

Ollscoil na hÉireann, Corcaigh  
**National University of Ireland, Cork**



**Exploring the Revitalisation of Gaeilge in  
Contemporary Ireland.**

Final year project report presented by

**Niamh Áine O'Mullane**

for the degree of

**BA Digital Humanities and Information Technology**

**University College Cork**

**School of English & Digital Humanities**

Head of School/Department: Dr Orla Murphy & Dr Shawn Day

Supervisor: Dr Pedro Nilsson-Fernández

Second Reader: Dr Ahmed Zahran

**2024**

## **Table of Contents**

1. Introduction .....	3
1.1 Abstract .....	3
1.2 Introduction .....	3
2. Background .....	4
2.1 Similar Projects.....	4
2.2 Literature Review .....	5
3. Methodology .....	10
3.1 Development of a Qualitative Questionnaire .....	10
3.2 Data Collection and Analysis .....	11
3.3 Qualitative Data and Social Media Analysis .....	11
3.4 Ethical Considerations .....	12
3.5 Conclusion .....	12
4. Findings .....	13
4.1 Language Proficiency .....	13
4.2 Language Usage Patterns .....	14
4.3 Attitudes and Perceptions of Irish Speakers .....	15
4.4 Language Usage and Content Creation .....	16
4.5 Role of Social Media in Language Revitalisation .....	17
4.6 Challenges and Opportunities .....	18
5. Digital Artifact .....	21
6. Conclusion .....	22
7. Bibliography .....	24

## **Declaration**

*This is to certify that the work I am submitting is my own and has not been submitted for another degree, either at University College Cork or elsewhere. All external references and sources are clearly acknowledged and identified within the contents. I have read and understood the regulations of University College Cork concerning plagiarism and intellectual property.*

# **1. INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1 Abstract**

This project delves into the current state of the Irish language in Ireland with a focus on understanding whether a renewed revival of Gaeilge is occurring. It is a study of language usage and attitudes through Social Media platforms.

Through the combination of a qualitative questionnaire and an exploration into usage and content creation, through Irish, on social media platforms like TikTok, this study aims to gain insight from Irish speakers across diverse demographics to explore various aspects of how the Irish language is used, especially online considering that social media is now such an integral part of how we communicate with each other.

By exploring the attitudes and perceptions of Irish speakers on Gaeilge in contemporary Ireland, 130 years on from the founding of Conradh na Gaeilge and the beginning of the Gaelic Revival, I hope my findings from this project will contribute valuable insight into discussions on language revitalisation and identify factors which could support the future prosperity of the Irish language.

## **1.2 Introduction**

The Irish language, Gaeilge, holds a unique position in the cultural identity of Ireland. Despite centuries of linguistic and cultural challenges, efforts to revive and promote the Irish language have persisted. This project aims to delve into the contemporary state of the Irish language, particularly focusing on whether a renewed revival of Gaeilge is occurring. By employing a combination of qualitative research methods, including a questionnaire survey and analysis of social media usage, this study seeks to understand how the Irish language is perceived and utilized in modern Ireland.

## **2. BACKGROUND**

This section provides an overview similar projects centred around minority language revitalisation and also gives an overview of the sentiment around the Irish Language Revival in literature.

### **2.1 Similar Projects**

#### **1. DASG & Corpas na Gàidhlig:**

“The Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic (DASG) project was established by Professor Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh in 2006 and is a recognised British Academy project based within Celtic and Gaelic in the School of Humanities at the University of Glasgow.

Corpas na Gàidhlig was established in 2008 as a constituent project of DASG. It was founded in order to create a comprehensive electronic corpus of Scottish Gaelic texts for students and researchers of Scottish Gaelic language, literature and culture; and as a resource which would facilitate corpus planning and corpus development technology for Gaelic.”

#### **2. ARCHE:**

A resource centre for humanities related research in Austria. It is a “service that offers stable and persistent hosting as well as the dissemination of digital research data and resources for the Austrian humanities community. ARCHE welcomes data from all humanities fields.”

#### **3. The Digital Language Diversity Project**

“The mission of DLDP is to advance the sustainability of Europe’s regional and minority languages in the digital world by empowering their speakers with the

knowledge and abilities to create and share content on digital devices using their minority languages.”

## **2.2 Literature Review**

For my literature review my aim has been to gain an understanding of the sentiment in Ireland around the revival of the Irish language (Gaeilge) and also to study publications on the two other Goidelic languages, Scottish Gaelic (Gàidhlig) and Manx (Gaelg), to gain a wider understanding of their vitality and standing as minority languages.

### **2.2.1. GAEILGE: A Radical Revolution by Caoimhín De Barra**

In this book Caoimhín addresses key aspects affecting the Irish language today from our history to education, to the revival of other minority languages globally. Caoimhín acknowledges that the Irish language revival has been a failure, which is a widely held belief, and points toward why he thinks this has been the case in the context of successful revivals elsewhere, “none of these approaches were based on a foundation of simply teaching the language as a regular school subject.” This has been a long-standing criticism of the Irish language education in schools.

“But if an Irish person asked another Irish person “why don’t we speak Irish?”, they wouldn’t be asking for a history lesson. Instead, they would be looking for an answer to a different question, namely why, despite learning the language for 13 years in school, most Irish people can’t, or don’t speak Irish. Of course, everyone knows the answer: “It’s the way it is taught.” Or at least, that is what everyone will tell you “

From personal experience and in my own opinion this is a conversation that every person that has experienced Irish language education through primary and

secondary school will have. There is an innate frustration there, and I absolutely understand it. I cannot help but feel that the Government and Education system has failed us and the language by instilling a hatred in people for Gaeilge because of their school experience which is largely focused around grammar rather than fluency.

