
   ¿O de hecho de ver ETB-I, te gustaría hablar más euskera?
   ¿Piensas que el programa da buena imagen al euskera?
4. Pensar en:
   ¿Qué puede hacer ETB para mejorar el servicio que ofrece?
   ¿Qué papel tiene la cadena la normalización del euskera?
Appendix E

Consent form: Focus Group (IRL)
This document formalises that you have given consent to the researcher (Máiréad Moriarty) to use the information that you supply in this focus group.

Your participation is voluntary and you may choose not to answer any of the questions that are put to the group.

So that I do not have to write all the answers, this session is going to be recorded and latter transcribed. The anonymity of all involved is guaranteed. No names will be mentioned in the reporting of this research.

Thanks you for your cooperation

Signature:

Date:

Place:

Máiréad Moriarty
May 2004
Appendix F
Focus Group (BAC)
Esto documenta formaliza que has dado tu consentimiento al investigador (Máiréad Moriarty) para utilizar la información que provees en este focus group.

Tu participación es voluntaria y puedes elegir no contestar a cualesquiera de las preguntas que se ponen al grupo. De modo que no tenga que escribir todas las respuestas, esta sesión va a ser grabado y después va a ser transcrita. El anonimato de todos está garantizado. No se mencionará ningunos de los nombres en la divulgación de esta investigación.

Nombre:

Lugar:

Fecha:

Muchísimas gracias por tu cooperación
Máiréad Moriarty
Enero 2005
Appendix G
Irish Focus Group Transcription
FGIR: Firstly I would like to thank you all for agreeing to take part in this focus group. As I explained in the interviews, this focus group is really just an informal chat about how you feel about the Irish language and how you think TG4 has changed the image of the language, both for you and in general. So if I can start by asking you what are your opinions on the Irish language are?

FGIF1: I don’t know really, I guess I don’t have anything against it, but at the same time it wouldn’t really bother me if I never heard it.

FGIF2: Ah, I am kind of fond of the language really. I can’t speak it as well as I was able to before but I do think it is an important part of what makes me Irish, or what makes all of us Irish.

FGIR: Yeah that is true, I remember you making some comment about how your attitude had to Irish changed when you were on Erasmus.

FGIF2: Yeah, I started to use what little Irish I had because it was mainly people from English universities that we were friends with at the start and being able to speak Irish so that they couldn’t understand us was great. It really made me appreciate the fact that I can speak Irish. I felt proud of the language.

FGIM2: I use it when I am on holidays for that reason too. Although last year in France myself and my buddy were speaking Irish to each other and this French girl was able to understand everything we said!

FGIR: Would you all see the language as something that marks Irish identity?

FGIM2: I think it is a very important part of who we are.

FGIM1: Yeah, I think so too. I was never great at Irish even in school so I personally wouldn’t use it, but I wouldn’t like to see it disappear altogether either.

FGIF3: I don’t think it will ever disappear completely. You hear it being spoken more now than it was before.

FGIR: Really, do you think so?

FGIF3: Well, I hear it a lot in college. Maybe that’s because there are people in some of my classes who are studying Irish and they speak Irish to each other. But I have also heard it being spoken in Limerick city too.

FGIM1: I can’t say that I hear it being used that much in Limerick

FGIM2: I’ve heard it being used at football matches, but never in shops or pubs in the city.
FGIR: That’s interesting, those of you not from Limerick, would you hear Irish often in your home towns?

FGIF2: Well, I’m from West Cork and you did hear people speaking Irish a fair bit, but it is amongst older members of the community.

FGIF3: I’m from Laois, you never hear Irish in Laois.

FGIR: And what about you?

FGIF4: I’m from Killarney, you hear other languages their more often than you would hear Irish. Irish is used to impress the tourists more than anything.

FGIR: Would any of you use Irish yourselves?

FGIF1: I do use it quiet a bit when I am on holidays, my parents speak good Irish so we would often switch to Irish so that the people around us cannot understand what we are saying. I would use the odd phrase otherwise.

FGIF2: I speak Irish quiet a bit when I am at home, with older people. Like with my granny or with friends of hers.

FGIM2: I don’t use it ever to be honest. Maybe an odd word here and there, but I couldn’t carry out a whole conversation in the language.

FGIR: Would any of you be able to carry out an entire conversation in Irish?

