Translating Minority Languages

Or: Determining the influence of translation on the depiction of Irish cultural identity

Thesis

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Content

Abstract

In this thesis, translating the cultural identity of a minority language, Irish, in travel guides will play a central role. Minority languages have not received much attention in the field of translation studies hitherto, making them an interesting theme for a corpus study. To what extent is the cultural identity that is displayed in originally Irish place names preserved in English travel guides? With this comparative corpus study, it will turn out that travel guides missed out on the opportunity to display the cultural identity of the Irish.

Key words: (Irish) cultural identity, place names, translation, corpus study

Introduction

Culture has always been and will always be an important feature in daily life, even though it may not be obvious all the time. According to Hall and Du Gay, a web of threads exists that holds together culture, society and people (55). This web symbolises an extensive network of connections between various elements that form the solid foundation of life. However, the different aspects that make up that network can differ between cultural groups: not everyone is the same. For some cultural groups, religion is the most important characteristic with which they identify themselves, whereas other groups attach more value to language, their specific way of life, or ethnicity. While those features constitute the way of life for a specific cultural group, they also influence the collective and individual cultural identity of its members. That culture is significant also comes forward in the studies that have been and still are conducted. Scholars have dedicated much of their time and effort to research on the role of culture in everyday life. This practice remains a valuable source of knowledge even today.

The contemporary globalisation process ensures contact between different groups of people and thus the diverse cultures that exist. People come in touch all over the world, whether that is in peaceful or hostile circumstances. During the Second World War, for instance, the Jews were isolated from everyday society as a cultural group based on ethnicity. They were different from other people and Nazi Germany made sure everyone knew this. Every Jew was compelled to wear a Yellow Star. This yellow patch signified their Otherness and compared and contrasted it with the Self in the Third Reich. By displaying the Other and the Self so distinctly, a clash of cultures came into being in which one culture dominated while the other diminished. Fortunately, there are plenty of peaceful interactions between cultures to be found as well. Big cities and metropoles are a perfect example of this. Amsterdam in The Netherlands, for example, may not host as many million people as London or Moscow, yet it can definitely be termed a metropolis when it comes to cultural variety.

Any religion may be found there and there are plenty of different languages spoken in the city as well. The people of those different groups interact with each other daily, whether that be in the supermarket or at home.

Intercultural communication has also been a recurring issue in periods of colonialism. Countries and empires sought to expand their domain over lands and across seas. Naturally, utterly different peoples with distinct cultures encountered each other through this expansion. This contact was often coupled with (cultural) oppression and suppression, which led to the dominant culture thriving at the cost of the so-called 'inferior' culture.

Migration is another way through which cultures come in touch. This happens on a small as well as a large scale. When people settle in a new part of the continent or the globe, an interaction between their culture and that from the inhabitants of that place starts to form. The Jewish diaspora, for example, saw Jews leave their ancestral homeland to establish themselves in other parts of the world. The Irish also knew a diaspora. It occurred in the nineteenth century, shortly after the potato blight ruined most of the crops. Several millions of people left their homeland to seek a better future, mostly in the United States and Great Britain.

A very popular and contemporary form of intercultural communication is tourism. Nowadays, there are 1,4 billion tourist arrivals annually according to the United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO). All these tourists get to encounter different cultures, languages, religions and other features that are significant in daily life. Through these interactions, people learn from each other, they develop an imagine of the Self and of the Other and partly base their views of the outside world, their standards and their values on that image. In other words, it shapes their identity and through that also their cultural identity. An important factor in this process of shaping a perspective, are travel guides. They open the

tourists' eyes to the country they are going to visit and let them taste the unique and characteristic essence of the new culture they will visit.

Another link that is often associated with cultural identity, collective or individual, is language. A language often defines where somebody is from. This small piece of information is held in high regard considering identity. When a person introduces themself to someone else, they tell the other their name and where they come from. This connects the person to a specific language. Even though some languages are spoken in more than one country, for example English or Arabic, a dialect often distincts the language spoken in one country from another. English knows many varieties on the British Isles alone, and Arabic is different throughout the Arabic-speaking world.

Language plays a major role in cultural identity, even more so in the case of minority groups. Their language is often a means for them to hold on to their past and their memories. It is a tool for them to describe who they are and what they have been. Through language, minorities can bestow meaning and value upon specific objects. One of those objects is the place they feel that they belong to. When places acquire a name, it provides information about the people, the place, the surroundings and the way of life at that particular place and in that specific point of time. Thus, place names are a rich source of cultural knowledge.

What is a minority language though? Firstly, 'minority' has to do with a relation, it is not a set piece of information. When a minority exists, there is also a majority. Linguistic relations are asymmetrical (Cronin 86) and they are ever changing. To gain the status of a minority language, languages have to meet certain requirements, which are incorporated into a definition of the term 'regional' or 'minority'. Branchadell draws on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, which entered into force in 1998, when he defines a minority language (97). According to this charter, regional or minority languages are '(i) traditionally used within a given territory of a state by nationals of that state who form a group

numerically smaller than the rest of the state's population and (ii) different from the official language(s) of that state, on the understanding that such definition' do 'not include either dialects of the official language(s) of the state or the languages of migrants' (Branchadell 97).

Unfortunately, minority languages have not received much attention in the field of translation studies hitherto, even though their status as minorities should make sure that there is an approach for them specifically. Minority languages offer an exceptional chance to translation studies. If research were conducted, it may very well lay bare new insights into the already existing translation mechanisms or even lead to the discovery of new ones. The other way around, translation helps to preserve and develop minority languages and their associated cultures. A translation is not just a translation of words, but also of cultures. Therefore, it is truly interesting to see how the cultural identity of minorities, like the Irish, is displayed in translation.

Accordingly, this thesis aims to find an answer to the following question: To what extent is the cultural identity that is displayed in originally Irish place names preserved in English travel guides? To answer this question, an extensive theoretical framework will be established. In this framework, (cultural) identity, (Irish) place names and translation are brought together. Subsequently, a comparative corpus study will be carried out. Several travel guides will be analysed and compared in a quantitative analysis. A qualitative analysis will then follow to find an explanation for the results from the quantitative analysis. Hopefully, a satisfactory answer to the main question can be established through these analyses.

What is cultural identity?

Among scholars there is no fixed answer to what cultural identity is. Therefore, there will be a strong focus on determining what cultural identity truly is in the first chapter of this thesis. This understanding is an essential element of the foundation for the research that will be conducted later in this thesis, since the concept of cultural identity has seriously influenced thoughts and ideas about life as well as our manners, values and standards. A definition of the term will be provided, and it is this specific definition that will be retained throughout this thesis. The definition, then, shall be based on multiple elements. First of all, a brief historical timeline of thoughts and ideas about cultural identity will be brought forward. From this perspective, the notion of cultural identity will be applied on the situation of the Irish. Eventually, this will lead to a definition of the term.

While cultural identity and identity in itself play an increasingly important role today, the concept already acquired a firm footing centuries ago. As Gilbert points out, the perception of a cultural identity was already an existing viewpoint in the time of the ancient Greeks (17). For example, the famous writer and philosopher Plato mentioned the existence of a cultural identity and how this influenced the need for several kinds of government. This notion in ancient Greece was based on the idea that differences in nature existed between peoples of various environments.

The Romans were convinced otherwise. According to them, one way of government should suffice, regardless of the many differences that existed between the peoples (Gilbert 18). These differences could not be relevant to their community in any way. This point of view on cultural identity serves as a foundation for the approach in the eighteenth century, during the Enlightenment. According to Gilbert, the stance of the Enlightenment was best reflected in an expression by David Hume, stating that mankind has always been the same (17).

At the point of the development of the counter-Enlightenment movement, the concept of cultural identity again altered. This time the view of the ancient Greeks was incorporated into the philosophy. There was a strong emphasis on the differences between peoples, because they should be able to help explain a human being's actions and choices.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, then, a new interest in cultural identity emerged with the rise of a post-colonial world. With the abolishment of slavery and the increasing call for independence by previously colonised peoples, the attempt to recover any roots that had been greatly influenced by the colonisers and empires grew. Generations of peoples tried to rediscover their past to determine who they were, who they are and what they possibly might become. Another surge of interest in cultural identity occurred after the Second World War. During the war, the idea of the Self and the Other was greatly influenced by the Nazi Germans. The Yellow badge, for example, was used to identify and create a clear image of the Other, namely the Jews, the people that did not belong in Aryan society. Thus, the Jews were brutally removed from a community they previously belonged to and cruelly murdered by the hundreds of thousands. Therefore, it is no surprise that they were among those seeking to explore their true cultural identity once the war ended. Others whose interest in their cultural identity grew, were the people who turned a blind eye during the war and let the Nazis murder all those people.

Even today this desire to discover one's cultural identity is still present. The contemporary process of globalisation can be regarded as a threat to the cultural identity we adopt as individuals. Boundaries and lines that had been drawn to sustain cultural identity before, are blurred and thus endanger one's relationship to the Self as well as the perception of the Other.

These differences in attitudes towards cultural identity highly relied on and still depend on the circumstances in which people live (Hall and Du Gay 3, Gilbert 67).

Throughout history, therefore, the concept of cultural identity continually changed, and it will keep changing forever.