### **2.2.2 Irish in the Global Context by Suzanne Romaine**

This piece by Suzanne Romaine touches in the widely published belief that the Irish language is facing imminent death, and that it may not survive more than a generation or two of there being first language daily Irish speakers (Carnie 1996). Suzanne raises an important point in opposition to this belief, “at the very least, accepting these regularly repeated terminal diagnoses would leave us wondering how a dying language could be declared an official language of the European Union.” Suzanne also touches on a crucial point in relation to the vitality of minority languages, that due to globalisation and the rise of technology with English being the universal language of the internet we are seeing that:

“Many people are becoming bilingual in English at an increasingly earlier age through schooling. Even speakers of large languages such as French and German, not to mention those of many small languages such as Dutch, feel the continued use of their languages in technical domains and in many areas of higher education is threatened by English.”

I think the crucial point that Suzanne raises here is that “In today’s global village increasing bilingualism in a metropolitan language, particularly English, is making the majority of the world’s languages in effect minority languages.” If we are to consider the Irish language in this broader global landscape, I think it encourages a less critical approach. The prosperity of the Irish language may not look like a rise in first language speakers but a wider focus on bilingual/ hybrid use.

### **2.2.3. Fostering digital representation of EU regional and minority languages: the Digital Language Diversity Project**

This project funded by the Erasmus+ programme looks at the impact of ‘low digital representation’ on EU regional and minority languages (RML’s). It addresses that RML speakers often turn to other languages when accessing the digital world, unless in instances of digital activism or by means of cultural initiatives focused on the preservation of cultural heritage. It suggests that one reason for this is that “virtually no European citizen is monolingual in a regional or minority language: everyone can always make use of an official EU language instead of a minority one, thus making EU regional and minority languages not essential for communication purposes.” As a direct result of this there is less incentives for companies to provide “state-of-the-art language-based applications” which would enable and foster the use of RML’s over digital media and devices. The report highlights that for a language to be used digitally it must be “digitally ready” and “enjoy the range of tools and technical support available for other major languages.” Because of this “the digital readiness of a language is inextricably linked to its digital presence: whenever a language is technologically supported and thus widely digitally usable, its digital representation expands.” This unfortunately can turn into a vicious cycle for RML’s as to become “digitally ready” for the development of language-based applications there must be large quantities of good-quality open data available to be exploited to their development.

### **2.2.4. Scholarship and Language Revival: Language Ideologies in Corpus Development for Revived Manx by Christopher Lewin**

As context for this article, Manx Gaelg had been declared an extinct language in 2009 by UNESCO, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation.

In 1974 the last native language speaker of Manx, 97-year-old Ned Maddrell, passed away.

Since then, through various efforts, UNESCO has upgraded Manx to a “revitalised” language. According to Julie Matthews who is a head teacher at Bunscoil Ghaelgagh, “It sort of was on the brink, but we’ve brought it back to life again”. This article refers to some of the issues faced and the “tensions within the revival movement regarding its response to the trauma of language death and the questions of legitimacy and authenticity in the revived variety.” The article highlights the crucial distinction between language revitalisation and language maintenance, “i.e. efforts to slow and reverse the decline in usage and status of a minoritised language which retains a native speech community) and language revival (i.e. efforts to re-vernacularize a language with no remaining native speakers)”. Christopher also points out that there are times where these two scenarios may overlap, like in the case of Irish and Breton, and the tensions that can arise from this.

#### **2.2.5. Scottish Gaelic Revitalisation: Progress and Aspiration - Learning Gaelic in Adulthood: Second Language Learning in Minority Language Contexts**

This article addresses a crucial element of language regeneration as we typically see a focus on the education system and less consideration put into providing ways for school leavers to continue speaking and also for adult learners to begin learning a minority language. MacLeod looks at the argument that second language learners ‘are a necessary part of reversing language shift’, though they are often overlooked. The key take away from this is to understand the ‘disjuncture between the aspirations of minority language policy and the social realities of adults learning a minority language in the context of diminished place-based speaker communities.’ This point is absolutely relevant when it comes to Gaeilge, and I’m sure many other minority languages.



## References

Broderick, George. "The Revival of Manx Gaelic in the Isle of Man." In *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, XXIX:131–71. University of Aberdeen, 2013.

Claudia Soria, Irene Russo, Valeria Quochi, Davyth Hicks, Antton Gurrutxaga, Anneli Sarhima, and Matti Tuomisto. *Fostering digital representation of EU regional and minority languages: the Digital Language Diversity Project*. In *Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference on Language Resources and Evaluation (LREC'16)*, pages 3256–3260, Portorož, Slovenia. European Language Resources Association (ELRA). 2016.

De Barra, Caoimhín. *GAEILGE A Radical Revolution*. Currach Press, 2019.

Hollingsworth, Derek. "Brian Stowell and the Manx Language: A Force for Revival in a Sister Language of Irish". *Irish Language Matters*. February 27, 2022.  
<https://irishlanguagematters.com/brian-stowell-and-the-manx-language-a-force-for-revival-in-a-sister-language-of-irish/>.

MacLeod, Marsaili. "Learning Gaelic in Adulthood: Second Language Learning in Minority Language Contexts." In *Gaelic in Contemporary Scotland: The Revitalisation of an Endangered Language*, edited by Cassie Smith-Christmas and Marsaili MacLeod, 94–113. Edinburgh University Press, 2018. <https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/gaelic-in-contemporary-scotland/learning-gaelic-in-adulthood-second-language-learning-in-minority-language-contexts/4A7F25B9507ADA35B06F742F7FD5FF4D>.

Romaine, Suzanne. "Irish in the Global Context." In *A New View of the Irish Language*. Cois Life Teoranta, 2008.

Specia, Megan. "How a Nearby Island's Almost Extinct Gaelic Language Has Been Brought Back to Life." *The Irish Times*. December 6, 2022. Accessed December 9, 2023.

<https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/2022/12/06/how-a-nearby-islands-almost-extinct-gaelic-language-has-been-brought-back-to-life/>.

### **3. Methodology**

This section outlines the research design and data collection procedures employed in this study. It describes the development of the qualitative questionnaire used to gather insights from Irish speakers. Additionally, it explains the process of data collection and analysis regarding language usage and content creation on social media platforms, with a focus on TikTok.

