

*Nina Kompein*  
**THE CLADDAGH –  
THE VISUALISATION  
OF IRISHNESS  
IN A LOCAL  
IRISH PUB OUTSIDE  
OF IRELAND  
AND THE  
INTENTIONALITY  
AND AWARENESS  
THEREOF**

*97-126*

MOOS/BLATO 40  
AT-91 32 GALLIZIEN/GALICIJA  
NINAKO@EDU.AAU.AT

**::ABSTRACT**

THIS ARTICLE EXPLORES THE visualisation of Irishness in The Claddagh, an Irish pub in the south of Austria, and the intentionality and awareness thereof. The premise of the paper is that the deliberate and planned construction of Irishness by means of palpable features both draws on and creates a 'typically Irish' identity of and within The Claddagh, but is not being perceived and distinguished in the singularity of individual segments by its customers. None of the three parts of this paper's hypothesis could be affirmed in their entirety. The findings show that, due to the too narrow focus, insufficient attention was directed towards intangible features which have been recognised as decisive factors for a pub to be deemed an Irish pub.

Key words: The Claddagh, Irishness, visualisation, intangible features, identity

**POVZETEK****THE CLADDAGH – VIZUALIZACIJA IRSKOSTI V LOKALNEM IRSKEM PUBU IZVEN IRSKE IN NJENA NAMERNOST TER ZAVEDANJE O NJEJ**

Članek raziskuje vizualizacijo irskosti v The Claddagh, irskem pubu na jugu Avstrije, in njeno intencionalnost ter zavedanje o njej. Predpostavka razprave je, da namerna in načrtovana konstrukcija irskosti s pomočjo oprijemljivih značilnosti črpa iz 'tipično irske' identitete ter jo ustvarja za The Claddagh in znotraj njega, ne da bi jo njene stranke zaznale in razpoznale v individualnosti posameznih segmentov. Nobenega od treh delov hipoteze te razprave ni mogoče potrditi v celoti. Izidi kažejo, da zaradi preozke osredotočenosti ni bilo namenjene dovolj pozornosti neopredmetenim značilnostim, ki so se izkazale kot odločilni dejavniki za dožemanje pivnice kot irski pub.

Ključne besede: The Claddagh, irskost, vizualizacija, neopredmetene značilnosti, identiteta

## ::1. INTRODUCTION

Globalisation has changed the world rapidly and thoroughly. Never before was it as easy as now to experience whole chunks or tiny pieces of ‘foreign’ cultures within the area that we call ‘home’. With the Chinese restaurant around the corner and Italian pizza delivery services operating even in the countryside, the world seems to be at our doorstep, ready to be tried out and at hand to get familiar with. Owing to the conventionality and familiarity of such establishments, they lose their foreignness and become part of the respective local culture. Often, those chunks of other cultures are the only elements we get to know about them and thus they function as representative for the corresponding cultures and their belonging societies. Based on partial information tied to as limited a source as the menu, for instance, it may happen that customers form their idea of an entire culture, its people, and its characteristics. It appears to be a short-sighted and uneducated way of encountering the unknown, yet, due to the fast-paced rhythm of daily life, presumably most people lack the time, energy, and willingness to engage with the uncharted waters more than necessary. In turn, institutions like the Chinese restaurant and the Italian pizzeria are based on their recognisability as such. They employ a number of features to conjure the notion of an authentic place to get ‘foreign’ food. Similar to the Chinese restaurant and Italian pizzeria, another phenomenon has been conquering the world over the last couple of years: the Irish pub. Loved by many, hated by some, the Irish pub is an establishment that polarises and attracts attention (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 46). In the western world, it seems to be next to impossible to not at least know what it is supposed to be or represent. With this in mind, this essay explores the manifestation of Irishness in a local pub outside of Ireland, namely in Klagenfurt, a town in the south of Austria. More precisely, it is an attempt to investigate the visualisation of Irishness in *The Claddagh* and the intentionality and awareness thereof. The premise of the paper is that the deliberate and planned construction of Irishness by means of features such as interior, products, and written language both draws on and creates a ‘typically Irish’ identity of and within *The Claddagh*, but is not being perceived and distinguished in the singularity of individual segments by its customers.

## ::2. FINDINGS OF EXISTING RESEARCH

As a phenomenon which polarises and attracts attention (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 46), the Irish pub is not merely of interest to its customers and ‘consumers’, but also to scholars in various fields of study. For example, it can be looked at from an economic perspective (Lego et al., 2002; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006) or a cultural frame of reference (Blommaert and Varis, 2015; Grantham, 2009). Different approaches may focus on the factors which ensure profitability, the pubs’ ties to identity building processes, or the construction of Irishness by means of audible,

visible, and palpable usage of artefacts. These and similar approaches may be utilised in their singularity or they may be combined in order to create a more comprehensive picture of the phenomenon of the Irish pub.

In their article “Enoughness, Accent and Light Communities: Essays on Contemporary Identities”, Blommaert and Varis (2015) focus on the discursiveness, authenticity, and sufficiency of hallmarks constituting items of orientation for identity construction. With regard to the Irish pub, elements indispensable for the establishment’s distinctiveness are of interest. The authors of this cultural study offer an overview of a pool of possible items or characteristics a pub can avail itself of and categorise them into five groups of elements: the name of the pub, the semiotic features displayed in the pub, the basic symbols of Ireland, the music, and the products on sale. Apart from that, they mention the importance of the interior design and the organising of events deemed particularly Irish (Blommaert and Varis, 2015: 10–14). This categorisation, together with the observation of the way authenticity is deliberately constructed, forms the basis for the empirical part of the present research project, as it highlights what needs to be considered throughout the process of scrutinisation and during the interview with the pub owner and the establishment’s customers.

