Tir Gan Teange, Tir Gan Anam: The Reintroduction of Irish Gaelic Into Irish-American Ethnicity

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Tír gan teange, tír gan anam:

The Reintroduction of Irish Gaelic into Irish-American Ethnicity.

A Study of the Fall 2000 Irish Gaelic Courses at
the University of Pennsylvania

Lindsey Quinn
Senior Thesis

May 2001
The author would like to thank Roslyn Blyn-Ladrew and her students in the Fall 2000 Irish language courses at the University of Pennsylvania: without their kindness and enthusiasm this paper would not have been possible.
Introduction

Although the Irish language has suffered unusually low language loyalty, when compared to other immigrant groups, there has been a remarkable resurgence in the acquisition of the language in recent years. Considering the complexity of the language, the difficulties in finding adequate instruction, and the general apathy with which the language is treated, it seems rather odd that a group of younger Americans is beginning to embrace the language and incorporate it into their lives.

In order to explore these issues more fully, contact was made with Dr. Roslyn Blyn-Ladrew, a professor in the linguistics department at the University of Pennsylvania. She teaches the elementary and intermediate Irish Gaelic languages courses in the College of General Studies. The College of General Studies, commonly referred to as CGS, was designed to be a way by which non-traditional and working students could receive an education. However, many traditional full-time students at the university attend the predominately night courses, as they fit well into busy schedules, even you must attend class until 9 p.m. Also CGS may offer classes that are either not found during the day or classes that the students were unable to fit into their daily academic schedule. After discussing the project with Dr. Blyn-Ladrew, a time was set up for the researcher to observe the Irish classes, distribute a questionnaire and to conduct discussion with the students, who would, undoubtedly, be interested in the topic.

It was hypothesized that the group of students identified as the Irish Group would have different results than the general group surveyed. These students, numbering six in all, cited an immigrant ancestor who had come to the United States within “living memory”. “Living memory”, for this paper,
will be defined as a family member with whom a family member that the
student knows would have been able to have personal contact with the
individual. Thus, while most of the students would not have been able to
meet their great-grandparents who had immigrated to the United States, they
would have been able to talk about these relatives with their children, the
students’ grandparents and great aunts and uncles. Although, it should be
noted, that do to some early deaths in various families, this pattern was not
always carried out. However, the most important factor about the decision to
identify these students members of the “Irish Group” was not their actual
contact with the family member in question, but the existence of a familial
connection with their Irish heritage. It was reasoned that, theoretically, the
Irish Group students would have a more “living” connection than those
students who cite Irish heritage but have no knowledge as to the immigration
dates, the particular ancestors, or the reasons the ancestors may have
traveled to the United States. This connection, theoretically, would greatly
influence the Irish Group’s perception of ethnicity. In addition, if Irish had
been taught to any family members or used in the home on a regular basis,
vestiges of the tongue should still exist in the vocabularies of the students
interviewed. Yet, if the language was, indeed, abandoned as one might
expect, the resurgence of Irish evidenced by the Irish Group’s interest may
well represent a new paradigm of Irish-American ethnicity.

**Methodology, Part One Survey**

The questionnaire, which may be viewed, along with the individual
responses, in Appendix One, was designed to give the student autonomy in
response. By giving the students the ability to interpret the questions
themselves and to supply whatever answer they felt was more germane to

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1 Cf. Ihde and Byron.
the question, it was hoped that a more accurate depiction of their ideas of ethnicity and experiences with the Irish language would be discovered. Prior to any discussion about the thesis of the paper, the questionnaires were handed out to the courses during their normal class periods, during the last week of class. The researcher was present during the time allotted to fill out the questionnaire, but she did not interfere with the process, only answered questions when posed by the students. Once the questionnaires had been collected, the students and the researcher participated in open discussion about the topics, a number of trends and ideas from this discussion will be included in this paper.

After the data from this original survey had been collected, the responses from the students were closely studied. Statistics were established looking at the group as a whole and by examining a group of six students, referred to in this paper as the Irish Group, who exhibited a particular characteristic. With the establishment of these two study groups, statistics were processed and examined.

Methodology, Part Two Survey

It became clear, however, that more information could be gathered by discussing certain issues of Irish ethnicity, language and culture with the Irish Group. In January of 2001, the Irish Group was contacted by email in order to gauge their interest in further participating in the study. The only students who responded to the email were full-time students; two CGS students were included in the Irish Group, but neither was interviewed for the secondary study. This is unfortunate as, considering the difference in age of the two part-time versus the full-time students, an interesting difference in views of ethnicity may have been documented. However, as they did not wish to participate, there was little to be done.
After initial email, the researcher contacted those students interested in participating about the interview process in late February and early March. Interview schedules were set up, at the convenience of the participants, and continued through the end of March. Each student participated in one interview session, lasting about an hour. The sessions consisted of an explanation of the interviewing process and the participants’ rights as defined in a consent form, the completion of an ordinal ranked survey, and a taped interview conducted by the researcher in her living room or other neutral location.

The interviewees were all asked a series of eight main questions that were designed to gauge their perceptions of Irish-American ethnicity, both how they thought most Americans would feel and how they, as individuals, feel it should be defined. The students were also asked to describe their family lives, their Irish cultural activities and to elaborate further any points of interest to the research. Thus, while all were asked a uniform series of questions, each student was asked to explain further points of interest that pertained to their own experiences.

Every participant in the study, including those students surveyed for the initial results but not included in the interview process, was assigned a Respondent number in order to discuss their results and feelings anonymously in the paper. For those students who participated in the interviews, their originally assigned respondent number is used throughout the paper to discuss the original findings and the results of their ordinal survey and interviews. All data was coordinated and processed by hand and no statistical programming was used, due to the extremely small size of the population studied.

2 Please see appendix 2 for the consent form signed by the participants.
Results, General

When examining these data, it is important to note that these students are not typical of most Irish language students within the US. While certainly representing an increasing portion of Irish language students in the United States, especially in light of the number of prestige colleges and universities that offer at least Elementary Irish\(^3\), the students only represent an extremely small segment of the Irish American population exploring Irish Gaelic. Most Irish language classes are not graded\(^4\) and are taken for a few weeks, not a semester. Perhaps one of the most popular forms by which to learn Irish are the Irish immersion weekends, when students, experts and native speakers of all levels interact during a weekend of classes and traditional Irish music and foods. Another commonly employed method of language acquisition is by listening to tapes or CDs that provide basic language instruction. Generally, these tapes expose the learner to certain phrases and important words commonly used in Ireland\(^5\). Thus, the students in Dr. Blyn-Ladrew's courses have a higher proficiency level compared to most other Irish language students in the United States.

