The ambivalent relation between nationalism and national language: the cases of the Republic of Ireland and Wales

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HAL Id: hal-01325671

https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-01325671

Submitted on 2 Jun 2016

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IRLANDE ET ROYAUME-UNI : SOUVERAINETÉ, LANGUE, DÉVOLUTION

The ambivalent relation between nationalism and national language: the cases of the Republic of Ireland and Wales

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Résumé

La relation ambivalente entre nationalisme et langue nationale : l'exemple contrasté de la République d'Irlande et du Pays de Galles.
Il est d'usage d'associer revendications culturelles, linguistiques et mouvements nationalistes de groupes ou d'ethnies minoritaires au sein d'un état-nation. Qu'il s'agisse d'une demande d'autonomie, d'auto-détermination, voire d'indépendance, armée ou pacifique, la langue est un élément capital de cette quête de reconnaissance politique. Elle formerait la clé de voûte d'une identité jugée suffisamment établie au cours de l'Histoire pour satisfaire de telles exigences.
A tout le moins, la liberté culturelle et linguistique, au même titre que la liberté d'opinion, est protégée par la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme de 1948.

Dans la sphère d'influence dite "anglophone", l'Irlande a acquis son indépendance politique et institutionnelle sur fond de revendications culturelles et linguistiques, à telle enseigne que l'irlandais (gaélique) est la première langue officielle du pays selon la Constitution. Au Pays de Galles, en revanche, où les revendications autonomistes sont peu vigoureuses, l'institution politique a favorisé l'usage du gallois à l'école et dans l'administration locale. Le présent article se propose d'explorer le paradoxe suivant lequel sentiment nationaliste ne rime pas nécessairement avec défense de la langue de la minorité. Nous nous intéresserons ainsi au statut officiel de la langue, aux politiques linguistiques (école, administration), à l'usage de la langue comme médium de socialisation en République d' Irlande et au Pays de Galles.

Mots-clés : irlandais – gallois – nationalisme - éducation - statut institutionnel- politique linguistique- République d'Irlande- Pays de Galles.

Abstract

The ambivalent relation between nationalism and national language : the case of the Republic of Ireland and Wales.

Nationalist movements of groups or ethnic minorites within a nation-state are frequently associated with cultural and linguistic demands for recognition. Whether these claims concern political autonomy, self-determination or independence, in a climate of negociations or armed conflict, language lies at the heart of the discussions. Its connection with an established national identity stable through time should meet all the criteria for securing such a recognition. And indeed cultural and linguistic freedoms are protected by the 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, on a par with freedom of speech.

In the so-called "English-speaking" sphere of influence, Ireland acceded to political independence against a backdrop of cultural and linguistic demands, so much so that the Irish (Gaelic) language is the first official language of the land according to its Constitution. This can be contrasted with the situation in Wales, where secessionist claims are few, the British political institutions have accepted that Welsh should be a language of education and of the local administration. The present contribution aims to explore the paradox according to which nationalism does not necessarily rhyme with the actual defense of the minority language. In that perspective, issues such as the official status of the language, language policies and the social use of the language will be analyzed and compared in the Republic of Ireland and in Wales.

Keywords: Irish - Welsh – nationalism - education – language policies - official status - Republic of Ireland- Wales

The present contribution aims to provide a general analysis of the relation between state apparatus and minority languages which have achieved, sometimes at the end of a long process, some particular form of official status and recognition based on linguistic nationalism. Does this status have any impact on language use and its development within the national community? Or should this issue be discussed solely from a global economic and commercial perspective? The difference between these two questions is that the former emphasizes two aspects; first, that there is an ontological link between language and territory that was shaped by culture and history (encapsulated in the political concept of "nation"), and, secondly, that it is the role of the sovereign state to promote and ensure that linguistic literacy is achieved by proactive measures in education through school, training, public service and the media. If we take the second view, economic necessity presides over the emergence, development and possible decline of languages, and the world or regional dominance of a language is only a political avatar of that theory, known as linguistic imperialism or linguicism (Phillippson 1992: 47). But language cannot be treated as yet another commodity that graces the ruthless world of commerce and politics, since it may have a quantifiable impact on a country's economy (Lazear 1995). And if the promotion of a lesser-used language in its country of origin cannot be done without the help of the government, it does not guarantee that the decline of the language can be efficiently checked or that proactive measures will in themselves help the use of the language as an effective means of socialization.

The Republic of Ireland and Wales, although geographically situated in the British Isles, are cases in point. What these two provinces share is the marginalized status of their native languages, both belonging to the group of Celtic languages (Irish being a Gaelic language, like Scots-Gaelic, while Welsh belongs to the group of Brittonnic languages, along with Cornish and Breton) . Both are also geographical "marches", albeit crucial to the building and consolidation of Britain's state apparatus (the English wars of succession). On the one hand, Ireland became a "Free State" after waging a successful war against the British government in 1921; its Constitution was drafted in 1937, the Republic was proclaimed in 1949, the Irish language became its first national language, and its teaching compulsory in primary and secondary school. Wales is still a British province but has managed to promote Welsh as a language of the local public services and education; it has also benefited from the Devolution referendum in 1997 and the UK's ratification in 2001 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. But the Irish language, although supported by proactive as well as protective government policies is in no better position than Welsh according to recent censuses. The proportion of Irish speakers is dwindling, despite the fact that many people boast of their capacity to use the language: 42.4% of the population could speak fluent Irish, based on

self-assessment (Hickey 2013, CSO 2006)[1]. In Wales, the 2011 census results show that 19% of the population can speak the language fluently (Welsh Government Statistics 2012), which is proactively promoted and protected with the blessing, or the indifference, of the British government.

How can these contrasted situations be explained? The present contribution will develop the following two-pronged argument: first, that there is no necessary cohesion between state and language; we can even argue that, in the case of Ireland, they are almost antagonistic.

Secondly, that there is a far more complex relation between language and territory than is usually assumed, precisely because a territory is not limited to geographic or political considerations, butcan also encompass the many ways in which a language escapes state boundaries and the limits imposed by institutions. In this perspective the key theoretical reference will be Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's A Thousand Plateaus (1980) because the authors have managed to lay the foundation of a global theory of social phenomena as the products of a continuum, a flow of collective, impersonal desire that form temporary assemblages on a single plane of immanence. Thus the influence of transcendental elements such as ideology, spirituality and psychoanalysis play no part. In this philosophy of nature largely inspired by the works of Nietzsche and Spinoza, interactions are mapped out and assessed in terms of speed, intensity and variation on a horizontal plane to form territories, a key concept that will enable us to analyse the disjunction of language and nationalist ideals. After a brief definition of nationalism and a general description of the historical contexts in Ireland and Wales in Part One, it will be contended in Part Two that, contrary to the tenets of linguistic nationalism, language operates on a constant, rhizomatic flow, and is opposed to static state structures that aim to confine it to circumscribed social functions. Part Three will then develop the idea that linguistic territories are always caught up in a movement of deterritorialisation that eludes state control only to be reterritorialised and reconfigured by state power, until a new line of flight may change the substance of that assemblage and turn it into something new.

I- Language and state: the ingredients of power

A- The historical roots of linguistic nationalism

Language issues are riddled with paradoxes, and one of them is that nationalism

(be it state-sponsored or on the agenda of party politics) be the sole defender of linguistic and cultural heritage, because it is a reductionist view of the issue. Indeed nationalism emerged in the second half of the 19th century, and is the unexpected result of several under-currents: Romanticism, the birth of modern philology and the period of political turmoil known as the "Spring of Nations"[2] in 1848[3]. Romanticism was not confined to Europe's literary circles; it combined a novel interest in folklore, local customs and traditions, as embodied by the works of the Grimm brothers in Germany, with a new form of philosophy emphasizing the importance of emotions, the communion between the self and Nature, between language and land as a reaction against the French Revolution. Parallel to this, the period saw the constitution of a new area of scientific investigation called philology, the aim of which was to establish the origin of European languages. Even though similarities had been noted between Sanskrit, Latin and Greek at a much earlier stage, Indo-European was coined in 1813 by linguist Thomas Young. Many followers and developers of that budding academic discipline were German, among whom Franz Bopp (1791- 1867) who is considered a pioneer, as well as Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel (1772-1829). Philosophers like Johann Gottfried Herder (1744- 1803) were influenced by the political atmosphere of the French Enlightenment, the gradual emergence of philology or the works of illustrious predecessors like Jean-Jacques Rousseau. In his Essay on the Origin of Language (1772) Herder wrote: "Has a nation anything more precious than the language of its fathers? [...] What a treasure language is when kinship groups grow into tribes and nations! Even the smallest of nations... cherishes in and through its language the history, the poetry and songs about the great deeds of its forefathers. The language is its collective treasure"[4]. Later on, Humboldt, a renowned linguist and philologist who supported the Romantic view on language, argued that "language is the spiritual exhalation of the nation" (1836: 44), the "formative organ of thought" (1836: 21). In 1807, philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, in his Addresses to the German Nation, insisted on the connection between political aspirations and the vernacular language in very strong terms: "Men are formed by language far more than language is formed by men"; "Where a people has ceased to govern itself, it is equally bound to give up its language and coalesce with its conquerors, in order that there may be unity and internal peace and complete oblivion of relationships which no longer exist."[5] Given that the historical context was the occupation of Prussia by Napoleon's troops in 1807, this quote recalls Douglas Hyde's address to Conradh na Gaeilge (the Gaelic League) urging for the demotion of English in favour of the Irish language, which was already in decline:

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1 Outside the educational system, 1,203,583 (29.7%) of the population aged three years and over) regard themselves as competent Irish speakers. Of these 85,076 (7.1%) speak Irish on a daily basis, 97,089 (8.1%) weekly, 581,574 (48.3%) less often, 412,846 (34.3%) never, and 26,998 (2.2%) did not state how often.