From this brief overview of the different ideas about cultural identity can be deduced that the differences, or the lack thereof, was a very important theme in all mindsets about cultural identity. It is through these differences that a cultural identity can be constituted. A certain sense of sameness is established that excludes everyone and everything that does not correspond to a group's notion of their identity. In that way, cultural identity functions as a point of identification and as a connection to the Self. Accordingly, differences and similarities coexist and create a balance rather than nullify or restrict each other.

Another important element that is addressed in the historical timeline, is the perception of and the relationship to the Self and the Other. This is more or less intertwined with the previous point about differences and similarities, since they create this image of the Self. Yet, it is important to note the importance of the Other here as well. Again, it is through the relationship to the Other that the Self is defined. Therefore, the Other and the Self exist side by side like the differences and similarities do and the idea of cultural identity depends on the distinction made between these factors (Hall and Du Gay 4).

However, as the above features evaluate aspects that are significant to the idea of cultural identity internally, there is also an external component that should be addressed. As Gilbert indicates, cultural identity can be divided into two categories: individual and collective cultural identity (2-4). In the former category, the individual is the point of focus. This form of cultural identity may be different for each individual, as it consists of various cultural traits that one person values. In the latter category, the individual is a member of a particular group which shares the same cultural identity. This group, then, does not just have some cultural features in common, but rather shares a culture that defines the way of life for its members. In this thesis, the category of collective cultural identity will be the subject.

The aforementioned distinctions do not make it any easier to provide a suitable and straightforward definition of the term. Nevertheless, they shed some light on the concept of cultural identity and highlight several important features that should be taken into account in the definition. In the scope of this thesis, cultural identity will be referred to as an identification of a cultural group based on a certain shared mix of cultural features that depends on the way this cultural group gives meaning to experience (Hall and Du Gay 130). By adding this extra layer of experience, however, it can be argued that the boundary between a cultural group and a country's people blurs and thus that which is spoken about here is not cultural identity, but national identity or character. For example, there are circumstances that make an impact on the population of entire countries, not just on a cultural group. However, it is safe to state that they are one and the same in the case of this research, since it is the portrayal of Irish cultural identity in other cultures that will be examined.

The cultural features mentioned above are different for each cultural group and should therefore be further illustrated in order to apply this definition to the situation of the Irish. The search for their cultural identity came into existence thanks to the feeling of cultural inferiority that prevailed in the Irish societies after they gained their independence from the British Empire (Cronin 157). In a post-colonial and increasingly modern world, the Irish faced several issues that made their search for a cultural identity fairly difficult. Even before Irish independence, a great interest in the Irish past already existed in the form of Irish antiquarianism and this enthusiasm increased immensely after Irish independence, just as the involvement of politics and language.

In his book *Translating Ireland: Translation, Languages, Culture*, Cronin points toward the fact that the Irish are incredibly proud of their native language (136). This pride intensifies thanks to the Irish government. The government has made various attempts to revive the language, including granting the Irish language the status of the first official

language of the Republic of Ireland. Irish became the language of government and every official employed by the government was required to know or learn Irish. This policy was initiated to battle the feeling of cultural inferiority and thus strengthen the Irish sense of cultural identity (Cronin 140-142, 153-155). However, the actual circumstances are not so rosy. The situation concerning language in the Republic of Ireland is one of diglossia, in which one language, English in this case, is rapidly expanding while the other, Irish, is declining. Over the years, the amount of native Irish speakers has dropped remarkably fast. The largest part of Irish speakers can be found in rural areas, where English is not as present as in the cities. Thanks to the Great Famine and measures taken by the English government, the number of native speakers of Irish declined rapidly in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While the community of Irish speakers consisted of around 4 million people in 1835 according to *Conradh na Gaeilge*, a prestigious organisation that concentrates on educating people about the Irish language, in 1901 only 650,000 speakers of Irish remained. This situation was, and still is, of concern to the government. Thankfully, the Irish language received a boost after the Second World War, when a lot more literature was written in that language (Cronin 159). This led to an increase of the size of the already existing literary culture, which got the opportunity to establish itself more firmly. Moreover, Irish orthography and grammar were standardised after the war, allowing speakers to learn, read and write the language (Cronin 155). Thanks to these measures, the language has become more accessible and the importance of the language has grown. The Irish actively try to preserve and revive their language, which shows the value they attach to it as a people. It is therefore inevitable that the Irish language should be regarded as part of the Irish cultural identity. In the census of 2011, it appeared that only 1,8% of the Irish population speak Irish on a daily basis outside of the educational system (27), opposed to 40,6% of the population who can speak a little Irish

(26). While this may seem as a rather small community, the amount of people who speak Irish daily has tripled in the past century. So, the number of Irish speakers gradually grows again.

The issue about the Irish language is without doubt connected to the matter of politics. Ever since the British involvement in Ireland, the Irish have deployed various modes of resistance and this continued even after the Irish independence in the 1920s. While the Republic gained its independence, the six counties known as Northern Ireland remained with the United Kingdom. This has probably been one of the biggest struggles between Great Britain and Ireland in the twentieth century and has led to the eruption of a period dominated by violence and death, also known as the Troubles. So political strife between Ireland and Great Britain has always been one of the elements in their relationship that concerns most people (Cronin 132), yet the Irish take pride in this form of resistance they have been able to offer since as far back as the twelfth century. This enmity between the countries is something that mostly unites the Irish people when regarding the historical context in which the relationship with Great Britain exists.

It cannot be denied that the past has played an important role in both issues discussed above. This notion about the importance of the past originates in the eighteenth century. A growing interest in the past emerged in that period, which led to the establishment of various antiquarian societies, such as the Hibernian Antiquarian Society (HAS) and the Royal Irish Academy (RIA). These organisations focused their attention on exploring the Irish cultural identity by examining Irish civilisation in the distant past (Cronin 132). While Irish civilisation was usually described as barbarous and uncultured, this image changed when the antiquarians spent time researching the Irish past. This examination gave rise to an impression of cultural otherness from England (Cronin 132), which increased the already existing animosity between the countries. After Irish independence, the Irish people fell back on antiquarianism and used this to seek their roots. These roots would provide them with a

foundation on which they could base their future. The Irish used their past to reclaim lost territories and to create a new, post-independence identity. The focus did not lay on who they were at that point in history, but rather on who they might become (Hall and Du Gay 4). In that sense, their past is as much part of the Irish cultural identity as the language and politics are.

How is cultural identity linked to (Irish place) names?

Among scholars and scientists, the relationship that exists between names and identity has been a complicated subject to various studies and fields of research. Names provide a vast source of information that offers an insight into linguistics, geography, history and sociology among others (Helleland 98). That the connection between names and identity is a topic discussed in multiple disciplines may indicate that this link is an important one. This claim can become more evident when looked at introductions between people. When one person introduces themself to someone else, they start by giving their name and telling where they come from (Sheeran 191). This signifies not only the value people attach to their own name, but also the significant role a place plays in the individual identity. Yet, place names also play a part in the creation of a collective identity (Helleland 106).

Nevertheless, there have been different philosophers over time that contradict the link between names and identity. They maintain the view that names do not have a meaning at all and are just references to particular objects (Helleland 99-100). However, this will not be the view that will be adopted in this thesis. Instead, the vision that will be embraced in this thesis will be supportive of the claim that there is a link between identity and names. The link between cultural identity and Irish place names more specifically will be gradually established throughout this chapter. First of all, some attention will be paid to the link itself, then the relationship between place names and identity will be specified before moving on to the connection between collective cultural identity and Irish place names. The sense of place as well as the creation of place out of space will be a central topic during this discussion.

One issue that should be addressed when the link between identity and names is being discussed, is experience. In the first chapter of this thesis, it was argued that experiences allow an individual or a cultural group to determine cultural features that are important to them. Those experiences also grant a cultural group that has shared those experiences, the chance to

express the meaning they add to those experiences through naming (Helleland 96). Specifically, a name indicates that the object is of a particular significance to an individual or cultural group. That which carries no name is considered less or not important (Sheeran 73). The name that is given to a place then enables members of the group to familiarise themselves with this place and thus create a sense of belonging somewhere, an identity, which will lead to value and meaning being bestowed on this particular place as well as creating the spirit of the place. The place that carries the name becomes part of the individual as well as the collective identity as it contributes to the memory and identity of the people. Helleland gives an example of this: he once met a woman during a train ride who carries the name of *Frammarsvik* (95). This name was actually the name of the farm her father owned, but he took it as his own name. By doing so, the name did not just signify her own identity, but it also became a symbol for a place that means a lot to her, because there are so many memories and experiences connected to this place (Helleland 95) that create the positive connotations of and associations with the place.

Now that the link itself has briefly been discussed and some of its characteristics have been established, the relationship between place names and identity will be examined. While it has been posited that names, thus place names as well, have no meaning and as such only contain references to the specific objects they specify, the opposite will be illustrated in the following section. Alternatively, as Helleland states, place names actually turn the physical and geographical elements into an object that is experienced in a historical and social context (100). Two issues are of particular importance and interest in this debate, so the biggest part of this section will be dedicated to those matters.