FGIM1: No, definitely not.

FGIF3: No. I wouldn’t.

FGIF2: I would have been able to a couple of years ago, but now French and Spanish have taken over. Even if I try to speak Irish it is often the French or Spanish word that will come out.

FGIF4: Yeah, same here. I was good at Irish in school and would have been able to converse in the language no problem then. But since coming to university I have lost contact with the language and wouldn’t be as confident in Irish now.

FGIR: Would you all feel that your confidence in using the language has changed since you started in UL?

FGIM1: I was never good at it.

FGIM2: Me neither, I did pass Irish for my leaving.

FGIF3: I guess it has, my level of Irish has definitly declined.

FGIF2: Yeah me too

FGIR: Why do you think your level of Irish has declined since leaving school?
FGIF2: Well I think for me its because I haven’t spoken Irish since 6th year in school or I haven’t really heard it being spoken, except for TG4, and a language needs to be used to be remembered.

FGIR: Yeah that is definitely the case. Is TG4 the only point of contact with the language for most of you?

FGIM1: Yeah, I doubt I’d ever hear it otherwise

FGIF2: It is the only contact I have with the language when I’m not at home.

FGIF1: For me I guess it is.

FGIF3: Yeah, I rarely hear it otherwise.

FGIF4: TG4 is great that way, unless you are living in a Gaeltacht your exposure to the language would be very limited.

FGIR: Yeah, I guess that is the case for a lot of Irish people. Do you all watch TG4?

All: Yeah

FGIM1: But not that much

FGIF3: I often watch it. It has great documentaries and it shows many of the new American dramas.

FGIF2: Yeah, like the OC. I love that programme.


FGIM1: Yeah, but it is a sunny Californian drama in English, it hardly works wonders for the Irish language.

FGIR: No, but would watch any programme that is on before the O.C. in Irish?

FGIM1: I don’t really watch anything in Irish, I find subtitling very irritating.

FGIR: But not all the Irish-language programmes are subtitled

FGIM1: I don’t understand the ones that aren’t.

FGIR: Ok, what about the rest of you?

FGIF2: I watch TG4 a lot. It is mainly English language programmes that I watch. But I did start watching the dating show Paisean Faisean. I came across it by accident. I switched over to TG4 to get the end of a programme but Paisean Faisean had already started. It is a great show. The presenter, oh I cant remember her name now

FGIF3: Aoife something isn’t it

FGIF2: Yeah, Aoife, she is great.

FGIR: She is, Irelands answer to Celia Black..but much younger of course. Do you watch any other programmes in particular?
FGIF3: I watch Cuala a bit but it doesn't encourage me to speak Irish, although it does kind of promote the language because it's linked with modern music, not like RnaG. I think it helps make Irish trendier when it can be linked with music that is popular amongst young people.

FGIF4: Yeah, I watch that a bit do. But I have to say that I really like the Amú le Hector programmes. It is a different type of travel programme that allows you to learn more about the culture of the places. Not like No Frontiers, where everything is geared towards posh accommodation and things like that. Hector can be a bit annoying, but it is a good programme for promoting Irish and Hector is good at communicating to all age-groups. You see Hector using Irish in some of the more remote parts of the world, it really is great.

FGIM2: Yeah Hector is a funny character, he is kind of like a star of Irish language television. I like his programming, but I can't say that I use Irish more myself because I watch it. I did notice that some of my housemates pick up some of the words he uses and might drop them into conversations every now and then.

FGIR: Really, could you give me an example of that?

FGIM2: Well, that might describe someone as being an chraic

FGIF3: I think Hector is good in attracting young people to the channel.

FGIF1: Yeah, from watching his programme and others, I feel more comfortable about using Irish now, before people thought you were a bit backward if you spoke Irish. TG4 has made more acceptable to use Irish.

FGIR: Most of you said that you use Irish more as a result of watching TG4, what do you mean by this?

FGIF3: I suppose for me, it's just that it reminds me that I can speak it, I wouldn't say that I use it everyday or anything.

FGIF1: I think it can help you learn new words like the other day I was watching Pop TG4 with Sharon, my flatmate, when describing how to enter a competition they were running the presenter used the word fon poca. We had never heard it before and we thought it was hilarious, a pocket phone! And now we keep saying that we'll call each other on the fon poca. It's such a great word.