2 Or "the springtime of the peoples".

3 This very short period of intense political turmoil hosted a series of insurrections in France (against Louis Philippe's refusal to grant universal suffrage to the people) in favour of independence in Poland, Hungary and Belgium, and of political unification in Germany and Italy. It is worthwhile noting that Germany's current national anthem was composed at that time.

4 Third natural law. See https://www.marxists.org/archive/herder/1772/origins-language.htm

5 13th Address

"I shall endeavour to show that this failure of the Irish people in recent times has been largely brought about by the race diverging during this century from the right path, and ceasing to be Irish without becoming English […] I wish to show you that in Anglicising ourselves wholesale we have thrown away with a light heart the best claim which we have upon the world's recognition of us as a separate nationality […] So much for the greatest stroke of all in our Anglicisation, the loss of our language" (Hyde 1892).

Hyde, who was to become the first President of the Republic of Ireland, was already arguing in favour of the preservation of the Irish language through its compulsory teaching enforced by an independent Irish government. Political and linguistic claims became inseparable in the context of "colonization" by a foreign power. Wales had also been subjected to English rule and had become even more fully integrated into the United Kingdom than Ireland had ever been. Unlike Ireland, Wales ceased to rebel against English domination very early in history, and yet it did not dramatically affect the position of Welsh for, in spite of England's natural aversion for vernaculars, the language managed to survive and regain some recognition, or at least toleration. The paradox is that the language revival was eventually funded by the British Government, as the brief comparison with Ireland below will show.

B- Ireland and Wales' historical relation to Britain

It took the English royal dynasty centuries to establish their rule in Ireland, and the first settlers eventually mingled with the local population and adopted their customs and language, so much so that King Edward III had a statute enacted by the Irish Parliament in 1367 in the town of Kilkenny banning the Irish traditions, customs and language from the public sphere and preventing the "Old English" settlers from mingling with the Irish (CELT 1997-2003)6. Political autonomy was

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6 Article 3 states: "Also, it is ordained and established, that every Englishman do use the English language, and be named by an English name, leaving off entirely the manner of naming used by the Irish; and that every Englishman use the English custom, fashion, mode of riding and apparel, according to his estate; and if any English, or Irish living amongst the English, use the Irish language amongst themselves, contrary to the ordinance, and thereof be attainted, his lands and tenements, if he have any, shall be seized into the hands of his immediate lord, until he shall come to one of the places of our lord the king, and find sufficient surety to adopt and use the English language, and then he shall have restitution of his said lands or tenements, his body shall be taken by any of the officers of our lord the king, and committed to the next gaol, there to remain until he, or some other in his name, shall find sufficient surety in the manner aforesaid: And that no Englishman who shall have the value of one hundred pounds of land or of rent by the year, shall ride otherwise than on a saddle in the English fashion; and he that shall do to the contrary, and shall be thereof attainted, his horse shall be forfeited to our lord the king, and his body shall be committed to prison, until he pay a fine according to the king's pleasure for the contempt aforesaid; and also, that beneficed persons of holy Church, living amongst the English, shall have the issues of their benefices until they use the English language in the manner aforesaid; and they shall have respite in order to learn the English language, and to provide saddles, between this and the feast of Saint Michael next coming".

further curtailed by the passing of Poynings' Law in 1495, which placed the Irish Parliament under the authority of the Parliament in England until 1782 (Macinnes 2011)7. British political rule was definitively introduced after the complete surrender of Irish troops led by Patrick Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, and the signing of the Treaty of Limerick in 1691. Between 1691 and 1760, a series of statutes called the Penal Laws were passed that barred access to education, public office, land rights and religious practice for all Irish Catholics (Schaffer 2000). These laws were gradually relaxed and finally repealed with the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act in 1823. From a legislative point of view, no further step was taken to ensure more autonomy to Ireland, in spite of the Home Rule Party's best efforts8 to promote such a move. Ireland finally achieved political freedom in 1921 when a delegation of Irish nationalists, who had fought in the War of Independence, signed a treaty with the British government that also partitioned the island into the Irish Free State (in the "South") and Northern Ireland, which remained British. In the 1937 Constitution of Ireland (Bunreacht na hÉireann), it is stated in Article 7 that:

"The Irish language as the national language is the first official language.

The English language is recognised as a second official language.

Provision may, however, be made by law for the exclusive use of either of the said languages for any one or more official purposes, either throughout the State or in any part thereof."

Paradoxically, the Constitution was first drafted in English by constitutionalist John Hearnes, and then translated into Irish by a group of scholars working for the Department of Education headed by Micheál Ó Gríobhtha. It also implied that, in case of a conflict in interpretation between the two texts, the Irish one should prevail, and it did so in a number of cases brought before Irish courts (Ó Conaill 2012). Finally, the Languages Act 2003 clarified and strengthened the rights granted to Irish citizens who wished to use Irish when dealing with public services, and to receive all official information and documents in Irish (An Coimisinéir Teanga 2008). Since independence, all signposts, traffic signs and regulations have been in bilingual form, Irish is present in the media, in print and in schools. But, due to its privileged constitutional position, the Republic of Ireland has not ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages on behalf of the Irish language, though it is only spoken by a minority of Irish people.

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7 Whatever legislative independence the Irish Parliament enjoyed was short-lived. In 1800, the Act of Union merged the English and Irish Parliaments. Consequently, Irish MPs had to seat in Westminster and the Irish parliament ceased to exist.

8 The Home Rule League (or Party) was an association of different political currents in Ireland led by politician of Anglo-Irish Protestant stock, loosely connected by the desire to gain administrative autonomy within the United Kingdom. It only lasted from 1873 to 1882, and reached its pinnacle under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, MP for Meath (1846-1891).

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Wales was partly conquered by King Edward I between 1282 and 1284, when the Statute of Rhuddlan was promulgated. It oversaw the creation of three new counties (Anglesey, Meirionnydd, and Caernarfon) and imposed English-style justice in criminal law and the Common Law in these areas. This paved the way for the complete anglicisation of Wales, which was eventually carried out during the reign of Henry VIII. Two Laws in Wales Acts were passed in 1536 and 1542, by which the English monarch made himself king of Wales. Moreover, both countries became a single parliamentary and legal entity9, and the use of Welsh for public office was banned (Raithby 1811:243)10. The parts in the statutes related to the language were effectively repealed by the Welsh Language Act 1993.

Even though Wales did not have any local administrative authority, education became the responsibility of the Welsh Department of the Board of Education in 1907, followed by Health in 1919, agriculture and fisheries in 1922. In 1951, the office of Minister for Welsh Affairs was created, and replaced in 1964 by the office of Secretary of State for Wales, which was given responsibility for the new Welsh Office in 1965. Its role was to execute government policy in Wales, and it took some proactive measures in favour of the language: in 1969 bilingual signposts were authorized, and in 1974 road and traffic signs also became bilingual. In 1952 the BBC started broadcasting programmes in Welsh, followed by ITV in 1957, and BBC Cymru Wales was set up in 1964 to continue that mission (BBC Cymru 2013). In 1997, a referendum on devolution was conducted and in 1999, the Welsh Office transferred its powers to the National Assembly for Wales. The Cabinet position of Secretary of State for Wales, at the head of the Wales Office, was created and one of his missions is to ensure that the voice of Wales be heard within the British government (Department for Constitutional Affairs 2005).

9   *The Wales and Berwick Act 1746* created a statutory definition of England as including England, Wales and Berwick-upon-Tweed. It was repealed with regard to Wales by the *Welsh Language Act 1967.*

10   Section 1 of the 1535 Act states: " ...because that the People of the same Dominion have and do daily use a speche nothing like, ne (should this be "one"?) consonant to the natural Mother Tongue used within this Realm, some rude and ignorant People have made Distinction and Diversity between the King's Subjects of this Realm, and his Subjects of the said Dominion and Principality of Wales, whereby great Discord Variance Debate Division Murmur and Sedition hath grown between his said Subjects;..." and then declares the King's intention towards his Welsh subjects "...to reduce them to the perfect Order Notice and Knowledge of his Laws of this his Realm, and utterly to extirpe all and singular the sinister usages and customs differing from this Realm and to bring the said Subjects of this his Realm, and of his said Dominion of Wales, to an amicable Concord and Unity..."
Section 20 bars Welsh speakers from holding public office : "Also be it enacted by the Authority aforesaid, That all Justices, Commissioners, Sheriffs, Coroners, Escheators, Stewards, and their Lieutenants, and all other Officers and Ministers of the Law, shall proclaim and keep the Sessions Courts Hundreds Leets Sheriffs Courts, and all other Courts in the English Tongue; and all Oaths of Officers, Juries and Inquests, and all other Affidavits, Verdicts and Wager of Law, to be given and done in the English Tongue; and also that from henceforth no Person or Persons that use the Welch Speech or Language, shall have or enjoy any manner Office or Fees within this Realm of England, Wales, or other the King's Dominion, upon Pain of forfeiting the same Offices or Fees, unless he or they use and exercise the English Speech or Language."

