

Univerzita Karlova v Praze
Fakulta humanitních studií
Katedra obecné antropologie

Revitalizace irštiny v postojích a názorech obyvatel Galway a Gaeltachtu Connemara

Autorka: Bc. Martina Kollinerová

Vedoucí práce: PhDr. Marek Halbich, PhD.

Rok odevzdání: 2011

Prohlašuji, že jsem práci napsala samostatně s použitím uvedené literatury a souhlasím s jejím eventuelním zveřejněním v tištěné nebo elektronické podobě.

V Praze.....

.....

Obsah:

1) Úvod.....	4
2) Teoretické zakotvení - Revitalizace jazyka	5
3) Metodologie a etika výzkumu.....	14
3.a) Metodologie výzkumu.....	14
3.b) Etika výzkumu.....	18
4) Revitalizace irštiny v postojích a názorech obyvatel Galway a Gaeltachtu Connemara	
4.1) Teoretický úvod.....	20
4.1.a) Irština – zařazení jazyka.....	20
4.1.b) Postoj Irů k jazyku a faktory, které jej ovlivňovaly v minulosti.....	23
4.1.c) Současný stav jazyka.....	31
4.1.d) Konkrétní jazykový plán pro irštinu 2010-2030.....	34
4.1.e) Praktická realizace jazykového plánu	41
4.2)Výzkum v Galway a Gaeltachtu Connemara.....	43
4.2.a) Is it reviving or dying?.....	45
4.2.b) „Who needs Irish?“ „I do, it´s a part of our heritage!“	58
4.2.c) „Tá cúpla focal agam.“	64
4.2.d) Užití irštiny v denním životě.....	70
4.2.e) Súil eile – jiný pohled na svět.....	75
4.2.f) Gaeilscoilleana vs. memorování textů – mluvená vs.psaná forma jazyka a fenomén Summer colleges.....	82
4.2.g) Mezigenerační předávání jazykové znalosti.....	90
4.2.h) Storytelling the language-revitalizace prostřednictvím lidového vyprávění.....	95
5) Závěr	100
6) Seznam použité literatury.....	103
7) Přílohy.....	105
7.a) Guide List	105
7.b) Rozhovory.....	106
7.c) Jazykový plán.....	196

1) Úvod

Globalizační tendence jsou v současné době hnacím motorem procesů, které postupně vedou k unifikaci sociokulturní reality, a potřeba jednotlivých etnik vymezit se vůči těmto tendencím stoupá. Součástí snah o zachování etnokulturní identity a jedinečnosti jsou také aktivity spojené s potřebou zachovat původní jazyk minoritních etnik nebo pokusy jej revitalizovat. Snahy o revitalizaci jazyků však ne vždy končí úspěchem, neboť se jedná o komplexní proces, závislý na řadě faktorů, který je nutno předem naplánovat a vytvořit pro něj strategii na základě hlubší analýzy jazykové situace. Jednou ze zemí, kde se prostřednictvím revitalizačních snah daří oživovat umírající jazyk, je Irsko. Irština měla být v současné době podle předpokladů řady lingvistů a jiných odborníků mrtvým jazykem. Přestože se stále zmenšuje oblast, kde lze obyvatele považovat za rodilé mluvčí, zdá se, že díky intenzivním revitalizačním snahám se oproti minulým dekádam tento proces zpomalil. Kromě toho roste rovněž počet mluvčích žijících mimo tyto oblasti a mluvit irsky se stává módním trendem mladé generace Irů.

V této práci se pokusím zmínit revitalizační faktory, které mi připadají pro případ Irska zásadní a budou mě rovněž zajímat především postoje Irů k celému procesu a k naplňování jednotlivých faktorů. V prosinci 2009 vypracovala irská vláda na základě řady výzkumů v oblastech s vysokou (Gaeltacht, irsky mluvící oblasti) i nízkou (Galltacht, anglicky mluvící oblasti) vitalitou jazyka tzv. Strategii jazykového plánování pro následujících 20 let. Po přečtení Strategie a provedení výzkumu v oblasti Galway a přilehlého Gaeltachtu Connemara jsem byla nucena položit si několik zásadních otázek. Koresponduje tato Strategie s názory běžných obyvatel Galway? Mají všichni dostatečnou motivaci a stejný cíl? Věří tomu, že mají revitalizační snahy smysl? Nepromítají se do motivace některé negativní faktory, které strategie jazykového plánování pro nastávajících 20 let opomíjí? Vzala v úvahu historické perspektivy? Neopomíjí některý z faktorů, například fenomén lidového vyprávění, mluvené slovo, které má v Irsku velkou tradici?

2) Teoretické ukotvení

Revitalizace jazyka

Unifikační a globalizační tendence ovlivňují řadu oblastí života společnosti včetně sféry jazyka a etnicity, v nichž v současné době sílí procesy asimilace. Řada jazyků se tak ocitá ve velkém ohrožení, a pokud přestanou být předávány z generace na generaci jako mateřské, jsou téměř odsouzeny k zániku. Velmi destruktivní pro řadu jazyků je globální užívání angličtiny, španělštiny a další jazyků, které slouží jako lingua franca dneška v oblastech jako je obchod, veřejná správa ale i vzdělávání.

Michael Krauss¹ dělí jazyky do tří skupin: umírající, ohrožené a ty, které jsou v bezpečí. Pojmem umírající můžeme definovat ty jazyky, které se již děti neučí jako mateřské. Ty jsou podle Krausse odsouzeny k zániku i přesto, že nelze vyloučit, že mohou být znovu oživeny. Do skupiny ohrožených lze zařadit ty jazyky, které se děti stále učí jako mateřské, ale za stávajících podmínek lze předpokládat, že během následujícího století tomu tak už nebude. Všechny ostatní jazyky pak patří do kategorie těch, co jsou v bezpečí. Irštinu bychom mohli zařadit mezi ohrožené. K ohrožení nebo tzv. smrti jazyka může dojít na základě různých faktorů. Jedná se především o důsledek soupeření minoritního jazyka s dominantním jazykem nebo jazyky, přičemž s jazykem často mizí i etnická osobitost skupiny, která minoritním jazykem mluvila. Jazyková smrt může být i důsledkem vymření určitého etnika v důsledku epidemie, přírodní katastrofy nebo etnických bojů. Za posledních 500 let zmizelo podle George Brodericka² v důsledku kolonialismu, expanzí majoritních etnik, formování národních států a rozvoje dopravy a komunikace podle odhadů zmizela téměř polovina známých jazyků světa. Tento proces se zdá nezadržitelný a má zrychlující se tendenci. Lingvisté se shodují na tom, že pokud se bude situace vyvíjet jako nadále, zmizí v tomto století celých 90 % jazyků světa.

Zbývající živé keltské jazyky (část z nich je již mrtvá), mezi něž irština patří, jsou bez výjimky ohrožené všechny. Jazyková smrt v minulém století postihla manštinu, jejíž poslední rodilý mluvčí Ned Maddrell zemřel v roce 1974. Snaha o její revitalizaci se na ostrově Man

¹ KRAUSS, M.: The world's language in crisis in *Language*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Mar., 1992)

² BRODERICK, G.: *Language Death in the Isle of Man*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999.

objevuje i po její smrti a probíhá na základě dochovaných kvalitních audionahrávek a textů. Zásadním textem je například překlad Bible do manštiny, jež lze porovnávat s překlady do jiných jazyků a rekonstruovat tak jazyk. Rovněž lze zaznamenat snahu prosadit manštinu do škol a vytvořit alespoň několik pořadů v manštině v rozhlasovém vysílání. Do jaké míry mohou být takové snahy úspěšné, však nelze v současné době odhadnout. Velmi ohroženým jazykem z této skupiny je bretonština, která má stále se zmenšující omezenou skupinu mluvčích v západní části Bretaně skládající se z valné většiny ze starších obyvatel. I u bretonštiny však můžeme pozorovat snahy o revitalizaci, především pak snahy prosadit jazyk jako jeden z volitelných předmětů ve školách nebo dvojjazyčné názvy na informačních tabulích a dopravních značkách po celé Bretani. Z keltských jazyků si v revitalizaci jazyka naopak velmi dobře vede velština, jejíž počet mluvčích stoupá. Podle oficiálních zdrojů z průzkumu Welsh Language Board³ jazykem v roce 2004 mluvilo okolo 611 000 mluvčích, což je 21% obyvatel Walesu. Velština je oficiálním jazykem, pronikla do médií, především do rozhlasu, a její mluvčí mají rovněž možnost dát své potomky do škol, které vyučují ve velštině. Revitalizační snahy se konečně projevují s menší účinností i u skotské gaelštiny, které byl udělen oficiální status v rámci EU a která má rovněž vlastní média a je vyučována na školách. Počet jejích mluvčích však bohužel podle oficiálních průzkumů klesá.

Faktor, určující do jaké míry je jazyk možné jazyk zařadit pod jednu z výše zmíněných kategorií, co se týče ohrožení, je možno nazvat životní vůlí nebo také vitalitou jazyka. Jazyková vitalita je míra, ve které jazyková menšina uchovává živý jazyk, rozsah jeho běžného užívání a šíří jeho funkcí. Může být zvyšována prostřednictvím zvyšování prestiže jazyka, jeho institucionální podpory, jazykové politiky a jazykového plánování. Nejzásadnějším ukazatelem zvyšování vitality jazyka je však bezpochyby rozšiřování počtu mluvčích, v ideálním případě rodilých mluvčích. Proces cíleně vytvářeného zvyšování vitality jazyka prostřednictvím výše zmíněných metod pak nazýváme revitalizací nebo také termínem, který zavedl Joshua Fishman Reversing Language Shift. Language Shift, neboli přechod k jinému jazyku, může být vysvětlena jako postupný přechod od minoritního jazyka k majoritnímu, který se vyvíjí přes stadium bilingvismu a končí úplným nahrazením minoritního jazyka majoritním. Opačný proces, kdy minoritní jazyk opět získává svou vitalitu, může být nazýván Reversing Language Shift nebo tedy návrat k jazyku. Fishman definuje RLS v knize Reversing Language Shift⁴ jako proces o osmi fázích⁵⁶, který

³ <<http://www.byig-wlb.org.uk/English/Pages/index.aspx>>

⁴ FISHMAN, J. : *Reversing language Shift: Theory and Practice of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, Clevedon: Multilingual matters, 1991.

představuje jakýsi evoluční časový sled revitalizačních snah, které musí nutně probíhat v daném pořadí. Předchozí fáze jsou přitom podmínkou pro pokračování procesu v další fázi. Snahy o revitalizaci neboli RLS by se měly soustředit především na základní fáze, po jejichž naplnění lze pokračovat v revitalizaci na úrovni dalších fází. Osm fází procesu RLS by mělo probíhat v tomto pořadí⁷:

„Acquisition of the language by adults, who in effect act as language apprentices (recommended where most of the remaining speakers of the language are elderly and socially isolated from other speakers of the language).

Create a socially integrated population of active speakers (or users) of the language (at this stage it is usually best to concentrate mainly on the spoken language rather than the written language).

In localities where there are a reasonable number of people habitually using the language, encourage the informal use of the language among people of all age groups and within families and bolster its daily use through the establishment of local neighbourhood institutions in which the language is encouraged, protected and (in certain contexts at least) used exclusively.

In areas where oral competence in the language has been achieved in all age groups encourage literacy in the language but in a way that does not depend upon assistance from (or goodwill of) the state education system.

Where the state permits it, and where numbers warrant, encourage the use of the language in compulsory state education.

⁵ Tamtéž

⁶ FISHMAN, J. : *Can Threatened Languages be saved?*, Clevedon: Multilingual matters, 2001.

⁷ FISHMAN, J. : *Reversing language Shift: Theory and Practice of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, Clevedon: Multilingual matters, 1991.

Where the above stages have been achieved and consolidated, encourage the use of the language in the workplace (lower worksphere).

Where the above stages have been achieved and consolidated encourage the use of the language in local government services and mass media.

Where the above stages have been achieved and consolidated encourage use of the language in higher education, government etc.“

Tento model staví především na vytvoření určité komunity mluvčích, která užívá jazyk přirozeně v denním životě a předává jej dalším generacím. Teprve existuje-li taková komunita, má smysl vytvářet intervence v rámci jazykové politiky jako je například zavedení povinné výuky jazyka do škol, povinnou jazykovou vybavenost na určitých pracovištích nebo podporu médií v minoritním jazyce. Není podle Fishmana naopak efektivní začít s jazykovou politikou, pokud není pro koho. Existence určité komunity aktivních mluvčích je pro revitalizační snahy tedy naprosto zásadní. Fishman však dodává, že aplikace modelu na situaci v Irsku je poněkud problematická⁸, a přestože má paralely se situacemi, v nichž se nalézají i jiné evropské jazyky, například velština, katalánština, situace v Baskicku nebo v nizozemské provincii Frísko je velmi specifická. Je tomu především proto, že právě v Irsku se stát pokusil vyřešit problém umírajícího minoritního jazyka nejprve tím, že jej s počátkem samostatného irského státu znovuustavil jako národní jazyk. Je to v evropském kontextu zcela ojedinělé řešení. Přestože tento krok nevedl k velkému úspěchu, dodal irským snahám o revitalizaci jedinečný charakter. Jazyková politika byla aplikována plošně, nezávisle na tom, že jazyková situace byla jiná v západních irsky mluvících oblastech, tzv. Gaeltachtu, a zbytku země, kde byla a stále je komunikačním jazykem angličtina. Pro Gaeltacht byla jazyková politika podle Fishmanova modelu jistě adekvátním krokem, nikoliv však pro anglicky mluvící oblasti, kde bylo potřeba nejprve vytvořit bilingvinní komunitu, která by byla schopná komunikovat v irštině a která v tu dobu v podstatě neexistovala. Irská jazyková politika tedy nepostupovala podle Fishmanova modelu a spojila několik fází, které aplikovala simultánně nikoli postupně, jak je Fishman ve výše zmíněném modelu definoval. Během 20. století tak byly aplikovány souběžně všechny fáze revitalizačních snah, jako jsou ekonomická opatření pro Gaeltacht, jazyková výuka ve školách, ustavení podmínky ovládat jazyk pro zaměstnance

⁸ FISHMAN, J. : *Can Threatened Languages be saved?*, Clevedon: Multilingual matters, 2001.

veřejného sektoru, jazyková standardizace, která vedla k vytvoření standardní formy jazyka vycházející ze všech třech dialektů, podpora rozhlasového a televizního vysílání v irštině a řada dalších opatření, která měla za úkol propagovat a rozšiřovat irštinu. Některá z těchto opatření byla aplikována na celé Irsko, jiná pak byla omezena na oblasti Gaeltachtu. Ve výsledku nelze říci, že snaha ustavit irštinu jako národní jazyk byla úspěšná, nicméně výsledky jazykové politiky nelze považovat ani za zanedbatelné. Nejen že se podařilo zpomalit umírání jazyka v oblastech Gaeltachtu, přestože stále ještě dochází k jejich zmenšování, ale podařilo se rovněž také zvýšit úroveň jazyka v anglicky mluvících oblastech a vytvořit bilingvinní skupinu obyvatel.

Dalším autorem, který se věnuje jazykové smrti a jazykové revitalizaci, je David Crystal. V knize *Language Death*⁹ definuje faktory, které vedou k přechodu k jinému jazyku, mezi něž je nutné zařadit skupinu faktorů, které přímo fyzicky ohrožují mluvčí, jako jsou špatné životní podmínky, nemoci, zneužívání, politické a ekonomické faktory apod., které jsou příčinou jazykové smrti například řady afrických jazyků, ale také skupinu faktorů spojených s kulturou. Termín, který je v této souvislosti často zmiňován, je kulturní asimilace. Kulturní asimilací můžeme nazvat proces, v němž je zpravidla minoritní kultura ovlivněna majoritní kulturou natolik, že postupně přejímá nové vzory chování charakteristické pro majoritní kulturu a zároveň tak ztrácí svou jedinečnost. V procesu asimilace jedné kultury druhou podle Crystala procházejí ohrožené jazyky stejným procesem. Jedná se o tři základní stadia. V prvním stadiu dochází k velkému tlaku na minoritní mluvčí, aby používali majoritní jazyk, a to z politických, sociálních nebo ekonomických důvodů. Může se jednat o zákony a nařízení, ale také o obrácenou strategii, jíž jsou módní trendy nebo nátlak vrstevníků zevnitř společnosti, jíž je mluvčí minoritního jazyka součástí. Druhou fází je fáze bilingvismu a třetí pak fáze přechodu k majoritnímu jazyku. Zachránit jazyk a zastavit přechod k majoritnímu jazyku nebo zahájit návrat zpět k jazyku původnímu je podle Crystala možné pouze v prvních dvou fázích procesu kulturní asimilace.

Zmíněné faktory ovlivňující vitalitu jazyka mají zásadní vliv na postoje lidí k jazyku a na jazykové ideologie, které jsou zásadními motivačními faktory pro návrat k jazyku nebo k opačnému procesu, tedy přechodu k jinému jazyku. Tím nejdůležitějším, co je potřeba při snahách o revitalizaci jazyka již apriori mít a znát, je totiž adekvátní ideje, jakýsi *raison d'être*, proč vlastně jazyk zachovat a revitalizovat a vedle toho rovněž cíl, kterého chci prostřednictvím konkrétních revitalizačních snah dosáhnout. Konkrétní cíle a prostředky

⁹ CRYSTAL, D.: *Language Death*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

k jejich dosažení jsou obsaženy v jazykových plánech a onen *raison d' être* bývá často jazykovou ideologií, která je tím skutečným hnacím motorem revitalizačních snah. Jazyková ideologie byla definována řadou definic, například jako „soubor přesvědčení o jazyce, které artikulují jeho uživatelé ve snaze vysvětlit a ospravedlnit jazykovou strukturu a její užití“¹⁰ nebo také jako „sdílený obsah představ o povaze jazyka založených na common sense.“¹¹ Jazyková ideologie se projevuje v postojích k jazyku, které mají na jeho vitalitu zásadní vliv. Takovou nejčastěji zmiňovanou motivací pro revitalizaci jazyka je zachování etnické a kulturní svébytnosti, jíž je specifický jazyk nedílnou a základní součástí. Šatava pro ilustraci cituje Joshuu Fishmana: „Každý jazyk potřebuje ideu – cíl a vizi stojící nad světskou a racionální rovinou -, aby přežival. Základní a minimálně nosnou ideou je imperativ zůstat svébytnou etnojazykovou entitou; jazyková komunita, která bojuje o přežití, musí při svém úsilí hájit tuto ideu přede všemi ostatními.“¹² Dalšími motivačními faktory mohou být i snaha o zachování kulturního dědictví, potřeba zachovat jazykovou diverzitu a jedinečnost způsobu vyjádření v každém jazyce, jenž je nepřeložitelný do jiného jazyka, a podle autorů knihy *Vanishing voices* rovněž také zachování takzvané biolingvistické diverzity¹³. Autoři knihy Daniel Nettle a Suzanne Romaine jsou přesvědčeni, že existuje nápadná korelace mezi oblastmi s velkou biodiverzitou a oblastmi s velkou jazykovou diverzitou. Pojem biolingvistická diverzita je tak podle autorů definován jako: „široké spektrum života zahrnující všechny pozemské druhy rostlin a zvířat spolu s lidskými kulturami a jejich jazyky“¹⁴. Zmizí-li jazyková diverzita, bude to mít rovněž negativní důsledky pro biodiverzitu. Ne vždy je ale paradoxně snaha o jedinečnost ku prospěchu v procesu návratu k jazyku a především zastavení vlivu majoritního jazyka na něj. Mayské jazyky v Jižní Americe mají naopak podle Nory C. England¹⁵ tendenci k jisté unifikaci, jež je nezbytná, mají-li obstát coby moderní komunikační jazyky vedle stále se rozšiřující majoritní španělštiny. Unifikací je míněno především zastavení diverzifikace mayských jazyků na další a další dialekty a samostatné jazyky, konec uznávání jednotlivých dialektů za samostatné jazyky a konečně snaha vypracovat společný základ všech dialektů každého jazyka, aby

¹⁰ WOOLAND, A.K, SCHIFFELIN, B.B.: *Language Ideology in Annul Review of Anthropology*, Vol 23. 1994.

¹¹ Tamtéž

¹² ŠATAVA, L: *Jazyk a identita etnických menšin*, Praha: Slon, 2009.

¹³ NETTLE, D, ROMAINE, S.: *Vanishing Voices*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

¹⁴ Tamtéž

¹⁵ ENGLAND, N.: *Mayan Language Revival and Revitalization Politics: Linguists and Linguistic Ideologies*, in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 105, No. 4, 2003.

mohla být vytvořená standardizovaná forma jazyka, která je schopná obstát jako moderní komunikační jazyk vedle španělštiny.

Při rozhodování o tom, jakou intervenci zvolit v rámci jazykového plánování, je tedy podle Crystala nutné brát v potaz jednak zmíněné faktory, které vedly k úpadku jazyka, a jednak jazykové ideologie a postoje k jazyku. Teprve na základě důkladné analýzy je možné zvolit vhodnou strategii intervence vedoucí k zastavení přechodu k majoritnímu jazyku a návratu k jazyku minoritnímu. Analýza jazykové situace je nutná už v okamžiku, kdy je potřeba se rozhodnout, zda je nějaká snaha o intervenci ještě vůbec na místě.

Je-li ještě šance a vůle pro záchranu upadajícího jazyka, lze pro konkrétní situaci zvolit různé typy intervence a naplánovat vhodnou strategii. Crystal definuje šest základních faktorů intervence, které vedou k úspěšné revitalizaci jazyka¹⁶ a ze kterých je možno vybírat.

1. „Ohrožený jazyk bude dělat pokroky, pokud jeho mluvčí nějakým způsobem zvýší jeho prestiž v rámci majoritní komunity.
2. Ohrožený jazyk bude dělat pokroky, pokud jeho mluvčí zlepší svou finanční situaci v poměru k finanční situaci dominantní komunity.
3. Ohrožený jazyk bude dělat pokroky, pokud jeho mluvčí zvýší jeho legitimitu v očích dominantní komunity.
4. Ohrožený jazyk bude dělat pokroky, pokud bude mít silnou pozici ve vzdělávacím systému.
5. Ohrožený jazyk bude dělat pokroky, pokud budou jeho mluvčí schopni užívat jeho psanou formu.
6. Ohrožený jazyk bude dělat pokroky, pokud jeho mluvčí budou schopni využívat elektronické technologie.“

Při revitalizaci jazyka tedy není patrně nezbytně nutné zachovat sled fází revitalizačních snah, jak je definuje Fishman, jenž později sám přiznává, že konkrétně v případě Irska jeho model nebyl naplněn, a přesto revitalizační snahy dosáhly viditelných výsledků. Důležité je spíše zhodnotit jazykovou situaci, která je vždy jedinečná, a pak začít vhodným způsobem intervenovat v určitých zvolených oblastech. Je nutno vzít v potaz faktory, které ovlivnily úpadek jazyka, jazykové ideologie a postoje k jazyku a rovněž také historii a postoje lidí k jazyku v minulosti. Dále je nutno stanovit si cíle a na základě motivace vytvořit strategii

¹⁶ CRYSTAL, D.: *Language Death*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

vedoucí ke stanovenému reálnému cíli, jímž je v případě ohrožených jazyků často v první fázi bilingvismus.

Oblasti, v nichž probíhají v současné době největší revitalizační snahy konkrétně v Irsku, jsou především:

Postoj/vztah k jazyku je zásadní revitalizační faktor a lze v souvislosti s ním mluvit i o jazykové volbě nebo přepínání kódů. Můžeme si stanovit několik sfér užití jazyka: osobní (např. snění, klení, modlení), rodinnou (interakce s partnerem a členy rodiny), komunální (přátelé, blízké okolí, obecní a církevní záležitosti), transakční (obchodní interakce) a oficiální (úřední styk, pracovní komunikace, komunikace s učiteli). Čím více sfér praktického užití jazyka a četnosti užití, tím přirozenějším prostředkem komunikace jazyk je a k jako takovému se k němu mluvčí vztahují. Čím lepší je postoj k menšinovému jazyku, tím spíše padne jazyková volba na onen jazyk, rozhoduje-li se mluvčí, zda ho v té či oné doméně použije. U menšinových jazyků se podle Šatavy¹⁷ jako nejsilnější ukazuje rodinná doména a dále pak doména komunální. K přepínání kódů, neboli střídavé užívání materií dvou nebo více jazykových kódů jediným mluvčím v rámci téže řečové události, pak dochází ve všech doménách, zejména pak oficiální.

Prestiž a propagace jazyka: Menšinový jazyk bývá často pokládán za méně prestižní. V ideálním případě by měla být menšinová řeč vnímána alespoň jako alternativa, nikoli jako něco zbytečného. S tím souvisejí i cílené snahy o zvýšení prestiže menšinového jazyka. I mnozí příznivci menšinového jazyka přepínají jazykové kódy a přecházejí v hovoru do většinového jazyka, ocitnou-li se v oficiálním prostředí. Běžný bývá i hovor členů skupiny ve většinovém jazyce kvůli jednomu členovi, který menšinovým jazykem nemluví. Kontakt s neznámými osobami pak již bývá často zahajován pouze ve většinovém jazyce. Mluvčí menšinového jazyka předpokládá, že jeho znalost nelze obecně předpokládat. Ke zvýšení prestiže a navození motivace k užívání menšinového jazyka je potřeba užít tradičních i moderních metod. Je zde možnost poukázat na specifika kulturní tradice a folklor, ale také popularizovat menšinový jazyk novou tvorbou, jako jsou filmy, populární hudba či knihy.

Úřední styk: Tato oblast revitalizačních snah zahrnuje například korespondenci s úřady v minoritním jazyce, formuláře, oficiální možnost užívání forem jmen a příjmení na bázi mateřského jazyka, dvojjazyčné nápisy a tabulky apod. Od samotných úředníků je rovněž požadováno, aby poskytovali své služby jak v majoritním, tak i v minoritním jazyce. V této

¹⁷ ŠATAVA, L: *Jazyk a identita etnických menšin*, Praha: Slon, 2009.

souvislosti existuje i zvýhodnění bilingvinních osob na trhu práce. Ve státních službách mohou najít větší uplatnění než lidé, kteří mají stejnou kvalifikaci, ale ovládají minoritní jazyk. U některých pozic může být znalost jazyka i nutnou podmínkou pro přijetí. V praxi se však můžeme setkat s různou mírou dodržování těchto ustanovení. Jsou-li dodržována, udržuje se jistá prestiž jazyka a jeho mluvčí mají pocit rovnoprávnosti. Jejich ryze formální nebo symbolické realizování však naopak může mít za následek i zmenšení a limitaci hodnoty znalosti minoritního jazyka a jeho prestiže.

Média a elektronické technologie: V rámci médií je cílem zajistit přítomnost a především běžnou dostupnost menšinového jazyka. Pravidelné rozhlasové a televizní vysílání přispívá ke zvýšení prestiže jazyka a rovněž jej přirozeně zařazuje do běžného každodenního života. Nemalý význam mají rovněž webové stránky v menšinovém jazyce, elektronické technologie a tištěná periodika. Přestože je mediální sféra jen jedním z mnoha prostředků, jimiž lze napomoci k revitalizaci jazyka, získává v poslední době velký vliv zejména na mladé lidi a je tedy v jazykovém plánování potřeba brát v potaz specifické zájmy a záliby mládeže, ať už to je hudební popkultura, film, počítačový software nebo literatura. I prostřednictvím těchto aktivit lze výrazně zvýšit popularitu a prestiž jazyka.

Literatura v psané i mluvené formě a další kulturní aktivity: Podpora literárních kulturních aktivit zahrnuje nejen vydávání klasické literatury a slovníků, ale také podporu vzniku nové moderní literatury v jazyce a dalších kulturních aktivit jako je dramatická tvorba, hudební tvorba, film či rozhlasové hry. Moderní oblíbenou formou jsou rovněž audioknihy.

Školství: Předškolní a školní výuka potažmo středoškolská a vysokoškolská by měla navazovat na přirozený základ daný v rodině a je považována za jeden ze základních prvků revitalizačního procesu. Ideální situací pak je taková situace, kdy se jazyková výuka neomezuje jen na členy menšiny, ale účastní se jí všechny děti. Pokud neexistuje jazykový základ z rodiny, využívají školy s úspěchem metodu imerze, neboli immersion education. „Metoda imerzní dvojjazyčné jazykové výchovy, při níž je dítě ve školním zařízení vystaveno intenzivnímu (v prvních letech pokud možno ve stoprocentní míře, později může tento podíl klesnout na 80% či až na 50 %) působení druhého (= nemateřského) jazyka, vznikla v roce 1965 v Kanadě v provincii Québec s cílem zprostředkovat francouzštinu a frankofonní kulturu dětem z anglicky mluvících rodin.“¹⁸ Nemělo by se zapomínat ani na vzdělávání dospělých. Pokud však jazyková výuka probíhá pouze ve škole, může být taková výuka

¹⁸ ŠATAVA, L: *Jazyk a identita etnických menšin*, Praha: Slon, 2009.

nedostačující pro to, aby mohl být jazyk běžně používán. Je potřeba užívání jazyka rozšířit i na mimoškolní činnosti, aby se jeho užívání stalo přirozeným i v běžném životě.

Ekonomika: Využití menšinového jazyka v oblasti ekonomiky hraje při procesu revitalizace rovněž svou roli. Pro posilování prestiže a významu jazyka je rovněž významným faktorem zvýhodnění mluvčích na trhu práce. Vznik pracovních míst, v jejichž pracovní náplni je podmínkou užívání menšinového jazyka, například ve státních službách, jako jsou školy, úřady ale i obchody nebo služby, je pro mluvčí často přesvědčivější než argumenty jazykových aktivistů. Důležitou součástí strategie v oblasti ekonomiky je rovněž užití jazyka při označování prodejen, reklamních tabulí nebo na etiketách zboží. Možná je i finanční podpora státu při podnikání v oblastech, které mohou pomoci k revitalizaci jazyka či podpora vzniku pracovních příležitostí v oblastech, kde je minoritní jazyk jazykem mateřským a odkud by jinak obyvatelé migrovali za prací.

3) Metodologie a etika výzkumu

3.a) Metodologie výzkumu

Zvolila jsem dvě základní metody výzkumu a to polostrukturované rozhovory a zúčastněná pozorování revitalizačních snah v oblasti Galway a okolí.

Strukturované rozhovory jsem koncipovala na základě teoretických znalostí o oblastech revitalizace jazyka se snahou zjistit co nejvíce informací jednak o postoji respondenta k rodnému jazyku a jednak o skutečných snahách, které respondent vyvíjí, aby jazyk přežil. Struktura rozhovoru byla záměrně volena v pořadí, v jakém je v guide listu. První tři otázky jsou obecnějšího charakteru, dovolují respondentovi rozhovořit se a zaměřují se spíše na postoje a obecná hodnocení o vitalitě jazyka, jeho významu a jeho popularitě. Většina respondentů se opravdu v první části interview rozhovořila a pokoušela se objektivně zhodnotit situaci. Otázkou ohledně významu jazyka, kterou jsem se rozhodla zařadit na základě četby nedávno vydané publikace *Who needs Irish?*¹⁹ a která se mi zdá poměrně zásadní pro celý výzkum, neboť se ptá právě na motivaci, jež je pramenem postoje k jazyku a základem jazykové ideologie, byla část respondentů zaskočena. Někteří si ji vysvětlovali

¹⁹ MAC MURCHAIDH, C.: *Who Needs Irish?*, Dublin: Veritas, 2004.

jako otázku po praktickém využití jazyka, jiní se skutečně ptali po významu jazyka a někteří shrnuli více aspektů. Někteří, jak se později ukázalo, sice mluvili o velkém významu irštiny pro zachování kulturního dědictví, což se zdá být jedním z nejčastějších postojů k jazyku, ale v dalších otázkách byli nuceni přiznat, že sami jazyk neovládají, což mě upozornilo na skutečnost, se kterou jsem předem nepočítala, a to, že se jedná o poměrně citlivé téma. Velká část respondentů dokázala velmi přesvědčivě mluvit o jazykové ideologii, ale aktivní zapojení se do revitalizačních snah už prokázala jen část z nich. Kdybych zvolila pořadí otázek obráceně, zřejmě by neodpovídali stejně.

V další části rozhovoru, po tom, co měli respondenti možnost vyjádřit postoj, aniž by dopředu věděli, že se budu ptát konkrétněji, jsem jim položila osobnější otázky týkající se jejich vlastní znalosti jazyka, způsobu, jakým ji získali, a možností jeho praktického využití. Struktura rozhovoru tak měla kromě získaných konkrétních informací rovněž za úkol odhalit používání prázdných pojmů jako je v fráze „it's a part of our heritage.“, kterou používali téměř všichni. Přiznáním, že umí „cúpla focal“, museli někteří dát najevo, že pro ně sice jazyk má určitý význam, ale ne takový, aby se aktivně zapojili do procesu revitalizace.

Otázky týkající se budoucnosti a předávání jazyka budoucí generaci se týkaly jen některých respondentů a vyjadřují dle mého názoru rovněž také jistou informaci o postoji, co se týče optimismu nebo pesimismu a vedle toho rovněž o motivaci. Většina respondentů věří, že má smysl učit příští generaci rodnému jazyku a posílat je do irsky mluvících škol. Někteří však mají jisté výhrady a jiní to považují v době, kdy lingua franca v oblasti Evropy je angličtina, za nepraktické, a dokonce zbytečné.

Poslední okruh otázek se částečně kryje s otázkami týkajícími se budoucí generace, neboť je dle mého názoru úzce provázán právě s výukou a předáváním jazyka z generace na generaci, který je pro Irsko příznačný, a tím je lidové vyprávění nebo také storytelling. Lidové vyprávění je v současné době zřejmě již považováno za přežitek a v literatuře týkající se revitalizace jazyka se jako faktor neuvádí. Pro Irsko je však tradice lidových vyprávěčů typická a i v současné době je možné se s nimi setkat. Mytologické i obyčejné příběhy podané formou mluveného slova lze slyšet při různých příležitostech a vyprávěči se často neomezují na dětské publikum.

Pro některé respondenty z řad jazykových aktivistů byly otázky týkající se lidového vyprávění poněkud překvapivé, ale později přiznali, že řada příběhů na ně měla právě při motivaci k výuce jazyka silný vliv. Mait Ó Brádaigh, sociolinguista a jazykový aktivista, který tento faktor ve svém dlouhém vyprávění opomíjí, přiznává mimo diktafon, že pojmenoval dceru podle postavy z irské mytologie. Dodává, že lidové vyprávění a mytologie

je faktor, o kterém jako sociolinguista v procesu revitalizace irštiny aktivně neuvažuje, ale jistým podvědomým způsobem jej velmi ovlivnil.

Poněkud problematické se ukázalo, že umím částečně irsky. To, co jsem předpokládala jako výhodu, se nakonec ukázalo jako jistý blok mezi respondenty a mnou. Právě ti, kteří se irskému jazyku příliš nevěnovali, nebyli příliš ochotní sdělovat mi upřímně své názory. Setkala jsem se i s tím, že mi jedna respondentka otevřeně lhala, přestože věděla, že svým tvrzením popírá to, co řekla před několika okamžiky. Později jsem pochopila, že otázka po znalosti irštiny je pro Iry v období, kdy prochází revitalizací, velmi citlivá. Ti, kteří jazyk neovládají na komunikační úrovni, tuto skutečnost považují za jistý handicap, za který se stydí. Promluví-li na ně irsky cizinec, je to pro ně ještě více zahanbující situace, přestože umí jen základní fráze. Podle odpovědí mají Irové poměrně dobré povědomí o tom, že i čeština měla v jistou dobu určité problémy s majoritní němčinou, a přesto obstála. I skutečnost, že náležím k mluvčím jazyka, který si svou autonomii udržel, mohla zřejmě přispět k onomu pocitu studu a neupřímnosti v některých odpovědích.

Guide list výzkumu byl tedy následující a na otázky odpovědělo 15 náhodných respondentů.

Pro přepis rozhovorů jsem použila jeffersonovský způsob přepisu audiozáznamu.

Guide list

Name (could be anonymous):

Current job/Subject of study:

Education:

Dwelling place (Gaeltacht/Galltacht):

1)What do you think about current stage of Irish language? (Is it reviving or dying? Why?)

2)Do Irish people really need Irish language today? Why yes / why not? Are they interested in it?

(3)Do you think it's a fashion to speak Irish?)

4)Do you speak Irish? If yes, what level? Do you like the language?

5)Do you use Irish language? If yes, how often?

6)Where did you learn the language?

5a) Did your parents speak Irish at home with you?

5b) Is Irish your mother tongue?

- 7) Do you need Irish language for work (studies)?
- 8) Do you watch Tg4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta? How often? Which programmes do you prefer?
- 9) Do you want your children (future children) to speak Irish? Why?
- 8a) Do (would) you speak Irish with your children?
 - 8b) Do (would) you send your children to Gaeilscoil?
 - 8c) Do (would) you tell them stories, myths or legends?
- 10) Did you yourself listen to storytelling as a child or nowadays?
- 11) Do you remember some of the stories? Which?
- 12) Have you heard these stories in English? What's the difference?

V rámci **zúčastněného pozorování** jsem byla přítomna několika situacím, které rovněž ilustrují postoje k jazyku. Zúčastnila jsem se několika rozhovorů o irštině, což nebylo nijak složité, protože irština je vedle sportu a současné politiky jedním z témat, o kterých se mluví téměř všude. Podle pozorovaných rozhovorů, do kterých jsem nezasahovala a které se odehrávaly z valné většiny v kavárnách, pubech a v knihovně, jsem zjistila, že se jedná o téma poměrně ožehavé. Irové mají na irštinu vyhraněné názory, ale nejsou často ochotni je říci před někým, kdo se o téma zajímá zvenčí nebo z nějakého odbornějšího hlediska. Při rozhovoru knihovnic, kterému jsem byla přítomna v jedné z městských knihoven, kam mě zavedla informátorka Siobhán Arkins, jsem tuto rozmanitost zaznamenala velmi intenzivně. Byla jsem tam představena jako kamarádka Siobhán a studentka, která dělá výzkum. Siobhán kolegyním nespécifikovala jaký výzkum. Shodou náhod se rozhovor mezi knihovnicemi rozvinul na téma irštiny, neboť jedna z nich právě četla v novinách zajímavý článek na toto téma. Rozhovor několika knihovnic s odlišnými názory se vyostřil ve výměnu názorů mezi dvěma z nich. Evelyn, původně archeoložka, zastávala názor, že irština je nedílnou součástí irského kulturního dědictví, a proto by měla být povinně vyučována na školách a propagována všemi dostupnými metodami. Oponovala jí Úna, která vyslovila svůj negativní postoj k irštině a především k její povinné výuce na školách. Ohradila se, že byla už jako dítě k irštině ve škole nucena, přestože pochází z oblasti, kde se již po několik generací mluví jen anglicky. Dodala, že angličtina, nikoli irština je tedy součástí jejího kulturního dědictví a rodným jazykem.

Obě respondentky nato souhlasily s rozhovorem na diktafon a s účastí na mém výzkumu, který jsem jim představila. Evelyn v rozhovoru v podstatě zopakovala to, co již

řekla (bohužel ale nesouhlasila se záznamem na diktafon), ale Úna, přestože si byla vědoma, že jsem byla přítomna její předchozí promluvě, která hodnotila irštinu negativně, ve strukturovaném rozhovoru hodnotila jazyk jako důležitý pro tvorbu národní identity a vyslovila se i pro jeho výuku na školách.

Z tohoto hlediska bylo zúčastněné pozorování důležitou metodou, která doplňuje strukturované rozhovory. Zúčastněné pozorování poukáže na určité pohledy a názory, které v rozhovoru výzkumníka s informátorem zůstanou skryté. Účastníci rozhovoru se chovají jinak, jsou-li konfrontováni s jiným názorem ve skupině lidí, než když jej vysloví výzkumník nebo osoba, která se jen ptá. Většinou přirozeně a spontánně reagují a nepromýšlejí dlouze odpovědi, nezamýšlejí se nad tím, co chce druhý slyšet, jako tomu může být při nahrávaném rozhovoru s výzkumníkem. Výše zmíněný příklad rozhovoru knihovnic poukázal na to, že samotné strukturované rozhovory mohou přinést zkreslené informace. Účastníci rozhovorů s výzkumníkem mají někdy tendenci říkat to, co si myslí, že chce výzkumník slyšet a nebo to, co „se obecně o věci říká, aby si o tom druhý vytvořil pozitivní obrázek“. Setkáváme se tak nezdánlivě s neautentickými výpověďmi a opakováním frází, které se obecně k danému tématu vztahují. Díky zúčastněnému pozorování skupiny lidí, kteří o tématu hovoří a kteří v rámci takové skupiny autentičtěji reagují, je možné porovnáním se strukturovanými rozhovory se stejnými osobami některé z těchto frází identifikovat.

3.b) Etika výzkumu

Etika výzkumu se mi zdála být ve fázi projektu poměrně jednoduchá a jednoznačná. Opak se ukázal pravdou. Jak jsem již poukázala v předchozí kapitole o metodologii, může být sporné, zda prozrazovat účel výzkumu vzhledem k autenticitě výpovědí. Velká část respondentů neměla vůbec problém říkat, co si skutečně myslí, ale někteří z nich, např. zmíněná knihovnice Úna, měli tendenci si skutečnost přizpůsobit očekáváním výzkumníka a přikrášlit před cizincem obrázek o Irech jako lidech, kteří jsou vysoce nacionálně cítící a vážící si vlastního kulturního dědictví. Nečekaně komplikovaná se díky irské štědrosti a přátelskosti ukázala rovněž otázka zneužití a reciprocit.

Informovaný souhlas: Po několika zúčastněných pozorováních a neformálních rozhovorech s Iry jsem se rozhodla nevyžadovat informovaný souhlas. Hlavním důvodem byla snaha o co nejpřirozenější rozhovor a co nepřirozenější chování. Už přítomnost diktafonu vytváří nepřirozené prostředí a navozuje atmosféru jisté formálnosti. Jedna z respondentek

dokonce odmítla na diktafon mluvit, protože jí nebylo příjemné, že si pořizují záznam jejího hlasu, který si budu moci kdykoli přehrát. Někteří respondenti byli během rozhovoru evidentně nervóznější, když jsem jim vysvětlila, co přesně se pokouším zkoumat, a snažili se o to, abych si o Irech a jejich vztahu k jazyku udělala co nejlepší obrázek. Ve dvou případech jsem se dokonce setkala s evidentně lživou výpovědí, což mě utvrdilo, že je lepší o výzkumu předem do hloubky neinformovat. Někteří respondenti projeví zájem blíže se seznámit s výzkumem až po rozhovoru, protože je téma zaujalo. V tomto případě jsem nepovažovala informování o výzkumu za kontraproduktivní a informace jsem poskytla. Naopak se často ukázalo, např. v případě Maita Ó Brádaigha, že tyto informace vyvolaly polemiku a vedly k pokračování rozhovoru v neformálním duchu a k získání dalších poměrně cenných informací a názorů. Další otázkou, kterou bylo třeba operativně řešit, bylo přání některých respondentů, abych jim ukázala nebo poslala otázky dopředu, aby si mohli připravit odpovědi. I v tomto případě jsem jim vyhověla, neboť i to v těchto případech přispělo k uvolnění atmosféry a navázání přirozenějšího rozhovoru. Respondenti věděli, že je nečeká žádná příliš osobní otázka, na kterou by nechtěli odpovídat, a mohli si v klidu připravit, jak formulovat odpovědi. Nepřipadalo mi však vhodné ukazovat dopředu otázky všem i bez požádání.

Ochrana osobních údajů: Otázku ochrany osobních údajů jsem řešila ještě před výzkumem. Přestože jsem považovala téma jazyka za téma bezpečné vzhledem ke zveřejnění osobních údajů respondentů, navrhla jsem každému, že může odpovídat anonymně. Nejedná se však skutečně o téma, v jehož souvislosti by mohli být respondenti nějak perzekuováni nebo odsuzováni. A žádný z respondentů ani možnosti anonymně odpovídat nevyužil. Přesto jsem zaznamenala, že pro některé z nich se jedná o citlivější téma a nejsou ochotni vždy přiznat, že je otázka jazyka příliš nezajímá.

Zneužití: I otázku zneužití jsem řešila už před započítím výzkumu. Každý výzkum je nereciproční a jsem si vědoma, že je jen na laskavosti a ochotě respondentů, že se do něj nechají dobrovolně zapojit. Nepovažovala jsem však za vhodné poskytnout jim za rozhovor finanční odměnu z toho důvodu, že by je to mohlo opět motivovat odpovídat to, co si myslí, že bych chtěla slyšet. Protože se však většina rozhovorů odehrávala v kavárně či pubu, rozhodla jsem se, že každého z nich pozvu na kávu nebo čaj, abych tak vykompenzovala čas, který mi věnovali. Bohužel jsem však v tomto ohledu nevzala v úvahu genderovou otázku a skutečnost, že žádný muž nebude ochoten nechat ženu, aby v kavárně platila za sebe, natož i za něj. V tomto případě se ukázalo, že by to pro ně naopak bylo zahanbující, a musela jsem přijmout jejich pozvání, ač se tím paradoxně stal rozhovor ještě více nereciproční. Reciproční se naopak ukázaly rozhovory s jazykovými aktivisty Paidem Nechtainem a Maitem

Ó Brádaighem, kteří pracovali na velice podobných výzkumech v oblastech Loughrea a An Spidéal. Tito výzkumníci naopak přivítali mé aktivity v této oblasti a byla jsem na oplátku za rozhovor požádána, abych jim zaslala krátké shrnutí výsledků své práce, aby je mohli porovnat s výsledky svých lokálních výzkumů. Zajímal je neutrální pohled ze strany cizince na otázku vztahu Irů k irštině.

4) Revitalizace irštiny v postojích a názorech obyvatel Galway a Gaeltachtu Connemara

4.1) Teoretický úvod

4.1.a) Irština – zařazení

Irštinu řadíme mezi keltské jazyky, které podobně jako jazyky slovanské, germánské, italické a indoíránské tvoří větev rodiny jazyků indoevropských. V rámci této rodiny je často poukazováno na podobnosti keltských jazyků s italickými, avšak tyto podobnosti nejsou dostačující pro zařazení do jedné podskupiny. Jsou dochovány přibližně od roku 700 př. Kr. až do současnosti ze západní a jižní Evropy a Malé Asie. Lze je členit různými způsoby a jako nejméně problematické se jeví dělení chronologické, tedy na starší a mladší.

Ze staršího období (700 př. n. l. – 400 n. l.) se keltské jazyky zachovaly v nápisech, místních názvech a ve zprávách jiných národů, především Řeků a Římanů. V irštině je však množství dokumentů z tohoto období naprosto mizivé. Mezi tyto jazyky lze zařadit například keltiberštinu ve středním Španělsku, leptónštinu v Pádské nížině, galštinu ve Francii a galatštinu v Malé Asii. Tyto jazyky byly kolem roku 400 n.l. mrtvé a mluvčí z daných oblastí používali latinu nebo řečtinu. Mladší keltské jazyky doložené až po r. 500 n. l. pocházejí z keltštiny z britských ostrovů a s výjimkou bretonštiny, jejíž mluvčí se na evropský kontinent přestěhovali z Británie, se všechny vyskytují nebo vyskytovaly na britských ostrovech.

Z tohoto období se zachovala celá řada písemných pramenů a lze je tedy dobře rekonstruovat. Za základní prameny v irštině, v nichž lze nalézt nejstarší texty, můžeme považovat *Book of Leinster*, která pochází z období okolo roku 1160 a obsahuje kompletní verze příběhů „*The Cattle Raid of Fróech*“, „*The Labour Pains of Ulaid*“, „*The Tale of Macc Da Thó 's Pig*“ „*The Exile of the Sons of Uisliu*“ a nedokončené „*Intoxication of the*

Ulaid“ a dokončený příběh „*Cattle Raid Cúlange*“. Dalším významným pramenem je **Lebor na hUidre**, který pochází z roku 1106 a zachoval se jen jako fragment. Obsahuje 37 příběhů, například „*The Destruction of Da Dearga's Hostel*“, „*The Birth of Cú Chulaind*“, „*Brisciu's Feast*“ a rovněž nekompletní „*Wooining of Étain*“. V **Yellow Book of Lecan** datované do čtrnáctého století lze nalézt například kompletní verzi „*Wooining of Étain*“, „*The Death of Aífe's Only Son*“. Dalšími původními prameny pak jsou **Book of Ballymote** a **Book of Fermoy**.

Tyto mladší jazyky lze ještě dále dělit do dvou základních větví, a to goidelskou a brytonskou. Západní goidelská větev zahrnuje všechna stadia irštiny v Irsku, její dialekt od 5. století ve Skotsku, jenž se postupně změnil ve zcela samostatný jazyk, skotskou gaelštinu, a podobným způsobem vzniklou a až v 15. století samostatnou manštinu na ostrově Man v Irském moři. Uvedu pouze základní informace o současném stavu těchto jazyků:

irština (Gaeilge) - 1. oficiální jazyk Irské republiky, udává se 72 000 rodilých mluvčích (informátor Mait Ó Brádaigh mluví o 1,5 milionu uživatelů v Irsku i mimo Irsko. Velká část Irů žije v USA a Velké Británii). Vyučuje se na základních a středních školách jako povinný předmět a je užívána ve státní správě.

manština (Gaelg) – je dialekt irštiny, který se od ní oddělil ve 13. století a od skotské gaelštiny v 15. století. Dnes už se jedná pouze o liturgický jazyk a oficiální jazyk na ostrově Man. Je v podstatě mrtvý a rodilí mluvčí již nejsou.

skotská gaelština (Gaelic) – jazyk, který je rovněž v podstatě dialektem irštiny, a odděluje se od ní ve 13. století. Mluvčích je v současné době podle oficiálních zdrojů kolem 60 000.

jazyk šelta (Shelta) – je poměrně kuriózní umělou a tajnou řečí – směsí angličtiny a irštiny, řečí tzv. *travelling people*, tuláků, dráteníků a podobných osob žijících kočovným způsobem života. Uvádí se 86 000 mluvčích, z toho velká část žije mimo britské ostrovy.

Východní brytonskou větev pak reprezentuje velština ve všech svých vývojových fázích, bretonština od 6. stol v Bretani, cornština neboli corwalština, která zanikla v 18.

století, a několik menších již vymřelých jazyků, jako je např. inverština nebo kumbričština. Současný stav těchto jazyků je následující:

velština (*Cymraeg*) – jazyk, kterým se hovoří ve Walesu a mezi vystěhovalci např. v USA a Patagonii. Odhaduje se, že má kolem 611 000 mluvčích a je považována za nejvitalnější keltský jazyk. Teprve v posledních desetiletích se jí dostává výrazné státní podpory a začíná plnit funkci národního jazyka v moderním světě.

kornština (*Kerneweg*) – mrtvý jazyk třebaže stále existují pokusy o jeho oživení. Jedná se původně o jižní dialekt britštiny (původní jazyk obyvatel Británie) či velštiny, který se po germánském vpádu ocitl v izolaci a vyvíjel se tak až do 18. století, kdy zanikl.

inverština (*Inveric*) – tímto jazykem hovořila malá enkláva britských obyvatel jihovýchodní části Irska, kteří se nakonec asimilovali v goidelské většině. Zanikl před rokem 800 n.l..

kumbričština (*Cumbric*) – v jižním Skotsku a severozápadní Anglii existovala až do konce prvního tisíciletí a postupně podlehla ze severu se šířící skotské gaelštině a z jihu se šířící angličtině.

bretonština (*Brezhoneg*) – jazyk keltských obyvatel Bretaně mající dle oficiálních zdrojů asi 200 000 mluvčích. Dnes má již opět status národního jazyka, je vyučován na školách a lze jej používat v médiích a ve veřejném styku.

Původ irštiny má i svou mytologickou verzi. Podle středověkého irského spisu pojednávajícího o gramatice *Autraceut na nÉces* (Předpisy básníků) vznikla irština uměle zásluhou 72 učenců, z toho nejvytříbenějšího z jazyků vzniklých po biblickém zmatení jazyků. Doslova se zde praví: „*Is an íarum roríaglad a mbérlasa – a mba ferr íarum do cach bérlu & a mba léithu & a mba cáimiu, is ed dorpered isin nGoídilc.*“ Tedy: „Tam byl tento jazyk zpravidelněn, co bylo nejlepší a co bylo nejširší a nejjemnější v každém jazyce, to bylo

vyděleno do irštiny.²⁰ Tuto verzi Irové znají a zmínili ji i dva z respondentů v nezávazném rozhovoru mimo diktafon.

4.1.b) Postoj Irů k jazyku v minulosti a faktory, které jej ovlivňovaly

Abychom správně pochopili vztah Irů k rodnému jazyku, je třeba si alespoň stručně nastínit jeho historii a jeho roli v dějinách Irska, neboť řada postojů a názorů respondentů je pochopitelně ovlivněna i názory a zkušenostmi jejich rodičů, prarodičů a znalostmi z oblastí národních dějin. Irština je stále velmi živým tématem, diskutuje se o ní běžně v hospodách, ve škole, v médiích apod. a většina Irů na ní skutečně má vlastní názor. Např. respondent Mait Ó Brádaigh historické souvislosti zmiňuje velice často a upozorňuje na jejich zásadní vliv na současný stav jazyka a postoj obyvatel Irska k němu.

Ještě v prvním tisíciletí našeho letopočtu byla irština jazykem, který expandoval na nová území a vytlačoval jazyky brytonské větve, jako byly například kumbričtina nebo inverština. Prvním zaznamenaným úspěšným útokem na její nadřazenost v Irsku byl útok Vikingů, který bývá spojován rovněž s počátkem urbanizace Irska a založením důležitých přístavů, jako byly Dublin, Cork, Galway, Waterford, Wexford a Limerick. Rozloha území, na kterém se usadili, však nebyla příliš velká a během dvou století se téměř zcela asimilovali. Svou roli zřejmě sehrál i fakt, že jich bylo málo a nepřivedli si s sebou ženy. Jediné území, na kterém se skandinávština udržela natolik, aby vytvořila základ pro budoucí anglicizaci po anglo-normanských nájezdech ve 12. století, byla provincie Fingall severně od Dublinu a Forth a Bargy jihovýchodně od Wexfordu. Oblasti Fingallu a jihovýchodního Wexfordu už se zřejmě k irštině jako mateřskému jazyku nikdy nevrátily.

Daleko ničivější dopad pro irský jazyk a irský způsob života vůbec měly anglo-normanské nájezdy, které v poměrně krátké době zasáhly celý ostrov. Hlavním soudním jazykem se stala francouzština, která byla relativně brzy nahrazena angličtinou. Na velké části území Irska se noví majitelé půdy přiznali do irských rodin a naučili místní jazyk. Anglo-Normané vytvořili vrstvu elity a angličtina se stala takovým symbolem lepšího života a tím zůstala až do dnešní doby. Mluvit a chovat se jako Ir bylo považováno za revoltu a útok proti koruně. Je však nutno si uvědomit, že v tomto období měla vládnoucí vrstva jen malý vliv na každodenní život obyčejných lidí a rozhodně se cíleně nezabývala prosazováním jazyka.

²⁰ BIČOVSKÝ, J.: *Úvod do vývoje keltských jazyků*, Praha: Filosofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2005.

Nejvíce se anglicky mluvilo ve východní části země a to v oblasti Dublinu, částech provincie Meath, Louth, Kildare a Wicklow. Nejmenší vliv angličtiny byl zaznamenán v severních oblastech, tedy v provincii Ulster, kam skotští misionáři znovu přinesli gaelštinu. Pomoc mezi Ulsterem a Skotskem byla v tomto smyslu oboustranná, a proto i Donegalský dialekt má ke skotské gaelštině ze všech nejbliže. Důkaz o vzájemné výpomoci můžeme nelézt i ve jménech. Donegalské příjmení Gallagher (v irštině O'Gallachobair) znamená „pomoc z ciziny“.

Za vlády Tudorovců, počínaje Jindřichem VIII. byl zábor Irska britskou korunou dovršen. Nejen že se jim podařilo dostat celou zemi pod kontrolu centrální vlády, ale rovněž se postarali o to, aby to byla vláda anglická, a to poměrně krvavým způsobem. Důsledně prosazovali jak anglické právo, tak i anglický jazyk. Velmožové, kteří se až dosud řídili irskými tradicemi, odevzdali svá území koruně, od které je pak přejali zpátky jako feudální léno. Všichni příslibili, že přestanou dodržovat staré zvyklosti, nebudou nosit irské oblečení a naučí se anglicky, aby v královských koloniích zavládla jednota v oblékání a jazyce. Jindřich prosazováním těchto zásad chtěl irský lid (Angloiry a gaelské Iry) stmelit v jedinou třídu, která bude žít v anglickém stylu. Tato politika unifikace, která měla zničit starý gaelský svět a jazyk, však nebyla tím jediným, co Jindřich VIII. Irsku zanechal. Zavedl také reformaci. Jeho trvalá roztržka s katolickou církví se stala důvodem pro zrušení papežových pravomocí nad Anglií a jeho přijetí titulu „Svrchovaná hlava církve anglické“ a později na základě souhlasu irského parlamentu také „jedinou svrchovanou hlavou irské církve“. V Irsku se však reformace setkala jen s malým úspěchem a přes všechno úsilí Tudorovců se v Irsku udržela původní katolická víra. Přestože bylo Irsko oficiálně za vlády Tudorovců považováno za anglickou kolonii, nikdy nepřilákalo anglické rolníky díky chladnějšímu podnebí a méně úrodné půdě.

Jinak tomu bylo se Skoty. Ti kolonizovali Ulster a zabrali úrodnější část území zatímco hornaté a bažinaté oblasti ponechali původním irským katolíkům. Důsledkem pak byla pro další dvě století mozaika anglicky a irsky mluvících oblastí. Tato mozaika nevznikla najednou, neboť kolonizace byla přerušována vzpourami původního obyvatelstva přecházejícími ve války, které byly nejkrvavější v cromwellovském období. Jejich důsledkem pak bylo téměř úplné oddělení chudých a neúrodných katolických území od zbytku Ulsteru, na nichž byl spolu s katolickou vírou zachován tradiční způsob života a původní jazyk. Politická nestabilita v 16. století vedla k tomu, že irština zůstala ještě v tomto období běžným jazykem každodenního života i v Dublinu a na většině území kromě severu Irska měla stále tak silné postavení, že potomci cromwellovských usedlíků mluvili kolem roku 1700 pouze

irsky. Angličtina se však v následujících padesáti letech začala pomalu šířit z měst na venkov a irština jako mateřský jazyk začíná pomalu upadat kolem r. 1750. Kolem roku 1800 pak můžeme s jistotou říci, že vyšší třída na celém území již považovala za svůj mateřský jazyk angličtinu a ve východních a středních oblastech Irska již irsky prakticky nemluvila vůbec.

Jazyková situace se nadále vyvíjela jinak v Ulsteru a jinak ve ostatních částech Irska. V Ulsteru vytváří anglicky mluvící protestantská vládnoucí vrstva z irsky mluvících katolických území jakási ghetta a jejich obyvatelé staví sociálně a ekonomicky na nejnižší stupeň tehdejší společnosti. Obyvatelé Ulsteru tak nemají podnět k učení angličtiny a zůstávají u svého mateřského jazyka. Na ostatních územích, kde je protestantská vrstva početně menší, se musejí protestanti spoléhat na služby a práci původního katolického obyvatelstva, které je takto motivováno učit se jazyk přistěhovalců, neboť ten je výhodou při získávání práce a obchodování s anglickými protestanty.

Nelze s jistotou říci, která událost nebo který faktor způsobil v 18. století začátek pomalého umírání irštiny v Irsku. Jisté je jen, že angličtina, která byla zpočátku považována za druhý jazyk a výhodu při získávání obživy, získávala na dominanci a postupně přes fázi bilingvismu irštinu z velké části vytlačila jako nadbytečnou zcela. Historici často zveličují politické faktory, avšak pravděpodobnější bude verze, že tyto politické faktory zapříčinily umírání irského jazyka spíše nepřímo. Původní obyvatelé byli nuceni učit se angličtinu především ze sociálních a ekonomických důvodů, nikoli primárně proto, že by jim to bylo nařízeno vyšší autoritou.

Na začátku devatenáctého století už byl monoglotismus ve východních oblastech Irska ojedinělou záležitostí a dokonce ani v Leinsteru a v Ulsteru už jazyka neužívaly děti ve většině rodin. Právě to bylo znakem začínajícího úpadku jazyka. Mluvit irsky v rodině s dětmi přestalo být běžným jevem. Rodiče brzy zjistili, že irština je překážkou v dobrých vyhlídkách jejich dětí, cíleně ji vymýtili ze svých domovů a ti, kteří si to mohli dovolit, vyhledávali pro své potomky prestižnější anglické školy. Vzdělání bylo od roku 1831 výhradně v rukou církve a s podporou široké veřejnosti probíhalo výhradně v angličtině. Povinná školní docházka byla v Irsku zavedena až v posledním desetiletí devatenáctého století. Irština byla tedy vedle nízkého sociálního statusu spojována i s negramotností.

Dostí těžkou ránou pro irský jazyk byl tzv: Velký hladomor v letech 1845 a 1849 způsobený bramborovou plísní. Velká neúroda spolu s pomalu postupující hospodářskou krizí dolehla na Irsko s takovou ničivou silou, kterou nikdo neočekával. Materiální pomoc ze strany vlády byla minimální a velká část Irů zůstala zcela bez prostředků. Důsledkem černého období byl naprostý pád nestabilního hospodářství a velký úbytek obyvatel V roce 1851 mělo

Irsko šest a půl miliónů obyvatel, o dva milióny méně než v roce 1845. Přibližně milionu obyvatel se podařilo emigrovat převážně do Anglie a Spojených států a milion obyvatel podlehl hladomoru, epidemiím tyfu nebo různým nástrahám v podobě špatně stavěných lodí a bouří při cestě do Spojených států. Není potřeba dodávat, že právě obyvatelé nejchudších oblastí, kde zůstávala irština mateřským jazykem, byli mezi těmi, kteří opouštěli Irsko ať už do nových vlastí nebo na věčnost.

Důsledkem těchto a dalších okolností bylo v Irsku v roce 1851 pouze 5 % irsky mluvících monoglotů a o třicet let později se tato malá část ještě zmenšila na čtvrtinu, tedy na 1, 25 %. Monogloti v tomto období žili v oblastech Achill Islandu, Clare Islandu a v Coolea (západní Cork). Mnohem přijatelnější variantou pro většinu obyvatel byl v tomto období bilingvismus.

V roce 1891 už byly irsky mluvící oblasti, přesněji řečeno oblasti, kde byla irština mateřským, ale nikoliv už jediným jazykem, izolovaná území oddělená anglicky mluvícími oblastmi, ve kterých se nacházela často hlavní tržiště i pro irsky mluvící území. Největší takové irsky mluvící území se rozkládalo kolem Galwayské zátoky, přestože samotné město Galway bylo již poangličtěno. Izolovanost irsky mluvících území napomohla vzniku tří dialektů, které vznikly v okolí Corku – konkrétně na poloostrově Dingle, v Connemaře v hrabství Galway a v Donegalu. V těchto oblastech se postupem času vyvinuly tak silné dialekty, že obyvatelé těchto oblastí si vzájemně nerozumí. Podle svědectví rodilých Irů se obyvatel Donegalu není schopen domluvit s člověkem pocházejícím z Aranských ostrovů. Například chce-li obyvatel Aranů vědět, jak se jeho partner v konverzaci má, zeptá se: „Cén chaoi a bhfuil tú?“ zatímco obyvatel Donegalu by se zeptal: „Gaidé mar atá tú?“ a obyvatel poloostrovu Dingle pak: „Conas atá tú?“ V rámci zachování jisté srozumitelnosti byl v devadesátých letech 20. století vytvořen normalizovaný irský jazyk, který by měl zahrnovat prvky všech dialektů a který je založen především na galwayské irštině. Tento jazyk se dnes běžně vyučuje ve školách.

Přelom 19. a 20. století přinesl vlnu nacionalismu a obrozenectví a s ním spojeného romantismu. Vznikala řada apolitických hnutí v čele s umělci a literáty, jejichž cílem bylo primárně uspokojovat duchovní potřeby Irska, kterým připisovali větší význam než potřebám materiálním, neboť jak tvrdil William Butler Yeats, vůdce jednoho z nich, bez duchovního života si Irové dlouho svou národní identitu neudrží. Snil o národě, který bude pěstovat národní literaturu nejvyšších estetických kvalit a v jeho snahách jej podporovala tehdejší literární elita, k níž patřila např. lady Gergory, John Millington Synge a další. Znovu oživilo a zromantizovalo mytologické příběhy a pokusili se jim dát podobu přijatelnou pro každého

čtenáře. Vzorem bojovníka za národní identitu měli být dávní hrdinové Cú Chulain a Finn Mac Cumhail, kteří se proslavili svou statečností. Literární obrozenci zobrazovali Irsko jako chudou stařenku, která se opět stane královnou teprve až tehdy, až muži budou stejně rytířští jako Cú Chulain a budou ochotni za ni položit život. Nacionalistické až separatistické myšlenky W. B. Yeatsa a jeho stoupenců měly velký vliv, jenž však zůstal omezen zejména na uměleckou elitu. Veřejnost o nich téměř nic nevěděla.

Velký ohlas široké veřejnosti však získalo jiné hnutí – Gaelic League, jehož cílem bylo udržet irštinu naživu alespoň tam, kde se jí dosud mluvilo a postupem času ji nastolit jako dorozumivací jazyk po celé zemi. Tím, že se Irové dobrovolně vzdali svého rodného jazyka, se podle zakladatelů Gaelic League vzdali nároku, aby je svět uznával jako svébytný národ. Tvrdili, že současnou generaci Irů čeká nelehký úkol: znovu vytvořit národní kulturu, čehož lze dosáhnout pouze tzv. „deanglizací“, tedy odmítnutím napodobování Angličanů v jazyce, literatuře, hudbě, sportu, oblékání a především myšlení. Prostřednictvím známých publicistů ovlivňovala Gaelic League myšlení všech vrstev obyvatelstva a díky své osvětové činnosti měla široké pole působnosti. Pořádala jazykové a dějepisné kroužky, zakládala divadelní spolky a organizovala místní *feiseanna* (hudební a taneční slavnosti), každoroční *oireachtas* (shromáždění podle starodávných zvyklostí, na nichž kdysi rokovali vladykové klanů) a *ard-fheis* (výroční lidovou slavnost). Z ligy se stalo více než literární a jazykový spolek. Propagovala národní soběstačnost a ostře brojila proti všem formám napodobování Angličanů. V roce 1903 měla Gaelic league 600 poboček a podařilo se jí zavést irštinu na 1300 národních základních školách a v zemi, kde se údajně nečetlo, prodat za rok čtvrt miliónu publikací, které sama vydala. Přestože Gaelic League veřejně prohlašovala, že není organizací politickou, víc než kterékoli jiné hnutí navodila v Irsku atmosféru příznivou pro rozvoj nového nacionalismu, který v té době ovládl celou Evropu. K politickým uskupením, na něž měla Gaelic League velký vliv, patřilo například i *Sinn Féin*.

Podle Hindleyho²¹ se však pozice irštiny od založení ligy změnila, avšak ne zcela k jejímu prospěchu, jak si zakladatelé ligy představovali. Jazyk nepřestal umírat, ale změnil se postoj Irů k němu. Irština začala být respektována a děti se jí učily ve škole. Ve dvacátých letech pak již polovina škol v Gaeltachtu vyučovala v irském jazyce a učitelé na těchto školách dostávali zvláštní granty. Čtvrtina žáků základních škol se učila irštinu jako „cizí“ jazyk a na středních školách to byly dokonce dvě třetiny. Problém byl však v jednom z důležitých faktorů pro revitalizaci jazyka a to v tom, že v domácnostech se irsky mluvilo

²¹ HINDLEY, R.: *The Death of Irish Language*, London: Routledge. 1990.

opravdu výjimečně. Hindley rovněž zdůrazňuje, že později, v sedmdesátých letech vzniklá zákonná povinnost učit se jazyk ve škole, spojená s povinností vykonat z něj i maturitní zkoušku, jejíž obtížnost podle průzkumů odradila řadu Irů od toho, aby se po dokončení střední školy jazyku i nadále věnovali, neboť irštinu brali jako jednu z poměrně nepříjemných povinností, která složením maturitní zkoušky končí. Neúspěch Gaelic League při prosazování irštiny pak Hindley připisuje především tomu, že se málo angažovala politicky a že nedokázala dětem irštinu přiblížit přirozenějším způsobem, než je povinná výuka. Naopak k dobru lze organizaci přičíst oživení Gaeltachtu.

V polovině 50. let se irská vláda ztotožnila s premisou, že: „ samostatná identita je pro Iry rozhodující hodnotou a že irský jazyk je základním nástrojem k zachování této identity a jejich jedinečnosti.“ Vládní program založený na této premise se zaměřil především na vzkříšení irského jazyka. Cílem nebylo vytlačit angličtinu, ale spíše se zasadit o bilingvismus. Realizace plánu zachování jazyka se měla z velké části obrátit i směrem ke Gaeltachtu, neboť bylo jisté, že pokud zmizí Gaeltacht, zmizí s ním i irský jazyk. Vznikl tak program na obnovu Gaeltachtu a s ním i *Roinn na Gealtachta*, ministerstvo pro Gaeltacht, které mělo za úkol zamezit odlivu obyvatel z těchto oblastí pomocí vytváření nových pracovních příležitostí, zlepšení životních podmínek a sebevědomí obyvatel. Mělo rovněž za úkol dohlížet na vyplácení grantů v široké škále oblastí od vzdělávání přes výstavbu bydlení až po další jazykové granty a to prostřednictvím podřízených institucí, z nichž nejvýznamnější byla *Údarás na Gaeltachta*²² vzniklá z asociace *Gaeltarra Eireann* založené v šedesátých letech, která má dodnes široké pole působnosti a kancelář téměř v každé větší vesnici v Gaeltachtu.

Největším problémem Gaeltachtu byl odliv obyvatel do jiných oblastí Irska především kvůli velké nezaměstnanosti, přičemž podle průzkumu by se tři čtvrtiny z nich do těchto oblastí vrátily, pokud by tam bylo více pracovních příležitostí. Výjimkami byly oblasti Galway a Waterfordu, kde vznikaly nové průmyslové areály a tím i nová pracovní místa. Dalším výrazným problémem Gaeltachtu bylo v období vzniku *Roinn na Gealtachta* v poměru mužů a žen ve prospěch mužů. Nedostatek žen vhodných k sňatku způsobil další odliv mužů do větších měst. Odcházejí tedy především lidé v produktivním věku.

Ekonomická situace Gaeltachtu byla dosti neutěšená. 66% obyvatel se živilo zemědělstvím, což je více než dvojnásobek průměru celého zbytku Irska. Pouze 10% obyvatel pracovalo v průmyslu. Míra nezaměstnanosti byla samozřejmě několikanásobně vyšší než v jiných oblastech země.

²² <<http://www.udaras.ie/>>

Zemědělské aktivity představovalo obdělávání půdy a především pěstování ovce a dobytka. Přestože je zemědělství hlavním zdrojem obživy obyvatel těchto oblastí, je zde paradoxně 80% půdy nevhodné pro zemědělství. Jedná se buď o bažiny, močály nebo hory a zbytek půdy je všeobecně považován za málo úrodný.

V roce 1958 ustanovilo *Roinn na Gaeltachta* správní výbor zvaný *Gaeltarra Éireann*, jehož hlavním cílem bylo podporovat vývoj průmyslu v Gaeltachtu. Měl především pomoci udržet stávající tradiční výrobu. Mnoho těchto výroben však bylo vystavěno padesát let zpátky, a to nikoli kvůli zisku, ale za účelem vytvoření pracovních míst, aby se místní populace zvedla z pokraje hladomoru. Po sedmi letech snahy obnovit tyto výroby podpořilo *Roinn na Gaeltachta Gaeltarra* grantem na vytvoření průmyslu nového. Mělo se jednat především o nestátní organizace a firmy. Vybudovat průmysl v takové oblasti jako je Gaeltacht však není nijak snadné. Je zde málo kvalifikovaných pracovních sil a poměrně špatná infrastruktura (špatné komunikace a tím pádem špatně přístupná letiště a přístavy, téměř žádné domy s dostatkem dnes již životních nutností, jako je například elektřina nebo WC pro management a technický personál). Aby *Gaeltarra* kompenzovala tyto nedostatky, nabídla případným investorům, ať už irským nebo zahraničním, velmi štědré tzv. „podporující balíčky“. Zajistila financování školení pro budoucí zaměstnance těchto firem a slíbila velké daňové úlevy (celková úleva po dobu 15 let a částečná po dobu dalších 5 let). *Gaeltarra* dokonce přislíbila příspěvky na bydlení a stěhovací výlohy budoucímu managementu těchto firem. Ve skutečnosti se však jen žalostně málo místních obyvatel chopilo příležitosti založit si vlastní firmu. Hlavními výrobními odvětvími v této oblasti i nadále zůstaly (a stále vedle turistického ruchu zůstávají) výroba tvídového oblečení, pletené výrobky, hračky a plastové výrobky. Tvídové oblečení, pletené svetry a hračky patří k tradičním výrobním odvětvím, které vznikly dávno před intervencemi *Gaeltarry*. K minoritním odvětvím pak patří především výroba koberců, zpracování ryb, mořských řas a mořských plodů, stavba lodí a elektronické strojírenství. Snaha o ekonomický rozvoj Gaeltachtu si kladla primárně za cíl zachovat kulturní jedinečnost těchto oblastí. Problém však není tak jednoduchý, jak by se mohlo na první pohled zdát. Dobrá práce není jediným faktorem, proč lidé z Gaeltachtu odcházejí. Je to především celková chudoba oblasti, špatná dostupnost do měst, nedostatečné zásobování vodou a elektřinou. Jako potíže se zpočátku jevila jazyková nevybavenost, co se týče irštiny, u budoucího managementu. Paradoxně však ze strany těchto lidí vzešla velká snaha naučit se jazyk. Neočekávaně větší zájem projevovali neanglicky mluvící.