In addition to the unusual access to the language that these students have, it is important to note that these students are extremely self-selecting. Not only will a graded course at the university level offer the students an unusually high level of feedback, it may attract only those students who are

\(^3\) Some examples of these colleges and universities include Harvard University, with its well known Celtic Studies Program. New York University, Boston College, Boston University and, of course, the University of Pennsylvania. All of these schools are expensive private second or top tier schools.

\(^4\) Personal communication, Dr. Roslyn Blyn-Ladrew.

\(^5\) Some examples of these tapes or books include *Irish on Your Own* and *Teach Yourself Irish*. As for other sources, many Irish interest groups, like the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Dáil Éireann, and other groups offer websites with small sections devoted to prayers, homilies and words. Most people who are attempting to learn Irish would have greater access to programs like this than a course taught at the university level.
especially committed to the study of the language or to the exploration of Irish cultural heritage. Participating in a language course at a prestigious university is an extremely difficult proposition due to the high workload it entails and the very real possibility of performing badly.

**Results, Part One Survey**

Most of the students in the Irish language courses studied in the paper have had a high level of interest in Irish culture. Through various media, it seems likely that they would have been encountered a sampling of the language, at the very least, and thus were exposed to the difficulties of the language earlier, thus their study of the language may be a further indication of their interests in the culturé. Because of these difficulties, the students attracted to Irish language study at this level may be exceptionally committed to Irish cultural activities. Thus, their interests in other activities like step dancing, music, literature and other activities may be slightly skewed.

Most important, though, when examining these results, is to consider the sample size. The total sample size for this initial study is nine, the Irish Group consists of six individuals and, of those six, only four were interviewed. Ideally, a study of the increasing importance of language to the formation of Irish American ethnicity would include a study of small scale, non-academic, language acquisition, individualized study at home and, of course, a broad based study large enough to allow true statistical analysis to

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6 For example, had a student attended Riverdance or another such Irish cultural event, he or she would have been exposed to the language, whether that was the main
be conducted. As the study stands, no true predictions about the importance of Irish to Irish American ethnic identity can be postulated. However, the results of this study will be discussed as possible trends and, of course, on an individual basis to explore how these students are incorporating their study into their lives.

Of the nine people surveyed, 78% independently identified themselves as of Irish descent. How the students express this was variable, from simply stating “Irish-American” as ethnicity or proudly proclaiming themselves “Celtic”, as Respondent 8 did. Also, a little over half of those surveyed claim an Irish immigrant in their background, while fully two-thirds of those identifying themselves as Irish report being related to recent Irish immigrants, mainly grandparents or great-grandparents. This group of people, the main focus of this discussion, will be referred to as the Irish Group.

The Irish Group is of particular interest to this paper. Most of the respondents could have been able to meet their Irish relatives, baring early death, as two thirds of the ancestors identified were great-grandparents. Most are well within a generation span that should allow for certain aspects of the language to be retained, if it had been taught to their parents.

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8 Please refer to Appendix 1 for a complete listing of the student replies. In this appendix, all the names have been replaced with a “Respondent” number and the students will be referred to as such in the body of this paper. For those students included in and interviewed as a member of the Irish Group, this respondent number will be used to reference their interviews, as well.
9 This excludes Respondent 9 who claimed his/her ethnicity as white, but then claimed recent Irish immigrants as ancestors. Had this respondent been included in the calculation, 90.9% of the respondents would have identified themselves as Irish.
10 See Respondents 2, 5, 6 and 7. Appendix 1.
11 66.6% of those surveyed identified themselves as being of Irish descent.
12 The Irish Group, the group of respondent identifying themselves as Irish and with recent emigrating family members, includes respondents 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. Although Respondent 3 did not specifically list “Irish” as ethnicity, the respondent has been added to this group because of his/her answers to Questions 2a-d and is included in the 66.6%.
Their Irish ancestors, for the most part, emigrated from counties containing Gaeltacht, or traditionally Irish speaking, areas and, theoretically, would have had some exposure to the language in their everyday life: 83.3% of the counties listed by the respondents as their ancestors’ origins are counties that traditionally include prominent Gaeltacht areas. In fact, of the 50% of ancestors reported as having used Irish, 100% of them were from these Gaeltacht containing counties. The remaining three respondents either did not know the speaking ability of their Gaeltacht relatives (33.3%) or their relatives were not from the Gaeltacht and spoke only English.

It is interesting to note that only two out of the six respondents in the Irish Group report having a family member teach them any Irish. Particularly interesting is that the family members who taught Irish to Respondent 5 were not close family members at all and, in fact, one was not even of Irish descent, a fact that challenges traditional notions of Irish America. Respondent 7, when questioned about filial acquisition of Irish, answered that his/her ability was limited, “aside from the 10 or so choice words my mother taught me”, which was later amended to having picked-up the words from his/her mother’s usage. Also of interest is that, of the Irish Group, only 50% had had any previous experience with the language before their class while 72.7% of the total pool reported some previous knowledge of the language.

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13 This raises many questions about the nature of ethnicity and the transmission of culture. Unfortunately, this topic will not be discussed in this paper, as it is outside its boundaries.
14 Respondent 7, Appendix 1.
15 Interview with Respondent 7.
16 Extremely important to note is that the bulk of the Irish Group was culled from the Elementary Irish Gaelic class. It is quite likely that, despite instructions to the contrary, the other respondents cited their own previous class experience at the University of Pennsylvania. Also, by having at least an introductory experience with the language, these students were more likely to explore other avenues of language education. On an aside, sources have noted that Irish-Americans have little interest in Irish beyond a rudimentary knowledge. This may reflect why so few second- and third-generation Irish-Americans were identified in the intermediate class.
However, when the general study population was prompted to discuss their reasons for studying Irish, 83.3% specifically identified heritage as a determining factor. Some were explicit in their association of the language with ideas of Irish heritage:

Respondent 6: Being of Irish descent, I felt strongly about doing my part to revive the national language of my ancestors and to feel more at ease when I visited Ireland.

Respondent 7: I was interested in getting to know my culture and my family background better.