What this brief description shows is that political nationalism, state power and linguistic identity do not necessarily coincide. More specifically, that there seems to be a hiatus between state institutions and linguistic aspirations when the latter are associated with a minority group, and this does not vary with the nature and political identity of the state. One major difference between Ireland and Wales under direct British rule is that the former was administered on the basis of exclusion, the latter of inclusion, since Welsh people were granted the same rights and privileges as their English counterparts. However, the survival of the Welsh and Irish languages was neither an issue nor a priority for the British administration, since it repeatedly tried to eliminate them from the public sphere. They survived because they managed to escape scrutiny and state control, because parallel networks were created to support them, as we shall see. In fact, state and language are antagonistic because it is in the nature of state apparatus to control, codify and congeal the multiplicity of flows of individual and collective desires by imposing its norms, be it a British or a nationalist government. The mechanisms by which this process is conducted is best illustrated by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's theory of the rhizomatic structure of desiring-production developed in A Thousand Plateaus (1980)11, as opposed to the static, tree-like nature of the state apparatus.

II- The Tree and the Rhizome, or how language finds its way into the social fabric.

A- The case of Ireland: the verticality of state v. the horizontal movement of language

"There is no mother-tongue, only a power takeover by a dominant language within a political multiplicity. Language stabilizes around a parish, a bishopric, a capital. It forms a bulb. It evolves by subterranean stems and flows, along river valleys or train tracks ; it spreads like a patch of oil" (TP 8)

What this quote illustrates is the double layers that coexist in the shaping of a language: on the one hand, there is the pragmatic level that encompasses all activities, be they economic, social, individual actions and passions; on the other hand, the enunciative level that includes all the types of discourses that flow through the social fabric, and the role of which is to transmit orders (referred to as "order-words" TP:95) and to impose transcendental values on individual or group desires. These groups should, according to Deleuze and Guattari, be considered as temporary assemblages which produce desires and actions as they flow, move along in the global flux that makes up existence on a one-dimensional plane of immanence, by which it becomes obvious that the authors' worldview rejects all

11   Henceforth designated by the abbreviation TP.

ideologies, systems of thought and religion.

They contend that transcendence lies at the heart and foundation of states, history and of the great philosophical systems whose aim is to explain how the world, the universe functions, and on what underlying principles. In the case of military conquest, the task of the newly-formed state entity is to ensure that domination should never be unsettled by rebellion. One possible strategy is the rejection of the pre-existing social organisation by means of repression and prohibition (the Penal Laws in Ireland), or disparagement by means of satire (Snyder 1920 : 687-725), caricature12 or moral indictment. Indeed, this system of thought is binary ("us v. them", "Good v. Evil", "black v. white", etc) and as a representation of the universe and of mankind, it corresponds to what Deleuze and Guattari named the "Tree", and is exemplified by the "root-book":

"A first type of book is the root-book. The tree is already the image of the world, or the root the image of   the world-tree. This is the classical book, as noble, signifying, and subjective organic interiority (the strata   of the book). The book imitates the world, as art imitates nature: by procedures specific to it that accomplish what nature cannot or can no longer do. The law of the book is the law of reflection, the One   that becomes two" (TP: 5)

The epitome of that kind of book is the statute, the legal document that enacts rules and norms, and it cannot be solely identified, in the case of Ireland, to British rule. Indeed, the Irish Constitution itself contains a Preamble that leaves no doubt as to what kind of vertical, pivotal tree imposes its transcendence:

"In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity, from Whom is all authority and to Whom, as our final end, all actions both of men and States must be referred,
We, the people of Éire, Humbly acknowledging all our obligations to our Divine Lord, Jesus Christ, Who sustained our fathers through centuries of trial,
Gratefully remembering their heroic and unremitting struggle to regain the rightful independence of our Nation, And seeking to promote the common good, with due observance of Prudence, Justice and Charity, so that the dignity and freedom of the individual may be assured, true social order attained, the unity of our country restored, and concord established with other nations, Do hereby adopt, enact, and give to ourselves this Constitution."
Éamon de Valera, the Head of Government of the Free State and the driving force behind the drafting of the 1937 Constitution, had had numerous consultations with the various political parties and organisations in the course of the drafting. But he repeatedly met the representatives of the Catholic Church (the Irish bishops and the papal Nuncio) and spokespersons for other denominations in the elaboration of

12 One traditional representation of the Irishman or woman is the "ape", which regularly featured in Punch Magazine in the second half of the 19th century. For illustrations, see
http://thesocietypages.org/socimages/2011/01/28/irish-apes-tactics-of-de-humanization/

the Preamble and Article 44's religious clause (Keogh and McCarthy 2007: 150-173). Among other things, this shows that religion is not in itself the core ingredient of Irish identity, but rather a state apparatus that had fought against the British state apparatus and eventually won. It can be evidenced by examining some landmarks in Irish history to see that, starting off as a political enemy to the British Crown, the Catholic Church managed to "capture" the Irish language and impose some of the existing social customs and structures that may have been at odds with its teachings.

1/ Rhizomes: rebels and hedge schoolmasters

Language is essentially a connective and collective activity, and its fabric is woven with the micro-politics of individual desire. Supremacy and superiority are political, not linguistic values, but language partakes of this too. In colonial Ireland and Wales, existing social structures were swept away by conquest and replaced by institutions that were simply transposed, trans-lated (to keep its dynamic dimension) from one place to the other. As elements of a more complex layer of machine-like assemblages, language was demoted along with the previous institutional assemblage, while its use was limited outside a certain perimeter of visible administrative boundaries. This resulted in the flight of the previous élite and the going under of the old Gaelic social order, which hid and mixed with the lives of the common people, to form what has been dubbed the "Hidden Ireland" (Corkery 1924) and continued its own separate existence from the tiny governing minority. In Deleuze and Guattari's terms, this underground assemblage worked like a rhizome13 Indeed the former court poets, hosted and paid by the Irish-speaking aristocracy, were left behind when the Earls went into exile on continental Europe. Many of them became hedge schoolmasters to instruct the sons and daughters of the Irish peasantry in Irish, the rudiments of Latin, Greek, mathematics and some English.

They were hired and paid in money and in kind by local parishes and led itinerant lives. They continued to write poetry, although Irish culture had traditionally been oral. Poets met occasionally to present their verses and engaged in contests for the title of ollamh (or chief poet), which did not grant anything more than recognition among their peers. Poetry also circulated in written manuscripts (Dowling 1968: 106 and 120) then were lent and copied out by other poets; sometimes, listeners

13 "A rhizome as subterranean stem is absolutely different from roots and radicles. Bulbs and tubers are rhizomes. Plants with roots or radicles may be rhizomorphic in other respects altogether: the question is whether plant life in its specificity is not entirely rhizomatic. Even some animals are, in their pack form. Rats are rhizomes. Burrows are too, in all of their functions of shelter, supply, movement, evasion, and breakout. The rhizome itself assumes very diverse forms, from ramified surface extension in all directions to concretion into bulbs and tubers [...] A rhizome ceaselessly establishes connections between semiotic chains, organizations of power, and circumstances relative to the arts, sciences, and social struggles. A semiotic chain is like a tuber agglomerating very diverse acts, not only linguistic, but also perceptive, mimetic, gestural, and cognitive: there is no language in itself, nor are there any linguistic universals, only a throng of dialects, patois, slangs, and specialized languages" (TP: 8)

could learn long verses by heart and write them down at a later stage. However, some organisation was kept, even in clandestinity: scholars, the most meritorious of the hedge schools' pupils, had to tour Ireland to be instructed in the art by renowned schoolmasters before qualifying as schoolmasters (McManus 2004: 88). Schoolmasters and poets were outside of the control of any authority, in that they relied on their own learning traditions over which neither the English administration nor the Catholic Church had any influence. They were nomads in their own country although they benefited from the protection of local networks against the threat of arrest, just like priests under the Penal Laws. Nomads, according to Deleuze and Guattari, exemplify multiplicity (TP: 352), they carry their tools, weapons and jewels and live outside the boundaries of a coded, policed territory. Like other assemblages, they form a machine that produces not only desire, but war, even though war is not the primary object of this "war-machine" (Deleuze 1990: 50). This machine is exterior to the state apparatus, and opposes both its legislative, judicial aspect and its repressive power (ibid); it is embodied by the warrior: "he is like a pure and immeasurable multiplicity, the pack, an irruption of the ephemeral and the power of metamorphosis" (TP: 352). The authors then elaborate on this aspect by comparing the state to a game of chess, where each piece has its unique function and the game of Go:

"Within their milieu of interiority, chess pieces entertain biunivocal relations with one another, and with the adversary's pieces: their functioning is structural. On the other hand, a Go piece has only a milieu of exteriority, or extrinsic relations with nebulas or constellations, according to which it fulfils functions of insertion or situation, such as bordering, encircling, shattering. All by itself, a Go piece can destroy an entire constellation synchronically; a chess piece cannot (or can do so diachronically only). Chess is indeed a war, but an institutionalized, regulated, coded war, with a front, a rear, battles. But what is proper to Go is war without battle lines, with neither confrontation nor retreat, without battles even: pure strategy, whereas chess is a semiology. [...] The nomos of Go against the State of chess, nomos against polis." (TP 354)

2/ Two tall trees: the Crown and the Church

Hedge school masters and poets fought a battle for their survival, not only against the regulated education system that was slowly being implemented in Ireland and culminated in the creation of the National Schools in 1831, but also against the Catholic Church which was in a bargaining position against the British government for the administration of the schools at the expense of the Protestant, yet liberal, Kildare Society (McManus: 66-67). The Church had regained some official recognition from the British since it had recognized the reigning Hanoverian dynasty as legitimate in 1766. The consequence was the progressive relaxing of the anti-Catholic laws that had aimed to eliminate all possibilities of rebellion against the Crown by barring Catholics from landed property, public office, voting rights and education. In 1778 the first Catholic Relief Act (dubbed the "Papists Act") was passed, giving Catholics the right to own and inherit land if they took an oath renouncing the Stuart claims to the throne and the civil jurisdiction of the Pope (which meant the access to middle class and to some hitherto unreachable positions and professions). In 1829 the Catholic Emancipation Act gave Catholics the right to vote and be elected in Parliament against an oath of allegiance to the throne. In the meantime, the French Revolution, with its policies of dechristianisation, had interrupted the constant movement of priests who used to be trained in Europe and alienated the Church. In 1795 the British government allowed the setting up of St Patrick's College in Maynooth to serve as a seminar for Irish Catholic priests. The hedge schoolmasters, who never enjoyed a good reputation among clerics, were swiftly abandoned by the Church, the more so as they had been well aware of the political context in Europe and had, for many of them, encouraged the propagation of pro-revolutionary pamphlets or membership of seditious groups fuelling bouts of agrarian revolts (McManus: 26). The Church thus moved from tacit protection of hedge schools to their elimination for pragmatic reasons. In the same way, in order not to lose its hard-fought official recognition, the Church never encouraged insurrection or sedition, and neither the 1798 United Irishmen rebellion with the help of French troops, nor the 1848 Young Irelanders revolt, nor the 1867 Fenian rising were remotely supported by the Church, on the ground that it rejected all forms of violence. The 1916 Easter Rising was no exception, until mass arrests and deportation of young men to English prisons alarmed the public opinion, who had resented the manner in which the leaders of the Rising had been arrested and swiftly executed. The junction between nationalist politics and Catholicism was made, and it was symbolized by Patrick Pearse, one of the 1916 leaders, a poet and schoolteacher, who was both a devout Catholic and a fierce supporter of the Irish language movement and of armed insurrection. In other words, and in spite of the fact that other political leaders, some of them Socialists (like James Connolly), had taken part in the Easter Rising, the mythology of a victorious Catholic and Irish-speaking Ireland was created and propagated. The Catholic Church, as a state apparatus, had finally managed to "capture" (TP: 425) the undercurrent of political claim for Independence and the Irish language movement that had started off with the foundation of the Gaelic League in 1893 by Douglas Hyde. After the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921, Ireland finally accessed independence and formed its own state apparatus founded on law and language and territorial claims over the entire island14.

B- Wales: the rhizomatic assemblage of religion and language

14 Article 2 of the 1937 Constitution, which was substantially modified after the 1998 referendum that followed the signing of the Good Friday Agreement between the British government, the Irish government and the representatives of all political factions and parties in Northern Ireland.

Protestantism became the norm at an early stage in Welsh history, and considerable efforts were made to evangelize people. Contrary to the Roman Catholic Church, whose official language remained Latin, in 1563 Elizabeth I ordered the four bishops of Wales to commission the translation of the Bible and Book of Common Prayer into Welsh15. The 1588 translation by William Morgan became a model of literary revival and classicism, as did its 1611 English language counterpart known as the King James Bible.

But the Anglican reformation generated theological and social debates within its ranks and Methodism was founded in the mid-18th century; it began its separate existence in 1844. The social aspect of Methodism was its emphasis on helping the needy by creating hospitals, schools, universities, orphanages and soup kitchens. They were also concerned with the fate of the "reprobates", such as prisoners and, later on, the emerging working class of the Industrial Revolution. In Wales, Methodism16 spread rapidly, and its origins can be traced back to Griffith Jones (1684-1761), who had founded itinerant schools for the education of children. He was joined by other Church of England ministers, such as Howell Harris (1714-1773) and Daniel Rowland (1713-1790). Once the Methodist Church was founded, ministers had to register as Non-Conformists under the Toleration Act 1689 to obtain a license to pursue their activities. Methodists adopted a supportive attitude to Welsh and the Scriptures were commented in the language, and this paved the way for a cultural and religious movement in the 1780s. Two currents, one in the South, and one in the North, were finally united ("connected") in 1826 with the drafting of the Connection's Constitutional Deed. This constitution has a Welsh name (Hen Gorff- the Old Body) and the Welsh Methodists harbour to this day a very strong national feeling. They are very active in the Welsh language cultural movement, notably the National Eisteddfod of Wales, the largest annual festival of competitive music and poetry in Europe consisting of eight days of competitions and performances, entirely in the Welsh language. But the Methodists' main concern has always been education.

Between 1674 and 1681, the Anglican Welsh Trust had promoted the teaching of English to children while carrying out evangelisation through book printing in Welsh, which sounds rather contradictory. Meanwhile, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was founded to teach catechism in Welsh in the North, in English in the South and it remained active until 1737, when Griffith Jones started his own itinerant charity schools that lasted between 1737 and 1779 and catechism was taught in Welsh mainly. They died out in 1779 after the death of Mrs Bevan, who had continued Griffith Jones' task after his death in 1761. They were replaced by the Sunday School (Yr Ysgol Sul), also founded by Methodist preachers like Edward Williams, Morgan John Rhys, Thomas Charles de Bala. They aimed to

15 There were five translations of the Bible between 1717 and 1752, one of them by Griffith Jones.
16 Known as Calvinist Methodism or the Presbyterian Church of Wales.

teach Christian principles through Welsh, and to develop reading and writing skills (Jones 2007). There were 140 schools in 1798, it reached a peak in 19th century, declined when education became a public concern but did not disappear completely. Today they are confined to religious education in the Welsh language (Davies 2012). Theological colleges were also set up, one in Bala in 1791, one in Trevecca in 1742. Welsh had, by then, become associated with religion, and it turned into a tug-of-war between Anglicans and Dissenters, the latter championing the Welsh language, which met with some success. In 1837, marriage ceremonies in Welsh were allowed; so were religious services in Welsh in 1873. Statistically, 74% of the population was Non-Conformist (Methodists formed the majority group) in 1906 following the 1904-1905 Welsh religious revival that swept through the country (Jones 2005). The administrative and political supremacy of the Church of England was ended in 1914 with its disestablishment and the setting up of an Anglican Church in Wales.

The survival of the Welsh language was largely due to the religious activism of the Methodists, who spread their faith through itinerancy rather than pastoral teaching, something akin to the Irish hedge school network; as under the Toleration Act, Dissenting ministers were not allowed to teach in private homes but had first to obtain a licence and teach in designated church locations, this gives to the early decades of the movement the semi-clandestine feature that also characterized the hedge schools: both were grassroots, loosely connected organisations shaped like a rhizome, Welsh preachers and Irish schoolmasters being itinerant nomads fuelled by their strong belief in education and language, and their distrust of established, tree-like systems of authority. Although it is difficult to establish a firm connection between Methodism and trade-unionism or more radical movements in Britain (Hobsbawm 1957), as religious leaders tend to be more conservative than their flock, the existence of a link between religious, social and political issues cannot be totally excluded and traces of it remain, even if the influence of religion has declined in Wales, especially in the South (Office for National Statistics 2011).

But it would be wrong to attribute the defence and protection of the Welsh language to religious societies only. In 1925, the nationalist Plaid Cymru (Plaid Cymru 2013) campaigned in favour of Welsh independence and the promotion of Welsh language and culture. It originally defended the idea of a Welsh Home Rule, and included groups like the Home Rule Army of Wales (Byddin Ymreolwyr Cymru), but many historians believe that the party was originally, and still is, a language movement, and that political separatism never managed to become its primary concern (Philipp 1975). It is interesting to note that the call for independence within Europe, the creation of a bilingual society and the socialist decentralism of the party promoting social justice, the protection of the environment as well as of Welsh, and equal citizenship are reminiscent of the language of the 19th century Methodists, and no radical attempts at armed rebellions were made within the party, except for passive resistance to what was perceived as anti-Welsh policies by the British Government.

