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The role of 'language-learning holidays' on minority language revitalisation:

Native speaker attitudes towards non-native new speakers and an alternative approach

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates whether a recent niche *language tourism* (Yarymowich, 2005) in the form of *language-learning holidays* (Garland, 2008) has the capacity to become a viable, alternative approach to minority language revitalisation, and whether possible hostility or resistance from native speakers towards such holidays and towards 'foreign' *non-native new speakers* due to ideologies of identity, ownership, authenticity and commodification, may affect the implementation and success of such an initiative. The attitudes and perceptions of native speakers from three minority language groups: Irish, Welsh and Sardinian, were observed through surveys and interviews, and findings reveal that native speakers' strong feelings of cultural and community identity and 'ownership' that surround their native language are contradicted by overt expression of welcome, support, encouragement and enthusiasm for non-native new speakers and minority language-learning holidays. Language-learning holidays situate themselves as a promising bottom-up, community-based initiative that result in promoting and valorising, through the attribution of cultural capital, minority languages that are at risk of stagnating in associations of folklorisation.

Key words: *minority language, revitalisation, language tourism, language-learning holiday, identity, authenticity, non-native new speaker, language attitudes*

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INTRODUCTION

Tourism is unquestionably one of the world's largest international trades and a powerful vehicle for the mobility of money, people and culture. The interplay between tourism and language is undeniable; it has been studied in numerous avenues of research into tourism discourse and even been attributed its own domain as part of 'sociolinguistics and tourism' (Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow, 2014).

Over the past few decades, a 'niche' tourism has emerged and its popularity increased, especially one particular type of niche tourism: educational tourism, or *edutourism*, wherein travellers spend their time abroad pursuing some sort of formal educational programme while simultaneously participating in organised leisure and cultural activities. Of educational tourism, *language tourism*, as conceptualised by Yarymowich (2005), is the most profitable form and involves the merging of language education and tourism, in particular the teaching of foreign languages in a classroom setting accompanied by a range of tourism-related activities.

The marketing of language acquisition together with traditional or local touristic activities as a purchasable package is referred to as a *language-learning holiday* by Garland (2008) and O'Rourke and DePalma (2016). It termed as such because language courses and tourist activities are often provided in conjunction with the accommodation needed for the duration of the course, in a form of package deal. English and other global languages have the largest share of this language tourism market, the phenomenon also emerges in minority language contexts, with minority language-learning holidays existing all over the world. Within Europe, residential language courses and immersion programmes exist in regions and countries such as Ireland, Wales, Scotland, the Basque Country, Galicia and Catalonia in ranging numbers.

While researchers have been interested in language in tourism, the notions of language commodification and authentication that often come with it, and various areas of second language acquisition, language tourists and language tourism have not been extensively researched so far from an academic perspective, despite the commercial significance of this niche within the global tourism industry (Iglesias, 2017: 4). It has been studied even less so within a minority language context and studies into language-learning holidays are even fewer, with - to my knowledge - only three scholars, Garland (2008) and O'Rourke and DePalma (2016), addressing the concept in itself. The little research that has been carried out has had as its primary focus the visitors, language learners or edutourists, their experiences, perceptions and attitudes of the language-learning holiday package and towards the status of the minority language and sociolinguistic situation they are briefly inserted into.

In a different, but often overlapping, vein of research within the context of minority languages features the concept of *new speakers*. These are defined as "individuals with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual educational programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners" by O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo (2015: 2) and are a relatively new phenomenon. Language-learning holidays and language tourism have the capacity to create another category of new speaker: the *non-native new speaker*. Although a recent but increasingly wide body of literature has examined the ideological practices surrounding new speakers and their own attitudes to and perceptions of their varieties in relation to others, studies that address

attitudes and perceptions of *native speakers*, or even *native new speakers*, towards *non-native new speakers* appear to be altogether absent from the literature.

With the Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2019) reporting roughly a fifth of the world's languages as being endangered, language revitalisation efforts are more necessary now than ever. Current policies aiming to promote, maintain or revive minority languages in Europe and the concrete support and recognition that they offer vary on regional, national and even supranational levels. They are often insufficient, ineffective or simply not adopted, as May (2014) refers to "gap(s) between principles and practices" that occur between official language policy and its meaningful implementation. Top-down initiatives are for language support are often hard to come by or long-winded and do not necessarily resonate with what speakers feel is most needed. Bottom-up initiatives appear to be more harmonious with the needs of the language community but are often carried out on a voluntary basis by enthusiastic or unprepared people, and both frequently face the issue of being halted or reduced due to lack of funding or mismanaged handling of funds.

It seems alternative approaches to language revitalisation need to be explored, and the cross-over between minority language and tourism may be a promisingly place to start. Therefore, this study aims to determine whether language-learning holidays have the capacity to be a successful alternative approach to minority language revitalisation by positively contributing to the preservation and maintenance of regional minority languages, and to bring to light whether possible receptivity, approval, hostility or resistance from native speakers towards such holidays and towards 'foreign' non-native new speakers due to ideologies of identity, ownership, authenticity and commodification, may affect the implementation and success of such initiatives.

Three languages have been chosen for observation in this study: Irish, Welsh and Sardinian. These three languages hold differing level of status and recognition in their respective countries and regions and which have (Ireland and Wales) and do not (Sardinia) have minority language-learning holidays already existing in their territories. They allow the observation of attitudes and perceptions of minority language speakers who may already be aware of the existing language-learning holidays offered for their minority language and of non-native new speakers of that language - indeed perhaps have even met one, as well as speakers who had never heard of such concepts. Sardinian has been chosen as a particular case study to explore the possibility on an 'open market' with regards to whether Sardinian speakers would be favourable or not to the idea of introducing language-learning holidays in Sardinian, their attitudes towards the non-native new speakers that these holidays would create, and to determine whether minority language-learning holidays could be a feasible and viable alternative approach to the revitalisation of the Sardinian language(s) on the island.

This research will contribute to the scarce body of literature on language-learning holidays and native speaker attitudes towards non-native new speakers. In addition, it will add to the discussion surrounding language revitalisation, by proposing an alternative and somewhat non-traditional approach to the promotion and maintenance of minority languages.

This paper consists of four sections and nine chapters. The first section of this paper will address the theoretical references pertinent to the study. Chapter 1 takes a look at minority

languages and policy planning, taking into account differing terminology in minority language and revitalisation studies, different types of languages policies and issues in language planning. It will also examine regional minority languages in Europe, analyse major European policies such as the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages and focus on the socio-political language situation and history of the three minority languages which will be investigated in this study: Irish, Welsh and Sardinian.

Chapter 2 introduces language and tourism and provides an overview of the literature surrounding the interplay of these two notions. It looks at language tourism in particular and the concept of a language-learning holiday. It also presents research on existing language-learning holidays packages and providers in Ireland and Wales, and presents a number of ideologies and concerns that surround such domains, such as commodification, linguistic authenticity and standardisation.

Chapter 3 concludes the section on theoretical references with an inspection of the literature on representation and identity, its different types and the role of identity, authenticity and commodification in language tourism. It also presents the concept of a 'new speaker', its definitions and issues with such a label, their role in reversing language shift, previous studies and a discussion on two additional categories of 'new speaker': the *native new speaker* and the *non-native new speaker*, positing this study as a contribution to filling a gap in the literature on new speakers and language tourism.

The second section, and Chapter 4, presents the methodology of the study; the research questions, languages observed, participants, study design and treatment of data. The third section displays the results analysis and categorical presents a selection of collected responses to the survey and interviews carried out. This section is divided into three chapters: Chapter 7, which reviews the demographic characteristics and linguistic biography of participants and their perceptions of the minority language; Chapter 8, which presents participants' awareness of the socio-political situation of their native minority language and their opinions of language planning initiatives; and Chapter 7 which explores their perceptions of non-native new speakers and language-learning holidays.

The fourth and final section is the discussion, which carries out a close assessment and evaluation of the data collected, and takes what has been observed in the study results and the previous literature to offer answers for the research questions posed at the beginning of this study. The paper closes with a conclusion, which summarises the research, situates it in the fields of language revitalisation, minority languages and tourism, and suggests further research to reinforce the conclusions drawn here.

First section: Theoretical References

Chapter 1. MINORITY LANGUAGES POLICY AND PLANNING

1 Heritage vs. minority language: A point on types and terminology

Although the term *heritage language* has long been used in discussions about language revitalisation, policy and planning around the world, it often comes with an uncertain confusion which surrounds its definition, and alongside an abundance of other terms. It was first coined in Canada in the 1970s to refer to "any language other than English and French" (Cummins, 1991: 601-2), in particular the languages spoken by indigenous (First Nation) people or by immigrants. Since then it has been used and modified by numerous researchers and policy-makers around the world to suit other contexts more closer to home. Clyne (1991) altered it for the Australian context so as to include languages other than English (LOTEs), a definition that was adopted by US policy-makers and subsequently extended by Fishman, who termed it "a language of personal relevance other than English" (Fishman, 1999, cited in Van Deusen-Scholl 2003: 216). Nowadays, a heritage language commonly refers to any language "other than the dominant" one (Kelleher, 2008: 3) in a given social context.

Generally, a heritage language is taken to be the language used in home or familial contexts (Campbell & Peyton, 1998), but others have pointed out that it has broader cultural associations and significance, as it may or may not necessarily be spoken in the home (Cho, Cho, & Tse, 1997: 106) and does not hinge on proficiency (Nicholas, 2009). Some people may have varying levels of production and comprehension abilities; be able to speak, read and write the language, speak or understand when spoken to or may not understand the language at all but be part of a family or community where the language is spoken. Thus, the term *heritage language* can be used to describe any form of these connections between a non-dominant language and a person, family or community (Kelleher, 2010: 2), a description which has been criticised along with Fishman's (1999) definition, for over generalising to the extent that any language could be claimed as having personal relevance, but not necessarily be a heritage language (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003).

The label *heritage* itself has also been problematic as it holds socio-political connotations related to the distinctions between majority and minority languages (Montrul, 2016: 13) and has been regarded as counterproductive, negative and even offensive. Like related terms that have also been coined to refer to heritage languages, such as *ancestral*, *ethnic, primary* or *native,* which have been criticised for implying that a particular language is genetically endowed (Ennser-Kananen & King, 2018) and for reflecting inaccurate assessments of language competence (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003), the label *heritage* has been criticised for invoking the past and for primitivism, as noted by Baker & Jones (1998);

> The danger of the term “heritage language” is that, relative to powerful majority languages, it points more to the past and less to the future, to traditions rather than to the contemporary. The danger is that the heritage language becomes associated with ancient cultures, past traditions and more “primitive times.” This is also true of the terms “ethnic” (used in the U.S.) and “ancestral.” These terms may

> fail to give the impression of a modern, international language that is of value in a technological society. (p.509)

Finding an appropriate term to designate such languages has therefore proved challenging as many labels raise questions concerning the political issues surrounding heritage languages or leave uncertainty over which type of heritage language is being referred to.

Fishman (2001) identifies three types of heritage language in the United States, of which his categories emphasise the historical and social conditions of other languages relative to English. He refers to *immigrant languages* as any of the languages spoken by immigrants arriving the in United States after it became an independent country, and may overlap with colonial heritage languages, such as Spanish, as it was a colonial heritage language but is now considered an immigrant heritage language (Kelleher, 2010). *Indigenous languages* are the languages of the peoples native to the Americas, of which many are now extinct or at risk of being lost, and *colonial heritage languages*, which are the languages of the various European groups that first colonised the United States and are still spoken there, such as Dutch, German, French and Spanish.

Although Fishman's (2001) typology of heritage languages allows for a more specific explanation and easier comprehension when the term *heritage* is used in discussion, his and other early subcategories of heritage language 'types' (see also Cummins, 2005, '*refugee*') have been problematicised as being imprecise or simplistic. Outside of North America, other more commonly used terms include *allochthonous*, *home language*, *language of origin* (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003), and *community language* (Wiley, 2005), however these are also increasingly viewed as problematic due to their implications of foreignness or non-belonging (Ennser-Kananen & King, 2018).

In Europe, the term *minority language* is often more commonly used, and it can be argued that even this term comes with its concerns, as although *minority* in a demographic sense tends to mean 'smaller in number' or less than 50% of a group as opposed to a numerical majority, many negative social connotations also accompany it (Kelleher, 2010). The term *minority* also draws attention to its counterpart *majority* and the socio-political distinction between the two. Majority languages typically have official status and recognition, are used in the media and are the language of government administration and education, whereas minority languages are the languages of ethnolinguistic minority groups and may or may not have co-official status (Montrul, 2016: 14). They are often marginalised within nations or territories and its speakers may either be part of a demographic minority or have a larger population but be considered a minority by virtue of a lower social, cultural or political status (Montrul, 2016: 14).

In many European countries, there is a major divide between minority indigenous language groups and immigrant and refugee groups, a distinction which is highlighted by Extra and Gorta (2001), who distinguish languages of the former groups as *regional minority languages* (RMLs), which are often legally protected, and the latter as *immigrant minority languages* (IMLs), which generally do not enjoy the same status (p. 2). *Regional or minority language* is the term legally recognised by the Council of Europe and used when referring to the languages of the many indigenous groups in Europe. They are thus defined and distinguished

from immigrant minority languages in Article 1 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages;

> a "regional or minority languages" means languages that are:
>
> i traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State's population; and
>
> ii different from the official language(s) of that State;
>
> it does not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the State or the languages of migrants

In this paper, the term *regional minority language(s)* will be used, as opposed to *heritage language(s)*, with contractions to *minority language(s)* but still meaning that of European indigenous language groups, due to the focus on European languages and to be in line with the terminology most commonly used in the European context.

2 Language revitalisation, language policy, language planning: steps of action

A question that has often been raised in relation to regional minority languages is that of revitalisation, and subsequently language policy and planning. These notions may come under different names but they ultimately reference the recognition of language shift and the steps taken to prevent potential language death.

2.1 Language revitalisation

A major difference with regional minority language groups and immigrant minority language groups is that, although both groups are very likely to undergo language shift, be it voluntarily or involuntarily to the majority language, in most cases, the immigrants' heritage languages are still strong in the old country (Hinton, 2001). For indigenous or regional minorities, on the other hand, their languages are endemic to small areas and have no national status anywhere, nor is there anywhere to go to learn their ancestral tongue, thus when an regional minority group stops speaking its language, the language disappears completely (Hinton, 2001). This is known as language death.

When a language is recognised to be in decline (endangered), attempts are often made to halt or reverse this decline and maintain its use. Various terms have been used to reference such activities, including language maintenance (Fishman, 1964), language revival (Fishman, 1964), language preservation (Rigsby, 1987) and language revitalisation (Spolsky, 1995), among others. Tsunoda (2005) considers language revitalisation as a term for the general subject, presenting Spolsky's definition as "restoration of vitality to a language that has lost or is losing this attribute" (Spolsky, 1995 in Tsunoda, 2005: 168). He subsequently divides this notion into language maintenance, which concerns the rescue of languages that are endangered but still alive, and language revival, which involves the resurrection of dead (or extinct) languages with no existing native speakers (Tsunoda, 2005: 168). In chapter two of his book, Tsunoda (2005)

also offers a clear and detailed breakdown of previous classifications for the different degrees and successive phases of language endangerment.

For the sake of clarity, in this paper, the term language revitalisation will be used solely to refer to language maintenance; the reversal of language shift in languages that are still spoken, as the languages addressed in this study still have native speakers.

2.2 Language policy and language planning

Presenting a single and straightforward definition for both language policy and language planning appears to be a challenging feat. Many scholars have offered their own take on it, and complicating the question is the relationship between the two. Most would agree the two notions are related but are different activities, some argue that language planning subsumes language policy (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, in Johnson, 2013: 3) whereas others argue that language policy subsumes language planning (Schiffman, 1996, in Johnson, 2013: 3). Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) define language planning as;

> a body of ideas, laws and regulations (language policy), change rules, beliefs, and practices intended to achieve a planned change (or to stop change from happening) in the language use in one or more communities. (p. 3)

In essence, it is a deliberate effort to influence the linguistic behaviour of a speech community for some reason. According to them, language policy is part of the larger process of language planning, as they add that "the exercise of language planning leads to, or is directed by, the promulgation of a language policy by government or other authoritative body or person". This definition partly covers it, as Johnson (2013) adds that other activities can be recognised as what he also considers to be language policy; language policies do not need to be enacted by an authoritative body as they can emerge from a bottom-up movement or organisation and not all are intentional or carefully planned (p. 4).

It is here that the terms and definitions begin to overlap and cause confusion. For Lambert (2005), the term language policy explicitly refers to rules set by authorities to govern the acquisition and/or use of languages (p. 21). Spolsky (2004; 2012), on the other hand, distinguishes three components within the language policy of a speech community. The third component references traditional conceptualisations of intentional language planning and policy development (which he prefers to term *language management*), and is contrasted with the first two components - the practices and beliefs of a speech community, which are not necessarily planned or intentional (Spolsky, 2012: 5).

For consistency and clarity, this study will therefore make the following distinctions: the term *language policy* will draw on Lambert's (2005) definition and will refer specifically to rules, laws and initiatives set by governments or authoritative bodies to implement measures designed to reverse language shift. The term *language planning* will refer to all activities that revolve around language revitalisation, encompassing explicit, de jure language policies that are officially documented and implemented, but also implicit, de facto activities that are not necessarily officially commissioned, intentional or planned.

Within the category of official language planning comes two recognised types in particular: status planning and corpus planning. The status of languages refers to their relative rankings in society and the domains and extent of their use (Lambert, 2005: 23), thus status planning (or policy as it may also be called), refers to a decision on the language or languages to choose as official and their use in the public sector and educational system (Spolsky, 2012). Corpus planning concerns the prescription of the proper form a language should take, that is, the consideration of the steps required to suit the chosen language to its new tasks, such as development of a writing system, spelling reform and standardisation of grammar (Spolsky 2012: 6). These domains are conceptually different but in practice they may overlap, as Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) note, the two activities are virtually inseparable (in Spolsky, 2004: 11).

2.2.1 Types of language policies

In his book, Johnson (2013) delineates various types of language policies (or means of language planning) and sets of dichotomies (see page 9 for full table and explanations). He highlights that a policy can be *top-down*: "macro-level policy developed by some governing or authoritative body or person", or *bottom-up*: "micro-level or grassroots generated policy for and by the community that it impacts"; *explicit*: "officially documented in written or spoken policy texts", or *implicit*: "occurring without or in spite of official policy texts"; and *de jure*: "policy 'in law', officially documented in writing", or *de facto*: "policy in practice, both locally produced policies that arise without or in spite of de jure policies and local language practices that differ from de jure policies" (p. 9). He also notes that there may be overlap within and across categories, as a certain policy can be both top-down and bottom-up, bottom-up and explicit, etc.

This framework will be used as a reference point for discussing the types of policies addressed throughout this paper.

2.3 Why care?

This is one of many questions that frequently get asked in relation to the topic of language revitalisation, be it by the public or critics of language revitalisation attempts. Some may argue, indeed, why does it matter that the linguistic diversity of the world is diminishing and that indigenous groups might shift indefinitely from their ancestral tongue to a world language? Is it not the case that language death is just a natural and inevitable process and will subsequently improve communication by ensuring more speakers of the same language?

For linguists, answers to such questions may seem self-evident, and have been argued in a number of important publications, many of which are summarised rather poignantly by Hinton (2001);

> the loss of language is part of the loss of whole cultures and knowledge systems, including philosophical systems, oral literary and musical traditions, environmental knowledge systems, medical knowledge, and important cultural practices and artistic skills. The world stands to lose an important part of the sum of human knowledge whenever a language stops being used. (p. 5)

Furthermore, she asserts that language retention is a human rights issue, as the loss of language has often goes hand in hand with the oppression and disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples by forces of national or world economy and politics (p.5).

Nowadays, not only is there the question of convincing people of the value of endangered languages and the importance of reversing language shift, but also issues surrounding devising and implementing effective and sufficient revitalisation initiatives.

2.4 Issues in language planning

Language planning is an extremely complex process that requires many decisions to be made and implemented if they are to be successful. The task of language planning, policy development and implementation also faces a number of socio-political issues and challenges which can affect or hinder the success of regional minority language revitalisation initiatives. This section will offer a brief overview of a handful of such challenges.

As mentioned in the previous section, language revitalists often face having to convince the public, in some cases, both speakers of the dominant language and speakers of the regional minority language, of the importance of minority language revitalisation. They may also have to tackle inertia and even negative attitudes of speakers towards their own language (Soria, 2015: 136). In other cases, language planning is not favoured by authorities or academics and so efforts have been made on a voluntary basis by enthusiastic but unprepared, or insufficiently prepared, people whose initiatives are not backed by competent research and monitoring (Coluzzi, 2008: 227). Language planning initiatives are also often halted or reduced due to lack of funding or mismanaged handling of funds.

On a political level, the emphasis on linguistic homogeneity and the related scepticism towards ongoing individual bi- or multilingualism has often stunted attempts to promote regional minority language teaching to children (May, 2014: 2). Minority languages can sometimes be seen as a threat if they appear to support separatist movements or if they demonstrate a resistance to assimilation into the dominant population (Kaplan, Baldauf & Kamwangamalu, 2011: 118). Even in the absence of resistance, there is also often a fear of regional identities being construed as nations distinct from the national one, and thus a threat to national unity (van der Jeught, 2016).

Not all speakers and policymakers are resistant to regional minority language revitalisation initiatives, however, and promising policies have been drawn up. Yet, in many cases, that is all they are, promising, and results have been underwhelming or even non-existent. May (2014) presents what he terms "gap(s) between principles and practices" regarding language rights and language policy (p. 1), extending Kloss's (1971) distinction between 'tolerance-orientated' language rights (i.e. "the right to preserve one's first language in the private, non-governmental sphere of national life" [May, 2014: 1]) and 'promotion-oriented' language rights (i.e. "the extent to which language rights are recognised within the public domain" [May, 2014: 1]), to refer to types of language policy. He describes a significant gap between official language policy and its effective or meaningful implementation: "there is a long-recognised weakness of those few policies that address directly promotion-oriented language rights, both at the supranational and nation-state level" (May, 2014: 2), and cites two

examples: The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and the 1994 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities (which will both be discussed in more detail later in this paper). Moreover, he highlights that even "apparently strong promotion-oriented language policies can still have limited effects" (p. 3), introducing two keys terms 'legitimation' and 'institutionalisation'. Legitimation, as he terms it, is "the formal recognition accorded to the language by the nation-state" (p.3), or in other words, the attribution of an official status. Although such legislative recognition is a necessary first step for language revitalisation, May stresses that it is by no means a sufficient one, as without the institutionalisation of the language variety within civil society, the language will not come to be accepted in a wide range of social, cultural and linguistic domains (May 2014: 3).

Often the introduction of regional minority language teaching in school education is seen as a major step forward in the process of language revitalisation, however this does not always guarantee success. In their paper, 'why educational language plans sometimes fail', Kaplan, Baldauf & Kamwangamalu (2011) present several reasons as to why educational language planning does, indeed, fail in schools. They apply their reasoning to the teaching of English as a second/foreign language, but many of the explanations they offer are also strongly applicable in the context of regional minority language teaching. Among the reasons they give include: time dedicated to language learning is inadequate, indigenous teacher training is not appropriate or sufficient, educational materials may not be sufficient or appropriate, methodology may not be appropriate, continuity of commitment may be problematic and language norms may be a problem (Kaplan, Baldauf & Kamwangamalu, 2011). Many of these reasons will be explored further in specific language case studies later in the chapter.

3 Regional minority languages in Europe: A look at history, society and politics

In 2013, the European Union noted that between 40 and 50 million people in Europe spoke the 60 regional or minority languages that exist within the EU (Prys Jones, 2013: 17). According to UNESCO, there are 128 endangered languages within the European Union, ranging from vulnerable to critically endangered, with endangered languages in Europe generally being "included within the category of languages which are usually defined as minority or regional languages and [having] many similarities between these languages within the same grouping" (Prys Jones, 2013: 17).

This paper will be focusing on three European regional minority languages in particular: Irish, Welsh and Sardinian. This section will offer an overview of the European linguistic policy landscape in a general sense, and then take a closer look into the specific situations of each of the three aforementioned languages in their respective countries and regions.

3.1 Major European policies

In the European Union, there are two main important international legal documents that have been developed to protect minorities and minority languages, and promote language diversity in Europe: the *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* and the *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*.

3.1.1 European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages

In 1992, the Council of Europe approved a charter that gave a new dimension to the preservation of minority languages. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages only deals with languages and does not attempt to confer rights on language groups or linguistic communities (Woerhling, 2006). The Charter is a legally binding treaty for the ratifying states, designed to protect and promote regional or minority languages as a threatened aspect of Europe's cultural heritage, in such a way as to be able to accommodate for the wide variety of the different languages involved (Gorter 2008). The aim is to ensure the possibility of use of regional or minority languages in different fields of society. It mentions eight fundamental principles which provide a necessary basic framework: the respect for the geographical area of each language, the need for resolute action, the encouragement of the use of these languages in speech and writing, in public and private life (Gorter 2008: 178). There are seven paragraphs which cover major social fields: education, judicial authorities, administrative authorities and public services, media, cultural activities and facilities, economic and social life and transfrontier exchanges (Council of Europe, 1992). Language learning as such is not mentioned by the charter and the home or the family is not among the fields of policy measures (Gorter 2008: 178). A ratifying state must apply a minimum of 35 out of a near 100 different measures, and some measures, such as education, are presented as a sliding-scale going from minimal to more extensive provisions or rights.

The Charter is an instrument which can be used to measure the vitality of a minority or regional language community and as a tool to measure a member state's commitment to the promotion of RMLs. However, it has often come under criticism. It has been labelled non-committal, as EU states are not obliged to sign or ratify it; three member states have signed but not ratified it and nine have not agreed to sign it (Prys Jones 2013: 23). The states that have ratified it are free in their choice of which regional/minority languages to include and the degree of protection is not prescribed, meaning a state can choose for light or tight measures (Extra & Gorter, 2001: 21). They also retain considerable scope and flexibility over which articles of the charter they actually choose to accept (May, 2014: 2), which results in a large variety of different provisions accepted, and subsequently offered, by the various states.

3.1.2 Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities

In 1994, the Council of Europe adopted the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities; "the first legally binding document on minority rights" (Oberleitner, 1999, in Nones, 2017: 11). It aims to act as a protection to European citizens belonging to minority communities by recognising their rights as part of such groups as human rights and specifying the importance of non-discrimination and how states should support the cultural development of those communities (Nones, 2017: 11). The treaty does not focus on language(s) and is more general in its aims and scope as it has far less specific provisions for protection and promotion of the minorities concerned (Extra & Gorter, 2001: 21).

Although this convention provided strong legal elements for the protection of minorities and allows the Council of Europe to monitor member states' behaviour towards minorities, it has also been greatly criticised. It has been called "weakly worded" (Oberleitner, 1999, in Nones, 2017: 11), as unlike the European Charter, it does not provide a definition of minorities

and it does not clearly structure the supervisory mechanism that should be adopted. Furthermore, despite ratification of this framework being more successful than the European Charter, it has not been fully adopted by different states, such as Spain, Italy and Belgium (Poggeschi, 2010, in Nones, 2017: 11).

3.2 Irish Gaelic (*Gaeilge*)

Irish Gaelic, or Irish, is classed as 'definitely endangered' by UNESCO (Moseley, 2010), or a 3 out of 5 on the language vitality assessment scale. This scale takes into consideration six major factors when evaluating a language's vitality and state of endangerment: 1) intergenerational language transmission; 2) absolute number of speakers; 3) proportion of speakers within the total population; 4) trends in existing language domains; 5) response to new domains and media; and 6) materials for language education and literacy (UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group, 2003: 7, see document for a detailed description of each factor), alongside language attitudes and the urgency for documentation. Taken together, these factors are used to characterise a language's overall sociolinguistic situation.