From this initial survey it appears that most of the study group feels that Irish language study is imperative in their exploration of Irish-American. However, there are many other reasons stated as inciting interest in studying Irish by the group. When we examine Figure One\textsuperscript{7}, \textit{"Reasons for Irish Study"}, we find that, although heritage plays an extremely important role in the Irish study an interest in music, the beauty of the language and a general interest in Irish study played key roles as well.

However, when we examine the data submitted by the Irish group, we find slightly different results. Unlike the general population, when the Irish Group is separated, heritage plays a greater role in the decision to pursue an interest in Irish Gaelic. It is important to remember that some of the students in the general group, although not identified as a member of the Irish Group, still claim Irish or Celtic ethnicity\textsuperscript{8}.

These different responses seem to be linked with an interest in other Irish cultural and heritage issues. Irish cultural activities seem to play a more

\textsuperscript{7} The data in this chart represents results from the total initial population, not just data from the Irish group.

\textsuperscript{8} Please refer to Appendix One for a full listing of the responses the survey generated.
active role in the lives of the Irish Group members, at least in the sense that the respondents participate in more varied activities. Whether a closer or more recognized and researched relationship with one’s Irish immigrant ancestors has any bearing on these results is unknown, but the data does suggest that a greater identification with one’s Irish immigrant background may encourage the individual to pursue a greater variety of cultural activities. Another possible interpretation is that the Irish Group, with its association with immigrant ancestors, chronologically speaking, may feel greater relationship to these activities. Also, they may have been exposed to a more varied selection of Irish cultural activities through normal family functions.\(^7\)

While the differences are subtle, the Irish Group has a greater diversity in activities, including Irish nationalism\(^8\). The non-Irish group seems to have focused on particular types of experiences: ones that require little active participation, like music and plays. This may be indicative of the ease with which they interact with other Irish-Americans; perhaps their lack of tangible ties with Ireland causes discomfort in certain, more active environments.

What is of particular interest, in both groups, is that neither reported any activities that would directly involve language. Although plays and literature are mentioned, those activities to which the respondents would

\(^7\) An excellent example of this comes from Respondent 5’s interview when he/she detailed family events in northeastern Pennsylvania. Exposed to these events as a child, and even travelling to these events after his/her immediate family had moved out of the area, the Irish festival began to serve the role of family reunion, as well.

\(^8\) The category “Irish Nationalism” is in response to Respondent 7’s listing of volunteering for the creation of an Irish Famine Memorial. When dealing with issues of ethnicity and nationality, it is difficult sometimes to differentiate between what is purely American, purely Irish and a little of both. In this case, I considered a famine memorial to be more germane to Irish interests, thus it’s categorization as “Irish Nationalism”. It is important to note that no respondents listed membership in any national or international Irish culture or nationalist groups like the Ancient Order of Hibernians or Sinn Féin.
have had access in the United States would, most likely, be in English. And, given the popularity of Hiberno-English literature and the difficulty of reading literary Irish, it may be safe to assume a non-Irish medium in that respect as well.

In the case of music, a medium in which we may fairly assume some Irish being used, very few audience participants actually understand what is being said and only a few performers, in the United States, have any knowledge beyond rudimentary pronunciation themselves. Festivals, as well, offer little exposure to Irish language forms, except in the plaques with “Céad Millic Fáilte” written on them and the occasional Irish language group advocating their courses and passing out name tags with the festival goer’s name translated into Irish.

Perhaps this low emphasis of language is not unexpected. One could argue that their families may not have focused on the language as a marker of culture, especially as they seem to have transmitted little, if any, of their language knowledge. Of particular interest is that the Irish Group has a relatively low number of participants in other Irish culture activities when compared with the other respondents: only 66.6% reported having participated in other Irish cultural activities while 100% of the other respondents had participated in at least one other activity. Of course, those individuals who chose to pursue Irish cultural activities, reported a greater variety of activities. It appears that, to the Irish-American, cultural activities may be an all or nothing proposition.

\[\text{21 Respondent 2, personal interview.}
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\[\text{22 As an interesting aside, I visited the Washington, D.C. Irish Festival in the summer of 2000. While there, I spoke with the Daaltaí Ná Gaeilge group, handing out name tags. After my name was translated, the women proceeded to translate the name of my friend, a Jewish man named Brian. As he explained that he couldn’t really have an Irish name, the women proclaimed, “Anyone can have an Irish name” and changed the spelling appropriately. Which goes to show just how fluid ethnicity can be.}\]
How one should interpret the variation between the two groups in reference to Irish cultural activities is confusing. The differences could represent the Irish Group’s emphasis on language as a cultural marker of greater importance than other cultural activities or, perhaps, it represents how those respondents outside the Irish Group criteria have attempted to forge an Irish identity in lieu of a direct link with the island. Obviously, determining the reasons behind this statistic is problematic, especially as several individuals who did not meet the criteria necessary to be included in the Irish Group still claim Irish descent: ostensibly, this group could have a notion of “Irish-American” identity comparable to that of the Irish Group.

Results, Part Two Survey

These questions about language transmittal and the foundations of Irish-American ethnicity led to the secondary survey, given only to members of the Irish Group. As discussed in the methodology, only those students who were regular, full-time students of the University of Pennsylvania, thus readily accessible to the researcher, were interviewed for this portion of the study. As the secondary survey was conducted, even more interesting findings were discovered. A ranked ordinal survey was filled out by the participants, prior to the interview, in order to gauge their perceptions of certain issues raised by the original essay survey. The statements which the respondents were to evaluate are as follows along with the charts of the total averages for each question. Please note that the survey was based on a ranking system of 1 = strongly disagree, 2 = disagree, 3 = neutral, 4 = agree and 5 = strongly agree.

2 The two other members of the Irish Group, both College of General Study students, were contacted and asked to participate in the interviewing process. Neither showed any interest.
Part A, to be answered based on how the respondent feels.

1. I consider myself to be Irish American.

2. If a person is Irish-American, he or she should be able to speak a little Irish (i.e., able to say basic phrases).

3. If a person is Irish, he or she should be fluent in Irish Gaelic.

4. If a person is Irish-American, he or she should be fluent in Irish Gaelic.

5. Language is the best way to identify an ethnic identity.

6. Cultural activities like Irish dancing, step dancing, and music are more important to Irish-American ethnic identity than the Irish language.

7. Those who immigrated to the United States from Ireland placed a great deal of emphasis on the Irish language.

8. It is important to know the language associated with your culture.

9. I feel less Irish if I hear a song or phrase in Irish and do not understand it.

10. I will make an effort, or am making an effort, to teach my children Irish.

Set Two, based on how the respondent feels most Irish-Americans feel.