Indeed the move to grant some official status to Welsh was gradual and pushed by language activism from the Welsh Language Society, a movement created in 1962 advocating the promotion of the language in a non-violent but direct manner (Cymdeithas 2004). In 1969, bilingual signposts were authorized, and road signs in 1974 after a campaign of civil disobedience. The Welsh Language Act 1967 gave the language official status within public service and courts; the Welsh Language Act 1993 gave access to services in Welsh, although this was disputed when Jamie Bevan, a language activist, was jailed in 2012 after trashing a Conservative Party office in protest against the Government's proposed budget cuts to the support of Welsh (Huffington Post 23/08/2011). Jamie Bevan repeatedly sought for Welsh language use in court proceedings and prison, but maintained he did not receive any. In 1998, the Referendum on Devolution was held and a strong majority voted in favour of a devolved Assembly, which was formed in 1999. The absence of large-scale political violence of the magnitude of the "Troubles" in Northern Ireland17 demonstrates that devolution in its current form is not an event but a process in Wales, in the words of the Assembly's official website (National Assembly for Wales 2013). Contrary to what happened in Ireland, where the institutional "tree" of political nationalism and Catholicism replaced British rule, in Wales the rhizomatic process went from grassroots movements of various origins to the political institutions and achieved official recognition.

This shows that there is no necessity to associate the protection and the promotion of language with radical politics. Instead, when one considers the minority status of both Welsh and Irish, the issue of "becoming-Irish/Welsh" needs to be addressed. Deleuze and Guattari defined the assembling of desiring-machines in terms of movement, speed and intensity on a plane of immanence, which leads to the creation and the mapping-out of a "territory" specific to the minority language. Events may substantially change in nature depending on the local context, but when the language issue is "captured" by the State, the relation between the state apparatus and the "becoming" of the linguistic identity becomes central. "Becoming-Irish/Welsh" may undergo changes through shifting assemblages: what is thus "captured" loses its original plasticity and movement while maintaining an apparent identity and continuity. What state capture introduces is order and standardisation, and the minority language issue is thus created with the aim of becoming a majority, through capture by state apparatus in the guise of the fiction of identity. Constraints, order-words ("mots d'ordre"), striated space, meaning well-regulated and controlled activities and relations, characterize that change in paradigm. Minority needs to finds its place within, or under, that system by operating a movement of deterritorialisation, while contending with globalisation's

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17 Even though a nationalist, anti-English movement called Meibion Glyndwr (lit. "The Sons of Glyndwr") torched or bombed out English-owned cottages because such purchases pushed the housing prices up, well beyond the means of local people. It is estimated that, between 1979 and 1990, some 228 properties were damaged. The radical attitude of that movement, mostly confined to North Wales, was not, however, shared by the majority of Welsh people.

capacity to capture and merchandise culture. The dynamic connection between territory, deterritorialisation and re-territorialisation, all of them key concepts in Deleuze and Guattari's work will now be examined, in the light of what the authors dubbed the "Refrain" (la Ritournelle).

III- The Refrain of Language: an attempted deterritorialisation from state's offical identity.

"[O]ne can distinguish the territoritalities or re-territorialisations, and the movements of deterritorialisation which carry away an assemblage [...] Systems of power would emerge everywhere that re-territorialisations are operating, even abstract ones. Systems of power would thus be a component of assemblages. But assemblages would also comprise points of deterritorialisation. [...] Desiring-assemblages have nothing to do with repression. [...] I would say that they code and reterritorialise" (Gille Deleuze 1994).

A- The territory of language and micro-politics.

Deleuze and Guattari define the concept of "territory" not as a pre-existing space, but as being created while being invested and appropriated (TP: 386-389): the key ingredient in its formation is movement, and a territory is caught up in a flow of affects of various origins, be they psychological, political, economic and so on. It should not be confused with the environment or the surroundings within whose limits individuals or groups live and share social and linguistic values; in fact, a territory is torn between the centripetal force of belonging and the centrifugal force of dispossession, a theme that is well documented in Ireland. This pattern is illustrated by the 18th century poets who walk through the Irish countryside as their territory, a place where they share some degree of mutual comprehension with the group that inhabit it in that they all belong to a defeated, conquered people. The Irish peasantry was still very sensitive to the prestige of the poet (the file) who was still endowed with supernatural powers (Ó hÓgáin 1982: 81-127) and yet the former court poets felt sufficiently demoted from their previous rank that they lamented the disappearance of the past and the gloom awaiting Ireland. Itinerant poets wrote visionary verses (called aislingí, or visions18) and carried their own territory of hopes in a foreign saviour who would come from across the sea to free Ireland from its servitude as well as the feeling of utter desolation at the loss of its sovereignty. While becoming nomads and a minority in their own country, they were still obsessed with the Old Order and its strict social hierarchy, which imposed itself on them who had been part of it. The filí of the 18th century experienced the pull of the old representations instituted by the former state apparatus and

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18 This refers to a long tradition in Irish poetry and, in the 18th century, describes a dream in which the poet has the vision of a supernatural woman symbolizing Ireland, who tells him about her woes under English rule and predicts the coming of a royal saviour to relieve her from her subjection.

its territorial organisation of naming places and generating stories to explain the source of those names19 . This degree of concatenation and organization is called "molar", as opposed to the "molecular", the "micro-political" of the individual (and not the "subject"). What Deleuze and Guattari presuppose, is the existence of cracks in the system, that the molecular desiring-machine chips away: there is always a tension in the system, and a tendency for the individual to create and follow his own line of flight and depart from that territory; in the case of the great filí, this line of flight was poetry: although the official anglicisation of personal names and places was systematically carried out and harmonized in the 19th century by the Ordnance Survey while the National Schools were set up, deterritorialisation was conducted by means of language and literature, and the lost political territory of Ireland was sublimated into an unattainable Land of Heart's Desire20, which could correspond in practice to America (the "Land of the Free") or to fiction. Territory is the product of a desiring-assemblage connecting heterogeneous items in a revolutionary movement; in fact, the Ireland or Wales of the independentist movements is a fantasy, a fiction, and, in the case of Ireland, a product of art and literature before putting on the cloak of the war-machine: writers and artists of the Celtic revival invented a vernacular in English (Hiberno-English) to give a flavour of what is "i mbéil an phobail"21, without being Irish speakers for some (Deleuze, 1975: 33: "writing in one's own language like a Jewish Czech writing in German"); those who endeavoured to learn it (notably Synge and O'Casey) went to the Gaeltacht, the Irish-speaking areas, which gradually acquired the status of pilgrimage to a linguistic shrine. Paradoxically, the Gaeltacht is the "outside", the "deterritorialised", even though it lies at the core of the Dispositif devised by the nationalist state. It is not the smooth and unchartered space of the visionary poet anymore, but a highly coded territory, where, and this is not the last of its paradoxes, English-speaking Irish from the Galltacht22 not only go and learn what it is like to be Irish, but also experience a feeling of estrangement in their own country. But since these different aspects coexist, it is now time to discuss them in terms of movement and lines, on the one hand the grassroots rhizomatic deterritorialisation aiming to create a territory through the Refrain; on the other hand, the process of "capture" of that movement by the state apparatus and its new reterritorialisation around new rules ("order-words"), and how it affects language.

B- Deterritorialisation

1- the Refrain

This dynamic concept is based on three elements: one that creates a territory by means of a sign, a signature represented by the Refrain (Ritournelle in French), and can be described as the little song of a frightened child singing along on his way home to give him courage (TP: 311). Once this tentative conjuring-up of a still distant home is done, the child is safe within his territory and keeps the forces of chaos at bay by singing along to gather some strength before doing his homework, or the radio is on and it defines the musical quality of that territory (ibid.). Then the comforting circle is opened up, either to let someone in, or to go out in a big, forceful world (ibid.). In Ireland, since the language had been deterritorialised, pushed away by emigration, famine and anglicisation, it began to reconfigure around the dichotomy between town and country. What had been the writers' and poets' territoriality, the unattainable land of fiction and political hope, always situated beyond the sea, has finally been associated with the Irish countryside of the Gaeltacht.

The Irish school system was based on the postulate that having Irish as a mother tongue was enough to teach it; it also means that the native speaker is the benchmark, the goal to attain, which is, again, an effect of deterritorialisation from English to Irish. The ideology was so strong that an English speaker may feel like a foreigner in his own country; this mirrors the other deterritorialisation of the minority language, once the draft of the Constitution is translated, it becomes the language of the law, and of the Constitution. It also emphasises the paradox of the native speakers who turn to English, because to them there was no necessity to maintain the language in the public sphere for economic or social reasons23, while the non-native speakers want to revive and spread the use of the minority language24. But the central nexus of this Dispositif is the opposition between tradition and modernity that feeds off the process of deterritorialisation and keeps it going .