In the first place, there is the link to the past that place names establish, which has already been touched upon earlier, though fairly shortly. The most straightforward connection will be the usage of place names. They sometimes date more than a thousand years ago and,

even though it is likely the spelling has changed considerably thanks to the continuously changing orthography that is dependent on how a language develops, provide information about the place itself, the language spoken there, the circumstances of the place and sometimes even activities that took place in the past or the people that came up with the name (Helleland 101-102). This knowledge that place names provide do not just say something about the people that live in that particular place or its surroundings, but it may also be used by scientists to explain the origins of the word(s) place names consist of, their etymology. Examining the etymology of place names has been an important point of research in the field of toponymy. By finding the roots of place names, the semantic value of those words is identified, which has been a significant practice in taking apart the meaning of place names. This dismantling allows scholars to use those place names as a historical source, with which they can conduct research regarding the history of settlements, natural circumstances as well as cultural aspects.

Besides information about the people and the place itself, place names can also say a lot about how the nature around it looked like in past times and how people adapted to their environment and interacted with it (Sheeran 80). Because of all these features of the connection to the past, place names are the basis for many stories or even songs that may be unique to a specific cultural group. The recollection and conveyance of those stories and songs to future generations often ensures the remembrance of the people who lived in that place or area in a distant past. The place is basically ritualised, because people will continue to come back to it, whether that is physically or mentally (Sheeran 73-74). In turn, remembering leads to an increase in the knowledge about the place a person possesses. By enlarging the historic and linguistic awareness about a place, a person may be enabled to create a stronger tie to that particular place, which will eventually add to the sense of

belonging the person enjoys and lead to the place potentially becoming a home. This is also the case with the example of the Norse woman who was mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Secondly, the role of the creation of place out of space in the relationship between place names and identity will be analysed. The notion of space and place is a closely related connection to the concept of the familiar and the unfamiliar. Space is always developing and being build and therefore rendered as something people are not familiar with. By letting people become acquainted with space, however, it is possible to create a familiar environment that will be termed place. Thus, familiarity gives meaning to space and turns it into place. There are multiple ways to familiarise people with a particular part of space, of which naming it is one (Kostanski and Clark 190). By giving a name to a place, people show their attachment to it. This place name then serves several purposes that contribute to an individual and collective identity. As could be concluded from the previous paragraph, the place name serves as a peg on which people can hang any description, whether that is of the place itself or its surroundings or its people (Helleland 100), and the stories and songs that add to their shared memory of the place and its people. Reading about the place also increases the knowledge about the place, which will add to the familiarity with the place and thus increase the sense of belonging. This is especially important to the identity of people with minority languages (Jordan 129), because their language, thus also their place names, act as a key to memory and the past. Their identity is defined through language (Bullock 111), even more so than of people who speak a majority language.

The previous sections have demonstrated that a place name carries cultural baggage (Kostanski and Clark 189). For that reason, place names are not just connected to individual and collective identity, they are also linked to individual and collective cultural identity. Because of this relationship, place names themselves should be considered as a part of the cultural heritage of cultural groups. They highlight cultural values, standards and anything

else that a cultural group may regard significant about the place they live in. This may be brought about by reflecting natural characteristics, such as lakes, forests and vegetation. When a place names reflects on the vegetation of that place for instance, this may say something about the kind of society that thrived in that place and the professions of the people that used to live there when the name was invented (Jordan 125).

Place names do not just connect people from linguistic minorities to their shared memory and past. They also support any emotional ties they may have to the place (Jordan 129). Place names displayed in a minority language demonstrate the existence of said minority language, it is recognised as something that is real and it shows that it is accepted by a majority language. Moreover, those place names show that the specific minority has helped shape a culture and its heritage (Jordan 129, Kostanski and Clark 190). An example of this recognition can be found on bilingual road signs. In South Tyrol, for instance, the inhabitants speak German and bilingual road signs are used to accommodate all citizens, no matter if they speak German or Italian.

Bilingual road signs are distributed widely across Ireland as well. Place names are presented in Irish and English. This has been the result of contact between the Irish and English language that occurred between the twelfth and twentieth centuries. While language fulfils an important role in cultural identity, the Irish sense of place, and therefore their cultural identity as well, is in truth not shaped by colonialism. Instead, the relationship between their place names and cultural identity finds its origin in the *Dindshenchas*. This literally means ‘’hill-lore’’ (compound of *dind* ‘’hill’’ and *senchas* ‘’old tales’’). It is a tradition dating from the ninth and tenth centuries in which the naming of places is a central topic (Sheeran 199). These stories contain references to legendary heroes and are an inexhaustible source of local myths, folklore and history (Nash 461). The *Dindshenchas* have

been an invaluable source of knowledge to scholars who have dedicated their efforts to clarify and illustrate the etymology of those place names.

However, colonialism did reinforce the Irish cultural identity (Sheeran 194-195). When Ireland was still one of the colonies of the British Empire, the English used the act of naming as an instrument to control and possess the Irish land (Bullock 98, Kostanski and Clark 189). In the nineteenth century, the Ordnance Survey was tasked with the mapping of Ireland. Some Irish place names were simplified, so that they could be standardised, while other place names were translated to English or completely changed (Smith 79-80). However, the originally Irish place names were of great meaning to the people who lived there, because they were full of connections to the past (Smith 82). By changing and replacing them, the Ordnance Survey managed to rewrite Irish history, thus recreating the Irish cultural identity. The sense of belonging the Irish had previously felt, was considerably altered, especially because it was so closely linked to the *dindshenchas*. That link was eradicated and left the Irish disconnected from their past and their culture. Through this practice of renaming, the indigenous Irish culture was subordinated to the foreign English one.

That the Irish desire to recover and reconnect with the past and the cultural heritage continued to grow throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century is therefore not very surprising. While the Gaelic League made attempts to recover at least part of that link with the past and the cultural heritage at the end of the nineteenth century, the Irish government endeavoured to reclaim Irish place names from before they were altered by the English in the twentieth century after they had gained independence (Nash 462). The Irish government was not alone in its efforts, though. As Kostanski and Clark have mentioned, the Australian government has also made efforts to reintroduce place names in indigenous languages in order to restore the indigenous cultural heritage and the lost connection with the past (189-191). This process of colonial and post-colonial renaming is

without a doubt an example of the power-relations that are at work between the coloniser and the colonised as well as between a majority and a minority language or culture (Nash 457).

Although these ventures to regain what was once lost are justifiable and honourable, it may be more constructive if those governments would aim their attention at creating an entirely new cultural identity. As was stressed in the first chapter, recovering the connection with the past and cultural heritage is all about finding an answer to ‘who might we become?’

What role does translation play in the depiction of (Irish cultural) identity?

Minority languages have not received much attention in the field of translation studies, while they do require a special approach simply because of their status as a minority language (Branchadell 98). Nevertheless, the role translation plays in the depiction of identity, regarding minority or majority languages, should not be underestimated. As Roberto Valdeón points out, translation has been an important instrument in the creation of empires, nations and thus also identity. The famous Egyptians, Romans and Greeks, for example, used translation to elevate their empires and history has shown that this attempt was not futile (Valdeón 111). Translation can be employed in the same way for minority languages, though on a smaller scale. The practice does not necessarily serve to promote said language or culture, but to revive or invigorate it. In this chapter the role of translation in the depiction of identity will be explored. When this role has been identified, it will be applied to the situation of the Irish cultural identity. By doing so, it will be indicated that translation plays a key role in the establishment and distribution of an Irish cultural identity and that minority languages should receive more attention in translation.

Even though translation studies is still a relatively new field, translation has always been a very important practice. When translations are produced, whether they are literary or professional texts, a communication is established between two cultures (Branchadell 98). One culture is made accessible for another through this intercultural communication. In that sense, translation is not merely a means to communicate, but it ensures the preservation of a language and helps to develop it. This is especially important for minority languages, because the language is often part of the identity of a specific cultural group, which has also been demonstrated in the first chapter. Therefore, there is a certain pressure to translate to and from minority languages (Cronin 88), as it promotes identity (Woodsworth 211). Translations also

served to create and shape modern Irish literary culture (Woodsworth 211). Literatures of past civilisations were translated into Irish and thus absorbed into the emerging Irish identity and originally Irish literature was translated into foreign languages, mostly English (Cronin 139-149).

However, translation can also be a threat to identity (Robyns 349-359). Translations introduce foreign elements to another culture, which shape the general image that exists of a particular culture. These elements in translation often represent the Otherness of the source culture to the target culture, which results in challenging the very identity that exists of that source culture as well as the minority language itself (Cronin 89).

Nevertheless, there are various strategies that can be used in translation, which have their own impact on the depiction of identity. While translating the aforementioned foreign elements, it should be taken into account that they only concern source culture specific features. It is therefore important to consider whether the denotation or the connotation is more important in the specific translation and how it can be translated best. A translator can choose to adapt the translation to the target culture or to maintain the Otherness of the source culture in the target culture (Grit 190). What the objective of the translation is, will determine what translation strategy the translator will use in the translation process. To preserve the Otherness, for example, the translator can choose to use the place name in its original language, yet it would make sense to use a translated version of the place name if the initial goal of the translation is to adapt to the target culture as a whole. Naturally, there is also an option to use the original and translated version of the place name together. In this situation, the sequence in which the place names occur is important in deciding on what strategy the translator has adopted. Adapting place names to the target culture may result in a distorted picture of the cultural identity in the target culture, whereas the preservation of original place

names may challenge the image of the source culture in the target culture as well as the accepted conventions of the target culture (Robyns 349).