1. An Irish-American person is less Irish if he or she doesn’t speak the Irish language.

2. If a person is Irish, he or she should be fluent in Irish Gaelic.

3. Cultural activities like Irish dancing, step dancing and music are more important to the Irish-American ethnicity than the Irish language.
4. It is important to know the language associated with your culture.
5. An Irish-American person should know at least a few phrases in Irish Gaelic.
6. Irish-American should make an effort to teach their children Irish Gaelic.

**Analysis**

When comparing the results from Part A and Part B, some surprising things are discovered. Most of the key points are similar: the respondents believe that their and the general public’s views on the value of knowing one’s cultural language are basically the same, slightly above neutral in both cases. The views of how a knowledge, or lack thereof, of Irish affects one’s perceptions of Irish-American ethnicity are identical, both strongly disagreeing.

Not surprisingly, considering the Irish Group’s interest in the Irish language and their exposure to a particular viewpoint expressed in their textbooks, the Irish Group has a stronger feeling that the Irish should have some sort of knowledge of Irish. Although the Irish Group certainly doesn’t agree that the Irish should have fluency, their perceptions scored much higher than what they perceive the general Irish-American public’s thoughts on the matter to be.

The most interesting factors though are those dealing with language and cultural transmission: although only two of the respondents had Irish

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24 N.B.: As no respondent choose “5”, strongly agree, it has been left off the chart.
25 For this, Part A question 8 and Part B question 4 were compared.
26 Comparison of Part A question 9 and Part B question 1.
27 The textbooks used for the class are included in the bibliography. Like most books distributed by the Bord na Gaeilge and other sources, they advocate a view of Irish culture linked, nearly directly, to the language.
28 Part A question three and Part B question 2.
taught to them or spoken around them as children, the respondents choose nearly identical listings of neutral for the linking of language to a culture. One would expect this question to score much lower, into the disagree range. This result causes a great deal of confusion. For one, the Irish Group lists heritage, nearly universally, as a reason for studying Irish: if one's language isn't an important marker of ethnicity, why list heritage as a main factor influencing your choice? Compounding the issue, the Irish Group's surprisingly high ranking of Part A, question 6, which scored well into the "agree" range, suggests that the Irish Group feels that non-language cultural activities are very important, even though the group had a lower level percentage of participation.

Yet, the neutral score for the Irish-American public, although initially surprising, begins to intimate well the ambiguity felt in Irish-American communities when considering their linguistic past. Although, yes, cultural activities are perceived as much more important, it may not be because of a negative conception of the language. Irish is a language that has slipped through the cracks; no one really knows how they feel about it.

The Irish Group continues its conflicting approach to the language when asked about the possibility of transmitting it to their children. The Irish Group's score came out to be neutral on the topic, with most choosing "3" and one each choosing "2" and "4". Their score for most Irish-American was well within the "strongly disagree" range. While the general score is what one would expect, if not a little lower, the neutrality of the Irish Group is quite interesting, especially as each and every respondent, when asked during the interview, expressed an interest in transmitting the language to their children. The inconstancy of the answers poses some interesting

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29 Part A question 8 and Part B question 4.
questions, which will be explored, along with the history of the language, in the discussion.

In review, the respondents interviewed for the purpose of this paper, all members of the Irish language classes at the University of Pennsylvania, mainly identify themselves as Irish and nearly all of the respondents have participated in Irish cultural events of some type. Among those interviewed a pool of students who were second or third generation Irish-Americans were isolated and studied. Those students within in the Irish Group identified issues of heritage and culture as the main reason for their Irish studies and were much more likely to list heritage as a reason than the other respondents.

Discussion

The Irish Group’s perceptions of their ethnicity and Irish were further examined through a course of interviews and further surveying. The results suggest that the group feels it has a greater emphasis on language and other cultural activities than the rest of Irish-Americans. The Irish Group certainly shows more positive opinions about what constitutes Irish ethnicity and the role of language in ethnicity and in future generations. While their results were more positive, the results in the survey seem contradictory, at times, considering the enthusiasm the respondents showed during the interview process. Perhaps the answers in the interview were tailored to meet what was thought to be the researcher’s goal. Maybe the Irish Group is simply uncertain about its feelings on the matter of teaching children Irish.

Even more intriguing, is the possibility that the ambiguity results from the nativity of a new paradigm of Irish-American ethnicity. The Irish Group’s language study seems at odds with the well-established pattern of
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Even more intriguing, is the possibility that the ambiguity results from the nativity of a new paradigm of Irish-American ethnicity. The Irish Group’s language study seems at odds with the well-established pattern of
Irish language abandonment in the United States. It is quite possible that the Irish Group is part of a movement in America to reframe Irish Gaelic’s history and reincorporate it into their lives.

But why, one might ask, would recent immigrants chose to abandon their own language so completely that within two to three generations it is not even known whether it was spoken? To understand this issue, and to understand more fully exactly what the Irish Group’s emphasis on Irish and its use may represent, one needs some basic knowledge about the historical position of Irish and the effects its position had on the language in America.

Irish maintained a relatively stable position in Ireland until the expansion of Tudor interests in the sixteenth century. The crown had earlier enacted the Statutes of Kilkenny\(^{30}\) in an attempt to force English nobles and their Irish retainers to speak English\(^{31}\). This attempt failed so miserably that “in 1541 the bill to make Henry VIII king of Ireland had to be read in Irish in the [Irish House of] Lords to ensure it was understood”\(^{32}\). In an attempt to solidify England’s control over the island, which was highly suspect as the English lords sent to colonize the land were so ‘Gaelicized’ and predominantly Roman Catholic, the Tudor governments began the English policy of dispossessing Catholic landowners. The Plantation Policies, as it was to be called, transported sympathetic English and Scottish Protestants, who were English speaking, onto the land formerly owned by the Irish and “Gaelicized” Anglo-Norman aristocracy. The Plantation policies ended in the 1609 Ulster Plantation, which made the English policy of land control


\(^{32}\) Ó Brádaigh, Dairmuid. Pg. 11.
and ownership increasingly formal\textsuperscript{33}, although further shifts of power would continue with the Cromwellian occupations.