Nejlépe uskutečnitelný způsob ekonomického rozvoje však byl a nadále i zůstává turismus. Oblast Gaeltachtu se nachází v turisticky atraktivní oblasti s řadou přírodních krás,

jako jsou majestátní pobřežní útesy, jezera, hory, prameny atd. Neméně je tato oblast atraktivní historicky a kulturně. Problém byl však v nedostatku vhodných ubytovacích kapacit či jejich vybavenosti. V době, kdy psal Kearns článek *Resuscitation of the Irish Gaeltacht*²³, v podstatě turisté touto oblastí jen projížděli. Dnes mohu z vlastní zkušenosti potvrdit, že turistický ruch je zde jedním z výrazných zdrojů obživy místních obyvatel. Vznikla řada i poměrně luxusních hotelů, většinou menších rozměrů, koncipovaných ve stylu irských venkovských chalup. K dispozici jsou rovněž různé chatky a kempy. Restaurace s tradičním jídlem zaměřené především na turisty, informační centra a internetové kavárny už jsou zde naprosto běžné. Kearns v článku rovněž vyslovuje obavu, že příliv turistů může udusit kulturní dědictví pod návašem kýče a komerce. Přestože si vláda uvědomovala tyto rizika, byla přesvědčena, že turismus, pečlivě kontrolovaný, může jen upevnit domorodou kulturu a být impulsem k uchování tradičního způsobu života, stylu stavění a umění. Žádný hotel ani ubytovací zařízení nesmělo být zbudováno bez povolení *Roinn na Gaeltachta*. Ani tyto Kearnsovy obavy a prognózy se naštěstí nepotvrdily. V obchodech se suvenýry se běžně prodávají ručně pletené svetry s aranskými vzory a další tradiční výrobky nebo cestopisné knihy o Irsku či anglické překlady irské mytologie.

V roce 1974 místní domy ani zdaleka nedosahovaly dobových standardů. Téměř čtvrtina domů byla starší než 100 let. Jen přibližně ze tří čtvrtin byly domy vybaveny tekoucí vodou nebo elektřinou. *Roinn na Gaeltachta* tak vedle investic do zaměstnanosti obyvatel investovala nemalé částky také do vybavení stávajících domů a výstavbě nových domů. Ne vždy se ale jednalo o kvalitně zbudované stavby a jejich uniformita působila poněkud depresivně. Dnešní trendy se vracejí ke tradičním způsobům stavění domů. Znovu se zde rozmáhají slaměné domy a řada domů je pokryta tradiční doškovou střešou. Staré kamenné domy procházejí rekonstrukcí a bývají často uvedeny do původní podoby.

V době psaní článku cítil Kearns z obyvatel Gaeltachtu jistý negativismus, beznaděj a cynismus, což považuje za jednu z velkých bariér v ekonomickém a sociálním rozvoji. K těmto náladám přispělo rovněž rozmach sledování televize a filmů. Tato média často ukazující okolní svět jako místo neomezených možností vyvolávala v obyvatelích malých vesnic v podstatě odříznutých od světa pocity malosti, staromódnosti, chudoby a nudy. Příliv turistů a zájem o tradiční způsob života se zřejmě zasadil o to, že v dnešní době se tyto nálady vytrácejí. Je sice skutečností, že řada mladých lidí stále odchází do měst nejen studovat, ale

²³ KEARNS, K: *Resuscitation of the Irish Gaeltacht* in *Geographical revue*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Jan. 1979)

i pracovat, protože jim nevyhovuje onen „staromódní“ tradiční způsob života, ale najde se i řada těch, kteří přijali tento způsob života za svůj a naopak se pokoušejí s velkým nasazením uchovat tradice a kulturní dědictví. Tito lidé se v dnešní době naopak stěhují zpět do Gaeltachtu.

4.1.c) Současný stav jazyka




V současné době lze podle statistických průzkumů mluvit o 1,66 milionu mluvčích, což je celých 42% irské populace, kterou tvoří 4,2 mil obyvatel Irska. Pouze 83 000 Irů však uvedlo, že užívá irštinu každodenně, z toho 72 000 mluvčích lze označit za rodilé. Zbylá část zahrnuje mluvčí se širokou škálou jazykové kompetence, tedy od těch, kteří umí pouze „cúpla focal“, tedy pár slov, což znamená pozdravit, představit se a krátce pohovořit o počasí, a kteří tvoří velkou část, až po mluvčí, kteří dokáží hovořit naprosto plynně, jichž je však mimo Gaeltacht poměrně malé procento. Pouze 3% populace pak žijí v jádrových oblastech Gaeltachtu, tzv. *Fíor-Ghaeltachtaí*, tedy oblastech s největší vitalitou jazyka, a stejné procento pak v oblastech tzv. *Breac-Ghaeltachtaí*, tedy v oblastech, kde irsky mluvící část obyvatelstva tvoří minoritu a rekrutuje se především z řad starších obyvatel.

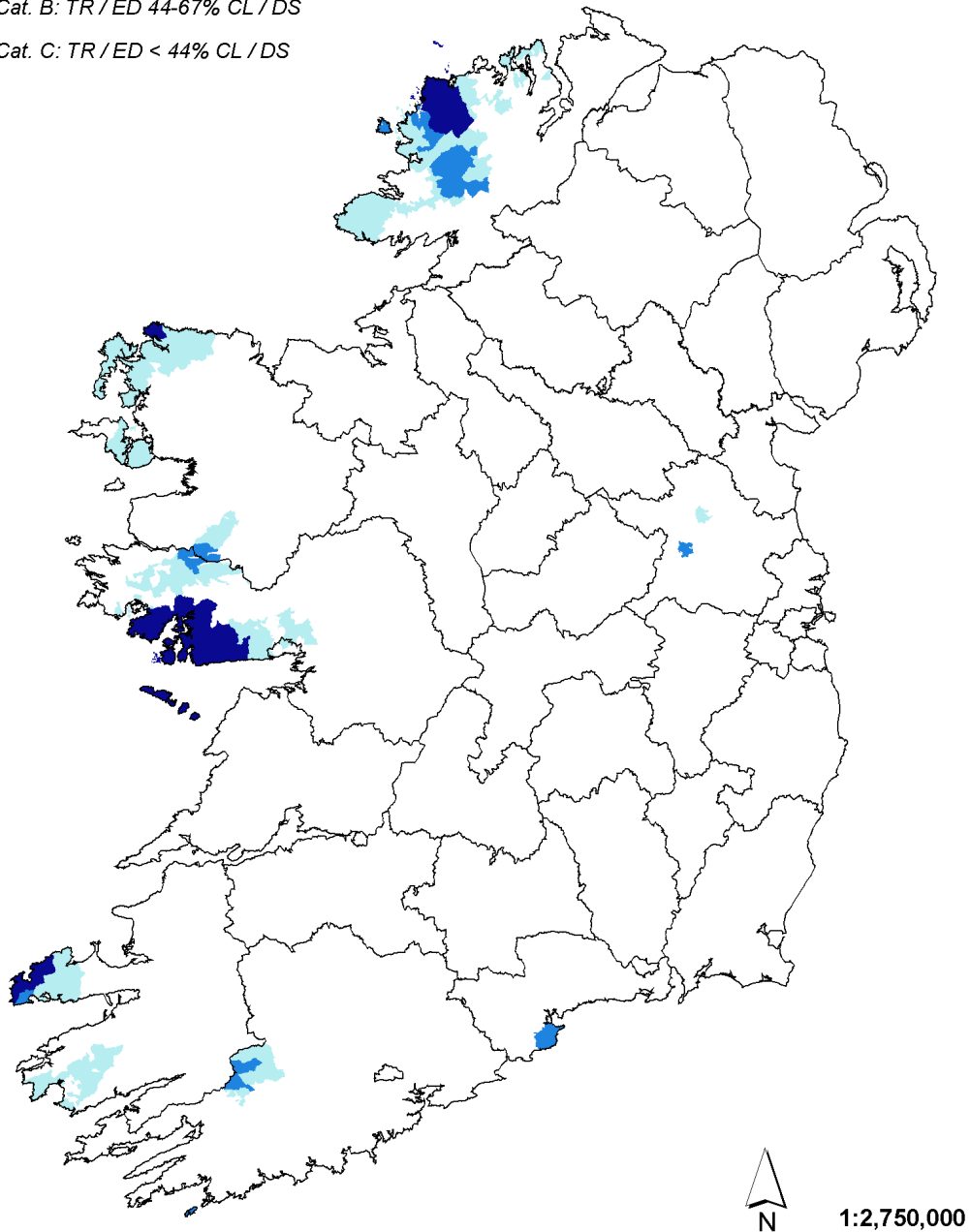
Tzv. *Fíor – Ghaeltachtaí* a *Breac – Ghaeltachtaí* se staly předmětem sociolingvistického výzkumu Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht z roku 2007. Podle průzkumu lze tyto oblasti rozdělit na 3 základní kategorie, nazvané A, B a C. Oblasti kategorie A tvoří Gaeltacht, kde denně irsky mluví více než 67% obyvatel starších 3 let. Jedná se o oblasti s nejvyšším počtem irsky mluvících obyvatel. Problémem zde zůstávají mladší věkové skupiny, které tíhnou k angličtině. Gaeltacht kategorie B jsou pak oblasti, kde irsky každodenně mluví 44%-66% obyvatel. Zde už má angličtina dominantní postavení, ale existuje tu poměrně početná skupina mluvčích převážně z řad starších obyvatel. Statistická data ukazují, že irština je do jisté míry užívána jako dorozumívací jazyk komunity, ale má tendence se omezovat jen na určité věkové skupiny, specifické instituce a specifické sociální sítě. Gaeltacht kategorie C, který už spadá do kategorie *Breac – Ghaeltachtaí*, představuje oblasti s méně než 44% obyvatel užívajícím každodenně irštinu. Zde užívají irštinu z velké části školou povinné děti, ale

jakodorozumívací jazyk komunity je irština užívána jen zřídka. Skutečná rozloha Gaeltachtu je zobrazena na následující mapě²⁴:

DISTRIBUTION OF The reclassified A, B, and C gaeltacht category DISTRICTS

The following map indicates the distribution of the reclassified electoral divisions in the three Gaeltacht categories.

-  *Cat. A: TR / ED > 67% CL / DS*
-  *Cat. B: TR / ED 44-67% CL / DS*
-  *Cat. C: TR / ED < 44% CL / DS*



NIRSA a réitigh. Ceadúnas Uimhir MP 8252 / Prepared by NIRSA. Copyright permit number MP 8252

© Suirbhéireacht Ordanáis Éireann agus Rialtas na hÉireann / © Ordnance Survey Ireland and Government of Ireland
An Phríomh-Oifig Staidrimh – faisnéis SAPS an Daonáirimh / Central Statistics Office – Census SAPS Microdata File.

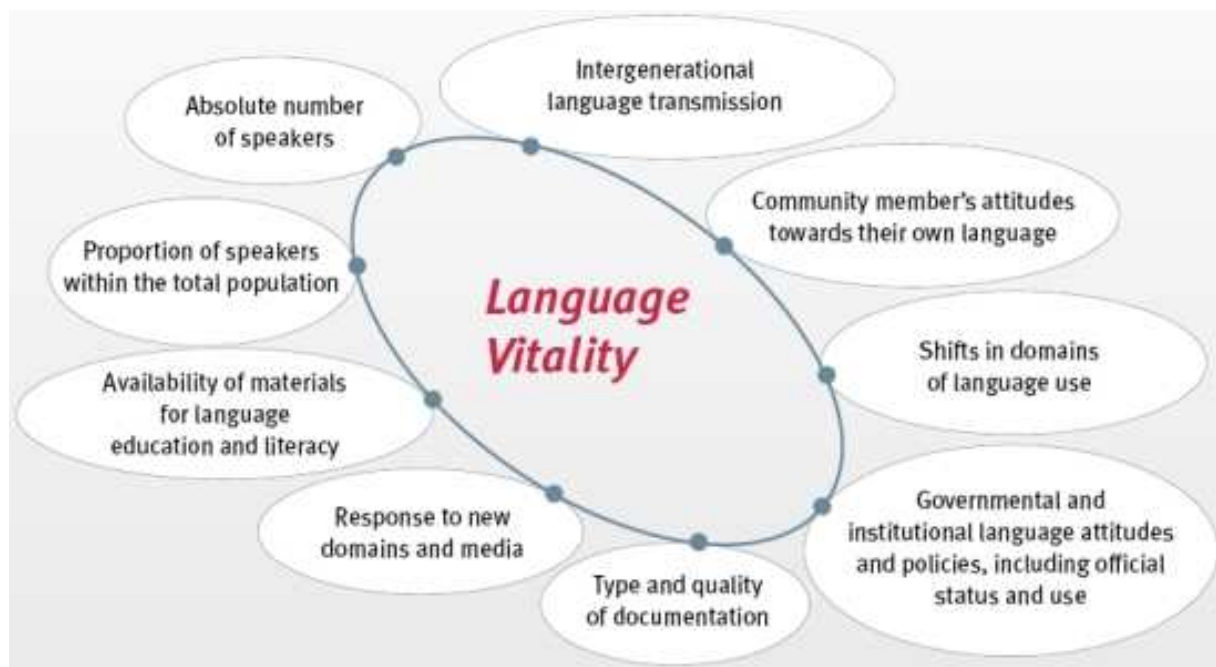
²⁴ Comprehensive Linguistic Study on the Use of Irish Language in the Gaeltacht: Principam Findings and Reommandations; The Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, 2007.

Revitalizační snahy probíhají ve všech dostupných oblastech, a to jak v oblastech Gaeltachtu, tak plošně po celé zemi. Irsko má, jak již bylo zmíněno výše, komunitu rodilých mluvčích v oblastech Gaeltachtu. Irština má oficiální status prvního jazyka, z čehož rovněž také teoreticky vyplývá povinnost pro úředníky státní správy ovládat tento jazyk. Ve skutečnosti však není irština příliš vyžadována a řada úředníků není schopna se s rodilými mluvčími domluvit. Tento nedostatek je řešen v rámci jazykového plánu z roku 2010. V budoucnu by měl být na výběr úředníků a jejich jazykovou kvalifikaci kladen větší důraz. Irština je povinným předmětem na základním a středním stupni vzdělávání a existují i školy s metodou imerze, tzv. *Gaeilscoileanna*. Na školách je vyučována standardizovaná forma jazyka, která nese prvky všech tří dialektů, ale je založena z velké části na dialektu z oblasti Galway a Connemary. Každý Ir tak absolvuje celkem 13 let výuky irštiny. V praxi se však bohužel ukazuje, že výuka má své slabiny v nedostatku kvalifikovaných učitelů a v zastaralých metodách výuky. I tomuto problému se věnuje jazykový plán, jenž definuje konkrétní kroky, jak zkvalitnit tuto oblast revitalizace jazyka. Média v irštině včetně webových stránek a dalších zdrojů jsou v irštině běžně dostupná a mají poměrně velkou sledovanost i v rámci majoritní komunity. Vydávání irsky psané klasické i moderní literatury a slovníků se věnuje specializované nakladatelství *An Gúm*. Stát se rovněž podílí na podpoře kulturních aktivit spojených s irštinou v oblastech Gaeltachtu i mimo něj. A konečně ekonomická podpora Gaeltachtu už dnes probíhá v menší míře než v minulosti, ale přesto je poměrně výrazná. Jedná se především o podporu podnikání v těchto oblastech, které si klade za cíl především zmenšit migraci obyvatel irsky mluvících oblastí do větších anglicky mluvících měst. Současná jazyková ideologie v Irsku je založena především na úctě k jazyku, jenž je nejstarším živým jazykem Evropy, součástí kulturního dědictví Irů a jejich etnokulturním specifíkem.

O všech faktorech revitalizace v Irsku pojednám podrobněji v jednotlivých kapitolách výzkumu, které se budou věnovat jednak současné jazykové situaci a jednak názorům konkrétních respondentů na tuto situaci z oblasti Galway a přilehlého Gaeltachtu Connemara.

4.1.d) Konkrétní jazykový plán pro irštinu 2010-2030

Důležitým nástrojem pro revitalizaci jazyka je jazyková politika a jazykové plánování. Irská vláda vytvořila v roce 2009 jazykový plán, který definuje jednak cíle revitalizačních snah a jednak způsob jejich naplnění. Vidí irštinu jako moderní a zároveň nejstarší evropský jazyk, jímž mluví určitá, ač velmi malá, část populace v oblastech Gaeltachtu a rovněž znovu po dlouhé době i jako literární jazyk, neboť v nakladatelství *An Gúm* začala v posledních letech vycházet řada knih v irštině. Veškeré politické kroky by měly vést především k tomu, aby co největší počet občanů byl bilingvinní. Rovněž si uvědomuje, že je potřeba zvýšit počet rodin, ve kterých se mluví každodenně irsky a zavazuje se podporovat Gaeltacht a irštinu ve státních správě. V neposlední řadě si uvědomuje, že je potřeba podporovat i literární tvorbu v irštině a další uměleckou činnost. Na základě 9 základních faktorů²⁵ pro sledování procesu revitalizace sestavila irská vláda strategii jazykového plánování, která má zvýšit počet irsky mluvících občanů, vytvořit nové příležitosti pro užívání jazyka a především také posilovat pozitivní přístup k jazyku.



obr 1. 9 faktorů pro revitalizaci

²⁵ obr 1.

V jazykovém plánu 20 Year Strategy for the Irish Language 2010 – 2030 si stanovila několik základních cílů, kterých chce během 20 let dosáhnout. Jedná se především o zavedení povinnosti ovládat jazyk pro úředníky státní správy, o zvláštní podporu Gaeltachtu, podporu vzdělávání a zároveň také podporu vzdělávání pedagogů, kteří budou výuku zajišťovat, podporu médií v irštině a další cíle.

Cíle by měly být naplňovány ve čtyřech fázích revitalizačního procesu. V roce 2010 by měl proces začít ustavující fází, která spočívá ve sladění cílů a obsahu Strategie. Dále by mělo docházet k monitorování celkové situace jazyka prostřednictvím průzkumů a na základě toho zvolení vhodných nástrojů k naplnění cílů. Budou rovněž stanoveny dílčí plány pro konkrétní oblasti a zvoleny klíčové priority. Následovat by měla druhá fáze, tedy fáze první realizace, která bude trvat dva až tři roky. Měly by být naplněny dlouhodobější cíle jako je například vyškolení kvalifikovaných pedagogů a dalších specialistů. Řada dalších cílů by se pak měla v této fázi teprve začít realizovat. Příkladem může být vytváření podkladů pro jazykové vzdělávání a gramotnost. Fáze druhé realizace s podnázvem Rozšíření a prohloubení by měla podle Strategie trvat od roku 2013 do roku 2025. V tomto období by měly být beze zbytku naplněny všechny cíle. Jedná se především o vedení kampaní pro propagaci jazyka a snahu navodit pozitivní přístup k jazyku. Zároveň by měli začít na školách a jiných vzdělávacích institucích působit první absolventi upravených pedagogických programů. Během tohoto období bude Irsko slavit sotleté výročí nezávislosti a při té příležitosti by rovněž bylo možné připomenout a zdůraznit nepostradatelnou roli irštiny pro svobodný irský stát a podnítit vliv veřejnosti na pozitivní vývoj Strategie. V poslední, čtvrté fázi by pak mělo docházet k upevňování již dosažených cílů. Zde již bude možné stavět na základech vybudovaných v předchozích fázích, jež by měla tvořit znalost jazyka obyvatelstva. Měly by být vytvářeny nové příležitosti pro použití jazyka a měl by být povzbuzován pozitivní přístup k jazyku.

Jazykový plán by měl být naplňován v 9 základních oblastech, a to následujícím způsobem:

- 1) **Vzdělávání:** Jazyková strategie v oblasti vzdělávání reflektuje současnou situaci zjištěnou inspekcemi na jednotlivých školách, při níž bylo zjištěno, že pouze v polovině z nich je irština vyučována na dobré nebo velmi dobré úrovni. Ve třetině škol je irština stále vyučována prostřednictvím angličtiny. Důsledkem je, že pouze dvě třetiny školáků jsou schopny projít ústní zkouškou z jazyka. Ústní projev se ukazuje jako největší slabina irského vzdělávacího systému týkajícího se výuky irštiny. Na tento faktor upozorňuje i většina mých respondentů, kteří často

poukazují na to, že se ve škole věnovali z větší části rozboru psaných textů na úkor ústního projevu, který by jim měl zajistit možnost aktivně jazyk užívat. Dalším problémem se zdá být nedostatečná motivace školních dětí užívat irštinu při mimoškolních aktivitách, jako jsou sporty, kroužky a podobně. Posledním faktorem, který je nutno aktuálně řešit, je poměrně nízká úroveň učitelů jazyka.

Náprava nedostatků by měla spočívat z velké části v lepším vzdělávání učitelů. V tomto směru budou upravena profesní kritéria pro výuku irštiny. Měla by být rovněž zavedena povinná účast na výukovém programu v Gaeltachtu pro studenty pedagogických oborů a tito studenti by měli na takový program v rámci studia získat speciální stipendium. Pedagogické fakulty by měly zatraaktivnit pro studenty obory s irským jazykem a nalákat i uchazeče z oblastí Gaeltachtu. Záměrem plánu je rovněž vypsát na pedagogických fakultách novou specializaci: Výuka na základní škole prostřednictvím irského jazyka, a to jak na pregraduální, tak i postgraduální úrovni. Specialisté z tohoto oboru by pak mohli učit především na školách v Gaeltachtu a na *Gaeilscoileanna*.

Dále by mělo být podporováno a na vysoké úrovni zajištěno v irštině i terciální vzdělávání, které zatím probíhá například na *Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge* v *NUI Galway (National University of Galway)* a *Fionta* na *Dublin City University*. To zahrnuje především diversifikaci škály nabízených oborů, díky níž by vysoké školy opouštěli kvalifikovaní odborníci v co největší škále oborů, kteří jsou potřeba pro zvýšení statusu irštiny jako národního jazyka a jazyka v rámci EU. V neposlední řadě je rovněž potřeba zajistit finance a odborníky pro kvalitní výzkum a nově akreditované programy.

Rozvíjeno by mělo být i vzdělávání dospělých, aby jim bylo umožněno zvýšit si úroveň jazyka v akreditovaných programech.

Pozornost by měla být věnována i poradenství, ať už kariéernímu (bilingvismus jako výhoda při hledání zaměstnání, především ve státních službách), tak i poradenství a službám studentům se speciálními potřebami. Zvláštní skupinou jsou i děti imigrantů, které by měly být rovněž informovány o výhodách, které bilingvismus v Irsku přináší.

Všechny zmíněné faktory týkající se vzdělání platí také pro oblast Gaeltachtu, do níž však bude potřeba investovat více úsilí i financí, neboť bude nutné sladit potřeby žáků s různou úrovní jazyka.

V oblasti vzdělávání nebylo opomenuto ani terciální vzdělávání v zahraničí. V současné době nabízí studium irštiny a keltských studií na 30 vysokých škol v Evropě a Spojených státech.

- 2) **Gaeltacht:** Strategie jazykového plánování v těchto oblastech se bude odvíjet od toho, jak je ta která oblast jazykově vitální a bude reflektovat specifické jazykové potřeby jednotlivých oblastí. Jejím cílem pak bude především zvýšení počtu mluvčích. V oblastech, kde irsky mluvící obyvatelstvo tvoří majoritu, bude kladen důraz především na ochranu a posílení irsky mluvící komunity a bude vyvíjena snaha o udržení irštiny jako jazyka komunity. V oblastech, kde mluvčí tvoří minoritu, bude naopak vyvíjeno co největší úsilí, aby se vytvořila co nejhustší sociální síť mezi mluvčími, a tak se podařilo udržet jazyk na každodenní uživatelské úrovni. Vitalita jazyka bude sledována na oblastní úrovni a bude každých sedm let vyhodnocována. Podle aktuální vitality jazyka odpovídající kritériím v novém zákoně bude jednotlivým oblastem buď odebrán, nebo naopak dán status Gaeltachtu a do 2 let vypracován konkrétní jazykový plán pro danou oblast.

Tento plán bude vypracován především v následujících oblastech jazykového plánování: vzdělávání, služby pro podporu rodin s dětmi (zahrnující školky, jazykové poradenství, mimoškolní aktivity dětí, programy pro irsky mluvící rodiče s dětmi, prenatalní poradenské služby, terapii a psychologické poradenství v irštině, další služby v oblastech zdravotnictví), služby pro mládež (zahrnující propagaci jazyka mezi mladými lidmi, summer colleges), lokální státní služby, plánování na lokální úrovni (zahrnuje vývoj infrastruktury, ekonomický vývoj, propagaci jazyka v oblasti obchodu a služeb v rámci Gaeltachtu), vývoj kulturně-vzdělávacího turismu, církevní služby v irštině, péči o seniory, péči o děti se speciálními potřebami, zdravotnické služby a sport. Státní výdaje na rozvoj irštiny v Gaeltachtu budou rozdělovány se zřetelem na dopad na jazyk. Prioritou bude jazyková podpora rodin s dětmi a mladých lidí, neboť základním cílem je zajistit plynulý přechod jazyka z generace na generaci. Částečná podpora bude věnována propagaci irské kultury. Stát rovněž vyvine komplexní balíček služeb pro irsky mluvící rodiny s dětmi, zahrnující konzultace s rodiči, dětmi a nastávajícími rodiči. Jednotlivé jazykové plány pro dílčí oblasti budou schvalovat jednotlivé úřady *Udarás na Gaelige*.

- 3) **Rodina a předávání jazykové znalosti z generace na generaci – Raná intervence:** Předávání jazyka z generace na generaci je považováno za klíčový faktor, či dokonce základní kámen v revitalizaci jazyka nejen jazykovými aktivisty v Irsku ale také obecně. Irsky mluvícím rodinám s dětmi by měla být podle Strategie věnována zvláštní pozornost a péče především těm rodinám, kde je mluvčí pouze jeden z rodičů.

Cílem revitalizačních snah v této oblasti by mělo být do budoucna zajištěno poradenství pro irsky mluvící rodiny s dětmi, podpora změny jazykového schématu v rodinách, kde mluví jen jeden rodič směrem k bilingvistu, aby vzrostl počet irsky mluvících dětí a v neposlední řadě také zajistit zdravotnické a sociální služby pro tyto rodiny v obou jazycích. Prostředky pro dosažení stanovených cílů by měla být sítí služeb zahrnující školy, asistenční služby pro prarodiče a staré lidi, kteří mají zájem předávat jazyk mladším generacím, podpora irsky mluvících rodin zapojených do programů summer colleges, zdravotnické a sociální služby v irštině apod.

- 4) **Administrativa, služby a komunita:** V oblasti administrativy a služeb se rozhodla irská vláda podniknout několik kroků. Především bude restrukturalizována *Udarás na Gaeltachta* a vznikne nová vládní organizace *Udarás na Gaeilge*, jež bude zodpovídat za jazykové otázky a ponechá si i řadu funkcí, které zastávala doposud. Její působení se však nebude omezovat jen na oblast Gaeltachtu. Podporována bude i nadále *Foras na Gaeilge*. Rovněž by měla být prohloubena spolupráce mezi vládou a politiky na komunální úrovni, aby mohla být zajištěna sítí služeb podporujících jazyk.

Úředníkům ve státních službách by měla být zajištěna rekvalifikace v irštině v rámci již existujících studijních programů, aby se zvýšil počet státních zaměstnanců, kteří budou schopni poskytovat služby v obou jazycích. Do budoucna by se měla irština opět stát jedním ze základních požadavků na určité posty ve státních službách.

V plánu je rovněž vytvořit nové irsky mluvící komunity mimo Gaeltacht a poskytnout jim veškeré služby v irštině od *Gaeilscoileanna* přes středoškolské vzdělání v irštině, sportovní a zájmové kluby pro mládež, náboženské obřady v irštině apod.. Podobné aktivity bude podporovat nově zřízená *Udarás na Gaeilge*.

Klíčovou roli v jazykovém plánování na komunální úrovni bude hrát vytváření příležitostí pro užívání jazyka. Podpora těchto aktivit včetně podnikání v oblasti jazykového poradenství nebo jiných podnikatelských aktivit týkajících se irštiny bude zajištěna rovněž prostřednictvím *Udarás na Gaeilge*.

Pro jednotlivé oblasti Gaeltachtu, jak již bylo řečeno, budou vypracovány konkrétní jazykové plány, jak zvyšovat počet každodenních mluvčích.

Pro oblast Dublin City a okolí bude vypracován plán propagace jazyka, který by měl sledovat cíl zvýšit počet mluvčích v hlavním městě prostřednictvím zviditelňování jazyka a poskytování příležitostí pro jeho používání.

Propagace jazyka bude probíhat rovněž prostřednictvím dobrovolnických organizací.

Další oblast, kterou by stát rád podpořil, jsou kulturní centra, divadla, kavárny, restaurace, knihkupectví, infocentra apod. Na všech těchto místech by měla být propagována irština ať už prostřednictvím obsluhy nebo informačních materiálů v irštině.

Irsky by měli rovněž mluvit příslušníci *Garda Síochána* (police) a ozbrojených sil, neboť představují určitou autoritu a v případě *Garda Síochána* poskytují služby veřejnosti.

- 5) **Média a informační technologie:** Budoucí jazyková politika v oblasti médií musí brát v potaz jak tradiční způsoby sdělování informací, tak i nové trendy v umění a mediální kultuře. Bude potřeba stejně jako v řadě jiných oblastí rozšířit příležitosti k využívání irštiny, ke čtení všech forem médií a literatury a zároveň zahrnout tato média do výuky na školách, kultury a volnočasových aktivit. Tradiční média jako je tisk, časopisy a knihy v irštině by měla být v irštině i nadále distribuována a propagována jak v knihkupectvích, tak i na internetu, aby byla volně dostupná všem zájemcům. Knihy by se postupně měly objevit i v elektronické formě na CD a DVD a rovněž také ve formě audioknih. Vedle jiných aktivit by měly vzniknout nové knižní kluby, specializovaný systém pro tvorbu a distribuci knih na nových nosičích, atraktivní internetová knihkupectví a nemalá pozornost bude věnována i výhradně mladým lidem a dětem. Od páté třídy základní školy by měly být zavedeny tzv. *guided reading programs* zaměřené na čtení textů, poslech a následné porozumění textu či audiotextu. Podpora mladých lidí by měla být rozvinuta i v oblasti kreativního psaní, blogování, divadelních her a filmových scénářů.

Další ročníky festivalu *Oireachtas na Gaeilge* (národní jazykový festival) by měly být rozšířeny o další oblasti, ale jazyk jako jednotící prvek celého festivalu by měl zůstat zachován.

RTÉ jako poskytovatel televizního a rozhlasového vysílání zahrne irské vysílání do běžného anglického a naváže tak na úspěch *Seachtain na Gaeilge* (Týden v irštině) a zároveň bude dále podporovat *Radió na Gaeltachta*. Měla by rovněž vzniknout nová stanice v irském jazyce pro mladší posluchače, která by vysílala jak běžně, tak po internetu.

Irská televize TG4, která vysílá výhradně v irštině, bude nadále pokračovat ve vysílání. Změní se možnost nastavit si titulky, které jsou v současné době v angličtině, na irské, anglické nebo žádné, aby bylo vyhověno divákům všech jazykových úrovní. Vysílání by mělo být v budoucnu po dohodě s britskou vládou dostupné i v oblasti Severního Irsku.

V oblasti informačních technologií bude dbáno na to, aby byly dostupné programy v obou jazycích, počítače a klávesnice s irskou diakritikou, dvojjazyčné webové stránky, slovníky apod.

- 6) **Slovníky:** Slovníky, které jsou v současné době, by měly být revidovány a doplněny o nové pojmy a moderní terminologii a distribuovány v tištěné i elektronické podobě. Zároveň bude vytvořen nový slovník staroirštiny, který zpracuje *Royal Irish Academy* a který by měl vyjít v roce 2037. Průběžně by měl být rovněž revidována oficiální norma pro irskou gramatiku.
- 7) **Legislativa a status:** Irština byla v ústavě zakotvena jako národní jazyk už v době založení Irské republiky a jako první oficiální jazyk pak v roce 2003. Všechna tato opatření i nadále platí.

Irština je od roku 2007 rovněž jedním z oficiálních jazyků Evropské unie. Na základě tohoto statutu vznikla i povinnost přeložit všechny právní dokumenty a texty týkající se EU do irštiny.

Bude vytvořena nová právní úprava, aby mohl být redefinován status *Gaeltachta*, jenž bude založen na jazykových kritériích a bude, jak již bylo zmíněno, zrušena *Udarás na Gaeltachta* a nahrazena *Udarás na Gaeilge*.

Další právní kroky by měly být podniknuty v oblasti včlenění závazků týkajících se irského jazyka do právního systému Velké Británie a Irsku, aby mohl být jazyk chráněn a rozvíjen i v Severním Irsku.

- 8) **Ekonomický život:** Bude vyvinuta snaha podporovat společnosti v soukromém sektoru, které si cení národního jazyka, aby provozovaly své služby v obou jazycích. Zároveň by mělo být zavedeno dvojjazyčné označení všech produktů prodávaných na území Irska.

I nadále bude podporováno podnikání v irsky mluvících oblastech, a to především v překladatelství, tlumočnictví, jazykovém vzdělávání, publikační činnosti, poradenství týkajícího se jazyka apod. Tyto iniciativy budou podporovány prostřednictvím nově vzniklé vládní organizace *Udarás na Gaeilge*.

- 9) **Iniciativy napříč všemi ostatními oblastmi:** Bude dán prostor inovátorům a novým kreativním myšlenkám v oblasti nových metod revitalizace.

Dále by měl být vytvořen nový portál pro irský jazyk, který by měl zprostředkovávat materiály a zdroje týkající se jazyka včetně e-learningu, akademických publikací, digitalizovaných zdrojů a sociálních i profesionálních sítí.

Vláda by se měla přesvědčit, že v rámci EU je irština používána jako oficiální pracovní jazyk evropských výzkumných a vývojových programů.

V neposlední řadě bude rovněž vytvořen národní program pro digitalizaci zásadních prací vytvořených v irštině a jejich zveřejnění na internetu. Tato iniciativa bude navazovat na již vytvořený projekt *Script on Screen*: <http://www.isos.dias.ie/> a *The Digital Humanities Observatory* : <http://dho.ie/>.

4.1.f) Praktická realizace jazykového plánu

Praktická realizace jazykového plánu pro oblast Gaeltachtu je úkolem tzv. *Udarás na Gaeltachta*: <http://www.udaras.ie/index.php?lang=2> , úřadů, které zajišťují ekonomický a sociokulturní rozvoj těchto oblastí. Úřady *Udarás na Gaeltachta* se nacházejí v každé větší vesnici. Vedle řady aktivit specifických pro každou oblast především podávají informace i pomocnou ruku podnikatelům, kteří se rozhodli založit si firmu v Galetachtu nebo chtějí pořádat různé kulturní a osvětové aktivity týkající se irského jazyka a kultury. Jejich úkolem je rovněž propagovat irštinu a podporovat její výuku na všech stupních vzdělávání. Webové stránky *Udarás na Gaeltachta* jsou zároveň takovým portálem a zdrojem informací pro ty, kteří v Galetachtu žijí nebo se sem chtějí přestěhovat. S ohledem na to, že *Udarás na*

Gaeltachta je hlavním realizátorem revitalizačních snah a jazykového plánu, bude v následujících letech změněna na *Udarás na Gaeilge*. Její zaměření tak nebude orientováno jen na oblasti *Gaeltachtu*, ale bude se věnovat propagaci irštiny a konkrétní aplikaci legislativy týkající se jazyka na celém území Irska. Péče o oblasti *Gaeltachtu* bude i nadále spadat do kompetence *Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs*, i když bude pravděpodobně část funkcí převedena na nově vzniklé *Udarás na Gaeilge*.

Druhou velkou státní institucí, která vyvíjí řadu aktivit spojených s irským jazykem, je *Foras na Gaeilge*: <http://www.forasnagaeilge.ie/Home.asp> . Je zodpovědná především za propagaci jazyka a podporu jeho mluvené i psané formy ve veřejné a soukromé sféře. Mezi její další aktivity patří jazykové poradenství, podpora projektů spojených s jazykem prostřednictvím grantů, podpora výzkumu, propagačních kampaní a rovněž i propagace jazyka v médiích. Nezanedbatelnou oblastí je také vydavatelská činnost prostřednictvím nakladatelství *An Gúm* a podpora *Gaeilscoileanna*. *Foras na Gaeilge* má zůstat podle jazykového plánu i nadále jednou z klíčových institucí pro podporu jazykové revitalizace v Irsku.

4.2) Výzkum v Galway a Gaeltachtu Connemara

Terénní výzkum probíhal v Galway a nejbližším okolí a zahrnoval jednak strukturované rozhovory a jednak zúčastněné pozorování. Rozhovorů se zúčastnilo 15 náhodných respondentů, z toho jedna respondentka odmítla mluvit na diktafon. Oblast Galway jsem si vybrala především proto, abych měla možnost konfrontovat postoje lidí, kteří jazykem běžně nehovoří nebo ho vůbec neumí, s postoji rodilých mluvčích z přilehlého Gaeltachtu Connemara. V jiných oblastech Irska by asi byly názory jednotnější, ale v Galway se střetávají obě komunity, protože řada obyvatel vesnic patří již do Gaeltachtu (např. An Spidéal) v Galway pracuje nebo studuje.

Obecně lze říci, že většina respondentů měla tendenci zaujímat spíše pozitivní vztah k jazyku, i když se objevily i názory vyjadřující jistou lhostejnost nebo dokonce odpor. Lhostejné a negativní postoje však nebyli respondenti příliš ochotní vyslovit v rámci rozhovorů. Spíše se objevily v rámci zúčastněného pozorování a pak i v rozporech objevivších se během analýzy rozhovorů. Irština je pro Iry poměrně citlivé téma. Přestože často nejsou z různých důvodů ochotni se aktivně zapojit do revitalizačních snah, na jazyce jim záleží a bojí se svou pasivitu při revitalizaci přiznat. Irština je obecně vnímána jako nedílná součást kulturního dědictví a zároveň jako součást národní identity. Přizná-li někdo, že ho irština nezajímá a nemá k ní vztah, bývá toto negativně přijímáno ostatními účastníky takové řečové situace týkající se jazyka, jak jsem se měla možnost přesvědčit v rámci zúčastněného pozorování takové řečové situace v městské knihovně. Otevřené vyslovení negativního postoje k jazyku se stalo okamžitě terčem kritiky ostatních účastníků rozhovoru a mluvčí, ač se pokoušela si svůj názor obhájit, nepřesvědčila nikoho z ostatních účastníků rozhovoru o jeho legitimitě. Jistou citlivost tématu přisuzuje i jazykový aktivista Paid Nechatin, jeden z respondentů výzkumu:

„P: Yea, it's a very sensitive question.

M: Yea I thought that it's not that sensitive and I found out that many people don't want to talk about it.

P: It is, it is a sensitive question because you would have people who are quite strong for the language and I suppose, I'm one of them, it's funny, like if I meet people on the street in Spiddal that will speak Irish to me but the next person they meet will speak English to them. Eventhough maybe both of them have Irish but they see me as someone, they know who I am, the fluent speaker that, you know, I

allways speak Irish anyway. So it's, it's a sensitive question because people would be, you know, giving out, they would be, people would be argueing, you know, saying that you shoulg be speaking Irish and...

M: Yes

P: It's a dis, it's a disgrace that you're not spekaing Irish to your children and that's very very bad, so people feel, they feel bad. You know they feel, maybe a little embarrassed sometimes that they don't have...

M: Yea

P: You know, and that's why it is a sensitive question, you know and we're going to have to find a way to ask it and get the correct answer because if you ask someone: 'Do you speak Irish to your children?' He would say yes because they, that's the answer they think, you want.

M: Yea, yea how do you know that they don't lie?

P: Yes, yes that's difficult, that's what's going to be difficult, do you know what I mean?

M: That's what I found difficult too about the survey I'm donig here now because many people...

P: That's even people, it's not even an interesting part for your survey...

M: yea

P: as an anthropologist. It would be quite interesting the psychic of the, of you know, I don't know, the people are embarrassed to say that they..., like Irish is kind of, like a sacred cow in this country, do you know, you can't say anything against."

Postoj k jazyku neshodující se s obecnou jazykovou ideologií prezentovanou většinou je vnímán negativně a jeho zastánce jej nemusí vždy přiznat. Nikdo z respondentů výzkumu neřekl upřímně názor, že irština je nepraktický jazyk, který je v dnešní době přežitkem, přestože mimo oficiální záznam jsem tento názor několikrát zaslechla. Zároveň však pozitivní postoj k jazyku, jak se prokáže ve výzkumu, nemusí vždy nutně znamenat aktivní revitalizační snahy. Řada respondentů s pozitivním postojem podpořeným jazykovou ideologií založenou především na stáří, kráse a hodnotě jazyka jako kulturního dědictví byla v druhé části rozhovoru zaměřené především na praktické revitalizační snahy nucena přiznat, že jejich zájem o jazyk je čistě pasivní. Zůstává otázkou, zda skutečně zaujmají onen pozitivní postoj nebo zda jen nemají dostatek motivace na to, aby svůj pozitivní postoj k jazyku podpořili aktivní snahou se jazyku naučit a užívat ho.

4.2.a) Is it reviving or dying?

Skutečné názory na stav jazyka jsem se pokusila zjistit formou strukturovaných rozhovorů a zúčastněným pozorováním především skupinových rozhovorů na téma irského jazyka. Názory na současný stav irského jazyka by mohly vytvořit celou škálu od velmi optimistických, jež vidí budoucnost jazyka, který má tendenci se rozšiřovat a získávat čím dál tím větší popularitu, přes názory o tom, že irština je jazykem, který tak tak přežívá a nachází se v klíčové situaci, v níž se rozhoduje o tom, zda tomu tak bude i nadále, až po ty nejpesimističtější, které zohledňují stále se zmenšující oblast Gaeltachtu, špatně fungující výuku irštiny na školách a negativní postoje k jazyku v důsledku těchto faktorů. Nelze říci, že by se pozitivní nebo negativní prognózy o stavu revitalizace a jejího budoucího vývoje odvíjely od úrovně jazykové znalosti jednotlivých respondentů. Někteří rodilí mluvčí se pokouší do rozhovoru vnést co nejvíce optimismu (Cristine Cox, Maire-Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin), vyzdvihnout a až poněkud zveličit pozitivní aspekty, jiní zase vidí situaci v podstatě velmi černě (Ruainí Ó hAodha, John Fitzgibbon), přestože jsou sami mluvčími jazyka a učí jej i své děti. Naopak někteří velcí optimisté a obhájci revitalizace jazyka, museli v druhé části rozhovoru přiznat, že vlastně jazyk neovládají a nejsou tedy těmi, kteří by se nějak aktivně podíleli na jeho revitalizaci (Úna Molligan).

Rozdělme si tedy respondenty do tří skupin: Optimisté, mírní optimisté a pesimisté a uveďme si, jakými argumenty podporují své názory na současný stav jazyka. Do kategorie pesimisté jsem zařadila i několik názorů jinak poměrně optimisticky smýšlejících respondentů. Je to jednak názor Úny Molligan, která mluvila optimisticky na diktafon, ale zcela jinak se vyjadřovala mimo záznam, a jednak ojedinělý názor Franka O'Railyho týkající se spojení irštiny s terorismem, který mi připadal zajímavý.

Mezi optimisty lze zařadit některé rodilé mluvčí, ale není to rozhodně pravidlem. Mluví o irštině jako jazyce, který prochází obrodou a v posledním desetiletí získává na popularitě především u mladých lidí, kteří se i přesto, že nemluví plynně, ve snaze být „cool“ snaží využít veškeré jazykové znalosti. Cristine Cox, učitelka ve školce pro irsky mluvící děti ve vesnici An Spidéal, která už náleží ke Gaeltachtu, přiznává, že v tomto ohledu se hodně změnilo právě za posledních 10 let. K popularitě jazyka mezi mladými lidmi z velké části podle ní přispěla i média, především irská televize TG4, která vysílá v irštině s anglickými titulky a jejíž sídlo se nachází právě v An Spidéalu. Jednak přivedla do oblasti lidi z různých

oblastí Gaeltachtu, kteří se o jazyk zajímají, vyvíjejí aktivity podporující revitalizaci, ale hlavně mluví, což je pro přežití jazyka nejdůležitější:

„C: Myself I think it’s reviving at the moment. When I was in school I felt it was, you know, going down, you know, people, it wasn’t, how would you say, it wasn’t cool to speak it, but it changed, it changed and by the time I got to college it started changing. And I think one of the things that was really good that came to the community was the Irish language television station. It brought a lot of opportunities to the area and jobs and brought people from different areas within Ireland, different Gaeltachts, that came down to Spiddal, so you have different dialects so now some, the different dialects are all together on one TV station. Some words you use are different. So you go out in a pub and people are all speaking Irish a lot, yea.

M: Do you think it’s a kind of fashion?

C: It’s fashion now as well, you know?

M: Really?

C: Yea

M: And do young people take it as a fashion? Do they speak it?

C: It’s hard to say, you know? Because if you’re brought up Irish is always there, you know? So when you’re young, when I was young and when it wasn’t cool, I had Irish, I spoke Irish, but wasn’t cool, and now you speak it more, and it’s just as I say, from one language to next, you don’t think about it.“

O popularitě jazyka mezi mladými lidmi a vlivu médií na jeho oblibu hovoří také učitelka irštiny Maire-Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin. Poukazuje na to, že jazyk je v oblasti Gaeltachtu Connemara stále živý a mladí lidé, kteří se jezdí dobrovolně učit irštinu na summer colleges právě do těchto oblastí, jej pak běžně užívají i mimo školu v konverzacích s přáteli a v pubech. Její názor je hodnotný především proto, že vidí problém ze dvou různých pohledů, tedy jako rodilá mluvčí z Gaeltachtu může pozorovat vitalitu jazyka v oblasti, kde je největší, a zároveň jako vyučující na summer college může posoudit, jak se mění postoje a snahy naučit se irsky a jazyk používat u anglicky mluvící většiny. Dokáže nahlédnout situaci jazyka v její komplexitě, a přestože má k irštině citový vztah, pokouší se situaci zhodnotit racionálně:

„M-B: I think it’s reviving. It was, like maybe ten years ago It was very, very unpopular. It wasn’t at all, like it wasn’t thus popular as it is today. And like today there’s a TG4 and the radio and there’s a lot, and lot of different things and I think more young people speak it today than they did, maybe ten years ago. You know, I think it’s getting better, so, you know. And a lot of, more teenagers have an interest.

M: Really?

M-B: Yea, yea, it’s surprising, they do. They are very interested in it, you know.

M: I talked to some people and they said that the young people learn Irish but that they don't speak Irish.

M-B: Yea, I know, like in the Gaeltacht area, they, a lot of people, they learn it, they go to school and everything, but when they're with their friends, they speak English which is very very unusual but then in the really really Gaeltacht area they will speak it like at the weekend when we go out, we all speak Irish to each other. You know, you don't speak English, you speak Irish, you know, when you go to the pub and ... you

M: Yea?

M-B: Yea, you speak Irish. And then I know that a lot of ... when I was teaching Irish to kids, they come from Dublin and like all over Ireland and, they were so interested in the major...a very very big effort to speak it because they spoke to each other.

M: Really?

M-B: I think it's, it's very difficult to say but I think it's quite good, you know. It could be better. But definitely it's not that bad as it used to be."

Maire-Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin v rozhovoru rovněž vypovídá o změně postoje lidí k jazyku, tak jak jej pozoruje za posledních 10 let. Nepokouší se analyzovat proč, ale zaznamenala, že došlo k výraznému posunu patrně v důsledku změny jazykové ideologie, která již jazyk nevnímá jako jazyk chudých nevzdělaných obyvatel zaostalého venkova, ale jako etnokulturní specifikum, které je potřeba aktivně poznávat a věnovat mu náležitou péči. Zvýšení zájmu o irský jazyk se projevuje nejen během výuky, ale lze jej podle Maire-Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin zaznamenat rovněž také ve snaze jazyk aktivně používat v komunikaci mimo školu, což považuje za velký pokrok oproti situaci před 10 lety.

Jak jsem mohla vypořádat v médiích i běžně na ulici, především mladí lidé se skutečně pokoušejí irsky mluvit, byť někteří s obtížemi. Běžně přepínají kódy i v rámci vět a pokud nejsou schopni formulovat celou větu v irštině, zařazují irská slova do řeči v angličtině. Mluvcích, kteří by ovládali irský jazyk plynule, nelze mimo stále se zmenšující oblasti Gaeltachtu, potkat mnoho, ale říci alespoň „dia dhuit“ nebo „go raibh maí agat“, umí téměř každý a také se to snaží při každé možné příležitosti (v kavárnách, pubech, obchodech i při běžné konverzaci mezi přáteli) využít. Frank O Raily rovněž potvrzuje, že irštinu je slyšet více než dříve:

„M: Do you think it's a kind of fashion to speak Irish?

F: Kind of what?

M: Kind of fashion or trendy

F: Yea certainly this, yea, you would see even in the shop people saying to you ,go raibh maith agat´ which, not.., didn´t sounded for past years. Put a few words of Irish into the everyday speech. Hmm“

Jedna z respondentek, Siobhám Molloy, přiznala, že její kamarádka si namluvila vzkaz na záznamníku irsky, přestože umí podle svých slov jen pár slov. Mluvit irsky je v současné době opravdu „cool“, což může znamenat velké pozitivum a velký obrat oproti postojům, které v minulosti stavěly irštinu do role méně prestižního jazyka, než je majoritní angličtina. Jak jsem se již zmínila v kapitole o postojích Irů k jazyku, byla irština v minulosti spojována především s chudobou a nevzdělaností a někteří respondenti dodnes tvrdí, že Gaeltacht stále patří mezi ekonomicky méně vyvinuté oblasti. Mait Ó Brádaigh je na rozdíl od předchozích respondentek přesvědčen, že starý postoj k irštině stále přetrvává:

„MB: And you go, once you go over first bridge there are two hundred and a half thousand people in there living in that area, and it is ninety eight percent Irish, very Irish speaking area but it also has, it still has the most poverty, the lowest socioeconomics status, the highest (mental illness), alcoholism, all the social problems. So you can see that Irish and poverty is still..

M: Yea it´still the same.

MB: In one way and then, then in a different way one of the things that if it´s not in this study, it´s mentioned in another study that Irish people will have a great respect for anybody who masters the language, you know when somebody dies and they say and he was a fluent Irish speaker in other words, well he was fantastic to go and learn that, so you have that on one side and on the other side then you have the native Irish speakers, the most native Irish speaking area is the poorest and the the most under, undeveloped and with a socioeconomics level that is

M: Hmm, yea

MB: E:: and for the last four hundret years that was a problem that Irish and poverty were the same thing.“

Důležitou roli v udržení vitality jazyka podle velké části respondentů hraje škola a výuka jazyka. Někteří z nich se o škole a jejím vlivu rozhovořili hned na začátku rozhovoru, aniž bych se přímo na otázku škol ptala. Zdá se tedy, že otázka výuky jazyka většinu respondentů napadá v souvislosti s revitalizací a vitalitou jazyka jako první. Problematiku *Gaeilscoileanna* zmiňuje v souvislosti s postoji Irů i irštině v současnosti i Ciarán Mac Murchaidh v kapitole *Current Attitudes to Irish* v knize *A New Wiew of the Irish Language*, která shrnuje nejnovější pohledy sociolingvistů na irský jazyk. Podle tohoto článku počet těchto škol a jejich obliba rapidně roste. Ředitel jedné z těchto škol a zároveň sociolinguista Mait Ó Brádaigh potvrdil, že zájem o jazyk a snaha se jej naučit pak sekundárně přechází i na

rodiče, kteří děti do *Gaeilscoilleanana* posílají. O pozitivním vlivu *Gaeilscoilleana*, který se přenáší i na zbytek populace, je přesvědčená i učitelka ve škole pro děti se speciálními potřebami Fionnula Ní Chonnaire:

„F: I would be very positive. I would be of the opinion that there is a revival and I think, I think that the Gaeilscoils has a lot to do with people having a more positive attitude towards language. I think the fact Gaeilscoils are, you know opening in areas, a parts of the country where there's a very little Irish, it,... here at the centre for children Gaeilscoils tend to be very enthusiastic themselves because they, some of them want to make classes so that they are learning with their children and they do with them their homework. So I would be very positive and language will survive in future.“

Siohán Arkins na rozdíl od manžela Johna Fitzgibbona, který nevidí *Gaeilscoilleana* jako zcela pozitivní fenomén, vkládá do tohoto způsobu výuky rovněž velké naděje, co se týče nejen udržení jazykové vitality, ale dokonce zlepšení jazykové situace:

„S: I would think this is a good time for the Irish language and it would be even better in the future, I think, and mainly because of the popularity of the Gaeilscoils. You've got the whole young generation coming up, that have been educated through Irish and I think they have to have a better Irish than someone who was taught through English. It just have to be inevitable even if the children are not quite home in speaking Irish ...“

Posledním faktorem, který by měl přispívat k oživení jazyka a který zmiňovali někteří respondenti, je zájem o jazyk vně Irsko. Existuje řada jazykových nadšenců, kteří se učí irsky často proto, že mají irský původ nebo čistě jen ze zájmu o starý a exotický jazyk. Příkladem poměrně populární osobnosti, která se naučila irsky, je americký komik Des Bishop, který irštinu dokonce propaguje na svých webových stránkách: <http://www.desbishop.com/>, kde nabízí interaktivní kurz irštiny. Opravdovou kuriozitou je pak plánovaný Gaeltacht v Kanadě, o kterém psaly *The Irish Times* v roce 2007 v článku „*First Gaeltacht abroad planned in Canada*“. Článek pojednává o skupině lidí v Kanadě, zčásti druhé a třetí generaci přistěhovalců z Irska, zčásti nadšenců, kteří se rozhodli založit takový Gaeltacht. Naučili se irsky a koupili 60 akrů půdy, který zamýšlejí využít jako útočiště pro irsky mluvící. „We want a place people can come to all year round and speak Irish. At first, there will be no one living there on a full-time basis, however, that could all change in future.“ stated Aralt Mac Giolla Chainnigh, a leading member of Cumann na Gaeltachta in Kingston, Canada.²⁶

²⁶ NIC PHÁIDÍN, C., Ó CEARNAICH, S.: *A New View of Irish Language*, Dublin: Cois Life, 2008., str. 221

Mírní optimisté nebo také realisté jsou si vědomi, že stav jazyka není co do vitality zcela dobrý a jsou přesvědčeni, že úspěchy či neúspěchy současných revitalizačních snah mohou být pro jazyk fatální v pozitivním i negativním smyslu. Tato skupina respondentů má, zdá se nejvíce realistický pohled na současný stav jazyka. Mají skutečný zájem o irský jazyk pramenící z nacionalistického cítění a úcty k národní historii, ale zároveň pro ně většinou není mateřštinou. Řada z nich rovněž vyzdvihuje estetické kvality jazyka, co se týče nejen umění a literatury a zároveň jeho stáří a tradici.

Respondentka Bernadette Colgan tvrdí, že jazyk není „příliš zdravý“ a své tvrzení zdůvodňuje především neutěšeným stavem výuky irštiny na školách, který je způsoben nedostatkem kvalitních pedagogů (nemá tím na mysli zmíněné *Gaeilscoilleana*, ale klasické základní školy, kde je irština vyučována jako cizí jazyk):

„I wouldn't think it's too healthy. I think because it's the way it's taught in my schools and my experience, I mean I've send my own children to a Gaelscoil and I know, that one of the teachers two years ago was (put there) from the secondary school and for a primary school teacher because, what they're realizing is the primary schools, coming out of the colleges do not know how to teach Irish to the kids, so this man who is a native Irish speaker has been asked by the school to go to one of these national schools, training schools to teach the teachers how to teach Irish. So when the department is recognizing that it stay..... It can't be too healthy but there is a revival I think, in Irish.“

Vliv úrovně jazyka na školách vnímá jako jeden za zásadních faktorů, které ovlivňují celkovou úroveň jazyka, opravdu většina respondentů. Respondent Paid Nechtain, jazykový aktivista a zároveň rodilý mluvčí rovněž kritizuje nízkou úroveň jazyka mladých lidí a vidí v ní velký problém, který je potřeba urychleně řešit, aby bylo vůbec možné jazyk zachránit. Naráží i na onu již zmiňovanou nově se objevivší popularitu jazyka mezi mladými lidmi a přepínání kódů a nepovažuje tento jev za příliš pozitivní, protože užívání několika mála slov v jinak anglické řeči sice může dokazovat pozitivní vztah k jazyku, ale zároveň však díky ní vychází najevo jistá povrchnost zájmu o jazyk. Mladí lidé, kteří chtějí být „cool“ se naučí pár frází, které vkládají do angličtiny, ale takový přístup jazyku přežití nezajistí. Nestačí tedy, že irština je v současné době právě v módě, je potřeba v lidech probudit hlubší zájem o jazyk, jeho strukturu a specifickou gramatiku, jeho vývoj, o literární díla v něm vytvořená a především oživit ho tím, že bude užíván v běžné mluvě nejen častěji, ale i správně, podle gramatických pravidel, která jsou mu vlastní. Podle Paida Nechtaina je nyní ten správný čas, kdy je potřeba se na tyto faktory zaměřit:

„P: But it really is, it is weakening. It's definitely, it's weakening. It's time for action, we'll say, to really save it. I mean I am, what am I? Thirty four, I think. I am thirty four. When I was in school, secondary school, we spoke a lot of English because that was the cool thing to do, you know, and you were breaking the rules. But everyone in the group had a good Irish. So it didn't, so that it didn't matter but everyone in that group had good Irish... The way it is now about twenty years later, there's a lot of English been spoken in school because it's cool and they're breaking the rules, but the children don't have the same level of Irish as we did. We were fully fluent native speakers as we only spoke Irish at home. But now they're not as fluent. They don't have as, as good grasp of the language so I'm worried that even though we broke the rules when we were young, it didn't make a huge difference in the long run whereas now it will because they don't have, they don't have the fluency to fall back on. When they come out of the school and they realize: Irish is important to me, they don't, they won't have enough of a grasp of a language. So you're going to lose. There probably won't be any native speakers anymore.“

K podobnému názoru dochází rovněž další z respondentů výzkumu a zároveň sociolinguista a ředitel *Gaeilscoil* v Oranmore Mait Ó Brádaigh. Žáci a studenti o jazyk zájem mají a mají i snahu jej používat i mimo školu, což je pozitivní zjištění co do vztahu k jazyku. Úroveň jazyka je však nízká a užívání jazyka lidmi s nízkou úrovní jazyk svým způsobem pomalu degraduje na určitou formu pidžinu. Mladí lidé mají sice určitou omezenou slovní zásobu, ale často ignorují gramatickou stránku jazyka, která je v případě irštiny poměrně složitá a také dosti odlišná od angličtiny, která je pro většinu těchto dětí mateřským jazykem. Jejich snaha o to mluvit irsky za každou cenu, přestože jazykem nevládnou na takové úrovni, aby dokázaly vyjádřit to, co potřebují, může mít poměrně negativní následky pro zachování jazyka, pokud se úroveň jazykových kurzů na školách nezlepší. Pokud se tak nestane, může se z irštiny a angličtiny v krajním případě vyvinout pidžin, který bude mít lexikální základ v irštině a gramatický v angličtině. Z vlastní zkušenosti s prací s žáky různých věkových kategorií to může potvrdit i Mait Ó Brádaigh:

„MB: What I was going to say is a problem I have in my school. Is that the children speak Irish and quite often the, the grammar, the order of the words, the rules that they apply to the language is quite often just English with Irish words. They, for they're not speaking native form of the language. That has a different order of words, that has a lot of a native grammar, it has inflections at the beginning and end of verbs, the beginning of the verb has changed, the end of the verb has changed all in... So there are quite a number of complex things and the children are speaking as if they were speaking English except it's, they're using Irish words.“

Faktorem, který má rovněž velkou váhu pro revitalizaci irského jazyka, je podle některých respondentů Gaeltacht a snaha o udržení těchto oblastí, kde je alespoň část obyvatelstva rodilými mluvčími, především ekonomicky. Jak jsem již zmínila, Gaeltachtu se dostává velké ekonomické i mediální podpory ze strany státu a různých kulturních institucí. Stal se rovněž destinací, která jsou celoročně vyhledávána turisty z celého světa, kteří využívají služeb místních hotelů a restauračních zařízení, což rovněž přispělo k zmírnění odlivu především mladých lidí z těchto oblastí, neboť vznikla řada nových pracovních příležitostí.

Ještě v osmdesátých letech minulého století se zdála situace kritická a zánik Gaeltachtu téměř nevyhnutelný. Podle článku Kevina C. Kearns z *Geographical Review* z roku 1974 měl Gaeltacht prakticky zmizet kolem roku 1990²⁷. To, že se tak nestalo, je jistě pozitivním faktem, ale znamená pouze to, že se jen jejich zánik o něco zpomalil. Lidí, pro které je irština mateřštinou ubývá, a monolingviní irsky mluvící obyvatelé Gaeltachtu jsou zřejmě již jen legendou. Paid Nechtain je jedním z těch, kteří jsou přesvědčeni, že v současné době se jazyk nachází v situaci, v níž je ještě možné jej zachránit. Je však nutné radikálně zasáhnout, neboť všechny ukazatele nasvědčují tomu, že se jedná o jednu z posledních možností:

„P: It'll be probably just few people who are fluent. You're going to loose. Well there will... It's..., I'm talking twenty years down the line. If it follows the way it's going and it's gradually eating into the Gaeltacht areas. What I see is a native speaker, someone with a real local and a real local accent, do you know, and there's really really very very high level of Irish. Some people in Spiddal have it but not a lot. When you go further west a lot of people, a lot of people have it. So I'm seeing that it's going to weaken, you know, so the real true out and out very good Irish is going to weaken...They put some kind of fluent people but not as good at language. Language is certainly theseso you know. Is that good enough? ... I think it needs action.

M: yes, yes.

P: Do you know? There are, there are signs of recovery but I purpose there were signs of recovery twenty years ago as well and there is state support now. You know there are laws in the country that people now, the..., there was allways laws but now something is being a kind of done about them, you know, public parties are being harrassed, they're being, you know, you know, it's, you know, they have been checked and harrassed and they have to do ceratin things. So and it's the law now, so that should help. Theoretically it should help.“

²⁷ KEARNS, K: Resuscitation of the Irish Gaeltacht in *Geographical revue*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Jan. 1979)

Navzdory dřívějším již zmiňovaným Kearnsovým a Hindleyho pesimistickým předpovědím je ale irština stále živým jazykem s určitou vitalitou a někteří z respondentů tento fakt vyzdvihli, když se pokoušeli vyjádřit, co si myslí o současném stavu jazyka. Mait Ó Brádaigh fakt, že irština přežila až do dneška, považuje za její velký úspěch, neboť utlačovatelským jazykem je zde právě angličtina, jeden z nejrozšířeněji používaných jazyků dneška v západním světě. O to menší by mohla být motivace lidí učit se minoritní jazyk, kterým se domluví v několika málo oblastech na západě ostrova, když si prakticky vystačí s angličtinou, kterou mohou využít kdekoli na světě. Přesto roste počet těch, kteří se chtějí irsky učit v Irsku i mimo ostrov. Mait Ó Brádaigh vidí situaci vlastně docela pozitivně, neboť irština už svou vitalitu prokázala a bojuje o ni dál:

„MB: On both sides of Ireland , everywhere, now em:: in a way it´s, it´s almost a miracle that Irish has survived so so long. That you have a hundred thousand native speakers, you have one and half milion larners and they have America on one side and England on the other side that is... One writer describes it as the world´s biggest language struggling with the world´s biggest small language because no other small lanugage has so many learneres as Irish.“

Pesimistické názory na budoucnost jazyka se objevují u respondentů, kteří jsou sami mluvčími i u respondentů, kteří umí, jak sami rádi říkají, jen „*cupla focal*“, tedy pár slov, což je potřeba v tomto případě brát opravdu doslovně. Jedním z respondentů, který považuje současný stav jazyka za dekadentní fázi, je Ruainí O hAodha, knihovník, který vyrůstal v rodině, kde se irsky mluvilo a četlo. Velký vliv na jeho zájem o jazyk měl zřejmě otec, který je na Galwayské univerzitě uznávaným profesorem staroirštiny a znalcem staroirských rukopisů. Pro svá tvrzení uvádí několik zásadních negativních faktorů, které ovlivňují postoje k jazyku. Stejně tak jako Mait Ó Brádaigh vyzdvihuje fakt, že dominantním jazykem je v Irsku právě angličtina, která získává čím dál tím větší vliv, ale na rozdíl od Maita Ó Brádaigha však nevěří v to, že tento souboj angličtiny s irštinou dopadne pozitivně pro malý a v podstatě nevýznamný jazyk, který je velmi obtížné se naučit i vzhledem k tomu, že patří do jiné jazykové skupiny než dominantní angličtina. Ruainí O hAodha je si rovněž vědom, že ubývá rodilých mluvčích, a přestože řada respondentů vyzdvihuje pozitivní vliv *Gaeilscoilleana*, je potřeba si přiznat, že není úplně stejné naučit se jazyk doma a naučit se ho až ve škole. Jazyk, který se žáci a studenti naučí ve škole, už není jazykem, který je pro ně jazykem přirozeným a který by využívali v běžné konverzaci mimo jazykové kurzy. Tento

názor zastává i Bernadette Colgan a pojednám o něm více v kapitole věnované školám a vzdělávání. Posledním negativním faktorem, který Ruainí Ó hAodha zmiňuje, je opět přetrvávání negativního postoje k jazyku. Na rozdíl od optimistických obyvatelek Gaeltachtu Cristine Cox a Maire-Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin není Ruainí Ó hAodha vůbec přesvědčen, že by se irština stala módním trendem mladých, naopak je přesvědčen, že určitý negativní postoj k irštině jako jazyku chudých a nevzdělaných je předáván mladší generaci:

„M: And why do you think it's dying?

R: Why? I just think it's a kind of the nature of a, we, Ireland is a part of a, of an English speaking world and, you know, and English is a powerful language, you know, it rules all the media and also I think Irish is ...There is a... Well Irish is not an easy language, you know, unless you grow up speaking it at home, it's OK. And also there is, certainly amongst older generation there was and continues to be some negative attitude towards Irish, you know, I mean that, and that passes onto their children and I think it's a little bit better than it was...“

Jazykoví pesimisté jsou přesvědčeni o tom, že Gaeltachtu hrozí bezprostřední zánik a spolu s ním i zánik jazyka. Nejradikálnější úpadek jazyka vidí právě v oblasti Gaeltachtu, kde je také asi zároveň nejmarkantnější. Příliv anglicky mluvícího obyvatelstva pomalu narušuje irsky mluvící komunitu a potažmo navozuje různé, dříve se nevyskytující řečové situace. Vzhledem k tomu, že všichni rodilí mluvčí jsou zároveň bilingvini, není vůbec nesnadné si představit, jak dochází k situacím, kdy je nutné přepínat kódy. Řada irsky mluvících respondentů přiznala, že rádi mluví mezi sebou irsky, ale pokud do původní řečové situace přijde někdo, kdo nerozumí, je nutné přepnout. V opačném případě by byl nově přichozí z řečové situace samozřejmě vyloučen, což by znamenalo na komunikační úrovni jisté neverbální vyjádření nezdvořilosti, až nepřátelství. Aby takovýmto nezdvořilostem předešli, automaticky všichni účastníci řečové situace přepnou do angličtiny. Zdá se tedy podle výpovědí respondentů, že podobné řečové situace se stávají v Gaeltachtu poměrně běžnými a mohou způsobovat upouštění od užívání irštiny v každodenním životě. Ruainí Ó hAodha to vidí jako závažný problém, který jen dokazuje, že jazyk pomalu umírá:

„R: I'd say in certain reason it's good, like in academia and maybe in the media, but generally, I think it is not very good, hm I think it's slowly dying, yea, maybe..

M: really?

R: yea and maybe it's even in the Gaeltacht areas would be the place where I think it's weakening the most, you know, yea. There's a lot of the English coming into the language and that, you know, yea, yea...“

Podobný názor má i Tommy Corcorane, rodilý mluvčí z An Spidéalu. Lidé se jazyk sice učí, ale spíše jako jazyk cizí. Rodilých mluvčích naopak ubývá:

„T: It’s poor enough, fairly poor at the moment. Especially I think it’s poor in Gaeltacht area. Like in Dublin people are trying to learn it now, as back to Gaeltacht, it’s not that strong. Yea I think it isn’t good.

M: Do you think it’s dying.

T: It’s, slowly, yea slowly.“

Oblasti Gaeltachtu díky přílivu anglicky mluvícího obyvatelstva do některých jeho částí rychle zmenšují, což přiznalí všichni, se kterými jsem na toto téma hovořila. S rychle rostoucí výstavbou v Galway se například z dříve samostatné vesnice Barna v rámci Gaeltachtu Connemara pomalu stalo v podstatě předměstí Galway. Většina místních obyvatel jezdí pracovat do anglicky mluvícího Galway, a přestože možná jejich rodiče ještě mluvili mezi sebou běžně irsky, oni jsou nuceni mluvit převážně anglicky. Zároveň se do Barny stěhují movitější obyvatelé města, neboť se zde nabízí řada lukrativních pozemků u moře, kde je možné si postavit dům, a přinášejí s sebou do vesnice samozřejmě i angličtinu. Obyvatelé Barny tedy postupně přešli k angličtině, už ke Gaeltachtu nepatří.

John Fitzgibbon se přidává k názoru, že je pomalé zmenšování Gaeltachtů bude zřejmě mít fatální následky pro irštinu. Jedině Gaeltacht představuje přirozené prostředí, kde může irština prostřednictvím mluvčích, kteří ji používají na každodenní bázi, žít a vyvíjet se tak jako jiné živé jazyky. Podle Johna Fitzgibbona a Ruainího O hAodhy jazyk zmizí spolu s Gaeltachem. Výuka ve školách podle nich pro udržení vitality nestačí. John mluví i o určité hostilitě ze strany anglicky mluvících obyvatel k těm, kteří se snaží mluvit irsky, přestože by mohl mluvit tak, aby mu všichni dobře rozuměli. Rovněž dodává, že irsky mluvící televize nemá takový efekt, jak si mnozí lidé myslí. To potvrzuje i Mait Ó Brádaigh. Irové často sledují na TG4 sportovní utkání jen proto, že ho jednoduše žádná jiná televizní stanice nevysílá. Nejde vůbec o to sledovat zápas v irštině, protože divák vlastně vůbec komentátora poslouchat nemusí, a pokud by chtěl vědět, co říká, vždycky může sledovat anglické titulky, které TG4 u všech pořadů uvádí. John Fitzgibbon je jedním z respondentů, kteří jsou přesvědčeni, že jazyk pomalu umírá především proto, že ubývá rodilých mluvčích a postoje k irštině nejsou tak pozitivní, jak si většina lidí myslí:

„J: I would think it is dying because the Gaeltachts are getting smaller. There is a woman who worked here and she's just retired but her husband was from Barna and Barna is about three miles outside Galway city and he's a native Irish speaker, he's in his sixties. So he, when he was a child the Gaeltacht came in as far, as far as Barna, came in that close to Galway city. And he, he like, he's relatively young man so about fifty to sixty years ago the Gaeltacht was about three miles outside of Galway, outside the city of Galway. So definitely the Gaeltachts are getting smaller. There are fewer people even in the Gaeltacht I can imagine there are people moving in not speaking Irish, they're speaking English because Irish is very difficult to learn. It's something similar in the Basque countries.

M: Do you think it is the main factor that the Gaeltacht is shrinking? Because many people learn the language and they're not from the Gaeltacht? There are the Gaelscoils.