Grantham’s (2009) article “Craic in a box: Commodifying and exporting the Irish pub” adds a few characteristics to the list of elements identified by Blommaert and Varis (2015), but is especially interesting because it gives emphasis to the commercialisation and commodification of the Irish pub. By explaining the “Critical Success Factors” (Grantham, 2009: 258) as identified by Diageo-Guinness USA, a subsidiary company of a British firm, the author questions and ridicules the credibility of the proposed step-by-step concept for ensuring authenticity. After a short overview of the history of the Irish pub and its social position in Irish and British society, he even leads to the belief that the ‘authentic Irish pub’ does not exist in Ireland and is a mere construct designed to cater to an audience with some sort of romantic vision of Irish culture (Grantham, 2009). This idea will prove valuable in assessing the pub owner’s depiction of the status quo and the interpretation of the results of the investigation.

The article “Inventing the pubs of Ireland: the importance of being postcolonial” by Patterson and Brown (2007) employs a rare approach, as it looks into the occurrence of the Irish pub from a postcolonial standpoint by means of engaging an “imagined Wildean postcolonial theory” (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 43). This theory can, supposedly, be expressed with the help of “his 4Ps of postcolonialism – *paradox, parody, provocation* and *performance*” (43, emphasis taken from the original). The authors reveal the paradoxical existence of the Irish pub, which originally developed out of the English pub and is a global phenomenon rather than a truly Irish institution (45–46). They disclose the mechanics behind the “Irish boozier”, which, as a negative image of the stereotypical Irish, has been reclaimed by the Irish in a parodic way for reasons of marketing. As an establishment “either loved or hat-

ed” (46), the Irish pub is bound to provoke, accordingly evoking either inclined or ill-disposed reactions. Lastly, the element of performance relates to the discursive nature of the Irish pub fiction, which needs to be continually retold by the people visiting it and is therefore always subject to development within the frame of the same story (45–49). These four characteristics will contribute to a more meaningful understanding of the pub owner’s answers, the decoration displayed in the pub, and the customers’ observations.

These sources, as well as four further articles which focus on the connectedness of retail, the thirst for themed environments, the notion of authenticity, and the customers’ role in the workings of ethnically themed establishments (McAuley and Pervan, 2014; Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999; Lego et al., 2002; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006), offer a better understanding of the Irish pub and the way it is being constructed. They give insight into the workings of individual components and their carefully thought-through combinations, which are responsible for attracting the pubs’ clientele. It is revealed that Irish pubs do not simply function as such due to being managed according to tradition. Instead, they point to the fact that in many if not most cases the familiar homelike and pleasant atmosphere is the result of accurate plans and strategies catering to a fairly recently developed notion of what an Irish pub is supposed to be. McAuley and Pervan (2014) investigate whether there is something like an “authentic notion of Celtic marketing” (81). Initially, they identify common ideas about the Celts, equating them with the Irish and Scots. This is followed by the utilisation of different theories to probe for traces of these conceptions in the marketing of three different Celtic brands. Based on the reliance on generalising and rather stereotypical ideas of Celticness, wherein relaxedness, impulsiveness, and mysticalness prove to be defining traits, the conclusion confirms the existence of distinctively Celtic ways of marketing (McAuley and Pervan, 2014). Despite the speculative outcome founded on the acceptance of stereotypes as a basis for research, this article is of use precisely because of the collection of stereotypes and with regard to the outline of the history and features of the Celts in connection with strategies of commodification. Beardsworth and Bryman (1999) enquire into the phenomenon of the themed restaurant. According to their supposition, themed restaurants are grounded in the appropriation of a narrative which is readily accessible and determines the customers’ experience. The study provides a theoretical framework for the investigation of different types of theming, namely reliquary, parodic, ethnic, and reflexive theming. Themed restaurants are supposed to be hyperreal spaces based on simulacra which offer an opportunity for escaping the everyday and are accepted as such by the customers who are aware of the feigned environment and welcome it (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999). This text has been of value in the field of pub-analysis especially because of the concept of ethnic theming within the taxonomy of different manners of theming. In addition to this, it is of interest to the present research project due to the recognition of the customer as a knowing subject willingly engaging in escapism offered for mon-

ey. The study conducted by Lego et al. (2002) focuses on reality engineering of themed environments such as the Irish pub and the undefinable and allegedly unimportant authenticity of Irish pubs for pub-goers outside of Ireland. The latter seem to favour the hyperreal and idealised reproduction of the real Irish pub and do not seem to be preoccupied with questions of genuineness (Lego et al., 2002: 72). However, questions of authenticity regarding the Irish pub are found to be a productive field and reoccurring theme in research thus far. Looking into the construction of themed environments and the engineering of Irish pubs, Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon (2006) determine reoccurring characteristics of Irish pubs and highlight the crucial role of the staff, customers, and atmosphere among many other things. It is noted that customers assume the double role of consumers and producers of their pub experience. Notably, the elements contributing to a positive experience of a typical Irish pub as identified by the participants of the study differ based on the subjects' nationality. Non-Irish pub-goers appear to perceive material-based artefacts as constitutive for Irish pubs, whereas Irish customers focus on intangible features in ascribing authenticity (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 224–231).

However authenticity can be constructed, perceived, and analysed and whatever the reasons for the functioning of the concept 'Irish pub' across cultures are, the commercial success appears to confirm the viability and popularity of the concept (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 223–224). What the sources vital to this research do not pay much attention to is the question of how the planning in the background affects the pub owners' and/or staff's relationship to the establishment and how much of this meticulous planning, including cultural and linguistic features, is in fact being perceived by the occasional or loyal pub-goer.