From this description of the relationship between translation and identity can be concluded that language and culture are intertwined. The best evidence in support of this statement are written sources. In those texts, language is used to portray a certain image in which culture is embedded, though maybe not at first sight. In literary texts, such as novels and poems, the notion of culture might appear more evident than in domain specific texts like legal or medical texts. Yet, domain specific texts contain elements that are typical to the source culture just as well and those features must be dealt with in translation too. They should therefore not be underestimated in the contribution they can make to research on cultural identity in translation of those texts. The choices translators make in their translations of such texts can have a big impact on the way a particular cultural group is perceived, precisely because translations shape the cultural identity of that specific group in the target culture (Cronin 98).

Before considering the role translation played in the depiction of Irish cultural identity specifically, the issue of a stereotype should be addressed, because it exerts influence on translation (Cronin 98). A stereotype of the Irish persisted throughout the period of colonialism. The English had created an image of the Irish that displayed them as barbaric, uncivilised, brutal, foolish, gloomy, wild and ape-like (Tymoczko 63). They were unable to rule themselves and had no culture. Gilbert (112-113) designates this as a 'corporeal identity' assigned to the Irish by the English colonisers, since it takes features of appearance into account. He continues to describe this stereotypical image of the Irish as a 'surface identity' (118), which means that merely the outside features are considered while any important features beneath the surface are left out. It is a way to recognise a people by bodily characteristics rather than by what actually makes them a people, such as values, standards,

views and their way of life. It is through this surface identity that a distorted image of a people can come about. At first, English translations of Irish texts were greatly influenced by the stereotypical image of the Irish mentioned above, which in turn strengthened the image itself (Cronin 98).

With the rise of interest in Irish antiquity and the discovery of ancient Irish literature, however, this stereotype changed. It became evident that the Irish were an unquestionably cultured people and that an Irish civilisation had already existed for centuries. The surface identity of the Irish underwent a positive change thanks to these discoveries (Tymoczko 63-64). This change was largely achieved by translation. The Irish texts that were examined by amateur and later professional antiquarians, were largely written in Old Irish. This language was incomprehensible even to speakers of Modern Irish (Cronin 151), so it was essential that they were translated to Modern Irish as well as English if the Irish were to connect with their own culture and determine who they really were. The fact that Irish grammar and orthography had not yet been standardised by then, however, constituted a large problem in the ability to translate those ancient works to Modern Irish and English.

When the Irish acquired the independence that they so longed for, a new exploration of their cultural identity commenced. Thanks to the remarkable interest of the antiquarians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Irish were now well informed of their own cultural heritage. Translation as a practice was not used to create a link between the people and their culture as was the case in the time of the antiquarians, but rather to spread this new image of the Irish that emerged from the exploration (Cronin 98-99). The Irish used the discoveries of the antiquarians to continuously create and recreate their own cultural identity after their independence. Their perception of the Self had to actively compete with the other-ascribed stereotype of the Irish if they were to change the distorted picture that existed. While the image had changed considerably thanks to the findings of the antiquarians and the societies

and movements that arose afterwards, the cultural identity of the Irish to the English still resembled a stereotypical portrait (Cronin 143-144). Now the Irish had something to challenge this image. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Ireland knew many notable writers, poets and playwrights who saw their works originally written in Irish translated to English by an increasing number of translators (Cronin 138-150). Furthermore, with the standardisation of Irish grammar and orthography in the twentieth century, the texts found in ancient manuscripts could finally be translated to Modern Irish and English.

These developments after the Irish independence led to a wider availability of the Irish cultural heritage that had actually already persisted for centuries if not millennia. Reaching a more popular audience was also one of the goals of the Irish government (Cronin 137). The increasing accessibility of the Irish culture led to a change in the perception of the Irish by non-members of that cultural group, which eventually resulted in the abandonment of the stereotypical image that had hitherto endured. Irish cultural identity was shaped through this increase in translations, inside as well as outside. This eventually led to growing self-confidence regarding the Irish language and culture (Cronin 140).

All in all, translation fulfils several important roles when it comes to depicting (Irish cultural) identity. It revives languages and cultures, promotes nations and empires, connects peoples to their respective cultures and shapes the image of a cultural group in another culture. Nevertheless, the threat translation poses to cultural identity should not be minimised.

In what way are travel guides relevant to this study?

With the connection between place names, translation and cultural identity that has been established in the previous chapters in mind, attention shall be drawn to the role of travel guides in the study that will be conducted. Creating an understanding for this choice of texts is essential, because it provides a solid basis for the research that will follow. The relevance of examining travel guides shall be demonstrated by exploring the use of travel guides in research regarding cultural identity and the role of tourism in contemporary Ireland as well as by zooming in on the particular function of travel guides to and their influence on readers. Through this manifestation, the relationship between place names, cultural identity and translation and the significance of the past shall again be revealed.

Travel guides on their own are a valuable source of information in research that is being conducted on cultural identity. Their aim is to familiarise the reader with a country and a culture that they do not know yet. Travel guides let them become acquainted with what is termed as the 'Other'. Composers of travel guides use various elements to acquire this sense of familiarity in a reader. One way of achieving this is by giving distinctive descriptions in which references to popular tourist attractions occur. Place names play an incredibly important role in those references, because they create a mental map for the reader in determining where they want to go on their visit to that specific country. Moreover, authors of travel guides often incorporate a section on the language spoken in that country in the guide. This inclusion signifies the relationship between cultural identity and language and the fact that it plays an important role in shaping a picture of a certain culture.

Ireland became a member of the European Union in 1973. Ever since, the Irish economy has developed from an economy greatly dependent on Britain and the United States to an independent economy that attracts companies and people from all over the world, especially from the nineties onward (Cronin 193). Before the country's membership of the

EU, its economy was heavily dependent on exporting primarily agricultural products to the United Kingdom, but this changed to an economy that relies more on exporting high-tech products and services to mainland Europe and the United States. Tourism has grown into an important contributor to the Irish economy and culture in that period as well. According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), the number of tourists that Ireland has received has more than doubled since the 1990s. Since the Irish membership of the EU, social and economic developments have taken place that enabled Ireland to prosper in this way (Cronin 1).

Irish heritage is an important aspect of the tourism industry in Ireland (Cronin 8). Speakers of Irish have spread out across the globe. Most people settled in places that have been part of the British Empire at some point in history, like the United States, Australia and Canada. Nowadays, only a small part of the people from Irish descent actually lives in Ireland. An important reason for this diaspora were the famines that struck Ireland as a result of the potato blight in the first half of the nineteenth century. The dismal prospects of no food and jobs at that time forced many Irish to emigrate to other countries in search of a better life and new opportunities. The result of this Irish diaspora is that many people visit the country these days to go back to their roots, a practice which Cronin titles ‘diasporic culture’ (10, 14).

Even though tourism has given the Irish economy an immense boost, it also poses a threat. English is a dominant global language that still endangers minority languages, even though the contemporary situation is one of post-colonialism. One way in which this dominance is expressed, is in tourism. To attract a considerable number of visitors, minority languages must appeal to English to do so (Cronin 335). While tourism is expected to make sure a culture and the identity formed by this culture are preserved and boosted because more people come in touch with it, tourism instead brings minority languages and the cultural identity under renewed pressure from the English language (Cronin 345).

When regarding travel guides particularly, a few issues should be addressed. First of all, the guides can be regarded as apodemic literature. Apodemic finds its origin in Greek, literally meaning ‘moving away from one’s people’. This sort of literature is didactic in nature, in that it learns the readers how to behave when they are expressing themselves as a tourist. Travel guides encourages the tourist to visit certain places and through this prescriptive nature more or less create the identity of the tourist (Jack & Phipps 285-297).

By doing so, travel guides not only prepare the reader for their prospective journey to a different country and influence their behaviour, they also construct an image of the culture of the country that will be visited in the traveller's eyes. Travel guides are the first form of contact with the visited culture a tourist will have. Therefore, they play an extremely important role in shaping that culture for the reader. It is a means of cross-cultural contact that carries out influence on the perspective of the reader on the specific culture (Cronin 3).

Travel guides are in control of the reader’s perspective of the new culture they will come in contact with, which is largely done by the use of language. The view on the culture in the travel guides is conveyed to the reader by language, often through translation. This makes language an even more significant factor in examining whether the cultural identity of a cultural group is portrayed the same way in the mother tongue of the reader as it is in the native language of that particular culture (Jack & Phipps 283). It is especially important for linguistic minorities, since language and culture are often intertwined in those societies. Because there are few speakers of minority languages, hence their status as linguistic minorities, they are often forced to translate in dominant languages like English to spread their culture, language and links to the past that are embedded in various features of their culture. This act of translation then has the potential to become a means of language shift and in some cases may even lead to the death of a language (Cronin 335), which in turn results in the irrevocable loss of a culture in a world that is becoming increasingly globalised.

Through translation, the relationship between language, cultural identity and place names is displayed. These elements are all present in travel guides as well, so this relationship also becomes apparent in forms of this kind of literature. The delicate state of minority languages is an issue that justifies and encourages travel, yet tourism can also jeopardise them (Cronin 341). Accordingly, tourism is either seen as something positive because of the boosts an economy may receive out of it, or as a bad thing, as it intrudes on and destroys cultures (Cronin 3). Therefore, it is relevant to investigate how this relationship influences the portrayal of cultural identity in English travel guides, as this may have an impact on whether tourism is perceived as something worthwhile or rather harmful.