FGIM2: Is that what the Irish for a mobile phone is, that's gas.

FGIR: Do your friends watch TG4?

FGIM1: Some of my buddies would watch GAA coverage on TG4 because they show the League matches.
FGIM2: Yeah, same here.

FGIR: Does it affect their use of the language?

FGIM1: I can’t say I have ever heard them speak in Irish apart from an odd word here and there. Like amadán or ‘skipping’, a word you hear on their rugby commentary.

FGIM2: Yeah, often what my friends do is watch the match on TG4 but turn down the volume and listen to the commentary on the radio.

FGIR: Really, why do they that?

FGIM2: I think they find the Irish commentator a bit annoying.

FGIR: Is that anything to do with the language?

FGIM2: I’m not really sure, but I think it is more down to the high pitched voice of the commentator.

FGIR: Does anybody else know of a similar situation?

FGIF2: No, my friends tune into to specific programming, the majority of which happens to be in English. But they do watch Irish language programmes too.

FGIR: And if we can go back to the issue of subtitling, would you and/or you friends be put off my subtitling?

FGIF1: No not really, they are great in helping you understand what is going on.

FGIF2: Yeah I would be lost without them. And I definitely wouldn’t watch some of the programmes that I do watch if they were dubbed. I find that very annoying.

FGIM2: Subtitles can be annoying, but TG4 would be lost without them. It would only attract native Irish speakers to the Irish language programmes otherwise.

FGIR: Well, people who had at least a high level of proficiency in the language. Do you think that TG4 has changed the image of the Irish language?

All: Yeah

FGIM1: Yeah, it definitely has.

FGIR: How has it changed it?

FGIM1: Well, it promotes the language in a different way to what we are used to. Like when I was in school it was the oldest teachers that thought the language and they were obsessed with Irish music and dancing and weren’t really in tune with what we considered cool.

FGIF4: I think that is exactly what TG4 has done though, it has made the language cool again. If you tune into the channel for whatever reason you are going to see a young presenter, who is also pretty good looking, who speaks in Irish.
As a result the language is no longer seen to be associated with just Irish traditions, it also has a place in Celtic Tiger Ireland.

FGIF3: Yeah, I agree completely with that. It is a trendy to be able to speak Irish.

FGIF2: Yeah I remember being at home in West Cork and been ridiculed for speaking Irish with my grandparents. But then when I was in leaving cert some of my friends commented on how cool it was to be able to speak Irish. That was when Grainne Seoige was with TG4 and everybody aspired to be like her.

FGIR: Was she that popular amongst your classmates?

FGIF2: Oh God yeah, I think it's the fact that she was so pretty.

FGIM2: She is that alright.

FGIR: And what do you think now that she is no longer with TG4?

FGIM2: She is still as attractive

FGIF2: I don't know really. I lost a bit of the respect I had for her to be honest. She used the station to get a name for herself. But in saying that they have some wonderful presenters now.

FGIF3: Yeah, Aoife, what's her name, is great. She really knows how to work the camera.

FGIM2: Yeah and the weather girl is pretty cool too.

FGIR: So overall would you agree that TG4 promotes a positive image for the Irish language?

FGIF4: Definitely, it may not work wonders over night by turning us all into Irish speakers. But the image of the language before TG4 was of a dying backward language. It can hardly be considered that now.

FGIR: Has it changed how you see the language?

FGIF2: Yeah, for the better.

FGIF3: It was something that the Irish language badly needed. The only contact we had with the language otherwise was limited to the school, where lets face it French was a much more attractive language.

FGIR: Why is that?

FGIF3: Well you could see more practical uses for French. You couldn't say the same for Irish.
FGIM1: I had a great Irish teacher, but yeah, you didn’t ever see it has something you were going to be using all of the time, whereas with the foreign languages you at least would be using on holidays.

FGIR: Would that not be the attitude still?

FGIF3: I don’t think so thanks to TG4

FGIF4: I don’t necessarily think that TG4 has made Irish a more attractive language than French or Spanish. It has made Irish a more acceptable language and it has given Irish a more significant place in todays Ireland.

FGIR: And finally what could TG4 do improve the service they offer?

FGIF3: I don’t really know what they could do apart for showing a few more light-hearted programmes. But I guess they are doing the best they can with the resources that they have. If you think about it they have had to create an industry from scratch.