J: They do, but they learn the language at schools and, but you learn language at school but we don't need to use the language. To communicate to each other like even somebody from the Gaeltacht who can speak, it was who speaks Irish, you know the person but speak English. You don't have to make the effort, speaking Irish to him, to communicate and RTÉ, one of the TV station did an experiment where by they got a person traveling around the country and ... he would only speak in Irish, he would only go into the pub and he would only communicate in Irish and the the experiment was to see if he could get by speaking Irish only... Now he met quite a lot of hostility and he interpreted a hostility to be against the Irish language. But in fact the hostility was because people thought he was a tension seeking because they knew he can speak Irish, they also knew he can speak English. And he insisted in speaking Irish and would not speak English. People became angry with him. So anybody can speak Irish, you know that he can speak English. So even though if you've learned Irish and you're from a nongaeltacht area, you don't have to make the effort to talk to the person in Irish.“

Knihovnice Úna Molligan sice uvádí, že si myslí, že jazyk prochází určitou obrodou, ale v další části rozhovoru uvádí řadu faktorů, které by spíše podpořily negativní postoj. Především je to názor, že jazyk zajímá opravdu malou skupinu lidí:

„U: I don't think it's dying, I think it probably is reviving, because it's better than it was, when I was growing up, so I think it is reviving, but it's still not commonly spoken in most of parts of Ireland, a bit more on the west but not in the east...“

„U: I think only a very small group of people are interested in it, actually. People who grow up, people from west and people who grow up in Gaeltacht areas, or people who just have the interest in languages generally, or maybe people who are interested in Irish history and culture, but I don't think, it's a very large percentage of population.“

Protože jsem byla před strukturovaným rozhovorem přítomna v knihovně v rámci zúčastněného pozorování rozhovoru Úny a jejích kolegyně, přidala jsem později do rozhovoru otázku na problémy, které Úna zmínila v předchozí debatě. Úna přidává k názoru Ruainího

Ó hAodhy, že forma výuky na školách je špatně zvolená a tím pádem nezaujme děti a spíše je odradí:

„U: So, people learn it learn the written language and it's so difficult, that they just, they just can't do it so I think people are very disenchanted with it because if learned it from a written, you know, instead of orally, I think if you learned it orally, then it's, it is a lovely language, it's much nicer and it's, the word much nicer than English and it's, it's very descriptive, because it uses a lot of words to describe one thing and that's the feature of all the languages as well. But you don't really enjoy that if you're taught, if you're trying to do the written thing at school and very very difficult. Because all you have to understand is really really hard subject, you know.“

Staví se rovněž proti povinné výuce irštiny na školách a je přesvědčena o tom, že kdo o jazyk nejeví přirozený zájem, neměl by k němu být nucen. V debatě s kolegyněmi zmínila, že sama ve škole neměla hodiny irštiny ráda, jazyk ji nebavil, a protože pochází z rodiny, kde se po generace mluvilo jen anglicky, nevidí důvod, proč by se měla jazyk, který v praxi využije opravdu jen výjimečně, učit. Některé z kolegyně se ohradily a poznamenaly, že irština je součástí kulturního dědictví Irska, a proto by měl každý Ir umět irsky mluvit. Úna však odvětila, že v oblasti, ve které vyrůstala, se mluví již po generace anglicky, a angličtina tudíž patří k jejímu kulturnímu dědictví. Povinná výuka irštiny na školách v souvislosti s tím, že se jedná o jazyk složitý, může mít a má podle ní negativní efekt na postoj mladých lidí k jazyku:

„M: Do you think that the people who are forced to it at school have the negative attitude to it?

U: Yea, I think most people do unless they have the particular attitude themselves for languages, or unless they particularly have an interest in Irish culture, history. I think, mostly everybody, I think if you talked to at last thirty, probably 25 would say they don't like Irish and five would say they do. But the majority of them would say they don't like it and the reason they don't like is because they're made to it everyday and because it's hard, so...“

Ojedinělým názorem, který jsem zaznamenala u jednoho z posledních respondentů Franka O'Railyho, který vidí budoucnost jazyka poměrně optimisticky a vyzdvihuje význam *Gaeilscoilleana*, je ten, že negativní postoj lidí k jazyku a úbytek mluvčích mohla také způsobit spojitost irského jazyka a jazykových aktivistů s terorismem a násilím v Severním Irsku:

„F: The Gaeilscoils, that's certainly important. There's a lot of resistance and people, you know, in school, people get extra points for doing the the exams through Irish even in the teachers training colleges. There's some like twenty percent of people of places that are desired for students from the

Gaeltacht and a lot of people object it. I think if there wasn't such a favoritism given to young people who are from the Gaeltacht area, a lot would be more interested, also for a long time in seventies and eighties, the travels in north and a lot of people sort as associated Irish language activists with supporters of some violence and terrorism.“

Celkově se dá říci, že většina respondentů dává irštině ještě šanci a věří, že by mohlo dojít k jisté formě oživení. Z patnácti respondentů pouze tři zastávají názor, že umírání jazyka je v současné době nevratným procesem a že jeho zániku již revitalizační snahy nemohou nezabránit. Jeden z pesimistů byl rodilý mluvčí, jeden uměl irsky plyně a jeden průměrně, nelze tedy konstatovat, že by se pesimismus nějak vázal na neznalost jazyka a stejně tak tomu je s optimismem. Na základě rozhovorů s lidmi staršími 40 let a studia pramenů týkajících se jazykové ideologie v minulých letech, především Hindleyho *The Death of Irish Language*, která se sama nese ve velmi pesimistickém duchu, lze zaznamenat poměrně velkou změnu jazykové ideologie. Irština již není vnímána jako jazyk chudých a nevzdělaných venkovanů, ale je považována za důležitou součást kulturního dědictví a stává se populárním především mezi mladými lidmi. Zároveň však hned v první otázce někteří respondenti zmínili faktory, které úspěšné revitalizaci brání. Jedná se především o pozůstatky negativních postojů z minulosti, které se však netýkají mladší generace. Velkou slabinou revitalizačních snah se ukázala být výuka irštiny na klasických školách. Řada respondentů se o tomto faktoru zmínila hned na začátku rozhovoru, protože jej považuje za velkou brzdu revitalizačních snah, která by mohla zásadně ovlivnit jejich úspěch. Velkým a zcela jistě nejzávažnějším problémem současné jazykové situace je rovněž ubývání rodilých mluvčích, což je proces, který se bohužel zastavit nepodařilo.

4.2.b) „Who needs Irish?“ „I do, it's a part of our heritage!“

„Do you think that Irish people really need the Irish language?“ byla druhá z obecnějších otázek, na kterou jsem očekávala delší odpověď, a také otázka, která měla být svým způsobem provokativní a zároveň cílila na současnou jazykovou ideologii v Irsku. Napadla mě při četbě knihy *Who Needs Irish*²⁸. Irové, kteří mluví irsky, mají vždy snahu si jeho potřebu racionálně vysvětlit a obhájit si ji. Jazyk pro ně není nic samozřejmého, nad čím

²⁸ MAC MURCHAIDH, C.: *Who Needs Irish?*, Dublin: Veritas, 2004.

by nebylo potřeba přemýšlet, ale něco, co je potřeba aktivně tematizovat. Obhájci jazyka tímto tematizováním stále vytvářejí jazykovou ideologii a staví se tak do opozice vůči těm, kteří stále ještě považují irštinu za přežitek, a lidi, pro které je irský jazyk mateřským v podstatě za sociálně handicapované. S takovým názorem jsem se ve svém výzkumu nesešla, ale tematizuje ho řada autorů v knize, např. Muireann Ní Mhóráin v kapitole s názvem *Beetles With no Legs are Deaf!*²⁹. Editor knihy v předmluvě píše: „*Irish is a storehouse of so much of our heritage, our traditions, our literature, our spirituality, and our lived experience as a people, as a nation that it should come as no surprise that it can produce such strong reactions.*“ Slova z předmluvy se velmi podobají jedné z nejčastějších odpovědí na otázku po smyslu. „*It's a part of our heritage!*“ hájí irštinu jako neoddělitelnou součást kultury a tradice velká část dotazovaných ať už v rozhovorech nebo mimo ně. Je to například názor knihovnice Siobhán Arkins:

„M: So the other question is do the Irish people really need the Irish language? I choosed this question because I found one book in the library, that was called Why Irish and I have the impression that poeple who speak Irish have to defend themselves...“

S: OK. Do they need Irish, I suppose the fact to the measue is, OK it's not essential of course you can go by your daily life without ever speaking or unedrstanding a word of Irish, that is the fact to the matter because the first language, by, by the fault or the practise in this country for most poeple now is an English. So no, you do not have to have it. So, but what I think it's nice to have it's part of our herritage, part of our culture and in school it has been mandatory, the children have to do it up to, up to, including the second level and children can get exemptions.“

Další respondenti vnímají irštinu především jako součást národní identity. Zajímavou dvojicí, která tento fakt zdůrazňuje, je rodilá mluvčí z An Spidéalu Cristine Cox, a přestože se zmiňuje i kulturních a historických kořenech národního cítění, opakuje v krátké pasáži dvakrát hrdě a s velkým důrazem větu: „*This is who we are.*“ Frank O'Railly naopak nemluví irsky až na „*cúpla focal*“. Přestože jako mladý se irštině věnoval a jezdil na letní školy, nenašel pro jazyk využití a postupně ho zapomněl. I navzdory zcela jinému jazykovému základu, co se týče irštiny má na otázku po smyslu irského jazyka pro Iry překvapivě velmi podobný názor jako rodilá mluvčí Cristine Cox:

„M: Do Irish people really need the language?“

C: Yes. It's part of our heritage and our culture. This is, this is who we are. You know, if you were to loose the lanugage, we'd lost our culture we've come from. You know like our music as well, our

²⁹ MAC MURCHAIDH, C.: *Who Needs Irish?*, Dublin: Veritas, 2004., str. 64-69

traditional Irish music, our traditional Irish dancing, different things like that, so we do need it. You know, this is who we are. This is, you know, it, it's what you're brought up with, you know? It's in here, in your heart."

„M: Do you think that Irish people really need the Irish language?

F: I think so! I know some people say, that's what make us different, that's what makes us Irish.. That's like, we also, in sports and music and dancing but I think that the most people think that the language is what separates you from other nations, yea, hm, hm"

Ruainí Ó hAodha a Mait Ó Brádaigh vedle kulturních a historických specifík poukazují na ta lingvistická. Irská angličtina je rovněž ovlivněna irštinou a je svým způsobem dialektem stejně jako americká nebo australská angličtina. Irština se do angličtiny dostala nejen v podobě některých ustálených výrazů jako například *Taoiseach* místo v angličtině běžně používaného *Prime minister*, *An Garda Síochána*, zkráceně *Gardaí* místo police, *Dáil Éireann* jako označení pro parlament nebo dalších podobných výrazů. Vedle lexikálních odlišností lze sledovat i syntaktická specifika irské angličtiny, která vznikla rovněž míšením s irštinou a vnášením jejích pravidel do anglické gramatiky. Tyto lingvistické odchylky a znalost jejich původu jsou rovněž jedním z argumentů, proč má smysl jazyk zachovat. „Irština, to je způsob, jak my mluvíme anglicky,“ poukazuje například Ruainí Ó hAodha

„M: yea, that's right. Do you think that Irish people really need the Irish language today?

R: I think in certain ways they don't like it, you know, but in other ways they do and they don't understand of how... in Irish is, you know, because it's well the key to all of our culture, everything, there's so much written in Irish is so much of your part is Irish, you know, and even the way we think and the way we speak English is Irish, you know and so what is very important from that perspective, you know, it's not very rich culture, you know, worth keeping from that, but I think other things ... they, money other things, material and so on..."

Mait Ó Bradaigh se rovněž o něco podrobněji rozhovořil o specifikách irské angličtiny a uvádí hned několik příkladů toho, že syntax irštiny se projevuje i ve způsobu, jak řada Irů mluví anglicky:

„MB: For in, I now the English spoken today is a lot nearer, an of lot nearer to of the, the English of BBC. (blrf) Irish English two hundred ears ago and English of BBC. What's they, what they call, they call it BBC pronunciation, you know, your English it upgraded by BBC television. Now for hundred and fifty years has just mooved that amount, that's all, since the nineteen sixties. It's a lot closer today. For instance Irish people still say I am here and also I do be here. You said you did Spanish?

M: A litle bit.

MB: You know that they have (Estoria Key) he... the songs as marine...

M: I don't know

MB: Right, both words mean I am. The same is in Irish. We've two words for be I am here: „Tá mé anseo” but if I, if I want to say I am here everyday you change to: „Beidh mé anseo”. And then if you want to say that you're that you're a teacher or footballer or student, you start with is the different ...

Is: „Is mac léinn mé”, I am a student. So when they start speaking English they just speak English as a translation of Irish. So I do be here every day.

M: Ok

MB: That is not, that is not in English and anywhere else in the world. I am here everyday is in English.

M: Yea, that's what one man said in the interview, that that's the way you speak English, that Irish is the way you speak English.

MB: Yes, but the younger generation, who's been, now have thirty years, of MTV, if you want, and twenty years, fifty years of pop culture, the international films, young people less and less, you won't hear I do be here that often. And the, there other faces that are more common, I have read the book, it's official English, in Ireland they say I have the book read because in Irish the word order, that is the structure, that's the order of words in Irish.“

Poměrně důležitou roli při obhajování významu jazyka hraje rovněž porozumění místním názvům, které mají z valné většiny původ v irštině a dvě varianty – irsky psanou a variantu v anglickém fonetickém přepisu. V mapách se většinou používají obě varianty vedle sebe. Bez znalosti irštiny už by nebylo možné porozumět místním názvům a vystopovat jejich původ. K řadě měst a vesnic se pojí i příběh, historika nebo místní specifikum, podle kterých místní název vznikl. Jazyk je nejen nedílnou součástí národní identity a jejího kulturního dědictví, ale rovněž také klíčem k mnoha významům. Právě původní významy místních jmen jsou některými z nich, které by bez něj byly nenávratně ztraceny, zanikl-li by jazyk, v němž byly vytvořeny. Anglické přepisy irských názvů jsou již v tomto smyslu nic neříkající, neboť se nejedná o překlady ale jen fonetické přepisy slov v irštině přizpůsobené anglicky mluvícímu čtenáři. John Fitzgibbon v místních názvech vidí kus kulturního dědictví, které by mělo být zachováno prostřednictvím mluvčích, kteří významu původních názvů rozumí:

„M: Do you think that the Irish people really need the language and why?

J: I would hate to see it die out because em a lot of our placenames are in Irish and you just wouldn't understand what the placename ment. Really ment without the language, because like there's a place beside me and Limerick and it's called Killpeacon and what it means is, it means the church of the crows, peacon is crow and kill is church. When the English try to pronounce it, they would have mispronounced it. And the meaning would become lost if you don't know the Irish language, so so

people go back and say this is what the word was initially. Eventhough they're transmuted or changed by English through the time. This is what it means! And Ireland is full of like all our placenames and virtually all our placenames are in Irish so to really understand what they mean you need Irish, you need some level of Irish. So from that point of view I wouldn't like to see it die out, die out completely."

Rodilí mluvčí vidí celou záležitost jinak. Nemají potřebu irštinu obhajovat a argumentovat pro její zachování. Naopak je pro ně samozřejmostí, nad kterou tímto způsobem neuvažují, a otázka se jim může zdát vlastně i poněkud absurdní. Kdybych se dál neptala a neprovokovala diskusi, zůstal by Tommy Corcoranne u jednoduché odpovědi „They do...“. Nakonec však přece jen uvedl několik názorů na otázku, proč by měl být jazyk zachován. Především uvažuje nad motivací. Lidé často jazykové vzdělání zanedbají a později litují, že se jazyku více nevěnovali, protože teprve v pozdějším věku objeví jeho půvab a význam. Bohužel však už v tomto období bývá na učení jazyka pozdě:

„M: And do Irish people really need Irish language today? What do you think?

T: They do. They do, I think they do. If more like you have your own language, so we've our own language, so that's what I think.

M: Some people think it's not usefull.

T: Well they can think that but I think it's usefull. We like, and my son now, he's 19 month now and he's begun to speak few words and I want him to have Irish.

M: Why?

T: I just like the language. And I'd like to have it as well, you know. Like when he's out there hopefully when he grows up, he will be speaking Irish first. It's something like sometimes you don't want people to know, what, you're saying so it's handy to have another language that you can speak. Thus we use it a lot like that. We use it now when we're playing football. We're speaking Irish so that all the people don't know, what we're saying. We use it there a lot like that. And is it useful? It's not that usefull at the moment. In the future, like you've Galway, you've Cork, you've Mayo, Donegal, Kerry, Meath, outside that parts of Dublin, you have Irish...

M: I'm trying to find out why people want to have the language.

T: Yes. If just like, when you're from Connemara, you want to have it. You know, there's so many people who don't want, they don't want learn Irish when they're young but when they get older that's why they're sorry they haven't the language. And they want to start speaking it. In their thirties they start speaking Irish again, they like in national school you have to speak Irish. But behind, you'll be talking to your friends in English. But when they get older, they begin to talk to them in Irish. And that begins to change again. Yea.. That's what I think, you know."

Podobně mluví i další rodilý mluvčí Paid Nechatin. Stejně jako Tommy se nesnaží irštinu racionálně obhájit argumenty. Z praktického hlediska si všichni vystačí s angličtinou,

o tom není pochyb, avšak on osobně jazyk potřebuje, jednoduše proto, že irština je jeho rodným jazykem a nejpřirozenějším komunikačním prostředkem:

„M: Hmmm, so the other question is do Irish people really need the Irish language? Why are they interested in it? Because I found in library a book that was called „Who Needs Irish?“.

P: Yea, that's a good question, that's a good question. That's a very good question. I mean, there would be a lot of people who would say to you: „No they don't because everyone speaks English anyway. I need Irish, I need Irish for my job. There are a lot of people that need Irish for their job, that's, if the country decide to keep it alive and then people will need Irish obviously if the country doesn't decide to keep it alive it's not needed. It's definitely needed in Europe now, it's an official language in Europe. So anyone who would like to work as a translator over there it gives them an extra benefit to have Irish cause it's one of the languages that they translate into. So it is needed in a sense. Personally, personally I definitely need it because I wouldn't feel natural otherwise, do you know what I mean? I need to speak it, I speak it with my family the whole time. I'm actually physically not able to speak English to my family. It just doesn't happen in, in nor even even if you're in the company of English speakers and the whole conversation is in English. If I'm talking to my father and sister I have to speak in Irish, it just switches automatically, I just, I'm not physically able to do it, I just so. There are a lot of people who would say that they don't see a need for it. But I mean the other thing is why not create a need. You know, if you create jobs that you need Irish for, then people need Irish. You know, so it's, we're talking about forty years of mistakes. They took away the need of Irish for certain jobs. So them, people... who needs it anyway. But if you want to be on TG4 you need it. If you want to be on the radio, you need it. If you're certain lectures definitely just need to have it. Librarians need to have it. So that's the, that's my answer to that one.“

Praktickou stránku jazyka zmiňuje více respondentů, vedle Paidy Nechtainy také Bernadette Colgan nebo Siobhán Arkins. Uznávají, že využití jazykové znalosti, obzvláště mluvené formy jazyka, je minimální. Mimo Gaeltacht se irština na každodenní úrovni nepoužívá a příležitostí pohovořit si irsky například v Galway je opravdu málo. Patří mezi ně zřídka setkání s rodilým mluvčím z přilehlé Connemary, sledování irské televize, poslech Radió na Gaeltachta, četba nebo kulturní akce zaměřené na irštinu a irskou kulturu. Nikdo z respondentů však v rámci rozhovorů nezůstal u hodnocení z praktického hlediska a neoznačil revitalizační proces za zbytečný a irštinu za jazyk, který již nemá význam se učit. Jazyk pro ně má osobní význam, kulturní, historickou a také estetickou hodnotu. Bernadette Colgan si byla vědoma, že jazyk nevyužije, a přesto se do jeho studia pustila i po škole a také poslala všechny své děti do Gaeilscoil. Udělala to proto, že má k jazyku vnitřní vztah, který není potřeba obhajovat:

„M:Ok, do you think that Irish people really need the Irish language today?

Bernadette: Well we can live without it. Personally, because I like Irish I've come back to course in Irish myself so that I would have the confidence to speak Irish to people because all along I would be afraid to speak in front of a native speaker, I'm still a little bit, you know, because when you hear the beautiful Irish the native speaker speaks, you'll never come to that level because I don't get a, I don't get the reasons to speak Irish, I don't meet enough Irish people however, I've studied Irish two years and I'm glad I've done it and I now have the confidence that I will the 'coupla focal' time and story time in the library and will read in Irish story to the kids but like that it's very hard to speak to the kids, who haven't started learning Irish yet.“

Nedílnou a velmi významnou součástí revitalizačního procesu je vedle řady faktorů také snaha navodit pozitivní vztah k jazyku, poukázat na jeho hodnoty, jedinečnost, vázanost na kulturu a historii. Vytváření jazykové ideologie, která dokáže motivovat lidi k tomu, aby se jazyk učili, je možné prostřednictvím ostatních praktických faktorů, jako jsou média, vzdělávání, podpora kulturních aktivit apod. Nežádka, a je tomu tak i v Irsku, je potřeba v rámci vytváření pozitivního vztahu k jazyku vyrovnat se s negativními postoji k jazyku převládajícími v minulosti, které souvisí s jeho nižším statusem způsobeným dřívější menší ekonomickou soběstačností a menší vzdělaností jeho mluvčích. Vytváření jazykové ideologie, jak se ukázalo, má význam v oblastech, kde není irština mateřským jazykem, tedy mimo Gaeltacht. V Gaeltachtu není potřeba racionalizovat potřebu zachovat mateřský jazyk, neboť je samozřejmostí. S tím by měl rovněž souviset i rozdílný přístup k jazykovému plánování v oblastech Gaeltachtu a mimo něj. Irové v oblasti Galway vesměs mluví o irštině velmi pozitivně a dokáží si svůj vztah k jazyku obhájit jazykovou ideologií, která irštinu ukazuje jako nedílnou součást kulturního dědictví a jako nejstarší živý jazyk v Evropě. Otázkou však zůstává, jak velký vliv má jazyková ideologie, a zda skutečně motivuje lidi aktivně se podílet na revitalizaci jazyka.

4.2.c) „Tá cúpla focal agam.“

V Galway lze potkat mluvčí všech úrovní. Jsou zde lidé, kteří umí i navzdory povinné výuce ve škole a maturitě z jazyka jen pár slov, lidé, kteří se dobrovolně hlásí do kurzů irštiny, aby tuto neznalost napravili, a nalezneme tu díky blízkosti Gaeltachtu Connemara také rodilé mluvčí, kteří mluví irsky lépe než anglicky a občas si ani nemohou vzpomenout, jak se některé slovo anglicky řekne. To ostatně není nijak překvapivé. Zajímavější je porovnat výpovědi týkající se postoje k jazyku a motivace z předchozích dvou kapitol se skutečnou úrovní jazyka respondentů. Dalo by se předpokládat, že lidé, kteří považují jazyk za důležitou součást národní identity nebo kulturního dědictví a dávají mu do budoucna šanci, se mu budou také věnovat na určité minimálně komunikační úrovni. Naopak ti, kteří zdůrazňují skutečnost, že jeho praktické využití je minimální a nevěří, že přežije, by mohli podle mých původních předpokladů patřit mezi ty, kteří jazyk neovládají. Není tomu však vždycky tak. Pozitivní postoj k jazyku není ani zdaleka zárukou hlubšího zájmu o jazyk a naopak. Respondenti, kteří na začátku rozhovoru hovořili o zásadním významu jazyka pro zachování kulturního dědictví a národní identity, museli nezdůvěřivě v druhé části rozhovoru přiznat, že nejsou příliš aktivní v jeho používání ani v jiných revitalizačních snahách. Naopak například Ruainí Ó hAodha, který nevěří v úspěch revitalizačních snah a příliš se o důležitosti irštiny nerozhovořil, se přiznává, že mluví irsky velmi dobře, zejména proto, že si k ní utvářel osobní vztah už od dětství.

U čtyř z patnácti respondentů jsem zaznamenala optimismus, co se týče úspěšnosti revitalizace, pozitivní postoj k jazyku a zároveň i hlubší zájem o něj, přestože nepatří mezi rodilé mluvčí. Jsou to knihovnice Bernadette Colgan, knihovnice Siobhán Arkins, architekt Colm Cantillon a ředitel základní školy v Oranmore Mait Ó Brádaigh. Ani jeden z nich nepochází z irsky mluvící rodiny, ani nevyrostali v Gaeltachtu, i když Colm Cantillon přiznává, že jeho prarodiče z Gaeltachtu pocházeli. Hlubší zájem o jazyk tedy získal i díky prostředí, ve kterém vyrůstal:

„M: Do you speak Irish?

C: Sea, ,tá orm Gaeilge´, so I speak Irish.

M: And what level? You´re fluent.

C: ,Tá mé líofa´, I would imagine, I´m reasonably fluent in it .“

„M: Where did you learn the language?

C: Partially from my parents and partially from school and partially just being interested in languages.

M: Yea and both of your parents spoke..

C: Yea, two of my grandparents are from the Gaeltacht anyway but I was quite young when they died. My dad is a national school teacher and enjoys speaking the language and there was an elderly couple living next door to us who had moved from the Gaeltacht, close to our village and my parents used speaking to them over the fence, so I grew up in the background even though there would have been many people in my area that still spoke it or even interested in it.“

Bernadette naopak přiznává, že přestože její otec mluvil irsky a irštinu i učil, nemluvil na ni doma, ani ji příliš nemotivoval. Přesto se irštině věnuje, dobrovolně absolvovala kurz a o jazyk projevuje hluboký zájem. Lituje, že neměla tu možnost získat jazykovou znalost v rodině. Je to podle ní jediná možnost, jak docílit nejen plynulosti v mluvě, ale také přirozenosti v jeho užívání. Ten, kdo se naučí jazyk ve škole, jej může ovládat plyně, ale nebude pro něj přirozené jej používat ani tak naučí, pokud ho k tomu nebudou okolnosti nutit. Kdo však podle Bernadette získá tuto znalost v rodinném prostředí, bude přirozeně používat jazyk jako mateřský:

„Bernadette: I learned it at school. And in the last two years I did a course for, it's a TG.. which is the European languages, because Irish is now regarded as one of the languages of the Europe giving courage to people to and to improve their Irish on the course and and I'm eleventh (blrf) and there's three more levels above that.

M: And you said that your parents didn't speak Irish to you?

Bernadette: My father would have, would have been able to speak Irish but he chose not to speak Irish to us at all but he would even taught Irish as a teacher.

M: That's a pity.

Bernadette: It is really but now... to step further, I've sent my children to an Irish school, my father didn't send us to an Irish school but I've sent mine and I'm hoping, that they'll send their kids to an Irish school and maybe then they'll learn it from me because as I was saying if I could do it again I would have my kids speaking Irish at home to each other ...there's another.., that would become more natural to speak... if they met each other, they would automatically speak Irish to each other.“

Mait Ó Brádaigh, jeden z nejzapálenějších jazykových aktivistů, co jsem v Irsku potkala, a člověk, který irský jazyk považuje za natolik důležitý, že spolu s dalšími rodiči založil Gaeilscoil v Oranmore nedaleko Galway, kde nyní působí jako ředitel, rovněž nepatří mezi rodilé mluvčí a ani jeho rodiče mezi ně nepatřili. Vyrůstal v rodině, kde se irsky vůbec

nemluvílo, a jazyk se naučil na letní škole, kam opakovaně jezdil o prázdninách. Hluboký zájem o jazyk získal právě tam.

„M: And you yourself was at this course? The summer school? You said that you learned Irish there?

MB: Oh yes! That's where I learned my, my Irish. I didn't attend a Gaeilscoil, I was raised, brought up in the middle of Ireland but I was at school in the nineteen sixties when, which was the high point or the end of the high point of the teaching of Irish in the schools. University basis then everybody with the decline in emphasis on Irish in all schools, in nineteen seventies to seventy, seventy five, eighty, as a reaction to that parents started Gaeilscoils now which were new schools but were all Irish schools. So it was in reaction to, to decline in the teaching of Irish in all the schools. That's what happened but in the summer time my parents sent me back to Connemara to the SKI like many others and and that's where I required my, my Irish basically, most of it.

M: Yea, but why did you decide to go to the summer school? And why did you decide to learn Irish?

MB: I was twelve. My mother decided. And after a while I, I liked it so much, I said: ‚Can I do two courses?‘

M: Oh yea.

MB: And I used to stay there for, or two months every summer. That's how it happened. So that's the background of it. It doesn't come up that high, the summer colleges. It's there, it's not that's probably because it's an experience that only, eventhough ten percent go every year, maybe altogether it's about thirty percent, this is the one hundred percent and you can see the school and the teachers and then the media is important. Because you've Irish in television and radio. And this, this covers every generation. The, the summer colleges are the new phenomenon, they're only thirty years old maybe more, forty, forty years old are, so.. “

Čtyři respondenti pak i přes pozitivní hodnocení jazyka a optimistickou vizi budoucnosti jazyka byli nuceni přiznat, že nejsou aktivními uživateli jazyka a příliš tedy nepřispívají k revitalizačnímu procesu. Jsou to knihovnice Úna Molligan, herečka Siobhán Molloy, stavař Frank O'Railly a knihovník John Fitzgibbon. Siobhán Molloy a Frank O'Railly uvedli, že znají opravdu jen základních pár frází, jako například „Dia dhuit“ (dobrý den) nebo „Go raibh maith agat“ (děkuji), což je poměrně překvapující skutečnost vzhledem k tomu, že irský jazyk je součástí povinné výuky na základních a středních školách. Všichni se shodují na tom, že jazyk postupně zapomněli, neboť pro něj nenalezli v podstatě žádné využití. Dalším faktorem, který přispívá ke špatné znalosti jazyka, je podle některých rovněž ten, že se jedná o jazyk se složitou gramatikou, která je pro řadu Irů i díky nekvalitní úrovni pedagogů na školách nesnadno pochopitelná. Za všechny lze uvést například výpověď Úny Molligan:

„M: And what about you?

U: Do I have the interest?

M: yea

U: I don't really. I have, I think it's a shame, that I don't speak Irish better, I think it's a shame that most people don't speak Irish better, I did, few years ago, I did studied Irish for a year because I did want to be better, and I was, but it's, you can go out and study, but it's not living in the sense you hear people speaking it every day, so I think if, you know, for people who did study it, it's very easy to lose it, because you don't really hear it on the daily basis, people aren't that interested I think because it is difficult and most people have bad memory of it..“

„U: Can I speak it...I probably can speak it a little bit but hmmm I don't know, I did, you know, the TEG course, beginners, not the bottom one, next one up over that, this, yea, so I can do that level, what, you know, and, and I suppose as most Irish people because I'm out of the school for very long time. We have knowledge somewhere in our brains but then because we don't don't speak it then it just lapses.

M: yea, that's the problem

U: So, it's because it's not been spoken. So I don't think even people if watch TG4 or whatever they read subtitles rather than trying to listen and rather than trying to understand, so..“

Většina respondentů se rovněž shodne na tom, že pasivní užití jazyka je pro ně snazší než aktivní. John Fitzgibbon například uvádí, že umí „Just a little“ avšak v další části rozhovoru přiznává, že pasivní znalost má mnohem lepší:

„M: Do you speak Irish?

J: I speak a little.

M: A little.

J: Yea but I try to avoid having to speak it.

M: What does it mean a little? You know, people who know few words would...

J: I could, yea, yea I wouldn't have practice Irish a lot but I speak it quite well when I left school because I went to the Gaeltacht for your summers in a row so I was in the Gaeltacht for about three and half weeks each summer, speaking Irish all the time so by the time when I left secondary school, I'd got Irish, I could speak Irish. And then since I left secondary school I wouldn't have, I wouldn't have much practice, so I did lost quite a bit.

M: Yea, but that's not just a little. You know when people say they can speak a little, they just know „go raibh maith agat“ and...

J: Oh yea, I know, I know, I would, I would, I would understand much better than I speak. I could watch an Irish programme and I would understand. I would listen to a radio and I would understand everything what's been said. Yea, now I'd be when I try to think of an Irish word it's the French word that would come into my head. Reverse when I'm trying to speak French it's the Irish word that comes into my head.“

Ruainí Ó hAodha patří mezi pesimisty, co se týče budoucnosti jazyka. Ani v druhé otázce se nerozhovořil o významu jazyka jako jiní, ale přiznává, že na jeho zájem o jazyk mělo především vliv pozitivní prostředí v rodině a kvalitní pedagogové s opravdovým západem pro jazyk. K irštině si vytvořil osobní vztah a je pro něj jaksi samozřejmostí a přirozeností, jak říká „mateřským mlékem“, téměř jako pro rodilé mluvčí:

„M: Hm. Do you personally speak Irish and what level?

R: I do speak Irish very well, yea, because grew up in a house where we mostly in fact spoke English because niether of my parents were Gaeilge native speakers but both studied Irish at university, you know. And there was a lot of, my parents were both very good at language generally and some of so there was a lot of the focus on language anyway in the house. So we grew up with a lot of it in but, I'd say, I still would say my language would have been English. Most of the time but certainly the attitude we grew up was very proirish, you know. And that was like what's your mother's milk, it wasn't there was never any question about that, you know. Hm, yea, so the good attitude, was the result, I think that it made it easier in school, you know. And I was, I was lucky in that sense ... we had a very good teacher, that I had for the whole time I was in school, from, actually he grew up in England, from Spidéal, from Connemara, you know, he was fanatical, but he was very good at, he was very good at kind of cultivating enthusiasm , you know,... people to learn it, yea.

M: So you learned Irish at home or in school?

R: I learned a little bit of it at home, a lot of it at home, yea end em:::but really in school I got better at it, speaking it, you know, yea

M: Did you go to Geilscoil?

R: No, no, one or two of my family when we were very small maybe did, but no, we lived in Oranmore and we went to local school and then we went in the same in Galway and that was where the very good teacher was , you know.

M: It allways depend on theacher!

R: Yea, I think, very much, Irish depends on a teacher! Yea, yea, yea, yea If the teacher isn't enthusiastic and they, people who have very good Irish don't, yea, yea.“

Přestože v literatuře týkající se irštiny, jako je například již zmíněná publikace *Who needs Irish?*, je řada zmínek o nezájmu Irů o rodný jazyk, nesetkala jsem se s názorem, který by byl zcela pesimistický, co se týče budoucnosti jazyka a jeho významu doprovázený naprostým nezájmem se jej učit a používat. Setkala jsem se (mimo diktafon) pouze s názorem, že by výuka měla být nepovinná a jazyk nabízen jen těm, kteří mají skutečný zájem. Ukázalo se však, že tento názor pramení především z negativní zkušenosti, kterou respondentka Úna Molligan prodělala s výukou irštiny na základní škole. Úna však přese všechno přiznává, že je škoda, že ona sama a velká část Irů nemluví irsky lépe.

Rodilí mluvčí zase tvoří samostatnou kategorii. V tomto výzkumu jich vypovídalo 5. Jejich postoje, vztah k jazyku jsou zcela jiné, neboť nemusí racionálně uvažovat nad tím, co pro ně vlastně irština znamená, je pro ně samozřejmostí a někteří, například Maire Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin, dokonce přiznávají, že anglicky se naučili až ve škole. Maire Bríd je i jedna z těch, od kterých můžete během rozhovoru v angličtině občas slyšet: „How should I say this in English?“.

„M: Do you speak Irish? You do

M-B: Yes.

M: And you're fluent.

M-B: Yea.

M: Do you use the language and how often?

M-B: Every day.

M: Every day?

M-B: Yea, yea. I speak Irish with my family and I speak Irish at work, I speak Irish all the time with my friends like I speak Irish more often than English, so

M: Really?

M-B: Yea.

M: That's great.

M-B: Yea.

M: Where did you learned Irish?

M-B: I learned it just as, I learnt it, it's my first language. So I didn't have any English before I was very small.... at eight or ...We learned English at school, very little, very little and like both of my parents spoke Irish: h, you know, ...everyone spoke Irish at that time, you know. It was very...

M: And both of your parents speak Irish?

M-B: Yea, they're both from the Gaeltacht area. ..different but ..“

Jazyková znalost v oblasti Galway se tedy ukázala na překvapivě dobré úrovni navzdory tomu, co vypovídá o znalosti irštiny a postojích k jazyku literatura. Většina respondentů má alespoň pasivní znalost jazyka a velká část respondentů se jazyku aktivně věnuje. V porovnání postojů zjištěných v předchozích dvou otázkách a skutečné znalosti jazyka, se však ukázalo, že spolu nemusí nutně souviset. Hlubší znalost jazyka a opravdový zájem jsou spíše důsledkem kombinace vlivu rodinného prostředí, učitelů jazyka ve škole a osobního zájmu o irštinu, irskou kulturu a jazyky obecně, než důsledkem pouze pozitivního postoje k jazyku a vlivem jazykové ideologie. Zdá se tedy, že posilování jazykové ideologie je zároveň nutné podpořit v procesu revitalizace i naplňováním dalších jejích faktorů. Nejdůležitějším faktorem se ukazuje vliv rodinného prostředí, který ovlivňuje nejen znalost

jazyka, ale především potřebu a snahu jeho užívání v denním životě, jehož by měl být přirozenou součástí.

4.2.d) Užití irštiny v denním životě

Další otázka výzkumu se týkala toho, jak často a při jakých příležitostech respondenti irštinu užívají. Podle Šatavy lze užívání jazyka rozdělit do několika oblastí jako je domov, škola, práce, volný čas a apod. Respondenti se vyjadřovali i v rámci jiných otázek, než je ta na užití jazyka v denním životě, především ke dvěma základním oblastem, a to oblastem práce a domova, respektive užívání jazyka v rámci rodiny.

V Galway, protože v podstatě tvoří středisko pro oblast Connemary, kam se sjíždí za prací a studiem i část obyvatelstva přilehlého Gaeltachtu, je u určitých profesí oficiálně vyžadována znalost jazyka. Jedná se především o státní a zčásti i soukromé služby. Součástí práce jazykového aktivisty a jednoho z respondentů výzkumu Paid Nechtain je zajišťovat právě v těchto službách rodilým mluvčím z Gaeltachtu možnost komunikovat rodným jazykem především na úřadech, v nemocnicích nebo také na policejních služebnách. Úředníci, lékaři a policisté by tak měli být schopni komunikovat v irštině, aby nevznikala jazyková diskriminace irsky mluvících obyvatel. V praxi se však s takovou jazykovou vybaveností rodilí mluvčí příliš často nesetkávají, což bere v potaz i jazykový plán, který se mimo jiné i na tuto oblast chce v následujících dvaceti letech zaměřit. Paid Nechtain si uvědomuje, že vzhledem k stále živé vzpomínce na první polovinu minulého století, kdy byla irština prosazována příliš autoritativně, se mohou Irové cítit nuceni ji používat ať už ve škole nebo v zaměstnání a může to v nich vyvolat i odpor k jazyku. Nicméně ale na druhou stranu je rovněž potřeba vzít v úvahu právo irsky mluvících na komunikaci v irštině, která je v Irsku stále prvním oficiálním jazykem. Paid Nechtain v rozhovoru mimo strukturovanou část uvádí, že situace není v této oblasti zatím příliš nakloněná rodilým mluvčím a staví se za názor, že je potřeba tuto skutečnost napravit:

.....as you said, there is a certain amount of historical baggage with a Irish, do you know? We were forced. It's this forced mentalities. So some people feel that because there's a law. Now we're being forced again, you know, we're forced to learn it at school. Now we're forced to do it in our job. But I

feel it's only right, that is should be provided to keep the language alive, you know, we need straight support definitely to keep the language alive. We'd say to go of another ... for you will say someone in living in An Spidéal, right, once to put tax on their car, because you have to, because the law says you must have tax, motor tax on your car. So you're coming here and you're an Irish speaker, so your normal your mother language, as you said is Irish, but the person at the counter doesn't have Irish, so you have to keep switching, you even have to switch to English to be able to do your business which is not correct, really, you know it's not good enough. So that's where we, that's where the language act come in where we as an county council should be training people or getting people who have Irish in on the counter, so that they're able to say well yes I can do the transaction through Irish. And that was for all our services, you know, and that's the same as for health services, you know if you want to go to the doctor you're an Irish speaker and you're sick and the best way you can describe your sickness is through your own mother tongue.

M: Yea, sure.

P: But the doctor doesn't have it! And he doesn't understand you!"

„There are a lot of people who would say that they don't see a need for it. But I mean the other thing is why not create a need. You know, if you create jobs that you need Irish for, then people need Irish. You know, so it's, we're talking about forty years of mistakes. They took away the need of Irish for certain jobs. So them people... who needs it anyway. But if you want to be on TG4 you need it. If you want to be on the radio, you need it. If you're certain lectures definitely just need to have it. Librarians need to have it. So that's the that's my answer to that one.“

Zajímavé v tomto ohledu bylo porovnání výpovědí z rozhovorů s pracovníky městské knihovny v Galway. Knihovna spadá do oblasti služeb, které by měly být rodilým mluvčím rovněž poskytovány v irštině. Všichni se shodují, že užívání irštiny není příliš častým jevem. Rodilých mluvčích chodí do knihovny málo a příležitosti využít jazykovou znalost se tedy vyskytují opravdu zřídka. Jedna z knihovnic, Úna Molligan v předchozí části rozhovoru dokonce přiznává, že irsky příliš neumí. Ruainí Ó hAodha zase naopak tvrdí, že jednou až dvakrát týdně využije irštinu při komunikaci s kolegy z jiných poboček. Výpovědi tří pracovníků knihovny jsou však co se týče četnosti možností využití jazyka velmi podobné a všichni shodně tvrdí, že irštinu využijí jen velmi zřídka:

Siobhán Arkins

„M: Do you use Irish language? And How often?

S: Now, as part of your work, and we've got your jobs in public library services, we certainly go county council, we need to ... few in Irish as well, so as part of one's contract it does say, that the employee has to be able to conduct his or her business in Irish or English, so in theory he have to have a good basic Irish and even.. on a daily basis, because a very few people will come in and speak to me in Irish, we don't really end up having to use it. That's reality. If you meet speakers they might come in main

city library might have more chance in meeting native Irish speakers or obviously, if you're walking in the branch of Gaeltacht of course you have to have fluent Irish, you will be using it every day, but in a branch like here, now we're in the outskirts of Galway city, we don't really meet people on daily basis speaking to us in Irish. So it doesn't really arise."

Úna Molligan

„M: Do you sometimes use Irish language at work or in your private life?

U: Do I use ... very seldom, I mean, ..spoke to me in Irish, here at the desk then I would be trying to answer them, and we have, most signs are in both languages, so I would be familiar with, reading reading it but very little, very, very little."

Ruainí Ó hAodha

„M: Do you need Irish for your work?

R: Sometimes you do, yea, because in library, we talk to people in other branches so we can use, we can use Irish in that way, you know, Irish...

M: How often?

R: How often? I might have use it, I might have use it briefly with with the people from another branches and maybe once or twice a week, you know, some of the, when we learning Irish to the course we have new enthusiasm later on life for it, you know, so they... sometimes speaking Irish so we do it in Irish as well. Occasionally I come across people, not so much but occasionally people come in and speak Irish and I speak it to them as well."

Ve škole jsou kurzy irštiny povinné pro všechny studenty, v zaměstnání jsou irsky komunikovat nuceni zaměstnanci především státních služeb, ale není tomu, jak se ukázalo, příliš často. V rámci rodiny však mluví irsky z velké většiny jen rodilí mluvčí. Pouze pro ně je tento způsob komunikace přirozený a právě oblast rodiny a soukromých vztahů je oblast, kde je možno hovořit tak, jak je člověku nejpříjemnější. V Gaeltachtu je to irština, v Galltachtu pak hlavně angličtina. Při určitých příležitostech je někdy nutné přepínat kódy, tvrdí Paid Nechtain:

„P.I speak it with my family the whole time I'm actually physically not able to speak English to my family. It just doesn't happen in, in nor even even if you're in the company of English speakers and the whole conversation is in English. If I'm talking to my father and sister I have to speak in Irish, it just switches automatically, I just, I'm not physically able to do it..."

Respondenti s hlubším zájmem o jazyk používají irštinu při některých příležitostech i v soukromí, především v rámci rodiny. Colm Cantillon přiznává, že s některými příbuznými obzvláště ze strany své manželky, která pochází z Gaeltachtu, pravidelně konverzuje irsky

a nečiní mu to potíže. Pokud se do hovoru přidá někdo, kdo nerozumí, není pro něj problém přepínat kódy. V obou jazycích dokáže přirozeně vést konverzaci. Podle řady výpovědí patří přirozený způsob užívání jazyka v rámci rodiny mezi nejlepší způsoby udržování jazykové znalosti a zároveň také předávání jazykové znalosti další generaci. Bernadette Colgan patří mezi Iry, kterým na jazyce záleží natolik, že poslala všech svých pět dětí do Gaeilscoil a sama se v jazyce aktivně vzdělává. Jako chybu však zpětně vidí to, že nemluvila na své děti irsky právě doma v rámci rodiny. Vypovídá, že její děti sice mluví plynně irsky, ale je pro ně svým způsobem nepřirozené používat irštinu mimo školu. Není to jazyk, který by se naučily užívat v běžné konverzaci a cítí se dokonce trapně, když mají irsky mluvit mimo školu. Bernadette proto lituje, že na své děti doma irsky nemluvila:

„Bernadette: I didn't do that.... but when I was to do it again I would have them to speak because they don't see Irish as a thing to ...using outside of the school gates. It should, as soon as they get outside the school gates, it's back into English, but if they met their Irish teacher in town straight into Irish, that's amazing and they have the most beautiful Irish and it just swithes on but yet when the teacher goes outside the school gates back into English so that can't be right.... my son he loves his Irish and that is great love his secondary school because he had a teacher who used to speak who knew he came form the Gaeilscoil and he used to speak to him at lunch and when he was doing the table tennis with tem and I found that when he's the studentin America.... and that's good. That's it.“

Příležitostí, kdy mluvit irsky, je pro některé Iry paradoxně často cesta do zahraničí, což potvrdilo hned několik respondentů. Pro obyvatele anglicky mluvících zemí bývá v zahraničí často nepříjemná skutečnost, že jim je téměř všude rozumět. Rádi by si užívali prostředí, kde mohou vyjádřit svůj názor nebo říci něco, aniž by okolí vědělo, co přesně chtěli vyjádřit nebo aby rozeznalo, odkud jsou. Irové, kteří ovládají irštinu, ji rádi při takovýchto příležitostech používají. Přiznává to Ruainí Ó hAodha a Colm Cantillon:

Ruainí Ó hAodha

„One place where Irish people use Irish a lot is abroad , when they go abroad to another countries, when they go to places where English or English speaking people, Irish people release Irish things, because you know, people don't unerstand it.“

Colm Canitillon

„C: I would use at least some of it every day. My wife is from an Irish speaking area and we tend to speak a mixture of Irish and English. It depends, with my dad I email him all the time, we only email in Irish and it depends on which of my friends I meet and how many of us are there generally when I meet my friends from Donegal, we almost speak Irish all the time od if I meet any of my family or my wife's

family we generally tend to speak Irish but sometimes we do a little bits in English, a sentence or two here and there and they may just drift it back again and it depends on what we want to say and who's around. And particularly when I my and my wife are abroad we never speak English. We always speak Irish because people don't know where are you from and you can have a private conversation almost all the time and you're not labeled as being, like a lot of Irish people going abroad that they're British or American or Australian. It's obvious you're not. So I find that good."

Užití irštiny v denním styku tedy lze pozorovat jak v oblasti pracovní tak v soukromé. Oblast pracovní, především pak úřednický styku a užívání jazyka pracovníky státních služeb upravuje jazykový plán a hodlá znalost jazyka v těchto službách důsledněji dodržovat a vyžadovat. V oblasti soukromé však příliš v tomto ohledu zasahovat nemůže. Zároveň je to oblast, která vitalitu jazyka zásadně ovlivňuje, nebo lépe řečeno ji vytváří. Pokud není jazyk užíván v běžném styku, je prakticky mrtvý. Zároveň také lze na základě výpovědí respondentů výzkumu říci, že minimum příležitostí využít jazyk způsobuje poměně rapidní pokles jeho znalosti. Lidé kolem čtyřicítky, kteří maturovali z jazyka a kteří museli i přes špatnou úroveň irštiny na školách mít určitou jazykovou znalost, již nejsou schopni sestavit větu a přiznávají, že aktivní znalost jazyka již nemají. Irština je běžně užívána především v oblasti Gaeltachtu, ale i řada obyvatel Galway přiznala, že jazyk užívají nejen v práci, ale i v komunikaci s přáteli nebo s rodinou, neboť ji vidí jako přirozený prostředek komunikace.

4.2.e) Súil eile – jiný pohled na svět

Média tvoří v současné době rovněž důležitou oblast revitalizačních snah a řada respondentů jejich vliv popisuje už v úvodní otázce dokonce jako velmi důležitý. Všechna, včetně televizního a rozhlasového vysílání, jsou dnes již dobře dostupná na internetu a je tedy možné je sledovat v podstatě kdekoliv. Téměř všechny jsou nějakým způsobem podporovány státem prostřednictvím Foras na Gaeilge, což je státní organizace vzniklá v roce 1999 a mající za úkol podporu a propagaci irského jazyka. Irština má vlastní televizi TG4, rádio *Radió na Gaeltachta* a dvě rádia, která vysílají jen omezeně: *Radió na Life* <http://www.rte.ie/rnag/> a *Radió Fáilte* <http://www.raidiofailte.com/>. Články v irštině rovněž vycházejí jednou týdně v největším irském deníku *The Irish Times*. Tištěná média v irštině podle mého průzkumu ve stáncích, knihkupectvích a knihovnách jsou v současné době dvě a to *Comhar* a *Feasta*. *Cohmhar* je ve své podstatě především literární časopis a věnuje se novým irsky píšícím

autorům. *Feasta* se vedle literatury věnuje i politice a sociálním vědám. Bohužel v irštině již v celém Irsku nevychází žádný deník. Od roku 2009 by měl opět vycházet týdeník *Foinse* <http://www.foinse.ie/>, který je součástí *Irish Independent* a tvoří jeho přílohu každou středu. Tradiční tištěná podoba irsky psaných periodik doplňují elektronické zdroje informací například na portálu Beo www.Beo.ie nebo Nuacht 24 <http://www.nuacht24.com/>, ale také například internetová encyklopedie Wikipedie v irštině – Vicipéid <http://ga.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vicip%C3%A9id>, Google v irštině a irskou verzi má například i sociální síť Facebook.

Televize

Irská televize TG4 vznikla z Teilifís na Gaeilge, která začala vysílat až v roce 1996. Úplnou samostatnost na státní televizi RTÉ získala TG4 v roce 2007, což bylo doprovázeno poměrně skeptickými názory. TG4 ale zaznamenala mnoho úspěchů a její sledovanost překonala očekávání.

Oblíbené jsou seriály, například nekonečný seriál *Ros na Rún* nebo detektivně-komediální seriál *Rasaí na Gaillimhe* z prostředí chrtích závodů v Galway. Řada respondentů sleduje také zpravodajství na TG4, muži si nenechávají ujít sportovní přenosy a velká část respondentů má v oblibě dokumenty. Velký ohlas zaznamenal například cyklus *Bibeanna* 2008: vyprávění stařenek z Gaeltachtu Dingle o starých časech, tradičním způsobu života spjatém s irštinou, který s nimi pomalu a nezadržitelně vymírá, o proměnách tváře Irska, které tyto ženy během svého života zaznamenaly. TG4 rovněž vytváří dokumentární pořady týkající se irského folkloru, hudby, divadla nebo keltské kultury.

Velkou výhodou televizního vysílání je možnost doplnit pořady, které jsou výhradně v irštině anglickými titulky, aby je měli možnost sledovat i ti, kteří se jazyk teprve učí nebo i lidé s velmi omezenou jazykovou znalostí. TG4 se tak otevírá mnohem širšímu okruhu diváků než například irská rádia, která mají své posluchače z velké většiny jen mezi rodilými mluvčími v jednotlivých regionech Gaeltachtu, protože posluchači, kteří nemluví plynně irsky, v podstatě nemají šanci vysílání, které z velké části obsahuje mluvené slovo, dostatečně porozumět.

Důležitá je rovněž skladba pořadů. Mluvčí různých úrovní jazykové znalosti si mohou vybírat pořady i podle náročnosti na jazyk. Siobhán Arkins, která mluví irsky na pokročilé úrovni, avšak ne zcela plynně, ráda sleduje především seriál *Ros na Rún*. Zdůrazňuje, že je pro ni jednoduché takový pořad v irštině sledovat, protože se jedná o formu příběhu.

V jednoduchém příběhu, který je logickým sledem událostí a dialogů, které na sebe navazují, si lze často snáze domyslet smysl některých slov nebo vět, kterým divák původně neporozuměl. S pomocí titulků pak může porozumět i těm pasážím, které nedokázal rozklíčovat z obrazu a mluvených dialogů. Jedná se o aktivní způsob učení se jazyku, především jeho mluvené formy, která je na TG4 prezentována přirozeným způsobem. Siobhán Arkins se tímto způsobem zdokonaluje v jazyce:

„M: Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

S: Sometimes! More TG4 nor than Radió na Gaeltachta, yea I sometimes watch TG4, because it has good soaps, soap operas, like Ros na Rún. That's good one, Ros na Rún. It's an easy way to listen, because it's, like it's f'dra::ma, so it's easy way to listen, yea.

M: And do you watch it with subtitles?

S: I like the subtitles, because then you're listening, You're, you're listening what you see on the screen, it actually helps. It's more a learning to.“

Diváci s lepší jazykovou znalostí si mohou dovolit sledovat i náročnější pořady jako jsou dokumenty. I Bernadette se prostřednictvím sledování televize zdokonaluje v jazyce. Přiznává, že si při porozumění mluvenému slovu rovněž napomáhá anglickými titulky, přestože je nutně nepotřebuje:

„M: Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

Bernadette: I watch TG4, I love the the documentaries, but I've allways get my eyes focused down to the subtitles, so I tend to look in English but at the same time I'm hearing it in Irish and I sort of working on that and I try to work it out what it is before I read it to see that it's the same thing so, but sometimes I would put a block on the TV screen so that I can't see, what's written.

M: That's great

Bernadette: Yea, I'm trying. But they do great programs. I love TG4...“

Súil éile neboli jiný pohled na svět, jiný názor, je slogan TG4, na nějž nelze na stránkách ani během sledování vysílání nenarazit. Co se přesně tento slogan pokouší znázornit, mi částečně vysvětlil jeden z respondentů Ruainí Ó hAodha. Především TG4 vysílá jinak tematicky zaměřené programy než ostatní irské televizní stanice. Hodně pořadů včetně dokumentů se týká dění v Gaeltachtu, jeho historii, kultuře, jazyku apod. Stejně tak pak i filmy a seriály natočené v produkci TG4 se odehrávají většinou v Galway a jeho okolí. TG4 není v žádném případě mainstreamová televize a i pořady (Ruainí mluví především o dokumentárních pořadech, které se netýkají přímo irštiny a Gaeltachtu) vykazují určitou specifickou optiku, která je odlišná od té, již se na problémy dívá anglicky mluvící většina.

Irsky mluvící komunita nahlíží na okolní svět jinak a na základě jiných hodnot a priorit. I proto může být sledování TG4 obohacující a jak říká Ruainí Ó hAodha, také osvobozující od diktatury jednostranného maistreemového názoru prezentovaného médií v angličtině, neboť nabízí přinejmenším možnost srovnání a vyvolává polemiku:

„M: Hmm, do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

R: I don't really listen to Radió na Gaeltachta, but I do watch TG4 a lot, yea, yea mostly because the program is very good, you know...

M: And which programs?

R: I mostly watch documentaries. If I watch TG4, I watch documentaries on it, yea, yea. There's a great advantage in TG4, because it's in a different language eventhough it's, it's kind of the same television state channel in Ireland. TG4, because it does, it broadcasts Irish as an advantage. It can make more interesting programs, you know, partly because it is in Irish and partly because people in Dublin don't care, you know, but it makes very interesting documentaries then, you know.

M: And what are the documentaries about?

R: They're often about culture things, but often the things, that are translated from, often you know, surprisingly from far away of the world, you know, different things you don't see on mainstream news, you know, things about America or Africa, but things, you don't see normally, you know, and so it's very good in that way, it's very liberating, you know. You've got to see another side of things, yea, yea and also maybe because it is an Irish people think, get away, especially in the time we're living is so dominated by political correctness, you know, because Irish people, I think they just can't get away with maybe talking about things, they might not be able in English, you know because there's so much trouble around it, you know, In Irish at least you can raise an issue, you know, there'll be talking some guy in Russian or something, you know, because you see, people learned, only small number of people will be watching it. Yea, that... And that sounds actually Irish has been very useful to Irish people. One place where Irish people use Irish a lot is abroad, when they go abroad to another countries, when they go to places where English or English speaking people, Irish people release Irish things, because you know, people don't understand it, you know, yea. “

TG4 může díky anglickým titulům sledovat v podstatě každý, což má ale i svou stinnou stránku. Otitulkováním pořadů v podstatě TG4 popírá svůj vlastní slogan. Onen jiný úhel pohledu vznikající skrze irštinu je tak svým způsobem narušen a i sebelepší překlad irského textu nemůže vystihnout určité obraty, jež je možné vyjádřit v irské a nikoli anglické gramatice. Někteří respondenti průzkumu se přiznali, že je vlastně ani onen Súil eile nezajímá, a vybírají si pořady podle zájmu nikoli proto, že by byly v irštině. Často jsou to pořady, u nichž je mluvené slovo vedlejší. Příkladem můžou být sportovní utkání, kdy není potřeba poslouchat komentáře a stačí sledovat obraz, popřípadě si přečíst titulky. John

Fitzgibbon vůbec nesleduje TG4 kvůli irštině a irskému úhlu pohledu na svět, ale proto, že ho zajímá sport a některé přenosy vysílá jen TG4:

„... Now we do have, we do have a radio station that's in Irish and we have a TV channel that's in Irish but, I mean in case of the TV channel. It's subtitled and you can often watch other programs like you're watching sports a lot on the Irish channel when, when the language isn't the factor because it's completely visual, you know, you just ignore what the comentator is saying and watch the game, so...“

Záleží tedy na každém divákovi, na jeho motivaci, kterou může být hlubší zájem o jazyk nebo jen sledování pořadu, který je pro něj nějakým způsobem zajímavý a nedávají ho právě na mainstreamové televizi, co si z pořadů vybere a zda vlastně onen již zmíněný Súil eile je ochotný vidět, či ne. TG4 nabízí pořady pro obě skupiny.

Rozhlas

V oblasti Galway je z irských rádií zdaleka nejpopulárnější *Radió na Gaeltachta*, regionální rozhlasová stanice, která začala vysílat roku 1972 a má hlavní sídlo v Casla v Gaeltachtu Connemara a studia v Kerry, Donegalu, Dublinu a Mayu. Informuje především o dění v regionu, a to podle výpovědí respondentů často velmi podrobně. Vysílá 24 hodin denně v irštině a je možné si jej pustit i z internetu: <http://www.rte.ie/mag/>. Na programu je vedle regionálního zpravodajství také irská hudba a pořady, ve kterých jsou hosty právě hudebníci zejména z oblasti Gaeltachtu, sportovní přenosy, rozhlasové hry a publicistické pořady zaměřené na tematiku irštiny a irské kultury.

Radió na Gaeltachta je podle mého průzkumu méně sledované než TG4, ale to se zřejmě dá říci o rozhlasovém a televizním vysílání obecně. Může to být také proto, že je ze své podstaty méně přístupné těm, co irsky nemluví příliš dobře, což je rozhodně velká část Irů. V irské televizi TG4 doplňují obraz anglické titulky, kdežto rozhlasové vysílání podobnou nápovědu pro méně jazykově vybavené posluchače nedovoluje. Řada respondentů mého terénního výzkumu přiznává, že je právě rozhlasové vysílání příliš nezajímá. Patří mezi ně i Úna Molligan, která irštinu ovládá na mírně pokročilé úrovni:

„M: Do you wath TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

U: Very seldom, I mean, I would never listen to Radió na Gaeltachta, no, I wouldn't, TG4, sometimes I might watch things, but I wouldn't, I wouldn't watch it because it's Irish, because of an Irish language, I would watch it becasue it's probably nothing on another channel, so...“

Naopak rodilí mluvčí z Gaeltachtu Connemara, jako jsou Tommy Corcoranne nebo Paid Nechtain poslouchají radió na Gaeltachta takřka denně. Stává se pro ně přirozenou součástí dne především proto, že informuje právě o dění v jejich regionu, vysílá v jejich jazyce a venuje se jejich hudbě a kultuře.

„M: Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

T: I allways listen to news at Radió na Gaeltachta and sports.... and I watch TG4, mainly the news programs. So I like that.“

„M: Hmm do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

P: Every day. I mighn't see TG4 every day now that's because I'm busy but Radió na Gaeltachta every day. Yea, I'allways have it ih the morning, yea.

M: Yea, which programs do you like the most?

P: E:: the way it works with Radió na Gaeltachta, everyone listens to news. This is very, this is going to sound awful now everyone listens to news to see who's dead.

M: really?

P: Hmm Everyone listens to news, to the local news, further west.

M: It's on the radio.

P: To see, who's dead. You know, as in the funeral...such as, such as died, their funeral will be on, do you know, it's a, it's funny, that's very like simple way of saying it but it's actually quite true. You'll find even people in An Spidéal who don't have Irish, you know, who only have a certain amount of Irish will listen to the local news to find out who's dead.

P: Do you know, they'll obviously be listening to other stories...

M: yea

P: about what's happening, you know, what's the latest thing on our own locality but, you see, when I'm in work all day then I don't get to listen to the radio, so do you know what, Radió na Gaeltachta would be the first I obviously listen to the English language radios but but mainly news on a G, there are some other programs I'd like to hear, but I'm at work when they're on, so. I might catch them up at the cast after or something like that.“

Úzké zaměření na region však je také důvodem, proč *Radió na Gaeltachta* hodně lidí neposlouchá, jednoduše proto, že se jich zpravodajství a dění v Gaeltachtu příliš netýká. Zdá se, že Radió na Gaeltachta je určeno jen omezenému publiku a možná by bylo dobré přizpůsobit vysílání i irsky mluvícím v oblastech mimo Gaeltacht nebo vytvořit rozhlasovou stanici přímo pro ně. I *Radió na Galetachta* zprostředkovává jistý súil eile-jiný pohled na svět, v němž je podstatné regionální dění a jenž staví na kultuře spojené s irským jazykem.

Tisk

Irové tištěná periodika v irštině příliš nesledují a vlastně ani nevědí o tom, že nějaké tiskoviny vychází, dokonce ani v oblasti Gaeltachtu. Protože jsem na stánku našla pouze jeden časopis *Cohmhar* a na univerzitě pak několik starých čísel týdeníku *Feasta*, nezařadila jsem otázku o tiskovinách do průzkumu. Vyjadřuje se k nim ale John Fitzgibbon, který vysloveně říká, že nevychází žádné noviny, které by byly pouze v irštině.

„There’s a lot of books been published in Irish. There are children’s books been published in Irish, so a lot, there are a lot of people who are very keen to revive it and see it being revived and so forth but like all our main newspapers are in English. It’s very difficult to get an Irish newspapers and I don’t think they sell well I mean you there are web sites for various newspapers like the oldest ones and... but if you look at their circulation figures and you compare their circulation figures with the Irish times or with the mainstream newspapers it would be very very far behind. If you go into shops in Galway and you wouldn’t see an Irish Sunday newspaper or Irish newspaper. You would only see, this is a Galway city now, you would only see English papers, you can do that experiment, you would see that.“

Johnovi chybí především nějaký deník, který by informoval i o dění ve světě a v Irsku a byl jakýmsi ekvivalentem pro anglicky psané deníky. Irsky psané tiskoviny jsou často tematicky zaměřené na irštinu jako jazyk a region Gaeltachtu a věnují se především regionálnímu zpravodajství, případně tmatice spojené právě s jazykem. Na podzim roku 2009, kdy výzkum probíhal, krátkodobě nevycházel ani týdeník *Foinse*, který v současné době zase vychází jako středěční příloha *Irish Independent*.

Obecně lze říci, že z médií, která jsou v irštině v oblasti Galway k dispozici, je zdaleka nejsledovanější a nejoblíbenější irská televize TG4. Může to být způsobeno dostupností pro větší rozpětí mluvčích díky vysílání s titulky a také možná proto, že televize patří obecně nmezi sledovanější média než například rozhlas nebo tisk. Rozhlas poslouchají především rodilí mluvčí z Gaeltachtu především proto, že se vysílání týká právě jejich regionu a nabízí vyčerpávající zpravodajství z oblasti, ve které žijí. Denní tisk, který by informoval ať už o dění v regionu nebo který by obsahem spíše kopíroval jiné deníky, v irštině nevychází.

Slogan *Súil eile*, který používá TG4, vystihuje nejen irskou televizi, ale i média v irštině obecně. Způsob nahlížení událostí skrze „čočku“ jazykové komunity často působí někdy podle respondentů průzkumu trochu krátkozrace. Média informují o veškerém dění v regionu do téměř až zbytečných detailů a zároveň často opomíjí důležité dění v okolním světě. „Dělají z komára velblouda a příležitostně z velblouda komára,“ by mohl být volný

překlad názoru Brendána Delapa, který napsal příspěvek týkající se médií v irštině do sborníku *A New View of the Irish Language*³⁰. Několik respondentů se o tomto jevu zmínilo v rámci strukturovaných rozhovorů, především když byla řeč o Radió na Gaeltachta. Paid Nechtain se smíchem přiznává, že lidé v An Spidéalu Radió na Gaeltachta poslouchají jen proto, aby se dozvěděli, kdo právě zemřel a kdy bude pohřeb:

„P: E:: the way it works with Radió na Gaeltachta, everyone listens to news. This is very, this is going to sound awful now everyone listens to news to see who’s dead.

M: really?

P: Hmm Everyone listens to news, to the local news, further west.

M: It’s on the radio?

P: To see, who’s dead. You know, as in the funeral ...such as, such as died, their funeral will be on, do you know, it’s a, it’s funny, that’s very, like simple way of saying it but it’s actually quite true. You’ll find even people in An Spidéal who don’t have Irish, you know, who only have a certain amount of Irish will listen to the local news to find out who’s dead.“

Podobné výpovědi jen dokazují, že média v irštině se skutečně soustředí na jiná témata než běžná média v angličtině a oslovují díky tomu jen omezenou skupinu lidí. Věnují se přímo tématice irského jazyka a kultury s ním spojené. Jazykový plán se tematice médií věnuje, ale tento faktor nebere říši v potaz. Bylo by zřejmě potřeba zpřístupnit média v irštině jednak tématicky a jednak jazykově (například vysílat naučné pořady o jazyce, jazykové kurzy apod) širšímu okruhu lidí mimo Gaeltacht. Nepřístupnějším médiem v tomto ohledu je TG4, kterou i podle průzkumu sleduje řada lidí. I přesto, že někteří přiznávají, že ji nesledují kvůli jazyku a využívají titulky, představuje pro ně možnost slyšet mluvenou formu jazyka a také možnost s pomocí titulků se prostřednictvím televize jazyku učit.

4.2.f) Gaeilscoilleana vs. memorování textů – mluvená vs. psaná forma jazyka a fenomén summer colleges

Místem, kde se většina Irů, vyjma rodilých mluvčích a malé skupiny lidí, jejichž rodiče patří mezi jazykové nadšence, poprvé setká s irským jazykem, je škola a řada respondentů považuje školní výuku jazyka za zásadní faktor revitalizace jazyka. Zároveň je

³⁰ NIC PHÁIDÍN, C., Ó CEARNAICH, S.: *A New View of Irish Language*, Dublin:Cois Life, 2008., str. 160

také irské školství podrobováno velké kritice, neboť svou funkci zřejmě v tomto ohledu neplní tak, jak by si jazykoví aktivisté a jazykoví příznivci představovali.

Rodiče dětí předškolního věku mají možnost se rozhodnout pro dvě varianty vzdělání na základě toho, jakou jazykovou znalost irštiny by svým dětem chtěli dopřát. Jednou z těchto možností jsou Gaeilscoileana, tedy školy, kde je irština jediným komunikačním jazykem mezi učiteli a žáky a která je primárně určena dětem z čistě anglicky mluvících rodin. Absolventi Gaeilscoileana dokáží mluvit plynně irsky, číst texty v irštině a bez problémů ovládají i gramatiku jazyka. Druhou variantou je klasická základní škola, kde je irština vyučována jako cizí jazyk, a to podle většiny respondentů stále ještě poměrně zastaralým způsobem, tedy s důrazem především na psanou formu jazyka a jeho gramatiku. Základem výuky je memorování pravidel gramatiky, čtení klasických textů v irštině a jejich následný překlad. Překlad je také hlavní částí povinné maturitní zkoušky z jazyka. Velkou popularitu především mezi studenty z Dublinu získávají i tzv. summer colleges. Jedná se o doplňkovou letní výuku irštiny spojenou často s výukou dalších předmětů souvisejících s jazykem a kulturou, která probíhá v oblastech Gaeltachtu Connemara nebo Donegal. Studenti denně docházejí na jazykové kurzy a zároveň bydlí v irsky mluvících rodinách, aby měli dostatek příležitostí konverzovat. Lektorka těchto kurzů v Connemaře Maire Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin zaznamenala v posledních letech nárůst počtu zájemců o tyto kurzy a zároveň také v rozhovoru uvedla, že studenti projevují skutečný zájem o jazyk. Nejedná se tedy pouze o studenty, kteří mají za cíl především složit co nejlépe povinnou část maturitní zkoušky z irštiny. Absolventem několika summer colleges je i Mait Ó Brádaigh, jazykový aktivista a ředitel Gaeilscoil v Oranmore. Je přesvědčen, že tyto letní školy rovněž přispívají k pozitivnímu postoji studentů k jazyku a pomáhají jim uvědomit si jeho význam. Nárůst zájmu o tyto kurzy stejně jako postupný nárůst zájmu o Gaeilscoileanna ukazuje i to, že zájem o jazyk se začíná ve větší míře projevovat i mimo oblasti Gaeltachtů

Gaeilscoileanna

Gaeilscoileanna jsou státní školy, které dodržují standardní kurikulum a zároveň fungují na principu imerze. Irština jako jediný jazyk výuky a komunikace od prvního dne vyučování představuje pro anglicky mluvící děti ze začátku velkou zátěž, ale výsledkem je bilingvní student, který plynně ovládá dva jazyky, lépe se učí dalším jazykům a má širší kulturní rozhled. Další výhodou je i větší možnost pracovního uplatnění v irsky mluvících oblastech a do budoucna i ve státní správě, kde bude podle jazykového plánu znalost irštiny povinná. Mait Ó Brádaigh, ředitel jedné z Gaeilscoileanna, která se nachází v Oranmore

nedaleko Galway je přesvědčen o přínosu těchto škol a zároveň zdůrazňuje, že takováto výuka jazyku není pro děti velkou zátěží, jak si myslí řada rodičů, kteří i z těchto důvodů zvolí variantu klasické základní školy. Děti na začátku školní docházky se jazykům učí velice snadno a vzhledem k tomu, že jsou irštině vystaveni neustále, naučí se plyně mluvit již za půl roku, přestože na začátku nerozumí irsky mluvícímu učiteli vůbec nic. Gaeilscoileanna se těší velkému zájmu a jejich počet se stále rozrůstá jak na úrovni základního, tak i na úrovni středoškolského vzdělání. O velkém zájmu o podobné školy svědčí i výpověď již zmíněného ředitele Gaeilscoil v Oranmore Maita Ó Brádaigha. V rozhovoru mluvil rovněž o tom, že škola v Oranmore vznikla z iniciativy skupiny rodičů, kteří se aktivně podíleli na jejím založení a uskutečnění celého projektu. Přestože škola začínala v poměrně špatných podmínkách (děti se učily v bývalém obchodě), postupně se podařilo najít vhodné prostory, kvalifikované učitele a také dostatek uchazečů. V současné době uvažují o vzniku střední školy, neboť zájem o ni ze strany žáků i rodičů je poměrně velký. Gaeilscoileanna napomáhají procesu revitalizace jazyka nejen tím, že vychovávají novou generaci mluvčích, kteří na rozdíl od jejich vrstevníků navštěvujících klasické školy, dokáží v jazyce plyně komunikovat na mluvené i psané úrovni, ale rovněž vzbuzují zájem o jazyk i mezi rodiči těchto dětí. Mait Ó Brádaigh a spolu s ním i několik dalších respondentů, jejichž děti chodily na některou z Gaeilscoil, potvrdili, že většina rodičů projevila zájem o kurzy irštiny jednak z praktických důvodů, tedy proto, aby mohli dětem pomáhat s učením, a jednak proto, že se do jisté míry i styděli za svou špatnou jazykovou znalost a v neposlední řadě i proto, že v jazyce jednoduše našli zalíbení. Zásluhy Gaeilscoileanna vyzdvihuje řada respondentů průzkumu už v prvních otázkách rozhovoru. Založení Gaeilscoileanna a jejich postupné rozšiřování vidí řada z nich jako zásadní krok k revitalizaci jazyka a především jeho znovupronikání mezi anglicky mluvící populací. Siobhán Arkins je přesvědčena, že právě Gaeilscoileanna přispívají významným způsobem k tomu, že jazyková situace se zlepšuje:

„M: So the first question is what do you think about the current stage of Irish language?

S: I would think this is a good time for the Irish language and it would be even better in the future, I think, and mainly because of the popularity of the Gaeilscoils. You've got the whole young generation coming up, that have been educated through Irish and I think they have to have a better Irish than someone who was taught through English. It just have to be inevitable even if the children are not quite home in speaking Irish which seems to be the case. A lot of children have been educated through Irish at primary and secondary level, but they're not quite home it's not transferring outside the school, which I suppose ideally should be. But I still think, being educated through Irish, your Irish would have to be better than if you're educated through English. So there would be quite hopeful in that.. You have all

this children coming yout of the Gaeilscoils. And it's quite popular to send your child to Gaeilscoil and there are waiting lists so parents are obviously thinking very positively about education through Irish.“

Většina respondentů si však uvědomuje rovněž fakt, že metoda imerze v Gaeilscoileanna pro revitalizaci jazyka nestačí. Velmi důležité je dle většiny názorů i přenesení jazyka mimo školu, podpora dalších mimoškolních aktivit a především používání jazyka v rodině. Pokud je irština pouze jazykem vyučování a v běžném životě mluví děti s rodiči a vrstevníky pouze anglicky, nebudou mít potřebu jazyk používat a může se stát, že postupně jazykovou znalost ztratí. Dokonce se zdá, že i přesto, že absolventi těchto škol umí irsky plynně, není jim příjemné používat jazyk pro běžnou komunikaci. Bernadette Colgan pozoruje onu nechuť používat irštinu jednak na svých dětech, které prošly Gaeilscoil, tak i na dalších lidech, především klientech knihovny, ve které pracuje. Vysvětluje to především faktem, že tito lidé se nenaučili používat irštinu v běžném mimoškolním denním styku a je pro ně nepřírozené irsky mimo školu mluvit. Zmiňuje se i o pocitu trapnosti, který doprovází promluvu v irštině a jenž je také důvodem, proč se řada absolventů Gaeilscoileanna po škole vrací k angličtině. Tento fakt podle ní poukazuje naopak na nezdravou situaci jazyka a jeho vitalitu:

„... By this all, you know, I have noticed coming to the library here and working in the library, you have nationalities coming in here and they have no problem speaking French or Polish to their kids ...there up to the counter?..... but when Irish native speaker comes in, they won't speak Irish. It's not natural to them and there's something in the psychic that stops them, I don't know what it is, but that can't be healthy that they were afraid to speak their native language.