Research

Method

The study that will follow the theoretical framework of this thesis, is bound to a specific pertinence which inevitably attaches place names to the tourism industry. It can be concluded from the previous sections that place names stand for significant issues that link the people who live there to the place, yet the relationship between place names and visitors should not be neglected. Place names allow people from outside to create a mental map of a certain region or country, through which they can add meaning to those places themselves. These place names then represent a perception of those places that are filled with content. This content is partly shaped by the information that is presented to the reader in travel guides, thus travel guides constitute an interesting source to analyse the portrayal of cultural identity attached to place names.

Translation enters the scene through language: Irish place names have been translated and altered into English during the colonial era of Ireland, which has resulted in the bilingual situation the country knows today. Writers of travel guides still decide to use the translated or the original version of the Irish place names. Sometimes a combination of the two occurs.

As all features come together in travel guides (translation, place names, cultural identity, heritage and imagery), a study of such a corpus may bring forward intriguing results that can point toward the important role of tourism in the preservation or the loss of the Irish cultural identity and the elements that it is comprised of.

The corpus that will be used to conduct this research did not yet exist before and thus has been built from scratch in 2019. It is a corpus written in one language, namely English, and it contains material that comes from contemporary travel guides in the English language. The corpus is composed of travel guides from Lonely Planet, DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves. The travel guides from Lonely Planet and DK Eyewitness are written in English, but

also occur in other languages. While some travel guides focus on one particular region or continent of the world, Lonely Planet and DK Eyewitness are not limited like that. Instead, they produce travel guides for countries and regions all over the world, from West-Europe to East-Asia and from North America to countries in the Pacific. They aim to inspire and educate their readers about the places that are the subject of the travel guides. Because of this broad perspective, the travel guides of Lonely Planet and DK Eyewitness enjoy a large audience. Rick Steves also aspires to achieve this broad perspective. With his travel guides he aims to learn his readers not just about the popular tourist attractions, but also about the culture of the country that is the topic of the specific travel guide.

From this corpus, place names will be extracted. This will be done manually. Tally marks will be used to count how many times one specific name is used, so that the use of the Irish versions can be compared with the use of the place names in the English language. The study will be based on about 50 place names. While the corpus may contain more than 50 place names, the place names that will be used for this research shall be selected randomly as the research and tallying progresses. The only requirement for the selection is that every county is accounted for in the eventual research.

Unfortunately, the scope of this thesis also poses some difficulties regarding the corpus. The small scale on which the research occurs, does not allow to examine different travel guides from the same companies. Instead, the research is restricted to only one travel guide per company, of which the one from Lonely Planet makes up the biggest part of the corpus. Because of this constraint, the question about translation strategies that are used by the various companies will be based only on one travel guide. Moreover, the considerable size of the travel guides does not allow to examine more than one travel guide. Rather than studying the use of place names in several of their travel guides, this thesis has only room to research one travel guide entirely. Therefore, the decision has been made to select three travel

guides. The travel guide from Lonely Planet will be the largest one, consisting of about 700 pages, while the ones from DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves are around 350 pages each. By doing so, the research will be more representative of the practices of Lonely Planet compared to those of other companies on the whole.

Moreover, the research that will be conducted, will be merely based on 50 place names. This has also been decided upon due to the scope of this thesis. Ireland has more than 50 different places, thus also place names, but all of them cannot be included in this study. However, 50 place names are considered to be representative of the way in which the companies depict Irish cultural identity in their travel guides, as the amount authorises to compare and analyse the eventual results of the examination. This total of place names will provide a solid foundation for the conclusions that will be drawn. A larger amount would lead to a serious lack of room to discuss the results thoroughly in the scope of this thesis. Therefore, the decision was made to limit the amount of place names to 50.

As specified earlier, the place names that will be used shall be selected randomly, as long as every county in Ireland is represented in the study. The selection will then be the subject of a tally. Tally marks will be used to indicate the number of recurrences for every specific place name. What will follow this selection and count, are a quantitative and qualitative analysis.

The quantitative analysis will focus on the examination of the results that come forward in the count. Before this analysis takes place, however, the place names will be divided in two categories: one group of place names will represent the large settlements, the other group will consist of places that are smaller. Whether the place that a place name signifies belongs to one or the other group, is determined by its population. All places with 20,000 or more inhabitants will belong to the ‘big cities’-group, while the places with 16,000 or less inhabitants will be part of the ‘small settlements’-group. Any places with inhabitants

between 16,000 and 20,000 will be excluded from the conducted research. The results from the two groups will be shown in a table and then be compared to each other to see if there are any differences between what versions of the place names are used and whether and how the practices differ between the various companies.

Subsequently, the qualitative analysis will follow. This analysis will focus on explaining the results that were deduced from the quantitative analysis. The theoretical framework will be of importance in this part, as it will seek to connect the theoretical framework to the conducted research and its results. This will then be connected to the translation strategies that were used by the writers of the travel guides. For this purpose, the place names will be subdivided according to the strategy that is used. The different strategies are upholding (for example 'Gaillimh'), loanword (like 'Galway'), upholding combined with a description ('Gaillimh (Galway)') and loanword combined with a description ('Galway (Gaillimh)'). These strategies are introduced by Diederik Grit in *Denken over Vertalen* (2010), to offer translators several ways of dealing with cultural elements in translation.

Insight in the preservation of Irish cultural identity in translation will be gained through this qualitative analysis. However, it will also provide results and conclusions that may be material for future research to the fields in which this research occurs.

Quantitative analysis

In the next part of this thesis, attention will be paid to the data that have been collected during the conducted research. They will be analysed from different perspectives, so that the analysis will shed light on important findings. The perspectives are divided into general and more specific elements. In the analysis of the more specific elements, the purpose will be to deduce whether there is a difference between particular features themselves. As indicated in the previous chapter, for instance, the place names will be categorised according to the number of inhabitants that live in those places. By doing so, it can be determined if the size of a city and its population are important in choosing to refer to them with their English or Irish names. Other distinctions that are made to analyse specific elements depend on the geographical position of the places. The places will be classified according to their location in Northern Ireland or the Republic of Ireland and whether they are part of a Gaeltacht or not. The analysis of the general aspects will concentrate closely on a comparison of the various travel guides that have been analysed. Their use of the various versions of the place names will be examined to see if they convey the source culture to their target audience or not and how they differ in doing that. Eventually, this will allow the translation strategies to be identified in the qualitative analysis, in which the effects of the different strategies will be examined as well. Besides that, the comparison will provide an insight into any remarkable results that have come forward when analysing the collected data.

The following tables have been established after the initial tally of the place names in English and Irish.

Table 1: Large Cities

Place name (EN)	Place name (IR)	Gaeltacht	Tally (EN)	Tally (IR)
Dublin	Baile Átha Cliath/dubh linn		Lonely Planet: 348 DK Eyewitness: 91 Rick Steves: 191	Lonely Planet: 3 DK Eyewitness: 1 Rick Steves: 2

Belfast	Béal Feirste		Lonely Planet: 200 DK Eyewitness: 40 Rick Steves: 96	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Cork (City)	Corcach/Corcaigh		Lonely Planet: 110 DK Eyewitness: 24 Rick Steves: 18	Lonely Planet: 2 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Limerick (City)	Luimneach		Lonely Planet: 67 DK Eyewitness: 11 Rick Steves: 19	
(London)Derry (City)	Doíre (Calgaigh)		Lonely Planet: 85 DK Eyewitness: 14 Rick Steves: 32	Lonely Planet: 3 DK Eyewitness: 1 Rick Steves: 0
Galway (City)	Gaillimh	x	Lonely Planet: 154 DK Eyewitness: 18 Rick Steves: 96	Lonely Planet: 3 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Bangor	Beannchar		Lonely Planet: 16 DK Eyewitness: 2 Rick Steves: 19	
Waterford (City)	Port Láirge		Lonely Planet: 69 DK Eyewitness: 14 Rick Steves: 15	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Drogheda	Droichead Átha		Lonely Planet: 40 DK Eyewitness: 5 Rick Steves: 1	
Dun Laoghaire	Dún Laoghaire		Lonely Planet: 4 DK Eyewitness: 1 Rick Steves: 0	
Kilkenny (City)	Cill Chainnigh		Lonely Planet: 58 DK Eyewitness: 12 Rick Steves: 34	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Carlow (Town)	Ceatharlach		Lonely Planet: 21 DK Eyewitness: 1 Rick Steves: 1	
Ennis	Inis		Lonely Planet: 45 DK Eyewitness: 7 Rick Steves: 29	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0

Omagh	An Óghmagh		Lonely Planet: 22 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Athlone	Baile Átha Luain		Lonely Planet: 12 DK Eyewitness: 5 Rick Steves: 0	
Wexford (City)	Loch Garman		Lonely Planet: 28 DK Eyewitness: 15 Rick Steves: 0	