In the Republic of Ireland (henceforth simply Ireland), Irish is considered as a minority language only in terms of its number of speakers (Ó Laoire, 2012: 18), as its official status prevents it from being considered a minority or lesser-used language (Ó Laoire, 2005). In 2006, it was spoken as a first language by approximately 3% of the population (CSO, 2006), who mainly reside in the Irish language speech communities or *Gaeltacht*, in the western coastal areas of the country, although it should be noted that this figure may have since changed. As a result of nationwide teaching of Irish as a second language, approximately 25% of the population also reports some competence in the language, however actual usage of the language outside the Gaeltacht is not common (Ó Laoire, 2012).

3.2.1 Legislation and language strategies

In 1937, the Irish Constitution, *Bunreacht na hÉireann,* affirmed in article 8 that "the Irish language as the national language is the first official language [and that] the English language is recognised as the second official language" (Ó Laoire, 2005: 251). Nevertheless, despite Irish being an official language of Ireland, alongside English, and it being officially a bilingual country, Ireland has firm multilingual foundations (Cronin & Ó Cuilleanáin, 2003, in Ó Laoire, 2005: 251). From the 18th century onwards, English began to replace Irish as the language of business, trade, administration, education and daily communication in Ireland and, although there has never been an official policy regarding the English language, Ireland is almost universally English-speaking, with no recorded remaining monolingual speakers of Irish (Ó Laoire, 2012: 252).

Between 1922 and 1960, the Irish government's strategy for the revitalisation of the language consisted in a three-part policy of maintenance (of the spoken language where it was still a community language - the Gaeltacht); restoration, (reversal of language shift in all other areas through the reintroduction of the language into domains that it had been excluded from); and provision of the infrastructure necessary for maintenance and restoration (Ó Laoire, 2005: 251). By the early 1960s, the result of this strategy was an increase in the ratio of Irish speakers

outside the Gaeltacht and a decrease in the number of indigenous speakers within the Gaeltacht (Ó Laoire, 2005: 252).

In 2003, the Official Languages Act was passed as the first piece of legislation to provide a statutory framework for the delivery of services through the Irish language (Ó Laoire, 2005: 252). Its primary objective was to ensure better availability and a higher standard of public services in Irish, through provisions such as the right to be heard in and to use the Irish language in court proceedings, the duty of public bodies to ensure that the Irish language only or the Irish and English languages together, are used on advertisements, whether they be live, recorded, on stationery or signage, and ensuring that an adequate number of staff in public bodies are competent in the Irish language, among others (Ó Laoire, 2005: 304). Competence in the language is also a requisite for admission to the civil service, police (*Gardaí*) and army.

3.2.2 Media and technology

The first radio station to be established in Ireland in 1926, *2RN*, coincided more or less with the emergency of the new state (the Irish Free State), and as broadcasting was seen as means to reinforce the ideology of national identity, the symbolic importance of Irish was emphasised (Ó Laoire, 2005: 287). The radio station 2RN later became *Raidió Éireann* (The Radio of Ireland) and targeted native speakers from the Gaeltacht as well as potential speakers, however it did not fully broadcast in the Irish language, with an average of only 8.4% of broadcasting time dedicated to programmes in the language by 1955 (Ó Laoire, 2005: 288). In 1972, *Raidió na Gaeltachta* (The Radio of the Gaeltacht) was established and broadcasted exclusively through the medium of Irish, even adhering to a policy of not permitting English in interviews or song lyrics (Ó Laoire, 2005: 288).

With the advent of the television came an increased demand for Irish language programmes from language enthusiasts. In 1996, a channel dedicated to the Irish-speaking population was created, *Teilifís na Gaeilge* (now TG4) and unlike *Raidió na Gaeltachta*, which targeted primarily a Gaeltacht audience, the television channel broadcasts nationally (Ó Laoire, 2005: 289).

3.2.3 Associations and organisations

Many organisations have formed in favour of the promotion and maintenance of the Irish language, the most effective being *Conradh na Gaeilge* (the Gaelic League), which gained recognition for the language in the education system and for matriculation purposes as well as popularising the ideal of Irish revitalisation and establishing a network of Irish language classes across the country (Ó Laoire, 2005: 256). Its ideology is that of a bilingual Ireland, rather than anti-English, with it being an expression of unification of the two cultures and traditions of the island (Ó Laoire, 2005: 259). *Gael Linn*, an organisation devoted to Irish language and arts was founded in 1953 and aims to secure State support and funding for a range of actions regarding the language, succeeding in language planning initiatives such as a scheme to send children to the Gaeltacht, the establishment of an Irish-medium film company *Amharc Éireann,* and the production of commercial recordings of Irish traditional music (Ó Laoire, 2005: 279).

3.2.4 Education

The education system has been seen as a cornerstone of the movement for the revitalisation of Irish, with the Irish language being a compulsory core curriculum subject (with very few exceptions) for children until they leave school (Ó Laoire, 2005: 261). Since the 1920s, schools in Ireland have also been asked to use the Irish language as a medium of instruction in immersion-type programmes in primary schools (Ó Laoire, 2012: 18) and the number of *Gaelscoileanna,* or all-Irish-medium schools which were initially parent-led, has continued to increase (Ó Laoire, 2012: 19). State language planning efforts to restore Irish centred mainly on the education system in the hope that Irish would become the language of work and play in schools, and then extend to the home (Ó Laoire, 2012: 18). However, this approach did not work and schools alone were unable to restore Irish as the language of the people (Ó Laoire, 2005: 267), so efforts shifted towards extending bilingualism and promoting Irish language immersion programmes. To some extent this has been successful, however many note that while use and proficiency in Irish is high among students at school, once out of the education system, these levels drop significantly .

Many have expressed their dissatisfaction with past and current revitalisation attempts for the Irish language in Ireland, with it being noted that the only true bilingual areas in Ireland are the Gaeltacht and that the concept of a language revival outside the Gaeltacht is illusory (Ó hÉallaithe, 2004, in Ó Laoire, 2005: 308). Ó Laoire (2012) calls for the need to reconceptualise language policy in Ireland, as she stresses that there is an "inadequacy of the linear sequence model in language policy that starts with problem identification and then moves down a chain to implementation" and "implementation cannot be assumed to follow automatically and successfully from the formulation and authorisation stages that precede it" (Ó Laoire, 2012: 22).

3.3 Welsh

Welsh (Cymraeg) is a Celtic language, like Irish Gaelic. When Wales was incorporated into England in 1534 and 1542, English was the only language of the courts and all use of Welsh was banned from public office (Grin & Vaillancourt 1999: 15). A progressive shift then took place to English, any association with the Welsh language was regarded as a social and economic hindrance. English became the sole language of schools and any use of Welsh was actively discourage by teachers and parents themselves (Grin & Vaillancourt 1999: 15). The industrial revolution brought on the development of mining and industry in the southern valleys and attracted Welsh-speakers from remote areas as well as English-speaking immigrants, but English unavoidably became the language of communication.

The Welsh language was nevertheless stabilised predominantly through the use of the language in religious practice, and in 1563 an act of Parliament was secured for the translation of the Bible into Welsh, the only minority language in western Europe to have its own state-authorised vernacular Bible in the 16th century (Morgan 2001: 108). This not only improved Welsh literacy across the country but also provided a standardisation of the language from the 16th century onwards (Baker 2003: 73).

The vitality of Welsh is currently considered 'vulnerable' by UNESCO (Moseley, 2010). The 2001 census registered 582,400 people in Wales or 20.8% of the population as claiming to

have some knowledge of Welsh (Jones, 2012, in Barakos, 2012: 167). For the year ending in March 2019, the Annual Population Survey conducted by the Office for National Statistics suggested that 896,900 Welsh residents, or 30%, aged three or over were able to speak Welsh (Stats Wales, 2019), an actual increase in the number of speakers since the 2001 census. Traditionally, the more rural northwest and western parts of Wales are frequently referred to as Welsh-speaking and characterised by high proportions of Welsh speakers, compared to the more anglicised southeast of Wales, and its capital, Cardiff, which is considered more anglicised and with fewer speakers. The 2001 census documented declining percentages in the typically Welsh-speaking areas and a stronger rise in the number of Welsh speakers in Cardiff, with 11% of the city's population claiming to be able to speak the language (Office for National Statistics, 2004, in Barakos, 2012: 167).

3.3.1 Legislation and language strategies

The first major positive change in the legal status of Welsh took place with the passing of the Welsh Language Act in 1967, but improvements were essentially confined to making the use of Welsh in courts a legal right. In 1988, the Welsh Language Board (since replaced by the Welsh Language Commissioner in 2012) was established, a statutory body responsible for administering the Welsh Language Act and for seeing that public bodies in Wales kept to its terms in promoting and facilitating the Welsh language (Grin & Vaillancourt 1999: 16). The Board issued recommendations for a new act and in 1993, the 1993 Welsh Language Act was passed, establishing the Language Board as a statutory body, and with the aim to ensure that the Welsh and English languages are treated on a basis of equality within the spheres of public business and the administration of justice (Huws 2006: 144). Any party, witness or other person were henceforth granted the right to speak Welsh in any legal proceedings in Wales and public bodies providing services in Wales are obliged to prepare Welsh Language Schemes detailing how they will fulfil the objective of treating Welsh and English on an equal basis (Huws 2006: 144).

Although the Welsh Language Board had no powers to impose policies on private companies, most chain stores introduced bilingual signs on their premises, the post office for its literature, and major banks now offer banking services including telephone banking in Welsh (Morgan, 2001: 112). The Welsh Language Schemes include the provision of bilingual forms and documents, availability of bilingual pamphlets and leaflets and bilingual documentation by the police (Huws 2006: 150).

In 1998, the Government of Wales Act was passed to establish the Welsh Government and create a National Assembly for Wales, a devolved parliament and administration, with power to make legislation, vary taxes and table policy. In 2011, the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 granted the Welsh language official status in Wales, making it the only language that is *de jure* official in any part of the United Kingdom, with English being *de facto* official (Welsh Government, 2011).

Official language strategies and policy developments in Wales in the twentieth and twenty-first century have specifically geared language planning towards bilingualism and Welsh-medium education (Barakos, 2012: 170). In 2003, the national action plan for a bilingual Wales *Iaith Pawb* ('Everyone's Language') was published, which emphasised strengthening Welsh as a

community language, especially in the Welsh heartlands, by building on the principle of equality and providing the right for every individual to "make a genuine choice as to the language, or languages, through which they wish to live their lives" (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003: 37). The government strategy *A living language: A language for living* replaced *Iaith Pawb* in 2012, and focuses on promotion and persuasion over language choice, as well as enabling Welsh-language use with a market orientation (Welsh Government, 2012). The most recent Welsh language strategy was published in 2017. *Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers* maps out the Welsh Government's long-term approach to achieving a million Welsh speakers by 2050, highlighting three strategic themes: 1) increasing the number of Welsh speakers, through language transmission in the family and education; 2) increasing the use of Welsh, in the workplace, services and socially; and 3) creating favourable conditions in infrastructure and context, with a focus on economy, culture, media and digital technology (Welsh Government, 2017).

3.3.2 Media and technology

In terms of media, the Welsh division of the BBC, BBC Cymru Wales, established a Welsh-language FM radio service, BBC Radio Cymru, in 1979, which broadcasts programmes for around 20 hours a day, the same as its English counterpart network (Morgan, 2001: 111). As of 1964, BBC Wales was required to provide six hours per week of Welsh-medium television, but such programmes could only be watched in South Wales (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1999: 27) and were largely ghettoised to unpopular viewing hours (Morgan, 2001: 111). In the 1970s, Welsh language activists campaigned for a television service in the language, and both the British political parties in the running for the 1979 election promised a Welsh-language fourth channel. However, the winning party decided against it, which led to acts of civil disobedience, and in 1980, the former president of Plaid Cymru, an elderly and highly respected man, threatened to go on hunger strike if the commitment to provide a Welsh-language television service was not honoured (Grin & Vaillancourt, 1999: 29). This resulted in the passing of the Broadcasting Act 1981, which established S4C (*Sianel Pedwar Cymru*, 'Channel 4 Wales'), a channel whose primary purpose is to provide a wide range of high quality Welsh language programmes for broadcast during peak viewing hours (S4C, 1996, in Grin & Vaillancourt, 1999: 30), alongside obliging BBC Cymru Wales to provide programmes in Welsh, which it supplies to S4C free of charge (BBC, 2017).

The Welsh language has also seen an increased use and presence on the internet, with Welsh language interfaces for Microsoft Windows, Microsoft Office, WWW sites and Mozilla Firefox (Baker 2003: 86). Welsh keyboards are available for Apple and Android phones, and in 2009, Samsung provided the first mobile phone in Welsh (Scott, 2009).

3.3.3 Associations and organisations

Many organisations and activities have contributed to the promotion and visibility of the Welsh language. In 1925, *Plaid Cymru*, the Welsh National Party was established and, in 1962, after a speech on BBC Welsh radio by its founder, the Welsh Language Society (*Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*) was founded by Welsh young people, and became a direct action pressure group in Wales that campaigns for the right of Welsh people to use the Welsh language in every aspect of their lives.

At the same time, Welsh cultural activities began to gain serious financial support from the government: the Welsh Books Council, established in 1961, which funded Welsh language book publishing; the Welsh League of Youth, which continued to promote the use of the language among young people through voluntary activities; and the National Eisteddfod, a longstanding traditional Welsh festival of literature, music and performance (Morgan, 2001: 111). Other voluntary organisations, such as chapel, cultural society and choir, were additionally sustained by the growing success of rugby (Morgan, 2001: 110).

3.3.4 Education

When compulsory schooling was introduced in 1870, the teaching of Welsh was entirely absent from the curriculum and speaking it in the playground was widely discouraged and even forbidden, due to the fact Welsh speakers were perceived as socially inferior (Morgan, 2001: 109). The Welsh Not was a piece of wood that was used in the 19th century to enforce a monolingual English ideology by punishing children who were heard using the Welsh language (BBC Wales History, 2014). Welsh was gradually introduced into the school curriculum, but only as a subject and not as a medium of instruction (Morgan, 2001: 109). After the Second World War, local authorities began to establish Welsh-medium primary schools, "to protect the Welsh of children from Welsh-speaking homes from being overwhelmed by the English majority" (Morgan, 2001: 110). The first Welsh-medium secondary school was established and subsequently Welsh-medium education flourished, with it being seen as both practical and desirable (Morgan, 2001: 111).

The Education Reform Act 1988 introduced Welsh as a compulsory subject, and thus all pupils aged three to sixteen have to study Welsh as a first or second language (Jones, 2016, in Hodges & Prys, 2018: 4). The success of Welsh-medium education, especially among second language Welsh speakers, has resulted in greater public awareness of the advantages of bilingualism (Barakos, 2012: 170). However, despite the proportion of children in Welsh-medium education increasing in almost all Welsh counties (Barakos, 2012: 170), only a minority of children gain full Welsh language literacy and an even smaller percent engage in Welsh literacy practices outside of school (Baker 2003 : 80-81). Young speakers admit to losing confidence in Welsh when moving from primary to secondary school, as less emphasis is placed on Welsh language promotion in the secondary sector (Hodges & Prys, 2018: 12), and the 2011 Census notes a decrease in the number of Welsh speakers once they have left the education system (Office for National Statistics, 2012, in Hodges & Prys, 2018: 12).

Nevertheless, achievements in Welsh language revitalisation have been "extraordinary" (Morgan, 2001: 112). The Welsh language situation is moving to Fishman's (1972, in Baker 2003: 86) 'bilingualism without diglossia', where most people are bilingual and do not restrict one language to a specific set of purposes. Welsh is usually seen as a valuable asset to one's résumé or curriculum vitae (Morgan, 2001: 112). Significant successful advances have been made in the status of the Welsh language, and in the context of the lesser used language of Europe, "the situation of the Welsh language in Wales is regarded with envy" and has been looked towards as a "model" for bilingualism (Huws, 2006: 148-149).

3.4 Sardinian

Sardinian is a Romance language spoken on Sardinia, the second largest of Italy's islands. It is generally considered to be one of the most conservative of the Romance languages, due to the preservation of many archaic features of Latin which are not found in other languages, and the absence of any significant influence from non-Romance languages (Jones, 1988: 314). Sardinia has a strong dialectal diversity, with the island being divided into five main linguistic groups (see Figure 1): *Campidanese*, spoken in the south; *Logudorese*(*-Nuorese*), spoken in central Sardinia; *Sassarese*, in the northwest; *Gallurese*, in the northeast; and *Algherese (Catalan)*, in the north-western coastal city of Alghero. The term *Sardinian* is often used to refer to all varieties spoken on the island, but in fact refers specifically to the two largest subgroups, Campidanese and Logudorese, which constitute Sardinian varieties proper, as Sassarese, Gallurese and Algherese are considered Tuscan and Catalan varieties respectively (Tufi, 2013: 146). Unless otherwise specified, this paper will use the terms *Sardinian* and *Sardinian language* to refer to any local language spoken by people on the island of Sardinia, with the exception of Catalan varieties.

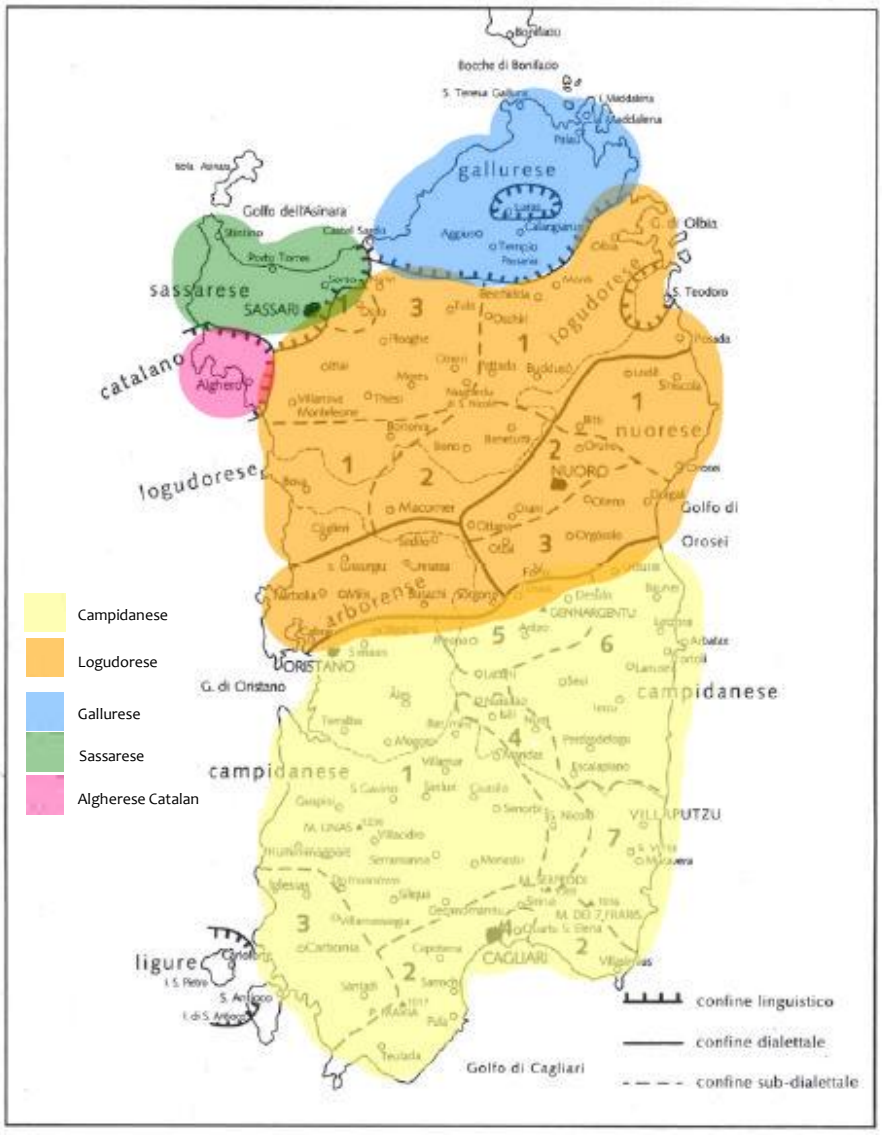


Figure 1. Linguistic map of Sardinia (adapted from Virdis, 1988 in Tufi, 2013: 147)

'Sardinian' (referring to Campidanese and Logudorese) and the other varieties spoken on the island are all classified as 'definitely endangered' by UNESCO due to the loss of intergenerational transmission (Moseley, 2010). The island has a population of approximately 1.6 million, and in 2007, a sociolinguistic survey carried out by Oppo (2007) on language use reported 68.4% of Sardinians declaring themselves to be active users of one local language and a further 29% saying they understand a local language (Oppo, 2007). However, this study has been criticised, particularly by Lai (2018), who notes that:

> The data on competence and use of Sardinian are based on self-assessed evaluations by the speakers themselves, and the survey thus does not offer an adequate picture of the sociolinguistic complexity of the island, [as] such a level of declared competence strongly contrasts with the sociolinguistic studies on Sardinian, which have found that the intergenerational mother tongue transmission was already on the brink of interruption in the 1960s. (p.83)

The linguistic reality of Sardinian speakers therefore remains relatively undocumented and unknown, although Marongiu (2007) notes that children no longer learn Sardinian at home and most young adults are semi-speakers (in Lai, 2017: 176).

In 1764, Italian became the official language of the island, but Sardinian was still widely spoken and remained the primary mother tongue of most Sardinians until the third quarter of the twentieth century (Lai, 2018: 72). This was a period of major inter-regional migration from southern areas of Italy and Sardinia to the industrialised cities of the north, and consequently knowledge of standard Italian became necessary for social mobility (Lai, 2018: 72). With the diffusion of Italian on television, local languages gradually lost ground as they began to be perceived as outdated in a modern industrial society (Tosi, 2001: 13). Parental transmission was also gradually lost as parents tried to provide children with a strong basis in the national language before they began school (Tosi, 2001: 13). Italian became the mother tongue of virtually all Italians and has replaced Sardinian in all domains (Lai, 2018: 73). Younger generations have been raised speaking only Italian and have an imperfect, or most often, passive knowledge of Sardinian (Lai, 2018: 73).

3.4.1 Legislation and language strategies

The island of Sardinia was granted autonomous status in the Italian Constitution, which means that it has a higher degree of autonomy than ordinary regions and is able to legislate on a number of issues of local interest according to its own regional statute (see the Italian Constitution, Art. 116). In the 60s and 70s, a political and cultural movement, Neo-Sardism (*neo-sardismo*) aroused a strong interest in linguistic issues, and a number of bills were drafted to propose Sardinian as the national language of Sardinia and as a language of education (Rindler Schjerve, 1993, in Lai, 2018: 74). However, despite being signed by thousands of Sardinians, nothing was implemented at the time.

The first official recognition of minority status for Sardinian came in 1997, when the Autonomous Region of Sardinia approved a regional bill for the promotion and safeguard of Sardinian language and culture (Regional Law 26/1997). Law 26/1997 contained some propositions for the safeguard of Sardinian language and culture, with Article 8 aiming at

spreading the knowledge of Sardinian and its local varieties and Article 23 arguing for the adoption of Sardinian as an administrative language alongside Italian (Lai, 2018: 74). In 1999, the Italian Republic approved a national law, Law 482/1999: *Norme in materia di tutela delle minoranze linguistiche storiche* ("Law for the safeguard of the historical minority languages") (Lai, 2018: 74), which officially recognised Sardinian as one of the minority languages of Italy, together with Albanian, Catalan, German, Greek, Slovenian, Croatian, French, Franco-Provençal, Friulian, Ladin and Occitan. Despite opening with the statement that 'the official language of the Republic is Italian' (Law 482/1999, Article 1), this law was the first time historical minority languages in Italy received official recognition. It addresses the adoption of minority languages for educational purposes, permitting them to be taught and used as media of instruction in primary and secondary schools alongside Italian, favours the adoption in public offices and general administrative purposes, and encourages minority language publishing and broadcasting (Lai, 2018: 74).

The passage of Law 482/1999 greatly politicised linguistic matters and in the early 2000s many new Sardinian nationalist parties arose, advocating different degrees of autonomy for Sardinia and strategies for the protection and promotion the Sardinian language (Hepburn, 2009 in Lai, 2018: 74-75). The most notable of these strategies was the development of a standard. The first proposal was offered in 2000 by Corraine, an activist of the *Movimentu Linguisticu Sardu* (a cultural and political movement which explicitly set itself the goal of developing a national standard [Corongiu, 2013, in Lai, 2018: 76]), who devised a standardised lexicon, morphology, orthography and pronunciation based on an etymological criterion, which entailed selecting the alternative closest to Latin from among the different Sardinian varieties, and a Sardinian distinctiveness criterion, which aimed to preserve the uniqueness of Sardinian varieties (Lai, 2018: 76-77). Nevertheless, the proposal was criticised for adopting a unilectal approach, using a Logudorese model (Lai, 2017; 2018), which has traditionally been considered as 'illustrious' or literary (Dettori, 1988, in Tufi, 2013: 148) and its speakers representing "'pure and non-contaminated Sardinianness" (Tufi, 2013:148).

In 2001, another standardisation proposal was commissioned and the *Limba Sarda Unificada* was drafted, essentially taking Corraine's suggested standard as a blueprint (Lai, 2018: 78), as it used the same criterion, goals and methodology. The standardisation attempt "caused a public outcry which ultimately made the implementation of such a standard impossible" (Tufi, 2013: 150), for two main reasons: "the mismatch between the declared intent of the LSU - a proposal - and its de facto standardisation" (Tufi, 2013: 150) and the fact it was, like Corraine's standard, modelled exclusively on Logudorese, while Campidanese was ignored (Lai, 2018: 75). As a result, it was opposed by intellectuals and the general public, and was officially rejected.

In 2006, the *Limba Sarda Comuna* was adopted by the Region of Sardinia. This standardisation proposal was presented as a provisional orthography for the official uses of the administration, with its domains of use supposedly restricted and its adoption experimental (Lai, 2018: 79). Described as a 'milder version' of the LSU (Tufi 2013: 150), the LSC has much in common with its predecessor, with the guidelines being "either a close paraphrase or literally identical" (Lai, 2018: 80). Despite insisting that it was the result of mediation among the Sardinian dialects, once again it heavily relies on Logudorese as a reference language and has been strongly opposed by southern speakers, notably the province of Cagliari (a Campidanese

area), who have developed a counter proposal, *Arrègulas* ('rules' in Campidanese) (Lai, 2017: 179). They state that the LSC discriminates between Logudorese and Campidanese speakers because "Logudorese speakers would be able to use their native language in offices and at school, while the native language of Campidanese would not be represented anywhere" (Lai, 2017: 179). Furthermore, the proposed domains of use for LSC have begun to extend beyond just administration and the word 'standard' has frequently been used in relation to LSC in official documents, suggesting a de facto promotion from an experiment to a definitive standard (Mastino, 2011, in Tufi 2013: 153).

One such document is a detailed plan of language policies published in 2011: *Three-year plan for the promotion and valorization of the Sardinian culture and language 2011–2013* (translation by Lai, 2018). This plan aimed to promote the Sardinian language and defined the policies to be implemented by the regional administration (Lai, 2018: 80). Its objectives included the safeguarding of Sardinian, recovery of parental transmission, promotion of the acquisition and learning of Sardinian, use of Sardinian in the administration, workplace and at school, and implementation of LSC (Three Year Plan, 2011-2013, p.8). The latter was at the forefront of its objectives, with a list of policy measures proposed that heavily imply that LSC was to become more than just a suggested reference. However, when the head of the regional government's term in office came to an end in 2014, as did the standardisation process and the Three Year Plan was not fully implemented (Lai, 2018: 82).

3.4.2 Media and technology

The majority of mass media in Sardinia is broadcasted in Italian. In 2017, the public national broadcaster RAI signed an agreement with the Region of Sardinia to broadcast a total of 244 hours of programmes in the Sardinian language in all its varieties over one year, both on television (Rai3) and on the radio (Radio Uno) (Matteucci, 2017; "La lingua sarda torna", 2017). In general, the few television and radio programmes that are offered in the Sardinian language(s) are broadcasted on private regional, Italian-medium channels and stations, and occupy only a small amount of broadcast time. In early 2019, a private digital Sardinian-medium television channel based in Cagliari was launched, *EjaTV Sardegna 2*, which broadcasts on themes such as cinema, history, culture, sport and music, entirely in Sardinian (RadioX, 2019).