In this study, the methodology employed aimed to comprehensively investigate the current state of the Irish language in Ireland, with a particular focus on assessing whether a renewed revival of Gaeilge is occurring. The methodology was designed to capture insights from Irish speakers across diverse demographics and to explore various aspects of how the Irish language is used. The research integrates qualitative research methods, including a questionnaire survey, with an analysis of language usage and content creation on social media platforms such as TikTok. By combining these approaches, the study aims to gain insights from Irish speakers across diverse demographics and explore various aspects of how the Irish language is used, particularly in the online sphere where social media plays a significant role in modern communication, media development, content creations and advertisement.

#### **3.1 Development of the Qualitative Questionnaire:**

Central to the methodology is the development of a qualitative questionnaire designed to collect primary data to gain insights into the attitudes and perceptions of Irish speakers toward the Irish language. The questionnaire was carefully crafted to elicit responses that provide nuanced understanding of language use, identity, and revitalisation efforts in contemporary Ireland. Drawing upon established principles of survey design and qualitative research methods, the questionnaire comprises

open-ended questions that allow participants to express their views and experiences freely. The questions cover a range of topics, including language proficiency, usage patterns, motivations for using Irish, perceptions of language revitalisation initiatives, and the role of social media in language promotion.

### **3.2 Data Collection and Analysis:**

The sampling strategy aimed to capture a diverse range of perspectives and experiences within the Irish-speaking community. Participants were recruited through various channels, including social media platforms, community organisations, and educational institutions. Efforts were made to ensure representation across different age groups, geographic regions, and levels of proficiency in the Irish language (including some first-language speakers) in order to capture the full spectrum of linguistic diversity within the target population and to establish whether the opinions on the status of the language were different among age groups who may have experienced the language differently.

### **3.3 Integration of Qualitative Data and Social Media Analysis:**

In parallel with the questionnaire survey, an analysis of language usage and content creation on social media platforms, particularly TikTok, was conducted. This involved systematically examining Irish-language content on TikTok and Instagram, including videos, hashtags, and user interactions, to identify trends, themes, and patterns in how the language is used and represented online. The analysis also considers factors such as audience engagement, virality of content, and the diversity of content creators within the Irish-speaking community on TikTok. The qualitative questionnaire surveys and social media analysis are complementary components of the methodology, providing multiple perspectives on the use and perception of the

Irish language in contemporary Ireland. The qualitative data obtained from the questionnaire surveys offer rich insights into individual experiences and attitudes, while the social media analysis provides broader contextual understanding of language usage trends and community dynamics within online spaces.

### **3.4 Ethical Considerations:**

Throughout the research process, ethical considerations were paramount. Measures were taken to ensure participant confidentiality, informed consent, and respect for cultural sensitivities. Ethical approval was sought from the School of English & Digital Humanities to ensure that the research adheres to established ethical guidelines and principles.

### **3.5 Conclusion:**

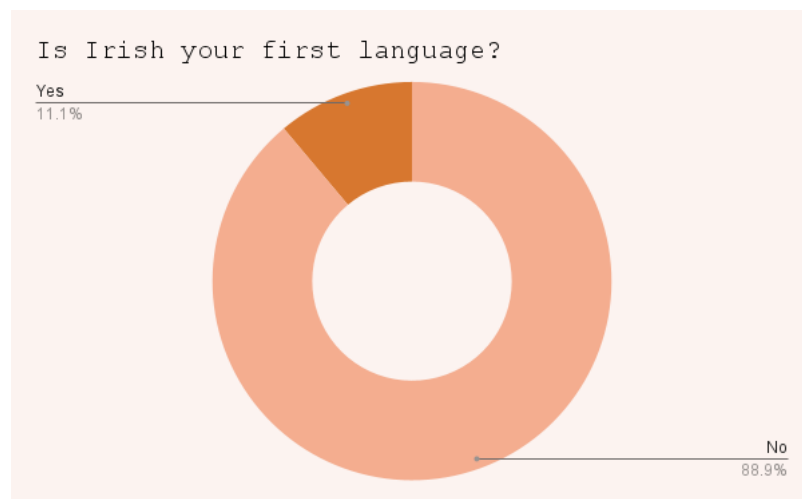
In conclusion, the methodology employed in this research project combines a qualitative questionnaire survey with an analysis of language usage and content creation on social media platforms to investigate the current state of the Irish language in Ireland. By integrating these approaches, the study seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of language attitudes, behaviours, and revitalisation efforts in contemporary Ireland, with the ultimate goal of contributing valuable insights to discussions on language revitalisation and supporting the future prosperity of the Irish language.

## 4. Findings

This section presents the findings of the study, including the attitudes and perceptions of Irish speakers toward the Irish language. It explores the role of social media in language revitalisation efforts, highlighting trends and patterns in language usage and content creation online. The findings shed light on the current state of the Irish language and provide insights into factors that may influence its future revitalisation.

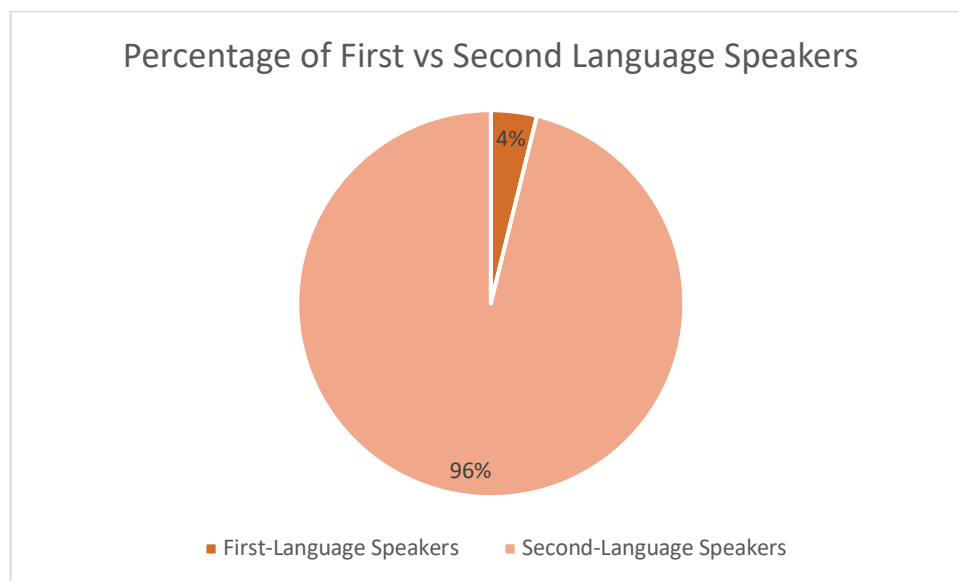
### 4.1 Language Proficiency

I received 27 individual responses to my questionnaire, of which 3 were first-language speakers.