Table 2: Small Settlements

Place name (EN)	Place name (IR)	Gaeltacht	Tally (EN)	Tally (IR)
Armagh (City)	Ard Macha		Lonely Planet: 16 DK Eyewitness: 6 Rick Steves: 0	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Tullamore	Tulach Mhór		Lonely Planet: 8 DK Eyewitness: 4 Rick Steves: 0	
Maynooth	Maigh Nuad		Lonely Planet: 4 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Killarney	Cill Airne		Lonely Planet: 69 DK Eyewitness: 3 Rick Steves: 27	
Enniskillen	Inis Ceithleann		Lonely Planet: 32 DK Eyewitness: 2 Rick Steves: 0	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Cobh	Cóbh		Lonely Planet: 21 DK Eyewitness: 8 Rick Steves: 21	
Cavan (Town)	An Cabán		Lonely Planet: 10 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0	
Dungarvan	Dún Garbháin		Lonely Planet: 24 DK Eyewitness: 0	

			Rick Steves: 0	
Trim	Baile Átha Troim		Lonely Planet: 12 DK Eyewitness: 3 Rick Steves: 15	
Nenagh	An tAonach		Lonely Planet: 4 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0	
Howth	Binn Éadair		Lonely Planet: 10 DK Eyewitness: 3 Rick Steves: 0	
Monaghan (Town)	Muineachán		Lonely Planet: 9 DK Eyewitness: 5 Rick Steves: 0	
Longford (Town)	An Longfort		Lonely Planet: 7 DK Eyewitness: 1 Rick Steves: 0	
Roscommon (Town)	Ros Comáin		Lonely Planet: 7 DK Eyewitness: 1 Rick Steves: 0	
Tipperary (Town)	Tiobrad Árann		Lonely Planet: 13 DK Eyewitness: 3 Rick Steves: 2	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0
Birr	Biorra		Lonely Planet: 13 DK Eyewitness: 3 Rick Steves: 0	
Carrick-on-Shannon	Cora Droma Rúisc		Lonely Planet: 14 DK Eyewitness: 2 Rick Steves: 0	
Killybegs	Na Cealla Beaga		Lonely Planet: 10 DK Eyewitness: 3 Rick Steves: 0	
Achill Island	An Caol	x	Lonely Planet: 23 DK Eyewitness: 3	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0

			Rick Steves: 0	Rick Steves: 0
Graiguenamanagh	Gráig na Manach		Lonely Planet: 16 DK Eyewitness: 1 Rick Steves: 0	
Dingle (Town)	An Daingean	x	Lonely Planet: 48 DK Eyewitness: 5 Rick Steves: 95	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 1
Bundoran	Bun Dobhráin		Lonely Planet: 11 DK Eyewitness: 1 Rick Steves: 0	
Enniskerry	Áth na Sceire		Lonely Planet: 7 DK Eyewitness: 2 Rick Steves: 2	
Abbeyleix	Mainistir Laoise		Lonely Planet: 11 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0	
Strandhill	An Leathros		Lonely Planet: 3 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0	
St. Mullins	Tigh Moling		Lonely Planet: 11 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0	
Leenane	An Líonán		Lonely Planet: 14 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 7	
Carlingford	Cairlinn		Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 3 Rick Steves: 0	
Rosses Point	An Ros		Lonely Planet: 4 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0	
Avoca	Abhóca		Lonely Planet: 7 DK Eyewitness: 1	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0

			Rick Steves: 1	Rick Steves: 0
Ardmore	Aird Mhór		Lonely Planet: 3 DK Eyewitness: 2 Rick Steves: 0	
Duncannon	Dún Canann		Lonely Planet: 8 DK Eyewitness: 1 Rick Steves: 0	
Doolin	Dúlainn		Lonely Planet: 37 DK Eyewitness: 3 Rick Steves: 44	
Cong	Conga		Lonely Planet: 14 DK Eyewitness: 3 Rick Steves: 8	Lonely Planet: 1 DK Eyewitness: 0 Rick Steves: 0

Before the analysis takes place, however, the way in which the data were collected, should be defined. The data were solely collected from pieces of the main bodies of text. Other instances, such as captions of images and place names in the margins of pages have been excluded from the research. Any instances of the place names in the tables of contents, text bubbles, or the indices have been left out as well. Lastly, the mention of any place names in the names of restaurants, accommodations, and other popular tourist attractions have been ignored throughout this research. This has reduced the size of the corpus considerably. Nevertheless, enough data was left to be collected from the main texts, which will provide the foundation on which to base solid conclusions in the course of time. Additionally, it has been considered that not all the hits for a particular place name count towards the number of instances as some place names have the same name as the county in which they are located. Dublin, for example, is located in County Dublin. As such, an effort has been made to identify whether the city or the county was spoken of with every occurrence of the name in the travel guides and only the cases that referred to the city were tallied. The same goes for various other cities.

The first distinction that is made regarding specific elements of the data is large versus small cities. Any cities with a population larger than 20,000 have been categorised as a large city, while towns with a population less than 16,000 have been placed in the group of small settlements. The estimates for the population have been taken from the census of Ireland from 2011 or 2016. As soon as these categories have been examined, several results caught the eye. First, it appears as though no clear distinction is made between large and small cities when presenting the Irish version of the place names. For example, while Dublin is unmistakably the largest city of the Republic with an estimate of 1,17 million inhabitants, the town of Cong is the smallest. Around 145 people live in this village. However, both find themselves represented through the English as well as the Irish place names. What differentiates the group of large cities from the small settlements, is that the large cities are more often referred to with their Irish names. The Irish versions of Dublin for instance, *Baíle Átha Cliath* or *Dubh Linn*, occur three times in the travel guide of Lonely Planet, once in DK Eyewitness' guide and twice in that from Rick Steves, whereas the Irish version of Cong only appears once in Lonely Planet's guide. The place names of other large cities, like Belfast, Cork and Galway, also occur more often. It is remarkable, though, that they are not mentioned in the travel guides of DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves, while these companies desire to educate their readers about the Irish language and culture. Since the place names are so closely linked to the Irish cultural heritage and identity, the Irish versions of the place names were expected to appear more often in those travel guides. In short, the distinction between large cities and small settlements does not seem to be as prominent as has been expected. However, the largest cities are more prone to being named with their Irish name as well as their English.

When the focus is shifted to a different distinction, the one dividing the place names between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland, a more apparent image rises. Northern Ireland consists of six counties and since all counties are accounted for in the collected data,

there are also six place names. 83% of them are also named in Irish. The only name that is not mentioned in Irish too is Bangor (Ir. *Beannchar*). This is quite exceptional, as they are part of the United Kingdom and thus are less prone to dealing with Irish as one may think. That most of those cities are mentioned with their Irish name as well, is therefore unexpected. However, the relationship between Great Britain and Northern Ireland is still very delicate, as there are sympathisers to both sides and conflict still occurs. As part of this conflict, the Irish language can be treated as a powerful weapon to resist a feeling of occupation and oppression.

On the other hand, only eleven out of the forty-two places located in the Republic of Ireland is named in Irish as well. This equals to a little over a quarter of the total amount, namely 26%. The city of Limerick, for example, does not appear in the travel guides with its Irish name (*Luimneach*), while it is a fairly big city. This result is quite striking for several reasons. Firstly, the first official language of Ireland is Irish, so it would have been plausible if all the places were named in Irish as well. Furthermore, it helps visitors to become acquainted with the *couleur locale*, the atmosphere and traits of the specific country, region or city. The Irish name may also help visitors find their way in Ireland, as road signs present place names in Irish first. The English ones are also given, but it might save time to be familiar with the Irish names too. Being familiar with Irish names while on the road may be especially useful when visitors find themselves situated in a Gaeltacht, an Irish-speaking area.

Gaeltachtaí are the last specific feature of the data that will be discussed before moving on to the general comparison. Being familiar with Irish names in a Gaeltacht can help visitors collect information, for instance when they are obliged to ask people for directions. Inhabitants of Gaeltachtaí often refuse to speak English, if they can speak it at all, thus forcing any visitors who come in touch with locals to resort to Irish. To determine whether specific places are in Gaeltacht areas, the maps of *Údarás na Gaeltachta* have been consulted. These maps show the areas of specific counties that belong to a Gaeltacht with many significant

Irish place names in them. Most areas are situated in counties Galway, Kerry, Donegal and Mayo, while counties Cork, Meath and Waterford also have small Gaeltacht areas. From all the places that were situated in these counties, fourteen in total, only three found their location in Irish-speaking areas: Galway, Dingle and Achill Island. As it happens, all three of those place names were introduced with their Irish names as well as their English ones. However, since three is a fairly small amount of place names, they may not be entirely representative of the way Gaeltachtaí are handled in travel guides in general. Nevertheless, in this research the results show that 100% of the places in Gaeltachtaí are given in Irish besides English. Only three of the other eleven places situated in the aforementioned counties are also represented in Irish, namely the cities of Waterford, Cong and Cork. When all places outside Gaeltachtaí are taken into account, forty-seven place names, the difference between situated inside Gaeltachtaí and located outside Gaeltachtaí becomes more obvious. Fifteen of the forty-seven place names are given in Irish, which equates to 32%. This in opposition to 100% of cities inside Gaeltachtaí.