On the Internet, a number of sites exist either fully or partially in Sardinian, ranging from social media sites and blogs, to local news sites and Wikipedia (see Depau and Ghimenton [2009] for a more detailed analysis of the way in which the Sardinian language is represented on the Internet). After a signature campaign, it is now possible to change the language of Facebook to Sardinian (Ambu, 2016) and other apps such as Skype ("SkypeInYourLanguage", 2016). Nevertheless, the majority of the visibility of Sardinian online has been due to bottom-up initiatives. The Three Year Plan proposed measures for spelling correction software, predictive text and correcting systems for mobile phones and other devices, but as mentioned earlier, these measures have not been not implemented (Lai, 2018: 81).

The Region of Sardinia has recently been focused on the construction of *Sardegna Digital Library*, an online archive of tens of thousands of documents, such as video, audio recordings, images and texts, which represents a freely available source for the study of Sardinian history and culture (Bravi & Proto, 2015: 102).

In general, however, the appearance of Sardinian in the local press and other media is limited and sporadic, and the number of users of Sardinian in media such as the internet is very low (Oppo, 2007: 75-84). This is also due to an issue of genre and content; Tufi (2013) highlights the importance of media and new media content being designed to attract the interest of younger generations and create more opportunities for local language use (p. 157).

3.4.3 Education

Compulsory education in Italy only became universally widespread in the twentieth century and standard Italian was the sole language taught in and learned. This monolingual schooling also came with a negative attitude towards local languages that contributed towards to the stigmatisation of children who did not master standard Italian (Cremon & Bates, 1977 in Lai, 2018: 72). Since 1985, the State has recognised the right to learn the local language at primary school and in the lower years of secondary school, but with the absence of an official policy and detailed legislation, Sardinian plays a minor role at every level (European Commission, 1996).

Sardinian children in nursery school have no opportunity to learn or be taught in Sardinian (European Commission, 1996). Some primary and secondary schools offer Sardinian on a voluntary basis, allowing children to take Sardinian as an optional subject if their parents' request it, however text books and other learning materials are impossible to obtain (European Commission, 1996). The University of Cagliari and University of Sassari offer courses in Sardinian language and music (Bravi & Proto, 2015; European Commission, 1996).

In 2014, the oral poet Paolo Zedda, now member of the Sardinian Parliament, drafted a bill conceived as an improvement to 1997 law, which aimed at incentivising the teaching of Sardinian in all its varieties in schools (Bill 167/2014). It proposes the promotion and funding of three different types of activities in Sardinian school: 1) teaching Sardinian language at school, either as a subject or as medium of instruction for other subjects; 2) qualifying professionals to enhance transmission from one generation to another; and 3) organising extra-curricular workshops for activities outside of the basic education curriculum but connected to and promoted by the school (Bravi & Proto, 2015: 104). In June 2018, this bill was voted into law ("Sardegna, sì alla legge", 2018; "La lingua sarda", 2018).

Three challenges faced regarding the introduction of Sardinian language in the education system, and progress in revitalisation efforts in general, appear to be the linguistic diversity of the island, the absence of a standardised (and accepted) form and the long-standing negative connotations associated with the local varieties, either as backward, outdated, or highly politicised with independentism. These factors are among the main obstacles contributing to a slow development in the revitalisation of Sardinian.

Chapter 2. LANGUAGE AND TOURISM

1 An introduction to language and tourism

Tourism is unquestionably one of the world's largest international trades and a powerful vehicle for the mobility of money, people and culture (Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow, 2014: 427). The expansion of tourism as a major global cultural industry makes it a key domain of economic and social activity under globalisation (Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow 2014: 432), and it has been extensively researched, including the many areas that it overlaps with. One such area is the link between tourism and language.

The connection between language and tourism has been observed in many different ways and in turn, studies can refer to the many different ways in which the two concepts interact. Firstly, there is the simple way in which language is used in tourism promotional materials; persuasive language, imagery, style and register, etc., which can be termed the language *of* tourism. This can also extend into and encompass what Jaworski and Thurlow (2011) term *tourism discourse*, or in other words, language *in* tourism. They observe the way in which language is being used in "tourism's search for exoticity and authenticity" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2011: 285), by analysing a series of different touristic genres, such as broadcast media, guidebook glossaries and guided lours, to see particularly "where local languages are stylised, recontextualised and commodified in the service of tourist identities and of tourism's cosmopolitan mythology" (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2011: 285). Here, *local languages* refers to the language of the tourist destination, and they examine how the use of it in tourist materials is done so to promote a place or a culture as a commodified consumable object, and play on tourists' search for authenticity and difference. They explain how, like material goods such as photographs and souvenirs, local languages are also packaged and promoted as useful props in the enactment of tourism's performances of exoticity (Jaworski & Thurlow, 2011: 288).

Furthermore, this use of language *in* tourism has been studied by scholars such as Heller, Jaworski and Thurlow, who have looked to establish and extend 'sociolinguistics and tourism' as another social and applied domain of sociolinguistic research (Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow, 2014). They cite a number of overlapping areas of work from Jaworski and Thurlow's (2011) tourism discourse and their so-called domain 'sociolinguistics and tourism', such as the staging of interactions between consumers/tourists and service providers/hosts, the linguistic/semiotic framing and management of space and place, the recycling or remediation of tourist embodied practices beyond their immediate contexts of enactment, for example in newspaper travelogues, TV holidays programmes, online reviews, and the packaging of cultural forms or practices, including languages, as products for tourist consumption (Heller, Jaworski and Thurlow 2014: 426).

These two notions are very closely linked, and appear to involve the study of the presence of language in tourism and in tourist activities in all its forms. They consider the salience of language in tourism, its significance for sociolinguistic enquiry and apply some of the key themes and concepts in contemporary sociolinguistics, such as community, identity, commodification, authenticity and notions of 'Self' and 'Other'. In tourism, language in its range of communicative events and textual objects mediate and constitute part of the tourist consumption of various destinations and attractions (Heller, Jaworski and Thurlow 2014: 431).

A growing body of literature in sociolinguistics, discourse analysis and semiotics examines the objectification and commodification of languages as markers of cultural difference and distinction, across a wide range of contexts and genres. A handful of themes are identified by Heller, Jaworski and Thurlow (2014), including: the textualising of the quotidian and mixing of local languages with festivals of story-telling and singing; 'linguistic landscapes' (see Landry and Bourhis's [1997] landmark article; Backhaus [2005]; and Leeman & Modan [2009], among others) that frame spaces as distinctive and exotic, and mediate the tourist experience; displays and performances of local talk in service encounters and guided tours; re-mediation and re-contextualisation of local languages in print and online travelogues, guidebooks, postcards, etc.; national, regional languages and their iconography 'attached' to mass produced objects and local produce, attributing them with symbolic added value of localness and tradition; and 'language tourism' operating between the discourses of commodification of language, national identity and personal pursuit of the cultural distinction (Heller, Jaworski and Thurlow, 2014: 431-432).

1.1 Minority languages and tourism

Perspectives that consider the role of language in the broader representation of cultural and other identities in tourism destinations are more common than discussions about language in tourism literature (Hall-Lew & Lew, 2014: 336). One specific avenue of research involves analysing the interplay between tourism and minority languages. Corderio (2011) highlights that, like places to be visited, local or minority languages may be *souvenirized* by being miniaturised or simplified to a few recognisable phrases or features (in Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow, 2014: 432). Tourists and tourism providers are drawn into a "regime of truth" about the nature of language as well as the relative value of languages ('local' and otherwise) in the global linguistic marketplace (Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow, 2014: 432).

Minority languages are often perceived as more authentic by tourists, and are therefore frequently utilised by tourism operators and materials, who draw on the representations that such languages conjure. Hall-Lew and Lew (2014) discuss the role of the use of minority languages in generating authenticity and legitimacy, highlighting in particular that linguistic forms (words, phrases and accents) that are associated with cultural traits that instill nationalism or other political orientations are often seen as authentic (p. 338). They present that through a tourist's perception of authenticity and legitimacy, a linguistic variety can acquire commodity value (p.338), and that the native speakers of the language variety perceived as most authentic may have an advantageous position in the tourism economy, because they are able to use their language skills as a form of cultural capital; "a cultural trait that can have direct economic utility" (p. 342).

Minority languages employed for economic utility have been remarked in a number of instances. Hall-Lew, Fairs and Lew (2015) remark that in Edinburgh, Scotland, a majority of tourists who are specifically interested in experiencing Scottish culture prefer to interact with speakers of Scottish English over speakers of their own native linguistic variety. Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2011) observe how the labelling of tourist souvenirs in Sámi affects and is affected by the local political economy of language in a tourist destination in Finnish Lapland. They discuss how the transition of indigenous, endangered local languages to valuable and

exchangeable objects has implications in terms of who has legitimate access to such resources, how the profit generated should be circulated and who gets to decide (p.324). In other cases, minority and indigenous languages have been employed in community-based tourism. Greathouse-Amador (2005) observed how the way in which Nahua Indians in Mexico drew on their native variety to meet tourist's search for authenticity brought value to a previously repressed language, as use of it in the tourist industry by the indigenous speakers to each other and to the tourists gave it a purpose and a utility, and altered the community's somewhat negative attitudes towards it (Greathouse-Amador, 2005).

Whitney-Squire, Wright and Alsop (2017) examine how the indigenous First Nation population of Haida Gwaii in British Columbia, Canada can improve local language opportunities using community-based tourism initiatives to their advantage, through interviews with visitors to the Haida Heritage Centre and Haida Gwaii Museum. They explore visitor perceptions and expectations of indigenous local language use, the meaning and value of language and their openness to expanded forms of language expression (Whitney-Squire, Wright and Alsop, 2017: 1), with the aim to encourage greater visibility and accessibility to Haida language. Visitors expressed a desire to hear and experience more of the local language, despite not being able to understand it (p. 11) and the researchers' findings revealed that tourism provided an applied social space in which indigenous peoples could purposefully create improved opportunities for speakers of local endangered languages (p. 15). They show that language-based tourism programming can be re-positioned as a strategic and intentional method towards language revitalisation, in which the tourist becomes an active participant (p. 15).

There is an ongoing debate on the effect that tourist activity has on the presence of minority languages (Bruyel-Olmedo & Juan-Garau, 2015: 599). Some scholars fear that tourism may have a negative effect on the prosperity of minority languages, with Baker (2006) warning that tourism may be seen by minority language activists as an enemy of minority languages and cultures, and Carden (2012) expressing that a profusion of Irish in the tourist linguistic landscape of the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking) Quarter of Belfast may be interpreted as a marketing gimmick to attract tourists rather than an actual revitalisation of the language. Furthermore, Salo (2012) expresses concerns that the presence of minority languages in the tourist linguistic landscape may limit them to a symbolic, commoditised role and deprive them of their communicative function.

However, other scholars suggest that tourism can be a contributor to the preservation of minority languages. Moriarty (2013) shows how the visible use of Irish has contributed to giving a sense of authenticity to the tourist town of Dingle, Ireland. She highlights that the presence of Irish in the commercial domain is a positive development in Irish language maintenance, as the new found use for the language as a legitimate resource used for fuelling a local economy will boost the language and lead to the use of Irish in domains from which it has been largely absent (p. 475). Despite being at odds with the State's ideas of typical Irish-language revitalisation and maintenance efforts, in this way Irish is seen as "no less worthy" and speakers will see an economic value attached the language (p. 475). Similarly, Melià (2005) presents a defence for tourism as a vehicle for linguistic normalisation and foreign promotion of minority languages such as Catalan, and Pujolar (2013) contends that the presence of local minority languages in the travel experience may contribute to the creation of new selling points,

due to the variety being associated with modernisation rather than folklorisation, which can often be the case with historical minority languages.

2 Language tourism: The language-learning holiday

Another vein relating to the intersection of language and tourism is that of *language tourism*. Over the past three decades, the popularity of "niche" tourism has been steadily increasing (Craik, 1997 in Yarymowich, 2005: 258). Such niche tourism includes ecotourism, which describes travel to areas of natural or ecological interest and cultural tourism, which involves travel to areas where sites, festivals or other attractions having cultural and/or historic significance are observed and experienced (Yarymowich 2005: 258), two practices which have received a growing amount of attention from social researchers.

A related but less well documented form of niche tourism is educational tourism, or *edutourism*, "wherein travellers spend their time abroad pursuing some sort of formal educational programme while simultaneously participating in organised leisure and cultural activities" (Yarymowich 2005: 258). The most profitable form of educational tourism is what Yarymowich (2005) conceptualises as *language tourism* (p. 258), the merging of language education and tourism, in particular the teaching of foreign languages in a classroom setting accompanied by a range of tourism-related activities. She argues that while those who offer these combined activity packages may see themselves as education institutions and consequently in no way related to the tourist industry, "their practices undeniably correspond to what is generally associated with tourism providers" (p.258).

In his study of study abroad sojourners as language tourists who engage in language learning tasks and tourist activities, Iglesias (2017) defines language tourism as “a tourist activity undertaken by those travellers (or educational tourists, *edutourists* [Yarymowich 2005]) taking a trip which includes at least an overnight stay in a destination outside their usual place of residence for less than a year and for whom language learning is a primary or secondary part of their trip" (p. 4). This perspective of study abroad students as edutourists indeed comes under the category of language tourism, however they are not usually part of what is typically considered a language tourist due to the extended amount of time such students spend staying, or rather living, in the host country.

Rather, what is usually considered is the marketing of language acquisition together with traditional or local touristic activities as a purchasable package; what Garland (2008) and O'Rourke and DePalma (2016) refer to as a *language-learning holiday*. This is termed as such because language courses and tourist activities are often provided in conjunction with the accommodation needed for the duration of the course. The accommodation, which usually involves lodging with a host or host family who is a native speaker of the language due to be learned, or in short-term group residences on the same site as the school, centre or institution that provides the language classes, is marketed and purchased alongside the language teaching as a package deal. The duration of immersion is much shorter than that experienced by study abroad students, and is more comparable to that of a holiday than of a period living abroad.

Some may argue that the format is no different to that of any other package holiday available in other tourism sectors. Iglesias (2017) presents that the language tourism product

comprises a language learning component and a travel component; the former involving an educational input and the latter including accommodation, transport, catering and leisure arrangements (Iglesias, 2017: 5). The marketing and management structures responsible for planning, promoting, selling and providing the language tourism product range from language education providers and public administration institutions to trade bodies and travel planners (Iglesias, 2017: 5).

The majority of edutourists who participate in such language-learning holidays do so to learn major world languages such as English, French or Spanish. In 2015, Deloitte carried out a survey for the Association of Language Travel Organisations (ALTO) among 59 intermediation agencies that dealt with interest from language tourists across 27 countries. The results showed that English courses were the highest in demand (34%), followed by French (19.5%), Spanish and German (15%), Italian (6%), Chinese (5%) and Russian (3%) (Iglesias, 2017: 2). Language tourism was revealed to be a booming business, with a net revenue of 40 million US dollars, with adult students being the main consumers and the UK, USA, Canada and Ireland being the most visited outbound destinations (Iglesias, 2017: 2-3).

In Yarymowich's (2005) study on language tourism in Canada, she reinforces these results, stating that most immersion-style foreign language training institutions are located in the industrialised, English-speaking countries of the North, and adds that in her experience as a Canadian 'education recruiter', many others hailed from English-speaking countries such as the US, Canada, UK and Australia (p. 258).

2.1 Language-learning holidays and minority languages

While English and other majority languages may have the largest share of this language tourism market, the phenomenon also emerges in minority language contexts (O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016: 2).

In her PhD thesis, Garland (2008) studies the setting of a language-learning holiday offered in Irish Gaelic by *Oideas Gael*, a language school in the Irish-speaking Gaeltacht. She investigates "the mixing of the global and cosmopolitan with the local and the traditional in the ideologies and linguistic practices of learners of Irish Gaelic at a summer intensive language school in Ireland" (Garland, 2008: 8). She notes that learners come from both Ireland and other countries around the world, with some students having Irish heritage and some not. She examined the ideologies and attitudes expressed and enacted by the participants, that is, the edutourists who were taking part in the language-learning holiday package, and in particular their complaints about the current status of Irish and the lack of practical uses for it. She also observed the way in which the learners participated in the construction of ideologies of authenticity that depend on purism and traditional images of the language and its speakers (Garland, 2008: 9). She posits that the presence of students from both inside, and especially outside, Ireland at the summer language school creates a setting in which participants discuss and use the Irish language with an eye to its traditional rural associations, but also to a cosmopolitan, urban and globalising present and future (Garland, 2008: 9).

Similarly, O'Rourke and DePalma (2016) carry out a study on minority language-learning holidays in Galicia. They undertake observations of and interviews with adult learners who were

taking part in a Galician language-learning holiday administered by a Galician university. The course consisted of three weeks of daily morning classes teaching the Galician language and then afternoon/evening cultural activities. The participants ranged from 21 to 61 years of age and came from ten different countries, with the few from Spain coming from regions outside of Galicia. The researchers' focus was on what motivates the learners to travel abroad to study Galician: how and why participants of diverse national and ethnic background choose to use and learn Galician, and provided insight into the edutourists language ideologies and perceptions about the Galician sociolinguistic context (O'Rourke and DePalma, 2016: 5). They explore the ways in which the learners themselves commodify the Galician culture and language in their attempts to capture an authentic learning experience and a means of accessing a minoritised linguistic and cultural group (O'Rourke and DePalma, 2016: 1).

While researchers have been interested in language in tourism, the notions of language commodification and authentication that often come with it, and various areas of second language acquisition, language tourists and language tourism have not been extensively researched so far from an academic perspective, despite the commercial significance of this niche within the global tourism industry (Iglesias, 2017: 4). It has been studied even less so within a minority language context. The little research that has been carried out has had as its primary focus the visitors, language learners or edutourists (as demonstrated in the studies mentioned above), their experiences, perceptions and attitudes of the language-learning holiday package and towards the status of the minority language and sociolinguistic situation they are briefly inserted into.

Such minority language-learning holidays exist, albeit in small numbers, all over the world. Language schools, holiday courses and residential immersion programmes in Europe exist in Ireland, Wales, Scotland, Brittany, the Basque Country, Galicia and Catalonia, to name but a few.

The following sections will examine language-learning holidays offered for two of the three minority languages discussed in this paper: Irish and Welsh.

2.1.1 Irish language-learning holidays

A number of language schools and residential courses exist in Ireland, for young, teenage and adult learners, and with varying durations. One of the most widely known is **Oideas Gael** ("Instruction in Irish"), an Irish language cultural centre in Glencolmcille, County Donegal (a Gaeltacht area on the western coast), also the Irish language immersion school observed by Garland (2008) in her PhD thesis.

Oideas Gael offer weekend and week-long language courses and a 'language and culture summer school'. The language courses cater to adults at all levels of learning, with each course available in three levels: beginner, intermediate and advanced. Regarding the week-long courses, the website (oideas-gael.com) states:

> *The daily schedule consists of intensive morning and afternoon tutorials with attention directed towards spoken Irish (except for some units at the highest level), aiming at correct pronunciation, proper idiom and development of vocabulary, particularly as regards contemporary life. Our aim is to foster conversational ability and fluency, with*

some 35 language contact hours per course. Recreational activities such as dancing, poetry, or guest lectures take place each evening, after which participants are free to practise their Irish with people from all other levels while enjoying the craic in the local pubs. (oideas-gael.com/en/irish-courses, July 2019)

Figure 2. Oideas Gael website, oideas-gael.com (July 2019)

They offer a description and information about the summer school language courses and the cultural activities that accompany them:

This special flagship course focuses attention on language learning each morning, with tutorial sessions in Irish at several levels, while the afternoon period provides workshops in such diverse activities as tin whistle, set-dancing, sean-nós singing, hillwalking and study groups which focus on specific elements of Irish culture. (oideas-gael.com/en/language-and-culture-summer-school, July 2019)

The courses are residential immersion courses, so the accommodation offered is available to book simultaneously with the language classes and is reserved by Oideas Gael. A number of options are made available to the edutourists: Oideas Gael itself offers on-campus and off-campus accommodation; shared houses where students of the courses stay together in small-scale residences. It also has a number of affiliations with Irish-speaking families in the Gaeltacht who host the learners and offer bed & breakfast-style accommodation, as well as external independent providers.

Oideas Gael clearly market to edutourists from inside and outside of Ireland, providing details on directions from the major airports in Ireland and making their website available in multiple languages: Irish Gaelic, English, German, French and Czech.

Another Irish language course provider is **Oidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne** ("County Kerry Heritage"). This is a subsidiary company of *Comharchumann Forbartha Chorca Dhuibhne,* a local development co-operative founded to improve the economic, social, community and cultural

life of the Irish language speaking areas of the Dingle Peninsula of County Kerry. Based in Ballyferriter, this subsidiary company also runs a language school, which offers weekend, long weekend and week-long 'Irish Language, Heritage & Activity Courses' for adult learners of all levels, from complete beginner to fluent speaker. Although the school does not have on-campus accommodation like Oideas Gael, it provides information on its website (oidhreacht.ie/courses) about affiliated hospitality providers in the Ballyferriter area and requires confirmation with a deposit before the place on the language course is fully verified.

Figure 3. Oidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne website, oidhreacht.ie/courses.asp (July 2019)

Courses run all throughout the year, from February to October, with the summer months having more on offer. As the website states: *"week long courses run from 9.30 on Monday morning until midday on Saturday"* and the language classes themselves focus on various aspects of Irish language and culture, from literature, grammar and conversation to translation, history, folklore and Irish singing.

Several Irish universities also run residential Irish language courses in the summer, including the **National University of Ireland, Galway** (NUI Galway). This university offers Irish Language summer school courses for adults at beginners', elementary, intermediate and advanced levels every summer at their Irish-Language Centre in Carraroe, Connemara, a major Gaeltacht area.

The summer schools have a duration of three weeks and the website (nuigalway.ie/international-summer-school) states that each one includes intensive instruction in spoken Irish each day and special classes in traditional Irish singing and dancing. Furthermore:

> *Excursions and visits will be arranged to several Irish-speaking locations to experience language and culture in their natural environment. Towns and villages that will be visited include Ros a' Mhíl, Ros Muc and An Spidéal with its local specialised crafts. The*

course will include receptions and evenings of traditional Irish entertainment for students. (nuigalway.ie/international-summer-school/courses/irishlanguage, July 2019)

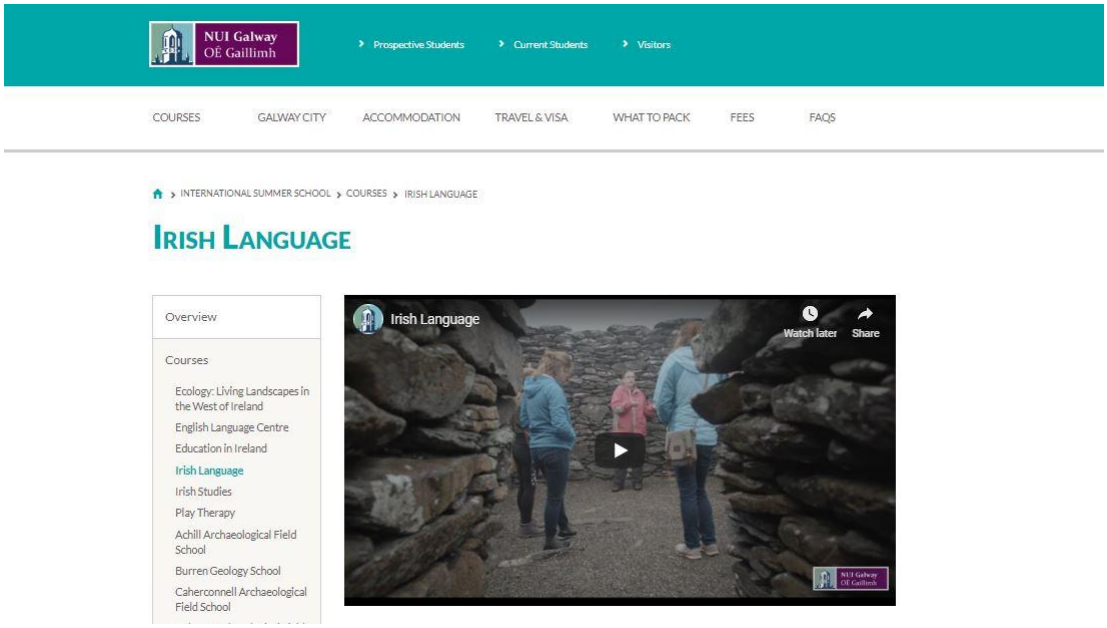


Figure 4. NUI Galway Irish Language summer school website, nuigalway.ie/international-summer-school/courses/irishlanguage (July 2019)

The website also notes that students are required to stay with approved accommodation, which is provided by Irish-speaking host family and paid for simultaneously as tuition through the university.

It is extremely common and popular for Irish school children to participate in Irish language summer residential immersion courses and there are numerous organisations and language schools in the Gaeltacht that offer such programmes, such *Coláiste na bhFiann* and *Gael Linn*. Many of these schools solely provide courses for children, however, which act as extra-curricular activities and complement their school education. This study focuses on such courses marketed to adult learners and edutourists coming from inside, and especially outside, of Ireland, therefore residential language courses for children will not be examined for any of the languages discussed in this paper.

2.1.2 Welsh language-learning holidays

The largest and most well-known residential Welsh language course provider in Wales is **Nant Gwrtheyrn**, a Welsh Language and Heritage Centre on the northern coast of the Llŷn Peninsula in northwest Wales. According to their online brochure: *"Nant Gwrtheyrn is the only centre that specializes in delivering Welsh for Adults courses via intensive residential courses available throughout the year"* (nantgwrtheyrn.org/languagecourses, July 2019). The courses range from a three-day taster to week-long courses and are available for different levels of learner, from foundation, intermediate and advanced.

On-site accommodation is provided by Nant Gwrtheyrn; students who attend the residential Welsh courses stay in cottages which have been converted into group residences.

For those following the residential courses, the accommodation is booked at the same time as the classes and is included in the package price.

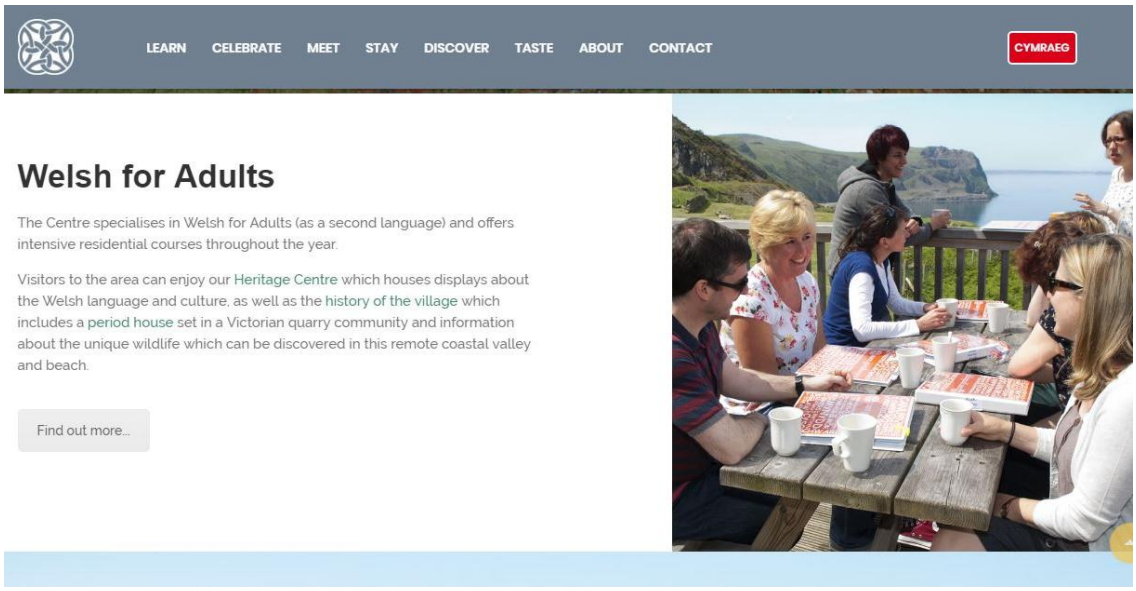


Figure 5. Nant Gwrtheyrn website, nantgwrtheyrn.org/languagecourses (July 2019)

Based in an abandoned village in an old quarry valley, the edutourists stay in the old quarrymen's cottages, have classes taught in the former home of the manager of the quarry and have the opportunity to visit the heritage centre and learn the history of the area outside of their class time.