M: Do you think that's because they're forced to it?

Bernadette: I'd, maybe, I mean in this particular family that comes ...our speakers...she told me, that her kids are embarrassed to speak Irish out in front of their friends or anything and that is such a shame. Myself I've sent my four kids to a Gaeilscoil and I'm thinking now that I did it slightly wrong I think I should have encouraged them to speak Irish amongst themselves when they were at home...“

Gaeilsoileanna tak bývají i přes to, že jistě mají zásluhy na šíření jazykové znalosti, vnímány jako umělé prostředí, skrze něž nelze jazykovou vitalitu udržet ani zvýšit. Rozšiřování Gaeiscoilleana a nárůst počtu žáků a studentů v nich nelze jednoznačně považovat za známku zvyšování vitality irštiny, neboť nelze zjistit, kolik procent absolventů používá a bude používat jazyk v běžném životě. Budou to patrně především ti, kteří budou i v budoucnu obklopeni irsky mluvícím prostředím, tedy ti, kteří se přestěhují do oblasti Gaeltachtu, vezmou si partnera z této oblasti nebo se v ojedinělých případech stanou

zapálenými jazykovými aktivisty jako například Mait Ó Brádaigh, který sice pochází z anglicky mluvícího prostředí, ale zájem o jazyk u něj byl natolik silný, že mluví irsky v současné době v podstatě více než anglicky, a to jak v práci na Gaeilscoil, tak i v soukromí a s přáteli.

To, co však Gaelscoileanna nelze upřít, je fakt, že významným způsobem šíří znalost irštiny a její používání na úrovni cizího jazyka. Přestože se prostřednictvím metody imerze snaží o to, aby žáci, studenti a absolventi irštinu začali vnímat jako mateřský jazyk, a produkuje bilingvinní absolventy, nemohou docílit rozšíření jazyka do běžného života. To, že absolventi jazyk nepoužívají denně, však neznamená, že jej nepoužívají vůbec nebo že jej zcela zapomenou, tak jako absolventi klasických základních a středních škol, kterým se budu věnovat dále. Podle Úny Molligan je tato znalost irštiny jako cizího jazyka rovněž cenná:

„M: Maybe it’s a problem that they don’t use it, when they leave the school..

U: I don’t think it’s a problem.

M: They’ll forget it

U: No!

M: You know when the people are not speaking the language...

U: I think it’s, they can still, if it’s still, they still have the knowledge. They go to Gaeltacht, they’re not gonna forget everything, they’re still gonna be able to talk a little bit ... So, you might not speak it on a day to day basis but if you go to the Gaeltacht or if you go anywhere else then you are gonna remember it, so. And at least you have a better chance passing on, at least you won’t hate it, current generation of kids hate the language and that’s what they pass to their kids and it’s the fact that they hate the language and if you go to the Gaeilscoil, they, they might, you’re not gonna hate it. You’ll probably gonna love it. And even if you don’t love it at least you’re not gonna have negative feelings, you know, they are gonna be more positive because you’re fluent.“

Dalším pozitivním přínosem Gaeischoileanna oproti klasickému vzdělání je formování pozitivního vztahu k jazyku. Irština je poměrně složitý jazyk s těžkou gramatikou a řadou výjimek a způsob výuky na Gaeilscoileanna do jisté míry kopírující způsob učení se mateřskému jazyku usnadňuje vstřebávání znalosti. Řada respondentů výzkumu, kteří prošli tradiční výukou na klasických školách, přiznala, že jim irština ve škole dělala potíže a neměli chuť se jí nadále po maturitě věnovat. Získali k ní jistou averzi, která se u absolventů Gaeilscoileanna neprojevuje. Absolventi Gaeilscoileanna, přestože řada z nich bude v běžné komunikaci s vlastními potomky zřejmě mluvit anglicky, budou rovněž ochotnější učit irsky i své děti.

Povinná výuka irštiny na klasických školách

V klasických školách se irština vyučuje tradičním způsobem stejně jako ostatní cizí jazyky, a to prostřednictvím anglického výkladu. Výuka irštiny je součástí povinného kurikula, (a to 2,5 – 3,5 hodin týdně) na základní a střední škole a rovněž povinným maturitním předmětem. Teoreticky by tedy absolventi běžné státní vzdělávací instituce měli mít poměrně dobrou jazykovou znalost, srovnatelnou například se znalostí angličtiny u maturantů v České republice. Praktická zkušenost je však zcela jiná. Podle Anny Ní Ghallachair³¹ je na některých základních školách běžnou praxí, že irštině je věnováno pouze 15 minut denně. Absolventi těchto základních škol pak mají na středním stupni problém například i vyjádřit v jazyce názor nebo vyprávět krátkou příhodu. Bohužel problém, který začíná nedostatečnou výukou na základní škole má důsledky i na další vzdělávání a výsledkem je často absolvent střední školy, který je po několika letech, co dostudoval a absolvoval 13 let povinné výuky jazyka, nucen přiznat, že umí aktivně použít pouze několik frází typu „Dia dhuit“ nebo „Go raibh mait agat“ nebo rozumět pouze velmi zjednodušenému textu. Paid Nechtain, jazykový aktivista a pracovník Udarás na Gaeltachta přiznává, že situace je v tomto ohledu skutečně tristní:

„P: They got their Irish from, because you know we're in Ireland, you have to learn Irish at school, so you learn Irish until you're thirteen, no you learn Irish until you're seventeen. You do thirteen years of Irish.

M: Yea, but some people don't have it! How is it possible?

P: Exactly! Exactly!

M: I met people who don't have a word of Irish.

P: Yes, exactly, exactly and when they went through the Irish school system it's very difficult to figure it out. To figure out why...

M: yea

P: You know because they have done thirteen years, now it's, it's very complicated issue because to shock you even further, you can find that there are teachers in this country who are teaching Irish but who can not speak Irish.“

Dalším velkým problémem se zdá koncepce maturitní zkoušky z jazyka, kterou nepřipravení studenti musí vykonat, přestože ani zdaleka nedosahují úrovně jazykové znalosti, která je k úspěšnému absolvování potřeba. Středoškolští učitelé tak koncipují výuku posledních dvou let studia jako přípravu na maturitní zkoušku a studenti se během hodin učí

³¹ NIC PHÁIDÍN, C., Ó CEARNAICH, S.: *A New View of Irish Language*, Dublin:Cois Life, 2008., str. 192-193

nazpaměť odpovědi na otázky i celé texty, jejichž překlad je součástí zkoušky. Velká část výuky je tak věnována psané formě jazyka, na rozdíl od již zmíněných Gaeliscoilanna, kde je jazyk vyučován prostřednictvím konverzace učitele žákem nebo studentem. Zařazení literatury v irštině do výuky jazyka je terčem kritiky právě proto, že důraz na výuku psané formy jazyka kvůli maturitní zkoušce vytlačuje z výuky konverzaci a absolventi nejsou schopni ani komunikovat v jazyce, ale zároveň v důsledku špatné výuky nakonec ani číst, protože se učí nazpaměť pouze povinné texty. Problémem však zcela jistě není zařazení irské literatury do výuky jazyka. Literatura je nedílnou součástí studia jazyka a zároveň podle Anny Ní Ghallachair ideálním prostředkem pro osvojení schopnosti chápat jinou kulturu, ať už se jedná o jedince z jiných zemí nebo, jako v tomto případě, z jiných kulturních prostředí.“³² Ke zkvalitnění jazykového vzdělání rozhodně nepřispěje vyškrtnutí povinné četby, jako jsou například *An Old Women's Reflections* od Peig Sayers z výuky jazyka, nicméně je potřeba vyvážit výuku mluvené formy jazyka a výuku psané formy. Učení se jazyku prostřednictvím textů a příběhů v nich obsažených představuje naopak například podle respondentky výzkumu Fionully Ní Chonaire ideální způsob získávání jazykové znalosti především pro menší děti a děti s handicapem. Fionulla Ní Chonaire pracuje jako pedagožka ve škole pro děti s poruchami učení a z praxe může potvrdit, že právě literatura a mýty a legendy, i když v tomto případě, protože se jedná o malé děti nebo děti s poruchami učení, většinou čtené učitelem nebo ztvárněné ve filmu, jsou naopak součástí výuky, která spíše usnadňuje získávání jazykové znalosti:

„F: They are learning through the stories and children will learn, you know, it's a, it's a leaning through stories..the way to learn because it's interactive.

M: Do you think it's a good way to learn the language?

F: It's a brilliant way because children are engaging and interacting with sort of the characters in the cartoons or in the stories. So it's a great way for children and they are learning without realizing that they're learning. So I think, yea...“

Skutečným problémem na klasických školách v Irsku tedy nejsou přehnané nároky na žáky a studenty, ale spíše nekvalitní výuka, která je často zajišťovaná nekvalitními pedagogy, spočívající v memorování pravidel gramatiky, textů a nakonec i konkrétních odpovědí na otázky v maturitním textu, aby studenti vůbec byli schopni zkoušku vykonat. Stejně tak není

³² NIC PHÁIDÍN, C., Ó CEARNAICH, S.: *A New View of Irish Language*, Dublin:Cois Life, 2008., str. 19

problémem důraz na psanou formu jazyka, jako spíše vynechání konverzačních hodin z výuky jazyka. Obě formy výuky jsou důležité pro komplexní znalost jazyka.

Obnova základního a středního školství tvoří významnou součást jazykového plánu, neboť se jedná o oblasti, které lze jazykovou politikou do velké míry ovlivnit. Bude přehodnoceno jednak kurikulum a rovněž bude také v budoucnosti kladen větší důraz na výběr pedagogů a jejich vzdělání. V současné době neexistuje na vysokých školách pedagogický obor zaměřený na irštinu. Jazyk vyučují buď absolventi irské filologie bez pedagogického vzdělání, nebo učitelé, kteří však neumějí irsky na takové úrovni, aby mohli zajistit kvalitní výuku. Tento nedostatek by měl být odstraněn v průběhu nejbližších let a na National University of Ireland in Galway by měl vzniknout pedagogický obor zaměřený na výuku irského jazyka.

Povinná výuka - ano nebo ne?

Často diskutovaným problémem v oblasti školství se během rozhovorů i zúčastněného pozorování ukázala povinnost absolvovat výuku irštiny. Někteří respondenti, například Úna Molligan, nepovažují povinnou výuku za šťastný krok. Úna Molligan je přesvědčená, že byla ve škole nucena učit se jazyk, který v podstatě nepatří k jejímu kulturnímu dědictví, protože vyrůstala v oblasti, kde se již po několik generací mluví výhradně anglicky. To, že jsou žáci a studenti nuceni se irštinu učit, podle ní vzbuzuje negativní postoj k jazyku a může mít tím pádem i negativní dopad. K otázce se však nechtěla příliš vyjadřovat, a přestože mimo diktafon mluvila velmi otevřeně, nechtěla příliš negativní postoje vyjadřovat oficiálně. Na přímou otázku však odpověděla:

„M: Do you think that the people who are forced to it at school have the negative attitude to it?

U: Yea, I think most people do unless they have the particular attitude themselves for languages, or unless they particularly have an interest in Irish culture or history. I think, mostly everybody, I think if you talked to at last thirty, 25 would say they don't like Irish and five would say they do. But the majority of them would say they don't like it and the reason they don't like is because they're made to it everyday and because it's hard, so...“

Většina ostatních respondentů se vyslovila jednoznačně pro povinnou výuku a vesměs označili irštinu za důležité kulturní dědictví, které by mělo zůstat zachováno právě prostřednictvím povinné výuky na školách, díky níž dostanou děti a studenti alespoň nějakou znalost, ač je obecně známo, že není příliš hluboká. Dostala-li by se irština mezi volitelné předměty, pravděpodobně by si ji z praktických důvodů část žáků a studentů vůbec nevybrala

na úkor jiného jazyka, lépe využitelného v praxi, cestování a obchodě, a počet mluvčích by se zřejmě postupně zmenšoval na malou skupinku nadšenců. K tomuto názoru se přiklání i Colm Cantillon, který tvrdí, že především díky velkým možnostem využití angličtiny především v zahraničí, nemají příliš chuť učit se další jazyky, neboť je k tomu nenutí žádné praktické okolnosti:

„But Irish people are lazy with languages. I think that a lot of people that speak English are. And it gives them a distinct disadvantage when they're promoting our... in this country. Classic example is a lot of exporters at the moment are complaining that the UK market is really bad for exporting but a lot of these people and I read several articles about it, never ought their products to let's say Germany, Spain and France because they didn't have the linguistic ability. And it's the old phrase: Don't put all your eggs in one basket. If you only have one export market and that goes bad and you haven't developed the other markets then you're going to get ... out. And Irish people particularly enjoy the boom and a lot of people have been very lazy in investing in language skills to enable them to increase their markets abroad.“

Vynechat irštinu z povinné by tedy zřejmě vitalitu jazyka nijak nezvýšilo a spíše by postupně vedlo k opačnému procesu. Je potřeba však zároveň, jak už bylo v této kapitole naznačeno, změnit systém výuky co do kvality a formy. Forma výuky, byť povinného předmětu, která žáka či studenta zaujme a zvýší jeho zájem o vyučované téma, by tak mohla být vhodným prostředkem pro zvyšování počtu bilingvinních mluvčích, což je také cílem jazykového plánu.

Zda zvolit pro své potomky Gaeilscoil nebo klasickou základní školu s povinnou výukou se rozhodují rodiče na základě různých kritérií. Pokud je tím kritériem jazyk, volí vždy Gaeilscoil, jako například Paid Nechtain:

„M: would you put them to a Gaeilscoil?”

P: E:

M: of Irish speaking school?”

P: Definitely! That would be a big choice in that would be a big factor choice of school. if I had children, you know. That would definitely be big, a big factor. I'd only send them, I'd send them to the one that's the best language, do you know..“

Forma výuky zaměřená více na ústní formu jazyka používaná na Gaeilscoileanna je pro děti přístupnější, přirozenější a zároveň i zábavnější. Často však kritériem není kvalita výuky irštiny, ale snaha vybrat školu, která by byla nejvhodnější praktickou přípravou do života a budoucí profese. V tomto ohledu vítězí klasické školy, kde probíhá výuka

prostřednictvím angličtiny a kde je irština oním obávaným příliš složitým předmětem, který ve studentech často vzbuzuje obavy. Zastáncem této volby školy je z respondentů výzkumu například John Fitzgibbon, který je přesvědčen o tom, že není potřeba zatěžovat děti k poměrně náročnému studiu ještě jazykem, pro který není v současné době příliš využití.

4.2.g) Mezigenerační předávání jazykové znalosti

Nejzásadnějším faktorem pro udržení vysoké jazykové vitality je podle Joshuy Fishmana i dalších autorů zabývajících se revitalizací jazyka mezigenerační předávání jazykové znalosti. Jazyková vitalita je míra, ve které jazyková menšina uchovává živý jazyk, rozsah jeho běžnému užívání a šíří jeho funkcí. Může být zvyšována rovněž prostřednictvím zvyšování prestiže jazyka, jeho institucionální podpory a jazykového plánování, ale rozšiřování počtu rodilých mluvčích je samozřejmě metoda nejúčinnější.

Mezigenerační předávání jazykové znalosti je na rozdíl od studia jazyka ve škole, byť se může i jednat o kvalitní výuku jazyka prostřednictvím imerze metody, jediný skutečně přirozený způsob učení se jazyku, který zajistí jeho užívání v mnohem širším poli funkcí včetně běžného denního styku, oblasti soukromí apod. Jak jsem již uvedla v předchozí kapitole, studium jazyka na základní nebo střední škole jakéhokoliv typu nevede k užívání jazyka v běžném životě. Děje se tomu ze dvou důvodů. Pro absolventy škol není zcela přirozené mluvit irsky mimo školu. Škola, a tím je míněna i Gaelscoil, je v tomto smyslu umělým prostředím, ve kterém se sice žáci a studenti jazyku naučí natolik, že je lze považovat za bilingviny, ale navrátí-li se do běžného života mimo školu, vrátí se rovněž k mateřskému jazyku, který pro ně je přirozený.

Druhým důvodem je nedostatek příležitostí. Respondenti výzkumu, kteří pracují ve veřejném sektoru a měli by vzhledem ke své práci mluvit irsky, kdyby o jejich služby měli zájem rodilí mluvčí, se shodují na tom, že irštinu využijí opravdu jen velmi zřídka. Stejně tak vypověděla valná většina respondentů, s výjimkou rodilých mluvčích z An Spidéalu, že ani v soukromé sféře, pokud nemají přátele z oblasti Gaeltachtu, nevyužijí znalost irštiny k běžné konverzaci.

V Irsku v oblasti Galway a Connemary lze v tomto ohledu sledovat velké rozdíly mezi městem a přilehlými vesnicemi přináležejícími již k oblasti Gaeltachtu, počínaje pro revitalizaci irštiny poměrně zásadním městečkem En Spidéal. An Spidéal leží 17 km od Galway a je sídlem televizní stanice TG4, Radió na Gaeltachta a rovněž zde lze nalézt několik

kulturních center, školky a školy vyučující prostřednictvím irštiny (nejedná se však o Gaeilscoileanna, protože ty jsou určeny primárně dětem, jejichž mateřštinou je angličtina) a samozřejmě centrum Udarás na Gaeltachta. Irština je zde běžným komunikačním jazykem a mateřským jazykem téměř všech obyvatel s výjimkou stále přibývajících přistěhovalců z Galway, pro které je tato lokalita vzhledem k blízkosti města velmi atraktivní, a rovněž také cizinců, kteří však podle Cristine Cox, učitelky z místní školky, projevují ochotu učit se jazyk a posílat děti do školek a škol, kde se vyučuje prostřednictvím irštiny.

Respondenti výzkumu pocházející z An Spidéalu a dalších oblastí Gaeltachtu jsou všichni rozhodnutí vychovávat své děti v prostředí irsky mluvící rodiny a poslat je rovněž do škol v Gaeltachtu, kde je komunikačním jazykem irština. K výchově v irském jazyce se přiklánějí i ti, kteří pocházejí z irsky mluvící rodiny z Gaeltachtu a později se přestěhovali do města. Fionulla Ní Chonnaire je rozhodnutá mluvit na své děti pouze irsky, neboť je přesvědčena, že anglicky se naučí velmi snadno ve škole mezi anglicky mluvícími vrstevníky. Stejný názor zastává i její manžel Colm Cantillon:

„M: And if you had a children would you speak Irish to them?

C: Yea, Irish first because they'll pick up English anyway. It's like what my parents did with me and I found because I was able to speak bilingually grow up, then I moved to Germany, it was a lot easier to learn German, I noticed, that other Irish people that are there that never spoke Irish because I think if you speak two languages it becomes easier to learn the third rather than if you just speak one and you're starting from scratch of the whole concept and there even the worlds out there and since I've now learned Spanish fluently as well.“

Často i pro děti rodilých mluvčích, kteří se odstěhovali do anglicky mluvícího prostředí, je tedy v současné době irština jazykem, který pro ně má natolik velký význam, že mají potřebu předat jej jako mateřský jazyk svým potomkům nebo budoucím potomkům.

Respondenti, kteří vyrůstali v anglicky mluvícím prostředí, z valné většiny neuvažují o tom, že by své děti učili irštinu a ponechávají tuto funkci na škole. Přesto i mezi těmito lidmi lze nalézt jazykové nadšence jako je Tommy Corcorane, kteří se kvůli jazyku jsou ochotni odstěhovat do Gaeltachtu a dopřát svým potomkům irsky mluvící prostředí jak doma, tak ve škole:

„M: Do you want your children to speak Irish?

T: Yes! I do. We're living in the city at the moment, but we're moving out to Spiddal after Christmas. So we'll be back out, so we'll have to start speaking Irish.

M: Will you send your child to Gaeilscoil?

T: He's only 19 month at the moment, so when when he moves to Spiddal it'll be an Irish school, an Irish speaking school, so he'll be going there, yea.

M: And wil you speak Irish to him?

T: Yes. Otherwise when he was at school... I speak Irish, my wife probably speaks English to him. Like that.

M: So he'll learn both.

T: Both, yea, both.“

Tommy Corcoranne však dodává, že jeho syn bude vyrůstat v bilingvinním prostředí a irština nebude jediným prostředkem komunikace v rodině. Přestože patří mezi jazykové příznivce a nadšence, je si vědom stejně jako všichni ostatní respondenti mého terénního výzkumu, že bilingvismus je jednou možností, jak zachovat irštinu jako živý jazyk. Strategii bilingvismu propaguje rovněž také jazykový plán.

Zájem předávat jazyk v rámci rodiny tedy mají i někteří respondenti, kteří pocházejí z anglicky mluvících rodin., což může být známkou toho, že i povinná výuka irštiny na školách a Sumer colleges může vést k pozitivnímu postoji k jazyku a následně jeho šíření dokonce i na úrovni mezigeneračního předávání jazykové znalosti na úrovni mateřského jazyka. Bernadette Colgan, která původně nepochází z Gaeltachtu a neslyšela irštinu od svých rodičů, má přesto výčitky, že nedokázala svým dětem poskytnout svým dětem dostatek příležitostí, především v domácím prostředí a ve volném čase, aby vnímaly jazyk jako přirozenou součást života. Bernadette přiznává, že předpokládala, že postačí přihlásit děti do Gaeilscoil, kde se naučí plynně mluvit:

„Bernadette: I myself likd Irish at school but my father would have been an Irish speaker but unfortunately he never spoke it to us and ... you know, it's my big regret and he didn't speak it to us because I think our Irish would have been much better...“

„Bernadette: It is really but now... to step further, I've sent my children to an Irish school, my father didn't send us to an Irish school but I've sent mine and I'm hoping, that they'll send teir kids to an Irish school and maybe then they'll learn it form me because as I was saying if I could do it again I would have my kids speaking Irish at home to each other ...there's another.., that would become more natural to speak..., if they met each other, they would automatically speak Irish to each other.

M: Yes I see

Bernadette: And I hopefully give that to their children“

Nyní lituje toho, že na své děti nemluvila irsky především doma, neboť zjišťuje, že nejsou irsky mimo školu ochotny mluvit, neboť je pro ně mnohem přirozenější mluvit anglicky, tedy mateřským jazykem. Podobně uvažuje například i Ruainí Ó hAodha, který svým dětem běžně čte pohádky v irštině a mluví na ně irsky. Stejně jako jeho rodiče, ač nepochází z Gaeltachtu, rád by udržel jazyk při životě především tím, že jej užívá při každé příležitosti a učí ho své děti. Zdůrazňuje také fakt, že irsky je pro něj mluvit naprosto přirozené především díky tomu, že se s jazykem setkal už jako malý chlapec právě v domácím prostředí:

„...I know it's certainly encouraged by my parents. There was no, in my family what was great, was no... It's hard to describe, it was like, it was just a kind of a sense to be proud, in Irish but it wasn't like treating it must be, you must. It wasn't like that, you know, it was just natural. Do you understand that? Sometimes when I hear people talking about their experiences, you know. I don't understand this, because I never, I never had that really, you know, it was just kind of part of the, you know, part of the furniture, I suppose, you know. So I'd like that, I'd like to appreciate that a bit, you know, because I think a lot of the trouble in Ireland has been that a lot of people turned against learning Irish as children because they feel it's forced to them, you know that, yea so it's kind of a balancing, it is a difficult one, yea, yea. I do feel on speaking it enough, really..“

Zdá se tedy, že hlubší zájem o jazyk není jen záležitostí rodilých mluvčích ze stále se zmenšujících oblastí Gaeltachtů, ale týká se i části anglicky mluvícího obyvatelstva, a to i do té míry, že uvažují o jeho denním užívání v rámci rodiny a volného času a předávání jeho znalostí svým potomkům, což se zdá být pro vitalitu jazyka rozhodně pozitivní zprávou. Právě užívání jazyka v rodinném prostředí a v oblasti soukromí je zásadním faktorem pro udržení vitality jazyka, neboť tak vzniká skupina mluvčích, kteří budou jazyk udržovat a předávat dalším generacím

4.2.h) Storytelling the language-revitalizace prostřednictvím lidového vyprávění

Získávání komunikativní kompetence a revitalizace jazyka se v Irsku podle mého výzkumu děje i prostřednictvím lidového vyprávění (storytelling). Lidové vyprávění v Irsku představuje specifický způsob předávání jazykové nebo lépe řečeno komunikativní kompetence, neboť velmi často tematizuje nejen archetypální příběhy v kulturně specifickém rámci a vzpomínky rodilých mluvčích.

Předmětem lidového vyprávění může být cokoli – často jsou to mýty a legendy, duchařské historky, historky pojící se k určitým místům, vyprávění o starých časech nebo i jen to, co se právě stalo (drby) apod. Maire Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin v rozhovoru vypráví o tom, jak k nim často chodil vypravěč, zřejmě člověk ze sousedství a vyprávěl příběhy. Témata byla různá:

„M-B: Yea a lot of them were stories like ..people what hey did, you know the stories well like their lifestyle, you know, like the kind of work they do and things like that and a lot of, there´s a lot of a lot of stories and ..main the songs a lot of them are the stories in connection to different themes like for example there was a lot of the work, you know there was a lot of... like there was a lot of about boat, because boats were huge part of like fishing in Ireland.. it´s such part of like tradition or.. their lifestyle, they had to fish, you know. And there was a lot a lot of ... they´re really old like raising ...you know. There´s not ... love stories, you know. Allways thak kind of stuff... spoke about one topic maybe would have been found upon or like you know like maybethat you should have been married or something like that. ...and nobody came out and said: ‚Oh did you know or´ it was like there was no conversation about it. It was just tr.. sounds but everybody knew what are the sounds about. It´s interesting!“

Příležitostí k vyprávění pak jsou nejen rodinná setkání nebo setkání sousedů a přátel, bývala to setkání u krbu, která již v dnešní době nejsou příliš častá, ale běžná jsou vyprávění u zásadních životních milníků, jako jsou již tradiční wakes (probíhají od úmrtí do pohřbu), narození dítěte, svatba, rodinná setkání. Obzvláště wakes jsou s tradicí lidového vyprávění velmi úzce spjaty. V oblasti Connemary jsou v současné době stále běžnou praxí a není výjimkou, když se po uvedení jména zemřelého na Radió na Gaeltachta sejde v domě jeho rodiny kromě příbuzenstva také řada jeho přátel a známých a přijdou na wake. Při té příležitosti se nejen vypráví, ale rovněž popíjí, zpívají se tradiční písně a překvapivě dokonce

tančí. Vyprávění se často týká života zemřelého, ale rovněž lze slyšet místní duchařské historky, různé místní legendy apod.

Lidové vyprávění musí probíhat ústně. Příběhy nelze číst, neboť se z nich podle rodilých mluvčích ztratí duch příběhu a příběh přestává „žít“. Žije pouze tehdy, když je vyprávěn živou osobou a zřejmě touto formou dochází i k oné revitalizaci jazyka. Příběhy jsou vyprávěny zásadně v irštině, zřejmě proto, že jsou spjaté právě s irskou literární tradicí a také zřejmě proto, že dodává vitalitu jazyku tím, že rozmnožuje funkce jeho užívání a zároveň je podle řady respondentů z oblasti vzdělávání (např. Fionulla Ní Chonaire) výborným prostředkem při učení se jazyku. Podobnou funkci má i čtení či vyprávění pohádek, legend a mýtů dětem. Posluchače zaujme příběh a zároveň se přirozeným způsobem učí například větnou skladbu, gramatiku a i slovní zásobu, tak jako by se učili mateřský jazyk. Poslouchají jeho správnou formu a pak ji začnou rovněž používat.

Tradice ústního vypravování je v Irsku velmi stará. Už Keltové předávali znalosti pouze ústní formou, a to prostřednictvím bardů, kteří cestovali po celé zemi a živili se právě vyprávěním příběhů, které znali nazpaměť. V současné době však jeho obliba oproti minulosti upadá především díky televiznímu vysílání, ale nemizí zcela. Spolu se zvyšujícím se zájmem o jazyk stoupá rovněž zájem o příběhy v irštině, především o ty tradiční a o jejich vypravěče. Irové jsou si vědomi toho, že se jedná o něco, co k irské tradici a kultuře neodmyslitelně patří, a proto to nepovažují za přežitek.

Za lidového vypravěče se považuje téměř každý, kdo vypráví historky v hospodě nebo třeba pohádky dětem. Rodilí mluvčí a jazykoví aktivisté se dokonce účastní soutěží v lidovém vyprávění, pořádají festivaly s touto tematikou a podobné akce pořádají i divadla, knihovny (často pro děti), různé puby apod. Paid Nechtain vypráví, že se podobné soutěže zúčastnil a považuje se za lidového vypravěče:

„P: Everything, it doesn't matter, or mythology or whatever or even what happened that day but that's where the traditional storytelling came from, we'll say. So that kind of went away as electricity came then and the it's, you know, as the country get a, but better, then the radio and television came, you know, that people kind of stopped going to their neighbours to their visiting house, we'll say. So that kind of died away but in Connemara they keep the tradition alive whereas you have like recognized storytellers who remember stories from mythology or stories that were written or made up and....

M: hmm

P: You know sometimes you might organize a night where people come together again.

M: really?

P: and tell stories, yea. That don't happen much anymore now. And then in order to keep it alive in some generations they started a competitions on that so, you know, you'd learn get and go learn the story and then tell it to the audience.

M: that's gerat.

P: and then judges and that, And then get judged out, so. It's kind of falling back a bit of moment. You see, television kills a lot of that.“

Přiznává však rovněž, že v současné době tyto aktivity hodně vytlačuje televize. To, že lidové vyprávění a ústní podání literární tvorby vůbec má však v Irsku stále navzdory televizi velkou tradici a zajímá se o ni i velká část veřejnosti, dokazuje i řada publikací, které jsou tomuto tématu věnovány, z nichž některé vyšly v minulých letech v poměrně velkých nákladech. Lidovému vyprávění často spojovanému s postavou moudré ženy, jejíž předlohou je bohyně irské mytologie Caileach Bheara, se věnuje odborná publikace *The Book of Cailleach*, která vyšla s podporou Natioanl University in Ireland in Cork a stala se velmi rychle bestsellerem. Pravidelně každý rok vychází i časopis *Béaloideas* věnovaný folkloru a lidovému vyprávění. Bez zajímavosti není ani sborník z konference *Orality and Modern Culture*, která se konala v roce 2009 na National University of Ireland, Galway, jehož příspěvky se věnují novým formám ústního podání literární tvorby stejně jako současnému stavu lidového vyprávění. Význam lidového vyprávění zdůrazňuje rovněž jazykový plán z roku 2010:

“The 2003 UN Convention recognizes the vital role of language in the expression and transmission of living heritage. All intangible cultural heritage depends on language for its day-to-day vitality and for being passed on to the next generation. In relation to oral traditions, whether it be song, poetry or folklore, language is not only the vehicle that contains the cultural heritage, it is its very essence.”

(Language strategy, str 4)

Mýty a legendy a další příběhy jsou rovněž součástí kurzů irštiny na základních a středních školách. Děti se seznamují s legendami nejen prostřednictvím četby textů, ale učitelé jim je často čtou nebo vyprávějí. Fionulla Ní Chonaire se v souvislosti s lidovým vyprávěním zmiňuje o profesionálovi, který do školy každý rok přijíždí s nově nastudovaným příběhem, který vypráví dětem. Nejedná se o divadelní představení, ale skutečně o lidové vyprávění. Velmi často jsou to příběhy z irské mytologie.

Povinnou literaturou k maturitní zkoušce z irského jazyka je kniha *An Old Women's Reflections* od Peig Sayers, lidové vypravěčky z Blasket Islands, která sepsala v irštině příběhy ze svého mládí, které se týkají těžkého života na ostrovech a tehdejších kulturních

zvyklostí. Jedná se spíše o vzpomínky jedné ženy než o fiktivní příběhy nebo legendy. Úryvky z této knihy se podle řady respondentů z mého předchozího výzkumu téměř vždy vyskytují u povinného překladu z jazyka u maturitní zkoušky (Leaving certificate), která je povinná a jedna respondentka výzkumu Siobhán Molloy si dokonce i na úryvek z knihy vzpomněla a přímo citovala začátek knihy, která začíná: „Is sean bhean mé anis...“

Irové jsou vyprávěním starých lidí fascinováni (často jsou vypravěčkami ženy). Starší vypravěči vyprávějí vzpomínky především z období, kdy se mluvilo irsky, a těší se velké úctě publika. V současné době vychází řada knih s touto tematikou, často se jedná o vzpomínky lidí z konkrétní vesnice, historyky, které se tradují, apod. TG4 rovněž natáčí dokumenty, například Bibeanna – dokument o stařenkách z Blasket Islands, které vyprávějí o svém mládí a o tom, jaký byl život na Great Blaskets, podobně jako o něm před nimi vyprávěla již zmíněná Peig Sayers. Ke starým lidem z Great Blasket Islands chovají Irové téměř posvátnou úctu, neboť dokázali na ostrovech žít v těžkých životních podmínkách a v izolaci. Blasket Islands byly považovány za oblast, kde zůstal zachován tradiční způsob života, kultura s ním spojená a samozřejmě irština. Dnes už na ostrovech nikdo nežije kvůli téměř neúnosným životním podmínkám. Stařenky v dokumentu Bibeanna a Peig Sayers nejen vypráví v irštině ale ve svém vyprávění i přímo tematizují i irský jazyk.

Není zřejmě překvapivé, že předmětem lidového vyprávění bývají velmi často také nejstarší irské mýty a legendy. Tyto archetypální příběhy, které tematizují základní životní situace člověka, s sebou nesou i kulturní a jazykovou informaci, která tvoří jakýsi rámec, v jehož kontextu je teprve možné příběh pochopit do hloubky a nalézt jeho archetypální základ. Podobný charakter vykazují i vyprávění vzpomínek. Znalost tohoto kulturně-jazykového rámce je takto prostřednictvím příběhu předávána vypravujícím a to, zdá se, podobným způsobem, jakým je předáván rodný jazyk nikoli jazyk cizí, přestože většina posluchačů irštinu za svůj rodný jazyk nepovažuje a učí se jí dodatečně jako cizí jazyk ve škole a zároveň i tímto způsobem. Jedná se o Verbal Art, který je v Irsku velmi oblíbený a pro Irsko specifický. Vypravěči vyprávějí nejen příběh, ale také kulturní kontext onoho příběhu a v neposlední řadě také „vyprávějí jazyk“ příběhu, tzn. vyprávěním jej předávají posluchačům.

Téma revitalizace jazyka prostřednictvím lidového vyprávění a vyprávění vůbec je tématem, které jazykoví aktivisté dle mého názoru neprávem opomíjejí. Jazykový plán počítá s podporou kulturních aktivit spojených irským folklorem, podporou televizních a rozhlasových pořadů týkajících se folkloru, především irské hudby, ale o lidovém vyprávění konkrétně se nezmiňuje. Význam vyprávění a tradičních příběhů vůbec přiznává v rozhovoru

i jazykový aktivista a čerstvý absolvent oboru sociolingvistika na NUI Galway Mait Ó Bradaigh. Původně toto téma považoval za okrajové, ale v druhém rozhovoru přiznává, že po delším uvažování si uvědomuje, že právě irská mytologie (a to v ústní ale i psané formě, ve staroirštině) byla předmětem jeho zájmu v období, kdy se formoval jeho vztah k jazyku na Summer Colleges. Mimo diktafon, v nezávazném rozhovoru rovněž dodává, že jeho starší dcera se jmenuje Macha, podle bohyně, která se objevuje ve všech třech cyklech irské mytologie.

Příběh, a to především příběh v daném kulturní kontextu je vhodným prostředek jednak k získávání jazykové kompetence a jednak rovněž prostředkem k vytváření pozitivního vztahu k jazyku a vytváření jazykové ideologie, která hodnotí minoritní jazyk vzhledem k jeho kulturní a literární historii jako prestižní. Jsem si jista, že toto téma by si zasloužilo podrobnější prozkoumání například v disertační práci.

5) Závěr

Revitalizaci irštiny je v Irsku v současné době věnována velká pozornost. Jednotlivé úřady *Udarás na Gaeltachta* a další instituce provedly řadu průzkumů v oblastech Gaeltachtu i mimo něj, na základě nichž byla vytvořena strategie jazykového plánování pro příštích 20 let, která vyšla v lednu 2010 a je součástí přílohy této práce. Jak již bylo řečeno v teoretickém úvodu této práce, proces revitalizace nekopíruje Fishmanův model postupné revitalizace jazyka v jednotlivých oblastech, ale snaží se prostřednictvím jazykového plánování v klíčových oblastech působit současně. Poměrně důležité je při vytváření jazykového plánu rovněž brát v potaz specifika jednotlivých oblastí, neboť jiné faktory je potřeba uplatnit v oblastech Gaeltachtu, kde existuje stálá komunita rodilých mluvčích a jiné mimo něj, kde existuje komunita bilingvinních lidí a komunita těch, kteří irsky neumí vůbec. I tato specifika jazykové plánování v Irsku zohledňuje. K mapování situace v jednotlivých oblastech a propagaci jazyka byly v minulosti vytvořeny úřady *Udarás na Gaeltachta*, které by do budoucna jako *Udarás na Gaeilge* měly proniknout i do anglicky mluvících oblastí a působit jako instituce pro podporu jazyka a mapování úspěchů či neúspěchů revitalizačních snah i tam.

V této práci jsem se pokusila zmapovat skutečnou úroveň jazyka a názory lidí na stav revitalizace v jednotlivých oblastech jazykového plánování v oblasti Galway a okolí, jež je často nazýváno „Branou do Gaeltachtu“ a v němž lze potkat rodilé mluvčí i ty, kteří umějí irsky pouze „cúpla focal“ a v němž lze střetávání těchto komunit a jejich názorů pozorovat.

Celkově je možno říci, že navzdory článkům v knize *Who needs Irish?* a další literatuře, která vyšla v minulých 10 letech a která popisuje řadu negativních postojů k jazyku, které v podstatě kopírují negativní postoje z první poloviny minulého století, jsou postoje k irštině konkrétně v oblasti Galway a okolí veskrze pozitivní. Jiná situace bude patrně v Dublinu a oblastech, které jsou již po několik generací anglicky mluvící, i když i tam podle lektorů na letních školách v Gaeltachtu roste počet zájemců o jazyk. Velká část respondentů výzkumu rovněž věří, že irština v současné době prochází procesem úspěšné revitalizace, a že se její situace bude zlepšovat. Zásahu na tom mají podle respondentů především Gaeilscoileanna, školy založené na metodě imerze, a podle některých rovněž také média, především televizní stanice TG4. Problémem, který i nadále přervává a který je pro vitalitu jazyka velmi závažným, je zmenšování oblastí Gaeltachtu a tím také zmenšování počtu rodilých mluvčích, kteří používají jazyk v denní komunikaci.

Jak se ukázalo ve výzkumu, nejsou vždy pozitivní postoje k jazyku zárukou hlubšího zájmu o něj a především jazykové znalosti. Řada respondentů, kteří považují irštinu za nedílnou součást jejich kultury a důležité kulturní dědictví, nedisponuje jazykovou znalostí na komunikační úrovni a není v krajních případech ani schopná sestavit smysluplnou gramaticky správnou větu. Rodilí mluvčí a respondenti s jazykovou znalostí na vysoké úrovni naopak nemají potřebu irštinu obhajovat a udávat racionální důvody pro její zachování a revitalizaci. Je pro ně samozřejmou součástí života, prostředkem denní komunikace, který chtějí předat i budoucí generaci. Tento vztah si nesou především z rodinného prostředí, z kvalitní výuky na Gaeilscoileanna nebo někdy také z letních škol.

Takřka všechna média v irštině jsou plně dostupná všem, kdo o ně mají zájem. Nejoblíbenější je podle výpovědí respondentů výzkumu televize TG4, která je přístupná díky anglickým titulům i těm, kteří nedisponují jazykovou znalostí na velmi dobré úrovni. Problémem irských médií se však ukazuje jejich úzké tematické zaměření. Zpravodajství se týká především detailního informování o dění v regionu a skladba ostatních pořadů je velmi tematicky zaměřená na jazyk a kulturu. Absence kvalitního zpravodajství zahrnujícího rovněž dění ve světě, které by mělo podobu televizního, rozhlasového vysílání nebo tištěného periodika bohužel chybí. Terčem kritiky v tomto ohledu je především Radió na Gaeltachta, které se zaměřuje opravdu na velmi omezenou skupinu posluchačů. Irská média zprostředkovávají tzv. Súil eile – jiný pohled na svět, v němž je regionální dění důležitější než světové a celostátní a irský jazyk běžným přirozeným každodenním prostředkem komunikace. Jazykový plán příliš nezohledňuje potřebu upravit vysílání pro širší okruh diváků, posluchačů a čtenářů. Chce se zaměřit na mladší lidi především v rozhlasovém vysílání, dát prostor novým internetovým médiím a pokračovat v televizním vysílání. Zcela však bohužel opomíjí potřebu vytvořit tištěné periodikum, které by bylo ekvivalentním zdrojem informací k běžným deníkům, které v Irsku vycházejí.

Problémem, který jazykový plán naopak velmi pečlivě propracovává a řeší, je problém výuky irštiny na školách. Navzdory některým hlasům, které volají pro zrušení povinné výuky irštiny, se hodlá spíše zaměřit na její zkvalitnění. Podle řady názorů právě nekvalitní výuka na školách vede k negativním postojům k jazyku, který je poměrně složitý, pro řadu lidí těžko pochopitelný ale přesto nutný k úspěšnému absolvování střední školy. Zkvalitnění výuky především směrem k zařazení především mluvené formy jazyka do poměrně na text zaměřené výuky a zavedení moderních metod by mělo vést nejen k odbourání strachu studentů, že jazyk nezvládnou, ale rovněž také k pozitivnějšímu vztahu k němu. Prostředkem k dosažení tohoto

cíle je rovněž také příprava kvalitních pedagogů a vytvoření vhodných studijních programů na vysokých školách, jejichž absolventi by mohli vyučovat irštinu na vyšší úrovni.

Pro vitalitu jazyka však nejzásadnějším faktorem zůstává snaha mluvčích předat jazykovou znalost další generaci. I v tomto ohledu se ukazuje, že v oblasti Galway dochází k jisté revitalizaci. Přestože se pomalu zmenšují oblasti Gaeltachtu na úkor anglicky mluvících oblastí, najde se mezi anglicky mluvícím obyvatelstvem řada mluvčích, kteří ač byli sami vychováni z velké míry v anglicky mluvícím prostředí, chtějí znalost jazyka předat svým potomkům, v některých případech i jako mateřský jazyk. Setkala jsem se s párem, který se kvůli jazyku stěhuje do Gaeltachtu a také s párem, který na své potomky v domácím prostředí hodlá mluvit pouze irsky, neboť nepochybuje, že anglicky se snadno naučí ve škole.

Poměrně specifickým pro Irsko je předávání jazyka prostřednictvím lidového vyprávění. Je to forma učení se jazyku využívaná ve školách, i když se často jedná o text nikoli ústní formu, a rovněž také v oblasti divadelní a kulturní. Lidoví vypravěči, kteří vyprávějí příběhy v irštině, jsou v irské společnosti váženými osobnostmi. Tito vypravěči, například Paig Sayers, která své příběhy vydala v knize *An Old Woman's Reflections*, nebo například stařenky z dokumentu *Bibeanna* tematizují jazyk, vyprávějí o dobách, kdy se mluvilo více irsky a o tom, jak se pomalu mění tvář Irska. Kniha Peig Sayers je povinným textem k maturitní zkoušce a studenti jej znají a ti, kteří projevují hlubší zájem o jazyk, si jej i oblíbili. Bohužel jim není předáván příliš přijatelnou formou. Zřejmě by bylo přístupnější zvolit mluvenou formu před textem, neboť irština je poměrně složitá především v psané formě, a celý text opravdu vyprávět, tak jak to Peig Sayers původně dělala.

Zdá se tedy, že revitalizace v Irsku slaví úspěch především v oblastech mimo Gaeltacht. Gaeltacht se sice zmenšuje a rodilých mluvčích tím pádem ubývá, ale irština nachází příznivce mezi anglicky mluvícím obyvatelstvem a to dokonce takové, kteří uvažují nad tím, že budou vychovávat své potomky v irsky mluvícím prostředí. Z dostupné literatury je rovněž patrné, že i postup zmenšování Gaeltachtu se díky jazykovému plánování zpomaluje.

6) Seznam použité literatury

- BIČOVSKÝ, J.: *Úvod do vývoje keltských jazyků*, Praha: Filosofická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy, 2005.
- BRODERICK, G.: *Language Death in the Isle of Man*, Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1999.
- CRONIN, N., CRONSSON, S., EASTLAKE, J.: *Orality and Modern Irish Culture*, Newcastle upon Thyne: Cambridge scholars Publishing, 2009.
- CRYSTAL, D.: *Language Death*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- ENGLAND, N.: Mayan Language Revival and Revitalization Politics: Linguists and Linguistic Ideologies, in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 105, No. 4, 2003.
- ERRINGTON, J.: Getting Language Rights: The Rhetoric of Language Endangerment and Loss, in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 105, No. 4, 2003.
- FISHMAN, J. : *Can Threatened Languages be saved?*, Clevedon: Multilingual matters, 2001.
- FISHMAN, J. : *Reversing language Shift: Theory and Practice of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, Clevedon: Multilingual matters, 1991.
- GREGORY, A.: *Complete Irish Mythology*, London: Chancellor Press, 2000.
- GREEN, M.J.: *Keltské mýty*, Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1998.
- HAMMERSEY, M., ATKINSON, P.: *Ethnography*, London: Routledge, 1995.
- HINDLEY, R.: *The Death of Irish Language*, London: Routledge. 1990.
- KEARNS, K: Resuscitation of the Irish Gaeltacht in *Geographical revue*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Jan. 1979)
- KRAUSS, M.: The world's language in crisis in *Language*, Vol. 68, No. 1 (Mar., 1992)
- MOODEY, T.W., MARTIN, F.X.: *Dějiny Irska*, Praha: Nakladatelství lidové noviny, 2003.
- MAC MURCHAIDH, C.: *Who Needs Irish?*, Dublin: Veritas, 2004.
- MORRISSEY, P.: Will to survival: The Celtic fringe, in *The Modern Language Journal*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (Feb. 1959)
- NETTLE, D, ROMAINE, S.: *Vanishing Voices*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- NIC PHÁIDÍN, C., Ó CEARNAICH, S.: *A New View of Irish Language*, Dublin: Cois Life, 2008.
- Ó CRUALAOICH, G.: *The Book of the Cailleach*, Cork: Cork University Press, 2003.
- Ó CUÍV, B.: *A View of Irish Language*, Dublin: Dublin stationery office, 1969.
- Ó HÓGAIN, D.: *The Lore of Ireland*, Cork The Boydell Press, 2006.
- Ó SÉ, D., SHEILS, J.: *Irish*, London: Teach Yourself, 2003.
- Ó TUATHAIGH, G., Ó LAOIRE, L.L., Ua SÚILLEABHÁIN, S.: *Pobal na Gaeltachta*, Baile Átha Cliath: Cló Iar-Chonnachta, 2000.
- PAULTSON, Ch.B.: Language Policies and Language Rights in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 26 (1997)
- PRICE, G.: *The Celtic Connection*, Gerrards Cross: The Princess Grace Irish Libraray Series, 1992.
- SAYERS, P.: *An Old Woman's Reflections*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- SHERZER, J.: *Speech Play and Verbal Art*, Austin: The Univeristy of Texas Press, 2002.
- STIFTER, D.: *Sengoidelc, Old Irish for Beginners*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006.
- ŠATAVA, L: *Jazyk a identita etnických menšin*, Praha: Slon, 2009.

The Táin, translated by KINSELLA, T., Oxford: Oxford University press, 2002.
TOVEY, H., HANNAN, D., ABRAHAMSON, H.: *Why Irish?*, Baile Átha Cliath: Bord na Gaeilge, 1989.
URICOLI, B.: Language and Borders in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24 (1995)
WATSON, I.: The Irish Language and Television: National Identity, Preservation, Restoration and Minority Rights in *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol 47, No. 2 (Jun.,1996)
WIMFRE, I.: *Late Cornish*, München: Lincom Europa, 1999.
WOOLAND, A.K, SCHIFFELIN, B.B.: Language Ideology in *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol 23. 1994.

7) Přílohy

7.a) Guide list

Name (could be anonymous):

Current job/Subject of study:

Education:

Dwelling place (Gaeltacht/Galltacht):

- 1) What do you think about current stage of Irish language? (Is it reviving or dying? Why?)
- 2) Do Irish people really need Irish language today? Why yes / why not? Are they interested in it?
- (3) Do you think it's a fashion to speak Irish?
- 4) Do you speak Irish? If yes, what level? Do you like the language?
- 5) Do you use Irish language? If yes, how often?
- 6) Where did you learn the language?
 - 5a) Did your parents speak Irish at home with you?
 - 5b) Is Irish your mother tongue?
- 7) Do you need Irish language for work (studies)?
- 8) Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta? How often? Which programmes do you prefer?
- 9) Do you want your children (future children) to speak Irish? Why?
 - 8a) Do (would) you speak Irish with your children?
 - 8b) Do (would) you send your children to Gaelscoil?
 - 8c) Do (would) you tell them stories, myths or legends?
- 10) Did you yourself listen to storytelling as a child or nowadays?
- 11) Do you remember some of the stories? Which?
- 12) Have you heard these stories in English? What's the difference?

7.b) Rozhovory

Bernadette Colgan

M: Will you tell me your name? It could be anonymous.

Bernadette: Bernadette Colgan.

M: Like the Saint Bernadette?

Bernadette: yes↑, that's me↑↑

M: You're librarian?

Bernadette: I'm a (.) part time branch librarian as (.) cause (.)>I haven't got the qualifications of the librarian.<

M: Yes, and what did you study?

Bernadette: Aaa (.) I didn't study anythig, £>you see<, a (.)

M: Ok.

Bernadette: yeah, I ju(.) a:: (.) >I started in the back to work< first course and then after that I applied for a job↓. I got it↓

M: And where are you from?

Bernadette: I'm from Watterford.↓ Can't you Watterford?

M: Yes.

Bernadette: But(.)> I've been living in Galway< now for twenty years,(.) twen<ty>(.) <three> years.

M: So what do you think about the current stage of Irish language?

Bernadette: Yeah↑(.), I wouldn't think it's too healthy (.) ehm (.) I think because it's the way it's taught in my schools and my experientce, I mean I've send my own children to a Gaelscoil and I know, that one of the teachers two years ago was (put there) from the secondary school, and for a ↑primary ↓ school teachers because, what they're realizing is the primary schools coming out of the colleges do not know how to teach Irish to the kids, so this man, who is a native Irish speaker has been (seconded by the school?) (.) to (.) go to:: (.) one of these national schools, training schools to teach the teachers ↓how to teach Irish↓ So when the department is recognizing that it stay..... >it can't be too ↑healthy↓< but there is (.) a revival I think (.) in Irish, Gaeilscoils are:: increasing around the country and the Gaeliscoils (.) ehm (.) means that you're learning (.) that everytihing is taugh through Irish. Ehm, what else of the stage of, ehm I think a lot of the problems is the way it's taught in school. It's not taught like a foreign language. It'sa compulsory thing (.) you're under the pressure to learn it because (hluboký nádech) you need Irish in your leaving cert to go on further, to go to the university, you need at least to pass in your Irish to go to the university ... so there's a fear the way it's taught is totally different than the way French or German or anything else is taught... Ehm, and it depnds on the child, I myself liked Irish at school (.) but:: a my father would have been an Irish ↑speaker but unfortunately he never ↑spoke↓ it to us↓and ... you know, it's my big regret (.) and he didn't speak it to us because I think our Irish would have been much better. By this all you know, I have noticed coming to the library here↑ and working in the library, you have nationalities coming in here and they have no problem speaking French or Polish to their kids ...there up to the counter?..... but when <↑Irish↓ native speaker comes in, they ↑won't speak Irish↓> It's not ↑natural to them↓ and:: (.) there's something in the psychic that ↑stops them↓, I don't know what it is (.), but that can't be healthy that they were afraid to speak their native language

M: Do you think that's because they're forced to it?

Bernadette: I'd (.) a (.) maybe, I mean > in this particular family < that comes ...our speakers...she told me, that her kids are embarrassed to speak Irish out in front of:: their friends or anything and ↑that is such a shame. Myself I've sent my four kids to a Gaeilscoil and (a) I, thinking now that I did it slightly wrong↓. I think I should have encouraged them to speak Irish amongst themselves when they were at home.

M: Ye, maybe

Bernadette: I didn't do that... but >when I was to do it again< I >would have them to speak because< ↑↑they, ↑↑they don't see Irish↓ a::: (.) a (.) thing to be:: (.) >using outside of the school gates.< It should >as soon as they get outside the school gates< It's back into English, ↑but if they met their ↑Irish ↑teacher in town↓ straight into ↑Irish↓, that's amazing↑and they have the most beautiful Irish and it just swithes ↑on but yet when the teacher goes outside the school gates back into English so ↑that (.) can't be right.... my son he loves his Irish and that is great love his secondary school because he had a teacher who used to speak, who knew he came from the Gaeilscoil and he used to speak to him at lunch and when he was doing the table tennis with them and I found that when he's the studentin America.... and ↑that's good↓ Ehm (.) That's it.

M: Ok, do you think that Irish people really need the Irish language today?

Bernadette: Well (v'ydech)(...), we can live without it. Em, personally, because I like Irish (.)em (.) I've come back to course in Irish myself so that I would have the confidence to ↑speak Irish↓ to people because all along I would be afraid to speak in front of a native speaker, I (.) I'm still:: a little bit, you know, because when you hear the beautiful Irish the native speaker speaks, >you'll never come to that < level ↑↑because I don't get (.) a (.) I don't get the reasons to speak Irish, I don't meet enough Irish people however, I've studied Irish two years a::nd a::nd >I'm glad I've done it< a::nd I now have the confidence that I will:: the „coupla focal“ (blrf) time and story time in the library and will read in Irish story to the kids but like that it's very hard to speak to the kids, who haven't started learning Irish yet.

M: Yea, I saw that today

Bernadette: ↑↑Ye, you saw that today, you see, it's difficult, but a em (.) >I'm coming to different language,< because I like the Irish but if you spoke to somebody else who d (.) doesn't, you don't ↑↑need Irish, you can ↑survive without Irish↓. You know, most people speak ↑English↓.

M: That's right

Bernadette: You know, but I would like if someone else speaking Irish but it's always getting in.. It's getting into habit because when it's a habit, it's, it's easier and simply >it takes twenty one days< when something become a habit (.) So you need to be constantly reminding yourself that you need to speak Irish but then↑ who wants to speak Irish (.) to ya? That's a very few people (.) unless they're native Irish speakers and then their Irish, you know, generally they're patient people but their Irish is so good compared to (.) to £mine. That's sort of...But I ↑↑do have some confidence speaking it.

M: Great, so you speak Irish and what level, are you fluent?

Bernadette: No, I'm not fluent, I'd (.) a (.) I'd be medium. I'd be able to hold the conversation in Irish (.) I do understand <more> than I would be able to speak it, cause my vocabulary probably isn't but if I was listening to it I could pick up the just of somebody is saying. I wouldn't call myself fluent.

M: Ok and you use Irish language and if yes how often?

Bernadette: I wouldn't use it very often. Ehm (.) when I was studying it, >in the last two years, I would have used it a bit more< (.) and we do and I, I would do::, when I'm working in the library, when I'm answering the phone, I will always say: „Dia dhuit “ in Gaeilge in library a::nd other than that I wouldn't speak very much of it.

M: Where did you learn Irish language?

Bernadette: I learned it at school↓. And in the last two years I did a course for, it's a TEG.. which is the European languages, because Irish is now (.) is regarded as one of the languages of the Europe giving courage to people to, and to improve their Irish on the course and and I'm eleventh (blrf) and there's three more levels above that.

M: And you said that your parents didn't speak Irish to you...

Bernadette: My father would have, > would have been able to speak Irish< but he chose ↑not to speak Irish to us at all ↑but he would ev, even taught Irish as a teacher.

M: That's a pity.

Bernadette: It ↑is:: really but now (blrf) to step further, I've sent my children to an Irish school, my father didn't send us to an Irish school but I've sent mine and I'm hoping, that they'll send their kids to an Irish school and maybe then they'll learn it from ↑me because as I was saying if I could do it again I would have my kids speaking Irish at home to each other ...there's another.., that would become more natural to speak (blrf) if they met (.)each other, they would automatically speak ↑Irish to each other.

M: Yes I see

Bernadette: And I hopefully give that to their children

M: Yea, so the other question is do you need Irish for your work? You already answered..

Bernadette: I don't need Irish for my work. £I can survive without it.

M: Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

Bernadette: (nádech) <I watch TG4>, I love the the documentaries, but I've always get my eyes focused down to the subtitles, so I tend to look in English but at the same time I'm hearing it in Irish and I sort of working on that and (.) and I try to work it out what it is before I read it (.) to see that it's the same thing so ehm (.) but sometimes I would put a block on the TV screen so that I can't see, what's written.

M: That's great

Bernadette: Yea, I'm ↑trying. But they do ↑great programs. I love TG4...

M: I saw there was some programme called Bibeanna about old women from Dingle...

Bernadette: (blrf, název dokumentu?) From The Blasket Islands? Was it a comedy?

M: A sort of documentary

Bernadette: Oh, documentary of their ↑↑life! Oh this, those..

M: I think it went on last year, I saw a book

Bernadette: Yes (blrf), it have to be (blrf). We all::, no there's love and hate in relationships in (blrf).. It was a compulsory book that you had to learn, to do for your leaving cert.

↑Personally I liked (blrf), but that's >(blrf) discussed < with monster Irish. But most of the people, you talk to, no (blrf), we hated (blrf) but £personally↑ I love↓ the story. I don't know it's the documentary, you were talking about, if I've seen it but, ehm amazing women. (měla na mysli Peig Sayers, dokument byl o něčem jiném)

M: Good. Do you want your children to speak Irish? You already answered..

Bernadette: Yes

M: Do you speak Irish at your children?

Bernadette: With my children

M: Ehm, when I was studying the Irish, (.)<I was, with my elder son>, we would speak Irish (.) ehm (.) sometimes. Sometimes I would get him to (.) a speaking Irish of a day £It would last an half an hour. £It's much easier to speak English, when it's ↓more native ↑It's easier to speak ↓English than ↑Irish.

M: And do your children know those traditional myths and legends of Ireland? I mean stories about Fianna...

Bernadette:It's.. If they know them, they don't know them from me, personally. They would know them from school (.) a::nd >they would have, because< all primary school kids learn, as

I know, about Fionn Mac Cumhaill and a::ll the Irish legends. Ehm and I might have (blrf) the Children of Lir, because there's a wonderful statue up in Dublin, up there, in the (.) in the park. O::h I forgo::t the name of the pa::rk, there was a dedication to the people that died during the rising. > I can't remember the name of the park.< That was The Children of Lir there and I would have to::ld them the sto::ry, because I would have shown them this pa::rk. >I would have explained, told them the story<. But >generally I didn't particullary< go::t my way to tell them the Irish legends. I presume, that they heard them form school and they, and (blrf)

M: And you, do you remember some of the stories in Irish form your childhood?

Bernadette: ↑There was one story, (blrf), I remember being in school, and I suppose this is maybe> where I caught my love of Irish, a teacher who ehm, red out a story called Jemeen, ↓>we've a copy in this library, as you 'd like to borrow, we have it in Irish and English<, and every day I just wanted to go to school, because he was supposed to read another couple of pages and I just loved the adventures of this little boy (blrf) >cause he was allways in trouble< that was (.) £that was good fun. And >that would be one sto::ry<, that I remember from my childhood and I mean ↑↑we would have red ↑stories↓ form Sceil féin and (blrf) Pierce's storyries to children (.) and he was in Irish. (.) or Nien na nein would be one sto::ry particullary I would remember a::nd but then for my leaving cert, we had to read Irish books and ↑that was:: all my love those (blrf) which was actually the diary of Ulster Irish, which is what I think more difficult one. It's a different, difficult dialect, ↑but the story is ↑wanderful about he man and he left Ireland and went to(,), he left (.) he left Donegal and I think, he went to Scotland and then he went ot the Yucon valley and (.) ehm (.) minded for gold, >That was just a wonderful adventure sto::ry< and I'm:: into:: £advantures things and life £outside Ireland. So I ↑enjoyed those stories and I, yea, I ↑would have red a ↑lot, because I (blrf) them and nowda::ys ↑I'm not sure that it's trully books, I mean we had to read 68 books, but now I thing the children might have to read one or two (.) books for the leaving cert and I think that's a loss, my dear Peig Sayers or Scéil féin and (.) God there was a few (..). >There's just a few others and I can't just get heir names now<.

M: That's ok and have you heard these stories in English?

Bernadette: Ehm, (.) well Jemeen (.) ↑no↓↓! I wouldn't↑ have really have ↑herd ↓it well (..) no I wouldn't have heard this in English, because (blrf) it was in Irish and >we understood. it and there was no need to read it in English<. Yea ...

Siobhán Arkins

M: ..and what did you study?

S: At university? A.. buisness degree↑ and as postgraduate study in library and information studies.

M: Yea and was it through English?

S: Yes::, >but when I was in college as well I did a study for a diploma in Irish<,(.) separately (.), so I did that at universtiy as well.

M: So the first question is: what do you think about the current stage of Irish lanuage?

S: ↑I would think this is a good ↑time↓ for the Irish language a::nd it would be >even better in the future<, I think, and mainly >because of the popularity< of the Gaeilscoils. You've got the who:::le young generation coming up, that have been educated through Irish and I think they have to have a better Iirsh than someone who was taught through English. It just >have to be inevitable< even if the children are not quite home in speaking Irish which::: seems to be the case. A lot of children have been educated through Irish: at pra, >primary and secondary

level, but they're not quite home it's not transferring outside the school, which I suppose ideally should be. But I still think, being educated through Irish, your Irish would have to be better (.) than if you're educated through English. So there ..would be quite hopeful in that.. >you have all this children coming out of the Gaeilscoils<. And it's quite popular to >send your child to Gaeilscoil and there are waiting lists< so (.) parents are obviously (.) thinking very positively about: (.) education through Irish.

M: Do you think it's the main future, the Gaeilscoils?

S: Yea, ↑that↓ w::, ↑that↓ and everything like television as well. TG4 has been a success. I mean >until it was started up, we didn't have the Irish language television<, so that has worked. So that and the Gaeilscoils would be the two things. >I mean a::ll older adults< maybe that went to school in the past, they'll have a slightly negative attitude towards Irish. I think that in some of your discussions with people, you'll encounter that (.) and so you may hear that as well. So that exists, but I would hope, that the children coming up now, that won't be the case.

M: But Bernadette said, that she sent her children to Gaeilscoil, but she didn't speak to them at home and that was maybe the fault, because Irish is not natural for them...

S: Yea, yea, >that's a problem, that's exactly what I said<, that it's not transferring outside the schools, but (.) I still think the children are coming out with good Irish, because they, they > (blrf) that you mentioned Bernadette. I mean her children< do have a good Irish (.) even despite that she didn't speak to them Irish at home. And I mean, it would be lovely ideally if parents could speak to their children at home but for most of them Irish isn't their first language for most parents, so I guess that it would be a struggle, it's not their mother tongue ↑either↓. So maybe it would have been quite difficult.

M: So the other question is do the Irish people really need the Irish language? I choosed this question because I found one book in the library, that was called Who needs Irish and I have the impression that people who speak Irish have to defend themselves...

S: Ok, Is that book here, or is it from the college library?

M: from the college library.

S: >College library, OK<. ↑Do they need Irish, I suppose the fact to the measure is::, OK, it's not ↑essential↓ of course you can <go by> your daily life without ↑ever speaking or understanding a word of Irish, >that: is the fact to the matter because the first language< (.), by (.) by the fact or the practise in this country for most people now is an English. So no, you have to have it. So but what I think it's nice to have it's part of our heritage, part of our culture a:::nd eh:: (.) in school it has been mandatory, the children have to do it up to (.), up to se...including the second level and children can get exemptions. If you've come back to live in this country, if ...come to live in this country after the age of eleven, the child does not have to study Irish..... and some children with learning difficulties are...>maybe<to drop out the Irish also, they're finding it too ↑difficult↓ but inside o.... you have to do it, it is mandatory so that would raise the whole issue, is that a ↑good thing↑ making it mandatory, because when it is compulsory, perhaps that gives children a negative association with Irish and maybe they ↑turn against↑ it (.) perhaps (.) because they <have> to study it. So the aid may be there if decided it's voluntary. People can study Irish if they ↑wished and choose to study it if the parents or the child wants to study Irish, fine, that (blrf) just there and it might work or it might not work, but at the moment it's mandatory, unless you can get an exemption, a:::nd so to get back to the question, no, you don't have to have Irish >but I think it's nice and I think it's, as I said a part of our heritage and part of our culture.< ↑I liked it, (.) you know I certainly know issues around it, for I understand to get from talking to people, that some people ↑do and some adults to bestay quite a negative attitude to Irish. So..

M: Do you use Irish language? And How often?

S: Now, ↑as part of your work, and we´ve got your jobs in public library services, we certainly go, county council, we need to (blrf) few in Irish ↑as well, so as part of one´s contract it does say, that the employee has to be able to conduct (.) his or her buisness in Irish or English, so in theory he have to have a good basic Irsih and even..(.) on a daily basis, because (.) a very few people will come in and speak to me in Irish, we don´t really end up having to use ↑it. That´s reality. If you meet speakers they might come in main city library might have more chance in meeting (.) native Irish speakers or obviously, if you´re walking in the branch of ↑Gaeltacht of course you have to have fluent Irsih, you will be using it every day, but in a branch like here, now we´re in the outskirts of Galway city, we don´t really meet people on daily basis speaking to us in ↑Irish. So it doesn´t really arise↑.

M: And in your private life? Do you speak Irish?

S: E:::: (.) Very little, you know, unless I went to the Gaeltacht, Aran Islands or Conemmara, there you can use it, (.) but not really on a daily basis, hmmm

M: How did you learn Irish?

S: We learned (.) at school, right in the age of five all through primary school and all through post primary... and then as I said I did the diploma (.) in Irish in the university, so a third level as well.

M: And did your parents speak Irish at home?

S: My dad loved Irish, he had been educated through Irish in school, so he had very good Irish, >and he often said: ↑we ↑should speak ↑Irish, ↑we ↑should speak ↑Irish<, but we didn´t really£ We speak a little bit£, but he loved Irish, so I always has a positive (.) attitude to Irish (.) perhaps from him.

M: Is Irish your first language? It isn´t

S: No, no

M: And do you need Irish for your work or studies? You already answered.

S: Yes, we do, yea

M: Do you wath TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

S: ↑Sometimes! More TG4 nor than Radió na Gaeltachta, yea I sometimes watch TG4, because it has good soaps, soap operas, (.) like Ros na rún. That´s good one, Ros na Rún. It´s an easy way to listen, because it´s, like it´s £dra::ma, so it´s easy way to listen, £yea.

M: And do you watch it with subtitles?

S: I like the subtitles, because then you´re listening, >you´re le, you´re listening what< you see on the screen, it actually helps. It´s more a learning to.

M: Are you interested in documentary and storytelling?

S: Storytelling as Gaeilge?

M: yea

S: Certainly in Irish legends, mythology, yes::: E::::m I don´t think I´ve heard the story told as Gaeilge. We often have storytelers for children here in the library, but they´ve allways worked through English. So I´d wonder if you heard storytelling in Irish.

M: And do you want your future children speak Irish?

S: ↑I think it is ↑lovely, I think it is great for any child to be able to be bilingual and I have little nieces and nephews and one of my sisters, because she´s a teacher, she does speak Irish to her children, >sometimes<, and it´s a consequence the little girls have good Irish. So it can be done, but they wouldn´t be speaking Irish to them all the time, because it´s not an Irish language household, but sometimes, it does help. So I thing it´s a lovely gift to give your children, yes..

M: yea, but English is more useful, isn´t it?

S: Well, it ↑is, (blrf) this it´s our first language. I mean as my colleague Úna said earlier it´s her first language, it´s her mother↑tongue, so (.) you have to work with that as well.

M: I think that the problem is that English is such an international language.

S: Yes, it's such a powerful language.

M: ... you'll need it even if you speak Irish, you'll need it anywhere, if you travel..

S: Yea, it's so powerful, I think I maybe pointed before that, Ok the English was the opressor, ok, that would be a part of our history, but if you have to be oppressed by any language, English was a good one to be oppressed by, because it is international. Yea, yea (smích)

M: Will you tell the stories to children?

S: It's↑lovely, I have no problem reading picture books in Irish to my nieces, no problem, cause, >that's, obviously that's< very basic, it's fine,

M: Do you like it?

S: ↑I would, yea I have no problem, (blrf) I do.

M: Did you personally listen to storytelling as a child?

S: In Irish::?

M: yea

S: No, unless the teachers in school told us the stories in Irish, that would be the only way...

M: Do you remember some of the stories?

S: It would be the myths and the legends like Cúchulain and The children of Lir, it would be stories like that££.

M: yea, taht's so popular, The Children of Lir

S: Yea£, that's a lovely story, that's great story£

M: Have you heard these stories in English?

S: Oh yea..

M: Is it different?

S: ↑No, it's the ↑same, it's the same story, because o::ften (.) these are just translations anyway and a lot of the Irish picture books, >you know, they've just taken the legend and they've translated it ↑anyway.

M: Yea but it's always only translation

S: Yea, yea it is, yea,(.) I mean to have count down the original language, that would be difficult, because that would have come down form generation to generation and originally that would be an o::ral (.) tradition, they wouldn't have even (.)writing it down, so it would be quite difficult to have the original (.)language, Irish language versions (.) a::nd, cause they've come do::wn from centuries to centuries, so most of them are (.) like the, le legend, you know a lot in English, a lot of these writers that are writing in Irish, they didn't write in Irish themselves.

M: I found out, that there's such a strong oral tradition and storytelling or these things

S: Well there ↑is::, that's a, that's >the point I suppose that the Irish language was very much< in o::ral tradition. A::nd and that's:: how a lot of the stories passed down ↑originally.

A::nd (.) like that it's going <well back, well back into history>, you know and as I said I don't know, we ↑have some original manuscripts, of ↑course in Irish, gone right back, The annals of the four masters. That's gone back to like s::: I don't know, what they're, ninth::, tenth century, we do have original documentation in the Old Irish.

M: I know.

S: Yea, yea we do, so

M: I know but I'm trying to ask you if it continues, the oral tradition.

S: Nowadays, oh yes. ↑Now again., I'm sure out in Connemara↑, there are storytelling session in Irish↑ and on the Aran Islands↑, I'm sure, and at there's one guy called (blrf) Niall Bourke, >he's a storyteller for, he does that for children and adults< and he can tell stories through Irish as well↑. E:::m, so ↑yes it can certainly be done! You know, you just arrange that. >I like sometimes our regular storytelling that we have here, Bernadette does the storytelling and I think she was saying that she tries to read them a little story in Irish but tey're are very

small. The little children coming here, Irish isn't their first language, < so I suppose they're running around there and not listening, but we do try, you know, we do try..

M: So thank you Siobhán.

Úna Molligan

M: What did you study?

U: A:: buisness studies.

M: And where are you from?

U: In Ireland?

M: Yes

U: I was, I was Born in Cargan.

M: Where is it?

U: It's just a::, it's just on the border of Northern Ireland, so it's::, it's not a coast, it's, it's in Ulster. There's six (blrf) in Northern Ireland, three not. It's one of them. It's Ulster but not Northern Ireland.

M: yea

U: So it's very close to the border£.

M: And how long have you been living in Galway?

U: I have been, e:::,,, thirteen years↑

M: So what do you think about current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying?

U: ↑I don't think it's dying↓, I think it probably is:: reviving, because it's better than it was, when I was growing up, so I think it is reviving, but it's still not commonly spoken in most of parts of ↑Ireland, a bit more on the west but not in the east, (blrf) more familiar.

M: Do Irish people really need the Irish language today? What do you think about it?

U: ↑I don't think↓, ↑I think on a daily basis it turned off work and life, most people (.) don't use the Irish language (.) unless they live in Gaeltach area, but outside the area (.), in cities (.) a::nd (.) they don't ↑use it, I don't think it's a factor (.) at all.

M: Why do you think people are interested in it?

U: ↑I think only a very small group of people are interested in it, actually↑. People who grow up (.) > people from west and people who grow up in Gaeltacht areas<, or (.) >people who just have the interest in languages generally<, or maybe >people who are interested in Irish history and culture<, but I don't think, it's a very large percentage of population.

M: And what about you?

U: Do I have the interest?

M: yea

U: Em:::, ↑I don't ↑really↓. I ↑have (.), I think it's a shame (.), that I don't speak Irish better, I think it's a shame that most people don't speak Irish better, I did, few years ago, I (.) I did studied Irish for a year because I did want to be better, and I was, but (.) (.) (.) it's (.) (.) (.), you can go out and study, but it's not living in the sense you hear people speaking it every day, so I think if (.) , you know, >for people who did study it, it's very easy to lose it, because you don't really hear it on the daily basis<, ↑people aren't that interested (.) I think because it is:: (.) difficult and most people (.) have bad memory of it.

M: Hmm, it's not very useful..

U: ↑I don't ↑think it is:: (blrf) on a day basis. I ↑don't think, it's useful. I think it would be nice and think it would be better if we all spoke better and I think would be a shame if it died out, but I think daily (.) I don't think it's:: useful, no↓

M: You personally speak Irish on what level?