Now that these individual components have been dealt with, the attention will be drawn to a general comparison of the various travel guides and any surprising results that it may point out. The tally of the occurrence of English and Irish versions of the various place names shed light on two issues. In the first place, it shows that the Irish versions of the place names appear more often in the travel guide from Lonely Planet than in those from DK Eyewitness or Rick Steves. It can be argued that this is the case because the travel guide from Lonely Planet is substantially larger than those from DK Eyewitness or Rick Steves. However, when the latter two are combined, Lonely Planet's travel guide still contains more Irish place names. For example, the travel guide from Lonely Planet provides twenty-four instances of the Irish version of the place names, whereas DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves only supply two and three instances respectively. While these results on their own are quite

incredible, it is even more peculiar when they are linked to what these companies claim to do. According to their websites, Lonely Planet and DK Eyewitness claim to inform, educate and inspire their readers. Rick Steves' aims go even further. Through his travel guides he seeks to broaden the cultural perspective of the readers. Considering this information, and the fact that the travel guide of Rick Steves' has its own list of Irish words, it is quite remarkable that the travel guides by DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves do not have any more instances of Irish place names. They missed an opportunity to display their focus on educating and informing their readers about the Irish culture by not absorbing any more place names in Irish. In turn, it is unexpected that the travel guide of Lonely Planet contains so many more instances of the Irish versions of the place names, since this company is very commercial nowadays and still growing.

The other piece of information that is revealed thanks to the tally is the frequency with which the place names occur in Irish. The general number of instances with the Irish versions of the place names is a lot higher for Lonely Planet than it is for DK Eyewitness' and Rick Steves' travel guides. Therefore, the absolute frequency of the place names in Irish is higher in the guide from Lonely Planet too. The Irish name for Derry, *Doíre*, appears in the travel guide from Lonely Planet three times. In DK Eyewitness' travel guide it occurs only once. In the case of Dublin, this is also the case. The Irish name of Dublin, *Baile Átha Cliath* or sometimes referred to as *Dubh Linn*, recurs three times in Lonely Planet's travel guide, whereas it only shows up once in the one from DK Eyewitness and twice in Rick Steves' guide.

When these numbers from the tally of the place names in Irish are compared to the English ones, though, it can also be argued that the frequency is higher in travel guides by DK Eyewitness. The tallies for Dublin serve as a perfect example of this claim. In Lonely Planet the name of Dublin in Irish is mentioned once for every 116 instances of the English one. In

DK Eyewitness, the Irish version is given once for every 91 English instances and in Rick Steves' guide this is once for every 95,5 instances in English. When the tallies for Derry are examined, Lonely Planet ends up with one Irish name for every 28,3 English ones, while the Irish reference for DK Eyewitness is accompanied by no more than 14 English ones. Unfortunately, there is no mention of *Doíre* in Rick Steves' travel guide. Yet, there are no other Irish versions of the place names that are examined in this study, incorporated in the travel guide by DK Eyewitness, so for all other instances of Irish place names, Lonely Planet has to deal with Rick Steves' travel guide at most.

With these results in mind, the qualitative analysis will concentrate on explaining them.

Qualitative analysis

The results that were reported in the previous chapter, will be explained in this chapter. This will be done by consulting the information that is provided in the theoretical framework. The framework is of considerable size and gives the opportunity to lay bare various issues that may have been of influence on the results. That is to say, the results from the conducted research will be linked to the Irish cultural identity through the notion of place, the complicated history of Ireland and the significant role of language in the Irish culture. Furthermore, the comparison of the different companies whose travel guides have been examined, will identify the translation strategies that were adopted by the companies. In this section, the theories of Diederik Grit and Lawrence Venuti shall be worked with. Their translation theories relate to translating a culture and the various strategies attached to them as well as the effects those strategies might have.

The results from examining the specific elements will be interpreted in the first place. The distinction between large and small cities has not yielded any concrete evidence as to the distribution of the Irish versions of the place names. Fortunately, though, this distinction has showed that the large cities appear more often in their corresponding Irish names than the small cities. There is an explanation for this tendency and the notion of space and place is where this all begins. As has been stated in the second chapter of this thesis, naming (part of a certain piece of) space turns it into place. When travel guides provide the Irish versions of the place names to their readers, they manage to make them more familiar with this part of space they were unfamiliar with at first. This, in turn, leads to the creation of the spirit of the place and the value it incorporates in the eyes of the readers. Besides that, it also allows the readers to taste the unique culture that is bound to the Irish language, past and the surroundings of the places, as has been shown in the same chapter. That the largest cities that were examined occur most often in Irish may have been a very conscious choice. Those cities, like Dublin,

Belfast, Cork, Galway and Londonderry, welcome more tourists annually than small towns like Birr or Trim. Providing the Irish names of those large cities thus has a bigger impact on the readers than those of the small settlements, as they are more likely to visit one of those big cities than one of the small villages.

Considering the connection to the Irish culture and past, however, it would have made more sense when the place names were all dealt with in the same way, no matter how large or small the places might have been. Small settlements carry cultural baggage just like the big cities and they have a past as much as big cities do. Who knows what underlies the Irish version of their place names. It is a missed chance to be educating the readers only about the Irish culture and past embedded in the large places.

Another very intriguing outcome of the examination of the data concerns the location of the different places. The cities and towns in the counties belonging to Northern Ireland were almost all mentioned in Irish too, although the same cannot be said for the places that are situated in the Republic of Ireland. While this is a striking conclusion, there exists an explanation for this that finds its origin in the history of Ireland, which has been described in detail in the first chapter. When the Republic of Ireland became an independent country in the 1920s, the six counties of Antrim, Londonderry, Down, Tyrone, Armagh and Fermanagh were separated from the other counties and made part of the United Kingdom. Ever since, conflict has been a recurring constituent in Northern Ireland. People supportive of being part of the United Kingdom have clashed and still struggle with those who oppose their views and are in favour of the Republic, even though the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 largely restored peace in the region. In this continuous battle, language has played a major role. First of all, the Irish language unites the people who prefer to be part of the Republic. In that sense, the Irish place names create a specific cultural group within Northern Ireland which gives them a sense of belonging and bestows meaning and value upon their surroundings. Moreover, the people

who oppose being part of the United Kingdom use the Irish language and thus the Irish place names as a means of resistance. They feel oppressed and disadvantaged. Yet, the Irish language gives them the opportunity to express how they feel about it and to kindle a feeling of equality instead of inferiority. Displaying this role of language in the travel guides may have been done on purpose, to demonstrate to the readers what has been going on in Northern Ireland and how the struggle has influenced the region in the past as well as today.

The last specific feature of the results that should be clarified is the distinction between places in Gaeltacht areas and those not situated in Gaeltachtaí. As might be expected, the explanation for this outcome is largely based on language, but there are also aspects of the past that play a role here because they have partly brought about the current status of the Irish language as a minority language. Ireland knows two official languages: Irish is the first official language and English is the second official language. This bilingualism has largely been the result of centuries-long British interference in Ireland. Consequently, Irish has degraded to a language only spoken in very informal settings, such as at home or among friends, while English dominates the formal situations. In the Gaeltachtaí, however, the Irish language has a more prominent position then it may seem to hold in the rest of Ireland. It is therefore not surprising to see that the cities and towns located in those Irish-speaking areas are represented through the Irish versions of their names in travel guides as well. This also enables the readers of the travel guides to become more familiar with the Irish cultural identity, especially in those specific regions. The Irish names invariably remind the readers of the Irish past and the cultural baggage that comes with it.

By choosing to absorb these pieces about the Irish sense of place, past and language into the travel guides, they make a sincere attempt to take in all the important features that were discussed in the first several chapters of this thesis. As has been demonstrated in the quantitative analysis, the data do not only provide interesting conclusions about the specific

features that are extensively discussed above, but they also give a lot of information about the companies that have produced the various travel guides. The main aim of the following section is to identify the translation policies of the companies and to illustrate them with examples. The effects of the translation strategies will also be pointed out. Eventually, an answer to the main research question of this thesis will be deduced from these analyses.

Since the travel guide from Lonely Planet contains the most instances of the place names in Irish, it will be a more accessible source of information to base solid conclusions on. It was already concluded from the previous chapter that Lonely Planet surpasses DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves in an effort to preserve the Other and bring the Other intact to the target culture and its readers. It may be that this is part of the company's policy. However, it may also be argued that the cultural content, or the lack thereof, would harm Lonely Planet less than DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves, because it has such a large audience. That Lonely Planet does incorporate the Irish sense of place, past and language, however, is something that should be clung to, though, particularly because it has such a large audience. An example that perfectly shows these important features of Irish cultural identity coming together can be found in the history section dedicated to the city of Dublin. The Irish name of the city, *Baile Átha Cliath*, is lined up alongside the English name and additional information is provided to the reader in parentheses. This information contains not just an aid to pronunciation, but also the literal translation of the name, which is Town of the Hurdle Ford (LP 59). It is especially this supplementary material that is provided to the readers that holds immense value. By helping the readers to pronounce a name in Irish that would otherwise be very difficult, Lonely Planet increases the accessibility of the language, while at the same time maintaining its Otherness. In turn, the literal translation of the name gives information about the history of the name. It teaches the readers something about what the environment looked like when the city first obtained its name and any cultural memories or values that have been attached to

that name. Thus, the readers are dragged into the past and taught different pieces of knowledge about the city, which will in turn shape their image of the city and its history. It raises the sense of awareness about the Other and makes the readers more familiar with the place. This will allow readers to put values and memories of themselves on this peg that is handed down to them too.