Like in Ireland, a number of Welsh universities also run or host residential Welsh language courses for adults. **Aberystwyth University** offers an intensive summer Welsh course every year which lasts three to four weeks and is available for all levels of learner, from beginner to advanced. The day-time language courses are accompanied by afternoon and evening tourist activities, as the online brochure advertises:

> *You will be immersed in the Welsh language from dawn to dusk, speaking the language both in the classroom and socially. Classes will be held between 9am and 5pm Monday to Friday. Activities to promote the practical use of Welsh will be integrated into the course. Wednesday afternoons are set aside for such activities when fluent Welsh speakers come in to class to help. Informal activities are held in the evenings and at the weekend.* (aber.ac.uk/en/learn-welsh/courses/summer-course, July 2019)

Among the tourist activities offered are guided tours and walks, Welsh dance and music sessions, cooking, pub games and quizzes, together with a visit to the National Eisteddfod, the largest cultural event in Wales.

Accommodation is also included in the package, with residential learners staying in self-contained flats with shared kitchens in the University's halls of residence. The edutourists staying in the accommodation provided by the university share only with other participants of the summer course.

Figure 6. Aberystwyth University intensive Welsh language summer course website, aber.ac.uk/en/learn-welsh/courses/summer-course (July 2019)

The **University of Wales Trinity Saint David** also offers a residential Welsh language summer course on its Lampeter campus, in southwest Wales. The course is five days long; language classes run from 9:30am to 4:30pm for beginner to advanced learners, and are accompanied by *"informal evening entertainment and a visit to a local attraction [...] arranged to enhance appreciation of Welsh society and culture"* (uwtsd.ac.uk/courses/welsh-learners, July 2019).

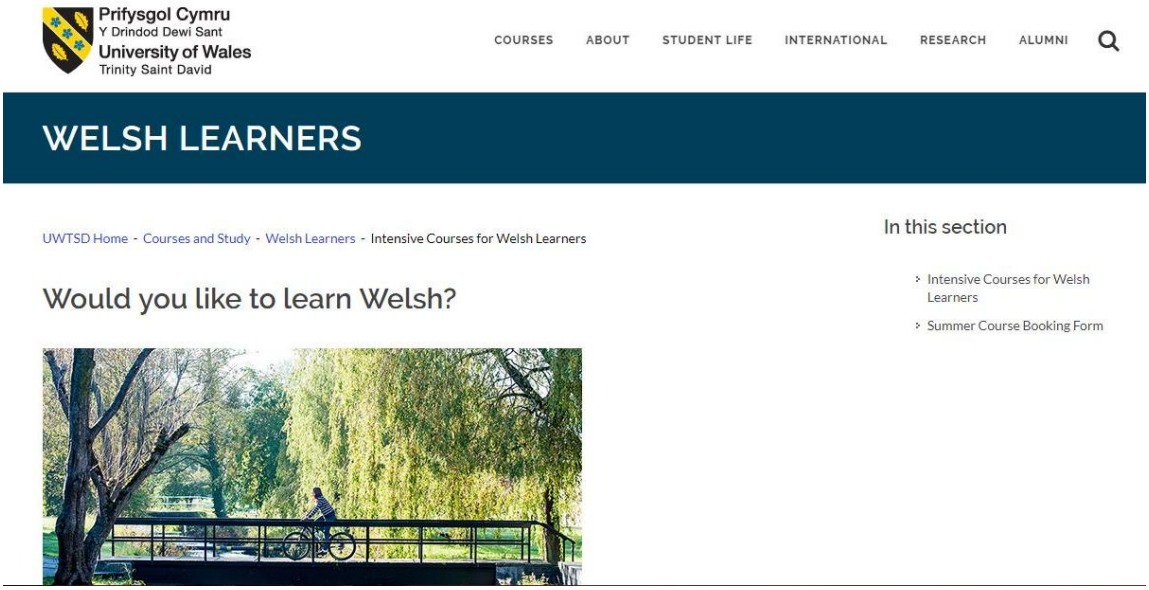


Figure 7. University of Wales Trinity Saint David Intensive course for Welsh learners website, uwtsd.ac.uk/courses/welsh-learners/intensive-courses-for-welsh-learners (July 2019)

Similarly, an accommodation package is also available for those attending the language course, wherein, like the course offered by Aberystwyth University, participants stay in catered student residences on the University campus.

3 Language and tourism: ideologies and concerns

As Franklin and Crang (2001) put it, "touristic culture is more than the physical travel, it is the preparation of people to see other places as objects of tourism" (in Jaworski & Thurlow, 2011: 285). Touristic culture, and the role of language within it, has raised some concerns about what has become an object of tourism and about tourists' perceptions of these objects in their search for exoticity.

3.1 Commodification and commercialisation of language(s)

Commodification is the expression used to describe how a specific object or process is rendered available for conventional exchange in the market (Heller, Pujolar & Duchêne, 2014: 545). The commodification of language is therefore "the desire to capitalise on linguistic and cultural resources" (Heller, Jaworski, & Thurlow, 2014: 427).

Language has previously been hailed as a cultural asset and an emblem to build community solidarity but it is being turned into a commodity as, especially in tourism, it is also used to represent the community to tourists and to brand commercial products (Heller, Pujolar & Duchêne, 2014: 547). As the tourism industry has evolved towards niche tourism, it has become attracted to economically peripheral regions, particularly those of linguistic minorities, and seeks to commodify their language(s), together with politically produced identities (Heller, 2010: 108). Furthermore, "the commodification of language in the globalized new economy has a direct impact on the organisation of the production, distribution, and attribution of value to linguistic resources" (Heller, 2010 in O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016: 1) and it must subsequently face new audiences, public, and 'Others' when mobilised as sources of profit (Heller, 2010: 108).

Commodification of language also extends into language edutourism (Yarymowich, 2005), as Heller (2010) refers to it as "tourism for the purpose of appropriating authentic linguistic resources or of longer-term forms of language learning–related migration that stem from class-related strategies for the building of multilingual repertoires for access to global markets as well as to local ones affected by globalization" (p. 109).

Indigenous people and their languages have long been seen as tourist attractions due to their often unique cultures and a great concern has developed among many communities over the preservation of genuine indigenous language and culture when they become the focus of tourism (Butler & Hinch, 2006: 160). The commodification and commercialisation of language and culture is closely linked to and holds tensions with authenticity. The subsequent loss of authenticity that such commodification can bring about has increasingly worried cultural commentators, and critics of tourism have often blamed tourism for causing these problems (Butler & Hinch, 2006: 160).

3.2 Linguistic authenticity and authentification

The notion of linguistic authenticity is an ideological construct that often arises around the value of language in modern western societies (Gal & Woolard, 1995 in O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016: 1). As O'Rourke and DePalma (2016) put it, "authenticity locates the value of a language to its consequent relationship or ties to a particular community, and to be considered authentic, a speech variety or way of speaking needs to be ‘from somewhere’ in the

consciousness of its speakers and as such, its meaning becomes profoundly local" (p. 1). Bucholtz (2003) and Bucholtz and Hall (2005) make a distinction between an ideology of *authenticity* and *authentication*. Authenticity is not a given in social life but rather achieved through the assertion of one's own or another's identity as being genuine or not (Bucholtz, 2003). Authentication, on the other hand, is a social process played out in discourse, by which speakers make claims to realness and artifice, and focuses on the ways in which identities are discursively verified by participants in an interaction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). In the context of tourism, authentication is in essence, the action of tourists defining a community in terms of its heritage (Heller, Jaworski, & Thurlow, 2014: 427).

Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes (2011) describe authenticity as a valuable resource in cultural tourism (p. 326). They highlight four different inter-related dimensions of consumer/tourist authenticity in experiential cultural tourism: 1) experience of closeness to the culture of the place; 2) experience of the emptiness of the place, particularly of other tourists; 3) experience of independence in the tourist experience, that is, being facilitated rather than herded; and 4) experience of the perception of the landscape, that has already been formed by the tourist and that links intertextually to imaginings of the place (Waller & Lea, 1999 in Pietikäinen & Kelly-Holmes, 2011: 326). A number of these dimensions apply to perceptions of authenticity in language tourism. The importance of authenticity is perhaps even more pertinent as learners invest time and money in the language-learning process, travelling to the country in which the language is spoken so as to experience the 'living' language, and thus what is regarded as the more 'authentic' way of speaking associated with it (O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016: 1). The language they learn and come into contact with must be perceived as authentic otherwise the legitimacy of the language, speakers and even culture is lost.

Tourism and the pursuit of the authentic experiences that this most often involves provides contexts in which minority languages can also be taken up within the global flow of commodities which are sold to and consumed by learners (O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016: 2). Such practices may cause tensions between the desire to capitalise on linguistic and cultural resources and to define a community in terms of its heritage, as tourism exchanges "destabilise otherwise sedimented notions of insider/outsider, authenticity, culture and place" (Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow, 2014 in O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016: 2).

3.3 Standardisation - which language to present?

Another issue that may be raised in language tourism is that of norm selection and standardisation. In many situations, a minority culture might be represented by multiple language varieties, and so in cases where a unified standard does not currently exist, the question of which language or language variety should be presented to tourists and learners may be posed.

The process of standardisation is by no means a simple and easy one. Most often the question of standardisation arises when revitalisation efforts move towards the implementation of minority language(s) in mainstream compulsory education, however the same issues and hesitations apply when a language is under consideration to be marketed and/or taught to external tourists and edutourists.

When the Gaelic League secured recognition for Irish at second and tertiary level education in Ireland, a controversy arose over which form of written Irish to be used for instructional and academic purposes. Ó Laoire (2005) describes how, at the time, "some scholars argued for a linear continuation of the standard written form of the neo-classical period", such as the 17th century prose writing of Seathrún Céitinn (p. 297), while "others sought to establish a form of written Irish that would mirror and reproduce the colloquial Irish of the people" (p. 297). In the end it was those who were in favour of the language of the people who won the debate, fortunately some may say, as Ó Baoill (1988) remarks that had the grammar of classical written Irish become the norm, "the resulting cleft between the literary language and the speech of the Irish-speaking areas [...] would certainly have alienated native speakers of Irish and those who had already learned Irish to a proficient degree" (in Ó Laoire, 2005: 297).

Nevertheless, despite the decision for a written form to reflect the language spoken by the people boding well for the future of Irish "as a vibrant, modern language in tune with the thoughts, aspirations and imagination of its speech community" (Ó Laoire, 2005: 297), the process of norm selection and standardisation itself did not come without its challenges. The language of the people occurred in three differing dialects, none of which possessed the prestige and status to dominate as a socially accepted norm (Ó Laoire, 2005: 297). No one dialect was prescribed as being normative and so spelling followed the varying pronunciation patterns.

In 1931, upon request from the National Government, a revision of Irish spelling and grammar was devised, giving consideration to dialectal pronunciation, avoidance of ambiguity, grammar, appearance of words and etymology (Ó Laoire, 2005: 300). It was not until 1957, however, that the standard version was finally authorised and published *Gramadach na Gaeilge agus Litriú na Gaeilge* (The Grammar and Spelling of Irish). Although not widely accepted in the beginning, predominantly by professors and scholars, this is the version that has remained as a yardstick for all writing in Irish since and the standardised spelling system is used in all school textbooks and educational publications (Ó Laoire, 2005: 300).

However, despite a widespread and seemingly successful diffusion of a national standard, some scholars believe that the current standard is still far from satisfactory. Ó Laoire (2005) argues that "[it] has not gone far enough to reduce the intricate complexities that confront learners" (p. 301) as the complicated morphological and inflectional system of the language continues to present problems. She states that even after nine years of language instruction, some Irish school-learners may have little understanding or awareness of how the system differs from English, and that efforts to ensure the spelling system corresponds with pronunciation variations have not been sufficient (Ó Laoire, 2005: 301) (see Ó Laoire, 2005 for a more detailed phonological break down of orthographic discrepancies).

As previously discussed to some degree, the situation in Sardinia is all the more complex because there is not only dialectal differences within the different varieties present on the island, but also different existing *languages*. It is not just a simple challenge of deciding whether to choose the literary written form or the language of the people, as the language of the people is in fact the *languages* of the people. Naturally, each language differs significantly in grammar,

orthography and pronunciation from the others and comes with varying connotations and numbers of speakers.

Presented in Chapter 1 are some of the issues that the Sardinian Regional Government has faced when devising and attempting to implement a standardised form. From the outset they are faced with a challenge regarding norm selection, because each variety spoken in Sardinia is, of course, favoured by their respective speaker groups. By favouring one variety over others and omitting to include morphological, grammatical or pronunciation features of the others, that is, creating a mediation among the dialects, the language chosen is the recipient of prestige to the chosen language and it is placed higher in a hierarchical structure than the others.

Furthermore, if a linguistic group feels they are not represented by the standard, they are highly likely to reject it, as was the case for Campidanese speakers in Sardinia with the *Limba Sarda Unificada* (LSU) and *Comuna* (LSC), when the selection of written conventions was the product of linguistic ideology and privileged Logudorese phonological systems to the exclusion of Campidanese ones. This poses a problem for any area, especially a linguistic macro-area, and if what Lőrinczi (2013) states holds true, that the implementation of the LSC in southern Campidanese-speaking communities has increased the speakers' uncertainty and insecurity about their own language (in Lai, 2017: 187), this together with obstacles presented by orthographical inconsistencies may lead to Campidanese speakers, and indeed speakers of other Sardinian varieties, giving up on Sardinian literacy altogether.

A number of scholars have highlighted the importance of informing and involving speakers of a language in the standardisation decision-making process. Lai (2018) points out that *"direct involvement is in fact necessary for the development of a viable standard because the most important factor in the success of language planning measures is its acceptance by the speakers of the language or languages involved"* (p. 82). No linguistic or sociolinguistic studies were conducted before the development of LSU or LSC and the only survey carried out, described as a "mere sample based survey" (Calaresu, 2008 in Lai, 2018: 83) and "far from the grandiose linguistic census envisioned by Regional Law 26/1997" (Lai, 2018: 83), was that by Oppo (2007) and was actually completed after the introduction of a written model.

Albeit a bit late on the scene, this survey revealed some interesting information about the opinions of the Sardinians who took part. The majority of respondents (57.7%) were completely or partly in favour of the possible use of a unified form of written Sardinian for the drafting of documents issued by the regional authorities, and 59.5% thought that the type of Sardinian to be adopted should be one of the existing varieties and not a 'variety of compromise' (Tufi, 2013: 154). Although participants were asked which Sardinian variety they would favour, the answers were not published, and Tufi (2013) hypothesises that many respondents would nominate their own local variety, as Sardinians would *"not be prepared to go for the 'principle of linguistic sacrifice' (Toso 2008) whereby one's local variety is sacrificed in favour of the norm which will guarantee the survival of linguistic specificity which carries identity value"* (p. 155).

Both LSU and LSC were top-down proposals and speakers of the language were not consulted at any stage in the norm selection process (Lai, 2018: 83), and one element that

Oppo's (2007) survey does highlight is that top-down linguistic initiatives are not simply accepted uncritically by speakers (Tufi, 2013: 156). Whether it concerns the desire to introduce minority language teaching into school education or into independent language schools as a second or foreign language, these factors stress the importance of collecting information on the perceptions, attitudes and opinions of native speakers of the local minority language, as this may well determine the success of a standard's acceptance and implementation.

Chapter 3. THE VALUE OF LINGUISTIC HERITAGE

1 Representation and identity

Tsunoda (2005) present a collection of views from different types of people concerned with language endangerment and the reasons they hold such concerns. Among the local or community views expressed, that is views of people whose traditional language is endangered, he notes: language as a connection to ancestors and land, language as irreplaceable cultural knowledge and as a conveyor of culture, language as ethnolinguistic skills, language as a source of pride and self-esteem, of solidarity and of sovereignty, and language as a determiner of identity. The latter view, in particular, will be discussed in this section.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) define identity rather broadly and open-endedly as "the social positioning of self and other" (p. 586). They also highlight that identity does not emerge at a single analytic level, but operates at multiple levels simultaneously (p. 586). A vast library of research has been carried out on the concept and constructs of identity, with varying theories, such as speech accommodation theory (Giles et al., 1991), social identity theory (Meyerhoff, 1996), theories of language ideology (Silverstein, 1979; Irvine & Gal, 2000) and indexicality (Ochs, 1992) emerging over the years. This section will be looking at the interplay of language and language ideologies with identity and the different levels at which they operate.

1.1 Linguistic identity

It has been largely uncontested that language is a marker of identity, and can play a role in the construct of both individual and group identity. Hornsby and Agarin (2012) express that, like a huge range of identity markers, "language is a relational reference tool" (p. 91), and refer to the *linguistic identity* of a speaker. They explain that the linguistic identity of a speaker constructs that individual's membership in a group, as language is a base for linguistic identity, "upon which collectivities develop their convictions about the content of culture, tradition and ethnicity", thus serving a particular function for social cohesion (p. 91).

Fishman (1968) was among the first to discuss the role of language as a powerful marker of identity, and many scholars followed with the view that language was *the* marker of individual and group identity (Stutnabb-Kangas, 1981). Myhill (1999) presents two contrasting language ideologies; *language-and-identity*, which "emphasises inherent emotional and spiritual connection between a person and his/her native language" (p. 34); and *language-and-territory*, which "emphasises a connection such that in each territory a particular language should be the one generally used in public circumstances and intergroup communication" (p.34). A number of linguists side with one or the other of these ideologies, and in some cases both, depending on

the context being addressed. Both are exceedingly prevalent in the discussion of minority languages and identity.

The language-and-territory ideology runs parallel with the ideologies of a homogenous nation-state identity. May (2000) underlines that the advocacy of minority language rights is not about replacing a majority language with a minority one, but rather about contesting why the promotion of a majority language should be at the expense of all others (p. 380). In this way, the principle of 'nation-state congruence' (the view that people who are citizens of a particular state should also ideally be members of the same national collectivity [May, 2000: 370]), and the ideology of cultural and linguistic homogeneity can be challenged, together with the extent such an ideology results in the stigmatisation and marginalisation of minority languages within modem nation-states (p. 380).

1.2 Ethnic and cultural identity

Within the notion of language-as-identity, particularly as a group identity, comes the concepts of *ethnic identity* and *cultural identity* (Li, 2001; Lee, 2004). Li (2001) describes *ethnicity* as a term used "to designate the notion of a people of a similar heritage, the members of which has a sense of common origins and share some experiences of life, past and present" (p. 3). He highlights that a common ethnic label "does not automatically imply a common identity because members of an ethnic origin are likely to have originated from many backgrounds and are exposed to different life experiences" (p. 4) and that there may be many ethnic identities within the same ethnic group.

Closely related, if not in some cases synonymously, is cultural identity. "Culture is a complex entity, which holds a set of symbolic systems, including knowledge of norms, values, beliefs, language, art, and customs, as well as habits and skills learned by individuals as members of a given society" (Lee, 2004: 119), and some believe that language is one of the most prominent factors in the competency of a culture, as it acts as a salient indicator of group's identity. Others, on the other hand, argue that language and culture exist independently of one another, that language loss does not inevitably lead to a lessening of identity (Edwards, 1985 in Lee, 2004: 119) and that proficiency in a language does not necessarily imply knowledge of the culture of the language (Hoffman, 1991 in Lee, 2004: 119).

Lee (2004) defines cultural identity as being "formed by the complex configuration of one's awareness of one's own culture and a recognition of the social group to which one belongs" (p. 118) and Pandharipande (1992) refers to it as an umbrella term that is comprised of several factors; linguistic, regional or geographic, religious, and racial or ethnic (in Lee, 2004: 120). All identity markers of a social group together constitute the ‘culture’ or ‘cultural identity’ of the social group, and in the same way Li (2001) defines ethnic identity, she states that "the loss of one marker does not automatically entail the loss of cultural identity" (in Lee, 2004: 120).

Both terms, ethnic identity and cultural identity are often used interchangeably in the discourse surrounding minority languages and minority language group identities.

May (2000) critically examines the assumption that language is a principal indicator of group identity, arguing that "language is at most only a contingent factor of one's identity [and

that it] does not define us, and may not be an important feature, or indeed even a necessary one, in the construction of our identities, whether at individual or collective level" (p. 372). He agrees with Eastman's (1984) view that language use is merely a surface feature of ethnic identity and that adopting another language would only affect the language use aspect of one's ethnic identity, not the identity itself (in May, 2000: 372). Nevertheless, he does stress that language is a contingent marker of ethnic identity, and that languages comes to be formally and informally associated with particular ethnic and national identities. It is these particular associations that learners and tourists search to seek out when they travel and make contact with different speaker communities, as well as judge to be authentic or not.

1.3 Minority language identity

Li (2001) defines minority language identity rather broadly as "the adoption of a non-official language as a mother tongue or home language" (p. 5). He further elaborates that those who adopt a non-official language as a mother tongue or home language would not necessarily always have a strong sense of belonging to one's ethnic or cultural group, but the retention of a minority language constitutes an added component in the construction of, what he terms, ethnic minority identity and that those who retain such a minority language have a stronger linguistic capacity to link themselves with their local community that others who do not (p. 5). In essence, he maintains that the adoption of a minority language - the ability to speak or understand one - is inherent to minority language identity.

In their study of Europe's regional minority languages, Hornsby and Agarin (2012) assert that minority language speakers perceive their language not as an instrument of policy, but as a marker of identity (p. 99), and thus when European state devolution supported an understanding of regional languages as markers of local identity, minority and/or endangered languages saw an increase in popularity and, in some cases, wholesale revitalisation (p. 100).

Language and culture are symbolically linked; they come to represent the particular ethnic and/or national collectivities that speak them (May, 2000: 374). The social and political circumstances of those who speak a particular language have a significant impact on the symbolic and communicative status attached to that language, particularly where distinctions between majority and minority languages are made (May, 2000: 374). The fate of many minority languages is likely to be determined to a large extent by ideology - the ideology of people associated with minority languages and of those associated with majority ones (Myhill, 1999: 34).

Not all members of a minority community share the importance of preserving and maintaining the minority language; for some people, the minority language is not an essential part of their identity. Hornsby and Agarin (2012) observe in Brittany that some people are happy to leave it to other members of their community to carry out the work of language revitalisation and they feel a Breton identity does not seem to be threatened by a lack of knowledge of Breton (p. 102). Many others, however, be them passive or active speakers of the language, believe minority language and identity to be intrinsically linked, and a number of scholars have reported that one of the key motivations for revitalisation movements concerns identity (see Maguire [1991] on the revitalisation of Irish in Belfast, and Jones [1998] of Welsh).

1.4 Identity, authenticity and commodification in language tourism

The interplay between identity, authenticity and commodification in tourism has already been touched on previously, but warrants another mention. The language tourism industry has a desire to capitalise on and mass produce languages, cultures and identities for their purportedly unique and exotic character, and this often creates tension with communities' needs to retain or claim their authenticity, ownership and legitimacy (Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow, 2014: 426). The expression and promotion of one's national or ethnic identity must be balanced with their being packaged and sold for profit (Duchêne & Heller, 2011 in Heller, Jaworski & Thurlow, 2014: 427).

The globalised economy has resulted in the commodification of both language and identity, sometimes separately, sometimes together (Heller, 2003: 474), particularly in cases where a minority language and culture has become the focus of tourism. In language tourism especially, when language learning turns language into a commodity resource that can be developed, packaged and sold, it can also become part of the identity construction of the visitor and lead to repeat visits to the same destination (Hall-Lew & Lew, 2014: 338). In tourists' search for authenticity, sometimes what they perceive as being authentic in terms of genuine minority language visibility and use may actually be disengaged with reality.

Furthermore, language is theorised not only as a linguistic system but as a social practice in which experiences are organised and identities negotiated (Norton, 2010: 351). The extent of cultural significance of language to identity has led some members of linguistic groups (both minority and majority) to feel like they have 'ownership' over a particular language (Norton, 1997). This ownership can manifest in relations of power both within classrooms and communities, and can have an effect on the way learners and new speakers speak, read or write, and indeed interact with and integrate into such minority language communities (Norton, 2010).

Conversely, authenticity and the link to identity can have significant implications for the acquisition of a new language and can constrain the acquisition and use of a minority language as a second or foreign language by learners (Woolard, 2008 in O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016: 2). They may not see themselves as sounding sufficiently natural compared to native speakers, and in some cases native speakers may establish a "*social closure* which functions as an identity control mechanism demarcating their privileged position as authentic speakers" (O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016: 2). Such a mechanism can lead to frustration and even prevent new speakers from using the language altogether (O'Rourke, 2011 in O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016: 2).

2 New speakers

The 'new speaker' is not a new concept or newly discovered linguistic species. In terms of academic research, a vast body of literature on new speakers has been produced, but under the guise of terms such as 'second language', 'L2', 'learner', 'non-native' or 'non-mother tongue' as oppositional constructs to 'native', 'mother tongue', 'first language', 'L1' and 'primary language' (Ó Murchadha et al., 2018: 2).

2.1 Defining the 'new speaker'

Ó Murchadha et al. (2018) put forward that, at its most basic level, the 'new speaker' designation refers to "social actors who use and claim ownership of a language that is not, for whatever reason, typically perceived as belonging to them, or to 'people like them'" (p. 4). The label has been used to language users with varying language competences that range along a continuum from emergent speakers (what Carty [2018] terms 'potential new speakers' or 'potentials' and Coluzzi [2018] as 'partial new speakers', i.e. speakers with limited linguistic repertoires) to expert language users who often have 'native-like' language proficiency (Ó Murchadha et al., 2018: 4), (see Coluzzi [2018] for his distinction between '"full" new speakers' and 'traditional new speakers').

Many scholars have attempted to define the concept of 'new speaker', a majority of whom within the field of minority language research: Hornsby (2015) defines them as "multilingual individuals and groups who adopt and use a language variety different from their native language" (p. 2-3); Coluzzi (2018) as "people normally having a majority language as their first language who at some point decide to learn and use the local minority/regional language as a second language" (p. 5); and McLeod and O'Rourke (2015), as people who did not acquire the target language in the home when growing up, "but have nevertheless acquired a degree of competence in the language and are now making active use of the language in their lives" (p. 154).

O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo (2015) offer a more focused definition of a 'new speaker' within the context of minority languages. They use the 'new speaker' label to describe "individuals with little or no home or community exposure to a minority language but who instead acquire it through immersion or bilingual educational programs, revitalization projects or as adult language learners" (p. 2). This appears to be the most widely accepted and cited definition by scholars in this particular field (see Mcleod & O'Rourke, 2015; Atkinson, 2018; Coluzzi, 2018; Selleck, 2018).

The new speaker of the minority language is a relatively new phenomenon, with one of the earliest appearances of the term 'new speaker' in English language academic literature is on perceptions of linguistic variation in Welsh by Robert (2009, in Ó Murchadha et al.: 8). It has since been recorded under the label *neofalante* in the Galician context (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2011), *néo-locuteur* in the Provençal context (Costa, 2015), *euskaldunberri* in the Basque language (Ortega et al. 2015), and *néo-bretonnant* in Breton (Hornsby, 2015).

As mentioned above, not all new speakers share the same profile, and in their respective works, a number of linguists also make reference to varying levels of new speaker proficiency in their definitions. In her paper on new speakers of Scottish Gaelic, Carty (2018) makes the distinction between the term *new speakers*, which to her "refers to adults who make almost daily use of Gaelic as an L2 outside formal learning environments" (p. 254), and *potential new speakers*: "adults whose opportunities for L2 Gaelic use are restricted to interactions in formal learning settings" (p. 254). This varying level of "new speakerness" (Carty, 2018; Coluzzi, 2019) appears to be strongly hinged on proficiency, an element that some linguists find issue with.