FGIF2: Yeah, it has improved a lot since it started broadcasting. I hope it continues to do so.

FGIR: Yeah its nice to have a successful home grown industry. Well, I think that is it, I don’t really have anything else to ask. Does anyone have one last comment?

ALL: No, no,

FGIR: Well thanks very much for taking the time to give your opinions. I really appreciate it.
Appendix H

Basque Focus Group Transcription
FGBR: Sabéis que el objetivo de este grupo de enfoque es hablar un poco sobre lo que habéis notado en el cuaderno y todo eso. Y primero quiero preguntar si usáis mucho el euskera.

FGBM1: Eh, bueno yo la verdad es que hace 4 años desde que empecé en la universidad lo usaba bastante en el colegio y con alguna persona aislada y desde que empecé en la universidad ha caído todo y el año pasado estuve fuera en el extranjero y no lo utilicé nada y ahora no, no tanto.

FGBR: Y ¿es igual para todos?
FGBF1: Yo cada día dos horas uso el euskera porque voy a un euskaltegi y luego aparte de los deberes no lo uso mucho.
FGBR: ¿Lo usáis nada con familia o amigos?
FGBM2: No, no mucho. A veces cuando salgo de marcha lo uso con amigos de amigos míos que son vasco-parlantes.
FGBF2: Yo igual, yo no lo uso mucho, pero lo hablo con algunos compañeros de clase que prefieren hablar en euskera.
FGBR: Vale. Y ¿pensáis que la gente de vuestra edad tiene una actitud positiva hacia el euskera?
FGBM1: Si yo creo desde luego.
FGBM2: Sí, es un símbolo muy importante del nacionalismo vasco. Para gente de mi edad y para gente que son más mayor e incluso más menor.
FGBF2: No lo sé, yo creo que depende también. En mi zona por ejemplo, vive mucha gente que son de familias que no son de Euskadi. Para ellos el euskera es una lengua, nada más.
FGBR: Y esa gente da alguna importancia a saber hablar el euskera.
FGBF1: No, no creo que sí. Y además no es una lengua fácil de aprender.
FGBR: Eso lo sé. He estado yendo a un euskaltegi durante los últimos dos meses y entiendo casi nada.
FGBR: Bueno me he dado cuenta de que hay sitios que son más vasco-parlante que otros. ¿Qué zona es lo más vasco-parlante? O euskaldun mejor dicho no.

FGBM1: Tiene que ser San Sebastián,

FGBF1: Sí, mi abuelo vive allí y he notado que en San Sebastián la gente está cada vez más contenta de saber euskera y hay que hablarlo allí. En los últimos años notas que cuando alguien te pregunta la hora o donde está cualquier sitio te habla más en euskera que en castellano.

FGBR: Sí, y ¿cómo es aquí en Bilbao?

FGBF1: Todavía no ha llegado a ser muy importante en Bilbao.

FGBM2: Hay una diferencia muy grande entre San Sebastián y Bilbao, en este sentido.

FGBF2: San Sebastián es mucho más euskaldun que Bilbao, pero hay otros partes de Guipuzkoa que son aún más euskaldun que San Sebastián.

FGBM2: Igual sí. También depende de la zona, en Guipuzkoa por lo menos si vas a unos pueblos más pequeños todos practican euskera.

FGBR: Y si podemos volver al tema de la frecuencia del uso de la lengua entre gente de vuestra edad. Teniendo en cuenta que hay una actitud bastante positiva, ¿porqué no lo usáis más?

FGBM1: Yo creo que depende de la educación que tengas y en la familia, mis padres no hablan euskera, mi hermano sabe el euskera que ha aprendido en la escuela igual que yo, y también mis amigos que son del colegio, pues no hablamos euskera entre nosotros ni tenemos ganas de usarlo.

FGBM2: Hay algunos que son obligados porque en el futuro quieren dedicarles a unos puestos que exigen euskera. Pero aparte de esto no, no sé.

FGBF2: A mí me gusta la lengua y quiero saber más, pero no tengo mucho tiempo para dedicar a aprenderla.