When the Irish name of Galway, *Gaillimh*, is examined, similar statements can be made. Unlike *Baile Átha Cliath*, though, *Gaillimh* is introduced in parentheses itself. The first mention of the name is through 'Galway (Gaillimh)' (LP 361). The second referral, however, is an independent reference which is followed by an explanation of the composition and the meaning of the name, which produce a similar effect upon the readers as the translation of *Baile Átha Cliath* does. It is followed by a short section that covers the most important events of Galway's history, going back as far as the first houses that made up a village at the river Corrib (LP 361). Again, the readers are plunged into the Irish past, or Galway's more specifically, as well as the language, without losing any sense of Otherness on the part of the Irish culture. Instead, the readers read and learn about a part of Ireland so that they are able to make a place out of what earlier was just space to them, allowing them to make it part of their own like it is part of the Irish and their cultural identity.

While these two examples allow an elaborate discussion about whether the Irish cultural identity is portrayed in the travel guide from Lonely Planet, they do not necessarily lay bare the translation strategies used in that guide. When the data are checked and listed, the following overview can be developed:

	Upholding	**Upholding + description**	**Loanword**	**Loanword + description**
Lonely Planet	5	1		18

In most instances the English and the Irish name appear together, usually with the Irish name in parentheses, for instance 'Omagh (An Óghmagh)' (LP 646). The instances in which this strategy is used, where the loanword is lined up with a description, occur always at the point where the Irish name is presented to the reader for the very first time. Afterwards, if the Irish name is used more than once, it may occur on its own in the text. Unfortunately, most place names are only mentioned once, so only the cities to which a substantial part of the guide is dedicated, have that luxury.

It turned out that the available data from the travel guides by DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves are much fewer than the data found in Lonely Planet's guide. Therefore, DK Eyewitness' and Rick Steves' travel guides will be examined together. The Irish version of Dublin, *Dubh Linn* in the case of DK Eyewitness, appears in parentheses itself. The only other additional information that is provided in the text is the origin of the name, which is also the translation of the name. There is a notable difference between the ways in which Lonely Planet and DK Eyewitness present this information, though. Lonely Planet gives the additional information in parentheses after the Irish version of the place name and thus recognises the Other as an equal to the Self, or the English version of the place name. Besides that, by giving the Irish name in the main text and not in a way that signifies it to be supplementary information, Lonely Planet places a major role on the Irish language as a part of the whole. This role is diminished by DK Eyewitness as a result of placing the Irish text in parentheses (namely as '(*Dubh Linn*)'), rendering it as a mere explanation instead of considering it as something worth mentioning on its own. In Rick Steves' travel guide, the opposite occurs. *Dubh Linn* appears by itself and is only accompanied by a translation of the name in parentheses.

The examination of the data from DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves produces the following table:

	Upholding	Upholding + description	Loanword	Loanword + description
DK Eyewitness	1			1
Rick Steves	1			2

Unfortunately, the data for these two companies are very limited. However, they seem to show the same tendency as Lonely Planet. Whenever the Irish version of a place name is mentioned for the first time, it appears in parentheses after the English name. Afterwards, it may occur as an independent element in the main text. Nevertheless, it holds true for all three companies that the place names exist only in English for a very large part.

These translation strategies bring about a certain effect in the text and on the reader, which has already been touched upon briefly. According to Venuti, the translator embodies a cultural mediator, who must come up with a way to rewrite the original so that the texts, or the place names in this case, attract the target audience (277). The translator produces an imitation of the source text. The way in which he wants to portray the source culture in the target culture determines the translation strategy he applies. By using the place names in English more often than Irish, the unfamiliar language disappears. All memories, connotations and values associated with the place names in Irish vanish with it. Other than that, the translator adds a whole new layer of connotations and denotations to the place names when they are presented to the readers in English (Venuti 278). These meanings turn the unfamiliar into something that is already familiar, which closes the eyes of the reader to any other potential Otherness that is embedded in the place names.

However, producing the familiar out of the unfamiliar is also a positive development, as it appeals more to the readers of the travel guides than the unfamiliar would. It makes the Irish place names and culture comprehensible to the target audience. Unfortunately, this may lead to becoming familiar with a false picture of the Irish culture and the identity linked to it (Venuti 281). When aspects of the Irish culture, such as place names, are portrayed in English, the readers of the travel guides may come to believe Ireland is just an English-speaking country. This could strengthen the notion that Irish is just a dialect of English, which would render the translation completely unrepresentative of the source culture.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the relationship between various important elements was aspired to be established with the theoretical framework. Cultural identity, place names and translation have been linked to each other and it has been observed how other aspects, like language and the past, play a role in this network. Eventually, travel guides became involved too. Their relevance in examining the display of cultural identity has been expressed before the actual research took place.

Several claims can be made when the main question is looked at. Thanks to the research that was conducted, eyes have been opened regarding the portrayal of the Irish cultural identity in the travel guides from Lonely Planet, DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves. Surprisingly, writers from Lonely Planet have put more effort in absorbing the Irish cultural identity in the examined travel guides than those from DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves. This has mostly come forward through the amount of place names that are presented to the reader in their original language, Irish, and additional information that is provided. However, Lonely Planet has received some criticism for its practices. Their travel guides are claimed to be restrictive. They open the eyes of people to what they want them to see, which merely leaves the readers with the recognition of features of the Irish cultural identity that Lonely Planet allows them to see. This leads to people not looking for themselves anymore, but only to what they are told to see (Jack and Phipps 284). In fact, this is contradictory with the policy that Lonely Planet adopts, which concentrates on inspiring and informing its readers like the founders of the company, Tony and Maureen Wheeler, once did.

Furthermore, the writers of the travel guides by DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves do not put enough effort in sustaining the Irish cultural identity throughout their guides. In comparison with Lonely Planet, barely any place names are mentioned in Irish, which obscures the many important aspects of culture that are embedded in those place names, such

as language, the past and any information that it may provide about the people that live there or the surroundings of the place. In this, DK Eyewitness and Rick Steves do not seem to live up to their policies either. While they aim to educate and inspire their readers, they do not manage to. Their inability to absorb any aspects of the Irish cultural identity in the travel guides through place names in Irish demonstrates this.

Unfortunately, the translation strategies that the companies adopted while producing their travel guides about Ireland seem to be equally unsatisfactory. Again, the tendency to uphold the Irish versions of the place names seems more promising in the case of Lonely Planet than it does with DK Eyewitness or Rick Steves. Nevertheless, all three companies tend to employ the English versions of the place names much more than the Irish name, even though the place name in English is sometimes still accompanied with the Irish variant. By utilising the English name more often, much of the Irish cultural identity is lost in the travel guides.

Circumstances have encouraged people numerous times to look back at the past. The Irish antiquarianism is one example of this. Another example can be found after the Second World War, when the Jews tried to rediscover their roots and claim an identity for themselves that was not tainted with Nazism. The past has played an incredibly important role in the shaping of their identities, whether collective or individual. However, people have looked back at the past to determine who they were and who they are, but the future should not be neglected. The past is history, there is no going back to it. Therefore, people have to move on from where they are now, as they have always done. Culture and identity are always changing, and people continuously recreate their cultural identity. It seems that this recreation will become increasingly important in a world that is the subject of a globalisation process. Languages and, as a result, cultures are irrevocably lost with the widening gap between dominant and non-dominant languages and cultures. People are repeatedly forced to change

their cultural identity, thus they have to find an answer to the question ‘who might we become?’ This individual question raises plenty of questions in itself, so it may be a perfect starting point for more research on contemporary culture and cultural identity.

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Appendix

Large cities

County	Population
Dublin	Est. 1,173,179
Antrim	Est. 483,418
Cork	Est. 208,669
Limerick	Est. 94,192
Londonderry	Est. 93,512
Galway	Est. 79,934
Down	Est. 60,060
Waterford	Est. 53,504
Louth	Est. 40,956
Dún Laohaire-Rathdown	Est. 26,525
Kilkenny	Est. 26,512
Carlow	Est. 24,272
Clare	Est. 24,253
Tyrone	Est. 21,708
Westmeath	Est. 21,351
Wexford	Est. 20,188

Small settlements

County	Population
Armagh	Est. 14,749
Offaly	Est. 14,607
Kildare	Est. 14,585

Kerry	Est. 14,504
Fermanagh	Est. 13,827
Cork	Est. 12,800
Cavan	Est. 10,914
Waterford	Est. 10,663
Meath	Est. 9,194
Tipperary	Est. 8,968
Dublin	Est. 8,277
Monaghan	Est. 8,012
Longford	Est. 7,557
Roscommon	Est. 5,876
Tipperary	Est. 5,397
Offaly	Est. 4,436
Leitrim	Est. 4,062
Donegal	Est. 3,823
Mayo	Est. 2,569
Kilkenny	Est. 2,477
Kerry	Est. 2,050
Donegal	Est. 1,963
Wicklow	Est. 1,811
Laois	Est. 1,770
Sligo	Est. 1650
Carlow	Est. 1,360
Galway	Est. 1,305

Louth	Est. 1,045
Sligo	Est. 830
Wicklow	Est. 753
Waterford	Est. 434
Wexford	Est. 305
Clare	Est. 280
Mayo	Est. 145