The Battle of Kinsale in 1601, leading to the Ulster Plantation, caused the “political and social framework of Gaelic culture [to be] shattered...” with English acting as the “language of law, government, commerce and affairs throughout the island”\textsuperscript{34}. The dilapidation of Irish continued legally for some time, as the former Irish aristocracy slipped further from power and was replaced by wealthy English lords. For example, the Penal Codes, enacted in 1691, created a great legal gulf between the Catholics, who were predominantly Irish speaking, and the Protestants who spoke English, limiting the rights available to the Irish speaking populations.

Even the few changes in the Irish social system that made life more equitable for the Irish Catholics came at the abandonment of the Irish language. In 1782 the English Crown legalized Catholic colleges within the United Kingdom, thus giving an education to those Catholics wealthy enough to afford the schools. However, all education in these private colleges was conducted in English and fluency in the language was expected and required to complete one’s studies\textsuperscript{35}. A half century later, the Crown made public education available in Ireland with the National School System, established in 1831. Yet, like the private Catholic Colleges, all teaching was conducted in English and children were punished for speaking Irish:

In some schools, the ‘tally stick’ was used. A child wore a cord around its neck, from which was suspended a small stick. Each time the child broke into Irish, a notch was place on the stick, and the child was punished at the end of the day according to the number of notches on the stick\textsuperscript{36}.

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid. Pg. 10.
\textsuperscript{34} DePaor, Liam. Pg. 169.
\textsuperscript{35} Ó Breaísín. Pg. 18.
\textsuperscript{36} DePaor, Liam. Pg. 256.
In addition to the negative feedback a child would experience in schools, the use of the Irish language was extremely detrimental to the Irish’s economic welfare. Most well paying jobs were in the Eastern industrial centers that were well ensconced in the English speaking Gallteacht of Ireland. In order to acquire the lucrative positions, an Irishman would need to have enough English to perform the duties of the job and, if he did not, would be relegated to the poverty stricken Gaeltachts of the West.

Because of these influences, there was a movement within Ireland itself to drop the language: “analysis of the 1881 census corroborates the impression that much of Ireland as already in a state of large-scale language shift before the years of the Famine emigrations.” This movement was further compounded by the Great Famine that stuck Ireland from 1845-1848, devastating the poor Gaeltacht areas whose populations had been barely subsisting on the potato crops that were destroyed with the blight. During the famine years, and after, it’s estimated “the population was reduced, by death from starvation and disease and then by the great emigration which followed, from considerably more than 8 million people to considerably less than 7 million.” It’s estimated that at least 1.5 million Irish emigrated from the Western Counties to the US and England, significantly altering the linguistic make-up of the Gaeltachts, with the number of Irish speakers

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37 Even Daniel O'Connell advocated learning English for political and economic reasons. Bernard Wailes, personal communication.
39 Please refer to Appendix 3 to view a map from Liam DePaor detailing the decline of Irish in the western counties. (DePaor, Pg. 254.)
40 DePaor, Liam. Pg. 246.
plummeting as much as 21.5% in the counties within forty years. For those families that didn’t emigrate, the scars of the Famine were unavoidable:

"The great psychological shock of the famine also appears to have affected attitudes to language, among so many other matters. Irish was associated with poverty and starvation: to survive in the anglicized world of the nineteenth century, it was necessary to know English. The speakers of the Irish language, both the educated and the uneducated, had had a powerful attachment to the language. But this, like the attachment to Ireland itself, was overwhelmed by the grim reality of starvation."

So overwhelming were their experiences in Ireland, that the Irish immigrants to the United States continued the stifling their language, only this time it was self-imposed. It’s actually quite remarkable that, “unlike Polish and German, Irish was almost never passed on to the American-born generations,” as the bulk of Irish immigrants would have had some exposure to the language. Perhaps the Irish immigrants would choose to relinquish the language as “the immigrants were fully aware that a knowledge of Irish could not bring the economic and social gains for which they yearned.” In addition, unlike their Polish, German and Italian brethren, the Irish were easily fit into the English speaking religious houses already established in the United States, as most Irish immigrants could speak at least a little English. Without the reinforcement of language skills outside of the house, especially in important social institutions, there was little reason to maintain the language: not only was it an impediment to employment, there wasn’t any place to use it. In fact, the Irish abandoned

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41 Ó Breáiallín, Dármuid. Pg. 19. The sources cited in reference to the numbers lost during the Great Famine and subsequent emigrations are not very precise. For the purposes of this paper, suffice to say that by the late nineteenth century, a great deal of Ireland’s population had vanished, either through emigration or death.
42 De Paor, Liam. Pg. 255.
their language so completely that many Irish immigrants voluntarily
anglicized their names or changed them completely\textsuperscript{45} and the language
quietly disappeared.

Instead of focusing on the importance of language to its culture, the
Irish immigrant groups created a separate culture, one that included only
marginal use of the language, such as the words to certain folk songs, and
emphasized other expressions of “Irishness”. In some respects, the
translation of Irish culture to America culture is unnecessary because of the
“syncretism between Irish and mainstream American culture”\textsuperscript{46}. This
attitude appears to be reflected by the reluctance of the Irish Group’s family
to transmit the language.

Why, then, does the Irish Group in the University of Pennsylvania’s
Irish courses seem intent on reestablishing Irish language as a marker of
Irish-American identity? In addition to why they choose to focus on Irish,
we must also ask, how successful are they in doing so? The interviews with
the Irish Group provided some surprising answers.

The most telling questions asked of the participants had to do with
how they felt most people perceive Irish-American ethnicity and what the
students feel would be the ideal expression\textsuperscript{7} of this ethnicity. Although each
student had a slightly different perspective on the matter, a pattern of
“authentic” versus “inauthentic” ethnicity was developed, as best described
by Respondent 2:

\begin{quote}
R2: Um, well, see like there two kind of, like, Irish cultures. There’s Irish
American culture and there’s Irish culture. And the Irish American culture is
basically that which you see for the week leading up to St. Patrick’s Day: you
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{45} Ibid. Pg. 5.
\textsuperscript{46} Kallen, Jeffery. Pg. 37.
\textsuperscript{47} It was through that asking the students to express their concept of the ideal ethnicity, they would, in fact,
be expressing the ethnic goal they are attempting to achieve.
know, at the like, you know, green beer, green hats, shamrocks everywhere, you know. Like uh, mint chocolate chip shakes at, uh ...

L: McDonalds.