It was important to me to establish first-language speakers and second-language speakers as both interact with the language differently and I wanted to explore whether there was a contrast in how they viewed the prosperity of the language based on how they learned Irish. In terms of quantitative data on this topic, the Irish Census does not request this information and the most recent Census in 2022 became the first Census where people were asked for their 'Level of Irish Spoken' with the response options being: Speaks Irish – Total, Speaks Irish – Very Well, Speaks Irish – Well, Speaks Irish – Not Well, and Ability to Speak Irish – Not Stated.

According to this Census Data there are over 1,873,997 people who can 'Speak Irish-Total' and of these we have 20,581 who speak Irish daily within and daily outside the education system, and 51,387 people who Speaks Irish daily outside the education system only. Based on these figures under the assumption that first-language speakers = daily speakers, there are potentially 71,968 first-language speakers in Ireland today.

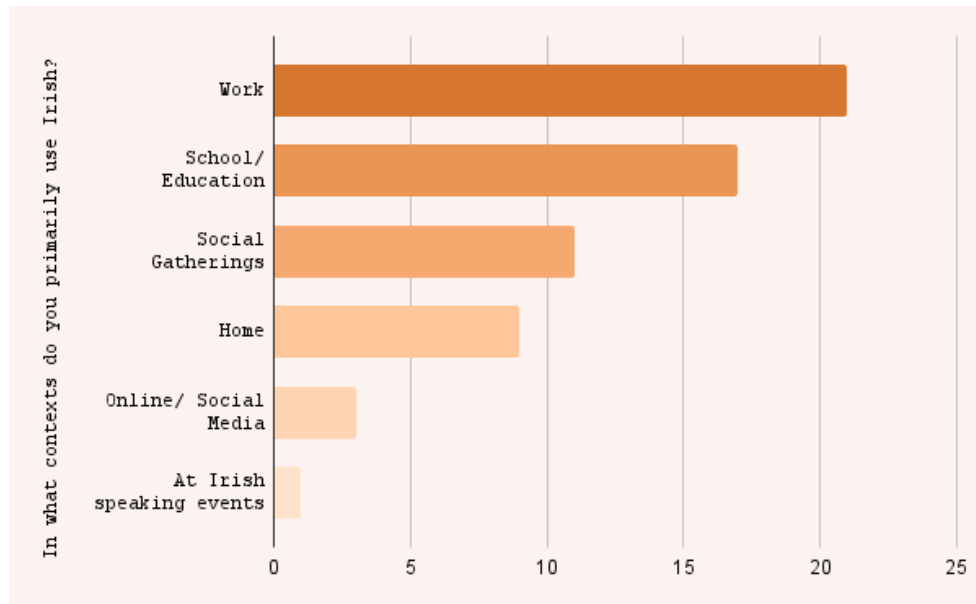


#### **4.2 Language Usage Patterns:**

One of the criticisms of the Irish Language Revival has been the almost exclusive focus on Education in schools as a means of revival. For the Census one of the key aspects in querying Irish language use is establishing whether the person exclusively speaks Irish within an Education or Work setting. There are 551,993 people who exclusively only speak Irish in a work setting.

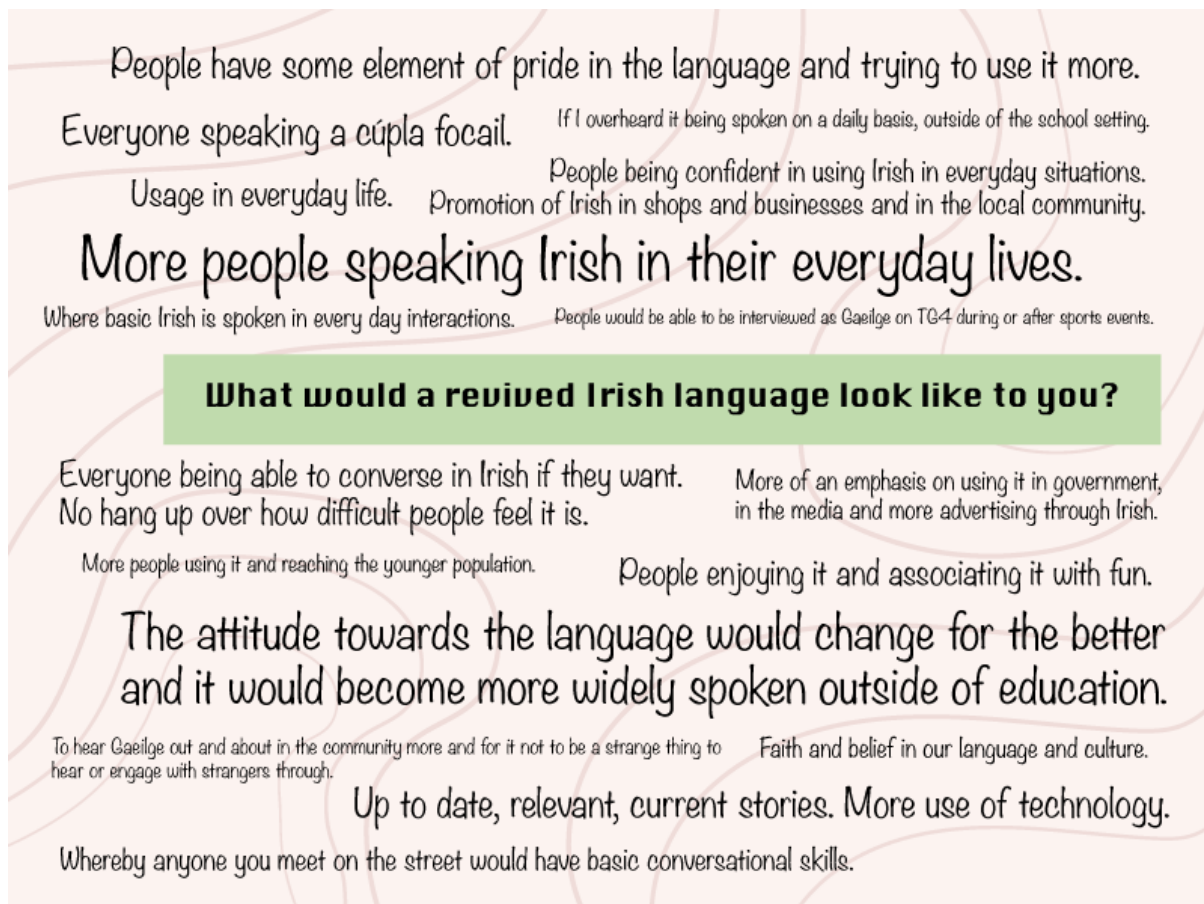
Because of this it was a priority of mine to establish language usage patterns among participants, ranging from everyday conversational use to more formal contexts such as education and cultural events. While some participants reported using Irish