2- Tradition v. modernity

This particular issue is essential within a nationalist rhetoric and the desire to offset the established rule of Britain's state apparatus to replace it with another one, based on the parallel motto of state sovereignty. Whole swathes of knowledge had to be chartered by the language, which led to the setting up of commissions of linguists to monitor the coining of new words in Irish to reflect the growing technological complexity of the world, a process that took a very similar form in Wales. At the same time, there was a need to record, map out the world of tradition and customs: folklore, music and songs were recorded, written down in Ireland or elsewhere (O'Neill 1913) so as to check the dreaded extinction of what amounted to Irish cultural identity. The propagation of culture is synonymous with the preservation

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19 It is evidenced by the Cóir Anmann (or "fitness of Names"), a late Middle-Irish treatise on personal and placenames. Available at http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/G503002.html
20 To paraphrase W. Butler Yeats' play, first performed in 1894.
21 Literally "in the mouth of the people/community", what people say, public opinion.
22 Irish word meaning "English-speaking area"

23 See the 2007 Report Staidéar Cuimsitheach Teangalaíoch ar Úsáid na Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht: Piomhthátal agus Moltaí
24 Flann O'Brien's An Béal Bocht (The Poor-Mouth), first published in 1941, satirizes the constant flocking of urban promoters of the Irish language to the Gaeltacht to see how the natives lived.

of language, music and songs within the framework of competitions[25] (Fleadhanna), of sports (with the GAA League and Championship in Gaelic football (peil) and hurling (iománaíocht), which maintain a cultural identity alive and broadcast in different parts of the globe; the aim is to acknowledge change within the limits of tradition, so as to keep a tradition alive and thriving - sometimes with the exclusion of "foreign" influences (Orejan 2006: 47)[26]. But in a globalised world, the fate of lesser-used languages like Irish and Welsh require a swift adaptation to incontrollable changes in the economic, social and cultural landscapes. In an attempt to reterritorialize Irish and Welsh, the Irish government and the Welsh Assembly resort to the media (TV, radio, the press and book publications) to protect and promote the national language, but its impact is limited to their geographical sphere. Deterritorialisation towards outposts (Argentina for Welsh, the US, Australia, New Zealand and England for Irish), and the loosening of the ties between nationality, origins and language has generated some questioning: can Irish and Welsh be "international" languages? So far, Irish has working language status within the EU, but its opponents in Ireland argue it is very costly, and the language becomes the bone of contention between nationalists and modernists, a re-enactment of the opposition between past and future. As for Welsh, it has now the status of "co-official" language within the EU[27] since 2008, amidst opposition from a group of Welsh MEPs. Here, the analysis comes across another line, another striated space: economic common sense, embodied by globalisation, as opposed to an outdated vision of the world. Now the Internet has been invested by language activists who try to connect those who would learn and promote both language and culture, in a more casual, less traditional manner, which is one of the best examples of what Deleuze and Guattari would call a "smooth" nomadic space that creates its own unchartered rules as it moves along[28] (forums, chats and language lessons being the most popular features among the Irish-language community on the Web, which is echoed in the Welsh-speaking sphere[29]). Interestingly, the minority in each country has managed to foster some sort of rhizomatic proliferation abroad, even if it is not a huge phenomenon. What it shows is that a language can somehow survive away from its geographical environment. Another type of deterritorialisation can be seen in the shift from country to city in terms of immersion schooling (Gaelscoileanna in Ireland) and the attempt to create an Irish-speaking urban culture (shops, cafés, clubs), in collaboration or in conflict with structured language associations, like Gael Linn[30] or Conradh na Gaeilge in Ireland, the Welsh Language Association in Wales, or under the auspices of the Welsh Language Board, a public body set up by the British Government under the Welsh Language Act 1993.

What characterizes the linguistic landscape in Ireland and in Wales is its extreme dissemination and the proliferation of organisations whose aim, though not primarily geared toward Irish, is to promote it along with other areas of cultural interest. But the role played by the Irish Government and the British, then the Welsh Assembly was crucial in the establishment of the languages. Both state apparatuses have conducted a profound reterritorialisation of Welsh and Irish within the striated space of society, and there is no doubt that, but for the continuous efforts of both entities, Welsh and Irish would have been disappearing at a much faster pace than they are. However, it can be argued that state policies aim to rationalize, structure and control language in connection with education in a somewhat rigid manner. These efforts at reterritorialising Irish and Welsh have frequently displaced the debate on the language to other criteria that are central to state consideration but detrimental to the language they claim to protect.

C- Reterritorialisation and state "capture" of the language issue.

If the Irish language has a privileged status under the 1937 Irish Constitution, Welsh only became an official language within the UK in 2011 with the passing of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 Act, which was then voted by the Welsh Assembly in April 2012 (National Assembly for Wales (Official Languages) Act 2012) and received Royal Assent in November 2012. It created the office of Language Commissioner and gave Welsh the status of Wales' official language on a par with English, and that both languages should be treated equally. The first paradox of the institutional debate lies in the contrast between a newly-acquired de jure equality in sharp contrast with a de facto imbalance in favour of English, a situation also experienced in Ireland despite the best efforts of the Irish Government to reconquer lost linguistic territories. The following paragraphs will focus on the Irish situation, given the hindsight of nearly one hundred years of state existence.

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25 In 1951, the association Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann was founded with the aim of preserving and promoting Irish traditional music. It now has hundreds of branches in Ireland and across the globe. The annual festival, the Fleadh Ceoil na hÉireann, is in fact the finals of the contests that are organized by each local, then national branch. See http://comhaltas.ie/about/ . The organization emphasizes the necessity to adhere to a traditional style of music and song. Dance is also represented. The only other traditional sean nós ("in the old style") singing contest of wordwide reputation is An tOireachtas (Oireachtas na Gaeilge), run twice a year (no, only once) and featuring competitions in the Irish language (debating, singing, new compositions, dancing, literature and poetry...). See http://www.an-toireachtas.ie/

26 The GAA (Gaelic Athletic Association) founded in 1884, promoted traditional sports and the Irish language, and became closely associated with revolutionary movements like the Irish Republican Brotherhood. In 1902, its constitution approved a ban on English and Northern Irish security officers from being club members, and on all other "foreign" or "English" games, like football, rugby and cricket.

27 See http://ec.europa.eu/unitedkingdom/about_us/office_in_wales/welsh_language_en.htm

28 See Foras na Gaeilge http://www.gaeilge.ie/Baile.asp , Daltaí na Gaeilge http://www.daltai.com/ or Omniglot http://www.omniglot.com/links/irish.php . The Welsh have adopted a similar policy; see http://www.madog.org/dolenni/dolen03.html

29 The Wikipedia article on the Welsh language provides a list of media, publications and websites in Welsh. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Welsh-language_media

30 See http://www.gael-linn.ie/default.aspx?treeid=267

1- Education, language and "order-words".

"When the schoolmistress instructs her students on a rule of grammar or arithmetic, she is not informing them, any more than she is informing herself when she questions a student. She does not so much instruct as "insign", give orders or commands. A teacher's commands are not external or additional to what he or she teaches us. They do not flow from primary significations or result from information: an order always and already concerns prior orders, which is why ordering is redundancy. The compulsory education machine does not communicate information; it imposes upon the child semiotic coordinates possessing all of the dual foundations of grammar (masculine-feminine, singular-plural, noun-verb, subject of the statement-subject of enunciation, etc.) The elementary unit of language – the statement- is the order-word. [...] Language is not made to be believed but to be obeyed, and to compel obedience" (TP: 75-76).

When the Irish Free State was created, the new government worked on the implementation of a rule making Irish compulsory at school; the arguments in its favour were patriotic, and echoed Douglas Hyde's 1892 Address to the Gaelic League urging for the de-anglicisation of Ireland (see above, note 8). The Irish language was thought of in terms of lineage, of heroic values, of a sacrifice made in the name of a higher goal to attain, the formation of an Irish nation (Kelly 2002: 17). From then on, it became the task of the State to see to it that this sacrifice had not been made in vain. Language, patriotism and religion were thus associated, given the numerous references to the Catholic ethos in the 1921 Anglo-Irish Treaty and, later on, in the 1937 Constitution. Moreover, most National Schools, which had been set up in 1832, were denominational, and most of them were Catholic in the new state. The building up of a national education system takes the following items into account: a national curriculum, teacher training, teaching methods and assessment. In the early days of independent Ireland, these were very delicate issues to deal with.

a- National curriculum: standardization and censorship

One of the major decisions made in 1922 was to make Irish a compulsory subject taught at school for at least one half-hour in the beginning and end of every school day (Kelly: 9). The task met by (or "set for"?) school teachers was rather formidable as few pupils outside the Gaeltacht could speak the language. Moreover, the dearth in Irish language textbooks deterred teachers from using Irish as a medium for education, a measure that was strongly encouraged by the Department of Education (Kelly: 88); the problem was also to use books and authors of fiction that would pass censorship without being edited out on moral grounds. Thus authors like Brian Merriman, whose 18th century poem Cúirt an Mhean-Oíche was peppered with lewd allusions about sex, were studied in abridged form. On the other hand,

writers from the Gaeltacht, like Tomás Ó Criomhthain's An tOileánach (The Islandman) and Peig Sayers's Memories of an Irishwoman became school classics, even if both narratives described a lifestyle that was very different from what Irish urban school children lived. As far as language acquisition was concerned, teaching methods were very similar to what was in use in Europe at the time, which meant few communicative skills, but a lot of grammar and a strong emphasis on writing. Besides, Irish was not standardised, and spelling and pronunciation varied from place to place, not to mention that there are four great dialects corresponding to Gaeltacht areas: Donegal in the North, Connemara in the West, West Cork and Kerry in the South-West, and Waterford in the South-East. Pupils were exposed to a variety of these dialects, depending where their teacher came from, if he or she was a native speaker. Thus in 1958 the first Caighdeán (standard) was published and was used in government publications and at school (Mac Lochlainn 2012). To many Irish speakers, this was a necessity and also a pity in the sense that a typical blas (accent) was thus lost to the learners.