U: Em::::, can I speak it...I probably can speak it a little bit but (.) (.) (.), hmmm (.) I don't know, I did, you know, the TEG course, em:: (.) beginners (.) not the bottom one, next one up over that, this, yea, (.) so em:: (.) so I can do that level,(.) what (.) you know (.) a::nd, and I suppose as mo::st Irish people because I'm out of the school for very long time. We ha::::ve knowledge (.) somewhere in our brains (.) but then because we don't don't speak it then it just lapses.

M: yea, that's the problem

U: So, it's's because it's not been spoken. So ↑I don't think even people if watch TG4 or whatever they read subtitles rather than trying to listen and rather than trying to understand, so..

M: Do you sometimes use Irish language at work or in your private life?

U: Do I use ... ↑very seldom, I mean, ..spoke to me in Irish, here at the desk then I would be trying to answer them (.) Em::: a::nd (.) (.) (.) we ha::ve, most signs are in both ↑languages, so::: I would be familiar with (.) ↑reading (.) ↑reading it↑ (.) (.) (.) but very little↑, very, very little

M: yea, and where did you learn Irish language?

U: In school.

M: In school? Your parents didn't speak it?

U: No, no

M: and your grandparents?

U: No, because where I was brought up↑, (.) because most my grandparents were from (.) Northern Ireland a:::nd they wouldn't (.) (.) (.), they wouldn't even then (.), that was befo:re partation, a::nd >it wouldn't really have been spoken in those areas anyway< because they weren't (.) (.) (.), they're predominantly (.) ehm (.) (.) (.) well, they were English speaking, I guess. Always those areas, you know for ..I (.) I don't know whe that split came, but certainly not my grandparents generation, so. And it wa::s then (.) associated with poverty↑, so (.) actively people try to not speak Irish, I think, ...on the, you know on the east of Shannon↑, because they associated poverty with the west of Ireland and Irish speaking.

M: Oh I see.

U: So that was (.) that would be the way back? And the famine times and, you know, so I think people deliberately lost the language like than.

M: yea

U: so, that's why, you know (.), because, you know (.) >that' was the perception, that east of the Shannon was wealthy and the west of the Shannon, west of the Shannon was often Irish speaking, east of the Shannon (.) <wasn't, (.) so(.) (.) That make sense↑?

M: Yes, yes! OK, do you need Irish for your work?

U: Technically yes.

M: Do you wath TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

U: E::::m, ↑very ↑seldom, I, I mean, I would never listen to Radió na Gaeltachta↓, no↓, I wouldn't↓, e:::m TG4↑, e:::m, ↑sometimes I might watch ↑things, but (.) (.) I wouldn't, I wouldn't watch it because it's Irish, >because of an Irish language, I would watch it because it's probably nothing on another channel<£££(smích), so

M: Good. Do you want your children to speak Irish?

U: E:::m, I would prefere, ↑yea, if they spoke ↓better Irish then I do↑ (.) (.) but I ↓don't think, they will↓ (.)

M: Hmmm

U: So, (.) because in:: >schools, when I went to school and when they went to school, there's not a big difference<, I mean, technically when we left school, school, could write ver::y good Irish. Our written Irish would have been almost as good as our English, so we would have

been completely fluent in written Irish but not in spoken Irish, so. There's a big more emphasis in school oral and... but work, but it's still the same, you know, it's not..

M: Do you send your children to Gaeilscoil?

U: No.

M: No, why?

U: Because there isn't one. >There, where I live there are no Gaeilscoils.<

M: And would you, if you could?

U: I would, yea, hmmm

M: Do you tell your children stories in Irish?

U: No.

M: Did you personally listen to storytelling?

U: In Irish?

M: yes

U: No. I heard no spoken Irish ever. Ever, when I was a child. Exe..., you know, even we were taught in school, we were mostly taught through English. Plus I changed schools, so I was:: (.) I learned Donegal Irish (.) until I was 15 and then I mooved school and the school, I mooved to... is, I don't know, if you were, >there's a very small Galetacht in county Meath, called (Rath Carran)< and that was the la:nd people mooved from Connemara, so I mooved just beside that school. I went to school there and then and and they spoke(.)Connacht Irish (.) so (.) there's a big difference in (.) in pronunciation an:::d between the two languages and ↑that's confusing as well because to listen to them, they sound..> they don't sound like different languages, but they are pretty different,< you know (.) The same words but completely different pronunciation. So it's very hard to, to understa:nd what somebody is saying, you know...

M: So it's like different dialect?

U: Yes it's quite, em because it's strong accent. I, It's accent as well (.) it's ve:ry (.), I don't know if you heard the two differences.

M: Yea

U: on CDs or whatever ?

M: Yea,

U: You wouldn't, you wouldn't re:ally:

M: I know what you mean. It sounds like different language.

U: It does sound like diferent language. I mean it's written the same, but (.) well ↑some phrases would be (.) (.)>they, they< would use different phrases for different (.) things <as we:ll, you know> (blrf) things and stuff, they, they, Donegal people just different ones than Connemara people, but their, their pronunciation is completely different, so..

M: And you said that you don't like the language?

U: No↓, I didn't say that! That's not really what I ment £££

M: £

U: I ↑think (.) (.), e:::m, I think it's lovely to hear it spoken, I thik it is: very o::ld language and I think it's, it's, it is: a beautiful language but (.) I think it's (.) it's (.) (.) it's ve:ry difficult. And I think it probably is a language (.)that should be learned (.) through speaking it
M: yea

U: So, people learn it (.) learn the written langed and it's so:: difficult, that they just (.) (.) they just can't do it so I think people are very disenchanted (.) with it because if learned it from a written, you know, instead of orally, I think if you learned it orally, then it's, it is a lovely language, it's much nicer and it's, the word much nicer than English a::nd it's (.) (.) it's very descriptive, because it uses a lot of words↑ to ↑describe one ↑thing and (.) em that's the feature of all the languages as well (.) but you ↑don't ↑really enjoy that if you're taught, if

you're trying to do the written thing at school and very very difficult↓. Because a::ll you have to understand is really really hard subject, you know...

M: yea, I know, I've learned it.

U: so, yea ££ I'd like, I learned three languages and I would signify Irish the hardest to learn.

M: Yea, that's true, that's what I think too.

U: Yea, ££ but when you're fluent then, (.) it's (.), it is lovely, but I think unless you (.) really (.) speak it every da:y or go on live there or (.) (.) it's, it's very difficult to get to that level, you know, you have to really speak it.

M: Do you think that Gaeilscoilleana will help?

U: ↑I think so, yea! I do think so because I think that the help becau::se (.), because you do learn, because from the first day (blrf) speaking it, it has to be (.) easier than trying to learn it (.) from the written point of view ↑and in ↑Gaeilscoils ↑everybody comes out (.) fluent↑, so:::, I mean, >I don't think, I really don't believe you, forget that, (see you do and be fluent) < and I ↑don't think that the ma:tter is that you speak, (.) I think it's go::d, I think it's it's a very good idea actually because I think it might give an attitude for languages in general.

M: hm

U: If you learn two languages from the very small and I think most of the Gaeilscoils now have (blrf) you, you go (.) you know (.) e::: >they can start there at three or whatever, so the kids are very young when they learn. They are fluent by the time they finish.<

M: Yea

U: And >I don't really think that it matters that they speak English in other places, they can just use two:::< (.), >you know they can be bilingual< and that's the better idea then.

M: Maybe it's a problem that they don't use it, when they leave the school..

U: I don't think it's a ↑problem.

M: They'll forget it

U: No!

M: You know when the people are not speking the language...

U: I think it's (.) (.) (.) they can still, if, if, if It's still, they still ha:ve the knowledge. >They go to Gaeltacht, they're not gonna forget everything, they're still gonna be able to talk a little bit <and ↑certainly the, they (.) >the rason people don't like it in school is< because it's so difficult and because they don't understand the ↑grammar< and beca:::use they em (.) (.) (.) (.) >because it's so many rules and regulations<, you know, >small little things that they get wrong and than they get marked down< and on those, and ↑that doesn't ↑happend if you're ↑fluent because you fluently you automaticly know, I think you'll a::llways know that. So, you ↑might not speak it on a day to day basis but if you go to the Geltacht or if you go anywhere else then you are gonna ↑remember it, so. >And atleast you have a better chance passing on, at least you won't hate it <, current generation of kids hate the language and that's what they pass to their kids and it's the fact that they hate the language and if you go to the Gaeilscoil, the:::y, they might (.), you're not gonna hate it. You'll probably gonna love it. And even if you don't love it at least you're not gonna have negative feelings, you know, they are gonna be more positive because you're ↑fluent.

M: Yea, that's rigt

U: So

M: Do you think that the people who are forced to it at school have the negative attitude to it?

U: ↑Yea, I think most people do (.) >unless they have the particular attitude themselves for languages, or unles they particularly have an interest in Irish culture<or (.) em, history. I think, e:m, mostly everybody, I think if you takled to at last thirty, probably thir.., 25 would say they don't like Irish and five would say they ↑do. But the majority of them would say they don't like it and the reason they don't like is because tehy're made to it everyday and because it's hard, so...

M: So thank you
U: Thank ↑you £

Ruainí Ó hAodha

M: And you're librarian?

R: Yea..

M: And what did you study?

R: E:, I di::d history and archeology (.) and arts.

M: Where are you from?

R: I'm from Galway.

M: Galway, OK, so what do you think about current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying or what?

R: I'd say in certain reason it's good, <like in academia an::d maybe in the media>, but >generaly, I think it is not very good<, hm I think it's slowly (.)dying, yea, maybe..

M: really?

R: Yea and maybe it's, even in the Gaeltacht areas would be the place where I think it's weakening the most, you know, yea. There's a lot of the English coming into the language and that, you know, yea, yea...

M:hmm

R: So overall, ↑I'm saying that I think that the attitude maybe towards Irish is much better than it was::, you know, twenty or thirty years ago in schools amongst children. It's hope in that sense, you know. It's hard to tell, you know.

M: And why do you think it's dying?

R: Why? I just think it's a kind of the nature of a (.) we, we, Ireland is a part of a (.), of an, mm, English speaking world and, you know, and English is a powerful language, you know, it rules all the media and ↑also I think Irish is a:: (.) (.) (.) There is a:: (.) (.) Well >Irish is not an easy language<, you know, unless you em:: (.) grow up speaking it at home, it's OK. Em:: a::nd and also a:: there is:: >certainly amongst older generation there was:: and continues to be some negative attitue towards Irish<, you know, I mean that, and that passes onto their children and (.)I think it's a little bit better than it was: , in schools, you know previously, you know. Actually in recent years, in schools, what I experienced when I went to school as well, are teaching spoken Irish first. That's much better. And you find the things and proof better than, ↑because the old way was by wrote and you learned just written and often I think, I do::n't know but I think, my suspission is that em:: (.) the teachers themselves don't have good Irish, so they have no love for it and:: (.) children sens that , you know, yea, yea.

M: yea, that's right. Do you think that Irish people really need the Irish language today?

R: Em↑ I think in certain ways they don't like, you know, but in other ways they do and they don't understand of how (blrf) in Irish is, you know, because it's well the key to all of our culture, everything, there's so much written in Irish is so much of your part is Irish, you know, and even the way we think and the way we ↑speak English is (blrf) in Irish, you know and so what is very important form that perspective, you know, it's not very rich culture, you know, worth keeping from that, but I think other things (blrf) they, money other things, material and so on, yea, yea, so em, yea, yea

M: Hm. Do you personally speak Irish and what level?

R: I do speak Irish very well, yea↑, because grew up in a house where (.) em: we mostly in fact spoke English because niether of my parents were> Gaeilge native speakers< but both e::: (.) studied Irish at university, you know. And there was a lot of (.), my parents were both (.)

very good at language generally and some of (blrf)>so there was a lot of the focus on language anyway in the house<. So we ↑grew up with a lot of it in but, >I'd say, I still would say my language would have been English.< most of the time but ↑certainly the attitude we grew up was very (.) proirish, you know. And that was like what's your mother's milk, it wasn't e::, there was never any question about that, you know. Hm, and e:: (.) (hluboký nádech) em::, yea, so the good attitude, was the result, >I think that it made it easier in school<, you know. And I was, I was lucky in that sense (blrf) we had a very good teacher, that I had for the whole time I was in school, form (.), actually he grew up in England, (blrf) from Spidéal, from Connemara, you know, he was fanatical, but he was very good at, att. Em::: he was very good at e::: kind of cultivating enthusiasm, you know, (blrf) people to learn it, yea.

M: So you learned Irish at home or in school?

R: I learned a little bit of it at home, a lot of it at home, yea end em:::but really in school I got better at it, speaking it (blrf), you know, yea

M: Did you go to Gaeilscoil?

R: No, no, one or two of my family when we were very small maybe did↑, but no, we lived in Oranmore and we went to local school and then we went in the same (blrf) in Galway and ↑that was where the very good teacher was, you know.

M: It allways depend on theacher!

R: Yea, I think, very much, Irish depends on a teacher! Yea, yea, yea, yea If the teacher isn't enthusiastic and they (blrf) people who have very good Irish don't, yea, yea

M: Do you need Irish for your work?

R: E, sometimes you do, yea, because in library, we talk to people in other branches so we can use, we can use Irish in that way, you know. E:::m Irish

M: How often?

R: How often? E:::m... I might have use it, I might have use it briefly with (.) with the poeople from another branches a::nd ↑maybe once or tiwce a week, you know, em::: some of the, when we, learning Irish to the course we have new enthusiasm later on life for it, you know, >so they (blrf) sometimes speaking Irish, so we do it in Irish< as well. ↑Ocasionally I come across people, not so much. but ocasionally people come in and speak Irish and I speak it to them as well, you know. E:::m a:::nd, yea

M: Hmm, do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

R: I don't really listen to Radió na Gaeltachta, but I do watch TG4 a lot, yea, yea mostly because the program is very good, you know

M: And which programs?

R: I mostly watch documentaries. If I watch TG4, I watch documentaries on it, yea, yea. There's a great advantage in TG4, because it's in a different language eventhough it's (.) (.) it's kind of the same television state (.) channel (.) in Ireland. TG4, because it does, it broadcasts Irish as an andvantage. It can make more interesting programs, you know, partly because it is in Irish and> partly because poeple in Dublin don't care↑<, you know, but it makes very interesting documentaries then, you know.

M: And what are the documentaries about?

R: They're↑ often about culture things↑, but often the things, that are translated from, often you know, surprisingly from far away of the world↑, you know, different things you don't see on mainstream news, you know, things about America or Africa, but things, you don't see normally, you know, and so it's very good in that way, it's very liberating, you know. You've got to see another side of things, yea, yea and also maybe because (.) (.) it is an Irish< people think, get away, especially> in:: the time we're living is so dominated by political corectness, you know, because (blrf) Irish people, I think they just can't get away with maybe talking about things, they might not be able in English, you know because there's so much trouble

around it, you know, In Irish at least you can raise an issue, you know, there'll be talking some guy in russian or something, you know, because you see, people learned (.), only small number of people will be watching it. Yea::a that And that sounds actually >Irish has been very useful to< Irish people. One place where Irish people use Irish a lot is abroad (.), when they go abroad to another countries, when they go (.) to places where English or English speaking people, Irish people release Irish things, because you know, people don't understand it, you know, yea. People don't understand it

M: But you never know who speaks Irish

R: you never know

M: We spoke Czech in thrain in Belguim and there was a girl who understood.

R: Yea, yea, yea, my (.) em:: sister and her friend had a >funny experience wen they were in Berlin one time, this was a years ago,< and a man came to the bar, he was a black man, you know, and he spoke in German, let's say something like, you know, you know, can I have ..., whatever, have a drink or something, and one of the girls >who was with my sister turned out and said< in Irish, you know, (blrf) Isn't he a good looking and the men turned and said oh go raibh maith agat, you know, there was a chance that he was (.), I think he was, he was:: e::: was...educated in one of these Christian brothers schools or whatever in Dublin as young man and maybe (blrf) or whatever, you know, but he had very good Irish as it happened, you know, he moved into England and in Germany and so on but he, he was ..He obviously had Irish (blrf) so you have to be very carefull, yea

M: OK, so do you want your children to speak Irish?

R: E:::m

M: Or your future children.

R: Yea, well I have two children and I do read them in Irish a::nd e:: but I'm afraid I don't speak enough (.) with them, you know, partly because I don't feel e::: confident enough all the time (.) to be speaking Irish all the time. Em::: part of it is:: that e:::On my wife side, >there's a little bit a negative attitude< as well, you know and part of it is, well it's just em::: >I suppose that they're still very small< and I don't want to be putting so much pressure on them either, you know, but I certainly I read to them books in Irish and I like it in fact for enough, they certainly like the books (.) with pictures and words, they like learning words in Irish, you know, e:::m but e::: I konw it's certainly encouraged by my parents. There was no::: in my family what was great was no::: em::: It's hard to describe, it was like, it was just a kind of a (.)sense to be pride in Irish but it wasn't like terating it must be, you must. It wasn't like that, you know, it was just natural. Do you understand that? Sometimes when I hear people talking about their experiences, you know. I don't understand this, because I never, I never had that really, you know, it was just kind of part of the (.), you know, part of the furniture, I suppose, you know. So I'd like that, I'd like to applicate that a bit, you know em:::because I think a lot of the trouble in Ireland has been that a lot of people tured against learning Irish as children because they feel it's forced to them, you know that, yea so it's kind of a balancing, it is a difficult one, yea, yea. I do feel on speaking it enough, really, (blrf)

M: How old are they?

R: They are three and one. But the three year is reading all the time, he loves reading and so. And did you see (blrf nějaký dětský pořad) at TG4, you know Doras or like that in Irish? And it doesn't matter to children (.) they just watch it anyway, you know, and they learn the rhymes, you know, in Irish, it doesn't make any difference to them, you know, it's interesting, yea..

M: Do you watch TG4 with subtitles or without them?

R: Em::: well, I think it allways::, nearly always has the subtitles, so you can't, yea, my (blrf) anyway, so some of them don't, I don't think, but I could watch it without, yea, yea

M: That's great.

R: Yea, I want to do, it depends, sometimes you get old guys from Connemara, you know, it's very difficult, you know but...

M: Do you read to your children some traditional Irish stories like traditional mythology?

R: Yea, well I read to my eldest daughter, she's 3, and the European fairytales and some of the mythologies as well, yea, yea

M: Did you personally listen to storytelling when you were young?

R: Yea, well e:: >it wasn't (blrf) my parents< understand but we had, >I grew up in a house full of books<, you know, and again we had a lots of that, mythology and stories (blrf). ↑And again it was just there, you picked it up and you learned it. It wasn't really (.) somebody said you must read that but it was there, yea, it was there from when I was born, yea. So I grew up on, you know The Fianna the Táin and all the kind of stuff.> I was familiar to me when growing up<. So I'm very lucky in that way.

M: Which stories do you like the most?

R: E:::m from the legends I like The Táin and from (.)the one I like is:: em:: I read it again recently actually, ...but The Táin is very good, but it's hard (blrf) even as adults it's hard, because it's not, The Táin is a (.) (.) (.), is a (.), well it's a barabarian story, you know, so it's quite, >it's all over the place<, you know, and it's also very violent, you know, but it's very, very good so, ↑but >the other one, I was reading as well which is good is:: the one about< em::: I don't know if you know it. What they call it in Irish? I try to remember now, I think it's The destruction of Da Dearga's Hostel, it's the famous story, you know how the man Bricriu goes and gossips and (blrf) amongst the people and eventually the whole, it's very clever story, yea, yea ££

M: Oh yea, I like it ££

R: Yea, it is one of the better ones, yea, yea. And in fact in college we did one, well one of the main courses we did under a very good teacher called (.....) was we did e::: e:::,, although it's later, it's eighteenth century manuscript, you know, The life of saint (Colm Cillehan), by (blrf, jméno), who was a:: later monk, e::: but that is very good as well, you know. Litri. Well it's life of the saint but it's still very interesting. Like Beat, you know Beat in England?

M: No.

R: Beat. He wrote one of the first histories of British people, the Saxons, which e::: otherwise it gives you insight into Ireland or Scotland, well the Irish world, the Gaelic world of that time, you know, yea, yea (.) yea, yea and that's also very good one, you know, yea..But there's a lots of stories, yea >according to my father there's so many stories that are still unknown<, that are still, yea

M: yea

R: yea, so (.) em::: yea

M: Have you ever heard these stories in English and what's the difference?

R: Is there difference? >Mostly I would have, I have to say mostly I would rather be familiar with them in English↑<, really↑, e:::m (.) (.) (.) (.) Yea, I mean <I would have heard these stories at home and I would have heard them in (.) school, in primary school>, yea, and in primary schools they often do the basic ones, the early..< you know The Children of Lir↑, and also (blrf) and all that kind of stuff a::nd E:: But yea you know really< I would have read them in English>.

M: Really?!

R: Yea, I think so, yea, yea, I wouldn't have heard them in Irish, yea.

M: OK, thank you very much.

R: No bother at all.

Tommy Corcorane

M: What do you do for living?

T: I'm a supervisor.

M: And what did you study?

T: What did I study? Engineering.

M: And where are you from? Are you from Galway?

T: I'm from Galway.

M: Galway city?

T: No Connemara side, An Spidéal.

M: So you're from the Gaeltacht.

T: From Gaeltacht, yea.

M: So what do you think about the current stage of Irish language?

T: It's poor enough, fairly poor at the moment. Especially I think it's poor in Gaeltacht area. Like in Dublin people are trying to learn it now, as back to Gaeltacht, it's not that strong.

Yea I think it isn't good (blf)

M: Do you think it's dying.

T: It's (.) slowly, yea slowly.

M: And do Irish people really need Irish language today? What do you think?

T: They do. They do, I think they do. If more like you have your own language, so we've our own language, so that's what I think.

M: Some people think it's not useful.

T: ↑Well they can think ↑that but I think it's useful. We like, and my son now, he's 19 month now and he's begun to speak few words and I want him to have Irish (blf)

M: Why?

T: I ↑just ↑like the language. And I'd like to (.) I'd like to have it as well, you know. Like when he's out there hopefully when he grows up, he will be speaking Irish. (blf) first. It's something like (.) like sometimes you don't want people to know, what, you're saying ↑ so it's handy to have another language that you can speak. Thus we use it a lot like that. We use it now when we're playing football. We're speaking Irish so that all the people don't know, what we're saying. We use it there a lot (.) like that. And (.) is it useful? It's not that useful at the moment. In the future, like you've Galway, you've Cork, you've (.) (.) Mayo, Donegal, Kerry, Meath, outside that parts of Dublin, you have Irish (blf)

M: I'm tryin to find out why people want to have the language.

T: Yes. If ↑just like, when you're from Connemara, you want to have it. You know, there's so many people who don't want, they don't want learn the Irish when they're young but when they get older that's why they're sorry they haven't the language. And they want to start speaking it. In their thirties they start speaking Irish again, they (.) like in national school you have to speak Irish. But behind, you'll be talking to your friends in English. But when they get older, they begin to talk to them in Irish. And that begins to change again. Yea..

That's what I think, you know.

M: Are you fluent in Irish?

T: Yea, yea, we had good (blf) Irish school and it was all fluent Irish.

M: Gaeilscoil?

T: like Gaeilscoil, yea

M: Do you use Irish language every day?

T: We use it at home, we don't, there's nobody at work who speaks Irish, I'm the only one who completely speaks Irish. Noone at all speaks Irish there.

M: Really?

T: No.

M: I thought that they learned it at school?

T: They learned it at school but they don't have Irish. You learn it, they, most people pass their grades and outside that like(.) I only mean completing the year and there's nobody since, I started there to learn Irish. Even the main director. She's (.)sorry, but she's not able to speak Irish. She doesn't understand.

M: Strange,

T: It is strange, yea..

M: Where did you learn Irish language? At home or at school?

T: My father had no Irish from his family but he learned it, so (.) a lot was from, from my mother at home and then I was going to school as well. Both, yea.

M: Do you need Irish for your work? Some jobs, for some jobs you need Irish.

T: Yea, If I was applying for a job in a Geltacht, I would have to have Irish, but not in this, not in here, no. If you go, If you was teaching, you have to have Irish, you have to pass Irish in your leaving cert.. like that.

M: I was talking to librarians and they have to have Irish.

T: Have to have Irish. Yes, they do.

M: It's only for some jobs.

T: Some jobs, yes, some jobs. (.) (.) (.) Like e:: my, my wife has worked at the university and sh, for:: she got upgarde to the university, she had to pass the Irish exam. So they do (blrf) at the universtiy as well (.) (.) in Galway city.

M: She's a teacher?

T: Sorry?

M: She's a teacher?

T: No, she's just working there. She's a computer (.) manager but she has to, has to have Irish to pass (.) the exams.

M: Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

T: I allways listen to news at Radió na Gaeltachta and sports.... and I watch TG4, mainly the news programs. So I like that.

M: Do you want your children to speak Irish?

T: Yes! I do. We're living in the city at the moment, but we're moving out to Spiddal after Christmas. So we'll be back out, so (.)we'll have to start speaking Irish.

M: Will you send your child to Gaeilscoil?

T: He's only 19 month at the moment, so when when he moves to Spiddal it'll be an Irish school, an Irish speaking school, so he'll be going there, yea.

M: And will you speak Irish to him?

T: Yes. Otherwise when he was at school (blrf) I speak Irish, my wife probably speaks English to him.Like that.

M: So he'll learn both.

T: Both, yea, both.

M: Do you know traditional myth and legends?

T: A few, yes.

M: Did you listen to them in Irish, when you were a child?

T: Old stories, yes, we did. My grandmother used to tell us a stories.

M: Yes, did you listen to storytelling?

T: I've been not good at it, but (blrf) is good at telling the stories.

M: Do you remember some of the stories? Which you like most?

T: Hm She has been telling us ghost stories and out in Connemara it's so widespread that you, for you're out at night, let's say that you can get lost, it's called (forgiemara) that's the Irish, forgiemara, she used to say that the only, when you get lost, the only thing, all you have to do is to turn the jumper inside out and you'll get your mind go on again and you know, you're back. Stories like that.

M: And the stories about fairies? Are they still told in Connemara?

T: ↑They are a bit: but not as much like a lot of (blrf) you people what is telling out (blrf) not as many stories. I'd say where I come from Spiddal it's on the board of Gaeltacht area further on back (.) there would be more storytelling, you know.

Christine Cox

C: OK, em the name of the company (.) here is: (blrf) which is: a creche facility↑ which provide a child care services for (.) children from the area and from a little bit further out of the area. Then the creche facility, we're operating here it's completely through Irish↑. Where we start teaching children maybe these children that come in have currently been speaking Irish at ↑home. That's their first language, or these older children that are with us (.) a::nd Irish is their second language. When they walk in the door they might have not much la (.), knowledge of the language cause we have people that come from different parts of the country, that moove to the area through work. And when they moove to the area through ↑work they need to speak the language and learn the language, so the best way to do is starting from young age. So parents bring young children, they introduce them to the area and a creche, that obviously speaks Irish a::ll the time. So the children that come in are spoken to in Irish until they understand the language and that's how you learn the language by speaking it.

M: It's like in Gaeilscoil?

C: Yes::, yes: em:: so all the activity is done through Irish, the children arespoken to through Irish. This area itself An Spidéal↑ (.) is a Gaeltacht area. So we have, an Inver we have a TG4, which is the Irish television↑ station and in Spiddal village itself we have >this one what's so popular< called Ros na Rún↑, it's all through Irish as well↑. Obviously local buisness is run through Irish, for the majority. You know, for most, most buisness are run through Irish. The school is all through Irish as well↑, but the national and secondary schools a::nd that's ↑pretty much ↑it. And that's how we keep the language alive, through speaking it. Obviously people mix form (.), they can, they can (.) speak from Irish to English↑ and sometimes in one sentence you can hear Irish words and then English.

M: Yea, they are swiching

C: Yes::, you know, people switch. They don't think anything o::f it. You know↑?

M: Yea.

C: Through both languages.

M: I was listening to radio which was the English speaking one and people are swiching form Irish to English.

C: Probably in the evening time. Yea, yea I know that one, yea, which is you know, how the people learn the language. There are also Irish courses as well (.) in the college just beyond here. If you take left which is called College of Connacht↑ and there are (.) Irish classes made available for people who move to the area and want to learn the language. And learn, >you know, get within the community<. So they can take classes, so there's for beginner, intermediate and then advanced. They go on, you know (blrf) move to the area a new come to live here. You want have your children brought up through Irish and through the Irish school,

you know, education system through Irish. They have the opportunity to go to the ↑class and ↑learn.

M: Do you have many children who don't have Irish language before they came?

C: ↑↑Em::: there's a few↓. They would be foreign, most of them would be foreign nationals, you know↑, maybe even in the school. There's, there's a child in school and the mother wouldn't have (.) even English, you understand↑? You know£, so she's, you know, >trying conversation, you know, the's how you're gonna learn it< in Spiddal especially when they're young, you know, they learn it so easy (lusknutí). You know, this is their optimal time to learn.

M: OK, so most of the children have the language.

C: Yes:

M: People, parents speak to them Irish from their birth.

C: From birth. ↑So you have the parent's that speak (.) pretty much only Irish from birth, birth (překnutí), and when they left the family, they speak both.

M: Yes

C: You know and then there's others they may speak a bit of English (.) to the children↑, you know and speak Irish between themselves and then they pick up on the Irish here and they bring it home with them.

M: Are there some people who don't have English?

C: ↑↑<E:::m in the creche at the moment they all have English>. At the moment.

M: And in Spiddal? I mean some people in Spiddal. Are there some people who don't have English language, who speak only Irish?

C: <↑At the moment I would say that in Spiddal itself> (.) they would have English. No, you might go back further west and they might have any any any English, you know the re:::al, the real country. You know, you talk and maybe then (.), you know in the real rural rural areas where they might have only ten children in the whole school, a national school. You understand, a very small community. There could be people and that don't have any English. And there might be other people that have English but can't write it. You know? The language, because it would be their second language. But there are still people who don't have any English. You know but very rare.

M: Yea

C: >But there are and there are as well<but then I'm sure, they'll be older people as well, you know↑? That they didn't need the English language, they are very (.), in very small communities.

M: Hmm

C: In rural areas.

M: Yea. So to the questions: So can you just write your name?

C: Yes

M: And your job?

C: Job, e:::m Patricia is a manager when she's gonna have maternal (.), she's gonna have baby, so I'll be here. E:::m So I just put acting (píše název) This is the business name called Bogha Ceatha, it's the name, it means Rainbow (<http://www.boghaceatha.com/>)

M: Do you have web site?

C: E:::m I think they just might be (blrf), I'm not sure. I just started, you see, it means Rainbow. OK, in English and that's it in Irish. Bogha, you don't pronounce a, Bogha (.) Ceatha.

M: Yea, I have a little Irish.

C: ↑Good! ↑Good, so rainbow. A::nd (.) (.) website, >I'm not sure, I you check it up on-line<, you check, it may or may not, yea. Maybe it just says the name of the address. I'm not sure We're just open year and a half. It's a new business.

M: OK and what did you study?

C: Me?

M: Yea, are you a teacher?

C: My background is:, I have a buiss, e::m buissness and degree in hotel and (blrf) management, so that's my background.

M: OK

C: So it's a buissness degree.

M: Hmmm and are you form Spiddal ?

C: Yes:, form Spiddal, yes.

M: OK so what do you think about current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying?

C: ↑Myself I think it's reviving (.) at the moment. When I was in school (.) (.) I felt it was, you know, going down, you know, people, it wasn't (.), how would you say, it wasn't cool to speak ↑it, but it changed, it changed (.) and: by the time I got to college (.) it started changing. And I think one of the things, that was really good that came to the community was the Irish (.) language (.) television station. It brought a lot of opportunities to the area and jo:bs and brought people from different areas within Ireland, different Gaeltachts, tha (.), that came down to Spiddal, so you have different dialects so now some, the different dialects are all together (.) on one TV station. S some wodrs you use are different. So em:: you go out in a pub and people are all speaking Irish (.) (.) a lot, yea.

M: Do you think it's a kind of fashion?

C: It's fashion now as well, you know?

M: Really?

C: Yea

M: And do young people take it as a fashion? Do they speak it?

C: ↑↑E::: (.) (.) I'd, I'd (.) ↑It's ↑hard to say, you know↑? Because if you're brought up (.) Irish is allways there (.), you know↑? So when you're young, when I was young and when it wasn't cool, I s(.), I had Irish, I spoke Irish, but wasn't cool, and now (.) you speak it more, and it's just as I say, from one languae to next, you don't (.) think about it.

M: OK. What do you think about this? Do Irish people really need the language?

C: Yes. It's part of our (.), our heritage and our culture. This is, this is who we are. You know, if you were to loose the lanugage, we'd lost our culture we've come from. You know like our music as well, our traditional Irish music, our traditional Irish dancing, different things like that or Irish (blrf), so we do need it. You know, this is who we are. This is,↑you know , it, ↑it's what you're brought up with, you know↑? It's in here↑, in your heart↑.

M: Yea, but you were brought up in the Gaeltacht area, so some poeple who are in the English speaking part may think it's not usefull?

C: They may think different, yea, exactly (.) (.) >just everyone< you know, >it depends on where you're brought up< and let's say (.) (.) >what are you used to<.

M:Yea

C: Yea

M: Do you speak Irish and what level? Fluent?

C: Fluent, yea.

M: Do you use it every day?

C: Yes.

M: And where did you learn it?

C: From(.) from birth, from parents.

M: Yea, both of them spoke Irish?

C. Yea, both of them, from the area, so I had it form birth.

M: And do you need Irish for your work, of course, you do.

C: Yes, very (blrf) because this Buisness is (.), that's one of our (.), how would you say, (.) (.) one of your unique (.) (.) selling points, you know, that here we are teaching your children

Irish and having them before they move on to the next level and going to school. Preparing them.

M: Do you watch TG4?

C: Yes.

M: or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

C: Yea, both.

M: And which programs do you prefer?

C: <I: like, I like the Nuacht (.) (.), Ros na Rún (.) (.) em:: there was a series on there (.) Rasai na Gaillimhe. It was just a summer, a few weeks and for few weeks that was on a::nd and then wait for a moment. I just put it on, I don't just particularly pick out different programs, I just put it on and (blrf)

M: And what's Ros na Rún?

C: Yes?

M: What is it?

C: It's soap opera. It's soap opera in Irish, But if you don't have any Irish, they have a subtitles.

M: OK

C: At the bottom, you know. So people can learn and they can read the subtitles £££

M: Yeaf££ That's good.

C: So it's a good way, people to learn as well, you know.

M: I tried to look at it and it was good££.

C: Yes

M: And do you want your children or future children to have Irish?

C: Yes! Yes!

M: And will you speak to them?

C: Yes, I do, I have two children

M: from birth?

C: Yea, yea

M: Just Irish or English?

C: Oh both, both

M: Both, yea. And would you sell them to the Gaeilscoil?

C: Yea, I will (.), ↑I wouldn't say it's, it's just all Irish anyway, you know, they're all (.) through Irish.

M: OK. Do you tell them some stories in Irish?

C: Yes there's a <really good books> available (.) through the Irish language here.

M: Really?

C: Yea.

M: Which?

C: Em:: (.) (.)there's a few (.) (.) there's a few different ones and (.) (.) (.) I'll tell you now. We'll get them back (.) in Invern, that's a company that print them.

M: Hmm

C: So when they, there's one called (Googly goge) and it's music as well and songs, you get a CD with it. A::nd Rory, doesn't Rory, I can't remember a full title of it, and then through the library as well. I get some books in Irish through library. You know they translate the traditional stories like Three bears, you know (blrf) Three bears and like that and there's another ones that they, you know, that they're their own.(.) Em::: Their own writers.

M: Yea and the traditional fairy tales and myths and legends?

C: Yea, yea

M: You read them in Irish and tell them in Irish.

C: Yes, oh yea, yea.

M: Did you listen to them when you were small, to these stories?

C: A lot of them would have been just in English books.

M: Really?

C: There wouldn't have been as many in Irish. These, you know, story books but I think that this stuff is more available when you're older, you know.

M: Yea, taht's all, I would just ask you because you know a lot about Irish, what do you think it is the most important to do to revive it?

C: Spek it

M: Speak it?.

C: yea

M: You know, there's the media, the television, I think it's good, the radio and then the school, the Gaeilscoils are important, but what is the most important to speak it like..

C: To speak, if you speak it to other people, they'll speak it back to you. You know, if you keep speaking it ↑with them, you know, a:::nd (.) (.) I mean of obviously the media as I say and that's one of the (.)I (.) I thought (.) I (.) it came in the fashion, you know. It came back again and started to revive, you know it came back because it's around you. It's everywhere, you know.

M: yea

C: So popular is Irish, you know what I mean↑? For everything. Was, you know, their role in English. Everything was in English. You know through media, you know (.) (.), the main newspapers, you know, there's one or tho Irish newspapers and theone has got own buisness, but you know, there's more stuff available these days through Irish. Irish websites, you know↑?

M: Do you think that the media is the way it became more popular? It's because of the media?

C: ↑Yea I think so! Yea. >Particularly for people who (.)< mooved to the area form different parts, you n'know , people who moved form Dublin. And you have to speak, you have to be able to speak. To buy (.), to build the house, you have to have Irish. And (.)If you're not form the area (.) and you (.) you want to buy a house they will interview you through Irish and than you know, what, you know I'm sorry I get palin information. That's out straight to this because they want to keep the language alive (.) (.) by bringing people to speak it to the area.

M: Yea. I can see, you have some ogham

C: Oh yes, yea, yea ££ It's in Irish £££

C: I (blrf)sorry

M: It's nice! What does it mean?

C: My name££, Christine, so I think it means££, I think £ (blrf).

M: So thank you

Maire Bríd Ní Mhaoilchiaráin

M: What did you study?

M-B: Irish and Mathematics.

M: And where are you from?

M-B: I'm from, it's Muigins

M: Can you write it?

M-B: Yea, I'll write it. That's like (blrf) it's connected to (blrf)

M: Yea, Ok, thanks, so now the questions£.

M-B:Yea

M: What do you think about the current stage of Irish language?

M-B: E:::m

M: Is it reviving or dying?

M-B: >I think it's reviving<. It was (.), like maybe ten years ago (.) It wa:::s very, very unpopular. It wasn't at a:::ll, like it wasn't thus popular as it is today↑. A:::nd like today there's a TG4 and the radio: and there's a lot and lot of different things a:::nd ↑I think more young people speak it today than they did maybe ten years ago. You know, I th(.), I think it's getting better, so, you know. And a lot of(.), more teenagers have an interest.

M: Really?

M-B: ↑Yea, ye:::a, it's surprising, they do. They are very interested in it, you know↑

M: I talked to some people and they said that the young people learn Irish but that they don't speak Irish.

M-B: Yea, I know, like in the Gaeltacht area, they (.) a lot of people, they learn it, they go to school and everything but when they're with their frineds, they speak English, which is very very unusual but then in the really really Gaeltacht area they will speak it like ...at the weekend when we go out, we all speak Irish to each other. You know, you don't speak English, you speak Irish, you know, when you go to the pu:::b and ... you

M: Yea?

M-B: ↑Yea, you speak Irish. And then I kno:::w that a lot of::: ... when I was teaching Irish to kids, they come form Dublin a:::nd like all over Ireland a:::nd, they were so interested in the major..a very very big afford to speak it because... they spoke to each other.

M: Really?

M-B: I think it's, it's very difficult to say but I think it's ↑quite good, you know. It could be better ££. But definately it's not tha:t ba:d as it used to be.

M: Do you think that Gaeltacht area is shrinking?

M-B: Yea, yes definately. It is getting smaller even ..area has Gaeltacht status, you know, it's not a Gaeltacht, but it's not all Irish but some parts are recognized as ..like that, that's changing now. ..is getting smaller, even where I live, I can, it was wide more spread like the whole area was Irish speaking, it was a real Gaeltacht but now it's quite as small as ..you know it's quite a small area, that is Irish speaking.

M: So another questin is Do Irish people really need the Irish language today? Some people say that it's not practical, it's not useful.

M-B: A lot of people think it's not useful, yea. I don't think you need it. You don't. I don't think you need it like a lot of the people can get by just with Irish, that's all, a with English (přeřeknutí) ...and I think you can go a lot further with English than you can with Irish, you know ..realisticly, if you want to travel or (whatever), you need to have English, really.

A:::nd e:::m (.) (.) I think (.) I ... a just importat as our culture, well I have spoken Irish all my life, so I but I suppose for certain people, they don't need it. ..use to. You know a lot of people learn it but they have noone to speak it to↑. You know depending on where they live and even at work, there are a lot of places where you don't ↑need Irish, you know..., you don't ↑use it at work, yo it's di, it's difficult and it's hard to know.

M: Do you speak Irish? You do£

M-B: Yes.

M: And you're fluent.

M-B: Yea.

M: Do you use the language a nd how often?

M-B: Every day.

M: Every day?

M-B: Yea, yea. I speak Irish with my fa:mily and I speak Irish at work↑, I speak Irish all the time with my friends like I speak Irish more often than English, so...

M: Really?

M-B: Yea.

M: That's great.

M-B: Yea.

M: Where did you learned Irish?

M-B: I learned it just as, I learnt it, it's my first language. So I didn't have any English before I was very small.... at eight or ...We learned English at school, very little, very little and like both of my parents spoke Irish:h, you know,everyone spoke Irish at that time, you know. It was very...

M: And both of your parents speak Irish?

M-B: Yea, they're both from the Gaeltacht area. ..different but ..

M: Do you need Irish for your work? You need it??

M-B: Yea

M: Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

M-B: Yea, both. We listen to Radió na Gaeltachta:: at home, that's the only radio station my parents listen to ?? . They always listen to .. any English because they're not used to it. So we listen to just... Radió na Gaeltachta a::nd we watch a lot of TG4 but not as much, we watch more English channels. So it's very difficult about this.

M: And which programs do you like at TG4 or Radió na Gaeltachta?

M-B: I like (.) (.) e::m there is one drama called Ros na Rún and so Ros na Rún...one of my ..i know one of the actors and I ..there's a lot of the.. you know music programs, you know like traditional music... there's quite a good....

M: I listened to RTÉ 1 or 2, I don't know which one and there was strange mixture of Irish and English.

M-B: Yea, it's , it's for young people.. really really very very popular. And it's, she speaks, she speaks.. that have Irish and have English but all through... yea, yea

M: They're just switching from one language to another.

M-B: Yea, yea, just like that. It's very popular.

M: Even within one phrase.

M-B: Yea, yea

M: It's strange.

M-B: Yea.

M: Do you want your future children to speak Irish?

M-B: Hmm, definitely, definitely, definitely, yea oh definitely.

M: And will you speak with them at home?

M-B: Yea.

M: Will you send them to Irish school?

M-B: Yea I will, I would like to, well it depends on where you live. Sometimes you quite inaccessible to go to the Irish school or it might be difficult to travel, you know. But I would prefer, if I could to send them to Irish school, but definitely I want them speak Irish... I think I would sooner speak Irish to them than English, you know it's like more natural to ... that.

M: Yea, yea. When you were small, were you told some stories in Irish by your parents?

M-B: Yea, especially by my grandparents. They had a lot of like old like e::: just stories when they were young, you know ..things like that like mythology, you know that.

M: Really?

M-B: And you learn a lot of mythology at school... like Tír na nÓg agus this kind of stories.. you learn it when you're young, when you're at school, so it's very popular.

M: That's great, that's not the same in Czech Republic.

M-B: Really?

M: We have.. there was one person I liked when he lived maybe like ten minutes away not even five minutes away and he used to come in every night. ..when we were very small

they've come to the house, ..cup of tea and ..whatever and he'll be telling stories, yea. It used to be...so interesting, you know that. ...it's nice but it doesn't really happen anymore, you know, you know really.

M: I thought that

M-B: ...the old generation. They're not really there anymore and I had really really they really did.... house, you know or what. They would visit... it's like for I was maybe like four or five, it was still there but I mean now it's completely out. Very very... like my grandparents came in... it

M: I thought that there's some strong oral tradition in Ireland.

M-B: Oh yea. Between.. like music back from, back sounds ..sounds tell the stories like, they're very very, that's on what I did my thesis.. do my master's... because all to do.. there was one family and it was all collection... story. Good, yea, good. ...

M: And did you ever heard the stories that you were told in Irish in English?

M-B: Some of them, yea.

M: Is it the same?

M-B: No, they're not as good. It's not, you know, like it's not .. ↑they have, because it means, you know there'll be a lot more people will get it to know, but they're, I think they're much nicer in Irish. You know they're, I don't know, they're more natural in Irish. You know and the language is nicer.

M: That's right.

M-B: That's what I think.

M: Do you remember some of the stories?

M-B: Yea a lot of them were stories like ..people what they did, you know the stories well like their lifestyle, you know, like the kind of work they do and things like that and a lot of, there's a lot of a lot of stories and ..main the songs a lot of them are the stories in connection to different themes like for example there was a lot of the work, you know there was a lot of... like there was a lot of about boat, because boats were huge part of like fishing in Ireland.. it's such part of like tradition or.. their lifestyle, they had to fish, you know. And there was a lot a lot of ... they're really old like raising ...you know. There's not ... love stories, you know. Always that kind of stuff... spoke about one topic maybe would have been found upon or like you know like maybethat you should have been married or something like that. ...and nobody came out and said Oh did you know or it was like there was no conversation about it. It was just tr.. sounds but everybody knew what are the sounds about. It's ↑interesting!

M: It's really interesting.

M-B: ↑Yea!

Fionnula Ní Chonaire

M: So what's your job?

F: I am a primary school teacher. I teach em children with special needs, so I have them in the classroom but at the moment I have 7, 8 years, I have been teaching children with special needs and they have been in the age of 8 or 7 till 12.

M: And how did you get your Irish?

F: I (.), all of the children learn in their classrooms through Irish..at school, but when I teach I use both languages because children with difficulties, if English is their first language at home, it can be easier just a sort of help them to understand, to ...you know to use it

„English. And.. some children I would only use English when they have a lot of problems and just do not understand. And ... sort of would not understand the same explication in Irish, it's a ...

M: And where are you from?

F: I'm from Spiddal, it's in the Gaeltacht in Connemara.

M: And what did you study?

F: I studied, I have a teaching degree, I studied in St. Patricks college in ... in Dublin and after that I em:: As diploma in the universtiy college in Dublin..different kind of subject as arts and administration, so after that I interrupt it fot teaching fulltime and I taught in London for first two years. ..finished the college

M: So what do you think about the current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying?

F: I would be very positive. I, em, would be of the opinion that e:: there is a revival and I think, I think that the Gaeilscoil has a lot to do with people having a more positive attitude towards language. I think the fact..Gaeilscoils are, you know opening in areas, a parts of the country where's a very little Irish, it, here at the centre for children Gaeilscoils tend to be very enthusiastic themselves because they some of them want to make classes so that they are learning with their children and they do with them their homework. So I would be very positive and ..language will survive in future.

M: Yea, so you speak Irish, you're fluent I suppose.

F: I am fluent, yes. I grew up in the Gaeltacht and I would speak Irish I suppose at my family and some friends that e: live in my area but I mean that ..we allways speak Irish because we allways ...and I speak sometimes with my husband, sometimes we speak Irish, mainly in English but some Irish.

M: And how often do you speak Irish?

F: Well, at work I speak Irish every day, you know teachers...with each other, or children,you speak at work with children and with the teachers, so through the day, I would be speaking irish, maybe, yea

M: And where did you learn the language?

F: I learned it, I suppose, from when I was baby, my parents, my mother is still learning the language, my father spoke ..I suppose I learned Irish..I had more Irish than English when I went to school. I learned it at home and I suppose I went on in my local Gaeltacht shool and continued.

M: You said that your mother wasn't an Irish speaker, when she mooved to the Gaeltacht and had to learn it.

F: She was learning it at home when I was a baby, so she was practising on me, I suppose. So I'm the eldest, I was the first baby, so ...when my sister came along a year later she was m::: you know quite good. And my dad spoke all Irish so I ended up having mainly Irish when I went to school and then I learned English right away.

M: Ok, so Irish is your first language.

F: Yea

M: So do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

F: I do, I don't , I don't listen to Radió na Gaeltachta, sometimes if I'm listening to something that happened in the news or in my area because they do em:: local news in Radió na Galtachta. ..Connemara, you know If you search ..I suppose public notices if somebody has died or whatever you want to get details about funeral, I would listen to a for for ...maybe I have a frind working in Radió na Gaeltatachta and I might sometimes listen to her program when she's on air ..and would mainly I suppose, I would watch TG4 more than listen to the Radió and I like let's say some of their documentaries they'te great,.. mainly documentaries and again Ros na Rún, I watch..

M: Do you think that the media is making the language more popular? Is it a kind of fashion to watch Irish programs?

F: I do think so and I think that the hardest people to encourage are teenagers and TG4 I think cleverly started a program that I called ...and that's I suppose a set of early teens and that's the age when a lot of the children might switch off, the primary school children age because the primary school age is the most ...what... encourage and maybe the ideal, so I think dealing with their age... switch on. Bringing in something a kind of program, that's modern and contemporary.. and I suppose ... issues that teenagers are interested in, you know. So making it attractive.. sort of their ...for children that have all levels of Irish because it's subtitled, so children that do not have much Irish improve their Irish and watch something that's interesting.

M: You said that there are some cartoons for small children.

F: There are ..Yes, there are also for small children I suppose, they started on by producing a lot of their own but they didn't have enough, I suppose, they have, they have, they buy in cartoon that are popular, I suppose with children, children of various ages...they translate it to Irish or

M: They learn the language through the stories?

F: They are learning through the stories and children will learn, you know, it's a, it's a leaning through stories..the way to learn because it's interactive.

M: Do you think it's a good way to learn the language?

F: It's a brilliant way because children are engaging and interacting with sort of the characters in the cartoons or in the stories. So it's a great way for children and they are learning without realizing that they're learning. So I think, yea

M: Do you want your future children to speak Irish?

F: I would love! I'd love them to speak Irish, yea

M: Will you speak to them Irish?

F: I would, yes, and Colm would love, my husband would love, you know, he would enjoy it speaking Irish, ..withfuture children

M: Would you speak to them both languages or just Irish?

F: E:::m I suppose it's good to have one language, you mainly speak, so probably, yea I know I, I, my sister, they just spoke one language and child ends being very very good in that language rather than trying to speak both languages, so I would think I would focus on one language and when the child goes to school they will a:::llways learn English very quickly, so yea..

M: Would you put your child to the Gaeilscoil?

F: I would and there are quite a number of them, there are Irish speaking schools and the gaeilscoils ..always there's a ...choice, to choose both from primary and secondary schools.

M: Would you tell them the traditional myth and legends in Irish?

F: Em, yea I would, em because ...lovely stories in any language I think.. to listen to them in Irish great when they're young and once they start learning English. Again it would be lovely with them to ...or to expose them to the same stories in English, you know.

M: And did you listen to storytelling when you were a child in Irish?

F: Em:: I do remember ...we were small then I'd use to sit down and make up stories and so and then at school em:: I don't think I don't actually remember to be read too many stories at school, I know at home we were read stories and that was very good, making up stories as well and I think, when you're smalland you enjoy all kinds of stories, you know.

M: You told...

F: Yes, sometimes we invite em::, I suppose, ...drama art music into school so I think about two years we invited a storyteller from county Clare into the school and he, he had written his own book and he just sat there and hold a long story to the, to the children and he I suppose

told the story to the younger children....and something more advanced for the, for the, you know for the older ones and ...they really really enjoyed that, you know.

M: And you said that the children learn the language through these stories?

F: Yes they do, it helps to develop and and to even thinking up a new words that the may not have before it helps to develop their language I suppose, you know.

M: And are they doing some activities themselves like theater or puppetry?

F: Well the smaller children, em: one of the ways the smaller children learn the language when they went to school is through drama and through reciting you know and it's short recitals and they're .. engaging with the little puppets so being told Irish by sort of a little dramams it's you know little puppets and it's, it's ..plays and you know various forms of a drama and it's a brilliant brilliant way ..for the smallest children because they'll always remember the songs and it's there were a little sentences that they learned through and they will understand the meaning because ..learn through the form, you know through the drama.. you know the original way ..sort of teaching

M: Thank you

F: So that was quick.

Frank O'Railly

M: Your name is Frank O'Railly and your age?

F: fifty seven £

M: And what's your job?

F: I work for myself a (.) and (.) (.) (blrf)water systems, do you understand that, yea?

M: Hmm, and what did you study?

F: I studied↑, e::: what I studied, marketing really, yea

M: Marketing, yea, And where are you from?

F: Dublin

M: Dublin?

F: I were there more than thirty ye:ars but I'm twenty five years in Galway now↑.

M: What do you think about current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying and why do you think that?

F: Em:: I (.)think it ↑pretty much staying the same. Em:: (.) (.) (.) They (.) even in the Gaeltacht areas, people (.) would always speak (.) in Irish. I went↑. (.)to Donegal, (.) quite a lot when I was young (.) (.) and to the Irish colleges (.) and people would always (.) speak, if you went to a shop, they would always speak to you in Irish but they don't do that anymore.

M: Even in Donegal?

F: Even Donegal there in the west (.) (.) and (.) there's, there's areas that were Gaeltachts thirty years ago and they're not anymore.

M: Hmm

F: I think it's getting smaller but for certain years outside (.) the Gaeltacht areas there is (.) >quite a lot of people< (.) that are interested. Now we have the (.) the (.) Irish schools Gaeilscoilleana which (.) were only in the past few years, so e (.) (.) I think it'll will ↓stay at a level, it won't (.) (.) you'll never have (blrf) the main language or even. (.) (.) (.) bilingual, mixed but a e ↑it's not going to go away, it's not going to disappear, you know that

M: Which factor do you think is the most important for the revival of the language?

F: Em:::

M: You mentioned the Gaelscoils

F: The Gaelscoils, that's certainly important. There's a ↑lot of resistance and people, you know, in school(.) people get extra points (.) for (.) for doing(.) the the exams through Irish even (.) in the teachers training colleges. There's some like twenty percent (.) of people (.) of places that (.)are (.) desired for students from the gaeltacht and a lot of people object↑ it. I think if (.) there wasn't such a favoritism (.)given to (.) (.) y (.)young people who are from the gaeltacht area a lot of. (nádech) ↑a lot would be more ↑interested ay, a:iso (.) (.) for a lo::ng time in seventies and eighties em:: (blrf) The travels in north (.) and a lot of people sort as (.) as (.) associated Irish language (.) activists with (.) supporters of some violence and (.) terrorism.

M: Really?

F: Oh yea↓ (.) (.) (.) pretty much so.

M: Do you think it's a kind of fashion to speak Irish?

F: Kind of what?

M: Kind of fashion or trendy.

F: Yea certainly this, yea, em:: (.) (.)you would see even in the shop people (.)saying to you go raibh maith agat, which e (.) not (.)didn't (.) (.) (.) resounded for past years. Put a few words of Irish (.) into the everyday speech. Hmm

M: Do you think that Irish people really need the Irish language?

F: ↑I think so↓! I know some people say (.), that's what make us (.) different, tha's what makes us (.) Irish. (blrf) language. That's a::.. like we also (blrf) in sports and music and dancing but(.) >I think that the most people think that the language is what separates you< from other nations, yea, hm, hm

M: Yea Do you personally speak Irish?

F: Very little, no.

M: Cupla focal ?

F: ↑Cupla focal, yea £ ↑I wa::s very good when I went at school (.)just (.) (.) I'm (.) I'm sure I could have make it if I (blrf) so far (blrf)£

M: Oh yea if you don't speak it you lose it.

F: (blrf) true, true

M: Where did you learn the language?

F: The same as everyone really at school, except I also went to (.) (.)the language courses in summer.

M: Oh summer courses in Gaeltacht

F: yea, taht were the shools, summer schools, three weeks yea. Twice I went to Donegal and once to (.) Connemara. They were great (blrf).

M: Hmm. Did your parents speak Irish at home?

F: No, not at all.

M: Hmmm so Irish isn't your first language, it's English.

F: English, sure sure..

M: Do you need Irish for your work?

F: No I don't need it, no.

M: Do you sometimes watch Tg4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

F: ↑I do, yea, yea, yea

M: And which programs?

F: Yea, it's (.) that's:: (.) , I would (.) like sometimes some spo:rts on (.) TG4 and strangely, at the (.) the cricket.

M: Cricket?

F: Cup (.) where Ireland did (.) very well, very much better (.) than they ever had planned. That was on TG4 for (blrf) I watch that, I didn't (.) I watched it because I wanted to watch (.) the pictures not so much hear that (.) the language..

M: Yeas but there are subtitles.

F: No, No, not in the sports, not. Sometimes there are, (.) ↑I'm sure that sometimes there are on TG4 and I wu (.), I wouldn't (.) listen to Radió na Galetachta. Hmm

M: Do you want your children to speak Irish?

F: It's up to themselves. They don't They're all grown up. All in their twenties, so they haven't (.) they haven't done it. No, no

M: Do you know some traditional myths and legends?

F: Myths and legends?

M: Like Irish, I don't know The Táin and the stories about the Fianna?

F: No, no would not, no I would not.

M: You didn't read them?

F: ↑I'm sure I did it at some state but (.) I certainly wu (.) wouldn't be able to tell the story like that, no, no. We, we did them at school, some, not a lot but some of these acinet legends and stories, no..

M: Did you read them in Irish or English?

F: Probably (.) a bit of both. But I think that was actually a problem, that people associated it (.) as asas as has been fashin with these o::ld stories and o::ld times (.) and people didn't (.) think of Irish as (.) modern. They think it of for young (.) fasionable people.

M: But I think it became more poplular

F: Oh it is, yes, yes (.) (.) It is definately, yes. I am (.) But you see signs in Irish which, y, you wouldn't see before (.) (.) (.) and everywhere like all the road signs (.) mostly in Irish and English which wasn't like this.

M: It wasn't?

F: No

M: It's the same in Brittany but they don't have the language. They have the signs in Breton and French but they don't have the language. And it's strange

F: That's the same in Wales (.) they have the (blrf)signs in both lanuages and sometimes only in Welsh, but sometimes..

M: So tahnk you

F: Oh, OK, fine.

Siobhán Molloy

M: What's your job? What are you doing at the moment?

S: I'm unemployed, yea.

M: And what did you do before?

S: What did I do before, I (.) (.) (.) I've just finished a play, so I like acting, I like drama.

M: So you're actor, actress?

S: Yea, in a sense, so I hope to ..more and I like dancing as well.

M: Oh it's great!

S: Yea, yea, yea, yea that's me.

M: And what did you study?

S I (.) I studied drama, I suppose, I didn't really study, it .Universtiy one year and I left for , left for a kind of financial reasons (.) and (.) (.) and I was studying e::::m (.) (.) (.) (.) (.) applied psychology and filosophy a::::nd (.) (.) French.

M: And are you from Galway or some other city?

S: I'm from Galway, I'm from Uachtar Ard...it is.. Connemara

M: Is it a part of the Gaeltacht?

S: I come from an area, I come from an area where no Irish has been spoken. In the middle of the Gaeltacht in living memory ...and yea, ten miles back the road there may be Irish spoken and ten miles ..ten miles in Moycullen, which is ten miles.. if you like, in the side of the city, Irish can be spoken as well. So..pockets, so I come up from..where no Irish has been spoken.

M: Hmmm, yea and what do you think of the current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying? And why do you think that?

S: I don't, I don't feel qualified to to answer that but I think it maybe has gone through revival. You know and in the sense that in (.) the light of the economy,and in light of effects that it has on the people, just kind of the grounding effect, so people, if you like, are going back to the roots, so that may be positive, that may have positive influence on the language.

M: Hmm, yea

S: And I think the TV stations, TG4 , em: TV3 (nezná asi ani číslovky) (.) (.) (.) definitely provide e:: (.) (.) an interest if you like e:: (.) (.) they provide e (.) (.) (.) (.) (.) an attraction if you like, for the language.

M: Yea they make it a kind of fashion to speak Irish, because everyone watches the programs. Do you think that it's fashionable to speak Irish?

S: Yea, it is, it is, it is, yea (.) (.) it is

M: even for young people like students and teenagers?

S: Even ..I can't say for young people, I can't speak for young people. ..gone out of the school right now, but I think it, it would have the positive influence because of the music programs for teenagers a::::nd a ...programs, so it's kind of (.) (.) helping promoting the language.

M: Yea, do you think that the media is the main factor?

S: But I still feel it comes from, if you grow up and you hear Irish been spoken then you got ha.. than you're gonna speak it more naturally. But when you grow up in a house where Irish isn't spoken, (.) then it doesn't matter how many TV programs are available. ..you don't necessarily go to speak it.

M: Yea, it must be natural. If someone in family speaks, it's much better.

S: hmmm

M: Ok, ok, hmm What do you think? Do Irish people really need the Irish language?

S: Really need the language. (ticho)

M: Do they need it?

S: (dlouhé ticho) You mean in a practical sense?

M: In any sense.

S: Hmmm (.)I think so, I think so. For me personally I think we need it. E:::::m

M: And why, why do you think they learn it? Why do you think they're so interested in it?

S: (.) (.) (.) Well we're encouraged to learn it because it's part of our identity (.)

M: Sure.

S: and we fought very hard for that. And we didn't speak or language (.) for a long time.

A::::nd we had an occupation here.

M: Hmm sure

S: Last I think seven hundred years at least. If I'm right. E::: (.) (.) So I think it goes with that, it goes with that sense of hunting out who we are. And that I feel, I feel that because of that (.) when you take some (.) language, it is very important, your mother tongue, so it's been taken from you, it has been taken from us, we don't have it as a nation, evenhnow there are parts. It has survived in parts and died in another's a::::nd so I feel it's important because it's connection with who we are, where we come from (.) language.

M: Yea, do you personally speak Irish?

S: Just a little.

M: Just a little, cúpla focal.

S: Cúpla focal é

M: Do you use Irish language sometimes to talk with someone?

S: A::

M: And when?

S: No::, just a cúpla focal. Maybe slán agus (blrf) agus „Cén bhfuil tú“ (*jedná se o frázi jak se máš, v oblasti Galway zní správně: „Cén chaoi a bhfuil tú?“ V Kerry se pak používá ve tvaru: „Connas atá tú?“*) ↑Cúpla focal, not for conversation but I would like to (.) and I would be able to like to speak more . My experience is that I can understand it better than I speak it.

M: Yes, that's usually like that. And where did you learn it? Did you learn it at school or at home?

S: We have all:: have to learn it at school. E::: it's compulsive. A:::nd it was compulsive when I was at school. A:::nd (.) (.) (.) you go there in five and you start learning and you leave it in eighteen and generally most people can't speak more than a cúpla focal after having

M: How is it possible?

S: That's a question. I (.) you're asking me a question, but I'm typical of most people who have started to learn Irish at five years old a:::nd I have e e e, you know, from e continuously through the age of eighteen and ..leave school was very little. Because it's not spoken, I guess, it's not spoken outside the school.

M: Yea but I started at the age of ten learning English and I can speak it.

S: Yes but you can go to countries where English is (.) widely and actively spoken.

M: Yea but I learned it at school, you know, and I'm for the first time in the English speaking country and it's not.. It is the education system.

S: Well, I think that it's still.. we don't use it.

M: Yea, so you forget it.

S: You forget it. We're not e, we're not in ..and I think we have a shyness when speaking it as well.

M: Yea, maybe that's it.

S: A:::nd for example (.) (.) (.) a friend of mine said to me that another friend was leaving (.) (.) a messages on answering machine in Irish and she found it potentious.

M: She found it what?

S: Potentious.

M: Sorry I didn't understand the word.

S: Yea I think I can ..for example effective.

M: Oh yea.

S: For example if you're trying to be trendy (.) because it's seen as kind of trendy (.) to speak Irish, people may think you've been not authentic to yourself.

M: Hmmm

S: So that can be all part of (.)our national ↑team£££.

M: Yea é

S: Just for example of something.

M: Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

S: ↑Sometimes.

M: Yea and which programs?

S: I like the documentaries on TG4.

M: Oh yea, a lot of people like documentaries. And through one survey which was made in Loughrea, I'll show you... For me it was surprise about the programs, that most of the people like sports and the documentaries and the news are on the forth place. It surprised me.

S: Hmm why news are on the forth place?

M: I don't know ££

S: ££ Ok, the children's TV.

M: And which documentaries do you like?

S: I don't have a favourite but any I've seen on TG4 have been well made, very well made, good quality. A:::nd it gives you a sense (.) (.) that it's subtitled, I suppose, gives you feeling that maybe one day I can learn it, one day I'll understand it as well, because I have a sense (.) of what's been spoken and it's explained as well in the subtitles. I get a sense of learning from that. (blrf) which I like. When I do (.), when I do watch TV or TG4.

M: Yea it helps learning.

S: Yea

M: Sure, it's good. Do you want your children to speak Irish?

S: Well I don't have any £££

M: ££ so your future children maybe.

S: Well if they're there, yes! It would be good, yea. It's nice and it's nice and my, my friend's children (.) I see them learning Irish (.) and they've come here from South Africa↑ (.) and it's lovely.

M: Really?

S: It's not (.) It's lovely to see it, it's very (.) (.) it's beautiful. (.) (.) I see them going around the house (.) singing (.) Irish songs that I learned when I was at school. A:::nd even their dad can sing them. And he has come here from completely different culture. £££

M: And he himself speaks Irish?

S: No, not at all £ but he's learning it from simple children's songs like Cuig cathair ££.

M: Oh it's nice. And they learn it at school?

S: They learn it at school, yea they're learning Irish songs. (.) (.) (.) And I noticed that I (.) actually (.) (.) (.) maybe it's a good way to learn a language (.) through music, through songs because you pick it up more easily, I feel I do. So I had an idea yesterday when I spoke to Niall that I'd ask him to teach me some Irish songs ££

M: Yea that's good.

S: A and Niall can sing Irish songs. He will sing one for you, if you want ££. So I suppose I'm not an native Irish speaker eventhough I come from a native Irish place (.) that it doesn't have the language. So that itself can create a sense of apartness.

M: Hmm

S: Yea.

M: Do you think that the Gaeltacht area is shrinking?

S: Yes but I think hopefully, hopefully (.) (.) it's becoming bilingual. Hopefully they will maintain the Irish. For example in certain areas it's very strong in Carna for example, it's completely Irish.

M: Yea?

S: Completely, one hundred percent, everyone speaks Irish.

M: And it's their first language?

S: It's their first language and some people wouldn't have English, really. Like (.) e, em::: they wouldn't have (.), would have might have difficulty in reading English (.) (.) for example.

M: Really?

S: Yea. You'd have to go there really to visit.

M: I'd like to, maybe next year.

S: Yea, yea, I'm sure there's a lot of work on this.

M: Yea.

S: Yea.

M: And to your future children, will you send them to Gaeilscoil?

S: (.) (.) (.) Yes, definately. Definately, (.) I hope so, I hope so, I would like to be, I would like (blrf) is taught in a gentle way. Also that is not (.) (.) forced (on peoples necks) Em::: forced on anybody's neck. And aqalso the attitude I have whn I was learning, going to school and this is very much an Irish education method, when this is maybe somethink ..coming form my time I don't think that changed that much. It was, the whole focus was on getting as many as you could for your leaving cert. So that was the whole focus rather than having an education for it's own sake, because of the economic situation in Ireland especially in the time, times I was coming from it was all about jobs, jobs, jobs, jobs and jobs.

M: Yea.

S: So it was complete (.) (.) emphasis on that.

M: On practical

S: Yea. It was seen as something you have to do to get by

M: Yea, so dou you think that you were forced to something at school? The language or

S: Em (.) (.) (.) (.) (.) em:: (.) (.) (.) I ↑think as a teenager, if I'm honest with you, I thoutht it was a bit (.) (.) (.) (.) (.), if I'm really honest with you, I thought it was a bit e::: (.) (.) there was definately some feeling of::: (.) (.) Irish tha (.) (.) it wasn't as:::, it wasn't as (.) (.)> it's not an elegant language<. I don't know how to describe it. It's a (blrf) language and even having an Irish, strong Irish accent might seem you're a culty, somebody from the bog. There was kind of an attitude that you were somehow second class. Yea, that's just something that's coming through me remembering

M: Yea

S: I don't know where they came form. And I was about sixteen before began a fool of the the language beautiful Irish stories and poems and the Irish poetry which has, which has it's own music.

M. Hmm

S: Yea. So it's something form myself personally, that I didn't learn, I wish, I wish, I wish I had a (.) (.) (.) (.) applied myself more carefully or arrange it more well but (.) (.) then I did.

M: The last question are about sotrytelling. Did you listen to storytelling when you were at school?

S: At school?

M: Yea

S: ↑Not really↓apart form th, apart from what was on the school curriculum (.) which in my days was Peig Sayers and also as well thre's a lot of tragedy and a lot of pain in that story and it's maybe difficult for young people to ralate to it. A:::nd >she was somebody, you would love or hate<. The opening sentence is Sean bhean, is mise sean bhean anis (blrf) which means I'm an old woman with one foot in grave.

M: And what was the name of the story?

S: Peig Sayers, it was on that leaving cert sullabus for (.) (.)

M: Can you write it?

S: Yea and it's about her life (blrf) going up from the Blasket Islands

M: Oh yea, yea

S: It's a very hard life and it's about the hardship. E:::m, so I think (.) looking back, it, Irish didn't seem fun a and glamourous or it didn't have any romantic heroin. (.) (.) (.) (.) I like the, the, the poem, some of the stories myself which may come form The Táin. Are you famillinar with Táin and Táin Bó Coulainge?

M: Yea,yea

S: Yea.

M: The legends and the mythology.

S: They're very interesting! >They're all, or some of them are magical<. And they're talking about things that were never fully explained to me and they don't actually translate into another language as far as I concerned. For example Bhí sé faoi geis. When a man is a (.) when a woman asks for example in celtic, in these Irish stories when a man, when a woman asks a man to do something for her she has to do it. And he, he he can not refuse her. And even if it means to betray his best friend, his very best friend. And if he betrays his best friend his best friend will kill him.

M: Really?

S: Of course for example em::: in the example Diramuid agus Gráinne, she's to run away with e:::

M: With Finn?

S: The friend, I think, I'm just trying to remember, and I just keep remember that that the reference is in my leavin cert and that was called (.) it was called Faoi geis which means he was under obligation

M: Oh, yea, it's the geis, I know.

S: You know what I'm talking about?

M: Oh yea, that's the obligation that he have to do something or he can't do something.

S: yea

M: Yea, I know.

S: So I didn't understand about how the system worked and it was all very interesting. I would like have known more about it. For the teacher explained more about that.

M: Which of the stories do you like the most?

S: Well I like Tóraíocht Dhiarmada agus Gráinne and I love (.) I love the symbolism in (.) and (.) Deidre and sons of Uisnech a:::nd I love The Children of Lir and as time goes on, I'm trying to, I'm trying to actually use those stories in personal way and see what they represent in terms of the healing and in terms for me (.) in my life (.) as archetypes. A:::n because I, I could see it has been done obviously in another culture (blrf) stories so I like it. It's wonderful to have an access to all these Spanish ta:::les and Don Quijotee::: and Blue Bird. I can't I can't access my own, you know. So hopefully in time I will be able to access in it more clearly. And I think they're coming up a little bit clearly. More clear to me. I've been thinking about this for a long time.

M: OK, I really like the Irish stories, they're really beautiful. I bought Lady Gregory's tales and the Táin, which is great.

S: Oh, The Táin, it's great, Tá Bó Coulainge

M: And you read these stories in Irish at school or you read them in English?

S: I read in (.), I read (.), I (.) well I have, for my leavin cert I had Tóraíocht Dhiarmada agus Gráinne and it was written in old Irish.

M: Old Irish?

S: It seemed to be and I found it very difficult (.) actually (.) it was very difficult or almost unaccessible to me.

M: Really?

S: Yea (.) if I'm honest, even if I found it very interesting.

M: And you were doing old Irish at school for the leaving certificate?

S: Sorry?

M: You did old Irish at school?

S: I feel the language in that book Tóraíocht was very difficult. Tóraíocht Dhiarmada agus Gráinne which is what we studied (.), I studied. A lot of it was over my head. The only thing I can remember is that faoi geis thing, the obligation thing which fascinated me as I'm eighteen years old ££££

M: Yea that's typical Irish.

S: An I would like to find Irishman who was obliged to ££££ to obey me ££.

M: And some of the gies seems to be nonsense like I don't know, walk in the waves in the morning or like that.

S: Yea, that's why it was very, I thought, I'd love to meet somebody who understands this.

M: Yea.

S: And who can explain this to me. The significance of the(.) of thegeis. That would can be what I 'd love to solve. (blrf)

M: I don't know if someone can. You know it was a different time, people were thinking in a different way..

S: Yes so obviously some of it's been lost. Because it's a magiacal kind of way coming from a different costum.

M: Hmm it is. So thank you very much.

S: You're very wellcome, you're very wellcome.

John Fitzgibbon (manžel Sobhán Arkins)

M: So what's your age?

J: I'm (.) (.) forty seven.

M: You work as a librarian.

J: Yea.

M: Hmm and what did you study?

J: What did I study? E:::m I studied e:::m (.) public administration↑ and (.) then I did a postgraduate course i::n library studies in Dublin. I in Dublin exactly, yea.

M: Ok and where are you originally from?

J: I'm from county >Limerick<.

M: How long have you been to Galway?

J: I have been here since (.) November 1995.

M: Yea, that's quite long.

J: Yea, fourteen years and a week. Yea, fourteen years £££.

M: £ are you from Limerick? Directly?

J: I'm from Limerick county, e:::m just seven miles outside Limerick city from Crecora and (.)it's about seventy miles south of Galway. It's in Munster.

M: Is it a part of the Gaeltacht?