predominantly in specific domains, such as at home or within Irish-speaking communities, others described integrating the language into various aspects of their daily lives, including social interactions, leisure activities, and online.



#### **4.3 Attitudes and Perceptions of Irish Speakers:**

One of the key findings of the study relates to the attitudes and perceptions of Irish speakers toward the Irish language. The qualitative questionnaire survey revealed a strong sense of cultural pride and identity associated with the Irish language, with many participants expressing a deep emotional connection to the language and its heritage. Participants highlighted the importance of preserving and promoting the Irish language as a vital aspect of Irish identity, history, and culture. However, the findings also indicate a recognition of the challenges facing the Irish language, including issues such as language decline, limited access to Irish-language resources, and varying levels of language proficiency among speakers.



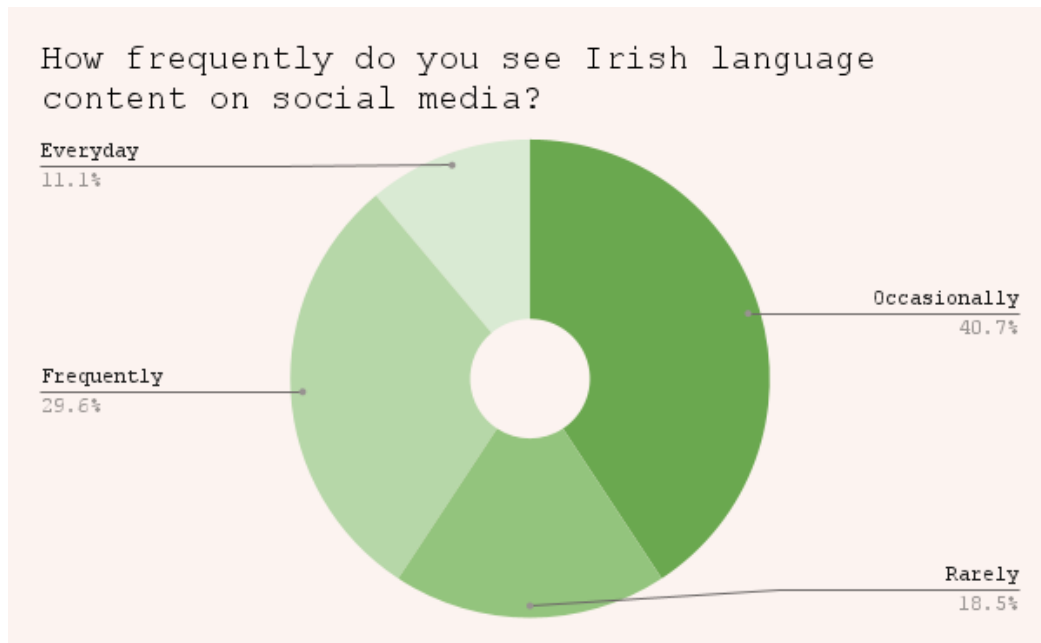
#### **4.4 Language Usage and Content Creation on Social Media:**

The analysis of language usage and content creation on social media platforms, particularly TikTok, provided further insights into how the Irish language is being used and represented online. The findings revealed a vibrant and diverse community of Irish-speaking users on TikTok, engaging in a wide range of content creation activities, including educational content, storytelling, humour, and cultural expression. The use of hashtags such as #Gaeilge, #Gaeilgeoir, and #TikTokGaeilge served as virtual gathering points for Irish speakers, facilitating connections, collaboration, and the sharing of linguistic and cultural content.

As an element of the questionnaire survey, it was important to gauge the experiences of others with Gaeilge and social media, considering social media timelines and recommended pages can be rather personalised. My aim was to establish whether

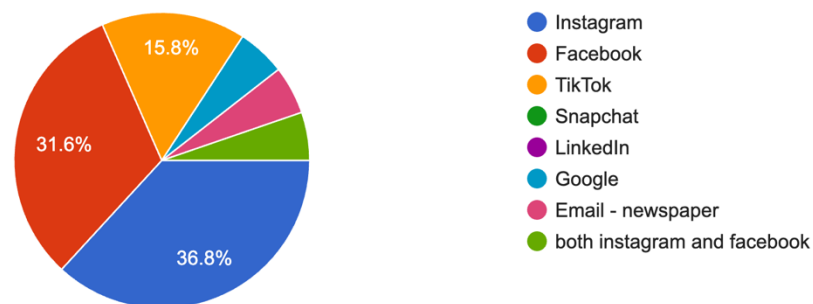


people are seeing Irish on their own social media platforms and what kind of content they are seeing.