### **::3. SCOPE**

This research project based on a field study mostly differs from other studies in four points. Firstly, in this paper, attention is directed towards the customers' perception of the constructed-ness and visibility of Irishness at work in an Irish pub. This interest was grounded in the assumption of deliberate and thought-out planning underlying the creation of (attempted) authentic Irishness. Other studies, however, aim at the customers' perception of authenticity rather than constructed-ness (Blommaert and Varis, 2015; McAuley and Pervan, 2014; Lego et al., 2002; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006). Secondly, similar yet not identical to Blommaert and Varis's (2015) and Patterson and Brown's (2007) studies, the focus of this paper is centred on Irishness and Celticness, the way they are evoked, and their influence on identity formation of and within the pub. The focus of other studies is directed towards authenticity and its implications for retail (McAuley and Pervan, 2014; Lego et al., 2002; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006). Thirdly, this paper is based on a case study of a pub in a non-English-speaking environment with a fairly low amount of extra-European cultural diversity and takes into scrutiny both

tangible and intangible features contributing to its Irishness. The research in the articles either focuses on pubs in English-speaking countries along with the importance of intangible features and narrative, partly also taking into consideration Irish subjects (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006) or on pubs in (non-)English-speaking countries and the role of mainly tangible elements (Blommaert and Varis, 2015; Lego et al., 2002). Exceptions are two studies which undertake their investigation without a field study and enquire into tangible and intangible features along with the history and function of the Irish pub in order to illuminate rather paradoxical developments in its global expansion (Grantham, 2009; Patterson and Brown, 2007). Fourthly, this paper is also rooted in an interest in linguistic features present in the pub's creation of a narrative of and about Irishness, while neither spoken English as a means of communication between staff and customers nor written traces of English and/or Gaelic have attracted much attention in other papers. Blommaert and Varis (2015) constitute an insignificant divergence as they only mention that English as a means of communication would not be accepted well by customers of an Irish pub in Belgium (13).

#### **::4. METHODOLOGY**

Aiming to examine whether or not the premise of this essay can be substantiated and to illuminate the presumably crucial interplay between visible traces of language and markers of culture, the thereby constructed Irishness, and the pub's popularity amongst its customers, the present study is based on the following research question: How intentional and planned was the creation of authenticity in The Claddagh and to what extent are its customers aware of what they expose themselves to? In order to find answers to the manifold segments of this question, different methods have been employed.

Founded on the findings of the articles revised above and with the help of assumptions and presumptions made in literature existing to date, a field study has been conducted. The field study has been centred on The Claddagh, one of two Irish pubs in the town of Klagenfurt. The Claddagh has been chosen over the Molly Malone for two reasons. One of them is tied to the fact that The Claddagh is Irish-owned whereas the Molly Malone is not, the other is connected to the general notion of The Claddagh being the only 'original' or 'true' pub in town and the correlated frequent dismissal of the Molly Malone. Owing to the different parts of the research question demanding answers, the field study has been split into three subcategories. To become familiar with the pub in question, the customer area has been subject to close scrutiny. The attempt was to take notice of as many instances of the manifestation of Irishness as possible. During three separate visits to the pub, the notes have been appended with respective new observations. In order to grasp the individual background of The Claddagh's history and the actual range of the intentional and systematic construction of authenticity expected to be operating out

of the public eye, an in-depth interview with the pub owner has been conducted. To ensure that all points of interest were covered and to allow for potential additional details exceeding the information within the frame of expectations, the interrogation was semi-structured. It was grounded on a number of predefined open-end questions or areas of interest, respectively, yet diverted from the scheme sketched out beforehand whenever it appeared appropriate. For reasons of scientific accuracy and accountability, the conversation with the pub owner was recorded with a digital recording device. As a means to apprehend the extent to which The Claddagh's customers perceive and distinguish the individual features that constitute the Irishness of the pub, enquiries into their awareness of aforementioned features have been made. Those similarly semi-structured mini-interviews with customers have been conducted during two separate visits to the pub. To prevent potential disgruntlement of the randomly selected interview partners, the conversations with them were designed to be short, focusing on a small number of likely detections only, and were not recorded with any recording device. Instead, their answers were jotted down in the form of brief notes. Following the field study, the outcomes are presented along with the interpretation, evaluation, and contextualisation thereof.

## **::5. PRESENTATION OF OUTCOMES**

### **::5.1. Personal Observations**

In the course of three separate visits to The Claddagh, several detections concerning the pub's representation of Irishness have been made, some expectedly, others rather surprisingly. These detections can be grouped into a small number of different categories, which, in part, correspond to those identified by Blommaert and Varis (2015). Due to the observations made, their categories entailing the name of the pub, semiotic features, and the symbols of Ireland were grouped into slightly more extensive categories. In turn, the categories of merchandise, impalpable features, and linguistic aspects appear to be of importance and thus constitute separate categories.

The first category consists of products offered at the bar. Since the pub does not offer food other than frozen pizza, these products are limited to a selection of beverages, this selection, however, being fairly broad. The drinks available can be classified into two subcategories, namely drinks of non-Irish origin and drinks of Irish origin. Owing to the focus of the research, the beverages of non-Irish origin will not be listed here. The drinks of Irish origin are Guinness, Kilkenny, Murphy's, and Magners, all off the tap. Amongst bottled beer there is O'Hara's, and, in addition, there is an ample selection of different kinds of Irish whiskey, including the well-known and popular Jameson, Tullamore Dew, and Connemara. Basically, all widely known Irish brands are obtainable.

Secondly, the category of merchandise includes a wide range of products being displayed in a glass cabinet in the immediate vicinity of the entrance as well as one



in the cellar which the customer passes on their way to the toilets. These two glass cabinets expose to view anything from the obligatory Guinness glasses, over fridge magnets, key rings, bookmarks, and bags, to socks, T-shirts, and ashtrays, all setting forth some feature clearly identifying them as items representing Ireland and, on that account, Irishness. They bear the Guinness logo, the figure of Wanky Woollie, an Irish shamrock or the like. In addition to that, the showcase at the entrance displays a framed picture of the Claddagh ring, reminding the potential buyer of souvenirs what the memory of a purchased item should be tied to. Merchandise in The Claddagh clearly makes use of and enhances symbols and ideas tied to stereotypical notions of Ireland and thus diverts from the outline of the rest of the pub.