b- Teacher training and teaching methods

In 1922, there were trained schoolteachers in Ireland, but without much competence in Irish. There was a network of training colleges and summer camps aimed at teaching them Irish so that they could then teach it in school (Kelly: 66). Since oral tests were introduced in 1940-41, there was a marked preference for native speakers. Gradually the standards were raised and teachers could boast a higher degree of proficiency; the Inspectorate encouraged them to attend summer schools in order to be in contact with the language. However, a 2007 Inspectorate reports show that 3% of all primary schoolteachers had poor Irish, 20% could speak fairly well, and 22% were completely fluent (Inspectorate Evaluation Studies 2007: 16) but the main problem concerned the teaching methods that did not sufficiently take into account the absence of support from families and the estrangement of school children from the language itself. This could be linked to the past practice of some form of corporal punishment, which was banned in Ireland as late as 1982. No studies have been published on this practice to date, either because people believed it was normal in the school context, or because the experience was traumatic enough not to elicit any further discussion about it. But many people in the late 40's or 50's mention that punishment and beatings occurred when mistakes were made in the Irish classes. The only indirect testimonies come from literature (as illustrated in Flann O'Brien's satirical novel The Hard Life, published in 1961). Today the situation has completely changed but there is still room for improvement in language teaching methods as recommended by the Council of Europe (Education Policy Profile : Ireland 2005-2007).

c- Degree of proficiency attained

Compulsory Irish aimed to make Ireland a bilingual country, and Irish was a required subject for school exams (up to the Leaving Certificate, the equivalent to a British A-levels or a French Baccalaureate), for admission to higher education and to become a civil servant, where an oral test is organised. This ensures that the language is part and parcel of public and administrative life. For a while, the standards were quite high, but expectations were substantially lowered when it was acknowledged that few candidates would meet those standards of proficiency. The Leaving Certificate syllabus was then changed and adapted, and a three-tiered exam is being implemented: one track for those pupils with little literacy in the language (Foundation level), and two for those with higher proficiency (Ordinary level and Higher level). In 2012, the Irish oral exam went from a proportion of 25 to 40% in the final mark, which shows how the government plans to increase the importance of Irish as a means of communication within the 20-year strategy for the Irish language (Government of Ireland 2010). Generally speaking, there seems to be an official recognition that promoting the language has not been entirely successful, but appearances must be kept up by keeping the same format for exams while lowering its content level.

2- Rhizomatic initiatives in Ireland and Wales

"A rhizome has no beginning or end; it is always in the middle, between things, interbeing, intermezzo. The tree is filiation, but the rhizome is alliance, uniquely alliance. The tree imposes the verb "to be," but the fabric of the rhizome is the conjunction, "and. . . and.. . and. . ." This conjunction carries enough force to shake and uproot the verb "to be." [...] The middle is by no means an average; on the contrary, it is where things pick up speed. Between things does not designate a localizable relation going from one thing to the other and back again, but a perpendicular direction, a transversal movement that sweeps one and the other away, a stream without beginning or end that undermines its banks and picks up speed in the middle" (TP: 25)

The language movements, whether they are just tolerated or encouraged, are grassroots initiatives from local groups of parents or language organisations that are formed on the basis of a specific demand, like access to Welsh- or Irish-language education for their children, in a particular place and at a particular time. They do not conform to administrative planning, but are the spontaneous expression of a machinic assemblage whose rule is nothing else but an impersonal desire that goes beyond individual and personal requirements. Local groups of parents spring up and find out that, in another locality in a different social context, other such groups are expressing the same need, perhaps based on different criteria. It is interesting to note that parents' organisations apply for the opening of an immersion school in very diverse areas (middle-class and working-class, in urban and rural areas, among defenders of the language and culture or newly-arrived families anxious to

discover a new cultural and linguistic horizon) both in Ireland and in Wales, where the pattern has been more firmly instaured; hence the existence of a multiplicity of umbrella associations that regroup these demands so as to fit into a manageable administrative mould while securing the parents' position within the school boards of management. It is worth noting that these rhizomatic assemblages are not political in the separatist or segregationist sense of the term, but their very structuring is a challenge to state control. As will be developed hereinafter, the situation of gaelscoileanna in Ireland is the best illustration of the power struggle engaged by the movement against the government and against a section of the Irish population, on political grounds or on the basis of a more hidden agenda. The Welsh situation provides a more established model for the development of immersion schools based on a less controversial relation with the British and Welsh authorities because it is, by and large, devoid of separatist demands, and will be studied first.

a- The Welsh immersion education movements (Addysg Cyfrwng Cymraeg)

The British school system is varied, and caters for a diversity of needs. As often in Europe, the first schools were private and governed by religious denominations. State-run schools appeared with the passing of the Elementary Education Act 1870, followed by the Education Act 1918 that abolished fees in primary schools. Unlike a country like France, where the opposition between the public and the private education sectors is based on ideology, in Britain, several types of maintained schools[31] coexist: state-run schools (including some faith-based schools), representing 93% of all school attendance, community schools, voluntary-controlled schools, voluntary-aided schools, foundation schools, academy schools since 1997, free schools since 2010, as well as city technology colleges or academies. The whole system seems rather complex, but is the result of a time-honoured practice that does not upset a system or a structure that fits in well with the overall education objectives: the British system is conservative in the sense that it forms strata of schools that are loosely connected to one another. The Welsh immersion schools have benefited from administrative toleration as early as 1947, when the first Welsh language primary school was founded, and the first secondary school in 1951, after the 1944 Education Act allowed for the wishes of parents to be taken into account in schooling matters (Rednap 2010). In 1956, the first secondary Welsh-language school, Ygsol Clan Clwyd, opened in Rhyl; in 1971, there were 67 secondary schools across the province, and 600 by 1998 and it is worth noting that all Welsh immersion secondary schools are state-run, but parents are present on the schools' Governing Boards. In 2000, 27% of all primary school children attended a Welsh-language

31 These schools are funded by local authorities. They must follow the national school curriculum and teachers are paid according to the same standards and are recruited according to the same academic requirements. The distinctions take into account ownership of land and buildings, governance and objectives.

school. Parental demand for pre-school education in Welsh led to the creation of Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin in 1971to fund nursery schools (Ysgolion Meithrin in Welsh) and promote education through Welsh. According to their website "(t)he Mudiad had grown and developed from being an organisation that was formed originally to establish 'ysgolion meithrin' (nursery schools) throughout Wales, to one that is developed into an organisation of national status which is acknowledged as the 'Welsh early years specialists' in Wales" (Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin 2011). Another organisation, the Wales Pre-school Providers Association, promotes pre-school bilingual education (Walesppa 2011). Many academic publication confirm that nearly 30% of the children aged 3-15 are fluent in Welsh, and they are only matched by the 65+ group, in which 22.3% can speak Welsh fluently. It is acknowledged that this increase is largely due to the effects of immersion education (Laugharne 2006: 64). Demands for the recognition of the Welsh language nationwide often started as campaigns of civil disobedience in the 1970's supported by the Welsh Language Society (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg), which prompted the BBC to launch a radio station (Radio Cymru) broadcasting in Welsh (BBC 2013), and a TV channel (S4C) in 1981, broadcasting 115 hours a week in Welsh (S4C 2013). There was a period of tensions between Welsh and English speakers across the province, but, with the Welsh Language Act 1993, followed by Devolution in 1998, political tensions abated and both languages are to be treated equally. Even if Welsh remains a minority language, its force comes naturally from its status, because it induces attitudes to the language that are akin to what Deleuze and Guattari define as "becomings" (TP: 23) or, to be more precise "becoming-a-minority" (Deleuze 1996: 11). It means that the language must be "inhabited" as a minority group would inhabit a dominant language by always acting like foreigners speaking the language, making the language "derail" and defy state structures and majority opinions[32]. This could only be achieved in Wales because there are no close ties between political separatism and the language movement. By contrast, Ireland has firmly established Irish as its first official language, thereby granting it the paradoxical position of the majority language even though it is spoken only by a minority.

b- The Irish Gaelscoileanna (or immersion schools)

"Even in the realm of theory, especially in the realm of theory, any precarious and pragmatic framework is better than tracing concepts, with their breaks and progress changing nothing. Imperceptible rupture, not signifying break" (TP: 24)