J: It's not, no. It's not.

M: OK and what do you think ybout the current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying and why?

J: E:::m I:: (.) <would think it is dying> be:cau:::s the::: gaeltachts are getting smaller.

E:::m there is a womam who worked here e:::m e: and she's just retired but her husband was from Barna and Barna is about three miles outside Galway city and he's a native Irish speaker, he's in his sixties. So he, when he was a child e::: the Gaeltacht came in as far (.), as far as Barna, cqme in that close to Galway city. And he, he like e::: he's relatively young man so about fifty to sixty ears ago (.) the Gaeltacht was about three miles outside of Galway, outside the city of Galway. E:::m so definately the Gaeltachts are getting smaller. There are fewer people even in the Gaeltacht i can imagine there are poeple movng in not speaking (.) Irish, they're speaking English because Irish is very difficult to learn. It's something simillar in the Bask countries. Em::: there's (.) in the Bask language, because it's very very difficult oto learn Bask language, so people are moving to the area are, are(.) speak Spanish but don't speak e: (.) don't speak e: the Bask language.

M: Do you think it is the main factor that the gaeltacht is shrinking? Because many people learn the language and they're not from the gaeltacht? There are the Gaelscoils.

J: They do, >but they learn the language at schools< and (.) (.)m:: but em:: you learn language at school but we don't need to use the language. To communicate to each other like >even somebody from the gaeltacht who can speak< e::m (.) (.) it was who speaks Irish, you know the person but speak English. You don't have to make the effort, speaking Irish to him, to communicate, em a::nd:: RTÉ, one of the TV station did an experiment (.) where by (.) they got a person traveling around the country, and he could on(,), he would only speak in Irish, >he would only go into the pub< and he would only (.) (.) communicate in Irish and the the experiment was to see if <he could get by> (.) (.) e:: speaking Irish only. If enough people understand him. Now he met quite a lot of hostility and he interpreted a hostility to be against the ↑Irish language. But in fact the hostility wa::s: because people thought he was a tension seeking because they knew he can speak Irish, they also knew he can speak English. And he insisted in speaking Irish and would not speak English. People (blrf) that etc. became angry with him. So anybody can speak Irish, you know that he can speak English. So even though if you've learned Irish and you're from a nongaeltacht area, you don't have to make the effort (.) (.) to talk to the person in Irish. E::m there a lot of e:: i::t's difficult to say in the cities. It seems to be doing quite well unexpectedly. There's a lot of books been published in Irish. There are children's books been published in Irish, so a lot of (.) a lot (.) there are a lot of people who are very keen to revive it and see it being revived and so forth but em like all our main newspapers are in English. It's very difficult to get an (.) an Irish newspaper and I don't think they sell well I mean y: y: y: you there are web sites for v(.) various newspapers like l: l: l: like the oldest one and (.) but I: I: I: if you look at their circulation figures and you compare their circulation figures with the Irish times (.) or with the mainstream newspapers it would be very very far behind. If you go into shops i::n i::n Galway and you wouldn't see an Irish Sunday newspaper or Irish newspaper. You would only see, ↑this is a Galway city now, you would only see (.) English papers, you can do that experiment, you would see that. Now we do have (.) we do have a radio station that's in Irish and we have a TV channel that's in Irish (.) (.) but em (.) (.) but I mean> in case of the tv channel< I: I: I: it's subtitled and you can often watch (.) other programs like you're watching sports a lot on (.) the Irish channel when (.) when the language isn't the factor because it's completely visual, you know, y: y: you just ignore what the commentator is saying and (.) watch the game, so

M: Good, thank you e, do you think it's a kind of fashion to speak Irish today for the young people? Is it trendy?

J: E:::m (.) (.) >I think it's (blrf) in the city <(.) maybe (.) (.) (.) but I, I <wouldn't be so sure, e: e: like the Gaelscoileanna are very trendy>. I would think that the wealthy people tend to send their children to the Gaelscoil, the (.) the Irish (.) speaking school, for (.) for (.) a pri (.) for the young (.) for the very young children. E:::m but a part from that I wouldn't (.) (.) I wouldn't think it is, no, now working in the public service (.) (.) you would meet, you would (.) come into contact very very little with Irish. I mean most people you meet, your daily (.) in your working day (.) (.) would speak to you in English, you don't speak Irish. E::: and you would have people from outside of the Gaeltacht that would speak (.) that would be speaking to you in (.) in Irish from time to time.

M: Do you think that the Irish people really need the language and why?

J: E:::m I would (.) hate to see it die out because em a lot of our placenames are in Irish and e (.) you just (.) wouldn't understand (.) what the placename ment. E::: Really ment (.) without the language, because e:: like there's a place (.) beside me and Limerick (.) and it's called (.) Killpeacon and (.) what it means is: (.) it means the church of the crows (.) peacon (.) is crow (.) and kill is church. When the English try to pronounce it they would have (.) they would

have mispronounced it. And the meaning would become lost if you don't know the Irish language, so so people go back and say (.) this is what the word was initially. Even though they're transmuted or changed by English through the time. E::: this is what it means, e: e: and Ireland is full of (.) like all our placenames and virtually all our placenames are in Irish so to really understand what they mean (.) em:: you need Irish, you need some level of Irish. So from that point of view I: I wouldn't like to see it die out, die out completely.

M: Do you speak Irish?

J: I speak a little.

M: A little.

J: Yea but I try to avoid having to speak it.

M: What does it mean a little? You know, people who know few words would

J: I could, yea, yea I wouldn't have practice Irish a lot but I speak it quite well when I left school because I went to the Gaeltacht for four summers (.) in a row (.) so I was in the gaeltacht (.) for about three and half weeks each summer, speaking Irish all the time so by the time when I left secondary school (.) I, I, I'd got Irish (.) I could (.) I could speak Irish. And then since I left secondary school I wouldn't have (.), I wouldn't have much practice (.), so I did lose quite a bit.

M: Yea, but that's not just a little. You know when people say they can speak a little, they just know a little bit.

J: Oh yea, I know, I know, I would, I would, I would understand much better than I speak. I could watch an Irish programme and I would understand. I would listen to a radio and I would understand everything (blf) what's been said. Yea £ Now I'd be > when I try to think of an Irish word it's the French word that would come into my head. Reverse when I'm trying to speak French it's the Irish word that comes into my head <. £

M: Ok, where did you learn the language?

J: E::: in school, primary school and secondary school and I went to the gaeltacht as well.

M: The summer courses.

J: The summer courses, exactly yea, yea.

M: And did your parents speak to you?

J: In Irish? No.

M: English.

J: Only English.

M: Do you need Irish for your work?

J: Em::: I would say about five per cent of the time. That would be the extent of it. So the rest (.) The most people I meet e:: through my e:: intercourses i:::n my work speak English. E::: most of them speak only English and they have no wish to speak Irish.

M: Do you speak at home with Siobhán?

S: In Irish? £ No, no, no, she pretty told you we did.£££

M: ££ Yea, she did ££.

S: Not true £££

M: £££ Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta? You already said that you watch TG4 and which programs?

J: I (.) watch sport and em::: and I would watch, yea I would watch sports and I would watch (.) often I would see, I would be watching and American program. That's translated into Irish or it's dubbed over Irish, it could be a reality tv program. That's a reality tv program called Survival that would be e::: there would be a (blf) in (.) Irish and there (.) there's (.) subtitles would be in English. E::: so I would watch that. But e: if it was in English I would e: (.) it would be easier for me ££. So, so it's the same as sport. I watch sport and on the (.) Irish language program (blf) on the Irish language channel. E:::m but e: e: e: e: that's purely visual,

if if the (.) comentator would be speaking English it would be easier for me but e:: if it was in Spanish i would still watch it, so £££

M: £££ Ok. Are you interested in documentaries?

J: I (.) in documentaries? Yea↓ I would. I watch documentaires on it as well, yea. They're all subtitled. They're all e: e: e: subtitled in English, yea.

M: Ok Do you want your future children to speak Irish?

J: E::::m yes a little but I wouldn't like it to be compulsory, that they would have to learn it. I'd like if there's an option to learn it.

M: Would you talk to them in Irish at home?

J: Probably a little, yea.

M: OK. Would you send them to Gaeilcoil?

J: Well <I'd (.) (.) (.) rather not. No, I wouldn't be that enthusiastic>. I wouldn't (.) I prefer them to e::: learn through English.

M: Why?

J: Em (.) (.) I think (.) I think em::: (.) school can be chalenging enough for a young person. E: e: e: e: like of they have to lern (.) through (.) a second lanugage, it would be even more difficult. So it would be easier for them to learn through their first language.

M: yea

J: Well English would be their first lanuage.

M: Ok, would you tell them some stories in Irish, I mean the traditional myths and legends like..?

J: Yea, yes, they're all translated into English, so the (.) they would (.) they would read about them anyway in English, I mean (.) most children would read those stories in English rather than in Irish. E::::m but I mean, I would e::: (blrf) red them in Irish as well but I those stories em::: the children stories (.) they have to be simplified anyway. But they were not originally written as children stories so e::: going back to the original Irish would be too difficult for a child anyway, so read a simplified version wether you get in English or Irish, so it doesn't really matter wether in English or Irish then.

M: Hmmm Did you personally listen to storytelling when you were a child?

J: In:: (.) in Irish (.) em::: (.) (.) no, I don't think so. No (blrf) no.

M: It's quite popular the storytelling in Ireland.

J: There is, yea but I would have listen ot stories in English. All right, but not in Irish and I would listen to these stories, lengends, the Fionn Mac Cullain story in English rather in Irish. I've heard those in English, or red. Yea.

M: so Thank you very much

J: Oh, OK, That's it.

Colm Cantillon (manžel Fionully Ní Connaire)

M: Can you write here your name because I never know how to write it.

C: That's the English version (.) or in Irish it's.

M: You don't have that O'?

C: No it's not. So I'll tell you something about Irish names. When in English it's Colm Cantillon↑ but in Irish it's Colm DeCantalún↓. And if the Irish names in Irish, if they have De in front of them it means thay're Norman, they come form Normandy. All of the O's and Macs means that the're indigeous Irish£.

M: Oh yea.

C: £££ That was a thousand years ago so I think we can (blrf) £££.

M: That's interesting. So you're an architect?

C: I am indeed. Is ailtre mise, I'm an architect £££.

M: And you studied architecture and something else?

C: E:: I did architectural technology which was a construction first of all for four years and then I studied architectural design for three years. So it was good and the first part of it in Ireland in Limerick (blrf) and the other bit in Edinburgh a number years later.

M: And where are you from? Are you from Gaway?

C: No I'm not, I'm actually from Tralee from county Kerry, small village very close to (blrf)

M: Yea, I was there.

C: I't maybe ten kilometres from (blrf) Trá lí Gaeilge (blrf, mluví Irsky)

M: Is it a part of the Gaeltacht area?

C: No it's not but it's close to the Gaeltacht area.

M: So what do you think about current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying and why?

C: <It's interesting question from speaking with a lot of my friends I would say it probably increasing in usage in English speaking areas but decreasing in usage in some of the Irish speaking areas though not all of them>. I think currently there are probably 1,5 or 1,6 million people in the country that can speak Irish which varies from basic conversation up to being quite fluent. They aren't first language speakers. But only about 80 000 - 85 000 people use Irish as their first language every day. The government is hoping through promoting the language and through Irish schools by 2020 they will triple the number to 140 000. If they even (.) have the sixty per cent successfull in that I think they're doing quite well.

M: And what factor do you think is the most important in promotion of Irish?

C: I think a lot of people associate it with (.) poor education and having it basically beaten into them at school. It's interesting because originally when we started to learn English which wasn't that long ago, it was about the 1830 on that was really introduced to school Irish was beaten out of people. So it wasn't going to be very encouraging to get people to relearn the language, to have it beaten into them again. So I think the education system needs to change, make the language into something that is fun and enjoyable rather than something that is seen as a chore, something you have to do in school. And through my own education I only would say that the language is very much taught as a something you have to do rather than a something that is nice to do or something you want to do, because it's Irish it's teanga féine, it's your own language.

M: Hmm and do you think it's fashionable to speak Irish today?

C: I:::t depends on the part of the country, you are in. I'm thinking probably the areas like Dublin in the western Ireland and Galway, it's quite trendy to. I get speaking Irish a lot. I have a lot of Irish speaking friend but first and second language that come from (.) various parts of the country back from Kerry, here from Galway, from Donegal, Dublin but I think in some areas of the country maybe the midlands and the south-east of the country where Irish was never strong anyway it has been declined since the arrival of the Normans in em the twelfth century and areas like that it probably isn't so because it isn't seen as being relative.

M: And do you think that Irish people really need the Irish language?

C: Well, it's a good question. Does anybody need any language? Apparently there are about 6000 languages in the world at the moment and in the next hundred years there'll only be 3000 and a hundred years after that there'll be only 1500. It's, if I bother, speak about anybody's language. It's important for people to speak their own language because it gives you a sense of cultural identity in very big and very multicultural world. Just say why bother speaking Irish it would be like saying to you guys why bother speaking Czech you too because your neighbours are (blrf) Germany and Russia so why don't you pick one of those languages to abandon Czech. Why are you not going to do that? And only four hundred thousand people speak Icelandic eventhough their English is fluent. And whatever other

languages they'll speak their own language at home. And in some (blrf) with Irish if there are 1,5 to 1,6 milion people who do speak Irish in Irealnd regardless of the level that means more people speak Irish than Estonian↑, Latvian↑, Slovenian or Icelandic↓. So that's an interesting comparisson.

M: Yea it is.

C: Or probably Bask for the matter. I have yet met somebody form the Bask country despite being to Spain several times, they can speak the language fluently. They all have a bit as we say in Irish cúpla focal but very f, I found very few actually fluent in conversing it.

M: Hmm but there are some, you know, Basks who speak Bask and don't speak Spanish. They're monoglots. I've heard of that there are no monoglots in Ireland.

C: There are people who are sometimes called Gaeilgoirí who are (.) em anyone that speak Irish is a Gaelgoirí anyway but some, there are some hard line cases that refuse to speak English or or ever generally they can when they need to. It's just they choose not to.

M: Oh yea. But anyway they are bilingual.

C: Oh yea, they would be. It is very unusual to meet anybody in Ireland now <that doesn't speak e::: English>. I (blrf) my parents from their travels around the very (blrf) parts of the Kerry and up to (blrf) Ireland and Donegal and they have met some elderly people still who English is still a foreign language for them but they're very much in the minority.

M: Do you speak Irish?

C: Sea, tá orm Gaeilge, so I speak Irish ££.

M: And what level? You're fluent.

C: Tá mé líofa (blrf), I would imagine, I'm reasonably fluent in it £.

M: You are £. Do you use Irish lanugage and how often?

C: I would use at least some of it every day. My wife is from an Irish speaking area and we tend to speak a mixture of Irish and English. It depends (.) e:::m with my dad I email hil all the time, we only email in Irish↑ a:::nd it depends on which of my friends I meet and how many of us are there generally when I meet my friends from Donegal, we almost speak Irish all the time od if I meet any of my (.) family or my wife's family we generally tend to speak Irish but ↑sometimes we do a little bits in English, a sentence or two here and there and they may just drift it back again and it depends on what we want to say and who's around. And particulary when I my and my wife are abroad we never speak English. We always speak Irish because people don't know where are you from a:::nd you can have a private conversation almost all the time and you're not label as being like a lot of Irish people going arboad that they're Brittish or Americain or Australian. It's obvious you're not. So I find that good.

M: Yea, you said that you talk to people from Donegal. Do you understad the Donegal accent?

C: Yea. I find the Donegal accent incredibly difficult. I've not problem wih Connemara because I'm form Kerry myself, they're not that different, but if I am speaking with one person I don't have a difficulty but I actually know three brothers who are first language Irish speakers from Guíthoir and when I'm trying to speak with the tree of them together then I find it very difficult. It's a bit like a German vs Swiss German.

M: Is it cloce to Scettish Gaelic, the Donegal accent?

C: Scottish Gaelic is basicaly a dialect of Donegal Irish.

M: Really££?

C: £Yea and they have no problem admitting that either. They're (.) they're very simillar. I've spoken em::: Scottish Gaelic with people when I've gone to Scotland, when I were up to ↑highland regions and it's like listening the Donegal people. It's written a little differently but you can read it and they're very, they're very close realted but a very very different from other Gaelic lanugages just like Welsh or Breton. I can't understand or read a word Welsh. It's different for me as let's say a German from Czech. However in Wales they have been

very successful in increasing the amount of Welsh language speakers for, for the last number of years for I think almost forty percent of the two million people in ↑Wales speak Welsh ↑now. So if we can emulate that success in Ireland it would be an *liofa facha*, we'll be fluent indeed £.

M: Did you ever see someone talking Manx?

C: No, I believe the language is extinct.

M: Yea.

C: Unfortunately.

M: Hmm. As, as Cornish which was related as well.

H (Hana, česka, kamarádka, která zprostředkovala rozhovor a byla při něm) But are there any people who speak Cornish?

C: Yes but they revived it, they've learned it from books and from distinct elderly people who recorded it. It died and it's been revived in so by enthusiasts but I think the numbers are very small. Irish, Welsh and Breton are still very much living languages though Irish and Welsh are doing probably pretty well though Scottish is very in danger and Breton is very in danger but they're still there.

M: Hmm I was in Breton in summer and nobody speaks it.

C: Is it bad↑, yea, yea. I was given to believe by a person I met from there but they may have been exaggerating. But (blrf) maybe 50 000 Scots speak as I mean. The language (blrf) hasn't died out, There are still some speakers but they're very much in danger.

M: Yes, it's much better with the Irish language?

C: We have to watch it. It is on the endangered list but if things are successful over here the next number of years the number of speakers will increase from, even from 80 to 160, that'll be quite positive. If that is unsuccessful and fewer and fewer people will speak it it's harder than going forward to revive it.

C: An céid ceiste le do thoil£. Next question please £££.

M: Where did you learn the language?

C: E::: partially from my parents and partially from school and partially just being interested in languages.

M: Yea and both of your parents spoke..

C: Yea, two of my grandparents are from the Gaeltacht anyway but (.) I was quite young when they died. (.) My dad is a national school teacher and enjoys speaking the language↑ and there was an elderly couple living next door to us who had moved from the Gaeltacht to (.), close to our village and my parents used speaking to them over the fence, so I grew up in the background even though there would have been many people in my area that still spoke it or even interested in it.

M: And did your parents speak to you in Irish?

C: Yea, we spoke Irish at home. Again mixture, mixed with English but yea usually me, more with my dad than with my mum. (.) (.) I, I enjoy it.

M: So it is your first language?

C: No English would be my first language. But I put Irish as my second first language. £££

M: £££ Do you need Irish for work?

C: It has coming useful because some projects and work in Gaeltacht areas and some people that live in those areas (.) want to do their (.) to do business in (.) Irish so it has coming useful but not hugely for what I do. It's more (.) (.) (.) em::: (blrf) supporting the local culture than a necessity. But generally as an architect you wouldn't really need it and <you don't (.) really (.) need the language to work in Ireland unless> you are a teacher↑ at natioanal school↑ in which case you do need it↑. There isn't a requirement anymore to have Irish at civil service (.)

M: Hmmm

C: For government job but there used to be and I think you still need Irish if you want to join the army, navy or airforce at cadet or officer level. I'm not sure for the same requirement for the Gardí. It was there in the past for senior position but it may have been done away with a mean time.

H: I think that in public sector like that you don't need it as a Irish. For civil service you still need to make a test. As a professor at the university, you still have to pass a test.

C: Yea that.

H: So it's that you have to have a certain level of Irish to work in a public sector. Anywhere.

C: I: It helps certainly in terms of promotion and

H: Local authorities, they all have to have Irish.

C: For example I did an interview a number of years ago for a position at Galway County Council and their planning department and while Irish wasn't compulsory they give extra marks in the interview to people who can pass an Irish language test. You have to have a conversation and read a book passage to show that you can read and understand it. So they do it in that way and promote people to work through that. Again it's not compulsory, you didn't have to have it but if you did it would certainly give you an advantage (blrf) somebody who didn't have it. And again it's because particularly in Galway and county you're going to be dealing with a lot of people who actually either do speak the language as a first language or simply(.) want to speak the language because they enjoy it and public bodies need to offer that service. Again it's not compulsion but favors you if you do. Ag taiste guinte sin Gaeilge, an advantage of going (.) got a (.) goes with Irish speaking £££.

M: Do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

C: I rarely listen to Radió na Gaeltachta but I watch TG4 regularly pretty (blrf) enjoy their travel programs such as a (blrf) a:::n (blrf) Scéil as well, true story which is a documentary of a program on (.) it could be found anywhere on any place on planet from e::: native Americans being repressed in Argentina by greedy land donors to (.) (.) (blrf) event that happen to people escaping from Franco's Spain and trying to get to a french refugees and I think there are some other best programs. E::m I also watch the, the news and the weather, nuach and réamhaisnéis na haimsire on (.) a TG4 as well and em they do also some good comedy series such as Rasaí na Gaillimhe that they showed recently, so I would (blrf) to make an appointment to be watching those and other programs when there's something on of interest.

M: And if you had a children would you speak Irish to them?

C: Yea, Irish first because they'll pick up English anyway. It's like what my parents did with me and I found because I was able to speak bilingually grow up, then I moved to Germany, it was a lot easier to learn German, I noticed, that other Irish people that are there that never spoke Irish because I think if you speak two languages it becomes easier to learn the third rather than if you just speak one and you're starting from scratch of the whole concept and there even the worlds out there and since I've now learned Spanish fluently as well.

M: Really

C: Yea, but I have an interest in languages. I have some french but my pronunciation is dreadful ££.

M: Would you put your children to Gaeilscoil?

C: Yea! Certainly! It gives a lot of advantages. Emm (blrf) from the small class size just like them to go and to that. E::m I think it gives them the (.), having another language (blrf) it's a bilingual advantage and in Ireland particularly we're very lazy about languages. Particularly because as we have the UK which is the world's e::m (.) one used to be the world's largest empire on one side of us and the US which you can probably argue is the world's current largest empire on the other side and they're both generally English speaking countries. So we're bombarded with their television, radio and media so it is hard for

the language to survive when you're getting that from both sides. Mind on the other hand that the other two neighbours happen to be French speaking Canada and Quebec↑ and just France out of the country and we still don't speak French very ↑well here↓. But Irish people are lazy with languages. I think that a lot of people that speak English are. And it gives them a distinct disadvantage when they're promoting our (blrf) in this country. Classic example is a lot of exporters at the moment are complaining that the UK market is really bad↑ for exporting but a lot of these people and I read several articles about it, never ought their products to let's say Germany, Spain and France↑ because they didn't have the linguistic ability. And it's the old phrase: Don't put all your eggs in one basket. If you only have one export market and that goes bad and you haven't developed the other markets then you're going to get (blrf) out. And Irish people particularly enjoy the boom and a lot of people have been very lazy in investing in language skills to enable them to increase their markets abroad↑.

H: That's even in Czech Republic. It was even American market.....(nepodstatné)

C: But obviously you don't need Irish to, to speak to or to em:: promote products let's say in Spain but if you speak English and German already↑ it's easy enough go (.)well I wouldn't say easy but easier to go back and let's say learn Spanish and Portuguese and (blrf) your portfolio and then get a job doing something like that. So it's the whole idea of getting people used to the idea that being able to speak more than one language or growing up bilingually isn't just the cultural advantageous but also that it is an advantage economically.

M: Yea that's right.

C: Eile céiste, le do thoil.

M: Well, so would you tell your children the stories, the legends and the myths in Irish?

C: Yea I would, I would be able to a little bit at a time££

M: Yea, the Fianna and the Táin.

C: Yea, The Táin is an extra story and Tóraigheacht Diarmuid agus Ghráinne that's an also very popular em:: Irish story. I think it is based on something on the Iliad and just then (blrf) older and the (blrf) Greek mythology.

M: Did you listen to these stories when you were a child?

C: Yea, >I read the Táin in one day joy though I had parts of it read to me by my dad< a::nd he would have read other Irish books to me when (.) as a child but a:: simple stories.

M: Yea, which one did you like the most?

C: I ↑can't remember them all, e:: Táin is the one that stands out that I particularly enjoyed, you know The Fianna and (blrf) mluví irsky....)£that was very good.

M: OK, so that's all, thank you

C: Oh fáilte romhain!

Paid Nechatin (jazykový aktivista)

P: ...If you just want to view or people you can just talk to? You talk to anyone?

M: Yea but I have the impression that people don't want to talk about it. I asked few people and then they didn't reply my on phone or emails.

P: Yea, em:: (.) (.) (.) you see, I suppose even in, even in An Spidéal itself you won't get quite a big cross action people. You're going to get people who are fully fluent↑ and who (.) really feel strongly about the language and want to keep the language going↑ but then you get also a lot of people who are local and who are from (.) An Spidéal who maybe don't have as much:: (.) Irish I would say. Maybe their parents didn't have Irish and then they only learned a small bit of Irish at school and they don't maybe (.) speak it every day or, but they have it, you know, and their views would be (.) very different as well, do you know what I mean↑?

E::: I'd say that they'd, I'm only guessing now, I'd say that they'd (.) a (.) (.) you know,

they'd have the language and they'd have a some amount of (.) commitment or love for the language but they still probably speak it every day. You know what I mean so.

M: Hmm, yea

P: It would be very interesting to see what they think.

M: Yea

P: Or do they care↑ or, do you know, if the language goes↑? Do they care or not? That would be (.) , that would be very interesting to find out. I suppose I would be one of the people that would be very committed to (.) I would speak Irish every day. Em:::: at home, that's all we speak, I speak to my parents, to my sisters or (.) my wife, it's all (.) , it's Irish only, would say and we would be fairly strong that it is Irish only and it happens naturally. Of course outside of the house (.) we would be (.) , you know, committed to the language, do you know what I mean, and we would really want to see it (.) be there and (.) how many years make sure that our children have it and nices and nephes and that it is spoken in the area. That would be (.) what we would be coming from, definitely.

M: I thought in Spiddal, cause it's a part of the Gaeltacht, the poeple are netive speakers? All of them? That's not thru?

P: Em:::< ↑not ↑necessarily>, I would say the last (.) senses, right↑, you know the senses of population. Em::: the laste senses said in Spiddal that there was sixty::: (nádech) (.) sixty-eight percent of the people spoke Irish on a daily basis. So that means that there's another (.) , you know, thirty something, thirty-two percent that don't.

M: Hmm, yea.

P: E:: now that comes from >as I said earlier<, that would be (.) (.) I suppose it's, it's complicated really, do you know, of the sixty percent who speak Irish there would be certain amount of those (.) who (.) are native speakers, who spoke it from they were born and there would be another certain amount of people (.) who maybe learned it e:::

M: Hmmm

P: came in and learned the language and have a certain amount of it and: learned it e::: e:: and there would be (.) another native speakers but maybe from some other areas (.) of the country↑, we'll say em:: someone who's born in Dublin (.) would had parents who spoke Irish. Their Irish would be a little bit different form ours and you probably (.) , you wouldn't call them a native speakers but they would be a fluent speakers.

M: Yea £

P: You know it is a kind of a (.) it is a little bit (.) complicated in a sense where you have a native speaker who is (.) the person who is local and only spoke Irish at home from when they were born. And then the fluent speaker (.) would be (.) someone (.) (.) that might not speak it at home for the whole time but they have f: (.) full fluency in Irish and maybe they're not form the area. But then there are (.) , there would be (.) local people in (.) An Spidéal (.) who (.) for one reason or another (.) didn't have an huge amount of Irish at home. So English is maybe the main language that they speak but they would be able to understand↑ (.) Irish and they would be able to speak it as well. They mightn't be as fluent but they would have a certain amount. E::: and then there's another section of people who:::, maybe like yourself for example, mooved in from somewhere else and wouldn't have Irish at all. Do you know what I mean? They moved form Dublin or:: e::: Wexford or:: anywhere, you know. They just (.) mooved to the area and (.) don't have Irish, let's say, so they make up, that's where the levels of Irish are dropping in (.) gaeltacht areas where (.) . We're ina lovely area. We're close to the city, we're by the sea, do you know what I mean?

M: Yea

P: It's very scenic. It's a ↑very nice place to live, it's a lovely place to live and there's a nice comunity (.) e::: everyting you want is there e:: and Galway is only fifteen, twenty minutes away.

M: Yea, taht's right.

P: So it's a real (.), it's an area where (.) where (.) people want to live. So that means that people from all over the country might holiday homes, they might mooving up together. What language do they speak↑ (.) so (.) this begins to effect the levels. And then in that case if you, if you bring it further, if people move in j:, just take yourself as an example, if you move into An Spidéal and you didn't have Irish e:: and you had children and you sent them to school. So they don't have Irish when they go to school. So that begins to bring down the level (.) of the school, it begins to effect (.) the Irish language in the school.

M: Sure

P: So (.) you have, f: for example, I don't have children, but we would say my children (.) got to school and yours (.) going to the same class. Well then mine have Irish only but they see this new, you know, the English language (.) is ever present, you know, even let's say in your own country. Tha's putting pressure on your own language as well, let's say.

M: Not that much.

P: Not that much yet, you know. It will happen ££. You know, because in France now they (.) even in France they feel that English is a such a massive force. The English language (.)

M: Yea, it's a lingua franca of this age.

P: Yea, they're, they're are a little worried in France (.) about the levels of French (.) that their, their children have. E::

M: Hmmm

P: Yea, tey're begining to be a little worried because in English is a such a force, it's everywhere, you turn on the TV, if we even look around in this room, I mean, there's English absolutely everywher, you know. This is it and then, you know. But I mean in France is one of the stronger countries from language point, do you know, they're really proud and strong with their language and their heritage.

M: Yea.

P: >That's what I was gettinf from, let's say< if you (.) have mixed language (.) children in a class it's very difficult for the teacher to make sure that (.) Irish is the only language spoken (.) because your children need to get the education (.) the same as mine for example and that's theoretical situation co that's where the difficulties, the difficulties lay.

M: Hmmm, yea it's really complicated.

P: It's really complicated, it is, yea, yea e: it's a (.) it's a difficult one (.) because as I said (.) English is such a big force it's omnipresent like it's just everywhere, you turn on the TV, you have three hundred chanel most of them are probably in English. You know what I mean, you have one channel in Irish, you've maybe one in French TV5 or something and I don't know what else but, you kno, so it's kind of a (.) it is a massive force, all right.

M: Yea if you don't speka English ,you can't trave, you can do nothing. In my country it's really necessary to speak English.

P: It has become that way, do you know what I mean, which is a pitty but it is becomng that way because people loose the sense of their own (.) (.) (.) identity, their own country, do you know what I mean? You'd lose ceratin amount of it and I suppose as you said you have to have English. You'll find now (.) when you speak to, I'm going (.) I'm kind of going of and (blrf) over the place (.) you'll find if you speak to some people in (.) in Spiddal (*angl verze názvu*) and you ask them why don't you (.) if you're to ask them (.) it's a sensitive question why don't you speak Irish or why don't you speak Irish to your children.

M: Yea

P: It's a very sensitive question. For: ye::::ars in our long (.) history, I would say, in peoples own history, when they(,), when thing just go wrong in this country , when there wasn't money and we were poo::r and e:: con (.) Connemara and Spiddal would be an poor area, you know, It would have been all small farmers and you were selfsufficient so, you know, you

have one or two cows, you grow your own crops and you're self-sufficient, it's not really that you have a job and you go to the job every day. Well when they used to go to Galway >because they were all Irish speakers< at that time and when they used to go to Galway (.) they were kind of (.), how would I say it, looked down upon, you know, by the people in Galway who spoke English for example. E::: and the Irish language was attached to being poor. So in that case they were kind of going we don't want our children to go to Galway and be insulted by people in Galway so we want to make sure that they have English. So that got in their head that we need to speak English to our children to make sure that, you know they'll be able to go to Galway and: (.) buy s (.) buy whatever they need to buy and do whatever business, just what have you saying you need English to be able to travel or whatever. It was the same thing (blrf) kind of small scale. But some people still feel that the need to do this (.), you know that they need to speak English to their children and make sure that their children have English. Maybe what some of them don't realize is that (.) even if you never spoke a word of English to your child before he went to school (.) he's going to learn English (lusknuti) (.) like that.

M: Yea

P: He's going learn it (blrf), he's going to have English before he goes to school even if you never spoke a word in English to him at home. E::: do you know?

M: Yea

P: I don't know if you find that i (.) in your own country but here definitely they'll learn it from telly↑, from cartoons↑

M: sure

P: or the radio, or you know or just going around, you know. So that's the mistake people make that ↑if they don't speak (.) Irish to their children at home↑ (.) >that if they speak<English to their children at home it becomes very very difficult for the child to learn Irish. It's very hard, very hard. It would y(.)y(.) you know, because they're not getting it at home (.) now all they (blrf) get is in school (.) and then if you have everyone in school who has no Irish it's very difficult (.) to the teacher (.) to teach (.) maths and history and everything she needs to teach (.) as well as making sure that they have Irish, do you know?

M: yea, yea

P: So it kind of weakens the effect of the language. So that's kind of (.) the historical baggage that's there, that's where it comes from. E:::. In a sense, do you know? There was this fear of I'm speaking Irish I'm seen as being poor or, you know, backward or stupid (*v irštině se první s ve slově čtě jako š*)

M: Yea, I read it in a, do you know the book of Reg Hindley The Death of Irish Language?

P: I haven't read it but it's supposed to be a very good book, it's supposed to be a very good book, yea, yea, yea, I've seen it (.) (blrf) a lot recently. He did something similar to us what you're doing. He came along, you know

M: Yea

P: He came along Ulster and get people's views and do you know what I mean. E:::m so it's pitty £ Do you know.

M: He's a pessimist.

P: Oh this I was told as well. Yea I told he was very pessimistic. You know that there is (.), there are positive things. I mean Irish is not dead yet, do you know what I mean?

M: Yea, yea

P: He was very pessimistic about what's happening. E:::m but (.) there you go.

M: Yea it's different. You know I was in Brittany in summer and the language is really dead. And the people don't speak, they don't even understand. I tried to buy some books and they said that maybe few people..but it's really dead. And it's really different here, you know? I can see that the language is reviving here. That people are interested in it.

P: Yea, that's good to hear.

M: It's a kind of fashion I think but

P: There is some of that recently, you know, you know, there is a little of it there, you know it's a(.) it's becoming cool again. And those popular people oh↑ they speak Irish as well. They're not wierd and damned and ugly and you know what I mean, you know. Or some bearded guy from Conemara who lives under the stone.

M: Yea££

P: No, they drive cars as well and you know. It's funny how people thought about the Irish language, you nuts, (blrf) back in Connemara and you know they only eat rocks back there and you know, they don't know what electricity is and this kind of of stuff, but e:: It brings it to the (blrf), do you know. Em:::

M: And people say that it's even from aesthetic reason, that Irish is beautiful.

P: OK£££

M: That's why they learn it

P: It is, I suppose it's difficult (.) for me because for me Irish is (.) my mot (.) is the norm, is the norm, you know, I (.) only speak Irish, you know, yes exactly, yea so I (.) I'd find ti difficult to (.) (.) understand how someone who doesn't have it sees it. (blrf) because I have it from(,), you know it's (.), it's all I have, do you know what I mean. E:::m but in my job here (.) where I'm supposed to be (.) promoting the language, we'll say, I do, I'm amazed to people who come back and say I really want to learn and I'm kind of going to ask why, you know they don't have this baggage of oh I was (.) I was beaten or you know I was forced to learn it etc. etc. They just kind of go (.) I really ↑like it, you know. You know it's something I'd really like to learn, I'm finding it difficult but I'd (.) There's something belt in them that they need to (.) plus you'll find that (.) in em:: (.) in Carraroe they have courses that are for people from all over the world and, I mean, one of the biggest shocks I've got in my life was this Japanese, I saw this Japanese in a pub in Carraroe and while i started to talk to him he's, he's spoken Irish.

M: Really ££

P: He learned Irish and he sounded like someone (.) from (.) from back west, he was:: (.) just a fluent

M: It's unbelievable.

P: Yea, yea it was something kind of on (.) those words shouldn't be coming out of your mouth like ££ but mean, they got it like (.) and he actually (.) (.) that (.) just as he said (.) he just thought (.) and sounded (.) lovely, ↑now people think it sound quite (.) (gothural?) (.)like German, yo you know.

M: no, no, no

P: it sounds very gch, you know (.) quite sharp and

M: No, it's really nice, it's not like German. German is not nice at all££.

P: German is a bit (.) e:::m

M: It's so hard.

P: It is.

M: Irish is different, it's...

P: Irish does flow all right.

M: Yea

P: When you hear Irish speaker in full flow it's like it does (.) it does have a kind of a musical quality to (blrf)

M: Yea. Can you tell me something about your job? How are you promoting the language?

P: E:::m I don't know ££ I suppose (.) as a part of my job, and that's the boring part, E:::m there is (.) there is legislation in Ireland now (.) for the language, I suppose you've probably red that, It's the language is active 2003, so..

M: Sorry, I haven't read it.

P: It's the official languages act. The official languages act (.) of: 2003. Em::: (.) (.) (.) (.) I suppose to give the legal background to you first. Do you know we have a as a republic we have a constitution. So everything goes by the constitution. E:: one of the, what the constitution says (.) it's article 8, that Irish, the Irish language is the first official language (.) of the country.

M: really?

P: And, yea, that's articulated in the constitution and then (.) the same article says (.) i (.) i (.) it also says that e:::m:: (.) the English language is also (.) an official language. But (.) for years Irish has been (.) e:::m (.) (.) ignored by the state, if you know what I mean. So now the legislation brought in that forces (.) public bodies (.) which is (.) all your public services (.) (.) to do certain things for the Irish language (.), do you know what I mean? Make sure that the documents are available. Make sure that the signatures (.) is:: correct that there are the two languages on it and then make sure that you start giving services through Irish to the public (blrf).

M: yea, sure.

P: So part of my job is to (.) try and ensure that we comply with the legislation, do you know what that mean? Make sure our (.) and your report is in two languages. Then we make sure that some of our websites or nearly all of our websites is in two languages and then to move on to try to provide services through Irish so that's (.) where I come in (.) where we prepare a three year plan of (.) this is what we're going to do for the Irish language for the next three years, you know, we want to provide that service over there (.) we're going to (.) e:::m:: do this part of the website (.), we're going to do::, you know, we give a list of what we're going to do. And there are, there are statutories or there by law, you have to do them (.) now (.) (.) it's a, it's interesting to see what there we do. Do actually carry them or ↑not. (*občas má docela podivuhodný slovosled, zřejmě irský*) cause (.) as you said, there is:: a certain amount of historical baggage with a Irish, do you know? We were forced. It's this forced mentalities. So some people feel that because there's a law↑. Now we're being forced again, you know, we're forced to learn it at school↑. Now we're forced to do it in our job. But I feel it's only right, that is should be (.) provided to keep the language alive, you know, we need straight support definitely to keep the language alive. We'd say (.) (.) to go of another (blrf) for you will say someone in (.) living in An Spidéal, right↑, once to put tax on their car, because you have to, because the law says you must have tax (.), motor tax on your car. So you're coming here↑ (.) and you're an Irish speaker↑, so your normal (.) your mother language, as you said is Irish, but the person at the counter doesn't have Irish, so you have to keep switching (.) you even have to switch to English to be able to do (.) your business which is:: (.) not correct, really, you know it's not good enough. Em::: so that's where we, that's where the language act come in (.) where we as an county council (.) should be training people or (.) getting people who have Irish in on the counter, so that they're able to say well yes I can do:: the transaction through Irish. And that was for all our services, you know. E:: and that 's the same as for health services, you know if you want to go to the doctor you're an Irish speaker and you're sick and the best way you can describe your sickness is through your own mother tongue

M: Yea sure.

P: But the doctor doesn't have it↑. And he doesn't understand↑ you.

M: Really?

P: yea.

M: People who studied university don't have Irish?

P: ↑Oh yea. Lots, yea, yea. Yea, yea, there's (.) oh yea. Y:, y: you naturally don't understand. Oh absolutely, yea, yea. I mean there would be certain amount of them that would↑ but there will be a lot of them who don't. You know, there would definitely, so that's, you know

there's a huge amount of work that needs to be done in Ireland to start like reversing the wheel, to start going (.) backwards of all the dammage that has been done, do you know. Structures have been put in place but they've forgotten the lanugaage. So they've just put people in there. Now you might be lucky (.) and you get a doctor who has Irish, pure chance, pure luck, do you know? But this is (.) the other problem is everyone has English. So (.) you know that's the difficulty, whereas you go, everyone has English ↑ anyway. Whereas you (.) you want to do it through Irish, it would be more comfortable doing it through Irish (.) you switch to English, that's the difficulty (.) (.) as compare to the French, ↑ as we said earlier, the French proud↓ and strong↓ and would probably close the whole town do:wn if their service wasn't available↑, you know. Wheres the Irish kind of change (.) they do::n't want to embarrasae anyone, they do::n't want to be difficult, they do::n't want to be seen as cranc, and you know if the doctor doesn't have Irish the Irish speaker would just switch.

M: Yea

P: because they're ↑sick and they need to get (.) better and (.), you know, so (.) whereas in other countries (.) the French speaker might go and say well no, this is not good enough and, you know, will cause a ma::jor fuss (.) (.) e::m (.) yo know and then the authority will say oh no, we can't, you know, we ha:ve to put French speakers in their (.) you know beacause.

M: Hmm

P: but that doesn't happen here. So, that's where the difficulty lays. That's a part of my job make sure that we comply with the (.) with the legislation. As regars promotion the language I try to do some stuff in (.) in schools to make sure, you know (.) various be: competitions, you know, or (blrf) to make sure that (.) (.) we try to make the children or get the children to speak Irish outside of the class, you know, that's Ok when you're speaking Irish.

M: That's good.

P: Yea, we're trying to get them speaking Irish when they're playing (.) in the (.) out of the yard and whn they're playing football or whatever. So (.) we, we work with this, some of the shools are trying that. Em::: as well as that we've started on some language (.) planning (.) so (.) or linguistic planning for areas so An Spidéal one of the first ones we've (.) we've tried to start. I'm doing some other ones on the side of the gaeltacht down in a (.) Loughrea, if you know where it is.

M: yea

P: We're, we're trying to get kind of an lanuguage plan going there. So it's interesting whereas it's not an gaeltacht, Not huge amount of people have Irish but we're trying to see (.) how (.) we (.) promote it and then (.) we increase this.

M: Hmm that would be a nice comparisson Spiddal and Loughrea.

P: Yea, you would need to stay for a year£££. It would! I, I'd be able to organize it up for you as well if, if you're interested.

M: Really? I'm very interested in it.

P: There's a guy in Loughrea (.) (.) we've to(,), we'll just finish up survey on Irish in Loughrea. I'll (.) I'll get you copy of it.

M: You can?

P: It's surve in (blrf) to see (.) the level of Irish in Loughrea and what people think.

M: That would be great, great.

P: (blrf) they got their Irish from because you know we're in Ireland, you have to learn Irish at school (.) so you learn Irish untill you're thirteen (.) no you learn Irish untill you're seventeen. You do thirteen years of Irish.

M: Yea, but some poeple don't have it! How is it possible?

P: Exactly! Exactly £££

M: I met people who don't have a word of Irish.

P: Yes, exactly, exactly and when they went through the Irish school system it's very difficult to (.) figure it out. To figure out why.

M: yea

P: You know because they have done thirteen years (.) now it's ve (.) it's very complicates issue (.) because (.) to schock you even further, you can find that there are teachers in this country↑ (.) who are teaching Irish but who can not speak Irish.

M: £

P: you know so it goes back another step to (.) who is training the ↑teachers? You know, the teacher training colleges. Why aren't they making sure that if:: someone is teaching Irish (.) if they at least can speak it. Do you know?

M: sure

P: But I, I know at schools they are teaching Irish (.) through English. Which doesn't make any sense. Do you know what I mean? You (.) w (.) Czech (.) Czech is your, is your language?

M: Yes but I learnt English and French at school and I can read books and I'm almost fluent, so

P: Yes exactly this is, this is the difference, yea.

M: yea but the teachers spoke to us French or English form the begining, yea form the begining. We were the complete beginners.

P: Yea that's the way it should be done. Now that's the way French is taught in Ireland↑.

M: it is, once you go to the French class In Ireland it's all French.

M: Yes

P: which is (.), which doesn't make sense doing it in the other way. But I know that on some places that (.) because it's compulsory and you have to do it for your leaving cert↑ (.) and you need points to get to the college↑ you then just say you have to get results so they actually probably teach Irish through English. Let's say most likely.

M: yea I was taught Irish through English too.

P: Yea. But you're form the Czech republic £££

M: Yea bit he theacher is form Connemara

P: You havne't done all your school in (.)

M: sure £

P: yea, do you know what I mean?

M: But that's how teachers, my teacher was from Connemara, and that's how they teach it.

P: Hmm

M: She teaches children form Connemara and she teaches them through English.

P: in school or::

M: In school.

P: Yea, well I suppose the other (.) in one sense (.) the other problem is: if, if you don't get them form small enough, you don't get them from four or five (.) at least i, i, it's gone. It's very difficult. Do you know what I mean?

M: (blrf) lost?

P: Yea because I mean I suppose you need if you're teaching Irish to someone else, if I was teaching Irish to you (.) well we wouldn't be able to comunicate it (.) at all (.) unless we spoke English.

M: Yea

P: So I'd have to say to you that (.) so you'd nee to be translating English to Czech back to sour own head and I'd be going English to Irish, do you know, to see that (.) window is fuinneog

M: yea

P: So you go window is fuinneog, whatever the word is in Czech (.) is for

M: okno

P: okno so, you know. I can understand in some cases where the child doesn't have any Irish at all, you're going to need a little of (.) of a (.) English at the start.

M: But if it goes with French it would work with Irish.

P: You would think so, <I'm trying to think in first class> (.) actually probably in the gaeltacht they teach French through Irish (.) at the start. Yea, yea, at the start I think that what's happened when I was there(.) but again the books are so good that you shouldn't need (.) use Irish but then the books are in English. You know the French book, when you're learning French from the start the French books are in English.

M: Really. I had a French book which was completely i French.

P: Well so did I but when I was older. Do you know when I was in e:::

M: yea, yea maybe it's difficult for children

P: When I was fifteen, sixteen, do you know so I could read the French (.) book because you had some French, you had a basic French (.) learned already. Do you know?

M: yea but did it form the begining. I was complete beginner and the teacher came to the class and she started to speak French and she said Bonjour, je suis and just wrote in on the board and ...like that

P: Yea, that's great, hmm

M: Is it the way the teachers do it in Gaeilscoils?

P: Gaeilscoil it's Irish only. From the minute you ocme in the door.

M: yea and it's for

P: Except of English class, of course.

M: Is it for children from Gaeltacht who already have Irish or for children who don't have

P: E: the gaeilcoil e:: well there would not be a gaeilscoil in the gaeltacht.

M: yea

P: Because the gaeltacht is the gaeltacht. So there's gaeilscoils outside of the gaeltacht. And it's Irish only. Only from (.) nine o'clock in the morning to three o'clock.

M: yea, yea but is it for English speaking children?

P: For any children. Whatever, whoever comes in the door.

M: And what they do with children who don't have Irish when they come to the gaeilscoil?

P: They just keep speaking Irish to them↑, I think, yea, yea, I think they do. Which is, which is the, the weird (blrf) of the gaeltacht↑ that they feel they have to speak English. You know there's a certain amount of baggage there of I don't know what the problem is but e: in gaeltacht schools a lot of the time (.) (.) they will speak (.) Irish only to the children. E:: I think they do. A lot of the time. Now when they get older it get's more difficult (.) beca:::use there's exams. So when they get older it's like >they're doing their leaving cet and they're coming up< so I mean you have to learn this what comes pressure on and if the child hasn't learned Irish in national school (.) that's why I think you have to get them when they're (.) really small and get them in (.) and get (.)at least have it learned at that stage. Em:: because when they ge t to secondary school then they're a bit older but balder ££ and don't care as much, do you know what I mean, and e:::m but still have to t'do the exa:::m at the end of it. E:::m so,m::: maybe they're (.) that's why it's more difficult, you see, if you can't get a teacher who was good enough in Irish (.) and if you can't get them (.) what do you do↑? You have to get let's say history teacher. If yo have to get a history teacher and if you::: e, if you em::: publisize the job you don't get anyone who's fluent Irish speaker what do you do? You know, it's kind of it, it's all a kind of a, it's all of cennecting together e::: and you know the same difficulty if you can get a with Irish that because it's the training colleges(.) don't make sure that they have Irish. But if the training colleges don't get childrens in↑ with the certain amount of Irish (.) what can they do? So it goes back to secondary schools.

M: yea

P: And then it goes back to national schools. Which is why I think you have to get them from on there.

M: yea, yea, maybe you're right, I think you're right.

P: Do you know? There is connction, now you can do things along the way, but you know, we're a twenty years of mistakes down the line so we're paying, we're paying for those, you know, so the gaeltacht school might want a history teacher but they just can't get one who has:: Irish, they might have a cetarin level of Irish but their normal language is English. So they start speaking in their staffroom and for people not to be rude (.) people still speak English to children. Then children hear speaking English the stuff outside of class so children will speak English outside of the class. So it's kind of, it a::ll, it's a, it's a rip once the word, do you know, it's a kind a (.) it's never (blfr), it's a ripple efect where, you know, it all (.) (.) but you don't forget them the English is seen cool (.) it's everywhere. You know it's all of your pop stars, all of your papers, all of your celebrities so for teenagers (.) you know

M: yea, yea

P: it's kind of plus. The rules that are in school speaks Irish (myslí English) so you're going to break yout against, you know it's natural, to break out against rules. So they will speak Irish (myslí English) between each other because it's cool think to do and (.) what I mean (.) I don't know if they're (.) they obviously don't cause they're too young, they don't realize (.) you know all that's cool now (.) that they could be sorry at it later when Irish (.) , if irish is gone. That they'll be kind of sorry that they didn't realize at the time, do you know? If I'd spoke some more irish or if I reared my children through Irish (.) we wouldn't be at the stage. Bit em::: I don't know.

M: Yea, but em I think it's not that bad.

P: ↑Maybe not, maybe not, it's not great, it's not great, it's worrying. We're going that way, it's worrying.

M: yea

P: but it becomes from, it comes from decissions of parents. E::: I mean, when we were talking at the meating the last day (.) that (.) nearly the time soemone used to make the decission as when they're actually pregnant↑, even before the child was born. That they decide at that stage (.) what language they will speak to their child, do you know. And if they have Irish at home from the very start, and this is for gaeltacht areas, really, well anyone anywhere but, e:: I mean, that's nearly when the decission is to be taken because I suppose when the mother is (.), you know, when the child has just born and and the mother is (.) em:: feeding it and mothering it and putting it to sleep, you know, and whispering in it's year, well the child would use it (.) from (.) ↑year (.) from the (blfr) let's say the child kind of knows what this is an English environment or it's an Irish environment, you know. That's what they, they get ↑in. Which happens, which happened naturally, which happens naturally in your country↑ and which happens naturally here. But it's just, it's eroding, it's degrading away, you know. When people decide not to speak Irish to the child (.) for whatever reason (.) do you know.

M: I was talking to one librarian and she told me that she has five children and that she didn't speak to them Irish at home and then she sent them to the gaeilscoil and thought that they'll have good Irish but then seh realized that they don't speak amongs themselves

P: Yea

M: because it's not natural for them. They spoke English at home so they'll speak it after school.

P: That's the problem.

M: Yea.

P: A who (.) e:: there's another, you would be interested in the survey now, that we've done because there is a (blfr) service on, it's not Hindley, but there's a (blfr) service on osmeone

else, who's said, do you know emertion education, do you know e: to e::, gaeilscoil is emertion (.) it's (.) that's what it's called cause you emerge them (.) totally in the language and it works and it's good and they come out at six class (.) reasonably fluent.

M: Would you write it?

P: emertion? It's (.) (.) (.) emertion, as i to emerge, as in (.) you know as in to put something into water, you, it's emerge it, it's all (.), it's surrounded totally, well he said (blf) that emersion (.) that emerge or emersion education↑, anyway, we'll say full education through Irish, it's not the answer, it's not enough (.) because when they go home (.) it's English.

M: yea

P: and:: when they go palying football (.) it's English. So what he felt young people need to keep the language alive was sanctuaries, do you know what the sanctuary is↑, sanctuary is somewhere where you kept safe, where you're isolated, you're not osolated but you're kept (.) you're kind of y:, y: you know, you would have a bird sanctuary. Bird sanctuary is a where birds are kept safe so that there get no predators or whatever. You can't get to them, SO what he has suggested was that (.) even outside of school, which is sanctuary, the school would be a sanctuary also, e: because they only speak Irish there, that after school they allso (.) need (.) language (.) sanctuaries. So that (.) you know they go there after school and then all (.) all that's spoken in there is Irish so it kin of brigs them along, it's like an e: another incubator. It's, it's, it's just (.) to give them chances (.) to speak Irish. It's the thing. In the school they have to speak it (.) and it's normal to them (.) that when they go to school they speak Irish. It's the thing. In the school they have to speak it (.) and it's normal to them (.) that when they go to school they have to speak Irish. You know it's normal, they don't (.) and there's no(.) e:: they don't care, they don't mind. It's not (blrf), we'll say.

M: Yea, because it's natural.

P: Exactly! But em when they go home it's natural (.) to speak English↑. So you need (.) mo:re and mo:re places (.) for those (.) children or teenagers whereas natural (.)to sepak Irish so that they keep practising and keep learning and it becomes more natural to them. E:: in tha t kind of way.

M: And can you tell me more about the surveys in Siddal and Loughrea? Will you have some results which I can see?

P: The Loughrea we'll (.), we have results. There's only certain amount of them in English cause it's written in Irish. £££

M: Oh that doesn't matter, I can read it in Irish, I have a dictionary.

P: Oh no, there's a full summary in, in:: English. There's a full (.) summary of the (.) of the main (.) the main results of the survey. And if there's an (blrf) you need (.) (.) (.) I:: like I can put you in contact the guy who did the survey. Em:: he is:: a principal of gaeilscoil.

M: That would be great!

P: SO that's, you know, you get a double, a double (blrf) there let's say.

M: Yea.

P: Em:: tha one is Spiddal is only starting. It's just now starting, we're just putting together (.) the em:: the actual survey itself and we're not going to do the survey until January, I think. So we're jsut puting the text of survey together now. E::: m (.) (.) so we won't have results in that case I suppose.

M: But would it be possible to send it after that?

P: ↑Yea, yea, no problem. ↑Oh yea and if you want the results as well, no problem, yea . That wouldn't ba a problem, not at all. No, we can do that.

M: Yea and do you have some questionnaire?

P: Not yet. We're just (.) writing the questionnaire now.

M: It will be the sama like in the one in Loughrea?

P: ↑<It won't be quite the same> because we know::: certain amount of people in Spiddal, we know sixty percent of the people (.) have Irish, speak Irish daily. So in An Spidéal (.) we want to go more into their (.) their thoughts and feelings of (.)w:, w: why (.) what and why, do you know?

M: Yea

P: Or how strongly the feel about the language. Whereas in Loughrea not a lot of people (.) have Irish so we want people to find up what they (.) w: we also want to find up what they think about the language↑ but it's a different (.) it's two size of a coin, you know. Whereas one side do have Irish the other side don't, so what we'll be asking in An Spidéal where they do have Irish is:: (.) (.) e: e: I suppose we want to find where, where they learned it↑, where they got it from. Are they from An Spidéal originally. What language do they speak to their partner↑, what language do they speak to their (.)children (.) and what language do they speak to their own (.) family. You know and an parents, brothers, sisters, cousins whatever. E::: and we want to try to find out w::if, if they don't speak Irish to their children (.) why?

M: Hmm

P: Yea, it's a very sensitive (.) question.

M: Yea I thought that it's not that sensitive and I found out that many people don't want to talk about it.

P: It is, it is a sensitive question because::e you would have people who are quite strong for the language (.) and em::: I suppose, I'm, I'm one of them (.) it's funny (.), like if I meet people on the street in Spiddal that will speak Irish to me (.) but the next person they meet will speak English to them. Eventhough maybe both of them have Irish but they see me as someone (.), they know who I am, the fluent speaker that (.) you know I always speak Irish ↑anyway. E::: m so it's, it's a sensitive question because::e people would be (.) you know, giving out ↑(.) they would be e::m people would be arguing (.) you know saying that you should be speaking Irish and

M: Yes

P: It's a dis, it's a disgrace that you're not and you're not speaking Irish to your children and that's very very bad, so people feel, they feel ↑bad. You know they feel, ↑maybe a little embarrassed sometimes that they don't have

M: Yea

P: You know, and that's why it is a sensitive question, you know and we're going to have to find a way to ask it and get the correct answer because if you ask someone do you speak Irish to your children he would say yes (.)because they, that's the answer they think, you want.

M: Yea, yea how do you know that they don't lie?

P: Yes, yes that's difficult, that's what's going to be difficult, do you know what I mean? E:: m

M: That's what I found difficult too about the survey I'm doing here now because many people...

P: that's even people, it's not even an interesting part for your survey

M: yea

P: as an anthropologist. It would be quite interesting the psychic of the, of (.) you know (.) I don't know (.) the people are embarrassed to say (.) (.)that they d, like Irish is kind of like a sacred cow in this country, do you know, you can't say anything against.

M: Hmm

P: You know, so they feel that oh God, we're letting them, we're letting side down if we're not speaking Irish at home and why don't have Irish at home kind of embarrass that I don't, do you know? So that's why it's a, it is sensitive enough::: issue in some cases, in some cases, you know in other cases you'll find certain amount of hatery. No I don't speak Irish, no I don't want to speak Irish (.) and my children won't speak Irish and I don't care.

M: yea, yea, yea.

P: You know, and we have to figure out in An Spidéal (.) (.) how to bring everyone along↑ (.) because unless we bring the English speakers (.) along (.) who are (.) living there, they're part of the community (.) so you can't, you can't tell them to leave

M: sure

P: do you know? So you have to bring them on board as well. As well as you're very strong, you know, we're strong Irish speakers here↑ who w.: who would die for it like↑ and there are people who don't care. You have to bring them all along (.) (.) somehow to make sure that the whole community has a, has a good level of, of Irish, it's e, e, e difficult enough or me.

M: yea, yea I think it's really embracing for some people because I was talking to one woman she, she told me I don't like Irish I was forced to it and I really hate it and then I put the dictaphone before her and said that I'm an anthropologist doing this survey and she said I didn't say it. She lied and she knew that I know it.

P: Yea

M: I was surprised

P: Yea, yea that's the (.) (.) yea, it kind of comes from this, you know, I was forced to learn, it comes from that where (.) the rules, you have to speak Irish in school, you have to speak Irish in the (.) when you're playing in the yard in school, you know it's kind of (.) people don't like rules or Ir, the Irish people don't like rules. We can ↑blame the English.

M: Hmmm ££

P: £££ yea (*myslí to ironicky. Směje se. Irové svoje současné problémy pořád ještě hází na Brity. Jsou pohodlní a mají po ruce vždycky tu samou výmluvu*), they came over and took our country so we can always blame them.

M: you do ££

P: Don't put that in survey £££.

M: £££

P: £ we do:, yea £££ Well it's, it actually ££ probably, probably to an extent (.) has huge bearing (blf) cause we followed all their laws, we followed their (blf) we've (.) everything was (.) (.) looking at them like.

M: Hmm

P: Plus they did a lot of damage to the language itself at the time, you know. You weren't allowed to go to mass or speak Irish at the time. So that's ancient history.

M: Yea

P: you know, >we can't do anything about that now<.

M: Yea it was difficult in Czech republic too, Germans then Russians.

P: Yea, yea but at least you've kept your language ££.

M: Yes

P: How about the percentage, is it like (.) hundred percent (.) Czech

M: Yes

P: So everyone just..

M: Yes, yea

P: Yea

M: Some people at the borders are bilingual, they speak Polish or German

P: yea, yea

M: and Czech of course, there are some different dialects.

P: You must find this place of it weird so. From, from a language point of view.

M: Yes it is interesting to observe it. Because I don't know it from Czech republic.

P: Exactly. I mean you would find people from this country who would say (.) we speak English.

M: Yea, yea

P: >Irish is not under (blrf) at all. Whereas then if you speak to me (blrf) allways speak Irish<. You know

M: yea, yea

P: It's, it's, I suppose it's e: ££ (.) probably is, it comes form, it is from our history, do you know.

M: I think if it wasn't English, if it was some different language here, it wouldn't be that bad.

P: That would be interesting. If it was some other language.

M: Because English is international, you really need it.

P: Yea, yea

M: I know it form Czech republic. Who doesn't speak English he even isn't able to find a good job.

P: Yea

M: you need it.

P: yes

M: But

P: Do you think or do you feel (.) that it's going to have an effect on the Czech language?

M: Not very much. There are some words, new words that come from English bu:::t

P: Yea, that's Ok, well

M: but the language is livink, that's ok

P: But I suppose that, you say that you have to have English to get a good job.

M: yea

P: But you can still get a lot of jobs wothout English.

M: Yea, yea, yea

P: With Czech.

P: Whereas here (.) (.) you have to have English to get nearly (.) (.) ninety percent of the jobs (.) (.) you know, that's the way it's going.

M: And, and with Irish? Do you need Irish for some..

P: Certain amount. Certain amount. My, my job for example

M: sure ££

P: Yea, certain amount. E:::m the, the the one who's dealing (.) with Irish (.) only. But I mean, I suppose when the change (.) might come (.) that we have to provide a service in Irish↑ well then we'll need employees who have to have Irish. And training (.) only takes you (.) so far, you know, it takes a long time to learn the language. E, e, e well you have three or four of them (blfr)£, you know, but like it does take long li, long time to reasonably fluent at a language, do you know what I mean? So, training doesn't really work, you know, people all need work thirty or fourty years (blrf) train, you know. It doesn't tak them far enough, you need to get fluent speakers. So in that sense theoretically in the future, you'll be going, if I want a job in the civil service, I need to have (.) a ce, I need to have Irish for some particular, for partiular jobs. An then really that would trickle back, that people doing the leaving cert (blrf) Ok I need certain Irish to get job in the civil service. And then the parents will say (.) they need certain amount of Irish to get a job in civil service, do you know.

M: So I'll just ask you the questions I prepared. May I?

P: Yea, we probably spoke too long already.

M: No, that's great because most people don't like to speak about it. So it's really nice to hear someone who's interested in it and who likes to speak about it£.

P: Yea, no problem£.

M: What do you think about the current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying?

P: E:::m I would be worried about it. E:::m.all the, all the reports say that it's dying. All the reports say that it has twenty years.

M: yea

P:left

M: yea but they said it twenty years ago.

P: But twenty years ago the reports also said.

M: Yea.

P: But it re::ally is, it is weakening. It's definatly, it's weakening. It's time for action, we'll say, to, to really save it. E:::m, I mean I a::m (.), what am I? Thirty fou, I think ££

M: ££

P: I am thirty four. When I was in school, secondary school, we spoke a lot of English because that was the cool thing to do, you know, and you were breaking the rules. But everyone in the group had a good Irish. So it didn't, so that id didn't matter but everyone in that group had good Irish. We (blrf) probably (blrf) the children through Irish. The way it is now (.) about twenty years later (.) there's a lot of English been spoken in school because it's cool and they're breaking the rules, but the children don't have the same level (.) of Irish as we did. We were fully fluent native speakers. E:: e, (blrf) as we only spoke Irish at home. But now (.) they're not as fluent. They don't have as, as good grasp of the language so I'm worried that eventhow we brokw thw rules when we were young, it didn't make a huge difference in the long run whereas now (.) it will because they don't have (.) they don't have the fluency to fall back on. When they come out of the school and they realize Irish important to me, they don't, they won't have enough (.) (.) of a grasp of a languauge. So you're going to loose (.) (.) ↑There probably won't be any native speakers anymore.

M: Really?

P: It'll be probably just few people who are fluent. You're going to loos:::e. ↑Well there will. It's go, I'm talking twenty years down the line. E:::m if it follows the way it's going and it's gradually eating into the gaeltacht areas. What I see is a native speakers, someone with a real local and (.) (.) a real local accent, do you know and there's real, real very very high level (.) of Irish. E:::some people in Spiddal have it but not a lot. When you go further west a lot of people, a lot of people have it. E:::m so I'm seeing that it's going to weaken, you know, so the real true out and out very good Irish is going to weaken, (blrf) ↑they put some kind of (.) f:luent people (.)but not as good at language. Language is certainly there↑ so you know. Is that good enough? What was you question£? I don't know£? E:::m I think it needs action.

M: yes, yes.

P: Do you know? There are si, there are signs of recovery e:::m but I puppese there were signs of recovery twenty years ago as well (.) e:::m and there is state support now. You know there are la:ws in the country that people now, the, there was all::ways (.) laws but now something is being a kind of done about them, you know, public parties are being harrassed, they're being (.) you know, you know, it's, you know, they have been checked and harrassed and they have to do ceratin things. So (.) and it's the law now, so (.) that should help. Theoretically it should help.

M: Hmmm, so the other question is do Irish people really need the Irish language? Why are they interested in it? Because I found in library a book that was called who needs Irish.

P: Yea, that's agood question, that's a good question. E:::m, that's a very good question. I mean, there is: a, there would be a lot of people who would say to you No they don't↑ because everyone speaks English anyway. E:::m I need Irish, I need Irish for my job. E::m, e:::m there are alot of people thatneed Irish for their job (.) that's (.) if (.)we (blrf) the country decide to keep it alive and then people will need Irish obviously if the country doesn't decide to keep it alive it's not needed. It's definatly needed in Europe now youse it's an official language in Europe. So anyone who (.) would like to work as a translator over there (.) it givr them an extra benefit to have Irish cause it's one of the languages that the translate into. E::: so it is needed in a sense. E:::m personally (.) personally I definatly need it because I wouldn't feel natural otherwise, do you know wnat I mean? E::: I need to speak it, e:: I speak it with my

family the whole time (.) I'm actually physically not able to speak English to my family. It just doesn't happen in, in nor ↑even even if you're in the company of English speakers and the whole conversation is in English↑. If I'm talkig to my father and sister I have to speak in Irish, it just switches automatically, I just, I'm nost physically able to do it, I just (.) (.) (.) so. There are a lot of people who would say that they don't. (blrf) see a need for it. But I mean the other thing is (.) why not create (.) a need. You know, if you create jobs that you need Irish for, then people need Irish↑. You know, so it's (.) it's, we're talking about forty years of mistakes. They took away the need of Irish for certain jobs. So them people (blrf) who needs it anyway↑. But if you want to be on TG4↑ you need it. If you want to be on the radio, you need it. If you're certain lectures (.) definatly just need to have it. Librarians need to have it. So e:: that's the £ (.) that's my anwer £ to that one£.

M: yea £ You speak Irish, you're fluent, how often do you use the language

P: Every day

M: every day

P: yea

M: Where did you learn Irish?

P: at home?

M: Both parents were...

P: Hmm

M: native speakers.

P: yea, yea both parents are native speakers and of course we did it at school as well.

M: Hmm do you watch TG4 or listen to Radió na Gaeltachta?

P: E:::: every day. I mighn't see TG4 every day now (.) that's because I'm (.) busy but Radió na Gaeltachta (.) ev, every day. Yea, I'allways have it ih the morning, yea.

M: Yea, which programs do you like the most?

P: E:: the way it works with Radió na Gaeltachta, everyone listens to news. This is very, this is going to sound awful now (.) everyone listens to news to see who's dead.

M: ££ really?

P: Hmm Everyone listens to news, to the local news, further west.

M: It's on the radio.

P: To see, who's dead. You know, as in the funeral (blrf) such as, such as died, their funeral will be on, do you know, it's a, it's funny, that's (.) very (.) like simple way of saying it but (.) it's actually quite true. You'll find even (.) people in An Spidéal who don't have Irish, you know, who only have a certain amount of Irish will listen to the local news to find out who's dead £££.

M: ££

P: Do you know, they'll obviously be listening to other stories

M: yea

P: about what's happening, you know, what's the latest thing on our own locality but (.) you see when I'm in work all day then I don't get to listen to the radio, so do you know what (.) Radió na Gaeltachta would be the first (.) I obviously listen to the English (.) language radios (.) but (.) but e::: mainly (.) news on (.) on a G, there are some other programs I'd like to hear↑ (.), but I'm at work when they're on↑, so. I might catch them up at the cast after or something like that.

M: yea. Do you want your future children to speak Irish?

P: They will.

M: They will ££.

P: ££ They will, yea

M: will you speak Irish to them, sure you will.

P: yea cause my wife is Irish as well.

M: would you put them to a Gaeiscoil?

P: E:

M: of Irish speaking school?

P: Definatly! Em::: that would be a big choice in (.) that would be a big factor choice of school (.) if I had (.) children, you know. That would definately be big, a big factor. I'd only send them, I'd send them to the one that's the best (.) language, do you know.

M: Will you tell them some stories in Irish?

P: I'll try.

M: I think that it's a big tradition in Ireland, the storytelling.

P: Yea it is.

M: That's not in Czech Republic. Wee keep the langauge but we don't do the storytelling.

P: ok

M: It's interesting. In Ireland

P: It's very interesting, yea, yea, we, we're (.) the Irish are storytellers anyway↑. Yea, oh yea I would definatly (.) I mean as in (.) I would only speak Irish to (.) (.) the em::: (.) the children (.) I mean even at home with my nieces and nephes (.) when they have books (.) (.) you can't get a huge amount of books (.) in Irish. So the English ones they get (.) from presents, when we're reading those stories to them (.) we translate them in our head (.)

M: Really??

P: and we read them in Irish to children, yea, yea. But we're strong in Irish, you know. Yea that's what I would do. I wouldn't read in English (.) book to them. They'd have plenty time for reading (.) English books.

M: it's gerat.

P: And if it's a nursery rhyme or whatever they'll (.) they'll get it, you know. They're going to get a just of it , it's not that they're mising out anything because you're translating it in your head and you're (.) as you read it, yea.

M: well there's some publisher An Gúm that publish ..

P: ↑That is a good few but there's a lot, but you know, there's as you see, see there's hu:::ge amount of English books and the allthe caracters on telly↑ (.) are the ones in the books, you know and they're looking at the telly↑ and they know oens in the book, you know, so (.) that's what we do anyway.

M: Did you personally listen to storytelling as a child?

P: Yea, yea of course, yea. My dad was, is a (.) storyteller.

M: Really?

P: And I did it for a while as well, yea. In competitions and that kind of things. We tell stories, yea.

M: yea that's really interesting. Could you tell me something about the storytelling?

P: Oh yea, it was a kind (.) it comes form the traditional (.) we spoke earlier about (.) when fourty, fifty years ago (.) when things were a lot poor, there was no electricity (.) e before electricity maybe (.) and there was no radio, no television.

M: yea

P: Television only came in sixties and radio the same, so at (.) in a time before that (.) what people used to do for (.) past time (.) was (.) go (.) there would be one house in the village where everyone would go to (.) And it was called a teach cuairte which was a (.) visiting house. So everyone come in there beside the fire, there's no electricity, so (.) e: they would sit there and everyone would tell stories and that's where the tradition of storytelling came from and that's where (.) bringing the language form, form age ot age came, so that's where the tradition comes from and some of the stories could have been lies, could have been made up, jokes

M: yes

P: Everything, it doesn't matter (.) or mythology or whatever or even what happened that day but that's where the traditional (.) storytelling came from, we'll say. Em::: so that kind of went away as electricity came then (.) and the it's, you know, >as the country get a but better<, then the radio and television came (.), you know, that people kind of stopped going to their neighbours (.) to their visiting house, we'll say. So that kind of died away but in Connemara they keep the tradition alive↑ whereas you have (.) like recognized (.) storytellers who remember stories from (.) mythology or stories that were written or made up and (.)

M: hmm

P: You know (.) sometimes you might organize a night where people come together again

M: really?

P: and tell stories, yea. That don't happen much anymore now. And then in order to keep it alive in some generations they started a competitions on that so (.) you know (.) you'd learn (.) >get and go learn< the story (.) and then tell it to the audience.

M: that's great.

P: and then judges and that, And then get judged out, so. It's ↑kind of falling back a bit of moment. You see, (.) television (.) kills a lot of that.

M: yea

P: You know because it just (.) it (socks) you into the corner and (blfr)

M: Television is terrible, we don't have it.

P: yea, my wife says the same. She doesn't want to have one. £

M: Yea

P: But I am an addict, so £££

M: My boyfriend works in television but we don't have one.

P: Oh, very good. Very good and we did a few television programs as well (.) but em::: it, it is I recognized it just sucks (.) time (.) and people stop talking to each other.

M: yea

P: Do you know. Now it is beneficial and (.) educational in (.) s: some cases (.) but it's just (.) it sucks the life out of a room, all right?

M: It's like a plague

P: yea, it is, yea, even though I work(s) in it.££

M: ££ yea, yea Do you know some storyteller? You said that your father is one..

P: I suppose he (.) (.) ↑yea, he'd know stories, he's a writer, you see, and director, so (.) em::: he'd, he'd know stories, he's written o, eight or nine books at the stage

M: really?

P: yea between kind of novels and poetry and (.) that kind of stuff.

M: Can you write his name? I'll look at them in library.

P: Certainly (.) (píše) That's his name, I'm going to write (.) do you have an email address následuje domlouvání a předávání emailů... konec rozhovoru.

Mait Ó Brádaigh

MB: For the tape do you want to introduce myself at the beginning?

M: Ok, you can.

MB: Mait Ó Brádaigh, principle of Gaeilscoil, chairperson or founder of (sploder) Irish college and (.) longtime language activist in (blfr) gaeltacht and specially in the, the nongaeltacht. Em::: I was born in the middle of the country↑ and::: I'm not a native speaker.

M: really?