2.2 Issues with the 'new speaker' label: struggles for legitimation

Atkinson (2018) states that the absence of a clear definition of 'new speaker' does not render the term meaningless, as the adjective 'new' "is obviously antonymic" (p. 274). He argues that a potential antonym raises issues of various sorts: there seems to be no standard term for the 'other' implied, (past antonymic coinages include 'old', 'potential' and 'native'), and no criteria exist which might be measured to asses 'new' status (p. 274).

Furthermore, he points out that if the label 'new speaker' refers to a highly proficient speaker, it begs the question of how one is to describe the large numbers of speakers with low levels of competence but who clearly meet other types of criteria of 'newness' (p. 274-275). He adds that criteria for defining 'newness' itself present similar complexities, as it can differ from scholar to community to individual, and indeed raises the question of who exactly determines 'newness' (p. 275). Many native speakers or rather 'non-new speakers' make judgements about newness on grounds of linguistic manifestations of 'non-nativeness', such as accent, rather than on the basis of context of acquisition (whether a speaker learnt the language in a home environment or formal setting) (p. 275).

This leads into another point that others have taken issue with: the extent to which definitions of new speakers are hinged on proficiency, which in turn is based on native-speaker ideologies. James Costa (2015) argues that "the new speaker label is never a purely descriptive one, and often serves to generate norms as to what a legitimate speaker of legitimate language is or should be" (p. 128). He maintains that it serves to categorise people not only in terms of language proficiency but also as members of different groups that occupy different social positions due to this competence (p. 128). As a result, the idea of being a new speaker comes with political and moral issues about what it means to use a legitimate variety of a language and to be a genuine members of a linguistic group (p. 128).

He describes legitimacy as "the ability to utter the right linguistic forms at the right linguistic moments in the right situations, and to comply with the type of discourse that society expects one to produce" (p. 129). O'Rourke and Ramallo define it as claiming "authority over what form of language and way of speaking is considered 'correct' or 'appropriate'" (p. 140). Legitimate language is a concept constantly negotiated by users, because what constitutes it can vary according to the setting in which it is used (Costa, 2015: 129).

Idealised sociocultural and linguistic models of language users frequently delegitimise new speakers in a way that places them at the bottom of a socially constructed sociolinguistic hierarchy (Costa 2015, in Ó Murchadha et al.: 5). 'New speakers' are often construed as speakers of 'new languages' or 'artificial' languages' as their language production does not match what is perceived as an ideologised standard variety, such as the prestigious model of the traditional native speaker. New speaker varieties do not typically meet the rigours of these language standards (Ó Murchadha et al.: 6) and new speakers therefore do not tend to be uncritically accepted as legitimate minority language users (O'Rourke et al., 2015). Rather, "they are frequently vilified and their practices indexed as illegitimate, inauthentic, and lacking authority" (Ó Murchadha et al.: 9). Valuing speakers in terms of their 'authentic' and 'correct' language use continues to persist in both academia and the language communities themselves (Ó Murchadha et al.: 6).

In addition to new speakers' struggle for legitimation in terms of proficiency, they may also face being delegitimised through ideologies of authenticity. The idea of authenticity draws on essentialist views about language, based on the assumption that someone can only be considered a "real" speaker by virtue of biology and culture (Mcleod & O'Rourke, 2015: 152). This ideology can be put forward by native speakers and by new speakers themselves. In her study of Welsh speakers in an English-medium and Welsh-medium school, Charlotte Seleck (2018) observes the perception of a degree of 'Welshness' and the presence of negative attitudes towards second-language speech and second-language speakers, with 'new' L2 speakers being perceived as 'less Welsh' than L1 speakers, and even some new speakers themselves feeling 'not fully Welsh' despite their high Welsh competence, because they were born in England.

This is reinforced by Trosset (1986) reports about her experiences as an American not of Welsh heritage attempting to learn Welsh in Wales. She states that "Welsh speakers generally have the idea that to be a speaker of Welsh is to be (ethnically and biologically) Welsh and vice versa" (in Myhill, 1999: 44), and as a result, the English identity of most learners prevents them from being spoken to in Welsh.

O'Rourke & Ramallo (2011) address what counts as a legitimate way of speaking, observing the situations in Ireland and Galicia. In Ireland, native speakers tend to label the school-based knowledge, on which new speakers tend to depend and produce, 'book-Irish, due it being perceived as containing archaic vocabulary, phrases and neologisms (p. 150). In many cases, "new speakers who wish to continue using Irish past the secondary school level are expected to choose a dialect with which to affiliate to rather than use the artificial norms of the standard" (p. 150). Similarly in the Galician context, there are also tensions between the legitimacy attributed to the standard variety of Galician used by new speakers and the traditional speech of rural native speakers (p. 150).

2.3 New speakers and reversing language shift

Nevertheless, despite these struggles, new speakers play a potentially pivotal role in minority language revitalisation, and may hold the key to permanently reversing language shift.

There is a growing awareness that a language cannot really grow if it does not acquire new speakers (Coluzzi, 2018: 5), and as traditional minority communities undergo language shift, the presence of new speakers can provide an additional avenue for the continued vitality of the language (Jaffe, 2015 in Ó Murchadha et al., 2018: 8). Ó Murchadha et al. (2018) put forward that they have the potential to be "a significant force in halting the decline of individual languages and [...] play a role in halting broader processes of linguistic homogenisation worldwide" (p. 9). In a number of discussions on the future of minority languages, new speakers are construed as the desired outcome of language and education policies that aim at sustaining their usage (Costa, 2015: 128).

O'Rourke & Ramallo (2011) argue that, although it is unlikely a language can survive without native speakers, in minority language contexts the generation of non-native speakers who become 'new speakers' can re-initiate the process of intergenerational transmission in the home and community and therefore have the potential to create new generations of native

speakers (p. 154). In some minority language contexts, new speakers constitute an important sociolinguistic group, often outnumbering or even replacing traditional native speaker communities altogether (O'Rourke, Pujolar & Ramallo, 2015: 2) . This can be remarked in Ireland and in Galicia, as an increase in the number of new speakers has to a certain degree counteracted the decline in native speakers of the respective languages (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2011: 148).

O'Rourke & Ramallo (2018) make reference to some new speakers of Galician, who have adopted Galician language practices and in some cases even displaced Spanish altogether; a process they term *majority language displacement* (p. 94). They report that, according to sociolinguistic surveys in Galicia, approximately seven percent of first language Spanish speakers in Galicia adopt predominantly Galician language practices and a further two percent have displaced Spanish altogether in favour of monolingual Galician practices (Instituto Galego de Estatística, 2013 in O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2018: 94).

In the current minority languages current climate, the importance of new speakers in language maintenance and revitalisation is unquestionable because, as Costa (2015) puts it somewhat soberly, "new speakers must replace old ones as they fall silent" (p. 128).

2.4 The importance of the adult learner

The provision of formal childhood education in a minority language has long been recognised as being an integral part to the long-term vitality of minority languages (Smith-Christmas & Armstrong, 2014: 312). However, as it has been observed in previous sections of this paper, notably in the context of Irish, school-age minority language education is not always enough to ensure that speakers continue to use the language and maintain their proficiency after they have left compulsory education. This also reflects what Fishman (1991) cautions, against the over-reliance on formal childhood education as a "fix-all solution" to the various and interrelated problems that arise when a language community contracts (in Smith-Christmas & Armstrong, 2014: 312).

The often insufficiency of just teaching minority language at school shifts the focus onto the importance of adult learners. Fishman (1991) argues that in order for childhood education in a minority language to serve as a successful tactic for reversing language shift, it must be complemented by the use of the language at home and outside of the classroom, predicated by adult language learning. Furthermore, even with the success of creating a new generation of school-age or young speakers of a minority language, a large proportion of the population, who did not have the opportunity to learn or be taught in the minority language, will still remain either non-speakers or low speakers with a low competence, which runs the risk of furthering the divide between native speakers, new speakers and non-speakers.

Smith-Christmas & Armstrong (2014) highlight rather poignantly that "adult learners, and particularly heritage adult learners, have the potential to play a lynchpin role in ensuring the intergenerational transmission of a threatened minority language" (p. 313), but have to face the challenge of "overcoming the inertia condition of language choice" (p. 318), and actively alter relationships established through the medium of their majority language in order to feel they can comfortably use the minority language with others around them.

2.5 *Native speaker*, *native new speaker* and *non-native new speaker* labels

It should be noted that in some contexts, the distinction of 'native new speakers' and native speaker is especially necessary; in Ireland, Irish speakers consider 'native' to refer to Irish speakers specifically from the Gaeltacht. Similarly in Wales, 'native' tends to be used to designate Welsh speakers from the more northern, traditionally considered 'Welsh-speaking' areas of Wales. The category of 'new speaker' subsequently needs to be subdivided into two separate notions for the sake of clarity in this paper: *native new speaker* and *non-native new speaker*.

In this paper, the term *native speaker* will make reference to the traditional view of a speaker of a minority language who was born and raised in the country or region in which the minority language is spoken and learnt the language from birth or in the domestic home setting, otherwise referred to as "existing speakers" (O'Rourke & Ramallo, 2011: 139). The term *native new speaker* will refer to a speaker who is who was born and raised in the country or region in which the minority language is spoken, who learnt the language in a formal context such as school, immersion programme or adult learner class rather than in the domestic home setting and competent in the minority language to a certain degree. This draws on what many scholars simply refer to as 'new speakers' and the definition presented by O'Rourke, Pujolar and Ramallo (2015). 'Competent to a certain degree' may sound ambiguous, but an in-depth deconstruction of perceptions of proficiency levels is outside of the scope of this paper and leaving it vague merely follows in the footsteps of numerous scholars in the past (see Atkinson's, 2018 criticism of O'Rourke, Pujolar, and Ramallo's, 2015 definition: "'little or no home or community exposure' [...] how much is 'little'?" [p. 275]).

In contrast, the term *non-native new speaker* will refer to any, essentially 'foreign' new speaker or learner who was <u>not</u> born and raised in the country or region in which the minority language is spoken, had no contact with the minority language from family or community when they were growing up, regardless of any possible minority heritage, and has learnt or is learning the minority language as an adult learner. This distinction is particularly pertinent in discussions of edutourism, as tourist learners who participate in adult language-learning holidays may indeed be a mixture of native new speakers and non-native new speakers.

2.6 Previous studies on new speakers

Literature on new speakers of minority languages is relatively recent and new, and the majority of studies have focused either on perceptions of new speaker vs. native speaker identities by the new speakers themselves (Costa, 2015; O'Rourke and Ramallo, 2011; Mcleod & O'Rourke, 2015; Selleck, 2018; Dunmore, 2018), on new speakers' usage of the minority language (Kennard, 2018; Nance, 2018; Lantto, 2018) and on their motivations to learn it (O'Rourke & DePalma, 2016; Belmar, van Boven & Pinho, 2019).

O'Rourke and Ramallo (2011) conducted a comparison study on the "native-non-native dichotomy" in Irish and Galician contexts. They observe the relationship between native and non-native speakers of minority languages (non-native here referring to 'native new speakers') and the ideological differences that each group perceives between 'native' speakers and 'non-native' newcomers to the language. They report that native and non-native speakers of the

minority language very often see themselves as being socially and linguistically compatible rather than forming a unified speech community (p. 139), for a number of reasons addressed in the section about issues above. They do also reveal, however, that "while native speakers have traditionally been regarded as the arbiters of quality and authority and therefore the 'high' prestige speakers, [in some cases] a new context is emerging in which the former prestige of the native speaker is shifting and is at least partly being transferred to the non-native speaker" (p. 141).

Mcleod and O'Rourke (2015) examine the attitudes of new speakers of Scottish Gaelic towards what they perceive as linguistic authenticity and appropriateness and how they position themselves against native speakers. They reveal that the new speakers who took part in their study "looked to the traditional native speaker as the ideal model and assessed their own language against that benchmark" (p. 157), and similar to the results of O'Rourke and Ramallo's (2011) study, they tended to "position themselves as a distinct group to 'native' speakers of Gaelic" (p. 169). Nevertheless, they also remark that, while new speakers of Gaelic did tend to accord greater legitimacy and authenticity to native speakers, there were also instances when this did not happen, as "some new speakers of Gaelic seem to position themselves as important drivers of language revitalisation efforts, and as a group who purposely and consciously act as agents of social change" (p 169).

Lantto (2018) studies elements of code switching in the speech of new speakers of Basque, alongside the attitudes towards purism and social pressures. Nance (2018) documents linguistic innovation among young new speakers of Glasgow Gaelic in Scotland, including tone and intonation, and the modification of vowels and laterals. Kennard (2018) observes verbal lenition among young speakers of Breton, and how the speech of adults and children differs in terms of mutation and elicitation.

In addition, a number of studies look to uncover the motivations of new speakers for learning a minority language. Belmar, van Boven and Pinho (2019) examine the motivations of potential new adult speakers of West Frisian, using a tripartite model (integrative, instrumental and personal) to determine what drives people to learn a minority language when the motivation does not seem to be linked to economic success or wider job opportunities.

O'Rourke and DePalma (2016) carry out a study on learners' motivations to partake in a language-learning holiday, to travel abroad to study Galician and become new speakers of the minoritised language. They examine the experiences of 18 Galician language learners who were taking part in a three-week language-learning holiday, through observations, interviews and surveys. Together with soliciting the motivations of the learners, they look at their attitudes and perceptions of the political and social situation of the Galician language as well as of themselves as new speakers.

2.6 A lacuna in the literature?

As examined in the previous section, a recent but increasingly wide body of literature has examined the ideological practices surrounding new speakers, and their own attitudes to and perceptions of their varieties in relation to others. Studies that address attitudes and

perceptions of *native speakers*, or even *native new speakers*, towards *non-native new speakers* appear to be altogether absent from the literature.

Furthermore, studies into language-learning holidays are scarce, with - to my knowledge - only three scholars, Garland (2008) and O'Rourke and DePalma (2016), addressing the concept in itself. There certainly is a gap for research into the role of language-learning holidays on language revitalisation, and into the perceptions that native speakers may have of such holidays and of the edutourists as non-native speakers of a minority language and as subsequent agents in reversing language shift. These observations pave the way for the current study.

Second section: Methodology

Chapter 4. THE STUDY

1 Research questions

This chapter will present the research questions at the basis of this study, the study design and structure, and the complete methodology, including information on participants and qualitative data collection theory.

In order to discover more about the role of language-learning holidays on the revitalisation of minority languages, in particular on reversing language shift, together with the attitudes and perceptions of native speakers towards non-native speakers, the present study addresses the following research questions:

- Could language-learning holidays positively contribute to the preservation and maintenance of regional minority languages, and thus the reversal of language shift?

- What are the attitudes of native speakers towards minority language-learning holidays and towards non-native new speakers?

These questions aim to reveal whether language-learning holidays have the capacity to be a successful alternative approach to minority language revitalisation, and to bring to light whether possible receptivity, approval, hostility or resistance from native speakers towards such holidays and towards 'foreign' non-native speakers may affect the implementation and success of such initiatives.

2 The languages observed

Europe is home to many regional minority languages, but only three could be chosen for the purpose of this study: Irish, Welsh and Sardinian. The reasons for choosing these three languages in particular hinged on three principle factors: 1) the situation and status of the languages in relation to each other; 2) the accessibility of communicating with speakers for data

collection, in light of the languages spoken by the researcher; and 3) the presence (or absence) of existing language-learning holidays.

Both Irish and Welsh enjoy official status in their respective countries, together with a high level of recognition. In terms of language revitalisation progress, in could be argued that the situation of both these minority languages is relatively advanced compared to many other languages in Europe. The majority language spoken in both Ireland and Wales is English and, as has been examined in the previous chapter, language-learning holidays for the Irish and Welsh language already exist and are made available for learners coming from outside of Ireland and Wales.

Sardinian, on the other hand, sits at a different position in terms of recognition in Italy. It does not hold an official status alongside Italian, like Irish and Welsh, but is does enjoy a higher level of recognition from the national and regional Sardinian government than other regional minority languages in Italy. Furthermore, in their study of Sardinia in Sardinia and Scottish Gaelic in Scotland, another Celtic language like Irish and Welsh with similar culture and traditions, Lauchlan, Parisi & Fadda (2012) note the similarity in the nature of the contexts; both have devolved government (as is also the case in Wales) and "surviving cultural traditions that are extremely similar in nature" (p. 47).

The majority language spoken in Sardinia is Italian, a language also spoken by the researcher. Currently in Sardinia, language-learning holidays for Sardinian as a minority do not exist. They exist only in Italian, with traditional Sardinian cultural activities added to the Italian language classes (see *SLANG Sardinia, sense and language*, slangcenter.com, in Oristano; *Apple Language Courses*, applelanguages.com, in Alghero; *One World*, oneworlditaliano.it, in Cagliari).

Choosing these three languages allowed the observation of the attitudes and perceptions of minority language speakers who may already be aware of existing language-learning holidays offered in their minority language and of non-native new speakers of that language - indeed perhaps have even met one. They also allow the exploration of a possible 'open market', with regards to whether Sardinian speakers would be favourable or not to the idea of introducing language-learning holidays in Sardinian and their attitudes towards the non-native new speakers that these holidays would create.

3 The participants

A qualitative approach was taken for this study and, as will be discussed further in the following sections, the data collection involved two methods; interviews and a survey in the form of questionnaires. Each method ranged in number and type of participant.

3.1 Interviewees

A total of 14 participants took part in interviews; three Irish, three Welsh and eight Sardinian. All three Irish participants were female, all three Welsh participants were male and of the Sardinian participants, two were male and six female. This gave a total of five male participants and nine female participants. The distribution of participant ages can be seen in the table below.

Age range	Irish	Welsh	Sardinian	Total
0 - 17	0	0	0	0
18 - 36	1	2	2	5
36 - 49	1	0	4	5
50 - 65	1	1	2	4
65 +	0	0	0	0
Total	**3**	**3**	**8**	**14**

Table 1. Distribution of interviewee ages

All participants were classed as *native* or, in a very small number of cases, *native new speakers*, according to the definitions highlighted by the researcher in Chapter one, that is, all were born and raised in the country or region in which the minority language is spoken and thus considered to share the same *ethnic* or *cultural identity*. All were minority language speakers, from medium to high competence (although it should be noted that these were self-assessed evaluations) and were from different areas of their respective country.

Although not a key variable, the majority, if not all, of the participants interviewed were well to highly educated, and many currently or had previously worked in the education sector.

Questions also arose about the sample size and what is considered an adequate sample size in qualitative interview research. After a review of the literature, a large number of articles and book chapters suggest anywhere between 5 and 50 participants as adequate, but a resounding answer appears to be 'it depends'. Numerous factors are said to be important, including “the quality of data, the scope of the study, the nature of the topic, the amount of useful information obtained from each participant, [...] and the qualitative method and study design used” (Morse, 2000: 1).

3.1.1 Introducing the interviewees

Of the 13 participants whose responses were transcribed and analysed in this study, three were Irish, three were Welsh and seven were Sardinian:

Sarah (SAR) (36-49) is a child psychologist from Kerry, southwest Ireland. She learnt Irish at school and from attending a number of immersion summer schools in the Gaeltacht as a teenager. She has been living in France for the past two years, learning French.

Aoife (AOI) (18-35) is a student at an Irish university in Dublin from Thurles, County Tipperary in Ireland. She learnt Irish at school, from primary, and also from attending some immersion summer schools as a teenager. At university she joined the Irish society and directed Irish-language plays.

Aedín (AED) (50-65) is an Irish Studies librarian at a university in the US. Originally from Dublin, she moved to the US when she was 31. She learnt Irish from her father and his family, attended an Irish-medium school and spent three months on a school immersion programme in the Gaeltacht.

Jack (JAC) (18-35) is a navy doctor from Conwy, north Wales who now lives in England. He was born in Wales to English parents, who moved to Wales a few years before his birth. He grew up

in a Welsh-speaking community and learnt Welsh as a young child from speaking with his friends, their families and at his Welsh-medium primary school.

Lynn (LYN) (50-65) is a retired university administrator and founding chief executive of an organisation for the promotion of Welsh in academia from Cardigan, west Wales. He learnt Welsh in the family home as a child and attended classes as an adult to improve his writing ability.

Rhodri (RHO) (18-35) is a neurophysiologist from Cardiff, Wales. He learnt Welsh as a child from his mother and his mother's family and attended a Welsh-medium school.

Ilaria (ILA) (36-49) is a drama professor at a UK university from Sassari, north west Sardinia. She learnt Sassarese Sardinian passively from her grandparents, who only spoke Sardinian between themselves and Italian to their children and grandchildren. She once worked as a performer for a Sardinian theatre company who adapted traditional Sardinian folk tales to bilingual (Sardinian-Italian) productions.

Lia (LIA) (18-35) is a secondary school teacher also from Sassari, Sardinia who is currently completing a PhD in the United States. She learnt Logudorese-Nuorese Sardinian as a child from her family, who were from Bitti in the province of Nuoro, the centre-north of the island.

Manuela (MAN) (36-49) is a German teacher from Fonni, in the province of Nuoro, centre Sardinia. She learnt Logudorese-Nuorese Sardinian as a child in the family home.

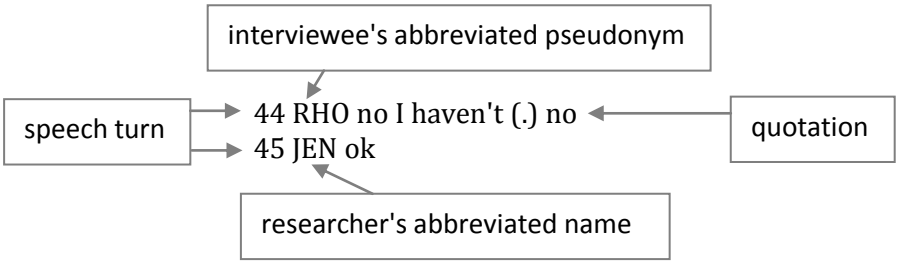
Michele (MIC) (36-49) is a professor of languages at a university in Portugal, originally from a village near Oristano, west Sardinia. He learnt Sardinian as a child in the family home and now organises and teaches Sardinian language courses for students in universities outside of Sardinia (Portugal, Iceland).

Ombretta (OMB) (50-65) is a professor of Italian language and literature at a university in the United States. She is from Iglesias, south west Sardinia and moved to the UK and the US after graduating from university. She learnt Sardinian passively from her parents and grandparents who spoke it to each other but always spoke Italian with her.

Sara (SAA) (18-35) is a language teacher from Cagliari, south Sardinia. She learned Campidanese Sardinian as a teenager to speak to a Sardinian-speaking boyfriend and his family. She was also involved in a PhD project that translated a Sardinian author's Sardinian-language writing into French and English.

Silvia (SIL) (36-49) is a PhD student and Italian language teaching assistant at a UK university from Olbia, north east Sardinia. She learnt Logudorese Sardinian passively from her older relatives and is completing her PhD in Sardinian literature.

Quotations from the interviewees' responses will be presented in the results analysis using the following structure:



3.2 Questionnaire respondents

Three questionnaires were drawn up for the purpose of this study. Each contained more or less identical questions, but were tailored to the suit the situation of each minority language.

The Irish questionnaire was completed by a total of 73 respondents; 21 male, 52 female. All were born and/or raised and schooled in Ireland, both inside and outside the Gaeltacht. Their occupations also ranged from student and teacher, to farmer and community worker. A number of respondents reported working or being involved in organisations responsible for promoting the Irish language. The distribution of respondents and their ages can be seen in Table 2.

Age range	Irish		Welsh		Sardinian		Total	%
0 - 17	0	(0%)	1	(1.1%)	0	(0%)	1	(0.4%)
18 - 36	42	(57.7%)	23	(27.1%)	27	(27%)	94	(35.6%)
36 - 49	13	(17.8)	20	(23.5%)	38	(38%)	71	(26.9%)
50 - 65	17	(23.3%)	27	(31.8%)	27	(27%)	74	(28%)
65 +	1	(1.4%)	14	(16.5%)	8	(8%)	24	(9.1%)
Total	**73**		**85**		**100**		**264**	

Table 2. Distribution of questionnaire respondent ages

The Welsh questionnaire was completed by a total of 85 respondents; 48 male, 37 female. Six responses were manually discarded as the speakers were not born and/or raised and schooled in Wales, thus not allowing them to qualify under the definition of a native or native new speaker outlined for this study. All those that were kept were born and/or raised and schooled in Wales. Like the participants of the Irish questionnaire, the respondents' occupations ranged from student and civil servant to plumber and child minder. Equally, a number of respondents reported working or being involved in organisations responsible for promoting the Welsh language. The distribution of respondents and their ages can be seen in Table 2.

The Sardinian questionnaire was completed by a total of 100 respondents; 47 male, 53 female. All were born and/or raised and schooled Sardinia, in areas across the island. Their occupations ranged from teacher and tourist guide to server and vet, with a number reporting working or having worked in the education sector. The distribution of respondents and their ages can be seen in Table 2.

As with the interviewees, all questionnaire respondents were either native or native new speakers of the minority languages, with a medium to high proficiency in the minority language (self-assessed evaluations).

4 Study design

4.1 Survey - questionnaires

A sociolinguistic questionnaire is a good way of gathering information on minority language speakers' attitudes, perceptions and opinions (Grassi et al. 1997). Three questionnaires were drafted for the purpose of this study; the Irish and Welsh questionnaires were written in English and the Sardinian questionnaire in Italian. They contained more or less identical questions, with an exception being in the Sardinian questionnaire, as questions in the two others addressed the current existence of Irish and Welsh language-learning holidays, of which in Sardinia there are none.

As Dörnyei (2003) reports in his work about data collection in second language research, questionnaires should be no more than three or four pages long and should take no more than 30 minutes to complete (p. 18). The purpose of this survey was not to bombard the respondents with a vast number of questions, but rather the focus was on the quantity and quality of their written answers. With this in mind, 20 questions were devised for the Irish and Welsh questionnaires and 21 for the Sardinian one (see Annexe). They were grouped into the four following areas:

I. general information about respondents; age, gender, region of origin, occupation, etc.
ii. linguistic background of respondents and feelings towards their minority language
iii. socio-political situation of the minority language
iv. attitudes towards language-learning holidays and non-native new speakers

With the exception of the first area, which involved factual or classification questions to gather information on demographic characteristics, the majority of the questions in the surveys were *behavioural*, designed to solicit information about the respondents' lifestyles and personal history, or *attitudinal,* concerning the respondents' attitudes, perceptions and opinions (Dörnyei, 2003: 8). As a result, the questions needed to be open-ended to elicit a range of replies of varying length and articulation and allow the respondent to share their response in as much relevant detail as they felt necessary. The length of the responses was thus kept uncapped and all but two questions were compulsory to answer; one was dependent on the answer to the previous question and the other was a concluding question soliciting any further information the respondent wished to add.

Furthermore, each questionnaire began with a short presentation paragraph, which was kept uniform for all three surveys so as to minimise any possible bias, to introduce and explain the essence of the questionnaire. For example:

> *Are you a native Irish speaker? We want to know what you think! This questionnaire will only take about 10 minutes to complete and will ask you what you think about the Irish language and Irish language learning holidays. Feel free to write as much or as little as you would like (although the more the better!). There are no right or wrong answers and naturally, all the answers are anonymous. Thank you very much for your time!*

The questionnaires were created using Google Forms, distributed digitally via an online format using a hyperlink and were completed independently by respondents. In order to maximise distribution and ensure as wide a demographic range as possible was reached, the link was posted on social media, in public and private social media groups such as local 'notice board', 'buy and sell' and news groups as well as groups that expressed a shared interest in or aimed to promote the regional minority language in question, accompanied by a brief, informal explanation of the general topic of the survey and a description of the types of native speaker is was aimed at. It was also emailed to individuals who were involved in organisations that promote minority languages and shared among friends and colleagues of the researcher.

By choosing to complete the online form, the respondents were consenting to the anonymous use of their information for the purpose of the research project.