FGBF1: Un día vendrás conmigo al euskaltegi.
FGBR: Vale, pasamos al tema de ETB1, ¿es una cadena buena?
FGBM1: Es aceptable dentro de sus limitaciones, por ejemplo cosas como ver una película doblada en euskera, es horroroso porque el doblaje es bastante mal, siempre son las mismas voces, pues allí no remedios, hay otros programas que están bastante bien.
FGBF2: Ahora no, pero cuando era pequeña pasaba tres horas al día viendo programas en euskera, dibujos y cosas así. ahora no tengo tanto tiempo para ver a la televisión
FGBR: Os pensáis que los programas de televisión de ETB-1 son divertidos y entretenidos
FGBF1: No hay mucha variedad de programas dentro de que su variedad es muy grande. ETB-1 tiene que dirigir al los gustos de todos los vasco-parlantes primero. El problema que hay es un programa que nosotros podemos ver en castellano y lo queremos ver en euskera no podemos porque hay otros programas
FGBF2: Sí como Goenkale. Es una serie que los jóvenes tienen que ver porque es la única serie que más o menos está dirigida a gente joven.
FGBM2: Yo creo que el problema es ese, que también he puesto en el cuaderno, que al ser la única cadena que emite en euskera sólo ETB-1 tiene el problema de que toda la gente euskaldun tiene como referencia esa televisión y cuando la ponen tienen que ver lo que haya si quieren escuchar al euskera.
FGBM1: Yo creo que está más dirigido al público mayor y al público infantil que a los jóvenes. Antes había unos proyectos en plan para jóvenes, ahora no recuerdo como se llamaba
FGBF2: Si había un programa a las 7 de la tarde.
FGBM1: Ahora en este momento de verdad me da la sensación de que ETB-1 es para las personas que saben euskera ya desde hace muchísimos años por la familia.
FGBR: ¿Que programas son los que soléis ver?
FGBM1: cosas como el fútbol programas del atlético o la real
FGBF1: Yo a veces veo a Goenkale. No es tan mal, es igual como cualquiera otra telenovela.
FGBF2: Yo a veces veo las noticias o un programa de música
FGBM2: Lo vi mucho el año pasado cuando estrenó la serie La Pelota Vasca. Me la disfruté un montón.
FGBM1: Sí es muy buena, ahora se puede comprarla en DVD.
FGBR: Bien, y ETB emite los programas en batua ¿verdad?
All: Sí
FGBF2: Pero está bien, porque si tenéis que dirigir a los que saben vizcaíno o los....
FGBF1: claro el programa de ETB-1 que habla en vizcaíno igual me cuesta entenderlo

FGBR Y ¿hay subtítulos?
All: no
FGBF2: Sí hay, pero solo en Batua cuando alguien habla en otra lengua.

FGBR: Y que pueden hacer para mejorar el servicio
FGBM2: Poner programas que son un poco más divertidos
FGBF1: Como he puesto en el cuadernillo dando programas más variedades la gente se enganchase más
FGBR: ¿Algo más?
All: No, no, no sé

FGBR: ¿Promociona la lengua?
FGBM2: Y creo que dentro de que es la única que emite en la lengua, que sí,
FGBF1: Me parece bien que aporta a la cultura vasca.
FGBR: ¿Qué pensáis acerca del servicio que ofrecen las cadenas locales?
FGBF2: con los cuatro que hay ninguna emite en euskera todo el tiempo
FGBM1: A mí me gusta ver Durango telebista, tiene algunas cosas en euskera que son muy buenas.
FGBF1: Me encanta el programa de corazón que emite.
FGBM2: Los locales que hay en Donosita hablan más generales. No son muy buenos pero me gustaría poder escuchar el euskera más en estas cadenas.
FGBR: Bueno, después de guardar los cuadernos, habladme sobre el papel que juega ETB-1 en el mantenimiento del euskera
FGBM2: Hombre por el momento, hay una cadena que emite todo en euskera. Es algo que beneficia la lengua.

FGBF2: Sé que es importante tener una cadena como ETB-1, pero no puedo dar ninguna razón porque pienso así.

FGBM1: Sí es muy importante para los niños. Pueden ver a los dibujos en euskera y eso tiene un papel muy importante. El euskera nunca va a ser solo una lengua de la clase.

FGBR: Bueno, gracias. Creo que eso es, que son las 12.45, ¿alguien tiene algo más que quiere decir?

All: No.

FGBR: Bueno quiero tomar esa oportunidad para daros las gracias para formar parte de la recerca. Muchísimas gracias a todos.