Thirdly, music plays a role in the formation of the pub's 'identity' as an Irish pub. An average Austrian visitor would probably expect to hear Irish folk music, however, in The Claddagh there is a wide range of genres, mainly in the areas of rock and pop. Thus, customers will happen to hear songs by The Dubliners and U2, for instance, yet they will be even more likely to be exposed to songs by Blink 182 and other select bands. This mirrors an atmosphere that would also be typical in a pub in Ireland, where there is no need to confirm Irishness by means of sticking to traditional music only.

Fourthly, non-palpable, intangible features are manifested in customs which confer with the norm of a certain culture and can be identified best when juxtaposing them with practices of another culture, in this case Austrian habits. One of the strongest diversions in terms of distinct customs within the context of pub life entails the practice of serving customers at the bar rather than at the table. This habit is being enforced particularly strongly whenever the pub is crowded, yet is not being followed as strictly when there happen to be fewer guests. Further, a bell at the bar allows for the assumption that it is being used to announce last orders, a meaning which differs from the message the use of such a bell typically conveys in an Austrian setting. There, ringing the bell would usually signify a free round of drinks for everybody present. Such impalpable features appear to be insignificant, yet change the way staff and customers interact with and amongst each other, as they also facilitate small talk between people who do not know each other.

The fifth category can be determined as the category of interior design and decoration. Arguably, this constitutes the second biggest of the six classes and can be subdivided into secondary groupings. One such subcategory refers to the interior design, which is dominated by dark brown wood, brass, stone, and dim lights, all aiming to create a typically homelike, warm, and pleasant atmosphere. This is reminiscent of the notion common also in the UK, where the Irish pub is supposed to originate from (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 45), which suggests that a pub should feel like the 'extension of the living room'. Another subcategory entails decorative items scattered all across the pub to evoke Irishness on the level of cultural associations. Partly, these items consist of objects bearing brand names and include empty bottles of Guinness and Jameson Irish Whiskey, a Guinness clock next to the en-

trance, mirrors with the logos of Harp lager, Tullamore Dew, and Paddy, Old Irish Whiskey, a Magners poster, a Kilkenny metal plate, and a crate of Jameson. To some degree, however, they are composed of artefacts such as a knitted pullover made of sheep wool, a bell used for signalling last orders, and widely known symbols of Irishness including a Celtic cross of about fifteen centimetres, shamrocks of all forms, and a leprechaun figure holding a football with signs pointing towards it. The interior design is modelled on the appearance of regular pubs traceable in Ireland and the UK, whereas the decoration seems to enforce the idea of Irishness by means of increasing the number of items referring to Irish brands and symbols.

The sixth category, finally, encompasses linguistic features of any kind and constitutes the largest section, while, at the same time, being the grouping of most considerable importance for the present research. These linguistic features are manifold in nature and can, in part, be noticed already before entering the pub. All written and spoken forms of communication are either in English or the Irish Gaelic language. The latter is one of three Goidelic languages next to Scottish Gaelic and Manx which together form one of two groups of the Insular Celtic languages (Russel 1995, 7). Apart from the display of Irish brands in the form of Magners sunshades and a Guinness sign board above the entrance during summer, small signs in English inform the visitor that the outside sitting area is open between five and half past ten post meridiem. Around the sitting area, an inscription reads “We’re not original, we’re just real”, referring to the thus advertised authenticity of the pub. A chalk board in front of the entrance bears information on live music nights or pub quizzes, which take place on a regular basis. The name of the pub is exposed to view on the facade, spelling “The Claddagh” and marking its Irishness and connection to Celticness through seemingly unusual phonetic features and a font based on the majuscule or half-uncial and the minuscule, two variants of a script invented by Irish monks in the early Middle Ages (McGrath 2007, 216). On the entrance door, a small metal plate spells the Gaelic phrase “céad míle fáilte” (meaning inasmuch as “a hundred thousand welcomes”), also written in the same Irish font. Inside the pub, these types of objects can be found all over the place. Altogether, the various manifestations of English and Irish language can be grouped into six indistinct subcategories. There is advertisement material by Irish brands with phrases or slogans such as “Lovely day for a Guinness”. Signs around the pub and the menu inform customers about practices, events, and the like; screens, for example, instruct them to order at the counter by displaying “[t]onight is bar service only; please get your drinks at the bar”, whereas the menu contains small information boxes about miscellaneous Irish idiosyncrasies. Manifestations of written Gaelic can be found in various places, thus, at the bar there is another sign with the phrase “céad míle fáilte”, the bill features the pub’s logo and spells “Go raibh maith agat agus Slan abhaile!” (meaning something like “thank you and goodbye”), and even the toilet signs illustrate a link to Celtic culture as they delineate the Gaelic “mná” and “fir” in the Irish script indicating the facilities for women and men. The arcaded ceiling is covered in quotes by famous Irish persons or people of Irish descent

such as Richard Harris (“I often sit back and think, I wish I’d done that, and find out later that I already have”), George Best (“I blew hundreds of thousands of pounds on women and drinking – the rest I just squandered”), Oscar Wilde (“Work is the curse of the drinking class”), and John F. Kennedy (“Forgive your enemies, but never forget their names”), all written in the typical minuscule and thereby evoking the Celtic component of Irish culture. The same process operates in the words, phrases, and entire texts in the minuscule font, which are written on plates, boards, framed tea cloths or similar surfaces; these include Irish blessings, a map of Ireland, Irish sayings, and the Irish anthem. Most importantly, however, in *The Claddagh*, the language of communication amongst staff members and between staff and patrons is English instead of German as could be expected due to the geographical context. This appears to be of significance as it requires local customers to leave their comfort zone of their first language and because it simultaneously provides a ground for intercultural communication between staff and customers and also amongst customers with potentially differing cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

These personal observations would allow for the assumption that the manifestation of Irishness and apparently inherent authenticity of *The Claddagh* are indeed the outcome of deliberate planning or, at least, the result of conscious decisions. To discover to what extent they really are consciously planned and to confirm or disprove the presuppositions, an interview with the pub owner has been conducted.