If yes, on which social media platform do you see Irish language content being posted?

19 responses

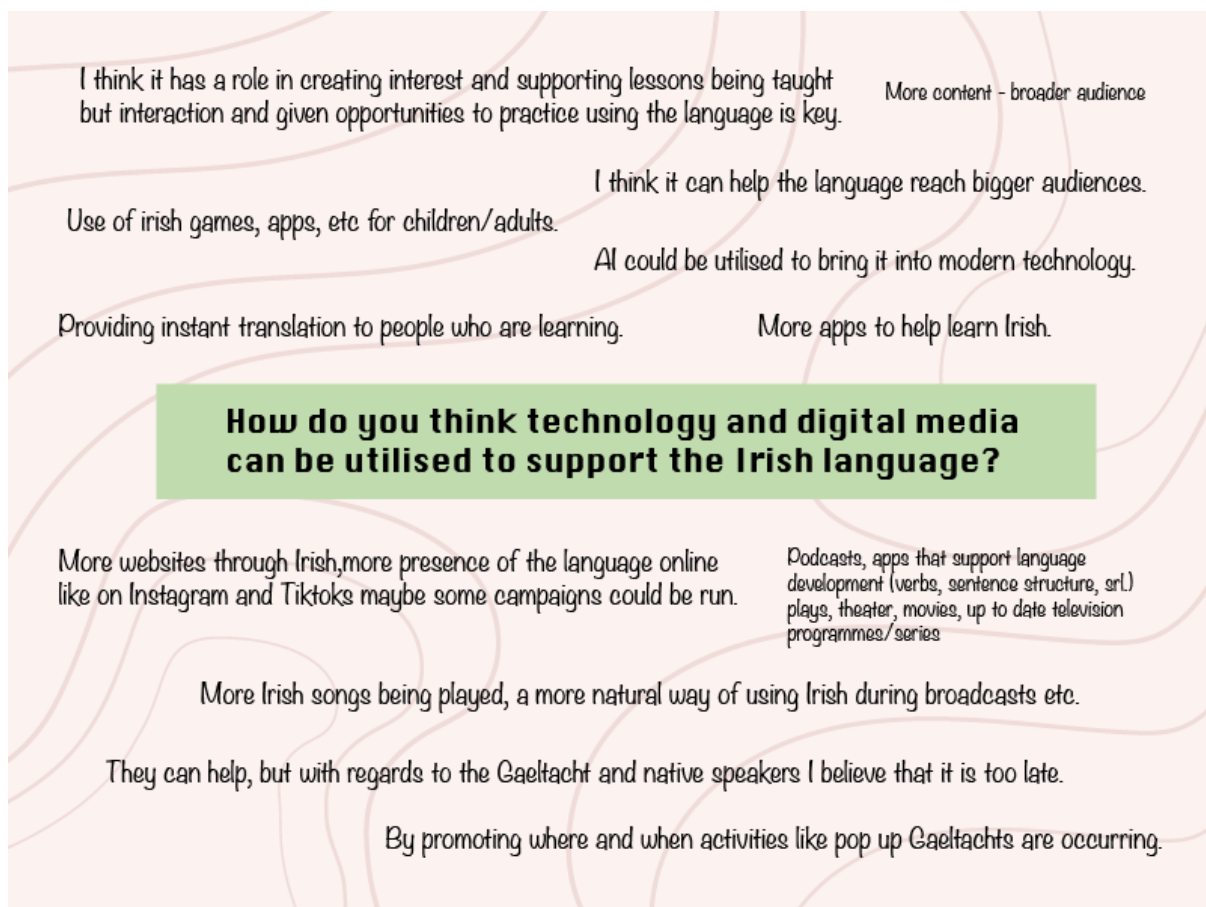


As we can see above, Instagram, Facebook and TikTok are where people are seeing the most Irish Language Content.

#### **4.5 Role of Social Media in Language Revitalisation:**

The findings underscore the significant role of social media in language revitalisation efforts, particularly in reaching younger generations and fostering a

sense of community among Irish speakers. Social media platforms provide accessible and inclusive spaces for language use and cultural expression, enabling individuals to engage with the Irish language in creative and meaningful ways. The findings suggest that social media has the potential to complement traditional language learning methods and contribute to the wider visibility and normalisation of the Irish language in contemporary society.



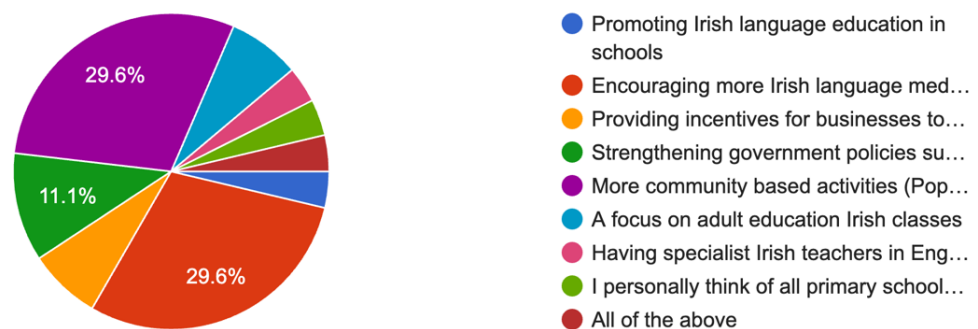
#### **4.6 Challenges and Opportunities:**