4.2 Interviews

Interviews are a widely used method in qualitative research and "a central resource for social science" (Edwards & Holland, 2013: 2). They were chosen as an additional data collection method in this study as they are a useful strategy for gathering information about participants' experiences, views and beliefs (Lambert & Loiselle, 2007 in Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2009: 309). The interviews in this study were semi-structured to allow for unanticipated responses to emerge through the use of open-ended questioning, and to "facilitate the collection of richer more textured data from the participant than that obtained through formally structured scheduled questions" (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2009: 310).

Three almost identical interview guides were drawn up, one for each minority language (see Annexe). Questions were adapted from those featuring in the questionnaires to allow interviewees to expand further on their responses and the same open-ended questions were asked to all interviewees. As with the online surveys, a short presentation was read to each interviewee at the beginning of each interview. This was kept the same for each interview and allowed each participant to receive the same information about what the interview was going to be about and what to expect. It also solicited verbal consent for the interview to be recorded and studied within the context of the masters project.

The interview guides consisted of 21-22 questions (once again a slight difference for the Sardinian guide), which were grouped into the same fours areas as the survey questions. There were also two additional final questions which gave the interviewee an opportunity to ask the interviewer questions about the research topic and to offer feedback about the interview itself.

Interviewees were collected partly through a method of convenience and of 'snowball' or 'chain referral' sampling (Cohen & Crabtree, 2006), as a number of participants were referred to the researcher by others. Alongside sourcing potential participants from the researcher's own social and professional network, requests were put out on social media and on three academic mailing lists concerning Italian studies, Welsh and Irish language studies, which called upon native minority language speakers.

The interviews took place in person or over Skype, and were recorded and transcribed. The interviews lasted an average of 40 minutes each and totalled 10 hours, 44 minutes and 16

seconds. An initial pilot interview was also carried out in order to trial the questions of the interview guide, gauge the length of the interview and make any necessary modifications in light of additional themes or subject areas that arose. This interview was not transcribed and it was decided that the data would not be included in the final discussion.

4.3 Treatment of data

The decision was made to transcribe the interviews in their entirety in order to eliminate any bias from the researcher with regards to what may or may not be considered interesting or relevant data. All identifiable information was removed from the transcription and replaced with a more generic explanation, e.g. [*UK university*] to ensure anonymity is maintained. The participants were given the option to carry out the interviews in English or Italian, according to the language the interviewee felt most comfortable expressing him or herself in. In the end, all interviews were conducted in English as all the participants felt comfortable speaking in English and the researcher was happy that they were able to freely and clearly express themselves in the language, if it was not one of their first languages or a majority language in their country.

The completed surveys were imported into a .csv format and the participants' responses for each of the three languages were categorised according to question asked. A thematic analysis was then carried out, on the content of questionnaire responses and of the interview transcriptions. The data was first read and re-read for familiarity, with specific attention being paid to patterns that occurred. It was then collapsed into labelled categories - in this case the questions asked - for a more efficient analysis. Axiological items were further grouped according to various themes and theoretical notions, with the themes then being defined and reviewed as to how they support the data and the overarching theoretical perspective. Themes were finally re-evaluated in terms of their meaningful contributions to understanding what is going on within the data. As the data was discussed, the researcher also conducted member checking, returning to the data sample and making sure that the description is an accurate representation of the information produced.

This method of research analysis allowed the range of study to be expanded past individual experiences. It is well suited to larger data sets and allowed for important categories to emerge from the data together with an interpretation of themes supported by the data collected.

4.4 Limitations of the study design

A number of limitations to the study design regarding both the survey and interviews should be noted. It has been argued that surveys may result in simple and superficial answers because respondents are left to their own devices when filling in a self-completed questionnaire and are usually unwilling to spend a large amount of time on their answers, which may limit the depth of the investigation (Dörnyei, 2003: 10). Furthermore, it is necessary to consider that some respondents may be unreliable and unmotivated in their responses, particularly as they near the end of the survey, as questionnaires are not typically an activity that they enjoy or benefit from (Dörnyei, 2003: 10-11). Although the questionnaires were kept relatively short to

avoid respondents becoming bored and losing interest and the questions made compulsory to answer to avoid any being left out, it is possible that some may be misread or misinterpreted.

Regarding the interviews, although due care was taken to limit influence and bias from the interviewer, it is important to note that some bias may have occurred. It is possible that an interviewee could have had tendencies towards a social desirability bias, responding to some questions in a manner that would be viewed favourably by others or saying what they think the interviewer wants to hear, thus not revealing their true behaviours, perceptions or opinions.

Finally, carrying out a thematic analysis means that what is considered axiological in the data is completely left to the interpretation of the researcher, whether may result in bias or the possible overlooking of nuanced data.

Third section: Results Analysis

Chapter 5. PERCEPTIONS OF THE MINORITY LANGUAGE

1 Demographic characteristics and linguistic biography

The first few questions that were asked to questionnaire participants and to interviewees invited them to divulge personal information about their demographic characteristics, such as their gender, age, place of birth, where they grew up and went to school, and their occupation. Although none of these variables were needed in a quantitative sense, as representativeness of the sample in this study was not necessarily essential due to assumptions not being extrapolated to an entire population, the information that they provided allowed the researcher to filter out any respondents that did not fit the criteria of native or native new speakers. In addition, as participants were not categorised by their socio-economic status, asking them about their occupation was done so just to give an indication of the distribution of participants in terms of socio-economic class and to highlight if there was a trend among those who chose to participate in the questionnaire or interviews (as simply by participating suggests that they have some interest in their minority language and its promotion or maintenance), and the sector they work in.

Questions such as *place of birth* and *where did you grow up / go to school?* allowed the identification (and subsequent removal) of a particular type of non-native new speaker, so-called 'heritage learners', that is, learners or speakers of minority heritage who were not born, raised or schooled in the country or region where the minority language is spoken, but have chosen to learn the language as an adult or later in life. An example of one participant who fit into this category was a speaker who was born and raised in the United States but whose ancestors were Welsh and moved to the US in 1730. They had been self-learning Welsh online to "regain a piece of [their] history".

Similarly, questions such as *what kind of school did you go to?* and *how did you learn or acquire Irish/Welsh/Sardinian?* gathered information on whether Irish and Welsh participants

went to an English medium or minority language medium school and whether speakers learnt the language at home in the domestic milieu from family and relatives, from friends and in the community or by formal instruction in the education system. It also highlighted further any respondents who were not native or native new speakers, such as a French student who had learnt some Welsh at university on their Erasmus year abroad in Wales.

Asking *can you describe in what sort of situations you use Irish/Welsh/Sardinian in your life?* and *are they different now compared to perhaps other periods in your life?* allowed the participant to give some information about their personal use of the minority language and the frequency in which they use it. Furthermore, if they reveal they only use it in a passive context, or perhaps only in spoken or written situations, this can often reflect on their proficiency. A participant may claim that they have a very high proficiency in the language, but if they say they have only ever used it for reading literature or conversely for singing local songs, then that suggests they may have stronger language skills in one area, such as reading comprehension, over others.

This question also complements the following *how do you feel about your level of Irish/Welsh/Sardinian?* as it sheds some light on the extent their declared level of minority language proficiency is applied in reality. This following questions gave participants the opportunity to give a self-assessed evaluation of their competence in the minority language:

"fluent", "first language", "professional standard", "C1 level", "competente" *(competent)*[1]
"high standard of Irish but I'd like to have a better quality of grammar"
"Fluente nel Campidanese, anche se molti termini antichi non li conosco"
(Fluent in Campidanese, even if I don't know a lot of old words)
"B2 sia nella produzione scritta sia in quella orale" *(B2 in both written and oral production)*

as well as expressing perceptions of their level and feelings about it and its use, both positive and negative:

"proud to speak it whenever I can", "Very Happy", "Very confident in my ability"
"Happy", "Fairly confident", "sicuro" *(confident)*, "Wish it was better", "Ashamed!"
"Sufficiente ma con rammarico vorrei parlarlo meglio"
(Sufficient but with regret I would like to speak it better)
"Fluent but by no means perfect", "Good but needs work to get it to a professional level"

Some Welsh speakers expressed a need to speak the language more:

"Good but do not speak enough"
"Need to speak more. Since retirement tend to speak less"
"I feel I need a great deal more vocabulary and practice."

A number of Irish speakers reported a desire to improve their level:

"Would love to improve it", "Confident but can always improve"
"Fairly happy - there's always room for improvement", "I am fluent but still have much to learn"
"Fluent, but I am currently studying for BA Irish language and literature, as you can always improve"

[1] It should be noted that this translation from Italian to English, and henceforth all translations of questionnaire responses in Italian, are my own.

> "I am very confident in my level of Irish though there is always room for improvement (i.e. grammar)"

and expressed guilt about having receded in their proficiency since leaving the education system, together with resentment towards the way the Irish language is taught in schools:

> "Ashamed I've lost my fluency but happy that I'm still able to use the language";
> "Was close to fluent finishing school but have gotten a lot worse since then";
> "Currently I wouldn't be able to have a conversation in irish, but I would still be able to pass an Irish secondary school exam. I don't think we're taught Irish in a good way that gives us the correct understanding of the language"

The interviewees expressed similar sentiments, with a number reporting they feel embarrassed, disappointed and even ashamed with how their level has declined since they either moved away from the minority language region or finished learning it in the education system:

42 AOI um:: **I feel kind of disappointed** because I was quite good um in school and I feel like because I haven't been using it so much it's gone down a little bit

80 SAR **I'm very embarrassed about it now** since coming to French but er:: since coming to France um:: (.) very embarrassed but (.) I was quite proud of it before um:: (.) I felt I felt it was very good
82 SAR **leaving school I was I was pleased with how I ended on** you know I was I- I felt comfortable I felt at ease in Irish

55 ILA **I am ashamed of myself** (*laugh*) (.) I wish my Sardinian was better (.) er:: but unfortunately it is what it is (.) and I I really wish it was better

Some interviewees reported having issues with not knowing specific vocabulary and finding that in conversations they would have to either switch to a shared majority language or ask other speakers how to say something in the minority language:

33 JAC um:: (0.5) **faintly embarrassed when I go back** (.) so I can happily chat away about the animals on the farm but I did see one of the blokes that works with us the other day and went to talk about being in the navy and working as a doctor and **I realised that that was all professional language that I'd never learned and I had to switch back to English** which was just er ah ah with a little grimace
34 AED um (.) not as happy a- like (.) my English is more fluent and erm (.) if I go to do something like if I'm going to speak to somebody on a topic to do with work (.) **I actually go and look up the terminology database to look up the terms that I don't know** because (.) um but but (.) my level is it's ok you know I read anything I want to read I write anything I want to write (.) I say anything I want to say (.) but **it's not as fluent because I'm not using it all the time** (.) **and I'm not using it in every register or in every situation**

54 LIA **I remember I was a little bit disappointed with my speaking in the sense that I c- I realised that I could not say everything** (0.3) like for instance as I was mentioning before I I would have problems in conjugating verbs (.) like the the compost ve- er tenses like er the subjunctive or the conditional I would have problems (.) like **I would have to check with other people if that is the correct form** [...] **I think my lexicon is a bit limited to you know the most common words** (.) I have problems when it gets to like insects (.) for instance or:: names of flowers

Three participants spoke of attitudes towards other native speakers and their language productions. In the Sardinian context, Lia noted that her perhaps non-standard pronunciation

would be criticised by other speakers, and similarly in the Irish context, Sarah mentions perceiving other native Irish speakers from the Irish-speaking Gaeltacht areas as judging the Irish language production of speakers from outside the Gaeltacht:

56 LIA and er:: the pronunciation as I said er is not (.) like the the one one would expect (.) **sometimes I would be made fun for that by my relatives**

60 SAR there's a kind of a **there's a snobbery as well about the language** so like you know very often in the Gaeltacht areas (0.3) the way I see it (.) it's almost like they get a bit precious about it and (0.3) **they're very judgemental the native speakers are very judgemental of people coming in with their school Irish** (.) they kind of like **they build a bit of a barrier** so:: um it's quite difficult to:: to do it and you're so:: (.) you get ridiculously embarrassed about the idea of making a mistake or like you become very self conscious and like I think it's because we've all learnt it for so long (.) we **we feel like we should be speaking it fluently and kind of we should really after learning it for thirteen years** (.) and:: **but we're mortified then about the fact that we don't** um (0.3) it makes you less likely to chance it like so in Ireland (.) I find I'm less brave about about speaking Irish

She also alludes to a common sense of ashamedness that is felt by Irish people who have been learning Irish in school for all of their school years but have not made any significant headway or improvement in their proficiency.

Jack recounts an experience he had with a Welsh childhood friend and his parent, who expressed the view that he did not qualify as meeting a certain degree of *Welshness* because of his biological background:

25 JAC my very Welsh best friend whose Dad is as Welsh as the hills and is part of the separatist movement **told me I wasn't properly Welsh because my parents weren't Welsh** which probably gave me a bit more impetus as well so (.) they didn't like it that I spoke it as well as th-(em)

35 JAC like I say my mate when I was a kid **was like ah you're not Welsh your parents are English** but like I've been born here and I've been raised here and all of my experiences of Wales and all of the history and stories that I know are all Welsh so what's (.) define to me how I'm English like that's a really odd thing um to get your head round

Michele makes reference to the ever present negative attitudes held by other Sardinians about the Sardinian language and subsequent resistance to speak it:

30 MIC I'm a mother tongue speaker (.) though I wrote I read I wrote some essays one er on the birth of the Sardinian language novel (.) er I don't know can I say (.) I can't say it's a C1 or a C2 I don't know (.) I don't know I can understand almost everything [...] **I feel confident but at the same time there is er (.) something is lacking** (0.3) the supportive setting (.) everybody using the language (.) so it's like er it's like **you go to a place and they don't want to speak Sardinian** you see (.) and er so that er that's er that could be discouraging

2 Minority language symbolism and significance

A number of questions incited the participants to talk about their opinions and perceptions of the minority language they speak, which revealed explicit and implicit attitudes.

2.1 *What were your motivations for learning Irish/Welsh/Sardinian or improving your level?*

When asked about their motivations for choosing to learn the minority language or improve their level at any point in their lives, some interview participants expressed professional and functional reasons:

24 LYN um (.) professional really because i- the er (.) where I worked it was the [*Welsh university*] **[...] a great deal of the of the work that I did was conducted through the medium of Welsh** so it wasn't so much improving the spoken which had already been (.) but it was improving the written side of it

31 JAC er:: community I think definitely (.) so I grew up in a farming community with er all my my godparents and you know all of my peers were Welsh [...] **everyone's speaking Welsh that's definitely a reason you know it's embarrassing not to be able to speak the language that everyone's talking in** [...] later on **you realise that there are people who diss the language** and that you've got a lot of cultural attachment to and fondness for and you're like wow now I'm definitely going to learn it and get really nationalistic about it

In addition, a number of interviewees, like Jack in the extract above, recognise the lack of value and discrimination that minority languages are often a victim of and they have transformed this into motivation to improve their own language proficiency. This was particularly prevalent in the responses of the Sardinian speakers, who expressed awareness of the socio-political situation of the language as well as negative perceptions towards the language as a minority language:

31 ILA mm (.) um:: (1.0) well intellectual curiosity (0.3) um:: but also a **concern with the language slowly disappearing er because standard Italian is hegemonic whether we like it or not** but it is (.) and:: and so there is there is a concern in Sardinia about this

28 OMB I think nostalgia (.) nostalgia and also as I age the (.) a certain acquired pride because um:: travelling exposed me to some (.) I don't even know how to define it (.) where they could even be called **bullying or discrimination or** um (0.3) **lack of appreciation shall we say for the place** (.) starting with the fact that Sardinia is still omitted from maps of the Mediterranean (.) even though it is quite a large island

28 MAN I mean um (1.0) er:: (1.0) because I think that erm:: **it hasn't been um appreciated like the language it is** I mean the minority language we have a perception of minority languages which is language like oh it is a thing that we have but er sometimes it is better not to say that (.) you know if you are speaking to foreign people er (.) it is better to say oh I can speak English

32 MAN er:: yeah (.) that was:: (0.5) um that is why I want to improve my my my knowledge (.) it means my my **I would like to give this language erm:: the appropriate value that we don't seem to see**

2.2 *What does the Irish/Welsh/Sardinian language mean or symbolise to you?*

This question invited questionnaire respondents and interviewees to express explicit opinions about the minority language's significance to them.

When asked what the minority language meant to them, 13 Irish and 17 Welsh questionnaire respondents replied "important" or "very important" and 11 Irish and 14 Welsh

described it as "everything". Others referred to it as "my life" and "Y byd" *(the world[2])*, with one speaker describing Irish rather romantically as:

> "Everything, it is the language of my soul - the first words I spoke to my newborn niece and the last words I spoke to my dying grandmother. I married my love in Irish. Community, life, love and the future"

References to culture, history, ancestors and heritage were frequently made by speakers of all the minority languages observed:

> "The Irish language is a key aspect of Irish **culture** and I see it as the key to unlock so much regarding our **heritage**, our **culture**, our ways of thinking, our place names our own names. "
> "Is í mo **chultúr** í. Is tríd an teanga seo a fheicim an domhain"
> *(It is my culture. It is through this language that I see the world)*
> "It is an important part of Welsh **history** and **culture**"
> "È la mia **cultura**. La mia **storia**. Le mie radici. Parlando sardo sin da bambina ho anche formato il mio carattere e mi ha spinto a apprendere le altre lingue."
> *(It's my culture, My history. Speaking Sardinian since I was a child also shaped my personality and has pushed me to learn other languages)*
> "Fa parte della nostra **cultura** e dovrebbe essere valorizzata maggiormente"
> *(It is part of our culture and should be valued more)*
> "È la detentrice della mia **cultura** e della mia identità . Non mi rende meno italiano, ma mi rende più sardo." *(It is the holder of my culture and my identity. It doesn't make me less Italian, but it makes me more Sardinian.)*
> "It's a vital part of our **heritage** and **culture** that should be treasured"
> "it is my **heritage** and my birthright"
> "Fa parte del nostro **retaggio**" *(It's part of our heritage)*
> "it is a link to our **history**, **ancestors** and **culture** - it separates us from other English speaking countries"
> "it's the language I communicate in 90% of the time, it's a link to my **ancestors** that should always be preserved and protected"

"My culture" and "our culture" was referred to twenty one times, "my heritage" and "our heritage" sixteen times, and "radici" *(roots)* and "origini" *(origins)* twelve times.

84 SAR it symbolises I think (0.5) the culture of old Ireland and:: that's the part of it that I would be sad to see to see (0.3) going you know (.) I feel that if we if we were to lose the Irish language (.) if it was to die out completely we would lose kind of a crucial part of **our heritage**

44 AOI um I suppose for me it kind of symbolises part of **our culture** I think because (.) um:: like (.) it's obviously our like native language and (0.3) I suppose (.) kind of represents something that makes us distinct from the other countries and like it's unique to us [...] it would represent to me like part of the national identity if you know what I mean

The words "identity" or "identità" featured fifty three times in the responses of speakers of all three minority languages:

> "I feel that it is rooted in my identity as an Irish citizen", "It is an essential part of my identity"
> "It's a core part of my identity and how I see the world"
> "È lo specchio dell'identità" *(It is the mirror of identity)*
> "La lingua dell'identità, la lingua che ci definisce psicologicamente a livello individuale e storicamente a livello collettivo, la lingua per essere"

[2] All translations from Irish and Welsh to English from questionnaire responses are my own with the aid of an online translation tool and verified by native speakers.

(It's the language of identity, the language that psychologically defines us on an individual level and historically on a collective level, the language of being)

with some highlighting that speaking the minority language is an essential part of 'being' Irish, Welsh or Sardinian:

"Irish identity without Irish would be a sham"
"The language is a central part of what it is to be Irish"
"È parte dell'identità sarda. È un modo per identificarsi"
(It is part of the Sardinian identity. It's a way of identifying oneself)

40 LYN I think it's an **important aspect of Welsh er well Welsh** nationality if you like [...] **it's an important indicator of being Welsh** er (.) not just in political terms but in cultural terms I think it's a very important cultural asset

Similarly, a number of Irish and Welsh speakers expressed how the language was an innate part of them:

"It is part of me and I am part of it.", "Part of what I am" , "it is part of my dna and self identity"
"Everything - part of my fabric", "It's my DNA" , "simply a dimension of one's being"

40 MIC **it's like er my inner self**
42 MIC it's er:: (0.3) it's like erm (.) losing **losing it would be like dying**

73 MAN maybe it's one of my i- **it's the interior side of myself**

In addition to the minority language's role in speakers' individual identity, participants also made reference to a shared group and community identity, with personal and possessive pronouns such as *we*, *us* and *our,* and notions such as *belonging*, particularly among the Sardinian speakers:

"Appartenenza" *(Belonging)*
"Le mie radici che rafforzano il mio senso di appartenenza ad un popolo."
(My roots that reinforce my sense of belonging to a community)

40 OMB home (.) yeah home (.) there are sounds and words that I (.) I definitely associate with **belonging** to a place

In her interview, Silvia even makes explicit reference to identity in relation to *the other*:

32 SIL it would be nice um:: for like Sardinian to be aware of the importance that the language mm have (.) for like um (0.3) local identities [...] that it's part of our history and if we want to face er (.) **the other** (.) er:: we need to know who we are I think er (0.5) yeah this is (.) I will say identity definitely

There were also overt themes of pride and ownership, and number of participants made reference to the distinctness and uniqueness of their minority language:

"It's my language, It connects us, as a people, to our past", "IT'S MY LANGUAGE"
"È la mia lingua,il mio pensiero,io sogno in sardo"
(It's my language, my way of thinking, I dream in Sardinian)
"È la mia lingua" *(It's my language)*, "It's my national language and I am very proud of it"
"I'm very proud of it I think we should be proud of it as a nation as it is something unique to us and defines our history and our culture"

"Identity, history, the fact we still speak it after many centuries of trying to kill it Proves our resilience"
"Identità, cultura, orgoglio" *(Identity, culture, pride)*

Alongside responses that draw on Myhill's (1999) language-and-identity ideology, a number of respondents simply address the communicative function the minority language holds for them in their lives:

"It's what I speak at home and at work", "Normal language for everyday life."
"It's a tool, like any language, it opens doors and conversations"
"Per me significa innanzitutto comunicare con persone che la condividono."
(For me it means first and foremost communicating with people who share it.)
"la lingua dei miei paesani, di mia madre, e della strada in Sardegna"
(the language of the people in my village, my mother, and the street in Sardinia)

Interestingly many Sardinian speakers, and only Sardinians, expressed awareness of the socio-political status of their minority language and of its level of endangerment:

"È una lingua neolatina tutelata con leggi sarde italiane ed europee come minoranza linguistica"
(It is a neo-Latin language protected by Italian and European Sardinian laws as a linguistic minority)
"Una importante realtà storica e sociale che purtroppo sta pian piano declinando"
(An important historical and social reality that unfortunately is slowly declining)
"Secondo me la lingua sarda è una bellissima lingua che purtroppo sta pian piano morendo."
(In my opinion the Sardinian language is a beautiful language that unfortunately is slowly dying.)

2.3 *What does being able to speak Irish/Welsh/Sardinian mean to you?*

Although similar to the previous, this question allowed participants to develop on what role and purpose the minority language has for them personally in their lives. Many of the same notions were echoed in the responses of the participants, with speakers reinforcing the languages' strong link to identity and community:

"Belonging - community - freedom", "Makes you feel part of the indigenous community "
"Riconoscermi e appartenere a una comunità " *(Identify myself and belong to a community)*
"Avere un senso preciso della propria identità e appartenere a tutti gli effetti alla comunità sarda" *(Having a precise sense of one's identity and belong to the Sardinian community to all intents and purposes)*

One notion that was brought up in responses to the previous question but significantly developed in this one was the concept of pride. Participants reported feeling "pride", "proud" and "privileged" a total of 32 times, notably among the Irish and Welsh speakers, who often drew on a sense of national pride:

"Proud", "Makes me feel whole and proud", "Proud to be able to speak it to my children"
"Proud, privileged and empowered", "It gives me a sense of national pride"
"pride in being welsh", "Pride in our culture", "National pride, sense of personal achievement"
"I feel very happy and privileged to have had the good fortune to be born and raised in Wales as a welsh speaker"
"Per me è un onore saper parlare il sardo in quanto io sono orgogliosa di essere sarda al 100%"
(For me it's an honour to be able to speak Sardinian inasmuch I am proud to be 100% Sardinian)

42 OMB now **it makes me proud** (.) um and I know I'm repeating this over and over again but it does and it makes me feel again like I belong to a place

Many speakers, particularly Irish and Welsh, report that being able to speak the minority language expresses a "connection" to the country, culture, history, heritage or people:

"A closer connection to Ireland", "Feel more connected to the country"
"A connection to the past in Ireland and a hope of keeping the language alive in the future"
"That I have a connection to my heritage, that I understand my culture and value it"
"It means a strong connection with Wales."
"Better connection to Wales, stronger sense of identity"

86 SAR I suppose it means that I'm maintaining my cultural identity [...] it means having that **connection** to what what it means to be Irish really (.) and having that **connection** to the older culture

44 MIC mhmm (0.5) er:: well it's er:: (0.5) of course it's not (.) I'm I'm proud proud (.) but proud in a positive way not proud you know (.) it's like erm (.) er travelling perhaps travelling through time (.) it's er **connecting to er er to the past** (.) and hopefully to the future

and that it is the key to being Irish, Welsh or Sardinian, contributing to a degree of *Irishness*, *Welshness* and *sardo*:

"Only key to complete Welshness", "I'm totally Welsh"
"It has helped me very much to feel more Welsh and that Wales belongs to me."
"Essere sardo innanzitutto, e con il mio bagaglio culturale identitario essere altresì cittadino del mondo" *(Being Sardinian above all, and with my cultural identity baggage, also being a citizen of the world)*
"è essenziale per un nativo sardo. Non conoscere la propria lingua limita fortemente la possibilità di capire se stessi" *(It is essential for a native Sardinian. Not knowing one's own language strongly limits the possibility of understanding oneself)*

Aside from the symbolic meanings, the speakers also made reference to opportunity. They report that speaking a minority language is a additional skill which brings further understanding and advantages by facilitating bilingualism and plurilingualism:

"It has opened so many doors for me, by even just telling people to use the welsh. It is so different to the English language. It has its own kind of humour and it's so unique"
"Useful skill, opens doors to other languages and cultures"
"it has opened so many doors for me in life and given me so many opportunities."
"It's given me so many more opportunities, it's part of my identity and personality"
"è una base migliore per apprendere molte lingue"
(It is a better base for learning many languages)

42 AED um I feel that it's a great privilege that I can speak it (.) and I (.) I like that I have a community that I can speak it with and I particularly value the fact that I am bilingual and that I can get a handle on what I want to say in more than one language (.) **it also gives me an aptitude for other languages**

Interestingly, a number of Irish speakers also recognise the differing socio-political situation of Irish in Northern Ireland, where the language receives less support and recognition under the UK government, and highlight that being able to speak Irish is *a right*:

"Everything. Living in Northern Ireland you are reminded of it continually. Being silenced in any language is an insult to everyone, a denied right to one is a denied right to all."
"It means that I am able to speak my own native language, a privilege that many others in Ireland do not have due to colonisation and neo-colonisation.
"It's so important especially as it is not a given right up north (of ireland)"

Chapter 6. PERCEPTIONS OF POLICY & PLANNING EFFORTS

1 Awareness of socio-political situation

In this section of the questionnaires and interviews, participants were asked to share the current linguistic situation of the minority language and what they knew about the language policies and planning initiatives that had been implemented specifically where they were from or in the country in general.

1.1 *What do you think about the current language situation of Irish/Welsh/Sardinian in Ireland/Wales/Sardinia?*

Many Irish and Welsh participants expressed positive views about the current situation of Irish in Ireland and Welsh in Wales. A general running theme appeared to be how the two language situations have been improving over the last few decades:

"Great I'm hearing more of it than ever it's become fashionable", "Growing stronger"
"I think that it has come from a low place and is slowly building its way back to society"
"There is a lot more Irish spoken in the Greater Dublin area than there was years ago and I am really glad the attitude is becoming more positive. It is a language, not just a school subject."
"Very strong in North West Wales, where I'm from. A lot of work to be done in other parts of Wales, but it's on the rise."