## **::5.2. Interview with the Pub Owner**

The semi-structured interview with Julian Mullen, the manager and owner of *The Claddagh*, was based on a set of pre-prepared open-end questions about *The Claddagh* and its Irishness. It was conducted during two separate meetings and recorded with a digital recording device. During the first meeting on 29<sup>th</sup> June 2017, which was about twenty minutes long, basic questions were covered. Consequently, the agreement to meet again and set aside some two to three hours for the interview was reached quickly. The second meeting on 25<sup>th</sup> October 2017 allowed for an informative question and answer session to develop, which was rich in detail and led to unexpected contemplation of previously unnoticed particulars and connections between them. The conversation revealed that fundamentally all the elements identified in the previous chapter are of importance. Due to the emphasis given to individual elements in the interview they have been grouped in a slightly different manner than in the section on personal observations. The ten categories which manifested themselves as crucial to the investigation of Irishness in *The Claddagh* can thus be determined as the name of the pub, products offered at the bar, habits displayed and performed by staff members, the pub’s design and ornamentation, decorative items bearing linguistic features in English, decorative items bearing linguistic features in Gaelic, Irishness, different realisations of music, the staff as such, and the language of communication including Irish English accents.

The conversation evolved along pre-defined areas of interest, beginning with the history of The Claddagh established in 2006. Julian explained that he had been gaining experience in hospitality in numerous places around the world. Upon arriving to Klagenfurt, he met his partner in life. Opening a pub together appeared a reasonable way of creating a meaningful professional life for him. The location was found and within seven weeks the Irish pub was ready to be introduced to customers (Julian Mullen, pers. comm.). Naming it proved to be a demanding task. Eventually, the decision to call it “The Claddagh” was made because of the (hi)story of the ring of Claddagh. It is the story about a couple from the area of Galway known as Claddagh, which is roughly the region Julian comes from. The lovers are separated due to the necessity of making a living. During the man’s years-long absence, he learns to manufacture jewellery and creates a special ring. Upon returning to his loyal lover, he presents her with the ring depicting two hands holding a heart adorned by a crown (Mullen, pers. comm.). Julian assessed the story and the meaning of the Claddagh ring to be fitting. He liked “the idea of adapting the symbols” (Mullen, pers. comm.) as for him the hands refer to all the friends who had helped him open the pub, the heart symbolises the love and partnership with his then future wife, and the crown stands for the customers who, as he had hoped, would prove to be loyal patrons. With a pinch of irony, he recalled his regretting to have chosen this name in a German-speaking area, as most people pronounce the actually silent “gh” at the end of “Claddagh” as a /g/-sound (Mullen, pers. comm.).

The Irishness of The Claddagh is, amongst other things, authenticated by the products available at the bar which are either Irish or typically offered in Ireland. The only exception is food products as “I said from day one I would never have pizza” (Mullen, pers. comm.). In Ireland, food is widely available, “so, every pub doesn’t need to have a kitchen. But here [...] you have to have food; [...] even if it’s three kinds of pizza. [...] It’s always been a sore point for me” (Mullen, pers. comm.). This is due to the fact that serving pizza represents a violation of Irish customs. However, the selection of drinks is “all very typical in the bars at home” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Products of non-Irish origin are the result of big companies entering the Irish market and as such common in Ireland (Mullen, pers. comm.). The cider called Bulmers in Ireland is being distributed as Magners abroad and “we got Magners here to Klagenfurt” (Mullen, pers. comm.). In terms of beer “we have all our Irish products, we have Guinness, Kilkenny, and everything” (Mullen, pers. comm.), but there is also Heineken and Puntigamer off the tap. The reason for this is threefold. Firstly, the production and availability of Irish lager has been limited. Secondly, differences in brewing laws account for a different quality of local lager. Thirdly, bureaucratic regulations complicate the import of certain alcoholic beverages (Mullen, pers. comm.). Eventually, it all has to do with “supply and demand, when I think about it, it’s the same way in Ireland. [...] Before Harp came around, [...] they also had to take international drinks in to cover the taste palette of all their different clientele; so, I suppose we’ve stuck true to our word in that one, we’ve ac-

tually just done the exact same thing” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Even though the selection of drinks is not limited to Irish products, in the pub owner’s eyes, The Claddagh is authentic in its fashion of integrating the effects of globalisation which matches the manner of incorporating them present in modern Ireland.

Along with the beverages on offer, habits are an important factor for the creation of Irishness in the pub. Despite the widespread use of the bell for last orders for indicating the approaching closing time in English-speaking countries, it is not applied in such a manner in The Claddagh owing to customers having misused it (Mullen, pers. comm.). Instead, the lights get dimmed to announce last orders since the flashing of lights is another common practice in Ireland (Mullen, pers. comm.). Further, the way drinks are poured is distinctively Irish for the most part. “If it was an English pub, you’d have these pumped taps and it would be bitters”, whereas “these are actually taps from Ireland” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Lager is served without the crown on top. “Our job is, as we’re used to it in pubs at home, to serve and serve fast and that’s what we do” (Mullen, pers. comm.). However, Guinness is poured in “a special way, I even put a shamrock on top of the Guinness, so that’s where we sell out a little bit because I do the commercial side of it, because I won’t put a shamrock on a Guinness in Ireland, I’ll be told ‘throw it down the bin and make a fresh one and don’t play with it’. So, I do that because in the pubs I worked in England, I had to learn it and it’s just a nice little touch people like” (Mullen, pers. comm.). This amounts to a specialty compatible neither with the actual Irish way nor with the Austrian manner of pouring beer and is a clear example of catering to the audience, which expects Irishness to be realised in manifold ways in an Irish pub due to popular culture, even if it is a shamrock on top of a pint of stout. In addition, ordering at the counter constitutes a crucial feature for the fabrication of a typically Irish atmosphere and appears to be one of the decisive factors for the formation of an Irish identity of and within the pub. Julian believes that in an average Austrian restaurant people usually remain social within their group without mingling with other guests, whereas in an Irish pub “these boundaries seem to break down” (Mullen, pers. comm.). One of the reasons could be “direct bar service. Because of that you end up standing at the bar beside some random stranger and because you might be waiting for a minute or two or just because people are in a good mood and, as we say, the tongue is looser because of a couple of drinks, you start chatting to somebody” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Consequently, the assumption and notion that openness is a characteristic part of Irish identity and is traceable in the setting of a pub might be connected to cultural differences in the customary manner of how patrons are being served.