R2: McDonalds. And uh, like, green ice cream everywhere you go. You know, "The luck of the Irish t'you". Every, you know, uh, like every car company have little stupid Irish with the, uh, leprechaun walking across the bottom screen commercials? And, uh, it's sort of an Irish American invention, the largest part, the whole uh, "shellaly" and all that stuff. It's, uh ... it's not the culture that we accept. You know. That's sort of the Irish American culture and, actually, a large part of my extended family, my father's cousins and my father's brothers, uh actually they play in for a large part of that. Like, for instance, the bar music that is usually played: uh, like, guys standing up like "yeah" and it's all crowded and they're singing like "The Unicorn" or any Irish songs like that that really aren't Irish. They were written in English, you know. And they played largely by Americans. Know, it's like an Irish American culture: it's tackier, by my standards, because I study more of the Irish culture. The traditional music. The sean - os singing, you know. The sean - hos dance. Like all sorts of such things. Like the Gaelic accepted in the language, the traditional pipes, the fiddle... you know...

Respondent 2 is very committed to the concept of an accurate expression of ethnicity and is quite biased in his determination of this accuracy, even going so far as to say that the only real Irish in Ireland are located in the West of Ireland. He does feel, however, that most Irish-Americans can come to experience an authentic version of ethnicity, that it can be a learned process:

Yeah, it's definitely—it's definitely a step by step process. Like people will be interested in green beer on St. Patrick's day and then, say for instance, they're interested in green beer and they hear someone singing a song about a Unicorn, you know, or they hear them sing one of the Tommy Makem songs, like "Four Green Fields" or something in the bar while they're there on St. Patrick's Day. So they'll get interested in those such things and, you know, they'll try Guinness and say, oh this is nice, so they'll look a little bit further into it. Maybe they'll buy a Tommy Makem album, you know, or a Clancy Brothers' album. And, so, then while they're listening to the Clancy Brothers' album, perhaps there's Irish, you know, like a little fiddle tune on there. And they're thinking, oh this is interesting. And, so, they're listening to that and they, maybe, inquire, you know, and they find out about the AOH and the CCE and any number of those, uh, organizations and you know, they'll go and they'll join. It's, like, sure enough, they'll go and they'll have classes

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49 Ibid.
about certain things and maybe they’ll get into one thing or another. Maybe they’ll get into the dancing, maybe they’ll get into the music. You know, maybe they’ll get into the, uh, the language. But, they’ll take one of those steps, more than likely and then, like say they get into the dancing. They’ll start doing the dancing and the more they do the dancing, the more of the music they hear, so if they hear the music, they’re thinking to themselves, you know, oh, this music is great. I want to try and play this. So, they’ll take up an instrument, say the whistle or the flute, the fiddle, the guitar, any one of those, the bodhran. And they’ll start playing the music. They’ll find out about séisuns that are in the area and, so, maybe they go, maybe they start to perform, and they get together with, uh, a person who sings Irish and they get interested in the language. It sort of a, you know, a snowball effect and, it’s kind of amusing, ’cause most people go from the, you know, green beer stage to the Tommy Makem stage to the dancing to the music. And, eventually, when you get to the very end, you know, people who go and summer in Ireland and, like, you know, they stay in the Gaeltacht areas and they’re very into the culture and the language. And, they have all the recordings of all of the Irish musicians and, you know, have sort of abandoned the American Irish musician, and become kind of a snob of it. Such as I am.⁵⁰

While Respondent 2 has a very systematic approach to his/her version of ethnicity, the other respondents are not so discriminating. Respondent 5 lists the characteristics of Irish-American ethnicity as “pride for Ireland”, “proclaiming ‘Irishness’ without hesitation”, “learning the language, history and dance” and certain personality traits like wittiness, stubbornness and pride⁵¹. Yet, every respondent, when asked about the Irish language, felt that, ideally, every person should have some knowledge of it, though none felt that fluency should be a requirement, even if that was their own goal. Only Respondent 7 expressed any real confusion over whether Irish should or should not be included in the ideal Irish-American ethnicity, concerned about its utility⁵². Interesting to note is that Respondent 7’s family emigrated most recently to the United States from Ireland, arriving in Boston during the mid-twentieth century.

⁵⁰Ibid. (Although these quotes are quite long, they are included in their entirety so that the reader may get an impression of the student’s thought processes.)
⁵¹From March 26, 2001 interview with Respondent 5.
⁵²From March 8, 2001 interview with Respondent 7.
Perhaps even more important than their inclusion of Irish into the framework of Irish-American ethnicity is the acknowledgement all the participants make that immigrant ancestors would not have supported this change. Most explain this by delving into Irish-American lore, explaining how their (great) grandparents could not have possibly used to language because of the discrimination they faced in the New World:

the Irish Americans were, essentially, the slaves of the Northeast. uh, when they came over in the Teens, the Twenties, the Thirties and, uh, like, I mean, they worked for practically nothing, you know. It's like, uh, what were the signs? There were signs that used to be put out... uh, you know, "work for sale but no blacks, no Jews and no Irish. Like stuff like that."

These legends are particularly important to Irish-Americans today because they offer a way to explain what happened to "authentic" culture and legitimizes the attempt to regain it:

Irish Americans should be able to listen to their music. And should be able to do their dance. Be able to speak their language. And, uh, it's the benefits, you know, like the slaves came over and were in slavery for hundreds of years so that now they are free they can go back and find the identity of their great great ancestors that, you know, died in bondage so that now they can be free in a better land. Whether they wanted to or not, in the original, but it's sort of a matter of where did my family come from. You know, the fact that my family did this for me; how can I celebrate them? And it's by, you know, the proceeds of their culture, I guess."

And these legends are maintained even in the light of increasingly contradictory evidence, as discussed by Reginald Byron. Yet, this evidence will be ignored as the newest generations of Irish-American's need to lend an aura of appropriateness to their endeavors. It seems quite likely that the Irish Group and other similar individuals are in a process of redefining their ethnic and cultural heritage, a process that requires both innovation and perceived legitimacy.

53 Interview with Respondent 2.
54 Ibid.
55 For an excellent discussion of this, I refer you to Reginald Byron's book, Irish America.
The reason Respondent 7 is apparently so uncomfortable with this process is his/her proximity to the immigrant ancestor. As a second generation American the respondent is still in a process of assimilation and does not have the freedom to express a modified ethnicity as easily as the other students. As Herbert Gans discusses, “the symbols third generation ethnics use to express their identity are more visible than the ethnic cultures and organization of the first and second generation ethnics”. Gans further explains that the traumas of acculturation and assimilation, as well as the cultural views of the immigrant generation, are still very much so present in the minds and experiences of the first and second generations. While “for the third generation, the secular ethnic cultures which the immigrants brought with them are now only an ancestral memory, or an exotic tradition to be savored once in a while in a museum or at an ethnic festival”. The third generation may very well cling to the cultural legends of discrimination and despair, but they are not themselves affected by these feelings. Thus, the majority of the Irish Group can experience the sensation of “rescuing” their abandoned language without ever understanding visceral reaction experienced by Respondent 7.