MB: yea I'm one of the 0,5 milion learners. You have to remember that e::: what we have here is the world's greatest e::: minority language fighting with a world's greatest majority language. E::, e:::m remember that probably no other minority language except maybe Mauri↑ in New Zeland has as many learners of the language compared to its, its base of native speakers. In other words it might be (.) in the world today maybe (blrf) maybe hundred thousand, hundred and fifty thousand native speakers but it's got (.)over two million (.) learners. You have to remember that..

M: (Blrf)?

MB: The senses of every year (.) if you look at the the senses figures e::: em::: i:::it says that 1,6 milion learners, that's the south of Ireland↑. Then you have to take the figures of Northern Ireland↑ (.) you have to take e::: the (.) native born, the learners who emigrated to England and America and it's probably (.) maybe it's nearer to three than two (.) em::: because you have to remember that it's the only minority language in the world (.) that has massive state backing n: e::: no other em::: e::: country even Catalan and Welsh they're not official language, officially by the state..... přinesli mu jídlo, vypínám diktafon.

Pak mluví o průzkumu v Loughrea

M: It's in English and in Irish.

MB: Yea this is English and that Irish, ok?

M: hmmm

MB: So there are about em::: (.) twenty sources that are on the disc. There are another fifty (.) there's a::: long list of that e:::

M: That's great.

MB: Yea, e::: em::: which side is it? (obrací studii, je to výtisk, který je z jedné strany v angličtině a z druhé v irštině)

M: This is the Irish.

MB: So you, the first ones that are there em::: yea, the surveys on attitudes on use of Irish.

M: Oh yea..

MB: In the last thirty five years. They're all there.

M: Are they available in some library here?

MB: I can send you that on line↑ (.) as a (.) as an email↑ e::: you may have that on-line, the 2009 one e::: and this is available on on-line

M: Ok

MB: This is the important one↑. That's the e::: s::: comprehensive linguistic study on the use of Irish in the gaeltacht. It's very important.

M: yea.

MB: (blrf) it's yours now.

M: this one?

MB: Yea, that's on-line (říká mi tam něco k odkazům v průzkumu, zřejmě o Language plan z prosince 2009) You can get it at (píše odkaz) you need. That's the official government site (.) and you get that plus the plan 2010-2030, right↑?

M: Hmm, yea

MB: You get those two there, you know and that's big e::: em::: you (.) the long version is only in Irish. It's the same as this e::: the long (.) but e::: em::: the sort version is, is in English.

M: OK

MB: You can get around that. Em::: some of these are e::: (.) (.) e::: later I'll send you the the em: I can send you the:: this one and this one (ukazuje v průzkumu), these two (.) (.) I will send. OK?

M: OK, I'll give you my email adress.

MB: OK, yea, now e: you know Joshua Fishman?

M: No

MB: No, you (.) this is the, his name's Joshua Fishman, he's a: an American who speaks Jiddish↑ and he is a (.) he's the fonder of (.) em: I suppose modern sociolinguistic, sociolinguistic especially e:: with the view to minority languages. And he's, he's still alive, he's 84 and in. In New York or Philadelphia. But he, em:: he wrote the book *Reversing, Just Write It*, reversing (.) language (.) shift. And there's a lot, there's bit on that on Ireland as well. E::m shift, 1991↑ e::, e:::, you should get a copy of that (blrf) because e:: it i: it i::he has what's the, what's called these em eight stages of e, em::: I don't know how that sound, intergenerational or something (blrf) eight stages of e::: the, you know, life and death of a language or of a (.) of, no eight stages of revival efforts. It's a, it's a model for describing e:: and he even has a big chart and (blrf) Catalan, Welsh and all them and Mauri and all (blrf) that. Em::: at what stage they are and gives a, and he even gives a points, get a score↑ e::, e::: but e it's all, it's explained in that book (.) e::: by, by Fishman, yea em::: em::: and he has a chapter on, in it on Ireland. (blrf) on the efforts outside, of, of the gaeltacht. Em::: e::

M: I only read the Hindley's *The Death of Irish Language*.

MB: Yea, you have that, yea. Hindley, Hindley is a (.) is a pessimist e::

M: Yea, yes

MB: But he, he, he, he's far of the mark e::: he just doesn't e::: the whole thing isn't together. This is (.) he, he still, it's a serious, very serious study and I don't want t, t, to generate it at all↑. This is also pessimistic. Th, this big one and e::: em::: but an it has, it is, it is, all the details has facts and figures and e::: I, I would say to you that em::: e::: that a I, Irish has started as, as a e::: as a e::: how would you say em::: a living language in a geographical area. (blrf) pressure and it's, it'll be interesting, you know, can, can it survive↑? E:::, e::: and it's on yo, it is unusual case because e::, y, you have this m:: em::: (.) (.) e::: (.) dis e::: distate and five million people e forty million of a diaspora, do you know in America everybody says they're from Ireland↑. You know that even Obama has (.) Irish (.) relatives?

M: Really?

MB: Yes.

M: Does he? He doesn't look like Irishman.£

MB: No, but he's, he, yea, yea, yea on s, on his mother side his great great grandmother came from, from e:: (.) some place in (blrf) they say so↑, you know e::: i everybody claim, nearly every American president em::: because but not along the, the catholic Irish majority, the poor catholic Irish (blrf) for the last two hundred years but before that. They, they:: brought us as e::, e::, e::: Irish of the Northern Ireland especially↑, they also↑ wen to America in the early eighteen hundred, so em::: e::: there's quite an amount of emigration. Em::: but (.) em::: (.) (.) (.) i, i, it's a complex (blrf), Irish is very complex but, em::: it's really e::: it's a (blrf) so to speak e situation. As to whether it would last e: em::: as a community (.) language i, i, i as I said in a geographical area. Em::: e::: before I forget it, I don't know I in the anthropological side of things, e: em::: e::: one of the books that we were looking at in the last year was I d, I don't know if you see, Geret Dimonds (.) book e::: he, he writes about a em::: you know the (.) the communities of the world that, that died out like Easter islanders, you know in the Pacific, e::: you know the island that is a thousand miles from, from anywhere else, there are all the big, the big statues. Em::: em:::

M: Easter Islands, yea.

MB: Yea, you know, and also m::: there was a hu, a large community in Greenland in the fifteen hundred and it died out completely. People from Norway and Iceland and (.) who moved over to the west, east coast of Greenland and they died (.) completely, you know em::: It's an anthropological thing w, you know, why do communities (.) completely (.) completely die even though they don't want to die, because the Easter island (.) what was in the mind of the

person who, who cut down the last tree? Because you need a trees for boats and if they didn't have trees they couldn't go e:: to the, to fish and go to the next place.

M: Yea it's often the environment. When the climate changes that can casuse some..

MB: Yea, possibly yea↑ or maybe the get, maybe nobody wants to stop it, you know? Em:: because it can be stopped. Em:: e:: for instance there are langauges (.) with less native speakers than Irish (.) who are not in as big a danger.

M: Yea

MB: E::, e, because they, there is a em:: total inter, how they call it intergenerational (.) transmission o:, of the langauge.

M: But I think if the oppressive lanugage wasn't English her, it would be better. You know it's an internationa language.

MB: It, yes, the question really is now, is English (.) is it going to dominate the world or or is it just a lingua franca.

M: it is.

MB: Yea, and definately, in, in, in Europe (.) it seems to be a lingua franca.

M: Yea, if you want to study, all the books are in English.

MB: Yea, and if you want to talk to somebody from a different country.

M: yes

MB: but back in your own country (.) e:: English isn't a language that you speak in a pub to your friends↑. You know, it's just udes to talk to, to, to, to foreigneres or if you have to study.

M: Anywhere you go, you can speak English.

MB: So is it just like latin.

M: I think it is.

MB: ws e:::

M: Yea, in middle ages it was latin, now it's English.

MB: Now it's English, yea. Em::: I think that a all the Europe can deal with that.

M: yes.

MB: Because all Europe want change, changes very slowly and em:: all they, there are so many languages and they're all (.) they all have got several milions speakers. E:: but in, in the new world of America and em:: English can, can become, it's so powerful that can become the language of the place. But then the question it what kind of English? Becasue e:: certainly if you take some place like e:: the Carribean (.) and there are English speaking countries there↑ (.) but I cannot understand what they're saying.

M: Yea, my friend was there and he said that they have really poor English.

MB: Yea English shoudl be said to an european meetings. The meetings of the European union. E::: they, they speak in English to, you know the Czech and the Finnish and the Sweedish and the e:: but e they want e country e countries English speakers that they find very hard to understand are the Irish↑.

M: yea Irish English is really

MB: It's difficult to understand.

M: Yea Irish English is really, the accent is difficult.

MB: yea.

M: When I came here, the first week I couldn't understand anything.

MB: Yea, yea, it's not like the English of the BBC radio ££

M: Yea ..I thought i's not possible. I ve learned English for many years and I couldn't understand even how are you...

MB: You have to remember (.) that e:: for the first (.) e:: until the nineteen sixties most English spoker are Irish. E:: in Ireland. It's just translation (.) e:: of Irish↑ with a lot f the same e::: e:: sounds

M: Yea.

MB: And wh:: and even more the sentence structure.

M: Really?

MB: For in, e:: e::: I now (.) the English spoken today (.) is a lot nearer, an of lot nearer to (.) of the, the English of BBC. (blrf) Irish English two hundred ears ago and English of BBC. What's they, what they call em:, they call it BBC pronunciation, you know, your English id upgraded by BBC television. Now e. for hundred and fifty years has just mooved that amount, that's all, since the nineteen sixties)blrf). It's a lot closer today. Em:: for instance. Irish people still say e:: I am here and also I do be here. (.) You said you did Spanish?

M: A little bit.

MB: You know that they have (Estoria Key) e.. m:: he (.) the songs as marine (blrf)

M: I don't know

MB: Right, both words mean I am. The same is in Irish. We've to words for be e:: I am here, tá mé anseo↑ but if I, if I want to say I am here everyday↑ you change to Beidh mé anseo. E:: and then if you want to say em:: that you're that you're a teacher↑ or footballer or student↑, you start with is (.) the different (blrf) Is, is mas léinn mé, I am a student. E:: so when they start speaking English (.) they just spke English (.) as a translation of Irish↑. So I do be here every day.

M: Ok

MB: That is not, that is not in English and anywhere else in the world↑. I am here everyday is in Eglish↑.

M: Yea, that's what one man said in the interview, that that's the way you speak English, that Irish is the way you speak English.

MB: Yes, but the younger genreation, who's been, now have thirty years of, of ,of MTV, if you want, and twenty years (.) fifty years of pop culture↑ em:: e:: the e::: (blrf) international films e:: the::: the::: the::: young people less and less (.), you won't here I do be here that often. And the, there other faces that are more common, e:: m:: I have red the book, it's official English, in Ireland they say I have the book red (.) because in Irish the wo, that is the structure, that's the order of words in Irish. e:: there is no em:::

M: How would you say it in Irish?

MB: e: tá, I, you know that there's no word for have, there's no word to have

M: Yea

MB: You can only say that, that the cofee is at you, that's how you say I, I, I have

M: yea like agam, tá café agam?

MB: Yea (.) cofee it is at me.

M: Hmm yee, yea

MB: This is what that means. Em:: e::: em::: and this agam is (.)is two words in most other langauges like avec moi, with me

M: Yea I have a little Irish

MB: Yea, right e.. and there are (.) one of the most (.) definig features of the celtic langauges. All the celtic langauges have these combined prepositions and pronouns.

M: Yea, like Wlesh, Breton, Scottos gaelic

MB: Yea, in Irish there are fourteen of them↑ and they're very important to speakig the language. (blrf) you want to say, you're happy, you say happiness is upon me.

M: Yea

MB: And upon me is one word.

M: £

MB: As the same is cold is upon me

M: Yea

MB: So tá áthar orm, happiness is on me.

M: Yea this is difficult. I never knowwhen to use orm or agam or there things.

MB: Oh no, no

M: It's difficult, you have to learn it by heart.

MB: You do and it can help a student, if you understand that well actually this is what they're saying, this is how they (blf) it's like: em:: e:: but they as I said the fourteen em:: of those very important em:: so tá, tá an leabhair leigh agam, the book is read by me, I have read the book.

M: Hmm

MB: That's how you say it (.) now if you want to introduce the phrase (.) e:: e::: the (blf), you know in English you have em:: the (blf) John has gone to Galway↑

M: Hmmm

MB: you have, oh sorry, John, John went to Galway. Em::: that's not good phrase because it's, it's, in English it's irregular but the phrase then John has gone to Galway is a different thing.

M: Hmm

MB: But there is no way to say it in Irish (.) at all. You have to, you have to put in the, the Irish word for after (.) (.) (.) and today you i:: i:: in Hiberno-English most people (.) (.) say (.) John is after going to Galway.

M: Really?

MB: But on the BBC you'll never hear that.

M: No

MB: You'll hear John has gone to Galway.

M: Sure

MB: So that is because (.) the only way to say that in Irish is Tá (.) Sean, John, tar eis (.) tabhair (.) go Gaillimh. (.) (.) So (.) it has a huge effect on (.) on Hiberno(.)English. Em:: there's so many things.

M: Hmmm

MB: I haven't studied it enough but I'm sure you can get, you know, pronunciation, it's a e::: you know the international pronunciation of things like that. There's probably quite a lot. Most of my interest would have been (.) e:: in the (.) dialects (.) the different dialects e:: of Irish e:: which are (.) I don't think they're, there are anymore in the different dialects (.) of other languages, I'm sure you have it in Czech as well the different dialects and

M: Yea, there are Moravian dialects.

MB: in German as well (.) the northern German can understand the Swiss German and some of the time and e:: if you have for people from Caribbean or Galagow (.) even from Cork (.) if they were sitting there and you were a guest, It's hard.

M: Yea

MB: it's, it's

M: I heard that Donegal Irish is difficult to understand.

MB: Donegal Irish is a (.) first of all it's a (.) e::: it's near to Scottish Gaelic. It is (.) let's say, (blf) Scottish Gaelic Donegal Irish (blf) and they find a lot easier to understand it.

M: Really?

MB: It is, it is partially (blf) the written form is (blf) you can make it up from e:: e::: the writing. The southern Irish e::: has e::: Has the, the, the accent on the second (.) e::: syllable of the word e::: that's a French phenomenon, you know e::: La Chapelle (.) e::: an chapel, that's what it is in Irish and (.) (blf) the (blf) Irish word for that, a lot of the words came in the around the Christianity e::: official Christianity, (blf) Christianity, e::: you had Celtic Christianity before that but when the Normans came, (.) got more structured and the, the words to do with the (.), the, the mass and religion↑ e::: a lot of them came from Norman or Norman French. E::: so e::: ei:: (blf) and (blf) are very alike words towards for ch, chapel↑. E::: e::: the French word for a room↑ chamber, seomra is the Irish↑ word.

M: Seomra, yea, yea

MB: It comes from, it comes from French↑.

M: Really

MB: Yea, so it's the (.) it wasn't really the English who would be that here, in a, in a elevensixynine, it was the Norman, the norman, the Norman English. And of course the souther Irenad would be closer to France. It would trade with France as well (.) and Spain.

M: That's interesting

MB: but i, i it's hard to understand but so is (.) for us here in Galway hard to understand the, the

M: What Irish do you speak?

MB: e:: just to give you a little background, em:: when the state started (.) the Brittis left on 1922 and almost to (blrf) they decided Irish taught (.) to everybody. But it really didn't e::: také (blrf) about the 1935 and 1940 then it really cam a subject in all scools and it's hy da,y it's best day was from 1940 to 1970. Now, the teaching systém in Ireland e: was quite dominated by priests, brothers and nuns (.) especiall in the towns. E:: for instance I wuld have been taught in a in a (.) it was a small town↑, e: only 3000 people (blf), this town in the, in (blf) and I was (.) e:: nine ears olf before (.) I han an ordinary teacher↑, it was nuns and brothers?

M: Yea?

MB: because Ireland of the, the 1940-70 has well has been Irish speak, a lot of the Irish speaking schools. It has hu::ge numbers of (blrf), of priests, nuns, so many that they had to export (.) export the nuns to Africa and Philipines and America. They've come e:: because if you were poor, (blf) the only way to education was (.) ↑through the church and and and all the the the big schools for tennagers, they were, they were beginers school for seminary, it was, it was a very big think, but the point I was going to make was that the dominant language the, the the the brother's schools especially was the Munster variety of Irish. E:: and that made that teachers were not appointed to the schools on the basis of what dialect of Irish they had.

A:: And it ment that monster dialect of Irish spead all over the, the midlands and east. So I would have had quite alot of Munster Irish at school↑. But over (.) because as I mentioned the summercamps in Connemara (.) it begun to dominate so I would a Connemara Irish, so ↑sometimes I use some phrases from Munster Irish because it was so dominant. Would generally speak in far south of Ireland↑ e::: you know, Cork and Waterford, those chool wll speak a Munster Irish.

M: Hmm

MB: You know, Waterford has it's own dialect↑. E:. Donegal and all the counties of the northern Ireland they would speak an irish kind e:: e:: a Doegal irish↑.

M: Yea, yea

MB: a Belfast has it's own variation of of (.) northern itish because there was so many learners in Belfast.

M: There's some Irish in Belfast? Really?

MB: Yea, you have to remember that here is, there is a a:: there is about a hundred and fifty thousand e::: natonalist catholics

M: Oh yea.

MB: And Belfast, ↑that is ↑enormous . Em waht has happened traditionally (.) is that only the per cent of nationalists (.) youth learn irish.

M: Hmm

MB: but those per cent actually speak irish better (.) than most of the learners of the south↑. Because they've chosen to d, to do so and they're giving tremendous help.

M: Oh yea.

MB: Whereas the (.) in the south you have u, universality (.) evrybody does it. You can't atten a national universtiy without (.) get a pass (.) in I, in irish↑. E:: but e::: the level is so low that

a.:, you know, you don't have to be very good at all. Yea, you would, almost now you'd pass
££

M: No ££

MB: Maybe it would be a four nights work, it's not that hard££

M: Really?

MB: Yes, e.:, e.:, e.: especially you see since 1970. (blrf) itself is, is explained in the Europe

M: I also heard that the teachers are not good in Irish as well. Some of them

MB: Yes, that's the factor e.:, it certainly is e.: but it's, it's disinterest by parents, disinterest by the state. This is the state took the decision in 19, 1970 and especially in 1960. You know, what, what changed western world? Before you were born? The Russians were in charge of e.: (blrf) another places↑ in 1957 they, they sent up (.). Sputnik into the

M: Oh yea.

MB: And that shocked the west, the west worlds.

M: Really?

MB: This is not true? How can, how can they do this? So the next day, they, they said everybody has to do science↑. No girl in Ireland never did science until Sputnik. I doubt. Girls just did French and maybe, maybe a little biology. Then they begun to ↑do a lot more. E.:, e.: e.: and e.: Ireland changed from a closed society, Ireland was somethink like a, (.) you know the way Albania was↑, Albania would have been most closed (.) country (.) behind the (blrf) so to speak, e.: e.: and Ireland I, eventhough Ireland was (.) you know (.) in the west (.) spoke English very poor. E.: very centralized, still is very centralized, this country is more centralized, France is (blr), everything was in Paris and e.: even in the nineteen eighties we, e.: we were amazed to learn that e.: e.: that country like Hungary↑ (.) was more em.: eventhough Hungary was socialist↑ and we were capitalist (.) when you look at the two countries (.) Ireland was more socialist (.) Because of all this (blrf), you know (.) we had a lot of (blrf), high taxes rates and things like that. Before that in the nineteenfifties fourties fif, again at the same time Irish was (.) e.: taught in the schools in a big way, dominated schools↑. E.: they had a selfsufficiency and (.) philosophy (blrf) in produce everything itself↑. They had high taxes on all e.: imports↑ (.) just didn't work in nineteenfifties millions, thousands even milion people left country.

M: Oh yea, I Know

MB: And e.: e.: in the years after second world war the Irish left and they built all the English motorways and and e.: (.) (.)they built England and at the end of the nineteenfifties (.) the, the ones in charge said we can't go on like this, we're just going to copy everybody else. So e.: they decided to join European union↑ e.: and they e.: (.) in the place of Irish in the education system begun to slowly (moved onblrf). And by nineteen seventy they decided that (.) you didn't have to (.) pass Irish in your leaving cert (.) which is the (.) end of school exam↑ e to pass the exam↑ (.) e.: e.: so and since then it's only the national university that has, has, has kept it. And if tomorrow morning will the national university changes that (.) and the second thing is that e.: a second level school (.) can not get funding↑ (.) unless it teaches Irish as a, as a core subject, in other words that everybody has to do till their seventeen od eighteen, and if you took away those two things and (blrf) optional↑

M: Hmmmm

MB: the whole think will collapse i.: i.: in a month e.: and then we will have the situation like northern Ireland. You would have ten percent who have a lot of Irish↑ (.) and everybody else wouldn't have (.) anything↑↑. E.: they would have a little bit that you have↑. Em.:so it's a, it's all very (.) (.) e.: complex situation. And than you have the whole (.) e.: the, the whole gaeltacht area where you have (.) m.: some place between (.) e: eight to ten thousand people who who live there on a daily basis and use Irish as a community language. Em:

M: But outside of the gaeltacht most of the people don't have the language

MB: They don't have the language but they have more Irish than they have of any other language. And i:: i:: this e:: thos will show you that (.), you know this is a typical place(.) some confidence in:: (.) yea (listuje průzkumem v Loughrea) They were asked do you have Irish and what level of Irish do you have. Ok, there is (blrf) very confident, reasonably confident (.) (.), some confidence (ukazuje mi to v průzkumu) then you go here, that's a few words. Cúpla focail is what it's called. And nothing at all. But that means nothing. The, the color is for speaking↑ (.) you see↑

M: Yea

MB: You got that↑?

M: Yea, yea

MB: Right this one here is this plus this plus this together, so the three of them make up this. You see?

M: Yes.

MB: One third (.) say that they have (.) at least some confidence.

M: OK, that's good.

MB: So that's how you get the one and half milion (blrf)

M: Hmm

MB: M:: and you see everything is higher than speaking. Especially (.) you see

M: Really? That's strange

MB: Because e:: because e emphasis on reading is very high at school. E:: did you, you didn't do latin at school?

M: No

MB: No, well I was the last. In the last generation that do latin. And Latin is (.) i:: everywhere you do it, you don't spak Latin, you read Latin ££

M: Oh yea..

MB: E:: and you have to remember that e: that's how a foreign language was taught↑ in a a:: because Latin was taught in the schools before ↑Irish was taught in the schools.

M: Hmmm

MB: Em: and so that's why the reading is e:: (.) (.) and as you expect the writing is lees than reading.

M: Hmm, yea. Do you think that the high level is caused by media? That people listn to Radió na Gaeltachta?

MB: No the figures are there for eM:: (.) there for media↑ (.) OK, these are the figures for television↑, sport, documentry

M: Oh Ros na Rún is so popular£

MB: Yea, the news, choldren's TV but the documetaries is high Emm::

M: Hm

MB: Twenty, less than twenty four per cent ever listen to (blrf) on radio in Irish. Em:: so but I, I think yes it is true that television helps em:: (.) so i: it's a good hep. It's about one town (.) it is fair enough, it is a god example of, of where the rest of Ireland is at, yes.

M: Can you just tell me something about the gaeilscoil? (zaseklo se nahrávaní.. pokračování v dalším rozhovoru, vynechán začátek, kdy jen nezávazně hovořímeSR00F)

M: I would like to ask you about the Gaeilscoil and abot the schools. You were going to summer schools?

MB: Yea, the summer schools is a, it's a, it's a phenomenon of Ireland.

M: Yea

MB: The only think that's like it in the world is probably the (.) American summer camp. In, in other words e the parents pay for the (.) the summer school and it's residentially (blrf).

Em:: and e::: they're held in the Gaeltacht areas which is e:: m all along west coast (.) mostly. And there's a small amount of state yet. E:: maybe (.) maybe fiftee per-cent. (.) state aid. And

em:: each summer↑ e: up to twenty five thousand (.) teenagers in Ireland (.) go there. Now em:: that is e (.) it's a lot. Em:: (.) for instance you have to (blrf) that e:: for instance the, the students were finishing that year, they don't call because they're finished. So it's 25 000 out of about e e::: m:: maybe 240 000, it's almost ten percent (.) one in ten teenagers in Ireland. So it is almost e m:: well int's not compulsory but certainly is very central to, to the learning of the language. Em:: and e: sometimes people say that the Irish scholl year is short but they forget that (.), you know, this is looked on as a necessity. Not a luxury, it's a, it's a necessity and e::: there are increasing marks in the leaving cert (.) fro e i o from twenty five to forty percent for oral or speaking of Irish. So it's a, it's quite important. Em:: e education venture and second of all it's quite important tourist venture because e it is the biggest em:: tourist venture in all those Irish speaking areas.

M: And the courses are..

MB: (blrf) themselves (blrf) and then at the weekends the parents come to visit them. The courses are?

M: The courses are not for beginners. It's for people who already have some Irish?

MB: Y, y well Irish is taught to to all children in the Irish state from e form four or five years of age↑ and many Irish people complain that they, they make slow progress in Irish and that it's boring and and there's a, can be large negative attitude (.) e:: to to the language and that would said, you you as you said correctly you couldn't really describe the (blrf) beginners. They have all the sounds, e:: they have a basic vocabulary, so there's enough there to build on and em:: some of the courses e:: would consider them e:: as themselves immersion courses. E:: and would have stuffing and e:: e, e timetable and program. E whereby e:: the teenagers would experience a total of Irish experience e (.) time when they don't hear any English at all (.) for, for the three weeks. There is no common curriculum to, to these courses. There is an inspection system but there is no exam at the end. And therefore there can be a number of differences between the, the courses.

M: And are they just a language courses or some, is there something about Irish culture, Irish music and things like that?

MB: Yea. First of all there are residential courses. E:: and there is a formula e:: that they all basically follow and and they part of their education E::: agreed to to to this much that they have classroom e:: classroom activities in the morning (.) and that they have games (.) in the afternoon (.) which can include very good weather games like the beach and things like that and that (blrf) three or four nights a week they have to have singing and dancing, traditional dancing e on the courses. Now, as I say some of the courses stick to that some other other courses have e:: an entire program where there are no breaks at all. And they they have just continuous program from eight o'clock in the morning till eleven at night and they can have the traditional dancing maybe at eleven in the morning and they, they just have the timetable all the time for the, for the students. But generally it's classes in the morning, games in the afternoon and singing and dancing and drama at night then.

M: well that's really fulltime..

MB: If you think of it (.) if you take teaching (.) language out of e:: e:::, leave (blrf) side of it (.) you imagine having hundred and fifty teenagers to occupy all day, every day ££ for three weeks from eight o'clock in the morning till eleven o'clock at night. Yes.

M: It must be hard£

MB: Yes! I, It can be hard but a em: it works and it is em:: it is it has played a valuable role in Ireland not alone (blrf) as Irish but also as away for e teenagers to leave home and e::: teachers to work with parents and teenagers to have a residential education experience because in Ireland the boarding school experience has e:: has e::: (blf) away enough a lot it used to be about maybe ten per cent of the population. Now it's maybe just one percent. So the boarding school experience is available in a different way and and e:: of course the other thing is: where

do they stay. They stay with families (.) (blrf) rof that and you can have the (.) (.) a maybe (.) a four bedroom house↑ You'd might have a eight or ten teenagers in in it in a summer time↑ (.) as well as the people of the house. So they use a (blrf) beds, they don't use hotel beds, they use the beds that you would have at the boarding school. E:: and e::: there are rules and regulations em:: that they have to comply with↑. E::: it is (blrf) for instance that the safest private houses in Ireland are these houses because they have to comply with fire and safety regulations that are e:: that are very very strict. Em:: e:: and all together they are, I think are about (.) (.) all they would be up to em:: (.) (.) maybe e::: between (blrf) and one thousand and one and thousand and five hundred houses in the gaeltachta area that would take these students.

M: And how are these houses chosen?

MB: they just apply to, to the, you see, each college is private. Or has it's own system. So em for instance em when e:: I started the one that I was involved in e:: twelve years ago↑ myself and a friend sat in a café like this and we said e::: we will start a college and we just went out to Connemara and asked a few people would you like to take students in June, July and August↑ and e then we went to the government and we want to start it in place x with e:: the following people↑. Have you any objection? They said no, they have to follow the same rules as everybody else↑. In other words their house has to be suitable↑. The Irish in the house has to be suitable↑ and you'll need a centre in the locality. That's all you need↑. E::: now the rules and regulations have improved as I said fire and safety are are now part of it as well. So there isn't overcrowding and things like that. But that's how you, how you do it. It's a, it's a and then after that then you you're trading as a, it's a, it's a business↑.

M: And you yourself was at this course? The summer school? You said that you learned Irish there?

MB: Oh yes! That's where I learned my, my Irish. Em: I didn't attend a Gaeilscoil↑ I was raised, brought up in the middle of Ireland em:: but I was at school in the nineteen sixties when em:: e:: (.) (.) which was the high point or the end of the high point of the teaching of Irish in the schools. E:: ,e, e,e on a university basis then everybody with the decline in e::: emphasis on Irish in all schools↑ e:: in nineteen seventies to seventy, seventy five, eighty, as a reaction to that parents started gaeilscoils now e::: which were new schools but were all Irish schools. So it was in reaction to, to decline in the teaching of Irish in all the schools. That's what happened but e:: e:: in the summertime my parents sent me back to Connemara to, to, to the SKI like many others and and that's where i required my, my Irish basically, most of it.

M: Yea, but why did you decide to go to the summerschool? And why did you decide to learn Irish?

MB: I was twelve. My mother decided ££. She was (blrf) . And after a while I, I liked it so much I said can I do two courses?

M: Oh yea.

MB: And I used to stay there for, or two months (.) every summer↑. That's how it happened. Em:: e:: so that's the background of it. (blrf lisutje v tom průzkumu) it doesn't come up that high, the summer colleges. It's there, it's not (.) that's probably because it's an experience that only, eventhough ten percent go every year, maybe altogether it's about thirty percent, this is the one hundred percent and you can see that (zase něco ukazuje v průzkumu v Loughrea) the school and the teachers and then the media is important. Because you've Irish in television and radio. Em:: and this, this covers every generation. The, the summer colleges are the new phenomenon, they're only thirty years old (.) maybe more, forty, forty years old are so e

M: What do you personally consider the main factor in reviving the language?

MB: this depends on, on the (blf)

M: The schools.

Mb: Very important and em:: and today I certainly have summer colleges higher up than that. Em:: the media also helps, Irish at home, more could be done there. Em:: but e all of them. You know, they, they're all em: , you see, em:: now you have gaeilscoils also has come on, on the, on the screen but it's a new phenomenon.. You see in ten years time maybe this would be back here and this would be here and some of these will have grown up. E:: but e e:: the traditon in Ireland if you want, the only language planning, that happened in Ireland between nineteen twenty and and two thousand was school. Let the schools teach Irish££. Leave it to the schools and e::

M: Yea, but I think it is important for the people to speak it at home with children.

MB: Yea, well this is e has been there and it schould ocme back e::again and in the, in the, in the rocomandations i, it's said there that, you know that they have to (.) (blrf) em:: but e:: (.) (.) but at home (.) (.) (.) home, home, home (zase hledá v tom průzkumu) (.) yea (.) that

M: Hmmm

MB: that home is important to speak with children.

M: If they speak at home it's natural to them to speak Irish.

MB: Yes. Well you have that one in twelve people here and this is a town that is fifty ilometres form the gaeltacht. It's fifty kilometres form any, form Spiddal.

M: Yea, I know.

MB: Right? It's still, still one in twelve, eight percent, nine percent of people (.) say that they themselves can speak Irish (.) fluently.

M:Hmmm

MB: So yes why not then that means out of the class of thirty, thirty kids , well then three or four of them must have

M: yea

MB: very fluent or reasonably fluent parents. E and and one third of all Irish people say that they have some confidence in the language. That's why you have 1,6 milion↑. And that's in Ireland↑.

M: I just wanted to ask you about the gaeilscoil, you..

MB: Today em:: the summer courses (.) that was something we did as a part time (.) venture. Organizing during the year and then working there at summertime. And many teachers work on these things as summerjob. Now they get an extra income and and they, they have to to work there and teach and superivse for, for three weaks (blrf). Now, my, my real job is em e::: n the normal e:: education system↑ I work in a primary level↑ e:: for the last ten years before that I worked on the second level↑ em and I retrained then and and I work on a primary level today as a principal of all Irish primary school with two hundret and ten people↑ E:: one of (blrf) has Irish as a native language↑. That's all, just one and I have maybe two hundret and seventy parents (.) maybe twenty five of them would be quite fluent↑ Again one in twelve. The same propotion as in the population↑. Maybe, maybe one in ten↑. E:: I have also thirty parents who (.) were never at school in Ireland↑ so who were in school in England↑, two mothers in Germany, father form France e::, several Ameicans, e::: e: and some of them are married to another, they're e::: niether father or mother (.) has any Irish. But most of the parents have (.) normal second level education in Ireland and understand very (blrf). Em:: it was set up fifteen years ago↑, em:: e: by voluntiers concerned parents who wanted to have a gaeilscoil in the area↑, em::: em::: afterwards em::: , I suppose they set it up before the population explsion happened in the area because the population in the area has gone up three times (.) since so e today if we didn't have a gaeilscoil in the area we, we would need, another school would be need anyway. So that, in that way it's kind of unusual. E:: e but these were the years of Celtic tiger and the Irish, the population in Ireland did grow up from 3,5 mil to 4,1 mil so em::: place like Oranmore where I am is one of these places wher ethe extra e::: e::: six hundret tousand people are. Em:: so today we work under a difficult em physical

circumstances↑ em:: we have a small place about 0,2 of a hectare e:: with a prefabricated buildings, very small play area↑ and old central building that used to be a shop (.) before that. We also have a kindergarten↑ which is called a naíonra in Irish, the word naí in Irish is another word for infant↑ e:: and then for words like naíonán are like infant class, naíonra is a word for kindergarten↑. E:: and we also have forty more children in in the naíonra££

M: Can you write it down please?

MB: Yea. Em:: (.) (.) naíonra is play school (.)em:: kindergarten. It's a, it's a word for it. That's a (blf) naíonra mean baby, infant.

M: thank you.

MB: Em:: so we work there with a (.) em::, you know, a lot of people and we e:: so you, you're constantly em::, you've actually close relationship with your parents because e: e:: the, the level of parent are involvement in the, in the education. It is quite high. E:: we, we well we are (blf) catholic school, we would be, probably the (.) the most e::: (.) the nearest you would have to (blf) catholic school. Em::: e:: and our system e:: the, the because the parents set up the school, there is still quite an involvement in running the school but it's probably quite a democratic model (.) of education and it means on the other hand that a e:: we need their help. We have a ten year campaign e: continuing to get a new building from the government. Now when we get the new building, and it will come, we're afraid that we will lose some of the spirit, the community spirit the e::: because when we get the new school everybody will say well it's over now, we've the nice school (blf) but the school, the school often is not, is not a building↑. The school is, is the people↑.

M: Yea

MB: And if you get nice new building they might well say you don't need any more money, you don't need any more help. E:: and maybe the teachers might return to em:: what they call their em:: ivory castles or their em::: it's a. it's a metaphor to say that that they live up in the castles and they don't talk to the, talk to the parents or the community anymore. Because we don't want anything. So we're afraid of that. Em:: e:: also e:: some of the spirit might go of the teaching stuff as well because today we feel that we all have to pull together that that we feel very close to the, to the problems that e::: that Irish has but in the gaeltacht and outside the gaeltacht. In other words that e: e:: it's e::: losing it's grip e:: in both in quality and quantity in the younger age groups. An e:: on, on, on both amongst the native speakers and amongst the, the learners. And e this is e:: it's e::: it's e, for us teachers it's a big thing and we think about it each day e:: because so much has changed in the last thirty, forty years. E Ireland has completely e:: turned into e:: a different place. Em:: e:: sometimes in the nineteen sixties probably a traditional version of Ireland e:: went and some good things went as well and e:: the e::: yes it was very poor place↑, e:: e::: now we're hearing about a scandals that are e::: sh shamefull to realize were there it was poor, it was poor, as I said, but we did have a very high standard of education for, for those who are in the education system↑. E:: and these were the people who, who, who, who, who built the more successful Ireland of the nineteen nineties. E::: and who, who went to America and England became famous and got big jobs. So today em::: not alone we feel Irish among learners is decreasing in quantity and quality but we might also feel that other things in education are also decreasing in quantity and quality.

M: And do you think in this time of crisis it will change somehow?

MB: Em::: I, I don't know. M::: e::: all I can say is em:: e I don't know whether the support is there when you look at the attitudes of the people e:: and one thing that that e:: is said here in the (.) is that the first one with the most support (.) isn't really an opinion, it's a fact, it's very hard to disagree with the first one (asi má na mysli jazykový plán) e:: you know it's very easy to agree with it. It's part of Ireland heritage, ↑of course it is, what else is it↑? But if you go down to, to understand Irish culture one must know Irish, Irish as a piece left out there, e:: one must know Irish. In other words you're asking people to say that everybody should know Irish

but only thirty percents were that. So maybe the support isn't there for the kind of measures that would have to be taken to make Irish viable e: language. Em:: and in the twenty year plan for instance some of the, some big things have been left out. E:: for instance e:: the support for Irish at home↑ and support for, for young children speaking Irish e:: in the education system. Em:: because e:: it has been said that unless young children have e, e a sanctuary or safe place to go to that is all Irish until they're about seven or eight years of age (.) that they, they won't make friends through Irish, they em:: and they won't acquire Irish to a deep level. E::: deep enough to talk about everything i:: through Irish. And em:: e:::nothing is mentioned in that plan to address that. So em::: again e:: e: when you go down to things like to understand Irish e.. Irish culture one must know the Irish language↑. There is only thirty percent support for it. (konec useknout v audio!!!!) (došly baterky... poslední kus záznamu v pokračování)

M: Do you think it's a fashion to speak Irish? (mimo záznam)

MB: The question you were asking me was about the fashionability of Irish. E:: now this has come in a way television.

M: Hmm

MB: E::: many of the new present famous pre, TV presenters (.) on::: e:: the::: Irish national broadcasting sta, station have come from TG4, the Irish language TV which itself is only thirteen years old. And it of course had to get young people involved↑. E::: Yet what really happened is that it stole from a teaching ranks↑ because until the nineteen nineties almost all fluent Irish speaking young e::: men and even more so for young women went into teaching↑ because it was a secure job and you could do other things after three o'clock in a day and things like that. So when television came along they, a lot of them went into the world of television. E:: because it was very glamorous and they were young and they had time to take chance and e risk e:: and some of them did so well (.) that e:: the national e:: e: station RTÉ, it took, took them to it's new station or to it's own station and the same people broadcasting in English and Irish (.) so that today most people can name up to ten TV presenters who are all e:: e:: under, you know, thirty-five years of age↑. Some of them look like supermodels and e::: and male and female ££ and e::: and they they all they think yea, oh isn't it very fashionable and one comedian em, e::: decided to, to, he was an Irish-American↑

M: Des Bishop?

MB: Yea and he decided to go live in Connemara for one year with the TV crew to learn Irish££

M: Yea

MB: An he made a TV program out of it and e but e:: the other thing that e we, I could say here it's, i think said in some place about fashionability, em::: that one has to be careful about the fashions↑ because like all fashions they just ↑come and they go↓. E:: maybe there's no lasting effect em:: because I haven't (.) yes you could say there's a more positive attitude towards, towards Irish in one way but I do think it's at the soft level, you know, I don't know if there is support for this type of a (.) This is where, this (blrf, zakoktal se) this is the type of thing that would need a lot of support.

M: Yes

MB: If you're really going to change.

M: I think so.

MB: to, to, to to change the, the level em::: of Irish in the country.

M: Hmm

MB: So what we have (blrf) is a a::: a::: em: a softer, softer amount of Irish↑ in primary school↑, secondary school, if you take the exam that I did thirty years ago e::: for my what they call interexam, it's a exam you do in your fifteen or sixteen years of age↑ and that exam

today e:: people in the first year at the university (.) would have difficulty (.) doing it. So the standard has come down and the university is today teaching a level of Irish tht used to be taught to fifteen years olds. Em:: e:: thirty years ago. Now some people say the same thing happened in mathematics but e::: em:: e:: from from point of view of Irish it means that em:: only a few people are doig at University. It's not compulsory and

M: It's not?

MB: Not in University. No, it's u, it's compulsory to ge ↑in to the university↓ but when, when once you get there, you don't, you don't have to do it. No the universities have done good work, y::: You know they have even if you're not studying Irish as a subject, you can do a little dipoma in it and a lot of people do that as well.

M: And if you want to pass the entrance exam to the university what level of irish you have to have?

MB: e::: well it's defined as a pass in the leaving cert and that's the way it has been for a hundret years but a (blrf) pass as a leaving cert has come down. E.. but e that's essentially what it is. If you've been to school for six to fourteen years if you can e:: do well enough in other subjects to get to the university to do a course well it's not very hard to pass the Irish exam. It's not. E:: e:: you would really have to be asleep ££ for for the fourteen years because you have to remember to get to the university you have to also have to pass three other subjects. Maths, English and the third language. You have to have three languages to get into the Irish National University. You know, French of German or something like that. You have to have that as well.

M: Yea, that's the same in Czech Republic.

MB: And you have to pass mathematics, you don't have to be good in mathematics but you have to pass it.

M: Even if you want to do some humanitites?

MB: If you want to do anything. You have to have a basic level. E:: but it's a basic level. If you want to do the humanitites you have to get a high level in two subjects and mathematics i not one of them.

M: Yea ££

But you do, minimum you have to have what they call two honours, they can be in any two subjects.

M: Hmm

MB: And but what they call a D3 is a lost pass mark on a, on a pass paper↑. That's what you have to get in mathematics to get in the door. Even if you're doing science or doing humanities or (.) you have to get that for the, the National University (.) which is the one in Galway.

M: Yea. I found our that this Ros na Rún is soap opera is very popular. Most of the people who watch TG4 watch this. (máme pořád před sebou ten průzkum.. tam to je)

MB: Yes, yea, unusual one is this. I didn't expect the documentarie to get so high. I expeceted the sport because the sport is visual it's not..

M: And I tought that news will be somewhere here (myslela jsem jako s větší sledovaností, ukazuju výš na tabulce) That's surprising.

MB:More people watch documentaries than news.That's, that's uderstandable.

M: so we just can turn to these questions. So what do you think about the current stage of Irish language? Is it reviving or dying?

MB: It's reviving! It's, it's not em::: it's, it's not reviving, it's not surviving, it's just holding on ab, just about but there are enough e:: m::: for me e after having studied e::: the sociolinguistic side of things and looked at the studies e::: there are< lots of bad signs there>. Emm:: e:: but it tight, think it is tight to e the way the world looks on e: (.) all kind of

linguistic diversity that it's, it's harder for, for em:: e all small languages to, to survive against a (.) especially em:: with English

M: Yea.

MB: On both sides of Ireland, everywhere, now em:: in a way it's, it's almost a miracle that Irish has survived so long. That you have e:: e:: a hundred thousand native speakers, you have one and half million learners and they have America on one side and England on the other side em:: that e:: (.) is: (.) One writer describes it as e the world's biggest language (.) e:: struggling with the world's biggest small language because no other small language has so many learners (.) as Irish. E:: em:: but Ir, Irish doesn't have any monoglots.

M: Any what?

MB: Monoglots

M: Oh yea.

MB: you know somebody who just speak

M: Yea, I know

MB: There are but then you (blrf) Catalan has eight million speakers but you'd almost have no e:: Catalan monoglots.

M: There are really not people, some old people in Connemara...

MB: Well up to the nineteen em::, up to the nineteen nineties there were, well the older people who could not speak much Irish and much English at all. But yes e::, if the question, you're asking e::: would I know (.) from a person's English (.) e:: that they were a native Irish speaker. Yes, there are still people and I, I would know that from:: of a older generation and I, I would know from e:: and they're also most fluent Irish speakers. And e:: so em:: if you, you go to the elderly persons e::: words in the hospital where there are native speakers and em:: quite often y, you e:: today they would all be able to converse, converse in English. But (blrf) some of their English mightn't be very good. Em:: e:: and e:: e::: but you, you don't have monoglots and I think that any language that doesn't have (.) a certain amount of e:: em::, you know the, i, if somebody can't do everything they want to do through that language well then it's in trouble and em:: because of globalisation and e:: mo it's, it's modernity. Em:: modernism. Em:: it's, it's so, so difficult because the, the media for instance, it affects, it affects children and young people and that's all in English (.), you know, and em the surprising thing about Ireland is e:: that it, that Irish survived at all. And you have to remember as well and maybe I told you the, the last day about the sport and you told me about the mythology e:: and the traditional music and they:: e:: well Ireland e::: downgraded it's language or maybe the, the Irish revival came a little bit late for the language. And if they missed the language they certainly e:: got into first place on sport and e:: and music and things like that were:: today you have e::: Ireland is one of the only countries in the world that it's national sport is bigger than any international e:: e:: e::: sport and not along that it has two of them. E:: nad e:: the:: it's national stadium is full, is filled every (blrf) by these two sports. E:: E:: and so e:: e:: there are a lot of things to be, to take into consideration that em::: the:: e::: it's a question of where do you stop surviving and where do you start dying. And if i::: when, when the Irish people see that actually this is dying, it's not surviving, e:: they may support bigger measures to help the, the language at that stage and if they do so early enough (.) maybe. Em:: but e certainly it's a, it's quite difficult because even Irish as a language is being affected by, by English on a, on a linguistic. This is ling, linguistic only that...

M: (blrf) in both ways?

MB: What I was going to say is a problem I have in my school. Is that the children (.) speak Irish (.)e:: and quite often the, the grammar, the order of the words, e:: the rules that they apply to the language is quite often just English (.) with Irish words. E::: they, for they're not speaking e:: native form of the language. That has a different order of words that that has a lot of a native grammar, it has inflections at the beginning and end of, of verbs, the beginning of

the verb has changed, the end of the verb has changed all in e::: e:: so there are quite a number of complex things and em:: the children are speaking as if they were speaking English except it's, they're using Irish words.

M: Ye, but las time you said that it happens in English too.

MB: Yea, yea the English that we speak in Irish (.) in Ireland e:: yes in the in the eighteen and nineteen century up to the twentieth century↑ and still to the stay (.) em: e::: the differences between our English and the English of the BBC and Oxford are explained by the order of words that u, used to be there in Ir, in Irish↑. But now the younger people are speaking e::: an American e:: English, Irish international English and they're relearning the Irish and they're, all they're doing is speaking this £ language (.) with Irish words but the same words order that international English has. And they're, they're dropping even there even the ↑Hibernoenglish e:: (.) which is they (.) hibernoenglish was English that was spoken year after (blrf) and is still spoken and e::: most Irish people if you go out to the big houses in the states of the rural areas they speak ↑Hibernoenglish. Em:: and it can be very hard for people to understand↑.

M: Yes it is. It is always hard to understand Irish people.

MB: Yea i::: it can be and i:: Irish people are not very good at this lingua franca business when they go abroad because they're speaking Hibernoenglish as a ↑native language. Everybody else is using English as a lingua franca and the, they're speaking slowly and trying to get themselves understood. And the Irishman is just speaking in his own dialect. So, he, he's speaking too quick in English and he's also speaking in a dialect of English (.) It's very difficult to, to, to understand. Em::: so it's very complex. I:, i:: it's very complex but e the other thing is that learning a language em: that isn't international English, every, learning every other language is actually quite ↑difficult and it's, it takes a lot of time and energy and the older you get, the harder it gets and because you don't have as much time↑. E::: and we're not like lo, young children just playing with the language, they don't have (blrf) ambitions, they find it easy to, to, to learn the languages e::: e::: e:: but e:: once they em::: they grow older it's, it's the, they don't play as much with the language and it becomes more ↑difficult and e::: when e::: so learning any language other than international language which because you, every time you, you e:::, you, you, you go outside the world of your own language you have this international linguistic helping it. Em::: so: it's just about surviving but there are big, big questions and the next twenty years will tell (blrf) a lot. E::: even Ir, Irish as the compulsory subject in:: second level schools in Ireland is on the big thread. Em the opposition political party here wants to in that. So if that were to happen em::: it could happen that Irish in second level schools would, would, it's position would be undermined very quickly. That you wouldn't have university learning of the language and em e::: but e::: em::: you see e::: i::: it goes back to em::: e::: I suppose, it's important to understand that there was a revolution here between (.) the late nineteenth century and first twenty years of twentieth century. E::: where you had the Irish revival movement and it was more than just a language, it actually came from the mythology side of things. It had the sport and, it had a sport it had actually economic dimension to it (blrf) they, they wanted to be selfsufficient and not to be imitating everything that the, the British did. And em::: e::: so e::: and it goes on to the end colonial period (year) e::: and when it ended e:::, it ended and postcolonialism ↑started and we, we, we got a lot of other ££ problems from e::: a::s all other and (.) colonies in the world and e::: e::: e::: (blrf) and we've been dealing with these problems for the last ninety ↑years em::: but e::: certainly the, the the thinking and was like, it was almost like a renaissance or or an enlightenment to to to Ireland, it was a e::: it was a big mass movement and the Irish language was only part of that. Em::: e::: and e now the problem is that (kašle) we are, we are and and e.. instead of being e::: a province of England we're, we're just a kind of a province of a big e Angloamerican world. E::: and is there much difference↑ so it's a problem for us, you know em::: e::: i:::t can a language like Ireland, Irish survive↑? There are things that we have pretty well worked ↑out.

E:: we have and extensive vocabulary for many modern things↑, good dictionary system, we have the internet, where there is many things on that↑. Em::: you have wikipedia in Irish↑

M: Really?

MB: Yea, you can. You've wikipedia in lots of smaller languages but you, you have about ten thousand articles on, on the Irish language version of it. The, the Vicipéid is the Irish version of it. Em:: e:: you em::: you have TV station, you have universities, it's learned in ↑European universities↑, em:: e::: so there are many things like that and it has a state behind↑ it. You know, there is, there is a modern (.) state who is a member of the European union, who is backing this and e::: and that's a, that's a huge thing↑.

M: Yea and the people are still interested in tradition. The stories..

MB: Yes, traditional music and local history, mythology::, ↑yes, oh ↑yes there's a great interest i:: a:: and em::: e::: they certainly e::: feel all those things should be passed on to children.

M: Yea, yea I think it's also important factor.

MB: Hmm for instance e::: unfortunately e::: and idea came about here when, when they had, you know that we've had a lot of (blrf) of eastern Europe e::: or central Europe, do you call yourself central europe?

M: Yea

MB: Not eastern, central.

M: Central.

MB: Yea, that's true, it should be. You see the (blrf) was behind, the USSR or was e

M: Yea Czech Republic is called the heart of Europe.

MB: ↑It is, yea, yea. My friend from, from Budapest who speaks Irish he says central Europe is not eastern Europe!££ Do not say eastern Europe!££ Central, right. From Europe e::: and from Africa and places like that↑. And people said ↑Oh no, don't teach them Irish, you know, because they need so much help with English↑. A:::nd really that was a big mistake to say that because first of all young children (.) even if their parents do not have English and much English. Young children, once child goes to any school in Ireland or even just leaves his own house to play↑ by the time the child is seven or eight years of age will have fluent English.

M: Yea, children learn quickly.

MB: Because the media, the friends, the other children, the media, they, the children learn like that (luskne).

M: Yea

MB: E::: the question is really other way around↑. That if they only speak Czech to mother and father and never visit the Czech Republic↑ they may not be able, that is not sufficient↑.

They may actually meet e::: e::: e::: the people from Japan live beside me and the father speaks Japanese to the daughter all the time and every year she has to go to Japan for at least a month (.)

M: Yea

MB: To get a good grip of, of Japanese. It's not just enough to speak to dad.

M: Yea, yea

MB: E:: e::: e::: what happened in America was when all the Irish immigrants who went to America the next generation could understand↑ Irish. But they, they weren't able to speak it because e::: they were socialized in in ↑America. It was ↑American culture that they got. Now, the, the six year old children of central european (blrf) they should be taught Irish the same as everybody else because they will then assimilate into Irish life e::: quite easily and if they play the sport and e::: e::: they understand the language ↑well then they're just Irish like everybody else. Because being Irish is that e::: having a certain amount of Irish. You know e::: people who weren't at school here tell me yes sometimes on the radio they miss out some things because e::: it's assumed that you understand basic phrases in Irish e and e::: where everybody who

has been to school in Ireland understands up to at least three or four hundred words in Irish, even more. E:: and if you haven't been to school in Ireland you would say oh (.) what are they e.. and there are the names of a political parties, of companies, of:: a e::: e:: foods, even the, the a lot of them can often be in Irish and it can be difficult to pronounce for e, for a (blrf), I suppose, I'm trying to be positive so there's a lot of positive things there but if we're talking about a language that's used every day for every thing and e:: that you get angry in that language and can be said, that all the feelings are e:: articulate in that language and really if you don't do that, you're not really speaking the language. You have to be able to to to to speak from (výdech) from a heart (.)

M: Yea

MB: In the language. E:: The (blrf) is where people in universities talk to one another. It's, it's academic and it's a lingua franca nationally but if you have to talk from your heart and talk quickly e:: without thinking it's a diff£ it's a different thing.

M: yea but it's difficult to learn it to (this level)

MB: So em::: Irish as a language is changing↑ but will it change too much and on the, if it begins to die it will, you will have things like kreol, podgin and things like that as well (.) on the way to the, to the, (blrf) it be on the way to the bottom, on the way to the new beginning.

Em:: so the, the it's very complex as I say sometimes we've more in common with e:: some postcolonial situations in Africa. Then we have with your££, with your e:: em:: so it is quite quite complex and difficult because you know every places, you know, if you take places like New Zealand e:: the second language is Mauri but the, the indigenous population have a different skin and they look very different whereas the Irish look the same ££ as the English££.

M: £ yea, that's right.

MB: You know, there's no difference↑. E:: e but e: i: If you take, if you take some of those gaeltacht areas and you want to describe the, almost as a:: e:: indigenous or indian reservations like you have in the United States of America i, it's not far around. It is not far around, sometimes it's like that cause you i: if you em if you go back to em:: you you take the most Irish speaking part of Connemara .

M: Sorry?

MB: If you think for a minute I was to bring you to the most Irish speaking part of Connemara which is the, the bridged islands e:: when you go beyond em: I don't know what you know. You know the Cararroe?

M: Yea.

MB: You go beyond that again and you have to cross a a number of bridges↑, the bridge and an island and a bridge and another island↑

M: Oh yea.

MB: And you go, once you go over first bridge (.) there are two hundred and a half thousand people in there↑ living in that area↑ and it is (.) ninety eight percent Irish, very Irish speaking area↑ but it also has, it still has the most poverty↑, the lowest socioeconomics status↑, the highest (blrf něco jako mental illness?), alcoholism, all the social problems. So you can see that Irish and poverty is still

M: Yea it's still the same.

MB: In one way and then, then in a different way one of the things that i:: if it's not in this study, it's mentioned in ↑another study (.) that Irish people will have a great respect for anybody who, who, who masters the language (.), you know e::: when somebody dies and e:: they say and he£ was a fluent Irish speaker (.) in other words, well he was fantastic to go and learn that, e::: so you have that on one side and on the other side then you have the native Irish speakers↑, the most native Irish speaking area is the poorest↑ (.) and the the most under, undeveloped↑ and e::m::: with a socioeconomics (.) level that is (blrf).

M: Hmm, yea

MB: E:: and for the last four hundred years↑ that was a problem that Irish↑ and poverty were the same thing↑.

M: Yea

MB: The same thing.

M: Maybe it was difficult to them to cooperate with English companies when they didn't have the language.

MB: E::: e maybe that was a problem e:: that time but today because everybody (.) even those, those (blrf) they all speak English as well, you know and their, their, their confidence has grown a lot and e but for for two hundred years↑ people were told that chi, that child, you know that children have to be able to speak English to get a job↑ (.) in England↑ and they, they all had to leave Ireland↑, they all went to America, they went to England and they had to be able to talk in English↑. Em::: so e::: so when you think about it Ireland is££ in the middle between England and America↑, we have (.) poverty in our past, more poverty Scotland and Wales↑ and really the, the amazing thing is that (.) (.) that there is Irish at all↑ ££ because there shouldn't↑ be. You see until the graph was actually going down like this (ukazuje přímo dolů) and by around nineteen hundred this is the way it was going. And since it is going like this (mírně nahoru). But really it sh££ it should have finished about nineteen fifty↑

M: Hmmm

MB: Irish should have disappeared about sixty years ago. So em e::: the, the Irish state has had the effect of doing this.

M: And what happened that it changed?

MB: E::: it was: e:: I think independence↑

M: Oh yea.

MB: The, the:: revolution in them minds first (.) and the sport and the culture revolution. And then the political, the political independence. And that, that e::: but you also have to remember that you see in Scotland and in Wales that they have the sam::e religion as the rest of England. Here the religion thing in the past was (.) this was catholic country

M: Yea

MB: And they were not catholics. It was e e::: it was a very big e::: big issue. Or even..

M: Do you think the religion is that.

MB: It's complex because in nineteenth century the, the, the catholic church and the e::: catholic establishment actually e::: they had, they made the decision about eighteen hundred that Irish was not important. That Irish was to go. Because the first, when they open the first (.) you know the place where the, they train a priest, a seminary?

M: Hmm

MB: If you want to be a priest, you have to go to special college?

M: Oh yea, the special..

MB: It's called a seminary↑, that is the word in English↑. And e::: they open the first one, the first catholic university in Ireland was allowed by the British in the seventeen ninety nine and that was changed to make a decision↑. Half of the Irish population was Irish speaking↑. They didn't, the decision wasn't made (blrf) and English was in the towns↑, it was in commerce, in the banks and in eighteen thirty (.) the school system begun (.) no Irish. It was to read in English. It was, was the emphases and em::: e::: and e::: i, it was a real bad time, em you know by e we've come up like that in that sense but by about eighteen fifty we had a famine in the country↑, that we're still dealing with, you know. Psychologically, you know, this was like Africa. Part of Africa, (blrf), people were dying in the streets (.), one, one million died£ and another million left e: two million left to America and half, one of them die, one million died on the boats↑. And this is only going back, you're only going back six or seven

generations, that'all↑. Em:: my great grandfather was born around eighty e::, yes, he was born about eighteen fifty.

M: Hmmm

MB: So, his father↑ (.) was alive during famine.

M: Yea

MB: So it's only six generations. E:: and e:: the dammage Irealnd like (.) thi, this thing I'm telling you about poverty (.) and e the, the what happened to Iralnd was (.) was just terrible e:: and we're still dealing with that. And e:: a, and because of poverty people said if they can speak English, they'll get ↑jobs in America nad in England and in the towns↑. So this is the background e:: e:::, there were huge, huge economic (blrf) ad there wasn't need for it because em::, you know, Norway wasn't very po, wasn't very rich in the, in the nineteen century↑, ↑Danemark even and they didn't get rid of the leanugage and then i::, it, it but you see the poltical power had been lost as well. There wer every much dependency e:: of a::

M: Yea, I think that..

MB: Of London. E:: d: em:: it was probably all lost during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries. And since then it's kind of what they're callig e in a in English and e it's military meptaphore a rearguard action. It means they're once in the back and don't want fighting↑ you know, you have it in a, in army↑, we're the guys in the front↑ the vanguard is the English word for that↑ (.) and then at the back, the rearguard↑ and the rearguard when tey're, when they're moving along↑ e:: the guys >in the front are fighting but the guys at the back are also fighting< e:: because they're being atacked as well.

M: Yea

MB: So it's e::: we're just trying to re, we're going backwards and we're just a trying to e::, if you want e::: so when you're going backwards, the bit in the back is in the front so to speak and even they're moving backwards, you're fighting. And that's what's happening, it's just e, it's just a big rearguard action em::: we're trying to, to, to e::: as a man said to me on, on e: on Sunday, we, it hasn't anything to do with Irish but e, e::: he, he said the, we were talking about some traditional festival or something like that and e I said ↑oh there is not many of them involved but you, we used to be takling about I think i::: ga the sport game of hurling in a, in a in an area where it's not played much and I said ↑oh yes and I've seen them, they were playing e::: lately and a man of seventy years of age was a, was a (blrf) and he said oh yes (.) they will do anything to keep going £even putting out they, the, the ££old man and £££ (blrf) just to keep it going.

M: Yeaff

MB: You know, you know the (blrf) in a, in a race, you know a relay race where you have a stick.

MB: And pass it to the next one and that's what it's about, just e::: to, to, to keep it going long enough and just give them stick and em::: so e::: traditional Ireland em::: there is, there is a bit of that about it. You know, the question is that at the moment ou could go so low (.) that you may not have any native speakers and, and if you don't have a native speakers..

M: Yea, yea (blfr) because the language is not changing, not living..

MB: No it has to be lived, it has to be lived intergenerationally, it has to be spoken e::: (.) not alone by thir, three or four of your cildren but e three or four children amongst one and another.

M: Hmm

MB: With, with a::: whne you have a kindergarten, there have to be natives peakers in the kindergarten who can, because em::: choldren really decide the future of a language, it's deciden by children. E::: and e e::: it's a very very delicate situation because a e::: how do you em::: how do you to engeneer how children behave↑, it's very difficult. Now they are, today one of the biggest influences on choldren is, is a massmedia↑

M: Hmmm

MB: It's not, it's not a traditional world. Em:: but e I tink that if, if you can understand Ireland by the way it was fifty years, forty or fifty years ago (.) e:. and you can see, you see how much the country has changed em that this is the problem that they're showing out everything em:: you have to realize that you've gone from situation where you had ninety five percent attendance on a weakly basis at e:: religious services. (.)

M: Hmm

MB: Like on Sundays. The whole (.) town, the whole countryside completely closed in the morning with everybody e:: e, e:: and in inside of fourty years you (blrf) to situation where it's a, where it's about a third of the population which is:: a getting nearer to let's say Euroepan norm. E: but the the cha, what that has involved has been just a (blrf) the money in Ireland, you know em:: e fourty years ago the country was only the sixty percent of the, the Erepean norm. So if you think some of the central European countries after e:::

M: After the revolution

MB: After e::, twenty years ago. They only had sixty or seventy percent of the, the European union norm. That's you were like that.

M: Hmm

MB: And we used to compare (blrf) understood. I never understood about e:: e:: Russian socialism or communism untill somebody expalined me, ↑is it you know ↑Ireland, this was thirty or fourty years ago. You know Hungary is not as centralized as we are. And there's no, in sometimes more, there's more capitalism in Hungary ££ then there is here↑ cause it was, it wasn't called a socialistic but it was very ↑like a socialistic.

M: (blrf)

MB: In the, in the, except we didn't, we, we had e::: very closed society↑. Now we didn't ha, what we didn't difference, the huge difference, is it (blrf) as it's understood. In other words you didn't have to be watching the em::: the::: police and the, the secret police and things, you didn't have that. But the economic system even to this day Ireland is very centralized country. E:: e:: if you want to, to, to e::: buy a cup of tea at at school you have to talk to the central department of education ££ to get, to get permission£. E:: and there was a very little (.) you didn't have big industires. Any industry you had was owned by the state↑ (.)

M: Hmm

MB: Up to the nineteen sixties we had this (blrf) called semistate and semistate employed a lot of people↑. E, e::: everyting (blrf) agriculture was semistate. You know so e::: e::: but if you understand how (.) if somebody goes to

M: Yea, yea

MB: (blfr) a lot of change and (blrf) a lot of time then everything is effected. Em::: so as I said in the nineteennineties e::: the::: m the great hope for Irish was the television station.

M: Hmm yea, the media

MB: It started them. And today the great hope for Irish is language planning. It's, it's a new thing that's comming. So we'll see.

M: And what do you thik are the reasons for people for learning Irish? We discussed these bat what do you think personally. Why are you so interested in Irish?

MB: Well, you're back to, it's got to do with who you are and where you came form and we, we're talking about e the the (blf) oldest literature in, in, in Europe after Latin anf Greek, you know, you can go back to four hundret a.d. e:. with our Táin and things like that and e::: e::: that's really what it's all about↑. E::: there is a, they have been speaking a this celtic dialect e::: since from two or three thousand years↑ em and e::: it, it gives us a, a different outlook on world↑ that we can see things i, in the way our, our ancestors saw them and e the way they, the phrases in Irish are, are, it's, it's not just a set of words, there's a whole culture that comes ↑with it. And, and, and the way things are said. It's also a, it expesses. Sorry (zvoni telefon).

The way things are said, e, e expresses a frame of mind about↑ the world. Do you know what we call e::, e::, e::: a person with a physical disability or a mental disability, a mental disability e::: e:: in Irish they, they have em:: they have different ways for for saying this. One of the way is to say just that the person is with God.

M: Really?

MB: Em:: that if the person isn't mentally (.) capable, you know somebody has extreme mental disability as he's not able to mind himself and it's dina le dfa e::, e:: that God in minding him :: i, it's just a, it's just a phrase that shows you that the, the Chirstian past and Christian present and also it's a nice way o saing it.

M: Yes.

MB: Even you know that the, the, the flowers the, the red flowers em:: they grow on the hedges in Connemara and they look like tear drops and they have a little tree things hanging out of the bottom of the red.

M: They are called Fox gloves?

MB: Fuchsia, fuchsia is the, is the I don't know what that is in (.) but the Irish for that is deora Dé, God's deeds .

M: It's nice

MB: It's, it's, you see the way that is the heritage involved in the way things are said. It's not just e:: it's not just a language, it's a it's a whole history and em:: e:: way of tinkng. It's if e:: it's a way of the looking at the world↑. And em e:::, you know e:: maybe the las time I was telling you about all the, all the English and the American speak and they don't realize how much is the translation from, from, from Irish. We have contributed the way they, the way they talk↑. Em:: and e:: whether Irish will be around to influence more we don't know but e:: i, i, it is given, it's given the e English language even in England a lot of words. Did you ever hear the, the English saying that sometng is smashing↑? E:: it ment that Oh smashing that's great! I, if the, if the in the English in England they're talking oh it was a smashing play ££ me, meaning that i was a very good play.

M: Yea, yeaff

MB: And it ocems from the Irish phrase is mar sin, that the Irish used to say

M: Is mar sin.

MB: Oh that's good, and they heard the Irih saying it so often that they, they, they, they and it, you know that there is an English verb in English to smash something you know, you want to

M: Yea yea

MB: to break it up ££

M: to smash the window£

Mb: But it's nothing to do with that £. It means it's good ££ thing.

M: Really

MB: It's a negative. E:: smashing match or a smashing day. Smashing day it means a lovely da.y

M: Smashing pumpkins ££

MB: Yes! It's a band. That co, that i:: it comes form a . Does it mean a very good pumpkins↑ or does it mean that the pumpkins break something?

M: Why would this.

MB: Why would pumpkin break anything££. It must be that very good. So there's been an influenco of Irish on English and of course it's the over around that the English hase a (blrf) huge influence e:: on Irish that is so so em:: effecting Irish at the moment. It's actually attacking the, the gramatical structure (.) which is the problem.

M: You already answered this question..Do Irish people really need the language today?

MB: E:: a lot of the pple would say that they don't but em:: if you say well (.) right we landed now or well wait a minute they might say ££. E::: maybe not. Do you want your child to learn no Irish at school↑? No that mightn't be a good idea but e:: that, you, you're back to this. This is, that's quite, this one here (ukazuje průzkum v Louhrea) (.) the (.) the one at the, no it's this one, it's actually this one.

M: Yea

MB: This one (blrf) to understand that is (.) that is an (blrf), that is a very good representation. That's the proportion publi(blrf) would say my childre should have a high level of Irish. The rest it's just, it's the difference between that and this.

M: yea, hmm

MB: And the just want a low level. Just that they have some, some level.

M: Yea, yea

MB: of Irish and that somebody else talk the language and and keep it alive. But e:::m:: e:: that would be the attitude. E:: do they, do they need it, I would say (.) em:: I, I think that we would e:::m If we were m:: place like that, if you think of Finland, I think hteir language had a number of troubles and the, finnish peole has poverty and they have extreme difficulties↑. And they hav a very complex language. You know em:: I don't know do you have tenses in e:: , or not tenses cases in Czech, Czech nouns? You know the noun is a thing?

M: Yea, yea

MB: E::: yo have a the nominative case↑

M: Yea, yea we have seven of them.

MB: Right in Finnisht they are fourteen £££

M:££

MB: So right? As it stopped them from becoming e::: world leader (blrf) look at the mobile phones, they all come from Finland and e:: and e:: all the other things. Em:: so I, I think that em:: e:: if we were to, to e: emphasize e:: English or Irish eve more we would e:: e:: e::: we would benefit form it. E:: we would gain more selfconfidence↑, we would have the e:: we would be ble to think creatively↑. E there are no a:: if you want to count the philosopherf form Ireland↑, the scientists form Ireland they're very few. Poets yes, plenty of poets, we've a lots of poets.

M: And writers.

MB: and fiction writers but we (blrf) thinkers and e::: e::: e then sculptors and e::: there are, there are

M: Actors.

MB: Yea, but ge, yea actors, poets and writers, yea but e if you're going to the, to the mathematics and philosophy side of things.

M: Yea but in the art and music

MB: They, they are but if you want e::: em::: a large scale e:: philosophical intelectual discussiona about e:: in Ireland about the world and things like that em:: like you may havein other European countries, you ↑don't have that, not at the time in, in Ireland. That it's (.) a lot of it it's imitating the Angloamerican world but the people look on the, on the, on the TV↑, they look at the Sky news↑ and American news↑ even if they e::: when they see sometims I see Euronews and it's completely different, it comes from France but it, it's different. People look on things e in different way e:: and the reason is much appreciation arts, you you would think international (.) world art, you know the that e:: people don't go to art galleries and things like that, it's, it's, it's just this e:: it's appreciation of a (blrf), yea they're proud of poets but they're not really interested in it↑. Acting maybe. To a certain degree. E::: e:::bit it's, it's the Angloamerican world of film and, and and things like that.

M: That's right, yea, yea.

MB: You know and (.) (.) if you ask them about e::: painting or something like that, how many do art at school, very few and do you know to e::: reasonable level, appreciation of architecture and things like that, you know there's, there's, as I say we, we live between this Gaelic world and then just being an Angloamerican province. You know just like Cansas £ sometimes. Maybe not as bad as Cansas but e::: maybe Hawai. We don't have the weather but like Hawai. Even Hawai, you know there is a Hawaien language↑? In Irealnd an Hawai, you cannot go to the island unless you speak Hawaien.

M: Really?

MB: They're, they're orthography of the words↑, they don't have a native system. They really use a lot of, it's just a any e::: English language, pronunciation almost. But it is, it is a, there is a Hawaien language. And of course there must have ↑been. The place is three thousand miles from California. £ So em:::

M: So just about the media, do you watch TG4 or listen to radió na Gaeltachta?

MB: em::: what do, do you mean? Do I select them over other or or e:::

M: Yea.

MB: Yea, of course you will watch when thing you want to see. If there is a sports match on TG4 and it's not anywhere else↑, yes (blrf) but when I have choice em::: well I should say first of all I wu, I don't watch much television. I, I e::: because em::: the language is the same for me e::: I would generally watch something that I want to see. And it will depend maybe on the other people who are there as well. E::: but e I suppose I watch as much TG4 as anybody else because I would, I would choose.

M. And if you can choose if there was some sport's match

MB: That depends on where the good match is. So em::: em::: if there is a program that is good enough on it e::: yes but e in e::: radio is a better example. Because in the radio in the morning on talk radio there is news program. There are for english ones and there is one Irish but they're all talking about the same things but tomorrow it's going to be the economy because they have the plan for the economy for next years tomorrow. And in that case I would, I would listen to the Irish language version because it can be very good. The same when there is election↑ e: when the result are coming↑ after the election↑, they're counting the votes↑ all the, you may have five stations, all talk about the same thing↑ and yes, the, the Irish one is i:::s what i::: because it's good no because it's in Irish↑ because it's good££.

M: OK

MB: A::: and wha, what we said in the nineteen nineties a lot of us felt that right you have a station in Irish but it has to be good. Because that's what, that's what make people look at it, not because it's in Irish, because it's good.

M Yea.

MB: The programs, look at that, because they're good. Because e::: not because they're in Irish, because they're, they're, they're good. You know that they entertain what they have reserched (.) well made and programs. Em::: and (.) today I even had a, had an argument with a teacher over em::: e::: attitude and behaviour, which comes first↑. Do you change person's attitude and hope their behaviour will change↑ or do you change your behaviour we, e::: but e certainly if you give a person ability in a language em::: and create a positive experiences from (blrf) and because (blrf) you talk about the education, you can't do that↑ e::: well then yes their attitudes will be better afterwards.

M: They have to be motivated but not forced

MB: They have to have a good experience. E::: e::: a positive challenge. But it has to be challenging and there was a l, there was a little line between, you know between (.) that's challenging and this is forced↑.

M: Yea.

MB: You have to get a balance↑. Just right↑ You know it's difficult↑

M: Yea

MB: because e:: you can't have (blrf) the other because e:: i::: that e:: in education you have to, you have to have a challenge↑.

M: That's right.

MB: So it's difficult but em::: media I would say if it's good it would be, if it's goodm if it's got information that count (blrf) anyone else, yes, people will look at it. E::: so if you got a sport's match, that's not on, that's not on the TV anywhere else↑ yea, they'll look at it. That's what happens.

M: OK so just few questions about your children. Do you want them to speak Irish? Do you learn them Irish?

MB: Yes, I, I e:: I did in and Irish speaking area two, two Irish degree. It wasn't (blrf) difficult with the rest of the community we're living in isn't like that. It is, it's quite difficult. And e: the m::: it's a (blrf) it's mo, it's more difficult for them, they don't, they, they don't acquire an e::: they need, well they need a school experience to back that up and that is ↑available in Ireland because of the, of the, the gaeilscoil movement, you have that. But they also need a (blrf) dimension to fill the gaps between parents↑ and the family↑ and school because after five year or six year of age (.) they, they, they go to play with their friends, they go to the sports clubs, they go to (.) horse riding, they go to (.) all kinds of things.