The pub’s appearance, too, is partly linked to cultural differences and is the result of a twofold process (Mullen, pers. comm.). Firstly, the basic layout and design of the pub tied to elements such as dark wood, different heights of seating and tables, and dimmed light had been planned and decided upon due to the architecture of the building and owing to what had been known to be effective in other pubs. Second-

ly, vast parts of the smaller details had not been intended and outlined in advance. Instead, they have evolved incrementally. No use has been made of offers by firms such as the Celtic Dragon Pub Company and the Irish Pub Company which provide pub owners around the world with everything they need for a sterile typified pub (Grantham, 2009: 257; McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 83; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 224), as, in the pub owner's opinion, this would have been too expensive and less enjoyable. Materials like the dark wood and items of decoration such as mirrors and an Aran jumper mainly originate from Ireland, partly imported, partly stemming from a collection of personal belongings accumulated over time (Mullen, pers. comm.). The Aran jumper, for instance, was a gift from his mother and it "went up there not as an insult to the present from my mum, but actually just because [...] it really represented a piece of Ireland that we were and still are a kind of self-sufficient older generation country, in the sense of working from the land" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Authenticity is meant to derive from the fact that "the bar gets warmer with every item" added and "that's why you do eventually end up with an Irish pub that is absolutely littered with things" (Mullen, pers. comm.). The items spread the famed homelike atmosphere. Additionally, the deliberate construction of Irishness is realised through these objects. Some of them are even put in place solely due to the pub's location in Austria and would not constitute part of the decoration if it were in Ireland. "The leprechaun – I don't think I would have that up, I think that would be a little bit too cheesy" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Similarly, the Celtic cross and the random Irish blessings would only be used if the target audience were tourists, whereas the rugby ball "would definitely be a part in a pub at home because rugby and sports is a heavy thing in Ireland" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Other merchandise is not hung up because it would be inappropriate. "It's not necessarily Irish just because it has a shamrock on it ... and some things are offensive. There's some posters and pictures that show Irish people just permanently drunk. Yes, we drink a lot and we do get drunk" (Mullen, pers. comm.), but decor does not need to be offensive. "I can make some jokes about Irish nationality, but other people shouldn't cause it's insulting then. [...] We can accept our own flaws, but we don't need them pointed out to us by people that are not in our family" (Mullen, pers. comm.). Thus, Julian touched on the difference between speaking and being spoken about, whereby the latter is problematic due to turning the subject into an object and diminishing the subject's control about the creation of an (auto-)narrative. Or, in other words, identity is projected, even forced onto the initial subject. By displaying concerns about some items' design, Julian clarified that the 'project' of The Claddagh is still in progress and implicitly hinted at the idea that the narrative he wishes to create about the pub and its Irishness is yet unfolding.

Apart from promotional products by Irish companies such as Guinness and items like the Celtic cross statuette, the pub's decor is constituted by written manifestations of the English language. To the pub owner, the quotes written on the arched ceiling are especially important. One of Julian's favourites is Oscar Wilde's

aphorism “We’re all in the gutter, but some of us are looking at the stars”, as he has experienced bad times himself. To his understanding, Wilde’s tag points to the importance of remembering the positive things in life and maintaining an optimistic attitude, when experiencing difficult situations. Another handpicked quote is by George Best, a Northern Ireland football player: “I blew hundreds of thousands of pounds on women and drinking – the rest I just squandered”. The pub owner “wouldn’t necessarily want my son to do the same thing, but I kind of liked it. His point was all the money that he spent on having fun was well spent money, even though there’s nothing left to show for it except for memories. Everything else, all the material possessions, like houses and cars – that was wasted money” (Mullen, pers. comm.). John F. Kennedy’s epigraph “Forgive your enemies, but never forget their names” is “purposely at the door because that will be that last place a person walks past when they’ve been told they’re not allowed in the bar anymore. It’s also the first place they walk past when they’re coming in, reminding them before they enter this pub or as they’re entering, please, respect the rules” (Mullen, pers. comm.). This refers to the pub owner’s general willingness to be forgiving upon mistakes and his firmness in the rejection of customers who behave intolerably (Mullen, pers. comm.). These are just some of the many quotations and appearances of written English in *The Claddagh*. Stemming from famous Irish people, the quotes also sustain partly stereotypical notions about the Irish national character. They both employ and generate a mute narration of Irishness of and within the pub.

In addition to this collection of quotes in English, there is another type of manifestations of linguistic features, namely items displaying Gaelic. A metal plate above the door reads “Slán”, Gaelic for “goodbye”, and is adorned with a Celtic knot in the style of *The Book of Kells* (Mullen, pers. comm.). The latter was written in the eighth century and features the Irish majuscule and graphical particularities characteristic of Celtic artwork (Ó Corráin, 1992: 48; Kiberd, 1992: 279). At the bar, another metal plate welcomes the customers in Gaelic. At this point Julian observed that “as you move on through the pub, there’s a very particular font, I don’t know why, maybe it’s because of all our old signs, they all seem to have this font” (Mullen, pers. comm.). This utterance represents an unreflected emotional attachment to features perceived as Irish. It was followed by the remark that “I’d like to know myself where that was born from because it seems to be very particular to Ireland and for me it’s immediate ... the minute I see it, I link it to Ireland” (Mullen, pers. comm.). The Irish minuscule, as this comment reveals, is not being utilised in order to create Irishness deliberately and solely by reinforcing features stereotypically perceived as Irish by uninformed foreign customers. It is used in *The Claddagh* because native Irish citizens consider it typical of their home country, at times even without knowing about its origin in medieval religious scripts (McGrath, 2007: 216). As such, it is part of the narrative the Irish sustain and retell about themselves. Other objects of decor such as tea towels with various sorts of content, even if mostly in English, display the same typeface. The font for the logo of *The*