26 RHO yeah I mean as I was saying before it's **it's growing** so it's so **it's quite positive** in terms of I think it was a lot of people think it's a dying language but I disagree with that completely [...] I think that people who think that it's a dying language are wrong really because **it's something that's clearly being improving** over the past ten twenty years

48 AOI **I think it's probably improved slightly** because when my parents went you know they just sort of did all grammar there was no oral and you know it was kind of very harshly taught like and (.) no one seemed to be able to speak [...] **I would say it's something that's like improved but like it's definitely far from perfect**

However, a greater number of participants expressed negative views, or a positive shortly followed by a negative, highlighting that the language situation is not homogeneous throughout the two countries and that there is more progress to be made:

"Its poor. Not a lot of emphasis", "Scandalous", "Worrying", "It's in decline sadly"
"Concern in general, somewhat despairing locally", "Dreadful that things have got this bad"
"It is improving in many ways, particularly in Dublin. However, it is still in danger still and is not appreciated enough in Ireland. "
"I think some improvements and progress has been made in the cities but its status still needs to be improved and it is declining in Gaeltachts and rural parts "

96 SAR **I don't have much hope in the long term for for it being like** (.) **for any kind of <u>real</u> revival** (.) I think they'll maintain Irish at the low level that it's at at the moment but in terms of picking back up again (.) the strategies that are being used are not effective

Among the Sardinian participants, on the other hand, perceptions were much bleaker, describing the situation as "disastrosa" *(disastrous),* "critica" *(critical)* and "negletta" *(neglected)*. Many made reference to the language's loss of use, especially among young people who are largely transitioning to Italian:

"In generale, soprattutto fra i giovani, viene messo da parte a favore della lingua italiana." *(In general, especially among young people, it is set aside in favour of the Italian language)*
"Nella Sardegna meridionale, nel cagliaritano, il campidanese è poco utilizzato dai giovani, i quali prediligono l'italiano e l'inglese, perché meno attratti dalle tradizioni" *(In southern Sardinia, in the Cagliari area, Campidanese is little used by young people, who prefer Italian and English, because they are less attracted to traditions*)

In addition, some describe their distaste for a common 'Italianisation' of the Sardinian language, a mixing of Sardinian and Italian - what Michele refers to as italiano porcheddino ('piggy Sardinian') (speech turn 32) - considering this developing regional Italian as a 'contaminated' version of Sardinian:

"Sta scomparendo ed è sempre piùcontaminato dall'italiano." *(It is disappearing and is increasingly contaminated by Italian)*
"Sempre meno giovani lo parlano e quando lo parlano non applicano le regole corrette. È un sardo italianizzato" *(Fewer and fewer young people speak it and when they speak it they don't apply the correct rules. It is an Italianised Sardinian)*

One of the most prevalent views of all among the Sardinian participants was the lack of value that the speakers note the minority language appears to have:

"Non è valorizzato" *(It is not valued),* "Poco valorizzata" *(Little valued)*
"Non viene valorizzata nella maniera adeguata perché siamo frutto di una cultura che voleva affossare le diversità" *(It is not adequately valued because we are the result of a culture that wanted to bury diversity)*
"Non è abbastanza valorizzata, usata solo da persone di una certa età oppure in maniera scherzosa dai più giovani." *(It is not valued enough, used only by people of a certain age or jokingly by younger people)*

49 SAA **I think it's not er:: valued enough** yet (.) because it's been valued at an academic level but still **when you talk to Ita- to Sardinians they don't even know it's a language** (.) it's a proper language [...] I think that people the **Sardinians should become more aware of the power of the language** that we have (.) so for example there are many people that when they hear someone proposing pro- some politician proposing to er have Sardinian language taught compulsory in er in Sardinia (.) they say it's much more important learning English (.) in my opinion it's extremely important learning English but it's (.) really really important learning Sardinian as well

1.2 *Have you ever been involved in organising any activities aimed at promoting the Irish/Welsh/Sardinian language?*

In addition to participants' perceptions of the socio-political situation of the minority languages, interviewees were also asked about their knowledge of policies and measures that have been put in place to promote or teach the minority language in their respective regions.

This was to discern to what extent the participants were informed of past and current language planning efforts.

They were also asked if they had ever been involved in any initiatives or in organising any activities aimed at promoting the minority language themselves. This was also to distinguish if many of the respondents were interested in the minority language and to determine how many have been active players in its promotion and maintenance. The distribution of participants who have been involved and not involved in language planning activities for the respective three minority languages can be seen in Figures 8, 9 and 10 below.

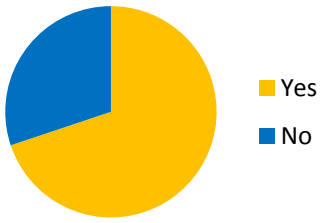


Figure 8. Irish

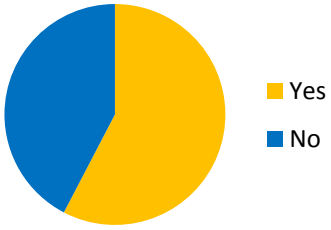


Figure 9. Welsh

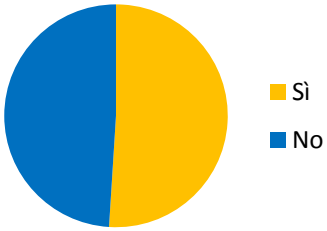


Figure 10. Sardinian

In all three cases, more than 50% of participants reported having being involved in activities aimed at promoting the minority language, which is not too surprising given that it is likely they already have an interest in the language if they have chosen to complete a survey about its revitalisation. The respondents who answered *yes* described having been involved in a wide range of activities, from minority language journalism, teaching, language courses and events such as the Eisteddfod, to youth activities, folk music gigs, campaigns and theatre.

2 Opinions of language planning initiatives

Once the participants' knowledge of language planning initiatives had been established, they were asked for their opinion of the measures currently in place. In general, Irish respondents reported a mixture of positive and negative views, particularly highlighting that the quality of Irish teaching in schools is insufficient and ineffective as not enough emphasis is placed on improving conversational or spoken Irish. Others felt that Irish is taught and learnt solely as a means to pass an exam, and once students leave compulsory education, they do not continue using their Irish which results in a decline in their proficiency.

> "Think that it needs to be developed so that it is more of a living language to be used every day and not as an exam or exam oriented subject."
> "The whole teaching of Irish needs to be revamped. It must concentrate on spoken Irish"
> "Stop teaching it for exams and teach it for life"

62 AOI I know some of my friends from other schools more than my own who like (0.3) really just learned off something to say for the oral but they're not really able to speak it [...] **most people like just leave it completely after school**

Welsh respondents reported a similar mixture of views, with perhaps a more positive outlook than their Irish counterparts. They praise the way Welsh is taught in schools,

particularly Welsh-medium, but report that there is a lack of funding allocated to Welsh learning, for both children and adults, and that there is a need for more Welsh-medium schools. Several participants also express that they feel Welsh language courses should be made more affordable, and even free.

> "Yes I do. The teaching is of an excellent standard. More events outside of the classroom for the learners to use the language would be good."
> "there's good things in place but not enough staff/funding to be able to expand what is going well."
> "More Welsh language schools", "More welsh medium schools, resources and media needed."
> "No, not sufficient or effective. Welsh lessons should be free, and everybody should be encouraged to learn. "
> "I do think that lessons in Welsh for adults should be either free, or at least cheaper than they are at present."

Rhodri reports a similar experience to Aoife, noting that some of his school friends, despite being able to speak Welsh at school, are unlikely to be able to speak Welsh since having graduated.

81 RHO I know that if I was to bump into someone I haven't seen since high school in the street (.) I'd probably have to speak English because I've not **I wouldn't be confident that their level of Welsh was any good anymore** (0.3) I'm sure **there's a lot of kids that I'd bump into now that have probably lost their Welsh**

In contrast, the views expressed by Sardinian participants were significantly more negative. They highlight the necessity of introducing the teaching of Sardinian, or at least Italian and Sardinian, into schools and advocate for the promotion of bilingualism. They also state the need for Sardinian to be used in public administration.

> "Non sono efficaci. Il sardo dovrebbe sostituire l'italiano o essere insegnato insieme ad esso in egual numero di ore scolastiche" *(They are not effective. Sardinian should replace Italian or be taught alongside it for an equal number of school hours)*
> "È necessaria una vera e propria promozione del bilinguismo fondata sui dati reali messi a disposizione dagli studi scientifici. È necessario far capire ai sardi quanto il loro patrimonio linguistico sia una risorsa e un valore aggiunto." *(A real promotion of bilingualism, based on real data made available by scientific studies, is needed. It is necessary to make Sardinians understand how their linguistic heritage is a resource and an additional quality)*
> "Insufficienti. Bisognerebbe insegnarla nelle scuole e usarla nella Pubblica Amministrazione" *(Insufficient. It needs to be taught in schools and used in Public Administration*)
> "L'insegnamento dovrebbe essere obbligatorio in tutti gli ordini di scuola e utilizzato in tutti gli enti pubblici" *(Teaching should be compulsory in all types of school and used in all public bodies)*

Others stress the need for policies to change the attitudes of Sardinians towards the Sardinian languages, as in many cases they are still seen as backward, old-fashioned or simply just not valued.

63 SAA no I don't think so (.) I think they should work more in **making people understand that er:: er being able to speak Sardinian is an enrichment and** (.) that it's something that we really that we really can't forget

Some mention the question of standardisation and normalisation of a unified spelling of Sardinian, expressing their dissatisfaction with the currently proposed *Limba Sarda Comuna* (LSC). Referring to it as an 'Esperanto of Sardinian', three interviewees, Silvia, Ilaria and Lia

express interesting and contradicting views on the fabricated language. Silvia considers it to be "fake" and thinks that it would be better to work with all existing Sardinian languages and that the creation of a unified variety is not the way forward:

36 SIL but it's like a sort of er **Esperanto of Sardinian dialects** (0.3) erm:: towards which I have mixed feelings er:: if I can be honest because um I dunno I think I think we need to work (.) to safeguard Sardinian language but the limba sarda comuna mm doesn't exist (.) so I I w- **I would have rather um:: see an effort to work with different Sardinian dialects** with different projects and I know that it's something (.) it's a huge thing to do and:: and if you consider the language like being in a state of emergency (.) you probably need to work with the with a bigger picture (.) at least in this first erm stage (0.3) but I dunno where this is going erm:: because it's (.) **I feel like it's a fake language** [...] **I think it's fake and we don't need any fake things because we have dialects and we have native speakers** (.) we have schools we have families um (.) and **we should start taking care of these Sardinian dialects I think in a different way**

Lia felt standards "flatten the richness of the living language" and that there was already enough mutual intelligibility between existing Sardinian languages, but noted the functionality of one for administrative purposes:

92 LIA I have mixed feelings about any standards because they **I think they flatten the richness of the living living er language** (0.3) I guess er it could be a a good way to have standard for like er er official documents and legislation and all that kind of public activity um common like open- open to everyone

94 LIA I think when Sardinians speak between each other and they are coming from different villages **they usually understand each other** (.) es**pecially if they are in- included in the two main varieties**

This echoed one response from a questionnaire participant who suggested Logudorese and Campidanese should be used as a "double standard":

> "Non penso lo siano, bisognerebbe insegnare dalle scuole elementari il sardo secondo il "doppio standard" logudorese e campidanese ovunque nell'isola"
> *(I don't think they are, we should teach Sardinian in primary schools everywhere on the island according to the "double standard" Logudorese and Campidanese)*

Ilaria, on the other hand, presents a view that echoes Toso's (2008) principle of linguistic sacrifice, that a shared language is better than losing them all and in order to reach that point, some speakers will have no choice but to compromise.

97 ILA I think if we manage to find a if we manage to meet somewhere and (.) and agree on **a shared language I think it would be better than losing all of them** (0.3) even though I understand that there are several differences [...] I'm not sure what the solution may be but there must be a solution and that will mean (.) I think (.) **compromising on all sides**

105 ILA [yes] an **Esperanto of sardo** (0.5) um:: I guess it can be difficult for speakers (.) but **if it protects the language then I am I'm for it**

Michele also puts forward an interesting point of view, that the creation of a standard Sardinian runs the risk of creating a standard Sardinian-spoken Sardinian diglossia and possibly furthering the negative attitudes towards spoken Sardinian that already exist in relation to Italian.

50 MIC being er proud of your own language because otherwise you say ah we have a **high standard Sardinian** and you don't speak high standard Sardinian and we are creating a new

diglossia you know (.) it's like er Italian Sardinian diglossia is giving birth to **high standard Sardinian versus low s- Sardinian diglossia**

Chapter 7. PERCEPTIONS OF NON-NATIVE NEW SPEAKERS & LANGUAGE-LEARNING HOLIDAYS

1 Non-native new speakers

Participants were next asked about their perceptions of and experiences with non-native new speakers of the minority language they spoke themselves.

1.1 *How would you feel about someone not from Ireland/Wales/Sardinia learning Irish/Welsh/Sardinian?*

Reponses to this question were overwhelmingly positive across the board, with Irish, Welsh and Sardinian participants using adjectives such as "delighted", "fantastic", "brilliant", "great", "felice", "contento.a" *(happy)*, "onorato.a" *(honoured)* and "orgoglioso.a" *(proud)*.

A number of Irish and Welsh participants showed enthusiasm for a general increased number of minority language speakers and expressed the welcome and encouragement that they would give foreign learners:

"Great, the more of us (Irish speakers) the better!", "Brilliant! The more the merrier as they say"
"Everyone who wants to speak Welsh should be welcome", "Encourage it"
"Irish language is for everybody", "I would welcome it", "I would encourage it"
"I think it's great. The more people the better, it doesn't matter where they come from and it widens the Irish language community with different experiences"

Some said they would find it strange, as they do not consider the minority language useful and they think learning it would be pointless as there are other languages much more widely used which would be better to learn. Others, on the other hand, expressed that having learners come from abroad may inspire native minority language speakers and attribute the same dignity to the minority languages as other languages:

"I think it would be amazing and it often inspires Irish people to do the same"
"I think they can inspire Irish learners and perhaps help with breaking through the colonised mindset"
"Ne sarei veramente felice. Credo che sarebbe un modo per conferire alla nostra lingua la stessa dignità di tutte le altre lingue" *(I would be really happy. I think it would be a way to give our language the same dignity as all other languages)*

One Irish respondent in particular felt that it may be a way to change Irish speakers' attitudes about the Irish language simply being a school subject:

"From my experience teaching Irish abroad, I feel that people that are not from Ireland have a more positive approach to learning it as they have never had any "school situation" experience with the language. **I think it's important that Irish people see that it is not a subject** and people who are not from Ireland learning the language show this"

1.2 *What would you think if you met someone not from Ireland/Wales/Sardinia who could speak Irish/Welsh/Sardinian?*

Albeit similarly worded to the previous question, this prompted participants to voice their possible reactions to a non-native new speaker, and subsequently reveal implicit attitudes about how their perceive new non-speakers which may not have been disclosed in the previous responses.

In general, answers were very similar, with more or less all participants expressing their joy and enthusiasm for such a scenario. Many reported that they would be "surprised", "impressed", "honoured", "fascinated" and would love to help them and practice with them:

127 MAN I think that's fantastic *(laugh)* I mean um if there is someone interested in my language (0.3) in my you know culture (.) **I would be much mm more than happy to to:: teach them** to let them learn my culture (.) I don't think er:: that it's er strange

56 SIL again (.) **I would be very fascinated** by:: by that (.) erm again more than I would be knowing someone who speaks Swedish or German (.) it's much more normal er:: to do something like that [...] so:: yeah I would be **I would be surprised** (.) but in a nice way (.) in a positive way

68 RHO that would be great (*laugh*) take them to the pub (*laugh*) no that would be fantastic [...] **I'd be very impressed** first of all (.) if they learned at a- as an adult because it is quite a hard language to learn (.) so **I'd be very impressed very impressed**

Others said they would be "intrigued" and "curious", and wondered what the foreigners' motivations would be to learn the minority language:

78 AOI yeah um (.) well I suppose you'd be a bit suppose like because as I was saying earlier you wouldn't like really think it would be that commercially useful to speak Irish for any reason (.) um:: so yeah **I'd just just be a bit surprised** and **I'd probably be interested as to why they were learning it** so

141 ILA what would I think↑ (.) oh **I would be extremely cu- curious** (0.5) um:: I would be very happy I mean (0.5) and:: I:: (0.5) **I would ask endless questions** about how:: this came about [...] but I think it would yes it would make me very happy to see

1.3 *In general, what kind of reaction do you think a person not from Ireland/Wales/Sardinia would get if they were to speak Irish/Welsh/Sardinian in that country or region?*

Participants were further asked what sort of general reaction they thought native speakers would have towards a non-native new speaker if they were to meet one. This was to encourage speakers to express what they might perceive to be a community reaction, which could possibly differ from their own individual one.

A majority reported a positive reaction, expecting native speakers to be "shocked", "astonished" and "pleased", and such non-native new speakers to be "welcomed", "encouraged", "admired" and "included".

Among the Sardinian participants, who would be less likely to have met a non-native speaker of the minority language than their Irish and Welsh counterparts, several felt there

would be a welcoming and inclusive reaction and made reference to the friendly nature of Sardinians:

> "Uno di noi" *(One of us)*
> "Sarebbe accolto benissimo e reso membro onorario della comunità" *(They would be very well received and an honorary member of the community)*
> "Son quasi sicuro che sarebbe amato come un fratello" *(I'm almost sure they'd be loved like a brother)*

95 SAA oh people from here would be amazed (.) yeah they would be like ha ha ha ha:: (.) start speaking Sardinian (.) because erm:: (.) as I said **people from Sardinia especially from Cagliari are really:: really friendly** (.) so **they want people to integrate** (.) and speaking the Sardinian language it's like oh **you are one of us**

64 SIL (*laugh*) I think **they will feel very proud** about that erm (0.3) and and very:: **and very happy to share** and very happy to and appreciative of the effort that studying a language such as Sardinian which is not definitely popular as Italian or English or French um (.) requires yeah
67 JEN ok (.)
68 SIL yeah [I don't think that]--
69 JEN [do you think-]
68 SIL --they would feel like as a um:: cultural appropriation or element (.) because **there's a this idea of like sharing and make people especially from outside Sardinia become part of our community which is quite strong** (.) so I think that that will definitely erm:: make Sardinian speakers happy [about it]

However, not all respondents thought there would be a wholly positive reaction. Some felt that the non-native learner would possibly provoke a reaction of "hilarity" because of their lack of 'native' Sardinian accent and others thought initially they would be faced with judgement and native Sardinians would be hesitant to engage in a complete conversation with them:

> "forse un po' di ilarità ... ma in generale credo un piacevole stupore"
> *(maybe a little hilarity ... but in general I think it's a pleasant surprise)*
> "Probabilmente susciterebbe delle risate per via del mancato accento sardo"
> *(Probably would cause laughter because of the lack of a Sardinian accent)*
> "Forse a primo impatto non positiva, perché si è portati facilmente a giudizi negativi, ma alla lunga avrebbe un bell'effetto anche sui sardi più conservatori"
> *(Perhaps initially not positive, because one is easily led to negative judgments, but in the long run it would have a positive effect even on the most conservative Sardinians)*
> "In questo momento gli verrebbe consentita solo qualche battuta ma non un dialogo intero"
> *(At the moment they would only be allowed a few jokes but not a whole dialogue)*

One Sardinian respondent explained his family situation and expressed that learners may struggle with the dialectal diversity on the island:

> Io sono cresciuta a Tortolì da due genitori nati in due paesi sardi diversi..parliamo tre dialetti diversi: un non sardo che parlasse sardo in Sardegna si sentirebbe spaesato perché già due km oltre forse non capirebbe la lingua *(I grew up in Tortolì with two parents born in two different Sardinian regions ... we speak three different dialects. A non-Sardinian who spoke Sardinian in Sardinia would feel out of place because he might not understand the language spoken only two kilometres away)*

Manuela put forward an interesting point of view, that regardless of the negative reactions native Sardinians may have towards non-native new speakers, it would cause them to

reflect on the fact that someone from outside their culture is interested in their language and wants to learn it, and that there must be a reason for that.

133 MAN mm ah:: (4.0) I d- I don't know if there would be mm:: a positive reaction from all the people (.) you know (.) um (0.5) but (0.5) **I think it could impress Sardinian** (0.5) in in in (.) **even if it is in the negative way but they could think** about (.) oh there is someone who wants to learn my language um:: (1.0) from my point of view (.) I I I mm:: I see that in a very positive way

2 Language-learning holidays

Regarding language-learning holidays, participants were first asked what they knew about them. This was to determine if they had ever heard about them at all, and if they had, what did they think they entailed. Irish and Welsh participants were asked about their knowledge of Irish and Welsh language-learning holidays, whereas Sardinian participants were asked about Italian language-learning holidays, as currently only those types exist in Sardinia. Many had never heard of them before, others had but only for schoolchildren, and some had participated themselves in similar language-learning programmes for global languages such English and Spanish.

To ensure that all participants, whether they reported having heard of language-learning holidays before or not, were adequately informed of what such holidays consist of, a short, uniform description was offered by the researcher. This provided each participant with the same information on which they could make a judgment.

2.1 *Are you/have you ever been involved in organising or offering these language-learning packages?*

They were then asked if they are or ever had been involved in organising or offering such language-learning packages, as if a vast majority of respondents were involved in the language tourism sector, then there would be a higher possibility of the responses being skewed towards a more positive opinion of them. The distribution of participants who had been involved and not involved in organising or offering such language-learning packages can be seen in Figures 11, 12 and 13 below.

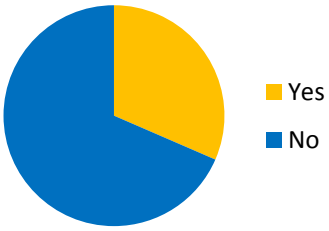


Figure 11. Irish

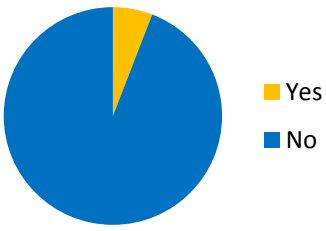


Figure 12. Welsh

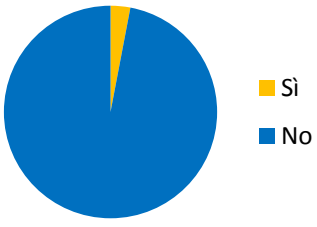


Figure 13. Sardinian

The majority of Welsh and Sardinian participants had not been involved in offering language-learning holiday packages, whereas almost a third of Irish respondents reported that they were or had been. This could be explained by the increased number of such programmes

offered in the Gaeltacht regions in Ireland, and consequently many people who live there are often involved in their organisation.

2.2 *What do you think about these types of language-learning packages being offered?*

At this point Irish and Welsh participants were encouraged to share their opinions on Irish and Welsh language-learning holidays. Many praised the effectiveness of immersion-style courses for learners describing them as a "great idea" and "fantastic experience". They also felt they would have a positive impact on the learner, the language and the local economy:

"Immersion is key and this sort of technique is incredibly useful!"
"It would be of great beneficial to both the learner and the language"
"I think it's great for the language and for the people who are learning it"
"I think they are a positive addition to the supports already available"
"they are an important source of income for gaeltacht areas"

Although some respondents expressed concern about the affordability of the packages, one in particular echoed a view mentioned previously, about the interest of non-native new speakers in the minority language inciting native non-speakers to learn the language or improve their own level:

"Sounds amazing, worried about price ", "Excellent - but they must be affordable."
"I think they are a great opportunity for those who can afford them"
"I think it's important if people want to improve their irish. The only problem is they are expensive"

"Could be a good idea. If Irish people saw the interest non Irish speakers were having in learning the language it might spark some pride inside them and perhaps more interest themselves in learning the language. "

Sardinian participants were asked what they thought about the idea of offering language-learning holidays for the Sardinian language. A large majority gave positive responses, describing the concept as "una cosa meravigliosa" *(a wonderful thing)* and *"una buona/ottima/bellissima idea" (a good/great/fantastic idea)*. One respondent expressed how he has always complained about the lack of such opportunities:

"Sono assolutamente a favore. Mi sono sempre lamentata del contrario"
(I am absolutely in favour. I've always complained about there not being any)

Some participants expressed interest in participating in Sardinian language-learning holidays themselves:

"Mi interesserebbe partecipare e saperne di più"
(I would be interested in participating and learning more about it)
"Non solo ne sarei entusiasta, ma in un futuro prossimo mi piacerebbe intraprendere un'attività simile (in questo momento studio le differenze tra campidanese e logudorese)"
(Not only would I be enthusiastic, but in the near future I would like to undertake a similar activity (at the moment I am studying the differences between Campidanese and Logudorese)

82 OMB [oh [xxx]] I would love it (.) **I would probably take one** (*laugh*) yeah (.) with my husband (0.3) yeah I would love it (.) absolutely

There were also a mixture of contradicting ideas about its utility, with some respondents considering them useless and others commenting on their usefulness. Others were unsure of how easy they would be to construct and of their sufficiency:

"Non credo sia di fondamentale utilità" *(I don't think it's fundamentally useful)*
"Non saprei sulla utilità" *(I wouldn't know about the utility)*
"Potrebbe essere utile" *(It could be useful)*
"Sarebbe una cosa estremamente utile per far conoscere la lingua sarda agli stranieri"
(It would be extremely useful to introduce foreigners to the Sardinian language)
"Potrebbe essere un'idea per promuovere la lingua sarda, ma non sono sicura che questo sia sufficiente"
(It could be an idea to promote the Sardinian language, but I'm not sure this is enough)

2.2.1 *What benefits or problems might there be?*

Sardinian participants were then further asked if they could foresee any possible benefits or problems that might be involved in the process of starting and running Sardinian language-learning holidays and of them existing in general.