M: OK

MB: and e::: they begin to realize or, you know, e::: these things aren't available in Irish.

M: Oh yea.

MB: So it's difficult, quite difficult. Em::: so i::, it is not easy and what's involved brings me back into (.) sometimes I think it is a miracle that ££ anybody speaks Irish ££. Because when you think of the, the, the obstacles e:: e::: e::: because a school can't do it, even speaking Irish ££ to your own child you can ££ do it. Now i: it helps and they're parts of the jigsaw but you, if it still survive as a community living language, it has to be available one hundred percent. And (.) if e::: if you can't do that, (blrf) it's, it's very difficult. I've never lived in an one hundred percent area. So em:: I wouldn't be the, the best e::: expert of that but e:: I do know that, that a, that areas are getting smaller. And if you don't want to have (blrf) then it's really (blrf) or you can do everything (.) all day e::: e::: have a community, so speak. I, I didn't do that, it was in a, it was in a ordinary areas I have worked and I, I'm sure children (blrf) feel odd ££ everybody else speaking English↑ and you see him speaking on the ends~~££~~. But e:: today they speak in:: e::: they would speak fifty percent, fifty percent e::: in, in English to me. So today I could be speaking to them in Irish and they would be speaking to me in English. So very unusual situation but it ↑happens. Cause I always spoke to them in Irish (blrf) they change down and but if you were to be at the table beside us↑ then we would all be speaking English because that's polite.

M: Yea, yea

MB: (blrf) lingua franca ££

M: Did you put them to the gaeilscoil?

MB: I did, we had a chance. So we lived in a populated area. If you, if we lived in a nonpopulated area, you o, you don't have that chance. Gaeilscoils are phenomenon of populated areas only. And the rural unpopulated areas em:: because of the Irish education system (.) that opportunity does not exist. And e::: that's, further problem that hasn't, hasn't been addressed. But it's a small problem compared to s, some of the bigger things that I mentioned earlier. So they did have that chance and e::: tha, that's just a, that's a basic thing today. My sister for instance live in e::: less populated area and::: when her eldest child e::: six years ago was three, she said Oh what is he going to do next year↑? There is no school. And she was speaking Irish to him at home. E::: this is a place hundred kilometres from, from the

gaeltacht. And e she said I'm going to call a meeting of em: the area and she decided to, to begin with other parents our own school↑.

M: Yea? That's great.

MB: Yea, these are the types of things that happen. That e:: in a way the Irish speaking world ha been pushed to a corner↑. And every now and then i:: it forces them to, to, to to join to together↑ and they, they burstout and they start saying we have to do this, or, or we will collapse↑. There'll be nothing left↑. E:: e:: e::: and that's, that's how e::: that's what e:: f, in my own case that, that happened in three or four times↑. The places where I was living, we had to stat a school↑. E:: e::: when my eldest was six (.) I, we, I wen to meeting here because there was no second level school in Galway↑.

M: In Galway?!

MB: There was no Irish second level school inm in Galway. E::: and e::m in the city.

M: Hmm

MB: So I went to the meeting because as it's going to take a year or two and she's six now and you know, let s get started↑ and we did and then three years ago or four years ago e:. we had to do the same thing££ you know in Oranmore again££. Now this time it wasn't my children but it was e:: e::: other children. And we had to start another one.

M: So it's possible to do that.

MB: Yea e:: we even had the unusual situation that we had intended to open a school in 2008 because these things you need to plan a little bit and we actually e:: e::: decided to open a school in 2006 (.) instead of 2008. So usually it's the other way round and things get first (blrf), we actually (blrf) before because we said that well the first year, you're going to have ten peupils anyway. SO it doesn't matter when the first year is, you only have ten peupils£. So let's start! Get over it! E::m, e::m but you know, you need a lot of ener, energy for those things and e:: it's e:. volunteerism is OK and it is great, it's great solidarity among people and e::

M: Is it even more difficult to run the socond level. You need more teachers...

MB. You do, it's more difficult. A second level e:: i::: the second level i::: education system is quite complex i:::t's i:: more complex than primary with the involvement of the catholic church and protestant churches and e:: it is (blf) to explain it but e::: e::: e::: there are and there is a question of indipendent schools as uippose to a stream within the school or unit with another school and. Basicaly the school has to have independence of some kind. It'an indipendent campus↑ and indipendent stuff. Becasu we doesn't, than you don't have, you, you just get swamped by English. English will just tak it over (blrf) side because em e::: students, children or teenagers need to have boundaries and places they, they, where the can , what they're doing can, can be structured and organized. Em but e I hope that's the las time I did it££. I'm too old for (blrf) I think.

M: OK£ now three questions about sorytelling.

MB: Yea

M: Did you do some storytelling ot your children?

MB: Oh yes, yes, yes

M: Was it in Irish? The traditional myths and which..

MB: yea I would have said before that the Fianna and the (blrf) of the Ulster cycle would be more inportatnt than the, the e::: as the best word for it to (blrf) fairy cycle, that ws more supernatural.

M: Yea

MB: The, the and it's an older, it's, it's, it's older and and it's not

M: It's the oldest one.

MB: That is the oldes one and the::: em this is not as popular as the other two.

M: Really?

MB: No I would say that, that the stories of the two (blrf) are not as known as the, the stories of Cú Chulainn and of a Fianna. They're more, more common, you know that'd be my own opinion. E::: e::: e::: that the two (blrf) done as looked on as supernatural em::: the, they didn't really live in Ireland, they lived above Ireland or e::: in the in the air (to neni pravda, žijí v podzemí, v mohylách, kterým se říká Sídh) and that there aren't any characters that readily come to mind. (asi je dost realista) whereas personalities of the other two are, are, are there and have been reinforced almost continuously to the Irish leaving cert system. That they're until the two thousands there was a::: always the story on the mythological cycle on the Irish language leaving cert.

M: Really?

MB: Always. Whether it was Deirdre and the sons of Uisneach or a bit of the Táin or e.: part of the Fianna, there was always the story. Em::: and indeed the the, the book about Duramuid and Gráinne em::: e::: was and is still done by summer schools, the whole book in classical Irish, not modern Irish, classical Irish

M: Really?

MB: Yes we had to do that in seventies, you see. That (blrf) of Irish in the seventies it was ↑sky ↑high, imagine you have to do it in not, not in medieval Irish form, from sixteen hundred ↑ with phrases and and you're to feel (blrf) the same whereas you were doing Shakespeare in English, you know, with a, with a, you know in English that's in (blrf) e::: so and e so there are minority o schools that still do that today and the, they just do the whole book. The, the, the story about it's about, it's a long story and to, to, to but e::: yes it's i::: it is important and em::: e::: you know, you, to have awareness around the language you have to have that. Because that's e::: that's where it all came from and as I say it's, it's even available written down from then, from from four hundred years ago and well, you ca (.) well you can read it without much difficulty, you know, if you have a certain level already. Em::: you know it's easier to read than Scott's Gaelic (.) for us. Scott's Gaelic is a::: cousin language but it's not as easy as (blf) you think it is (.), you know e::: it's easier for the northern Irish. Cause their language is, is (.) that dialect is close.

M: It's close to the Donegal?

MB: Yea, yea em::: you see I, Irish in south of Ireland is spoken almost with a French accent.

M: Hmm

MB: That the emphases on the second syllable of the word and e::: and that's, make sense because it's nearer to France ↑ and as northern Irish is nearer to Scotland ↑. You know it's, the nearer you go (.) you may take the word beag means small ↑ but (blrf) in Northern Ireland it's already a (peig) and in Scotland it's definitely (peg) ££ (.) mean small. That the you can't hear it in it at all ↑ its' (blrf) e::: e::: an you see that in placenames as well. The place names are of course full of, are ↑ also full of stories quite often as well ↑. E::: so (.) was that, that answer on your story::: (.)

M: Yea, yea great I just give you the last question. Did you personally listen to storytelling from your parents?

MB: Oh yes, yea, I was part of our (blrf), yea, we would have known from school and home. But equally school, I wasn't even in the gaeilscoil. The, the stories of the mythological heroes would have been e::: extremely important.

M: In Irish.

MB: In i::: Irish or English. I, I'm, I, I was too young and to (.) it was probably a mixture of both.

M: Oh yea. Is there some difference if you hear in English or in Irish?

MB: e::::

M: for you

MB: Which is a I became a teacher and I taught it through Irish. It means that the lines are broad. When, when you've been in education all your life it's hard to remember what happened when. So, so e:: e:: people who don't work in an education remember these things clearer.

E:: to me it's just education and (.) you know e::

M: Yea I ment that, it's not possible to translate it from Irish to English without losing something.

MB: Context. Em::

M: from it, that it's important to hear it in Irish.

MB: E:: y::: yes for instance the aliteration and things are said in threes sometimes are said in sevens e:: you know number three and number seven (.) in the folklore because you know::: there's a line between mythology and folklore as well, that's

M: Yea

MB: And:: e the, the fact that the letters starts e::: the words starts at the same letter and it's a poetic side to it and I think it that has to be said. E:: e:: how do you explain, how do you translate fadó fadó in Érin. That is not translatable into English. It means a long time ago. E:: and it's, it is a phrase in Irish that is based at this word fadó means, it's just one word, it means a long time ago, that's three English words.

M: In Czech it would be a one word too.

MB: Yea, there is a word for, for it and you start a story. E::: with, with children you'd start it with that. (blf) else you start it so e::: when you translate that, it's not the same thing.

M: Yea, yea

MB: That's an example of it. And then there are the, there are phrases that all start with letter r and you have to say them together and if you translate them e::: it's not the same.

M: That's not the same.

MB: e::: so there is that sight towards (blf) you see television, you know it has broad the decline of a, of a lot of storytelling. E:: you know that, what e the linguist, the sociolinguist in Alaska call it, he said it's cultural nerve gas.

M: Yea, yes it is.

MB: That's e:: and it is, you know. E::: even today I just (.) it's mainly for sport and news at and perhaps if e::: a film, but the rest of the time is just nonsense.

M: Yes, yes I don't have (blf), so I

MB: If you want to see if there's something important that happens and you can see it, the Berlin wall collapse in this minute, it's great, it's great for that but the rest of the time it's (.)

M: Yea it's good for nothing.

MB: It's the same nonsense all the time.

M: Yea really wasting time.

M: Yea, yea e::: I tried to read maybe four, five books a week and e::: I e::: sometimes it in or sitting when the TV is on and e::: maybe there's a politics program and but I'm reading a book and e:: if I hear something (blf) I put my book down and e::: e::: reading is, even radio is, is, is more important.

M: Hmm

MB: E::: this has been an important week for Irish. Something else happened that was good.

M: What?

MB: Do you have all the audio books in Czech. Do you know what audiobook is?

M: Sorry?

MB: Do you know what audio book is?

M: yea..

MB: (blf) and you just put it on the tape or CD in a machine

M: Yea and listen to the story.

MB: that somebody's reading a story.

M: Yea

MB: We didn't have them in Irish, we don't have them in Irish.

M: Really?

MB: Only this week that, that the first one has really been e:: e::: been published.

M: The first one was published.

MB: Yea

M: But I saw one, it was the traditional mythology stories and it was published in some news.

MB: Yea, but I'm talking about a modern fiction writers.

M: OK

MB: possibly there, there are a educational ones on my, mythological, you have the all right, if I want to, to, to hear the work, if you've (blrf) licence, you'd like to listen to a modern writer. E::: and e:: have a good (.) actor or actors↑ who can read very well↑ e:: and modern literature, very modern literature.

M: Yea, we have this too and the stories played by actors and it's like drama but it's just on radio.

MB: Yea my phone is (.)

M: OK, I think that's it.

7.c) Jazykový plán

**20-YEAR STRATEGY
FOR THE IRISH
LANGUAGE
2010 - 2030**

DRAFT

1. THE VISION

Despite centuries of language shift from Irish to English, the Irish language continues to survive as a living community language in some traditional Gaeltacht heartlands and it is also in use on a daily basis by many people outside the Gaeltacht.

The last hundred years has also seen a flowering of literature and other art forms through the medium of Irish, such that Irish is now a fully-fledged modern European language.

The objective of Government policy in relation to Irish is to increase on an incremental basis the use and knowledge of Irish as a community language. Specifically, the Government aim is to ensure that as many citizens as possible are bilingual in both Irish and English.

The aim of Government policy is also to

- increase the number of families throughout the country who use Irish as the daily language of communication;
- provide linguistic support for the Gaeltacht as an Irish-speaking community;
- ensure that in public discourse and in public services the use of Irish or English will be, as far as practical, a choice for the citizen to make and that over time more and more people throughout the State will choose to do their business in Irish; and
- ensure that Irish becomes more visible in our society, both as a spoken language by our citizens and also in areas such as signage and literature.

Irish is part of the culture and heritage of Northern Ireland and the promotion and protection of the language there is also a priority for the Government.

The Government recognises the tremendous advantage to its citizens of fluency in English, the most widely used language in international affairs. The Government commits to ensuring that this advantage is retained through the development of a bilingual society, where as many people as possible can use Irish and English with equal ease and facility.

While strengthening the position of the language within our educational system is a key focus of this strategy, transmission of Irish as a living language within the family and between the generations is critically important. Our overall approach is to create a supportive framework and the opportunities in which Irish can be passed on in a natural way within households and communities.

The future of the language depends on people who make a positive choice to embrace the opportunities this Strategy will create. This is the challenge for all of us.

2. POLICY CONTEXT

Article 8 of the Constitution of Ireland states that:

“The Irish language as the national language is the first official language.”

This 20-year Strategy for the Irish language is built on the foundation of the Constitutional status of the language and follows on the Government’s Policy Statement on Irish published in December 2006. That Statement affirmed the Government’s support for the development and preservation of the Irish language and the Gaeltacht and set out 13 policy objectives to that end:

Objective 1: The special status given to the Irish language in the Constitution and in legislation such as the Official Languages Act 2003, the Education Act 1998, the Planning and Development Act 2000 and the Broadcasting Act 2001³³, will be upheld.

Objective 2: The Official Languages Act will be fully implemented. The right of the public to use Irish in dealings with the State and with other bodies will be developed and the appropriate arrangements to deliver this will be put in place.

Objective 3: The Irish language community inside and outside the Gaeltacht will be given encouragement and support to transmit Irish to the next generation as a living household language. Towards this end, a wide range of services in Irish will be provided.

Objective 4: The Gaeltacht will be given special support as an Irish-speaking area.

Objective 5: Irish will be taught as an obligatory subject from primary to Leaving Certificate level. The curriculum will foster oral and written competence in Irish among students and an understanding of its value to us as a people. This will be supported by enhanced investment in professional development and ongoing support for teachers, as well as in provision of textbooks and resources, and support for innovative approaches to teaching and learning.

Objective 6: A high standard of all-Irish education will be provided to school students whose parents/guardians so wish. Gaelscoileanna will continue to be supported at primary level and all-Irish provision at post-primary level will be developed to meet follow-on demand.

Objective 7: Irish language pre-school education will continue to be supported and third-level education through Irish will be further developed.

³³ Now the Broadcasting Act 2009

Objective 8: The State will continue to support Foras na Gaeilge in the context of the British-Irish Agreement Act 1999.

Objective 9: High quality broadcast services through the medium of Irish will be ensured, especially through the continuous development of RTÉ, Raidió na Gaeltachta and TG4.

Objective 10: Every assistance and support will be given to the European Union in implementing the decision to make Irish a working and official language in the EU from 1 January 2007.

Objective 11: In order to promote Irish nationally and to preserve and strengthen it in the Gaeltacht, the work being done by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and by agencies and bodies which come under its aegis will continue to be reinforced.

Objective 12: The use of the Irish language by the Garda Síochána and the Defence Forces will be continued and developed.

Objective 13: The Government recognises the vital role of the Irish language voluntary sector and will continue to support it

It is also an objective of Government to support the promotion and teaching of Irish abroad, through the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs. Particular emphasis has been placed on supporting the teaching of Irish in third-level colleges in a range of different countries.

In broad terms, therefore, the elements that make up the modern-day context for the Irish language include the following:

- Ireland is a bilingual State in which Irish is the first official language in accordance with Article 8 of the Constitution of Ireland.
- In the context of our European heritage, Irish is the oldest spoken literary language in Europe.
- According to the 2006 Census of Population, 42% of the population of Ireland have a certain ability to speak Irish – that equates to some 1.66 million people aged 3 years or more out of a total resident population of some 4.2 million.
- Irish is the main community and household language of 3% of the country's population.
- According to surveys and opinion polls, most of the population believes that Irish is of particular importance for themselves personally and/or for the country as a whole.
- Irish was afforded official and working language status at EU level with effect from 1 January 2007.

This Strategy seeks to build on the foregoing context and objectives by setting out a series of areas for action to benefit the language and the Gaeltacht over the next 20 years. The Government believes that the Irish language is of particular importance for the people, society and culture of Ireland. As a spoken community language, Irish is unique to this country and is, therefore, of crucial importance to the identity of the Irish people and to world heritage.

This Strategy is underpinned by an analysis of the situation facing the Irish language, undertaken on behalf of the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs by a team of international consultants with expertise on language issues, led by DCU Fiontar. This analysis is being published separately. In relation to the Gaeltacht, the approach in this Strategy has been informed by recommendations in the *Report of the Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht*, undertaken on behalf of the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs by Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta, University College Galway.

The Strategy has also been supported by a study undertaken by Fr. Micheál Mac Gréil and Fergal Rhatigan of the Department of Sociology NUI Maynooth on *Attitudes towards Competence in and Use of the Irish Language 2007-2008*. The study results show that positive attitudes and aspirations for Irish have been maintained at very high levels since the author's previous studies in 1973 (*Prejudice and Tolerance In Ireland*) and 1996 (*Prejudice in Ireland Revisited*). The results show overwhelming support for preservation of Irish: 52.5% want Irish preserved in the Gaeltacht and revived for use in arts and culture outside, while 40.9% want Irish revived and used for public purposes throughout the State.

International perspectives

The value of linguistic diversity is recognised internationally. Languages are humankind's principle tools for interacting and for expressing ideas, emotions, knowledge, memories and values. Languages are also primary vehicles of cultural expressions and intangible cultural heritage, essential to the identity of individuals and groups. The key role of language in the expression and transmission of cultural heritage is recognised in the United Nations 2003 *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*.

Safeguarding languages such as Irish is thus a crucial task in maintaining cultural diversity worldwide. UNESCO³⁴ reports that half of the 6,700 languages spoken today are in danger of disappearing before the century ends, a process that can be slowed only if urgent action is taken by Governments and speaker communities. UNESCO's Endangered Languages Programme mobilizes international cooperation to focus attention on this grave situation and to promote innovative solutions from communities, experts and authorities. The most recent edition of the UNESCO Atlas of Endangered Languages³⁵ classified Irish as "definitely endangered". This status has since been improved to "vulnerable", in the light of information about the measures taken by Government to support the language in recent years.

³⁴ <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00136>

³⁵ <http://cms01.unesco.org/fileadmin/MULTIMEDIA/HQ/CLT/CLT/pdf/UNESCO-EndangeredLanguages-WorldMap-20090218.pdf>

The 2003 UN Convention recognizes the vital role of language in the expression and transmission of living heritage. All intangible cultural heritage depends on language for its day-to-day vitality and for being passed on to the next generation. In relation to oral traditions, whether it be song, poetry or folklore, language is not only the vehicle that contains the cultural heritage, it is its very essence. As well as analysing the situation of languages under pressure the world over, UNESCO has developed a framework for determining the vitality of a language in order to assist Governments and others in policy development, identification of needs and appropriate safeguarding measures. This framework based on the following nine criteria has also informed the development of this Strategy:



The Government's strategy as set out in this document is organised around

- increasing the knowledge of Irish;
- creating opportunities for the use of Irish; and
- fostering positive attitudes towards its use.

We know from the situation that faces Irish that language use does not follow automatically from ability to speak the language. Actual language *use* results from the co-presence of *ability*, *opportunity*, and *positive attitudes*. This Strategy seeks, therefore, to create positive circumstances for greater use by our people of the language ability that they have and for a real increase in that ability over time.

The Strategy demonstrates the Government's support for the development and preservation of the Irish language by a long-term commitment to a coherent and comprehensive approach to the future of the language as a living, spoken language with a firm position in the educational system, at the highest levels of our political system and in our public administration and in the Gaeltacht.

As already stated, Irish is part of the culture and heritage of Northern Ireland and the promotion and protection of the language there is a priority for the Government.

In the context of the Government's continuing commitment to the full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement, it will continue to support Foras na Gaeilge, the North/South implementation body charged with promoting the language on an all-island basis, and to ensure its continued effective operation. The Government's Strategy will have a beneficial impact on speakers of the Irish language in Northern Ireland. The Government will also continue to press for the full implementation of commitments relating to the Irish language, which fall to the British Government and the Northern Ireland Executive, including the introduction of an Irish Language Act and the enhancement protection and development of the Irish language in Northern Ireland.

3. A PHASED STRATEGY

As already referred to, the 2006 Government Statement on the Irish Language identified key policy objectives through which support for Irish and the Gaeltacht will be advanced. The areas for action set out below are associated and grouped in relation to those objectives and will be addressed in phases as follows:

Year 1 (2010): Establishment Phase

This year will be devoted to the communication of the goals and content of the Strategy and setting up the required organisational and operational structures. In addition, the overall resources required will be allocated and the ongoing monitoring, evaluation and modification procedures will be agreed and established. Operational plans will be requested and received from all implementing public agencies. Key priority measures will be established.

Years 2-3 (2011-12): Implementation Phase I - Laying the Foundations

During the first two years of the Strategy, all the long-term measures will be put in place so that the supply of qualified teachers, and other specialists are available, or the systems for their preparation are in place, early in the Strategy. In addition, a considerable number of measures will be fully implemented or commenced in this phase, including the preparation of materials for language education and literacy.

Years 4-15 (2013-25): Implementation Phase II - Expanding and Deepening

This phase can be seen as having three sub-phases, but overall it involves: full implementation of all measures; undertaking of rolling evaluations; and conducting of campaigns for promotion and fostering of positive attitudes to the language. The first graduates of revised teacher education programs will be produced and these will be deployed to schools and other education institutions.

During this phase Ireland will celebrate the 100th anniversaries of the Easter Rising and of independence, and these occasions will be linked to the Strategy for Irish, showcasing results attained, undertaking a major review of outcomes and mobilizing public involvement and support around the goals, spirit and vision of the Strategy.

Years 16-20 (2026-30): Implementation Phase III: Consolidating

The consolidation phase will be directed towards mainstreaming of all measures. It will build on the increased abilities in Irish amongst our people, expanded opportunities to use Irish and the active encouragement of positive attitudes towards Irish achieved in previous phases.

The provision of appropriate resources and support will be crucial to the implementation of the Strategy. Provision will be overseen by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and functions will be allocated to an existing agency (or agencies) or sourced from the private sector, as appropriate.

Arrangements will be put in place to:

- monitor, support and adapt practical language planning activities from other societies;
- initiate, survey and review materials which facilitate the use of Irish;
- host a central database of Irish medium materials, templates and IT applications;
- prepare guides and materials to assist individuals and voluntary organisations to promote Irish;
- provide a national public help-line;
- put in place a national information centre and clearing house for translation services and other language-related services;
- hold a national database of good practice activities in language planning;
- help develop supports for local area initiatives and the capacity to develop and manage such initiatives; and
- promote the development of language management systems in a variety of contexts.

Many of the priorities for action in this Strategy depend on the availability of such supports and resources and their organisation are, therefore, a high priority for early attention.

4. SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES OF THE STRATEGY

Following on from the 2006 Policy Statement, the headline goal has been set of increasing over 20 years the number of

- people with a knowledge of Irish from the current 1.66 million to 2 million;
and
- daily speakers of Irish from the current level of approximately 83,000 to 250,000.

The achievement of these ambitious goals has been the overriding consideration in formulating the decisions on areas for action in this Strategy.

The specific objectives involved in the preparation of the Strategy are to:

- increase the number of speakers who speak Irish on a daily basis outside the educational system from 83,000 to 250,000;
- increase the number of speakers who speak Irish on a daily basis in the Gaeltacht as its invigoration will be critical to the overall plan/strategy; and
- increase the number of people that use State services through the Irish language and can access television, radio and print media through the language.

5. IMPLEMENTATION STRUCTURES

The 20-year Strategy will be integrated across the routine operations of the agencies of the State, with strong Government direction and leadership. All sections of public administration and key national and local stakeholders have a role to play in its implementation. For Irish to be expanded in its use will require ‘**normalisation**’. This term draws on the experience of other languages whose roles have been diminished. Irish will only attain a more secure social position through an active awareness and positive attitudes aimed at reversing its marginalisation, as well as greater unself-conscious use of the language for mainstream and routine purposes of communication. This task requires that all relevant agencies co-operate in pursuing the goals and programmes of the Strategy and that a coherent and effective management structure be in place for the Strategy.

The following will be the key Government structures to deliver the Strategy:

- The Cabinet Committee on Irish and the Gaeltacht, chaired by the Taoiseach, will maintain oversight of progress and report to Government as necessary.
- A Senior Officials Group made up of high-level officials from relevant Departments will support the Cabinet Committee.
- There will continue to be a senior Minister and a Government Department (the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs) with central responsibility for Irish language affairs.

Planning and Implementation of the Strategy will be directed from a Strategy Unit within that Department, with dedicated staff and the function of assigning duties and implementation roles to implementation agencies, as necessary.

The Strategy Unit will be responsible for:

- overseeing the strategic planning process;
- monitoring the development of resources;
- ensuring cross-departmental implementation of initiatives;
- providing expert advice;
- overseeing operational plans as developed by the implementation bodies; and
- publishing updates and relevant documentation for public information.

A small number of seconded staff with expertise in public administration management, language planning and education may be assigned to the Unit for specific tasks, if necessary. Evaluations, as required, or specific services may be commissioned by the Unit from existing agencies or from the private sector. Sectoral

plans and commitments will be delivered through relevant Departments and agencies.

With regard to the main implementation agency to be responsible for delivering on the Strategy, it is proposed that an existing Irish language agency - Údarás na Gaeltachta - will be fundamentally restructured as a new national Irish language agency - Údarás na Gaeilge. While the implementation of certain Gaeltacht policies and plans will continue to be the responsibility of the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, it may, however, devolve functions to Údarás na Gaeilge, as appropriate.

Foras na Gaeilge will continue to deliver on its statutory responsibilities in relation to Irish. These include undertaking supportive projects and grant-aiding bodies and groups to support the language as appropriate, developing terminologies and dictionaries, supporting Irish-medium education and the teaching of the Irish language on the island, and generally facilitating and encouraging the use of the language in public and private life. In fully carrying out its remit, Foras na Gaeilge will remain a key element of the support structure for the language in both parts of the island.

6. AREAS FOR ACTION

The Strategy sets out areas of action under nine key headings:

- Education
- The Gaeltacht
- Family Transmission of the Language - Early Intervention
- Administration, Services and Community
- Media and Technology
- Dictionaries
- Legislation and Status
- Economic Life
- Cross-cutting Initiatives

6.1 AREAS FOR ACTION - EDUCATION

Recent reports in regard to Irish in schools indicate the following:

- Inspectors judged that Irish was taught to a good or very good standard in only half of the primary classrooms inspected, and that in a third of classrooms Irish was taught through the medium of English. Pupils in just over half of lessons were able to express themselves satisfactorily in Irish.
- The Harris report (July 2007) indicated that in English medium and Gaeltacht primary schools there was a fall of 36.1% and 40.5% respectively in the numbers of pupils achieving mastery in the development of listening, vocabulary and comprehension skills between 1985 and 2002. While a little over half of pupils mastered fluency of oral description and communication in 1985 in English medium schools, less than one third mastered them in 2002. The study also found a marked decline in teachers' confidence, with almost 25% of teachers in English medium schools rating their own standards of spoken Irish as weak.
- In junior cycle, reports on a third of the schools refer to limited oral ability among students. Steps have been taken in the interim to increase the marks available for the voluntary oral at junior cycle and the national oral in the Leaving Certificate to 40% for all new entrants who began second level schooling in 2007/8.

While the foregoing facts indicate the scale of the challenge, the actions proposed in the area of education are designed to achieve the underlying principles of the Strategy to:

- enhance and extend ability in Irish more deeply and among larger numbers of people;
- reverse negative attitudes towards Irish language use and foster positive attitudes in their place; and
- expand the available opportunities for use of Irish within the education system by extending use of Irish as a medium of instruction, as well as a subject, and by linking school language learning to the informal use of Irish in recreational, cultural and other out-of-school activities.

The 2006 Statement on the Irish Language contains three education objectives:

Objective 5: *Irish will be taught as an obligatory subject from primary to Leaving Certificate level. The curriculum will foster oral and written competence in Irish among students and an understanding of its value to us as a people. This will be supported by enhanced investment in professional development and ongoing support for teachers, as well as in provision of textbooks and resources, and in support for innovative approaches to teaching and learning.*

Objective 6: *A high standard of all-Irish education will be provided to school students whose parents/guardians so wish. Gaelscoileanna will continue to be supported at primary level and all-Irish provision at post –primary level will be developed to meet follow-on demand.*

Objective 7: *Irish language pre-school education will continue to be supported and third-level education through Irish will be further developed.*

Links to out-of-school usage

The education system is one of the critical engines for generating the linguistic ability on which this 20-year Strategy is premised. In formal schooling the State can actively assist the development of the linguistic capabilities of our population. The achievement by the education authorities of a more systematic and intensive national focus on universal learning of Irish is therefore a central goal.

The critical need to give life to the Irish language outside the classroom for the young people who study it in the formal educational system is a widespread conclusion of language revitalisation efforts throughout the world. Fostering the creation of youth culture and identity, and the appropriate Irish language forms for this, involves providing opportunities for its natural use and creating ICT mediated networks of speakers. The education sector will work in partnership with relevant agencies in this regard.

The Gaeltacht Summer Colleges are an important existing dimension of the encouragement of young people to use and apply the Irish they learn in school. The effectiveness of the Summer Colleges can be increased substantially with a more coherent and well-planned curriculum design process for the colleges and, in this regard, the Department of Education and Science will continue to be involved in quality assurance of the sector. The Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs will work to ensure more emphasis by the Summer Colleges on family language learning experiences so that networks of natural use of Irish can be promoted with mechanisms for their continuation post-Summer College in families and among friendship groupings. Programmes targeted at trainee primary teachers will benefit from being re-structured and enhanced, and the Department of Education and Science will consult with the Teaching Council in this regard.

Partial Immersion

From as early as possible in Phase II, it is proposed to move towards a situation where partial Irish language immersion will be offered to all children. This will be implemented on a phased basis in line with the progress made in strengthening teacher's competences in this area through a comprehensive investment programme of professional development for teachers. This could be delivered through the teaching of some mainstream subject matter in Irish in the infant classes, and be complemented by the preparation in Phase II of designated subject areas to be taught through Irish in the middle and upper years in primary schools. Ultimately, the aim will be that by Phase III all students in mainstream schools undertaking Irish language as a core subject will be offered the experience of partial immersion education in other subjects. These measures will be achieved on a phased basis, supported by investment in the upskilling of teachers. Use will be made, as appropriate, of incentives such as the GLEO award scheme to encourage schools in

this area. The strategy will be supported by the development and provision of resources and materials for schools.

National assessment

National assessment of aural and oral competence in Irish will be implemented at both junior cycle and senior cycle level for all recognised schools. It is recognised that oral assessment at junior cycle can only realistically be achieved in the context of a model of local assessment by class teachers with external moderation. Standardised test instruments at primary level are being developed at present in Irish.

Innovations in curriculum require the development of appropriate instruments and procedures for the assessment of learning Irish. A beneficial linkage can be made with the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) for defining the linguistic and communicative standards that the assessment procedures will verify.

Curriculum for teaching of Irish

At primary level, the curriculum is relatively new and there would appear to be consensus that it is in keeping with good practice and current thinking on language teaching. In this context, there will be greater focus on more explicit articulation of the linguistic objectives at the various levels of the primary schooling and the development of high-quality materials to support the implementation of the curriculum.

At post-primary level, where programmes in Irish are offered at three levels, there will be a strong emphasis on fostering oral, aural and written competence in Irish, and on ensuring a significant shift in emphasis towards Irish as a spoken language, where students can communicate and interact in a spontaneous way, and where Irish is spoken every day in schools.

Pre-school and parent support programs

Pre-school and non-formal learning are important dimensions of Irish language revitalisation. All the research on this area has shown that it is easiest to acquire a new language in the earliest years. As such, it is intended that some level of pre-school Irish language education will be offered in all localities.

Childcare and pre-school facilities will be facilitated to offer an Irish language dimension and create a language-friendly environment for their young charges, for example, through provision of supports such as Irish language DVDs geared for young children, and teaching of nursery rhymes and games in Irish. The focus, in particular, is to ensure that there is Irish-medium pre-school provision (naíonraí) in every area where there is an Irish-medium primary school, and in other areas where there is a demand.

Parents need to receive active reinforcement of their Irish literacy so that they are able to continue to support their children's growing Irish learning in the primary school years. Such training is important for other education and care-giving professionals and will be extended to day care workers, crèche workers and members of community associations, especially in areas where a moderate percentage of the population are Irish speakers.

Specialist subject provision

Services in recreational education (such as visual and performing arts) outside the formal curriculum of schools will be included in local area language plans during primary school years.

Teacher Education

Generating the teacher force to achieve objectives regarding competence in the Irish language is critical, as are links between schools and recreational and youth centres, clubs and activities. In this regard, it is noted that the Teaching Council, as the statutory body charged with determining standards for the teaching profession, has been asked to make recommendations on the appropriateness of initial teacher education programmes at primary and post primary level to 21st century needs.

A two-pronged approach is proposed in this Strategy to prepare the teaching force to meet the proposed objectives. To achieve *Objective 5*, the Teaching Council will work progressively to raise the standard of Irish language competency for teaching the subject of Irish. This is to be achieved through specific initiatives to include the following:

Mainstream Education - Primary System

- In order to ensure that the professional Irish standard (Gaeilge Ghairmiúil) is achieved in all teacher education colleges, the Teaching Council, as part of its aforementioned review, will strengthen and set standards for the teaching of professional Irish across all initial teacher education provision.
- Steps will be taken to encourage the use of Irish generally inside and outside the classroom.
- Other subjects of the initial teacher education programme, in addition to professional Irish, will be delivered through the medium of Irish.
- In the area of teacher education, student teachers will follow a defined programme of language teaching in the Gaeltacht. The tuition time and attendance of student teachers who attend Gaeltacht courses will also be increased.
- A new Gaeltacht scholarship scheme will be introduced for primary teachers to attend intensive courses in the Gaeltacht.
- Colleges of Education will be encouraged to put in place initiatives to attract students of high ability in Irish from Gaeltacht, Irish-medium and other schools. Up to 20% of places in Colleges of Education will be retained for students educated through Irish in Gaeltacht schools and Gaelscoileanna, with students in English-medium schools also being eligible, subject to a high performance threshold in Irish in the Leaving Certificate.
- An extended Gaeltacht placement will be put in place for a significant proportion of trainee teachers in which students will follow a defined

programme of language teaching.

- The Irish language and Irish medium teaching components of the Bachelor of Education degree course will be bolstered, including the provision of intensive Irish courses as appropriate in consultation with the Teaching Council.
- A new specialisation in Irish-medium primary teaching (partial or total immersion) will be introduced in Colleges of Education.

Irish-Medium Education – Primary System

A post-graduate programme specifically targeted at the needs of Irish-medium schools will be introduced. This new post-graduate programme for a Diploma in Irish Language Education (Primary Teaching) will provide specialised skills in Irish to those who have already completed a teacher education programme.

Irish Medium Education – Post-Primary System

- A new Post-Graduate Diploma in Education delivered in full through the medium of Irish will be introduced.

To further assist the realisation of *Objective 5* and *Objective 6*, a **National Centre for Irish-medium Teacher Professional Development** will be established in an existing educational institution. This will be a centre of excellence, aiding and advising the Colleges of Education in preparing teachers for the entire cycle of Irish medium schools through consultancy, professional development activities, accredited training programmes and resource development. The National Centre will work in conjunction with the Colleges of Education and mobility of professional staff between all education providers and systems and the National Centre will be encouraged. There will be a formal qualification available for all primary and secondary school teachers to support them to teach in Irish-medium schools. This will be an attractive and desirable additional qualification for those seeking to work in Irish-medium schools and a useful indicator for employers that applicants have the necessary linguistic competency.

The new academic programmes - Bachelor of Education, Graduate Diploma in Education (Primary Teaching), and Post-Graduate Diploma in Education – as well as the operation of the National Centre for All-Irish Teacher Training will be offered for open public competitive tendering among the relevant existing educational institutions.

The professional development opportunities identified above will be supplemented by significantly increased investment in the provision of short cycle and on-line professional development options for serving teachers provided through the curriculum support services and the Education Centre network at primary and post primary level.

In further support of these measures to augment the position of the language in the education system at all levels, special recognition will be given to schools where there is good practice in teaching Irish. A wide range of textbooks, new technology

materials and resources to support the teaching of Irish and teaching through Irish will be developed and provided.

A scholarship scheme for children from disadvantaged areas to attend courses in the Gaeltacht, as well as funding for Summer Irish colleges throughout the country, will be provided.

The arrangements for exemption from studying Irish in schools will be reviewed to ensure that exemptions are based on objective language criteria.

Third-Level Education in Ireland

University level and non-University adult programmes in Irish will continue to be supported and developed and professional specialisations provided.

In furthering the development of third level education through Irish, the Government will take the following into account:

- There has been significant recent investment by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and Údarás na Gaeltachta in this sector both inside and outside the Gaeltacht, including in particular support for Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge in NUI Galway and Fiontar in Dublin City University;
- There is an existing statutory framework for third level education in Irish, including the obligation on the HEA under the Higher Education Act 1971 to “bear constantly in mind the national aims of restoring the Irish language and preserving and developing the national culture and shall endeavour to promote the attainment of these aims”. This is further strengthened in section 12 of the Universities Act 1997, which provides that the objectives of all universities include ‘[promotion of] the official languages of the State, with special regard to the preservation, promotion and use of the Irish language and the preservation and promotion of the distinctive cultures of Ireland’. The special role of NUI Galway in the provision of third level programmes through the medium of the Irish language is recognised in the University College Galway (Amendment) Act 2006.

Tertiary education through the medium of Irish needs to be of high quality and delivered in a strategic and coordinated way to ensure:

- diversification in the range of disciplines offered, with a particular focus on market requirements for people competent in Irish;
- an output of highly qualified graduates with specific skills needed to serve the national and EU status of Irish;
- development of particular specialisation in each college and restriction of duplication of provision in more than one or two locations;
- value for money and quality assurance in research and teaching, also avoiding duplication or fragmentation; and

- development of courses and accreditation in Professional Irish for as many professions as possible.

Funding will be provided to enable the HEA will put in place a specific programme to strategically develop this sector.

Adult Language Learning

Additional opportunities will be afforded to adults interested in learning the language or in increasing their ability to speak Irish. An accredited adult Irish language learning programme, catering for all levels, will be recognised as the agreed national Irish language-learning programme.

To foster excellence at a high academic level in the study of Irish, we will build on the work of the Dublin Institute of Advanced Studies and the universities in the development of research and teaching of Celtic Studies and strengthen Ireland's position as a world centre of excellence in this discipline.

Advice and support services

Information and resource materials will be produced for various categories of school professionals such as speech therapists, guidance counsellors, careers advisers and others promoting the benefits of bilingualism (and especially of Irish language learning). Specific advice will address the following groups:

- **Children whose first language is Irish and/or children attending Irish medium schools**
It is important that all professional and para-professional staff consistently support the maintenance of Irish. These professional groups will be made aware of the vast literature supporting the intellectual, speech, and career benefits of bilingualism. Specific advice will be offered to support the bilingual needs of children with special needs.
- **Children whose first language is English and/or children attending English-medium schools**
Similarly for such children, school staff concerned with special needs will be provided information supporting the intellectual, speech and career benefits of bilingualism - and specifically the advantages of learning and using Irish.
- **Immigrant children in Ireland**
Newly-arrived immigrant children in Ireland will also be afforded the opportunity to participate in all Irish language activities and specific attention be paid to their language learning needs.

Education in the Gaeltacht

All the above measures apply equally to the Gaeltacht. In addition to these, the Government acknowledges the specific difficulty of accommodating the needs of pupils with diverse linguistic abilities in Gaeltacht schools. This can be complicated further depending on the status of the Irish language within the school community. It is acknowledged that teaching resources are a major issue for Gaeltacht schools, both at primary and second level. It may be noted that, with investment by Foras na

Gaeilge and An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta, there has been a considerable improvement in the availability of teaching resources in Irish, although there needs to be sustained investment in this area. The needs in this area apply also to Gaelscoileanna. In addition, there is a critical need to provide resources for Irish in English medium primary schools.

At the same time, the Government is fully aware of the importance of the education system in the maintenance of the language in the Gaeltacht and this objective was encompassed in the Education Act 1998. In addition to those initiatives already outlined, the Government has decided to progress a number of actions in the Gaeltacht as part of this Strategy:

- A review of the Gaeltacht scholarship scheme operated by the Department of Education and Science will take place with the aim of increasing its effectiveness as an Irish language support mechanism.
- Measures will be taken to progress the development of the Irish language education resource centre in Baile Bhuirne, Co Cork.
- A new language acquisition unit at primary level will be developed in each of the three main Gaeltacht regions.
- Provision will also be made for intensive summer/evening courses in Irish for post-primary pupils in the Gaeltacht who need additional support.
- Designated inspectors will continue to be deployed by the Department of Education and Science for Gaeltacht schools and Gaelscoileanna.
- The present approach to Gaeltacht Summer Colleges will be reviewed with a view to a more coherent State involvement in the regulation and development of these colleges, increasing the effectiveness and standard of the services provided, and ensuring an improved and more consistent curriculum design process.
- A review of immersion provision at post-primary level in Gaelscoileanna and in the Gaeltacht will be carried out.
- Schemes operated by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs which support the educational system in the Gaeltacht (such as supports for Irish language assistants and other supports in Gaeltacht schools, as well as the system of home visits for linguistic support purposes) will be strengthened in consultation with the Department of Education and Science.
- All Gaeltacht students will continue to have the opportunity to receive their education through the medium of Irish. The Department of Education and Science in consultation with the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs will examine and implement suitable arrangements for such provision in the varying circumstances of each Gaeltacht area.

- Appropriate structural arrangements will be made, in the context of any review of VEC structures nationally, for the provision of all Irish secondary school education throughout the State, including in the Gaeltacht, and to ensure that all staff in Irish-medium schools are capable of carrying on their daily business through Irish and that an integrated approach is taken to the provision of back-up, support and advisory services to Irish-medium schools so that such services are provided in Irish where possible. Educational supports such as Irish language textbooks and audio-visual material will be made available to such schools.

Third Level Irish Courses Abroad

In 2006 the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs established a dedicated fund to support the development of Irish language courses in third level institutions overseas. The objectives of the fund are to promote and foster goodwill for the Irish language and indeed for Ireland and Irish culture in general across Europe, North America and Canada and to provide a platform from which the Irish language can be assessed and showcased as an international language. This increases awareness of the Irish language and culture outside of Ireland and leads to links between Ireland and the countries in which these institutions are located, resulting in positive long-term impacts on the language. It also provides an excellent opportunity to present the Irish language to the academic community worldwide and gives the Irish language equal status to other European languages being taught abroad. In addition, many students who study Irish in their own countries continue their studies here in Ireland and as a consequence students from all over the world can now be seen attending courses in the Gaeltacht. This results in bonds of friendship and a lifelong interest and understanding of the rich language and culture of this country.

Currently over thirty 3rd level colleges and universities in the USA, in European countries and further afield are actively providing Irish language and Celtic Studies programmes within their own institutions.

These measures by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs to support teaching of Irish overseas (including the joint programme with the Fulbright Commission and the Ireland Canada University Foundation) will be further developed as a vehicle to expand the teaching and learning of Irish in universities outside Ireland.

6.2 AREAS FOR ACTION - THE GAELTACHT

In its 2006 Statement on the Irish Language, the Government affirmed its policy to strengthen the Gaeltacht as an Irish-speaking community and ratified Government support for the Gaeltacht. The Statement contains three objectives that refer to the Gaeltacht:

Objective 3: *The Irish language community inside and outside the Gaeltacht will be given encouragement and support to transmit Irish to the next generation as a living household language. Towards this end, a wide range of services in Irish will be provided.*

Objective 4: *The Gaeltacht will be given special support as an Irish speaking area.*

Objective 11: *In order to promote Irish nationally and to strengthen it in the Gaeltacht, the work being done by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and by agencies under its aegis will continue to be reinforced.*

The 2007 *Report on the Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht* recommends that the main strategic focus of language policy in the Gaeltacht should be on supporting and empowering future generations of young Gaeltacht parents to raise their children through Irish. The Report reinforces in particular the importance of maintaining and increasing the proportion of active Irish speakers in Gaeltacht areas.

It is against this background that the major changes outlined in this Strategy are being implemented by Government. The development of a comprehensive language planning system at community level in the Gaeltacht is central to the strategy that will be put in place to ensure that Irish survives as the community language in the Gaeltacht.

Linguistic status of Gaeltacht communities – new legislation

The Government accepts the broad thrust of the recommendations in the *Report on the Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht* with regard to Gaeltacht status being based on linguistic criteria. This will be given statutory status through a new Gaeltacht Act. The legal definition will be broadly based on the criteria outlined in the Report with some fundamental modifications.

As already referred to, Údarás na Gaeltachta will be fundamentally restructured as a national Irish language agency – Údarás na Gaeilge (with its headquarters in the Gaeltacht) - with responsibility for Irish language matters throughout the State, as well as keeping many of its present functions. Legislation will be prepared in order to place the new body on a statutory footing. Údarás na Gaeilge will be run by a board made up of both elected representatives and members appointed by the Minister.

In parallel with this, a Gaeltacht Advisory Committee will be established, made up of elected Údarás na Gaeilge and local authority members living within the Gaeltacht, to advise specifically in relation to matters relating to the Gaeltacht. Údarás na Gaeilge will provide secretarial back-up to the Committee.

For language planning and implementation purposes, the various types of language maintenance and strategic interventions (including integrated language plans) will be

based on the identified linguistic needs of the various communities with the intention of increasing numbers of daily Irish speakers.

In the case of majority Irish-speaking communities, the emphasis will be on protecting and strengthening these strong language communities by ensuring the linguistic sustainability of Irish as the community language of these regions. In the case of other Gaeltacht regions where the daily Irish speakers are a significant minority, the emphasis will be on strengthening the Irish language community networks that continue to exist there.

Communities that cannot comply with the criteria in the new legislation will be afforded a period of 2 years to develop plans to ensure that they maintain their status as Gaeltacht communities. Communities who fail to develop acceptable sustainable plans within the two-year period will no longer be included in the Gaeltacht.

Plans will be reviewed every seven years and areas that do not achieve the linguistic criteria for the Gaeltacht set down in the new Act will cease to have Gaeltacht status. New areas may also be included in the Gaeltacht if they meet the linguistic criteria laid down in the new Act.

Language Planning in the Gaeltacht

Under the new Act, a language planning process will be instigated whereby a language plan will be prepared at community level for each Gaeltacht district. These plans will integrate the approach in relation to linguistic issues, education, physical planning, and social and community development. Community buy-in and participation will be critical. Resources will be made available to implement the language plans.

These plans will be first and foremost language-centred, incorporating all aspects of community life in these districts. In order to address the threat to the sustainability of the Gaeltacht as a linguistic entity, priority will be given to language planning activities necessary to stabilise the position of Irish as the community language. These language plans will comprise activities/plans under the following headings:

- Education Planning
- Family Support Services, including childcare services, pre-school services, language advisory services for families, after-school services, networks for Irish-speaking parents and children, pre-marital and ante-natal advice services, language awareness programme for families, speech therapy and psychological services, and public health services.
- Youth Services, including the promotion of language awareness among the young in the Gaeltacht, Gaeltacht summer colleges and camps.
- Local Government Services.
- Local and Physical Planning, including infrastructural development, economic development, housing and settlement policy.

- Community Development.
- Planning for economic, industrial and local business development, including the promotion of language awareness among business service providers in the Gaeltacht districts.
- Development of Cultural/Educational Tourism.
- Religious Services.
- Care for the Elderly.
- Care of children with special needs.
- Health Services.
- Sport.

Future State expenditure on the language in the Gaeltacht will be determined by reference to its linguistic impact and particular priority will be afforded to linguistic supports for families and young people so as to ensure the continued transmission of the language from generation to generation.

Particular emphasis will be placed on the promotion of an Irish language youth culture in the Gaeltacht, which will see the further development of Gaeltacht youth services and a linkage through the Gaeltacht Summer Colleges with national youth organisations.

The State will also develop a comprehensive set of supports for Irish-speaking families in the Gaeltacht in consultation with parents of young children and infants, and expectant parents.

Planning and Development in the Gaeltacht

The Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government will prepare extensive planning guidelines to assist local authorities with regard to the implementation of the Planning and Development Act in the Gaeltacht so as to ensure the protection of the unique linguistic identity of the Gaeltacht.

In recognition of the need for greater collaboration between national and local government and between various sectors in delivering a more integrated efficient service, the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, in co-operation with the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and City and County Managers, will aim to develop new shared services with appropriate and specialised expertise for all Gaeltacht areas in the planning arena.

Gaeltacht area plans will have the same status as town plans. As well as being approved by the local authority, Gaeltacht area plans will be approved by Údarás na Gaeilge to ensure adequate input from the perspective of the sustainability of the language into the plans.

Delivery of services to Gaeltacht communities

As many non-language services as is practicable will be delivered in the Gaeltacht by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and Údarás na Gaeilge, in recognition of their proven ability to deliver services through Irish. It is not therefore proposed to transfer any existing schemes operated by Údarás na Gaeltachta or the Department to other Departments or agencies, but an examination will be made of other programmes that could be delivered in the Gaeltacht by the Department and the Údarás.

6.3 AREAS FOR ACTION – FAMILY TRANSMISSION OF THE LANGUAGE – EARLY INTERVENTION

The actions proposed in the area of family transmission of the language are of critical importance. The 2006 Statement on the Irish Language contains the following objective in this area:

Objective 3: *The Irish language community inside and outside the Gaeltacht will be given encouragement and support to transmit Irish to the next generation as a living household language. Towards this end, a wide range of services in Irish will be provided.*

Language transmission in the family is a crucial element in the language planning process, and a vital building block in the efforts to increase the number of fluent speakers.

Language transmission within the family is increasingly being recognised world wide as one of the key issues which need to be explored if lesser-used languages are to survive. Families where parents speak Irish need advice and guidance on how to raise their children as balanced bilinguals, especially if only one parent speaks the language.

The home, family and neighbourhood - this stage of daily, informal, oral interaction between grandparents, parents and children - is crucial to the maintenance of Irish as a living language. The family is the building block of such transmission. Above all, it is in the family that a deep bond with language and language activities is fostered, shared and fashioned into personal and social as well as cultural and linguistic identity.

Parents may not fully understand the economic, employment and educational advantages of speaking Irish to their children.

Therefore, the proposed interventions in this area are partly about encouraging and supporting parents to raise their children bilingually, and partly about providing factual information and raising awareness of the inherent advantages to the child's development of speaking more than one language.

The aim of State supports in the promotion of language transmission in the family will therefore be to:

- provide advice, guidance and support for families where Irish is spoken in the home; and
- promote a greater understanding of practical bilingualism in a family environment.

In practical terms this will entail:

- raising awareness amongst parents, prospective parents and the public at large of the advantages of bilingualism;
- supporting the changing of language patterns of families where one parent speaks Irish, in order to increase the number of children who speak both Irish and English in the home; and
- bringing the message of the advantages of bilingualism into the mainstream work of the health and social services who provide advice to new parents.

There is considerable experience in other jurisdictions, including Wales and the Basque Country, in supporting families raising children with two languages. Building on experience in Ireland, particularly in supporting networks of Irish speaking families and providing language support for children in Gaeltacht schools, and on international best practice, a range of practical measures will be put in place to support the transmission of Irish in the family.

- The *cúntóirí teanga* scheme operating in Gaeltacht schools will be extended to all Irish-medium schools.
- Enhanced support for networks of Irish-speaking families at local level will be provided.
- Programmes to assist grandparents and other older people to pass the language on to the new generation will be supported.
- Targeted language learning opportunities will be put in place to assist families where only one parent speaks Irish.
- The Gaeltacht Summer Colleges will place more emphasis on family language learning experiences so that networks of natural use of Irish can be promoted with mechanisms for their continuation post-Summer College in families and among friendship groupings.
- Awareness of the advantages of bilingualism in the mainstream work of health and social care professionals that work with young families will be raised.
- The functions of county childcare committees for the Irish language crèche/playschool sector throughout the State will be discharged in future through the new *Údarás na Gaeilge*.

6.4 AREAS FOR ACTION - ADMINISTRATION, SERVICES AND COMMUNITY

The actions proposed in the area of administration, services and community are designed to support achievement of ability, opportunity and attitudes conducive to the expansion of Irish. The 2006 Statement on the Irish Language contains five objectives related to these areas:

Objective 3: *The Irish language community inside and outside the Gaeltacht will be given encouragement and support to transmit Irish to the next generation as a living household language. Towards this end, a wide range of services in Irish will be provided.*

Objective 8: *The State will continue to support Foras na Gaeilge in the context of the British-Irish Agreement Act 1999.*

Objective 11: *In order to promote Irish nationally and to strengthen it in the Gaeltacht, the work being done by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and by agencies under its aegis will continue to be reinforced.*

Objective 12: *The use of the Irish language by the Garda Síochána and the Defence Forces will be continued and developed.*

Objective 13: *The Government recognises the vital role of the Irish language voluntary sector and will continue to support it.*

Structural changes

As already stated in Section 6, a number of significant structural changes are to take place:

- New legislation will provide for fundamentally restructuring Údarás na Gaeltachta as a new national Irish language agency – Údarás na Gaeilge - with responsibility for Irish language matters throughout the State, as well as keeping many of its present functions.
- Foras na Gaeilge will continue to be supported in providing resources and supports to the language on an all-Ireland level.
- A further category of language community will be recognised in the new Act to allow for targeted initiatives to develop new language communities/networks outside the Gaeltacht. These will be predominantly in urban communities that have achieved the essential critical mass of community and State support for the Irish language.
- In recognition of the need for greater collaboration between national and local government and between various sectors in delivering a more integrated efficient service, the relevant players will co-operate in aiming to develop new shared services with appropriate and specialised expertise for all Gaeltacht areas in the planning arena.
- The possibility of Údarás na Gaeilge carrying out, on an agency basis, functions through Irish for other public bodies, both inside and outside the Gaeltacht, will be investigated.

Measures for Irish in Public Service

Language awareness and language training programmes need to be developed/strengthened so that a higher proportion of public service staff are truly functional in Irish and can deliver services in Irish to customers who seek them. The Department of Finance and the Public Appointments Service will devise appropriate arrangements to increase the cohort of the public servants who are functional bilinguals. These arrangements will be put in place over time, recognising the present constraints on public sector recruitment. They will be supported by the development, within the existing overall national qualifications framework, of an independent, standards-based accreditation system for Irish language competency within the public service. A National Diploma in Bilingualism and Language Practice will be designed and offered, so as to support the delivery of quality services to the public in both Irish and English.

The Official Languages Act has adopted the “language scheme” as a core instrument by which bilingual services are to be provided. Future language schemes will specify the posts within an organisation that require an Irish language competency requirement.

Local Language Initiatives and Plans outside the Gaeltacht

The Report of the *Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht* recommended recognition of distinct types of language communities within the Gaeltacht for which targeted, appropriate language planning interventions would be devised. The Government considers it appropriate that a new type of ‘network Gaeltacht’ be recognised in the new Act. This category will allow for targeted language planning initiatives to develop new language communities/networks outside the Gaeltacht. These will be predominantly in urban communities that have achieved a basic critical mass of community and State support for the Irish language, such as childcare facilities through Irish, Gaelscoileanna, second level education through Irish, Irish language youth clubs and other services, including mother and toddler groups, Irish language religious services, etc. Specific criteria to be developed for this category will relate to public attitudes, language ability, provision of Irish-medium education and the willingness to actively participate in Irish language initiatives.

The Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and the new *Údarás na Gaeilge* will provide supports for such language plans. Support will also be available from *Oifigigh Ghaeilge* employed by local authorities and other experts within existing bodies.

The aim of a local action plan will be to draw together local people and public/voluntary groups to facilitate the use of Irish locally. This will be done through the increased co-ordination and public awareness of existing activities. The approach will be to map and identify Irish language vitality in the local area. It will be supplemented by a language audit process which will identify ongoing strengths and weaknesses and provide time-series evidence of the impact which language-related policies and reforms would have on actual language use. These plans will be integrated with County Language Plans and will include the development of social and resource centres.

In the long-term, the local action plans will;

- create social conditions that will nurture positive attitudes towards Irish and an increase in its general use;
- normalise the use of Irish as a medium of social and institutional communication; and
- emphasise the close relationship between language and attitudes which relate to quality of life issues, the environment and the local economy.

A key role of local Irish language plans will be to foster learning and usage opportunities across schools and between individual schools and recreational, trade, library and community activities. The Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and the new Údarás na Gaeilge will undertake an active facilitative role in supporting local Irish language-centred activities that link school language learning to these related fields of cultural, recreational, trade and entrepreneurial/enterprise activity. Adult, continuing and life-long education and training activities will be included in integrated local area activities to extend initiatives in Irish language support from school and community domains into trades training, adult literacy and recreational or vocational preparation programmes.

Local language initiatives will include the establishment of 'one-stop community shops' to

- provide advice to new parents who wish to raise their children bilingually;
- offer guidance on the range of Irish medium educational opportunities which are available;
- assist public and voluntary organisations who wish to increase their use of Irish; and
- encourage business who wish to offer a bilingual service to their customers.

Activities could focus on providing or enhancing social and learning opportunities for children and young people to use their Irish outside the classroom in a range of cultural, social, leisure and sporting activities.

County Language Plans

All counties with designated Gaeltacht areas, including 'network Gaeltacht' areas, will be required to prepare and implement County Language Plans. Each such plan will contain initiatives to increase the percentage and number of daily Irish speakers on a yearly basis through specific targeted initiatives for that county. These measures will be delivered by stakeholders with assistance from language planning experts. Following an evaluation, this approach may be extended to other counties.

Language Plan for Dublin City and County Councils

A substantial number of daily Irish speakers reside in Greater Dublin and in its catchment area. The presence of the Irish language in the capital city is of great symbolic importance, both to the people of Ireland and to visitors arriving in Dublin on business or for tourism. A major Irish language promotion plan for Dublin City and its

surrounding environs will be developed and implemented in the first period of Phase II. The key target of this plan will be to increase the proportion of daily Irish speakers in Dublin year on year by increasing the visibility of the language and by providing opportunities for normal daily use of the language in the city.

The Important Role of the Voluntary Sector

The local voluntary sector will have a strong role to play in the development of local language initiatives and plans. It is important, therefore, that the sector be accorded a voice and an opportunity to contribute to policy at local level, and that support be provided to groups that want to engage with the language at national and local levels in line with the aims and content of this Strategy.

The Irish language is a central part of the ethos of national voluntary organisations, such as GAA and Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann. The Government recognises their key role in promoting the language. The State will develop and intensify its support for these organisations in promoting our language. Other voluntary sporting and cultural organisations have the potential to have a central role in widening use of the Irish language out beyond the schoolroom. The Government will proactively engage with such organisations to unlock the potential of their community-based sporting and cultural activities to contribute significantly to the Strategy.

At present the State provides funding for many diverse Irish language organisations. A more integrated ‘cradle to old age’ approach will be taken with a radical re-organisation of State-funded language organisations being undertaken to provide comprehensive language support services on an area basis.

Physical resource centres

Dedicated resource centres will be developed in the centre of Dublin and other major urban areas. Such centres might include theatre space, coffee shops and restaurants, bookshops, offices for Irish language organisations, internet centres, historical materials, meeting and conference rooms, display areas, and research and development start-up units. In other areas, existing resource centres, including the regional resources centres established by Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann with public funding and centres run by other cultural, sporting and local development bodies, will with the agreement of the body concerned serve as a centre for Irish language promotion and activities.

An Garda Síochána and the Defence Forces

Maintenance and development of the position of the Irish language in the Garda Síochána and the Defence Forces is important, both because of the symbolic importance of these Forces in our national life and because of the services, particularly in the case of the Garda Síochána, provided to the public. Measures already in train under the Official Languages Act to strengthen the position of Irish as an internal working language in Gaeltacht areas and other Irish-speaking units, in services to the community and in the symbolic role of the Garda Síochána and Defence Forces in national life and on state occasions will be further developed.

6.5 AREAS FOR ACTION - MEDIA AND TECHNOLOGY

The 2006 Statement on the Irish Language contains one objective addressing media and technology:

Objective 9: *High quality broadcast services through the medium of Irish will be ensured, especially through the continuous development of RTÉ, Raidió na Gaeltachta and TG4.*

General

The Irish language in the twenty-first century is already charting its course in new directions. The traditional sectors of education, community, arts, and media are no longer discrete domains in which separate individual policies can be formulated and implemented. Languages which were previously disadvantaged by their dispersed community base are now well-positioned to benefit from opportunities for innovation through new communications and media technologies. These developments have immense potential for resource building in the arts and education and open up new channels for individuals and communities to increase their knowledge and regular use of Irish.

Reading, Writing and Speech

Building ability in reading and writing Irish requires new thinking beyond the limitations of the printed word reproduced on paper. Future policy must take account of the opportunities for linking developments in the arts, media, technology and education, as well as building on the traditional models of creating and disseminating content. Opportunities for reading and writing in Irish, which includes the production of all print media and literature in the language, and its application in education, culture and leisure, need to be exploited by a combination of traditional and innovative means. This includes those modes of communication that make little use of written language. New media and technologies should also be employed to increase public participation in reading and writing Irish in new ways and places.

Traditional products like printed newspapers, magazines and books will continue to be produced and supported where effective distribution channels and reasonable sales can be established and verified. Support limited mainly to production of these single-media materials is ineffective without distribution and marketing supports, and a reasonable threshold of public demand. Easy public access to printed materials in Irish in newsagents, bookshops and on the internet is essential if literature and print journalism are to be sustainable into the future.

As technologies and marketing techniques are continually evolving, the most effective strategy for developing reading and writing in Irish is likely to change significantly in the coming years and will need to be constantly reviewed. The reading and writing of Irish will be supported through CDs, DVDs, audio books and print media in the short- to medium-term through:

- development of literary events and activities in public libraries throughout the year (and not only during Seachtain na Gaeilge) - author-readings, launches, reading and listening clubs, and literary programmes for schools;

- guided reading programmes in schools at specific points of intervention (e.g. 5th class in primary school, transition year in post-primary and in Irish Summer Colleges, where listening to and reading of books and other materials in Irish would be led by an author or critic to support development of individual reading habits);
- prominent display of new materials in Irish in selected designated leading bookstores, with suitable promotional materials, stands, bookmarks, promotional events, window-displays and author presence (with collaboration and support of relevant public agencies if necessary);
- development of a modern on-line stock and order management system, managed by the main distribution agency for CDs/DVDs/books in Irish, where orders can be placed electronically 24/7, and tracked by booksellers, Irish-language publishers and individual purchasers awaiting orders;
- development of an attractive on-line store for Irish materials, showcasing new titles, authors, reviews, blogs and other resources, which could also be used in schools and classes for adult learners;
- promotion and development of book clubs in Irish as a priority in local community language initiatives, and provision of appropriate on-line support for book clubs;
- development of at least one physical literary Irish-language venue or space in Dublin, including a CD/DVD/bookshop, a programme of literary events, and facilities like a coffee-shop, where individuals and families could enjoy meeting;
- development of a literary promotion brief by RTÉ and TG4, with a key role in literary awards, book programmes, profiling of authors and contributing to their visibility and media status, and cultivation of stronger links between writing for the media and for book publication as 'complementary' activities; and
- development of initiatives to encourage writing in Irish by young people in a range of media - journalism, blogging, creative writing, drama and film scripts.

Oireachtas na Gaeilge, as the primary national language festival, will be encouraged and supported to allow it to continue to grow. The growth needs to be carefully managed, however, in an organic manner, so that the festival will remain an Irish language festival.

RTÉ, as the national public service broadcaster, will normalise the use of Irish and English in their broadcasts, building on the success of Seachtain na Gaeilge. RTÉ will continue to support and develop Raidió na Gaeltachta so that a broad spectrum of high standard programmes will be delivered to those communities that listen to this service.

A youth-focussed radio to target young people will be developed using both the internet and conventional radio broadcasting.

TG4 will be further supported to provide television services through Irish. TG4 now has a new target of a six-hour daily Irish language schedule, up from a current level of approximately 4.4 hours. Sufficient funding is vital for TG4 to carry out its statutory remit and to retain its market share in an increasingly competitive environment as an independent statutory body.

The continued development of TG4 will also ensure that the independent production sector in the Gaeltacht continues to provide varied employment opportunities.

The Broadcasting Act 2009 sets a framework for both RTÉ and TG4 in the coming years.

Section 25 of the Broadcasting Act 2009 imposes an obligation on the Broadcasting Authority of Ireland to endeavour to ensure:

that the number and categories of broadcasting services made available in the State by virtue of this Act best serve the needs of the people of the island of Ireland, bearing in mind their languages and traditions and their religious, ethical and cultural diversity,

and an obligation to:

promote and stimulate the development of Irish language programming and broadcasting services.

A number of detailed changes in that framework enhance the position of the Irish language through the activities of the public service broadcasters. These include:

- allowing more favourable charges, terms and conditions in respect of archive schemes by public service broadcasters for the purpose of Irish language broadcasts;
- increase in the allocation of licence fee money away from RTÉ to the Broadcast Fund (from 5% to 7%), of which TG4 is a main beneficiary;
- continuation of a 'free hour' of Irish language television from RTÉ to TG4 (valued around €10m);
- deepening RTÉ's remit in relation to the Irish language;
- Irish language programmes now free from 'peak hours' restriction in case of Broadcast Fund funding;
- TG4 has been given specific powers to provide on-line non-linear services in Irish;
- Minister for Communications, Energy and Natural Resources to consider multi-annual funding requirements of TG4.

In fulfilment of the obligations created by this Act, the Government will specifically ensure that the support provided to the Irish language services of the public service broadcasters is further strengthened.

Subtitling options will be substantially increased in order to offer the option to have subtitles in Irish, English, or both, or no subtitles, thus significantly reinforcing the accessibility of TG4 to learners and non-proficient users of Irish as well as fluent speakers.

The Good Friday Agreement provided that the British Government would work with the relevant British and Irish broadcasting authorities to make TG4 more 'widely available' in Northern Ireland. The Government will continue to work with the relevant British authorities to ensure that this will be achieved in the context of the switchover to digital television by 2012.

All Irish language initiatives with a specific arts remit, to include drama and traditional arts, will be planned and developed as part of an integral arts strategy between the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and the Department of Arts, Sport and Tourism in tandem with the Arts Council.

Information and Communication Technology

The Government will request the inclusion of Irish in all EU-developed ICT programmes. It will also actively engage with major IT suppliers to license and distribute Irish-medium. An IT strategy will be developed, to include IT terminology and lexicographical resources; localisation and open source applications; switchability of interface and language attributes; additional content creation aids to supplement spellcheckers and computerised dictionaries; diacritic markers; multilingual web pages; translation and terminology for computer-aided translation; multilingual content/document management systems; language technology issues and corpora; speech technology, speech synthesis, speech recognition, adaptive technology and embedding issues; capacity building for end users and technology specialists; e-learning and the Irish language; call centre software; back end databases and bi/multilingualism; metadata; mobile devices; optical character recognition; and handwriting recognition.

Such IT developments need also to be embedded in educational, social and work-related practices to become effective means of enhanced communication.

6.6 AREAS FOR ACTION - DICTIONARIES

A number of measures are already in place to ensure that:

- up-to-date dictionaries, both English-Irish and Irish-English, will be developed with provision for updating/revising them periodically and for deriving shorter dictionaries from them;
- such dictionaries will be published in both print and electronic formats;
- corpus resources and lexical tools for development of Irish-language lexicography will be created, supporting both monolingual (historical) and bilingual (contemporary) dictionaries;
- the Historic Dictionary of the Irish language being developed by the Royal Irish Academy will be completed by 2037;
- modern terminology in Irish will be developed and disseminated; and
- the Official Standard for Irish spelling and grammar will be revised periodically.

These measures will continue to be developed and supported to ensure that the needs of the language in the modern age are met.

A new Central Translations Directorate has been established in the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs to implement a strategy for the translation of Statutory Instruments in line with constitutional requirements. It will also be tasked with bringing forward a review of the Official Standard.

6.7 AREAS FOR ACTION - LEGISLATION AND STATUS

The 2006 Statement on the Irish language contains three objectives related to legislation:

Objective 1: *The special status given to the Irish language in the Constitution and in legislation such as the Official Languages Act 2003, the Education Act 1998, the Planning and Development Act 2000 and the Broadcasting Act 2001 will be upheld.*

Objective 2: *The Official Languages Act will be fully implemented. The right of the public to use Irish in dealings with the State and with other bodies will be developed and the appropriate arrangements to deliver this will be put in place.*

Objective 10: *Every assistance and support will be given to the European Union in implementing the decision to make Irish a working and official language in the EU from 1 January 2007.*

Legal Standing

The Irish language has been included in many pieces of legislation enacted by successive Governments since the foundation of the State. The status of Irish as first official and national language in the Irish Constitution has been given effect in the Official Languages Act 2003. All provisions of the Act are in effect.

EU status

Irish has the status of a EU working and official language since 1 January 2007. The agreement on the introduction of this status gives the EU institutions a derogation from the obligation to translate all EU laws and texts into Irish, subject to periodic reviews of the continuing need for this derogation. The Government will work to create the circumstances in which a sufficient number of qualified graduates to meet EU recruitment needs are in place so that this derogation can be ended during the lifetime of this Strategy.

New Legislation

As already stated, new legislation will be enacted to give effect to the actions set out in this Strategy, including measures to:

- provide a new definition for the Gaeltacht based on linguistic criteria;
and
- repeal the Údarás na Gaeltachta legislation and establish a new Údarás na Gaeilge.

Northern Ireland

As noted earlier, the Government will continue to press for the full implementation of commitments relating to the Irish language, which fall to the British Government and the Northern Ireland Executive, including the introduction of an Irish Language Act and the enhancement protection and development of the Irish language in Northern Ireland.

6.8 AREAS FOR ACTION - ECONOMIC LIFE

Voluntary Language Schemes

An Irish Language Scheme – modelled on the Language Scheme for the public sector provided for in the Official languages Act - will be introduced on a voluntary basis into the private sector. The aim will be to encourage private sector companies who value linguistic diversity in general and the Irish language in particular and wish to be involved in the national programme to deliver quality customer services in both Irish and English. Exemplary initiatives in Irish language support will be publicly acknowledged and celebrated.

Bilingual labelling and packaging

The Government will examine the feasibility of introducing a voluntary code for bilingual labelling and packaging of all goods sold in Ireland. This activity could be used as a mechanism to develop the range of areas available in which people can choose Irish as a language of exchange.

Economic activity

A series of initiatives will be put in place to encourage entrepreneurship and economic activity among the Irish language speaking community on a company, sectoral or local basis. The approach will be threefold:

- Encourage entrepreneurship through training programmes, business incubation, campus companies and the creation of economic networks.
- Support and develop the language economy that can provide the required services to the State and to the EU in areas such as translation, interpretation, language teaching, publishing, language consultancy, project management. Measures will include start-up support, mentoring services, product development, marketing and promotion advice, and management development services.
- Position Ireland as a leader in the provision of technological solutions to providing multilingual services on a cost-effective basis.

Supports for these initiatives will be provided by the new Údarás na Gaeilge. The Údarás will also facilitate the creation of a Cumann Tráchtála (Business Network) for Gaeltacht and other Irish language businesses. The Cumann will work to support businesses providing services through Irish or working through Irish and to raise awareness throughout the business community of the link between the language and economic development, including the link between the economic interests of Gaeltacht areas and the status of the language there as well as the language dimension to the success of individual companies.

6.9 CROSS-CUTTING INITIATIVES

A number of initiatives will be taken across all the areas of action already set out.

Think Tank

A high-level think tank of creative thinkers and innovators will be constituted on an *ad hoc* basis from time to time, to develop new approaches to language maintenance and promotion utilising development in the ICT sector.

Portal Site

A portal site for Irish will be developed. This will be designed to provide easy open access to all materials and resources for and in Irish, to include e-learning materials, publications, media, terminology, placenames, academic publications, language networks, digitised sources, and social and professional networks.

EU role for Irish

The Government will ensure that the Irish language is included, as an official working language, in all EU and domestic research and development programmes in the areas of natural language processing, language learning and language technologies. Areas identified as crucial for development include machine translation, optical character recognition, speech technology, language learning programmes, and speech recognition. The Irish language will also take advantage of platforms already developed through research and development programmes for other languages.

Digitisation Programme

A national programme will be created, as part of the celebration of the 1916 Easter Rising, to digitise major Irish language works of national importance with a view to making them accessible by publication on the web. This will build on the work already in hand by Irish Script on Screen and the Digital Humanities Observatory. The Irish language is a source of inspiration for many modern art forms, including literature, music and theatre. However, access to many of the most important manuscripts is not easily available as some are held in repositories in different parts of the world and other important works of literature are out of print. This programme will allow central access to Irish language materials held in archives, repositories, libraries and universities all over the world.