Claddagh was actually purchased as it was supposed to evince “a heavy kind of Celtic look” (Mullen, pers. comm.) yet still be legible. During the interview, Julian was becoming aware of the fact that the Irish minuscule and Celtic imagery subconsciously play a role in his selecting of decor, which he had not noticed before. The sign above the entrance door spelling “Slán” in Times New Roman “would have [had] no interest to” him “if the Celtic design was not above it” (Mullen, pers. comm.). He discerned “it just wouldn’t feel Irish” (Mullen, pers. comm.), thus, pointing to the importance of emotions subconsciously present in the mechanisms of national identity and nationness.

Another area which revealed an absence of preceding introspection and reflection proved to be Irishness. Julian had difficulties clearly defining Irishness and attempted to explain it through narratives and myths about past times, also evoking stereotypes. Thus, Irishness is supposed to be tied to previous hardship experienced by the Irish and mirrored in the darkness of the interior of pubs which is dominated by dark wood and dimmed light (Mullen, pers. comm.). “Tragedy usually makes everything Irish. [...] just like the dark wood, actually, there’s a darkness in everything” (Mullen, pers. comm.). The dimness in pubs also provides an opportunity to “be hidden away” in “a little safety zone” (Mullen, pers. comm.). According to Julian, most Irish people have experienced hardness. “Nearly every person that, for me, suits the personality of somebody working in the pub, they’re always full of humour, but a lot of times it’s masking. [...] I’m not saying they’re all depressed, but we’re used to this. [...] This is how our drinking culture got created in the first place. We were trying to drink away past reality because reality was tough” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Following this logic, the proneness to drunkenness stereotypically associated with the Irish appears to be a coping mechanism for (psychological) distress. When inebriated, “you start laughing and dancing and all these things. The same thing happened when countries tried to occupy us. We used to meet in little houses, [...] this was how people survived and coped, they came together and they told their stories” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Asserting the importance of storytelling as another component stereotypically associated with Irishness, Julian employed a romanticised interpretation of the functions of the early pub and even linked them to the preservation of Gaelic. To his understanding, components such as dark wood and warm light are even more important for the creation and maintenance of Irishness than the Celtic background. A long silence followed the question about his perception of a potential distinction between Irishness and Celticness and the status of the latter as a constituent of the former. “I think the Celtic shows our roots, and I think it’s important to always represent your roots, and I’ve only realised now that’s what we’re doing, [...] we’re representing our true, basic roots. And either side it’s showing how we continue to survive and live because, actually, you’ve made me realise why we put the Celtic symbols up there, [...] we’re showing where we come from” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Despite the intended neutrality of the questions asked, they seem to have triggered reflection and enabled novel perspectives on the



latent underlying processes such as the creation and sustenance of narratives about nationness also by means other than language which are present in running a pub.

Conversely, the choice of music is deliberate and thoroughly considered. It is congruous with the music in pubs in Ireland, which consists of three characteristic pillars: background tunes suitable for a relaxed atmosphere, live performances, and ceili sessions (Mullen, pers. comm.). In The Claddagh, the first two types are realised. Different genres can be heard and Irish folk is not as common as a prejudiced customer of an Irish pub might expect. This is due to the fact that folk is not a constitutive trait of pubs in Ireland, as they are not preoccupied with evoking their ties to Celtic culture and constructing Irishness. However, the selection of music in The Claddagh is not coincidental. Distinct playlists are used, each composed according to its intended function and suitable for the style of the pub. Whereas rock, rock/pop, acoustic, and country blues are common genres to be encountered, there are genres like hip-hop and reggae which are avoided as their rhythm, speed, and style would not be appropriate. Music is supposed to serve as background and to subconsciously create a calming ambience. The atmosphere in a pub is meant to be such as to stimulate and facilitate socialising, hence, customers should feel comfortable and not be aware of how loudly they speak (Mullen, pers. comm.). “When there’s live music that’s different” (Mullen, pers. comm.) as customers visit The Claddagh because of it. It is, as Julian put it simply, “tradition”, however this word might be defined. “What the live music is, what genre it is, can be different, but live music belongs to every pub in Ireland. Any pub in Ireland that doesn’t do live music, isn’t a pub” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Of course, live music with bands is not constantly available and ‘visible’ at The Claddagh, or any other pub. Usually, it takes place once or maybe twice a week, yet it appears to be a crucial constituent for an establishment’s status as a pub. A common feature of pubs in Ireland which is not realised in The Claddagh are ceili sessions. “‘Ceili’ is the Gaelic way of saying ‘traditional Irish music’” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Hence, ceili sessions are get-togethers which allow anybody skilled enough to join in and play traditional Irish music with a small number of fixed musicians. “Nobody will ever be refused to join in, when it’s one of these ceili sessions, but the standard is high. I don’t have the ceili sessions because I don’t have the musicians” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Thus, a specific kind of music is a critical feature of an Irish pub. Without trying to force into existence the Irishness of the pub by relying exclusively on Irish folk music, the creation of playlists and organisation of live bands follows the customs in Ireland.