In addition to the discomfort Respondent 7 feels when discussing the language is the fact that he/she most likely feels quite secure in his/her ethnicity. Having growth up in the same house his/her grandfather purchased and mother was raised in and maintaining a fairly close contact with the family remaining in Ireland, he/she may not feel any real need to incorporate

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57 Ibid.
58 In addition to purely theoretical considerations, the fact the Respondent 7’s mother knew a little Irish but chose not to teach him any may have had a profound affect on his perceptions of the utility and importance of the Irish language.
an additional cultural marker. However, the remainder of the Irish Group, far more separated from their Irish past:

has grown up without assigned roles or groups that anchor ethnicity, so that identity can no longer be taken for granted. People can of course give up their identity, but if they continue to feel it, they must make it more explicit than it was in the past, and must even look for ways of expressing it... in other words, as the functions of ethnic cultures and groups diminish and identity becomes the primary way of being ethnic, ethnicity takes on an expressive rather than instrumental function in people's lives, becoming more of a leisure-time activity and losing its relevance, say, to earning a living or regulating family life.^[59]

Compounding the issue of generations is the new emphasis on multiculturalism within the United States. Irish-American communities have had a difficult establishing a separate ethnicity from that of mainstream American culture^[60]. That pressure, combined with an explosion in the popularity of all things Celtic in international media^[61], undoubtedly plays a major role in encouraging Irish-Americans (and, indeed, those who are not of Irish descent) to explore the language, in effect linking the concept of culture with that of an ethnic identity^[62].

Although their intentions may be well placed, those individuals interested in acquiring Irish often fail. Many students find Irish extremely difficult and rarely advance beyond elementary courses:

Most member of the Gaelic League have taken Irish level one and do not go beyond that. To an American-born student, Irish is incredibly strange^[63]. Part of the problem in teaching Irish in America lies in the difficulties in acquiring the proper materials^[64], the time constraints imposed on Irish

^[59] Ibid.
^[61] One could argue, rather convincingly, that the overwhelming interest in Irish music expressed by the Irish language courses interviewed for this study supports this. The expansion of Irish music into the popular musical vernacular has been spectacular, with its tunes being heard on everything from car commercials to the soundtrack for the movie Titanic.
classes, and the difficulties in finding ways by which to practice the language. Yet, for some younger Irish-Americans interested in re-establishing a link with their ethnic past and with greater access to education and educational resources, this difficulty may encourage them, as it links their struggles with their ancestors’ difficulties.

It appears that not having had the firm ethnic experience of Respondent 7 and experiencing only “inauthentic” expressions of their heritage, at least until they have taken steps to remedy the matter, the other members of the Irish Group are forging a new, distinct identity. Incorporating the new American ideology of multiculturalism, which allows them the freedom to fully display their newfound ethnic expression, the Group is in the process of successfully re-framing their past and, mostly likely, changing their future.

There is a saying in Irish, “Tír gan teange, tír gan anam” – “A nation without a language, a nation without a soul”. It appears that some younger Americans are redefining the phrase and proclaiming that, even if their knowledge is limited: “Pobal gan teange, pobal gan anam” – “A people without a language, a people without a soul.”

64 Ibid, pg. 134.
Fig. 1: Reasons for Irish Study (n=9)

- Music: 17%
- Beauty: 17%
- Study: 17%
- Heritage: 49%
Fig. 3: Cultural Activities, Non-Irish Group (n=3)
Fig. 4: Cultural Activities (n=9)

- Festivals
- Dance
- Music
- Am. Civil War Re-enactment
- Irish Nationalism
- Plays/Literature
Fig. 5: Irish Group Cultural Activities
(n=6)

- Festivals
- Dance
- Music
- Civil War Recreation
- Irish Nationalism
- Plays/Literature
Fig 6: Ordinal Survey Part A
Fig. 7: Ordinal Survey Part B
Appendix 1

Below is a copy of the questionnaire distributed to the Fall 2000 semester Irish language classes at the University of Pennsylvania. Following the questionnaire are the student responses; each student has been assigned a respondent number and will be referred to as such in the paper.

Irish Language Questionnaire

Level of Irish:_________
1. What ethnicity would you describe yourself as?

2.  
   a. Have any relatives, within memory, emigrated from Ireland to the United States?  
   b. What was/is your relationship to these people?  
   c. From what county(ies) did they emigrate?  
   d. Did they speak Irish? To what extent was their proficiency? (eg: could understand, but not speak, Irish)

3.  
   a. Did you speak any Irish before beginning class at Penn?  
   b. In what contexts did you speak Irish? (eg: in prayers, giving speeches, giving toasts...)  
   c. How did you learn Irish before class? (eg: from a family member, a tape, the internet)

4. Why did you choose to learn Irish?

5. In what contexts have you used the Irish skills you’ve acquired in class?

6. Have you ever participated in other Irish culture activities, such as set or step dancing, ceilis, traditional Irish music, etc?

Student Replies

Respondent 1
Intermediate

1. Irish/Native American
   a. No.
   b. [blank]
   c. Ireland/Scotland
   d. ?

3.  
   a. Yes  
   b. Classes outside of a University setting  
   c. Class, tape

4. Beauty, heritage
5. Conversations with friends; writing poetry; reading
6. Set dancing, ceili, step, Ceoltais Ceoltoiri, trad. Music, Fleadhs, conventions, hill walking classes in Ireland, Irish festivals, St. Paddy’s Parades, Pub gathers, poetry readings, sesions (music and dancing)
Respondent 2

2nd Semester [this student had begun his/her Irish studies in the previous year and, therefore, was one semester ahead of his/her classmates]

1. Irish American
2. a. 12 Great Great Grandparents (half of mother’s) & I infant great grandfather (all of father’s side of family)
b. [see above, student diagrammed relationship]
c. Cork, Kerry, Clare
d. Don’t know.
3. a. No
b. [blank]
c. [blank]
4. Because I perform Irish music, and Gaelic songs are a large part of the repetoir [sic] and I would like to have a greater understanding of them
5. Saying hello to friends
6. Yes. All of the above, etc.