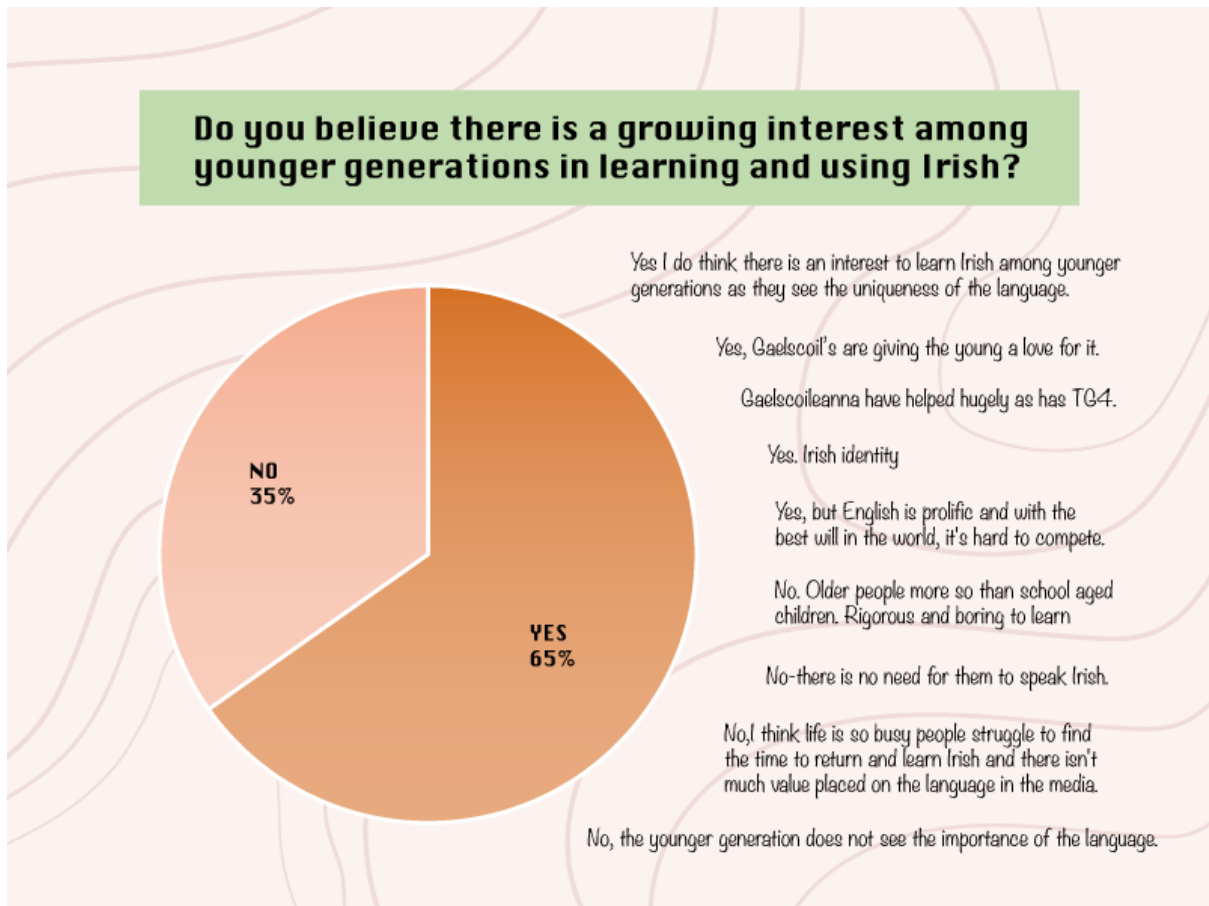
Despite the enthusiasm for the Irish language evident among participants, the study also highlighted challenges facing language revitalisation efforts in contemporary Ireland. These challenges include limited opportunities for Irish-language

immersion outside of designated Gaeltacht regions, insufficient resources for Irish-language education and promotion, and the impact of globalisation on language attitudes and preferences. A majority of people said that they believed that 'Encouraging more Irish Language media (TV, radio, online) and 'More community-based activities (pop-up Gaeltacht, ciorcal-comhrá) would help promote the preservation of Gaeilge. 35% of people were not confident that we are seeing a growing interest among younger generations in learning and using Irish, however 65% of people believed there were signs of a growing interest for the Irish language in the younger generation.

**What measures do you think could be implemented to promote the usage and preservation of Gaeilge?**

27 responses



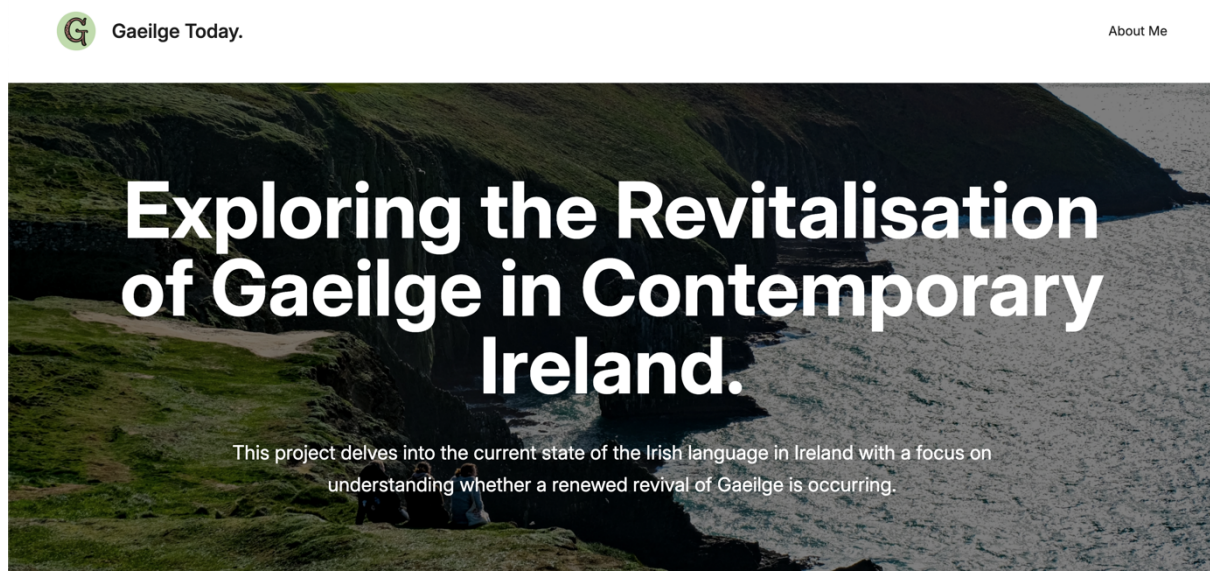


In conclusion, the findings of this research project offer valuable insights into the current state of the Irish language in Ireland, providing a multifaceted understanding of language attitudes, behaviours, and revitalisation efforts in contemporary society. The findings underscore the importance of preserving and promoting the Irish language as a vital aspect of Irish identity and culture and it highlights the importance of ongoing efforts to promote and preserve the Irish language, both through traditional means such as education and cultural institutions, while also highlighting the role of social media as a platform for language revitalisation and community building among Irish speakers. Social media platforms like TikTok offer new avenues for language promotion and community building, enabling Irish speakers to reach wider audiences and engage in creative language practices outside of an education setting.