While supporting the language in education and all other areas of Irish life, the Irish State apparatus is striving for the inclusion and control of local, grassroots initiatives. The immersion school movement has also to contend with the public

opinion's negative view of the language because it has been associated with repression and Church influence. This negative perception of the language is supported by the ownership structure of Irish primary and secondary schools, which are privately owned and managed by Boards of Trustees or under the patronage of an umbrella organisation mostly linked to the Church: National Schools are mainly denominational, and 95% are run by religious orders (Citizens Information 2012). Irish immersion education (an tumoideachas) concerns education through the medium of Irish outside the Gaeltacht and exists at every level of the school system, and coordinated by different organisations: Naionraí (pre-schools), gaelscoileanna (primary schools), gaelcholáistí (secondary schools). Schools are monitored through patronage bodies, like An Foras Pátrúnachta (foras.ie 2013), which manages Irish-medium schools that can be denominational or multidenominational. They are responsible for the school ethos and financial matters. Coordination is carried out by Gaelscoileanna Teoranta (Foras na Gaeilge 2013), a voluntary charity founded in 1973 and incorporated as a private company in 2000. Its role is to provide support to local initiatives concerning the opening and accreditation of new gaelscoileanna. Teacherss' associations, like Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge,campaign for an increase in the setting-up of Irish-medium schools in urban areas. Academic research also shows that bilingualism can be best achieved within the family circle or through immersion education, preferably at an early stage (Walsh 2003: 110-121), and parental concern largely emerged and developed among the Irish middle-class, before being followed by other sections of the Irish population[33]. Indeed, in recent years, there has been a huge growth in immersion schools from parents with varied social backgrounds. Parents opt for immersion education for different reasons, including: the benefits of bilingualism for learning and acquisition, cultural heritage, even when parents do not speak the language themselves, or as part of a family education project in which the language plays a pivotal role[34], and how concerned parents are when it comes to their children's future. The number of gaelscoileanna have increased within a short period of time to reach a total of 180 catering for the needs of 33,710 children in September 2013 north and south of the border (gaelscoileanna.ie 2013).

Due to the voluntary, bottom-up nature of the school setting-up process, opening an immersion school requires militancy, some "becoming-intense" (TP: 232) on the part of the parents and high-profile communication by all the actors in the process of requesting permission to open from the Department of Education. This is evidenced on the internet by the opening of schools' individual websites under the patronage of Gaelscoileanna Teo, as well as sister organisations like Daltaí na Gaeilge (Students of Irish), information media like Gaelport, Irish language associations like Conradh na Gaeilge or the official Foras na Gaeilge, a government body coordinating and implementing language policies, plus many <u>local community</u> initiatives. Parents are encouraged to actively participate in the

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32 "Les gens pensent toujours à un avenir majoritaire (quand je serai grand, quand j'aurai le pouvoir…). Alors que le problème est celui d'un devenir-minoritaire : non pas faire semblant, non pas faire ou imiter l'enfant, le fou, la femme, l'animal, le bègue ou l'étranger, mais devenir tout cela, pour inventer de nouvelles forces ou de nouvelles armes." (Deleuze 1996: 11)

33 The oldest gaelscoil in the State is Scoil Bhríde, located in Ranelagh in Dublin 6.
34 See http://lborn.com/childhood/childhood-4969.html

school community life, and to learn Irish if they do not speak it. Schools were opened in urban, working-class districts where the language had never taken root before (like the deprived Ballymun area in Dublin), and there are waiting lists for enrolment in each of these schools. However, these schools have had to contend with a lot of opposition from the Department of Education and general public opinion across the country. The attitudes towards the Irish language are mixed: the government is accused by the language movements and parents' organisations of paying lip service to the language while refusing to see that the standards of literacy are dropping (McIntyre 2013 and rte.ie 2013). At the same time, parents eager to open a new school have to face stalling strategies from the Department in granting permission to open (O'Carroll 2013) and in matters of permanent accommodation, an area in which parents find it difficult to secure the schools' future, which led Gaelscoileanna Teo to launch a campaign in favour of Government support and funding35. But the schools are also facing possible cuts in the teacher-pupil ratio, which, according to the organisation's press release, would "result in a complete dilution of the effectiveness of the immersion experience for the pupil" (Angle Three Associates 2013). Moreover, the future of gaelscoileanna is also threatened by recent measures concerning admission procedures in schools, which are seen as unfair and discriminatory by the current Minister for Education, Ruairí Quinn. One of his arguments is that, with a shortage of places in Irish schools, and the ensuing waiting lists, a two-tier education system is emerging which is detrimental to disfavoured sections of the population, and fragilised by appeals from parents whose applications have been turned down by school principals (Ryan, April 2013). The Irish public opinion is either indifferent to the language issue, or very supportive, or downright hostile: bad memories of teaching methods, since corporal punishment was only banned in Irish schools in 1982, or lack of interest. Rumours of hidden, racist motives for choosing Irish medium education have been voiced by the press36. According to them, multidenominational, multicultural Ireland, education through Irish rings like a thing from the past, based on the premise that Irish is difficult to learn, and that it would exclude non-Irish nationals, although this is not supported by academic research; even if this only concerns a tiny minority, it may express the ambiguity of the Irish public opinion toward the language.

It seems that, for one reason or another, Irish flows in an underground, rhizomatic assemblage that does not reach a peak, but is forever "becoming" a minority in its own country, and faces opposition from all State apparatuses, whether British or Irish, when demand springs from local, grassroots initiatives. Ironically, one blog's manifesto to "counteract a perceived lack of coverage and at best ambivalence of English language media to anything concerning the Irish language" gave itself the name of "Hidden Ireland"37, which illustrates the insecure status of the first official

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35 See http://coiriochtchoir.com/index_e.htm
36 See Gaelport's review and readers' forum on the issue at http://www.gaelport.com/default.aspx-?treeid=37&NewsItemID=8800
37 See http://galltacht.blogspot.fr/2012/10/the-struggle-against-apartheid.html

language of the Republic of Ireland, and the distortion between statements and facts in relation to the implementation of efficient language policy. The tone of such denunciations can be accusatory (Conradh na Gaeilge) or derisive, as in Manchán Magan's TV series No Béarla! (lit. "No English!") commissioned by RTÉ and the Irish language TV channel TG4. On his website, the programme is thus presented: "No Béarla, is a four part series in which Manchán Magan attempts to live his life (eat, travel, socialise, find accommodation, shop, etc) through Irish. It is a journey to find out whether the 1.6 million people who claim they can speak Irish in the national census really can and whether one can survive in Ireland today without speaking a word of English."

The programme debunks the myth of a nation that boasts fluency in the language by presenting the perilous adventures of a naïve Gaelgeóir (Irish speaker) across Ireland38. Interestingly, the name of Magan's enterprise is "Global Nomad televi-sion", mirrored by a picture of feet walking through a sandy, desert area, as if to echo Deleuze and Guattari's attempt to make sense of the multiplicity and infinite variation of modes and desiring-machines.

To conclude, there seems to be a natural connection between language and rhizomes: words, rumours, like poetry, circulate at ground level in a haphazard, erratic manner. Language is alive when it is used, and its minority status is no impediment to its survival, if there are enough speakers to use and promote it. From then on, associating language and political statements or nationalism is only relevant once that language no longer fits into the system of government, the State apparatus that plans and organizes every aspect of life in society. For better or for worse, Welsh and Irish are the guilty conscience of their respective countries or governments, to the point that, in order to survive, they have to be hidden from the public debate, or swept aside by other priorities or considerations. The paradox of language is that it is an element of control through education and the inculcation of "order words", but it is also a way of opening, entering new territories and leaving old ones. The Welsh and Irish promoters of their language do not necessarily seek to wreak havoc in their institutions but to disconnect language from nationalism and state mottos. It does not mean that language movements are devoid of concerns of identity, but identity is not something that is fixed once and for all, as it feeds off interculturality. Radicalism among the language supporters may have two sources: first, it is a reaction against the intransigence of the State apparatus that tries to suppress its very existence, and, secondly, because rhizomes and trees are not just two terms of a contradiction, and they permeate each other to some degree:

"There are knots of arborescence in rhizomes, and rhizomatic offshoots in roots. Moreover, there are despotic formations of immanence and channelization specific to rhizomes, just as there are anarchic deformations in the transcendent system

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38 See presentation and film extracts at http://www.manchan.com/pb/wp_f4b21f7c/wp_f4b21f7c.html

of trees, aerial roots, and subterranean stems. The important point is that the root-tree and canal-rhizome are not two opposed models: the first operates as a transcendent model and tracing, even if it engenders its own escapes; the second operates as an immanent process that overturns the model and outlines a map, even if it constitutes its own hierarchies, even if it gives rise to a despotic channel" (TP: 20)

Wales and Ireland differ from one another in that, at least in Wales, the dividing factor of religion as a geopolitical concern was non-existent; in Ireland, the language was the victim of the frontal opposition between two State apparatuses, each one demanding adhesion, and turned into a war machine whose becoming was attached to its semi-clandestine status and demotion. But secrets are generated by societies and institutions. However, the fate of secrets is to overspill, to secrete and distil, and propagate through the social fabric (TP: 288). The future of Welsh and Irish may be linked to their progressive dissociation from "order words" that confine them to marginality: linguistic identity can be all-embracing as well as a "becoming-a-minority", which, as we saw, has nothing to do with numbers, but with desire, along a new line of flight, a new process of deterritorialisation.

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Pour citer cet article

Référence électronique

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