Respondent 3

1

1. White
2. a. Yes
b. Great grandfather, great grandmother
c. Mayo, Cork
d. Don’t know. (could find out if necessary)
3. a. No
b. [blank]
c. [blank]
4. Because it’s part of my heritage, it’s a pretty-sounding language., and because I wanted to be able to understand certain things in Irish (songs, sayings, etc.)
5. Haven’t had much opportunity to use it outside of class; Beginning to understand parts of Gaelic that I hear/read outside of class (songs, websites, etc.)
6. Not really.

Respondent 4
Beginner

1. Irish
2. a. Yes.
b. 3 grandparents
c. Donegal
d. My fathers [sic] mother was fluent in Irish
3. a. No
b. [blank]
c. [blank]
4. I want to learn more about my heritage. I’m majoring in Celtic studies and I am taking Irish to fill my language requirement
5. I went of an Irish immersion weekend with Daltai na Gaeilge [sic]
6. I listen to traditional Irish music frequently and I’ve attended the Phila ceili club’s music festival several times. I belong to the 28PA Volunteers reg’t, a civil war reenactment group. Since many soldiers in both armies were recent immigrants we study Irish culture to make our reenactments more authentic.
Respondent 5
1 Elementary

1. Irish-American
2. a. Yes
   b. Great grandparents
   c. Wicklow, Mayo
   d. No, not fluently, simple phrases, but could not speak or understand
3. a. Not really – a couple simple phrases
   b. prayers, sayings
   c. Family members
4. I chose to learn Irish b/c some family members had studied Irish at other universities and I thought it would be interesting
5. Telling family members what I have learned and in speaking with a friend who also takes beginning Irish at NYU
6. No

Respondent 6
Intermediate

1. Irish American
2. a. Grandfather (paternal)
   b. Granddaughter [sic]
   c. County Laois
   d. No – he was from the Midlands – far from the Gaeltacht
3. a. Not in any depth. although I could use some common phrases
   b. My sister and I used them in conversation, as exotic novelties for which we felt an affinity being Irish American
   c. From purchased phrase books, and a tape, since I bought it – it was hard to learn with a teacher
4. Being of Irish descent, I felt strongly about going my part to revive the national language of my ancestors, and to feel more at ease when I visited Ireland
5. It’s very hard to use Irish (as I’m sure you know!); I tried to initiate conversation in Ireland in Irish but most people were unwilling to show how little Irish they know.
6. Irish music (traditional) listening; ceilis, set dancing lessons, performing Irish traditional music- singing and playing the harp

Respondent 7
Beginning/1st semester

1. Irish- American
2. a. None that I have ever met. Both of my mother’s parents, and my father’s mother, emigrated to the US from Ireland, but they all passed away before I was born
   b. Maternal grandfather: Crosshaven, County Cork; Maternal grandmother: Cobh/Queenstown, County Cork; Paternal Grandfather: County Donegal
   c. I know both of my mother’s parents spoke Gaelic well, but used English to writ letters home, and raised my mother only to speak English.
3. a. No (aside from 10 or so choice words taught to me by my mother)
   b. n/a
   c. n/a
4. I was interested in getting to know my culture and family background better. I took Irish Literature (English 063) my freshman year, and travelled [sic] to Ireland for 2 weeks with my parents (for the 1st time) after sophomore year, and that really got me to start thinking about other Irish-related opportunities.
5. Demonstrating the language to relatives (for fun – none of my relatives in the US or in Ireland speak more than minimal Gaelic); Also for fun with friends

(Respondent 7, cont’d)

6. Went to an Irish Festival in Fairmount Park in September; Helped restart the Penn Celtic Society this fall — so far we haven’t been able to have many event/drum up much support without SAC funding [SAC-“Students’ Activity Council” provides funding to the student run groups on the University of Pennsylvania’s campus.]; Two summers ago the Congressional Candidate I was working for helped set up the Irish Famine Memorial in Boston.

Respondent 8
Intermediate

1. Goidelic Celt
   a. Not since 1847.
   b. [blank]
   c. [blank]
   d. [blank]
2. a. Yes
   b. In class
   c. From classes at the Irish Center in Philadelphia (ie the Commodore Barry Club)
3. a. To read Irish literature
4. b. In reading Irish-language books; very rarely in speaking to other speakers, either native or beginner
5. c. I used to be involved in traditional Irish music, but am not currently, not have I been for some years

Respondent 9
Elementary

1. I’m Portuguese
2. a. No.
   b. Friendship & interest
   c. n/a
   d. n/a
3. a. A little
   b. Small conversations
   c. Books & tapes
4. Because I’m interested in languages. I speak six languages. Also, I’ve been always [sic] interested in Celtic art/history & etc.
5. Yes. Talking to friends and Irish people.
6. Yes. Some festivals and Irish concerts & plays
Appendix Two

Respondent # ____

Irish Study Consent Form

I have been invited to participate in a study conducted by Lindsey Quinn for the completions of her senior thesis project. The project is designed to gather information about why students choose to study the Irish language, how they perceive their own ethnicity, and their perceptions of Irish-American ethnicity in general.

1. I am eighteen years of age or older.
2. My participation is voluntary and I will not be compensated.
3. I understand I have the right to decline to answer any question and/or terminate the interview at any time without penalty.
4. I understand that the interview will be conducted by Lindsey Quinn, taped, and notes taken during the interview. A transcript will be made of the conversation and may be quoted at length in the thesis.
5. I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name on the thesis or any subsequent publications of the material.
6. I understand that this study is being supervised by Dr. Bernard Wailes: Department of Anthropology, 33rd and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia, PA, 19104. Email: bwailes@upenn.edu
7. I grant permission for Lindsey Quinn to use the materials gathered from this interview in her senior thesis and in any subsequent publications based on these data.
8. I have been given copy of this consent form.

__________________________________________  _________________
Respondent Signature                      Date

__________________________________________
Respondent Name                          Lindsey Quinn

For further information, please contact:

Lindsey Quinn
Map 17  The decline of the Irish language

The stippling shows the areas where a minimum of 50 per cent of those born 1771–81 were Irish-speaking.

The stippling shows the areas where a minimum of 50 per cent of those born 1861–71 were Irish-speaking.

dePaor, Liam. p. 254.
Map 13  The shiring of Ireland: counties and provinces

de Paor, Liam. p.198.
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