## 5. Digital Artifact

For this research project, a digital artifact in the form of a dedicated website was created to serve as a central hub for disseminating information, sharing findings, and fostering community engagement around the revival of the Irish language in contemporary Ireland. The website features a user-friendly interface designed to showcase key aspects of the research, including an overview of the project's objectives, methodology, and findings.

<https://gaeilgetoday.ie/>



My goal with this project had been to develop a Python Hashtag Tracker for both TikTok and Instagram to track the usage and activity around the hashtag #Gaeilge in particular across platforms. However due to stricter API limitations and restrictions on accessing data being implemented, especially for third-party developers as well as Python package dependency issues I was not successful in gathering this quantitative hashtag data. This is an area I am going to continue to explore and hopefully resolve as I believe the data from tracking the hashtag #Gaeilge would be

highly beneficial in gathering information on the usage and content creation through Irish on social media platforms.

## **6. Conclusion**

The findings of this research project offer a multifaceted understanding of the current state of the Irish language in Ireland, shedding light on language attitudes, usage patterns, and revitalisation efforts in contemporary society. Through a combination of a qualitative questionnaire survey and analysis of language usage on social media platforms such as TikTok, the study reveals nuanced insights into the role of Gaeilge while also highlighting the role of social media as a platform for language revitalisation and community building among Irish speakers.

These are important implications for discussions on language revitalisation and support for the continued efforts to promote the Irish language in Ireland and beyond. By highlighting the positive attitudes and active engagement of Irish speakers, as well as the potential of social media as a platform for language revitalisation, the findings contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of language use and identity in contemporary Ireland. Moving forward, future research could further explore the impact of social media on language attitudes and behaviours, as well as investigate strategies for enhancing language revitalisation initiatives and ensuring the long-term sustainability of the Irish language. Another area which I would like to develop further would be to analyse the more widespread use of Gaeilge across different digital media platforms like film, television, and podcasts. I would also like to expand on the use of Gaeilge in music releases on a platform like Spotify and also literature publications through Irish. My expanding my research to include a wider range of media platform it

would broaden the scope of the research and establish an even more nuanced understanding of Irish Language Revitalisation.

## Bibliography

- Broderick, George. "The Revival of Manx Gaelic in the Isle of Man." In *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, XXIX:131–71. University of Aberdeen, 2013.
- Brún, Pádraig de. "Scriptural Instruction in the Vernacular: The Irish Society and Its Teachers 1818-1827." In *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Vol. XXVII. University of Aberdeen, 2009.
- De Barra, Caoimhín. *GAEILGE A Radical Revolution*. Currach Press, 2019.
- Diarmait, Mac Giolla Chríost. *The Irish Language in Ireland*. Routledge, 2005.
- Donal, Flynn. *The Revival of Irish: Failed Project of a Political Elite*. MacGibbon & Kee, 2012.
- Doyle, Aidan. *A History of the Irish Language*. 2015th ed. OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2015.
- Greene, David. *The Irish Language*. Reprint 1972 First 1966. The Mercier Press, n.d.
- Hindley, Reg. *The Death of the Irish Language: A Qualified Obituary*. Routledge, 1990.
- Irish Language matters. "Brian Stowell and the Manx Language: A Force for Revival in a Sister Language of Irish," February 27, 2022. <https://irishlanguagematters.com/brian-stowell-and-the-manx-language-a-force-for-revival-in-a-sister-language-of-irish/>.
- Kelly, Adrian. *Compulsory Irish: Language and Education in Ireland 1870s-1970s*. Irish Academic Press, 2002.
- "Language Shift and Cultural Change in the Gaidhealtachd - What Prospect for the Cultural Identity?" In *Scottish Gaelic Studies* 23, XXIII:201–12. University of Aberdeen, 2007.
- Law Insider. "Cultural Content Definition." Accessed November 11, 2023. <https://www.lawinsider.com/dictionary/cultural-content>.
- McCone, Kim, Damian McManus, Cathal Ó Háinle, Nicholas Williams, and Liam Breatnach. *Stair na Gaeilge in ómós do Pádraig Ó Fiannachta*. Roinn na Sean-Ghaeilge, Coláiste Phádraig, 1994.
- Milligan, Lindsay. "Territoriality and Macro Gaelic Education Policy." In *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, Vol. XXV. University of Aberdeen, 2009.



Nic Pháidín, Caoilfhionn, and Seán Ó Cearnaigh. *A New View of the Irish Language*. Cois Life Teoranta, 2008.

Ó hUiginn, Ruairí. *Ceist na Teanga*. An Sagart Maigh Nuad, 2001.

Ó Maolalaigh, Roibeard. "DASG: Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic." In *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, XXX:242–62. University of Aberdeen, 2016.

Romaine, Suzanne. "Irish in the Global Context." In *A New View of the Irish Language*. Cois Life Teoranta, 2008.

The Irish Times. "How a Nearby Island's Almost Extinct Gaelic Language Has Been Brought Back to Life." Accessed December 14, 2023.

<https://www.irishtimes.com/culture/2022/12/06/how-a-nearby-islands-almost-extinct-gaelic-language-has-been-brought-back-to-life/>.