Many felt that they would add to the promotion and diffusion of Sardinian language and culture, and lead to a positive increase in the number of Sardinian speakers:

"Maggior diffusione e conoscenza" *(Greater diffusion and knowledge)*
"promuovere la lingua sarda a studenti italiani e stranieri"
(Promoting the Sardinian language to Italian and foreign students)
"I vantaggi sarebbero immensi perché la cultura sarda non è attualmente conosciuta. Pensi alla civiltà nuragica, è unica al mondo, nessun popolo della terra ha delle cose così maestose come i nuraghi e le domos de janas. Quindi conoscere la lingua significa conoscere la Sardegna con tutte le sue specificità"
(The advantages would be immense because the Sardinian culture is not currently known. Think of the Nuragic civilisation, it is unique in the world, no population on earth has such majestic things as the nuraghi and the domos de janas. So knowing the language means knowing Sardinia with all its characteristics)

together with becoming a beneficial addition to current Sardinian tourism and contributing to the local economy, as it would involve local people:

"Flussi turistici e notorietà per la mia terra" *(Flows of tourism and popularity for my land)*
"Penso che sia una buona idea, importante per staccarci dal turismo stagionale"
(I think it's a good idea, important to break away from seasonal tourism)
"Vantaggi economici e ricadute sul territorio" *(Economic advantages and effects on the area)*
"I vantaggi sarebbero un aumento dell'uso della lingua madre da parte dei giovani e incremento del lavoro"
(The benefits would be an increase in the use of the mother tongue by young people and increased work opportunities)
"Sarebbe splendido e sarebbe una buona idea per coinvolgere i cittadini sardi in un turismo bello e gestibile da parte nostra perché parte della nostra cultura. Risveglierebbe l'entusiasmo di molti anche perché la nostra isola vive di turismo"
(It would be wonderful and it would be a good idea to involve Sardinian citizens in a beautiful and manageable tourism from us because it is part of our culture. It would also awaken the enthusiasm of many people because our island lives off tourism)

In addition, some echoed previous views that it would add value to the language and the land, and possibly even change the negative perceptions and opinions some native Sardinians have towards the language:

"Il vantaggio di valorizzare la nostra terra" *(The advantage of adding value to our land)*

113 MAN oh I think it would be (.) er (0.5) a **a real change you know even in the perception of people** because (.) **it could change even their opinion that Sardinians has about their language** because if other people want to learn your language you know (.) you see the language in other way and:: um (0.5) I think that would be very effective even for the language because **if there are more speakers of the language** (.) even you know foreign people or (0.3) that want to learn the language it would be a good idea (.) because um **it could give a much m- a a added value to the language**

77 SAA advantages we erm:: we give people the chance to get to know our culture which is something really really good also if we offer this kind of packages to people who come from over sea we will be enriched by their presence here in our in our territory erm:: (0.3) also we **give the chance to Sardinians to get more confident about what we have** because imagine (.) people are coming here to study Sardinian (.) that means that we have a really really interesting culture

Alongside the benefits however, many potential problems were pointed out. Some participants were doubtful about the number of interested learners and edutourists, as such minority language-learning holidays would be in competition with current Italian language courses in Sardinia and may be considered a "niche of a niche" with too small a target audience:

86 LIA I think it is a great idea (.) and perhaps er:: at the beginning is it has some challenges it could have some challenges because I guess er **the total of people interested in learning Sardinian** (.) I guess is not comparable would not be comparable with the people who are trying to learn er Italian (.) for obvious reasons (.) but yes er I can see that as a **niche of the niche** er (*laugh*)

52 SIL um:: (2.0) um first of all I don't think **I don't know how many teachers would be fully prepared** to do that (.) er so I I I don't know my perception at this stage is that it would still be early to do something like that erm:: (0.5) and also to **find like people interested in doing something like that** er

127 ILA I:: have no data to back this up but (.) I think if we had to offer it for sardo (.) we may be surprised by er (.) and we may get quite a lot of interest (.) who knows (.) I think we may have a pleasant surprise there (0.5) but **I understand why it is it may feel safer for someone investing in this type of business to go for Italian language** (.) I get that

Others wondered about a lack of qualified Sardinian language teachers, teaching materials and host families who spoke Sardinian in the home:

"Pochi insegnanti" *(Few teachers)*
"Sarebbe difficile raggiungere grossi numeri dato che il sardo è una lingua circoscritra territorialmente"
(It would be difficult to reach large numbers since Sardinian is a territorially delimited language)

"Il problema principale è quello dell'approntamento di strumenti didattici, cartacei e multimediali, moderni, che insegnino il sardo standard (la Limba sarda comuna); e quindi, legato a questo, il problema degli insegnanti che dovrebbero saper mediare tra il proprio dialetto di origine e una comunicazione più neutrale"
(The main problem is that of the preparation of didactic tools, paper and multimedia, that teach standard Sardinian (the Limba Sarda Comuna); and therefore, tied to this, the problem of

teachers who should know how to mediate between their own dialect of origin and a more neutral communication.)

129 ILA hmm (0.3) well perhaps um **finding enough host families who speak Sardinian at home** (1.0) that may:: may not be that easy (.) especially in certain areas um:: (.) hmm however I wonder if a learner may interested again in a hybrid (.) experience (.) um that I know of (.) **most people even in a fluent speakers of sardo (.) they they do speak both sardo and Italian at home**

The price, affordability and possible difficulties surrounding funding were also mentioned, together with fears of such an initiative resulting in the "bastardisation of culture" or having no lasting effects at all:

"L'unico problema sarà trovare i finanziamenti per poterli attuare"
(The only problem will be to find the funding to be able to set them up)
"Barriere di finanziamenti" *(Funding barriers)*
"La lentezza delle organizzazioni le varie burocrazie e anche un problema nel trovare i fondi"
(The slowness in the various bureaucracies' organisation and also a problem in finding the funds)

75 SAA I think that I think it's a great idea (.) **I'm not sure people would pay to do that** I'm not sure

64 MIC [(*surprised*) [*interviewer's name*]] **I was going to do it** (*laugh*) no I mean I I had a plan I had a plan to do it (.) as I told you (.) but **the problem is prices** you know

The main issue, and the one most commonly put forward by participants is the lack of an official accepted standard and the question of which Sardinian variety to teach:

"I problemi sono costituiti dal fatto che non esiste una sola lingua sarda. Sarebbe vantaggioso riuscire a farle conoscere tutte"
(The problems consist in the fact that there is not a single Sardinian language. It would be advantageous to be able to make them all known)

"Sarebbe un'ottima idea. Peccato che ci sia un problema, ovvero la mancanza di standard ben definiti e legalmente riconosciuti: quale sardo insegnare? Io sono del parere che debbano essere riconosciute e ufficialmente standardizzate le due macrovarietà logudorese e campidanese, e dunque offrire due diverse opzioni anche per i soggiorni linguistici"
("It would be a great idea. Too bad there is a problem, namely the lack of well-defined and legally recognized standards: which Sardinian to teach? I am of the opinion that the two Logudorese and Campidanese macro-interests must be recognized and officially standardized, and therefore offer two different options also for language-learning holidays)

90 LIA I mean you would have to face a few challenges like for instance as you will be aware (.) Sardinian has a lot of varieties (.) of it [...] so **which variety are you going to teach** (.) are you going to teach a standard and er will the students be able to um to understand the people and to communicate to the people when they leave the class [...] **which kind of Sardinian do you teach** and **how much do you keep it close to the reality (.) the living reality**

121 MAN I think that it is **necessary if you want to teach the language** [...] it would be very good if people will understand would understand that spoken language is one thing and written language is another thing

A number of participants put forward their own opinions on what should be taught, but so far there is no unified answer to that question, only the recognition of the need for some form of standard in order to teach.

2.3 *What role do you think these language-learning holidays play (or could play) in contributing to the promotion or maintenance of Irish/Welsh/Sardinian?*

This was the final question of the questionnaires and interview guides and encouraged the participants to share any thoughts on the (potential) role of language-learning holidays that they had not yet brought up in previous responses, and allowed them to develop on any ideas previously mentioned.

An overwhelming majority of Irish and Welsh respondents reiterated that they felt such language-learning holidays play a "huge", "important" and "essential" role, especially in the promotion of the minority languages and many Sardinians felt that the implementation of Sardinian language-learning holidays would indeed contribute positively to the revitalisation of the language.

One point of view that was continuously mentioned was that a language is considered to be alive as long as there are speakers of that language, regardless of whether they are considered native or not:

70 SIL er:: (0.5) the promotion (.) definitely er:: (0.3) the maintenance of the language and the safeguard of the language I'm not sure (.) but **if we consider that a language is still alive as long as we have speakers of that language** (.) I think that **everything will contribute to maintain the language**

Furthermore, the teaching of minority languages to foreign learners has the potential to change the attitudes and perceptions that some native speakers have towards the language, attributing them a higher value and cultural capital, equal dignity as other majority languages and proving that learning a minority language is not just "a children's thing" (80 AED).

Fourth section: Discussion

Chapter 8. SO WHAT DO NATIVE SPEAKERS THINK?

The aim of the survey and interview questions was to reveal the perceptions and attitudes of native speakers of three different minority languages: Irish, Welsh and Sardinian, towards non-native new speakers and minority language-learning holidays, together with determining whether language-learning holidays themselves could positively contribute to the preservation and maintenance of regional minority languages. It observes the situation in Sardinia and the attitudes of native speakers of Sardinian varieties as a case study in order to determine whether minority language-learning holidays could be an alternative and viable approach to the revitalisation of the Sardinian language(s) on the island. This section will

contrast and discuss the results of this study with the literature previously examined in order to answer the two research questions posed earlier in the paper.

Firstly, the second research question will be addressed, which sought to expose the attitudes of native speakers towards minority language-learning holidays and towards non-native new speakers. In this discussion, this question will be broken down into two parts; an analysis of attitudes towards non-native new speakers and then towards minority language-learning holidays.

1 "Irish language is for everybody"

After examining the previous literature on the interplay of language and identity, it is clear that language plays an extremely important role in how individuals construct and qualify their own individual identity, as well as cultural and group ones. It could be argued that the role language plays in constructing one's identity is even more prominent for members of minority language communities, due to the oppression and marginalisation that they often face.

This is reflected in the views of the participants in this study, who report that the minority language for them represents their history, culture, heritage and ancestors, with some even considering it to be an innate part of them and part of their DNA. This supports Myhill's (1999) *language-and-identity* ideology, which emphasises an emotional and spiritual connection between the minority language and their native speakers. Furthermore, by referring to the minority language as "my language", many participants also implicitly suggest they feel like they have 'ownership' over the language, which reinforces what Norton (1997) has previously stated about the extent of cultural significance of language to identity.

In other cases, participants revealed that they consider an ability to speak the minority language as an essential part of 'being' Irish, Welsh or Sardinian, contributing to a degree of *Irishness*, *Welshness* or *sardo* and being an important indicator of the national or regional identity.

With such strong views, it would be unsurprising to hypothesise that native speakers of minority languages might be resistant or wary of non-native new speakers who come from outside of their community and learn their native language. However, this study revealed that despite participants' extremely strong connection with the minority language and their identity, individual, cultural and community, and their explicit mention of 'facing the Other', their expressed opinions of and attitudes towards non-native new speakers suggest that this strong sense of identity and 'ownership' does not prevent them from wanting to share their language and encourage its diffusion with external learners, indeed 'the Other'.

Attitudes towards the idea of 'foreign' learners was overwhelmingly positive, with participants displaying an overt expression of welcome, support and encouragement, coupled with feelings of amazement and pride.

Some participants, who were new native speakers, recounted personal experiences with native speakers of their minority language who had discredited their language production or their identity as a minority language speaker due to them not being perceived as being authentic or 'properly' from that region. One interviewee and new native speaker, Sarah,

describes a "snobbery" that surrounds the Irish language in the Gaeltacht areas and the judgement and resistance that people in the Gaeltacht have towards other native Irish speakers who come in from outside the Gaeltacht with their 'school Irish'. Another, Jack, describes the reaction a parent of a school friend had about him speaking Welsh, that he wasn't "properly" Welsh because his parents weren't Welsh. This reflects Mcleod and O'Rourke's (2015) point that some native speakers have their own ideas of authenticity, based on the assumption that someone can only be considered a 'real' speaker by virtue of biology and culture, and Jack's experience mirrors that of Trosset (1986, in Myhill, 1999) who felt that Welsh speakers generally have the idea that to be a speaker of Welsh is to be ethnically and biologically Welsh.

As this study did not cover native speaker's attitudes towards non-native new speakers' speech production, it is not pertinent to hypothesise on how they would perceive a non-native speaker's possibly non-standard or non-native speech. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to see if native speaker attitudes towards the speech production of new native speakers differ to that of non-native speakers, as Sarah later adds that she thinks that foreign learners would meet "less hostility than Irish people learning" (126 SAR).

In contrast, participants showed enthusiasm for an increased number of minority language speakers; Lia expressed very aptly that when people die, the language ceases to exist, so it doesn't matter if speakers come "from Norway" or from anywhere else as "a language is still alive as long as we have speakers". The general opinion was well summarised in this one particular participant's response: "The more people the better, it doesn't matter where they come from and it widens the [...] language community with different experiences".

2 "A niche of a niche"

As the language tourism industry has a desire to capitalise on and mass produce languages, cultures and identities for their unique and exotic character, which is known to create tension with local communities especially when minority languages are involved, it would be understandable if the minority language speakers in this study were cautious of the idea of language-learning holidays, as they essentially package and sell their native languages for profit. However, this was not the reaction observed, as participants seemed to be more focused on the fact they allow for the positive expression and promotion of their language, culture and ethnic identity.

Considering a number of language-learning holiday packages already exist in Ireland and Wales, a large number of Irish and Welsh participants had never heard of them. A handful of Irish and Welsh participants revealed that they had taken them in the past or knew people that had taken them, and had thoroughly benefited from the experience. In general, the resounding opinion seemed to be that such packages were a "great idea" and a "fantastic experience", with participants feeling they would have a positive impact on the learner, language and local economy. The effectiveness of the immersion-style courses was praised and the concept was considered a positive addition to the supports already available for minority language promotion and maintenance. As they are also often found in more rural parts, which are traditionally considered more Irish- or Welsh-speaking areas, participants felt that such courses are an important source of income.

Language-learning holidays for the Sardinian language(s) do not currently exist, so Sardinian participants were asked what they thought about the possibility of having them made available. Once again, responses were altogether positive, with participants considering it a fantastic idea and a wonderful thing. One participant expressed that they had always complained about the lack of such language-learning packages and others voiced a desire to learn more about them and to participate in them themselves. Michele, a Sardinian interviewee, revealed that he had previously taught Sardinian language courses to students at universities in Portugal and Iceland, and had once had a plan to set up and run one himself.

Although some questioned the usefulness of teaching a minority language to people who came from outside the community, others felt that such packages were key to encourage the diffusion of the Sardinian language and culture, its promotion and exposure to others. One interviewee, Sara, felt that Sardinian language-learning holidays could act like "a sort of bridge" between the Sardinian culture and the edutourists' own culture. They would attract people interested in learning the language and allow them to have a valuable experience with the language and culture, which they will then promote when they go back home, "showing amazing pictures of amazing places". This reinforces O'Rourke and DePalma's (2016) reports that 'foreign' non-native new speakers who participate in language-learning holidays can act as 'ambassadors' who promote their experiences and the minority language and culture upon their return to their home countries.

Despite voicing some doubts about the logistics of being able to offer language-learning holidays for Sardinian, the majority of participants were in favour of such an initiative, echoing the positive views of the Irish and Welsh. Attitudes demonstrated enthusiasm for the Sardinian language and culture, a desire to share it with other people from overseas and increase the number of minority language speakers, which language-learning holidays certainly do.

Overall, all three groups of minority language speakers; Irish and Welsh, who were more likely to have met or come into contact with non-native new speakers considering the language-teaching initiatives in already in place in the two respective countries, plus have knowledge or experience of existing Irish and Welsh language-learning holiday packages and courses, and Sardinian, for whom such concepts were more likely to be completely new, gave positive, enthusiastic, encouraging and supportive reactions to both the idea of non-native new speakers and minority language-learning holidays.

Chapter 9. COULD LANGUAGE-LEARNING HOLIDAYS BE A SUCCESS FOR LANGUAGE REVITALISATION?

The first research question presented in this study was whether language-learning holidays have the capacity to contribute to the preservation and maintenance of regional minority languages and consequently the reversal of language shift. A number of themes arose in the literature and in the data which will be explored in this chapter in order to answer this question.

1 "If we're a curiosity then I hope we profit from it"

While it may be nice to consider minority language-learning holidays as purely a bottom-up language revitalisation endeavour that promotes a regional minority language to an external public and body of potential language learners, it is important to also consider it as a tourist initiative. As some say that the format of a language-learning holiday is no different to any other package holiday available, it must not be forgotten that, even in the case of minority language-learning holidays, the language itself is a commodity and is being sold to consumers as a product.

In this perspective, the minority language is a commercial asset and the language-learning holiday is a business. Minority languages speakers can use their native language as a USP and to their economic advantage. Some language-learning holiday packages receive state or regional funding and are subsidised (or even free, as was the Galician course observed by O'Rourke and DePalma in their 2016 study), and other residential language schools and centres that offer adult minority language courses to native and non-native learners, such as Nant Gwrtheyrn in Wales, are registered charities. Nevertheless, this is not always the case and a number of schools are supported solely by the fees paid by edutourists.

In the current climate, many minority language revitalisation projects stagnate or do not succeed due to lack of funding, lack of direction or lack of support. Being a tourism initiative together with a language revitalisation effort, it is easier and more likely for such language-learning holidays to generate their own income and as such their own funding support. They are less likely to be reliant on continuous state or regional funding, which is hard to obtain and maintain, if available at all.

Language-learning holidays show that language-based tourism programming can be re-positioned as a strategic and intentional method towards language revitalisation, in which the tourist and the native speaker becomes an active participant.

In the context of Sardinia, such a community-based tourism initiative would create revenue for the local economy and provide local native speakers with work opportunities, particularly in the more rural areas, which as previously mentioned, are typically the areas with more-concentrated numbers of native speakers. Language-learning holidays could become a beneficial addition to current Sardinian tourism, a sector upon which the island already heavily relies, and may even "break away from seasonal tourism", as such residential courses can be available to all types of tourist, internal and external, all year round.

2 "Not just a children's thing"

Minority languages are often overshadowed and marginalised by majority languages and are known to be suppressed by governments and individuals pushing for national unity or eliminating linguistic diversity. As a result, some minority languages have acquired negative associations or perceptions by majority speakers and even the minority language speakers themselves.

Language tourism, and particularly minority language-learning holidays, have the possibility to change speakers' attitudes and perceptions of their native language. Although in

general nowadays, the attitudes Irish and Welsh speakers have towards their minority languages are not distinctly negative, seeing 'foreigners' come from outside of Ireland or Wales to learn the language may encourage native non-speakers, or native new speakers who have declined in their proficiency since leaving school, to learn the language themselves or improve their level. Faced with edutourists who have come from abroad just to learn the language as what they would consider a leisure activity, Irish and Welsh people may indeed feel guilt or embarrassment about their inability to speak it and therefore tackle their inertia when it comes to learning their native language themselves.

Furthermore, seeing people not from Ireland or Wales learning Irish or Welsh shows Irish and Welsh people that the language is not just a school subject but is something that can be applied to real life and can be studied outside of a compulsory education context. This is particularly important as this study has revealed that both Irish and Welsh speakers have observed other Irish and Welsh people cease to maintain their language competence once they have left school. This suggests that school-age minority language education is not always enough to ensure that speakers continue to use the language and maintain their proficiency once they have left compulsory education, and reinforce the view held by Smith-Christmas and Armstrong (2014) that adult learners - native new or non-native new speakers - have the potential to play a "lynchpin role" in the intergenerational transmission of a threatened minority language (p. 313).

In the Sardinian context, participants reporting a resistance to speak Sardinian in some places in Sardinia suggests that negative attitudes and perceptions of the language as being backward and old-fashioned still prevail, reflecting Tosi's (2001) observation that local languages have lost ground in Italy and are often perceived as outdated in a modern industrial society. In this study, a number of speakers report that the language is not valued enough; it is only used by people of a certain age or jokingly by younger people, and that policies should work towards making people understand that being able to speak Sardinian is an enrichment.

Language-learning holidays would attribute cultural capital to the Sardinian language(s) as it (or they) would become a cultural asset to Sardinian communities, reinforcing Pujolar's (2013) claim that the presence of a local minority language in the travel experience may contribute to the creation of new selling points as the variety is subsequently associated with modernisation rather than folklorisation. By teaching it as a second or foreign language, Sardinians who "don't even know it's a proper language" would no longer question its legitimacy, and having learners come from abroad may attribute the same dignity to the minority language as other languages, as it would be taught in courses no different to those of English or Spanish.

Giving the Sardinian language(s) an economic value would also give native speakers a further purpose to use them. Language-learning holidays have the capability of making Sardinian speakers aware of "the power of the language", that they are in possession of a linguistic commodity and that their linguistic heritage is a resource and additional quality.

Even in the case of a negative reaction to non-native new speakers and language-learning holidays, which has not yet been markedly seen in the results of this study, the simple fact of their existence could cause native speakers to think and reflect on the fact that other

people are interested in their culture and are coming from abroad to learn their native language, which must mean that it holds some value for these people.

Language-learning holidays can contribute to the legitimisation and valorisation of minority languages, and if implemented in the Sardinian context, could change perceptions of the language for the better.

3 "Quale varietà?"

The prospect of implementing language-learning holidays in a minority language context can come with its fair share of difficulties. Tourism has been defended as a vehicle for linguistic normalisation and, naturally, discussions around the implementation of language-learning holidays in Sardinia brings us back to the debate of a standard, and the question of which variety to teach. Participants in this study recognise the need for a standard if Sardinian is to be taught, whether it is in school education or in language-learning holidays promoting the minority language to foreigners, which reflects the results of Oppo's (2008) survey.

However, the question of a standard still remains and there seems to be no simple 'right' answer. Considering the negative wide scale public and scholarly reaction to the Limba Sarda Comuna and the particular outrage from Campidanese regions, it is unlikely that the LSC is the 'right' unified language to be adopted and taken forward. A number of other suggestions are possible; firstly that of choosing only one existing macrovariety as the standard, either Campidanese or Logudorese. Logudorese is the variety historically perceived as more conservative and literary, whereas Campidanese is the variety used in the economic and administrative centre, and capital city of Sardinia, Cagliari.

Sardinian could follow in the footsteps of Catalan, whose standard was based on the varieties spoken in Barcelona, which was the centre of Catalan politics, culture and economics at the time (Stillwell & Hetrovicz, 2013: 73). Haugen (1972 in Stillwell & Hetrovicz, 2013) states that "[i]f a recognized elite already exists with a characteristic vernacular, its norm will almost inevitably prevail" (p.73), and the selection of a variety associated with a city of political, cultural, and economic pre-eminence has not been uncommon in standardisation processes that have occurred in neighbouring Romance languages, such as standard French and Castilian Spanish.

There could be the creation of another, replacement, unified standard that takes into consideration and includes equal aspects from all the Sardinian dialects. This would be less likely to meet the backlash the previous standardisation attempts - LSU and LSC - have faced. Or, both macrovarieties, Logudorese and Campidanese could be codified and taught simultaneously as two 'double standards'. Due to the relatively high mutual intelligibility of the two languages, this could also be a feasible option and may lead to greater awareness and understanding that "spoken language is one thing and written language is another". However, as one participant pointed out in his interview, it also runs the risk of creating a new state of diglossia, one of high Sardinian versus low Sardinian, in addition to the already-existing troublesome Italian-Sardinian diglossia.

Alternatively, each Sardinian variety could be codified and taught in language courses across Sardinia, in their respective regions. This would prevent one variety being attributed higher prestige over others and any kind of high Sardinian-low Sardinian diglossia. Nevertheless, this would entail a significant amount of work and would still not result in a cohesive linguistic unity on the island. In the context of a language-learning holiday classroom, however, this option would allow the variety spoken in the location of the language school or centre to be taught, and, given the relative mutual intelligibility of almost all the varieties, awareness and attention could be drawn to the peculiarities of the other Sardinian languages.

All things considered, a concrete solution to this debate is outside the scope of this paper. What can be agreed on, however, is the importance of directly involving speakers in the standardisation decision-making process because the most importance factor in the success of a viable standard is their acceptance of it. It may eventually become a case of having to compromise on all sides and agree on a shared language, or risk losing all of them.

3.1 Logistics

It would be naive to think that implementing language-learning holidays in Sardinia would not come with certain logistical issues.

A lack of linguistic unity may cause a non-Sardinian who spoke some Sardinian in Sardinia may feel out of place because they cannot understand the language spoken "only two kilometres away". Finding enough host families that offer accommodation to learners who speak Sardinian at home may not be easy, as even fluent speakers of Sardinian have a tendency to speak bother Sardinian and Italian at home, which may result in a "hybrid experience" for a learner. Furthermore, this raises the question of which language should be the language of instruction for the language-learning holiday beginner classes: Italian or English? One choice may restrict the global target audience of 'foreign' learners and the other seems to completely contradict the transmission of knowledge and tradition in the cultural setting.

A number of participants in this study voiced their thoughts on potential problems surrounding implementing minority language-learning holidays in Sardinia, from finding enough Sardinian speakers qualified to teach their native language and concerns over funding and affordability, to being in direct competition with existing language-learning holiday packages on the island that offer programmes in the Italian language, and finding edutourists interested in learning a minority language such as Sardinian (although it could be argued that this last point may be an issue faced by all language-learning holiday providers in other countries, which this research has shown to still exist and be flourishing). Finding answers to many of these logistical questions is outside of the scope of this paper, but further study into other similar minority language situations and economical side of such an endeavour would be called for in order to offer such answers and solutions.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this study was to determine whether language-learning holidays have the capacity to be a successful alternative approach to minority language revitalisation, by positively contributing to the preservation and maintenance of regional minority languages, and to bring to light whether possible receptivity, approval, hostility or resistance from native speakers towards such holidays and towards 'foreign' non-native new speakers may affect the implementation and success of such initiatives.

With the Ethnologue (Eberhard, Simons & Fennig, 2019) reporting roughly a fifth of the world's languages as being endangered, language revitalisation efforts are more necessary now than ever. However, as scholars often identify a significant gap between official language policy and its effective or meaningful implementation - what May (2014) refers to as "gap(s) between principles and practices" (p.1) - alternative revitalisation approaches need to be explored. Bottom-up initiatives appear to be more harmonious with the needs of the language community but frequently face the issue of being halted or reduced due to lack of funding or mismanaged handling of funds.

Language tourism is a new and relatively recent concept in the fields of both tourism and sociolinguistics. Language-learning holidays are a similarly under-documented phenomenon, in general and in the context of European regional minority languages, and thus warrant investigation into their role in minority language promotion and maintenance. In addition, attitudes and opinions of native speakers often play a significant role in whether language planning initiatives will be successful or not, particularly when it comes to the case of *new speakers*.

In this study, three languages were chosen for observation: Irish, Welsh and Sardinian, which allowed the examination of attitudes and perceptions of minority language speakers who may already be aware of existing language-learning holidays offered for their minority language and of non-native new speakers of that language - indeed perhaps have even met one, as well as speakers who had never heard of such concepts. They also allow the exploration of a possible 'open market', with regards to whether Sardinian speakers would be favourable or not to the idea of introducing language-learning holidays in Sardinian, their attitudes towards the non-native new speakers that these holidays would create, and to whether the implementation of language-learning holidays in this context would be a feasible and successful endeavour.

The results of this study call for further research to be carried out in other minority language contexts, where language-learning holidays both exist and do not exist, to further determine the potential of their role on language revitalisation and reversing language shift. The status and situation of every regional minority language is different, and although the results of this study show that the implementation of such language-learning holiday initiatives may have a promising effect on the situation of the Sardinian language(s) and of its speakers, this cannot necessarily be extrapolated to other minority language contexts without further study, such as first-hand observations of minority language-learning holiday programmes and interviews with more native speakers of different minority languages.

Interestingly, and rather promisingly, a number of the Sardinian speakers interviewed in this study explicitly expressed interest in this research being taken further and the concept of a language-learning holiday package for Sardinian being established and trialled. This would certainly be another avenue of research which is deserved of being pursued.

Participants in this study expressed overwhelming positive attitudes towards non-native new speakers of minority languages and language-learning holidays. Such acceptance and approval suggest that any future language-learning holiday endeavours involving minority languages, be it in Sardinia or elsewhere, are very likely to be warmly received and supported by native speakers and the local community.

Furthermore, although O'Rourke and Ramallo (2011) claim that the generation of non-native speakers who become new speakers can re-initiate the process of intergenerational transmission in the home and community and therefore have the potential to create new generations of native speakers, it would be unrealistic to believe that language-learning holidays will significantly increase the number of new speakers of a minority language to the point that the language is no longer endangered. It is also plausible that many of the edutourists who participate in such programmes will only have a superficial learning experience, and even those who actually become non-native new speakers may not relocate to the country or region where the minority language is spoken natively.

However, as one participant in this study put it, *everything will contribute to maintain the language*; it is not one initiative, it is many initiatives that contribute to a minority language's preservation. In this case, what could be significant is the effect that the establishment of such language-learning holiday initiatives could have on the local communities and on changing native speakers negative perceptions of the language as backward and outdated. They increase promotion and visibility of the minority language on an internal and external level, and to an international public. In doing so, they attribute the language value and cultural capital, and introduce it to a commercial domain in which it would not typically be found. This may result in a revived interest in the native language(s) within the local community and in an extension of their use from traditional, informal domains such as the home to the commercial sector and beyond, a fundamental step in changing status and perceptions of a language.

A revalorised perception of a minority language like Sardinian has the power to eliminate the stigma that surrounds it and lead to it being considered equal to the majority language, such as Italian, and to other languages. This in turn may set in motion an increased and continued active spoken use of it at home and to younger generations. It is undeniable that intergenerational transmission is the key to reversing language shift, and albeit not directly or immediately, minority language-learning holidays may have the potential to encourage and achieve this.

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