Another way of ensuring the Irishness of The Claddagh is the nearly exclusive employment of Irish staff. Julian does not try to conceal the fact that this employment policy takes into account the discrimination against nationality and that this is an example of “discrimination in the work market” (Mullen, pers. comm.). In order to hire new staff, the job is advertised in the media in Ireland. In favour of this practice Julian argues that “if I owned an IT-company, am I discriminating if all I want to do is hire IT-people?” which discloses his understanding of Irish descent or

nationality, respectively, as an element of qualification necessary for successfully working in an Irish pub. “One thing I don’t do is I don’t discriminate against age, I don’t discriminate against gender, I don’t discriminate against experience [...]. I will take somebody with zero experience also, but if I have a choice between hiring a person with Irish nationality or non-Irish nationality, I will always take the Irish nationality first” (Mullen, pers. comm.). The rationale behind this practise is twofold. Firstly, “the Irish are famous for having the craic, it’s all supposed to be about some fun” (Mullen, pers. comm.), which is observable also in the interactions between the staff and the customers. “There’s a lot of banter, as we call it”, which allows for the Irish “to curse, we can tell somebody to F off, but do it with a smile” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Hence, neither Julian nor his staff members deliberately enact or perform an Irish self. Secondly, his employees originate “from different parts of Ireland, so every dialect and accent is different between each member of staff and with this comes different personalities” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Due to the pub functioning as a hub for expatriates, the exaggerated performance of national selves does seem to occur, if only in guests who “become very patriotic” and “are actually overly forcing their accent” (Mullen, pers. comm.). This is prevented amongst staff members as they are asked to “start being aware of our speech” (Mullen, pers. comm.). That being so, the reason for Julian to highly value Irish staff members is mainly but not exclusively connected to language.

Notwithstanding the importance of all other aspects, spoken English ensured by Irish staff seems to be the main and decisive factor of the authentic Irishness of The Claddagh. Frequently, new customers would begin speaking German with the staff, but “we speak English and they tell us, in German, ‘I speak German.’ [...] they do that [...] because they assume that we are Austrian people speaking English” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Therefore, the motto of The Claddagh reads “we’re not original, we’re just real” which problematises the notion of originality in connection with other (so-called) Irish pubs outside of Ireland. “Nearly every Irish pub in Austria says ‘Original Irish Pub’ outside and when you walk in, it’s very rare that you actually meet an Irish person working in it” (Mullen, pers. comm.). In addition, according to Julian, most pubs in Austria are in the possession of an Austrian owner, which in itself is not supposed to be as problematic as non-Irish staff. To prevent equalisation with this variety of ‘Irish’ pubs, The Claddagh distances itself from the concept of originality estranged by the numerous bars not holding up to Julian’s and other customers’ expectations. Yet, reportedly, people’s utterances occasionally reveal wrong ideas of what an Irish pub is, in which case a rectification of potential misconceptions is attempted (Mullen, pers. comm.). Consequently, The Claddagh is supposed to be a place where customers are taught about Irish culture and customs including the use of English as the language of communication. To adhere to the notion of authenticity, Julian and his staff try to import from Ireland as much as possible. “When we originally opened, we brought all our work shirts from Ireland, just to have it [...] one hundred percent Irish, and this is the massive differ-

ence between original and real” (Mullen, pers. comm.). To his understanding, “what makes an Irish pub an Irish pub is the flair” (Mullen, pers. comm.). The latter, in turn, “is the atmosphere created by the people in there and a lot of that atmosphere originally generates from the staff working behind the bar; and if your staff are not Irish, [...] they cannot [...] say the same thing. An Irish person can say a bad word, can curse, and it come across okay, [...] but if, for example, an Austrian worker in an Irish pub curses, says ‘oh, fuck that’, it doesn’t sound the same” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Essentially, this means that, in an Irish pub, English as the second official and wider spoken language of Ireland (Moriarty 2014, 465) should be used as a natural means of communication and the employees should fake neither their first language and descent, nor their manner of speaking. To put it in other words, the interview with the pub owner gives grounds for the conclusion that a truly Irish pub should be grounded in the interconnectedness between the language of communication, the staff members’ nationality, and their Irish accent(s).

Concerning the last three segments, namely the different realisations of music, the staff, and the language of communication, the pub owner observed “it’s difficult to explain, but every culture is different and we don’t have to fake it, it’s just real” (Mullen, pers. comm.). Interestingly, these three elements were emphasised more by the pub owner than visible features. In order to examine how the components constituting the pub’s essence as an Irish pub are noticed and perceived by its customers, the following section will address the answers obtained in short interviews with first-time visitors and patrons.

### **::5.3. Mini-Interviews with Customers**

The semi-structured mini-interviews with customers were conducted during two separate visits to The Claddagh. The selection of interview partners was grounded on the intention of including respondents of different sexes and ages and on the assessment of their assumed willingness to take part in this case study based on first impressions. Altogether, ten respondents were approached, nine of which confirmed their preparedness to spare about five minutes and answer questions about the pub. Twice, the customers interviewed were by themselves, another two times they were in the company of one respective companion, and once a group of three was approached, all between approximately twenty and fifty years of age. Apart from one couple who came to Klagenfurt as tourists, all interview partners deemed themselves patrons visiting The Claddagh on a regular basis. Some respondents’ answers partly confirmed this paper’s thesis, others refuted it. Three subjects had not been aware of the single components contributing to the pub’s Irishness, yet were able to identify a small number of them when asked. The other six interviewees’ awareness of the individual constituents’ function had been rather strong, in three cases the components’ interplay even proved to be the reason for the respondents to come to The Claddagh.

Three of the customers interviewed had not discerned and differentiated the visibility and deliberate fabrication of Irishness in its singularity. One of the two subjects who visited the pub on his own identified himself as a patron who had been coming to The Claddagh on a regular basis since 2015. The 38-year-old had difficulties naming specific aspects of decoration or other features that could contribute to the notion of authenticity, but mentioned a pleasant clientele, the Irish pub owner, kind Irish staff, and the smoker-friendly attitude as the main reasons for him to visit the pub frequently. Later, he mentioned that the pub's appearance had been "created with love" and that both live-music and the use of English as the language of communication add to the notion of Irishness. The second patron heedless of the visible components that help shaping Irishness in the pub was one of those customers who were accompanied by a companion. The 25-year-old had not taken notice of the decoration at all. Similarly to the 38-year-old subject, he identified the pleasant atmosphere, friendly staff, and familiar faces as main reasons for coming to The Claddagh regularly. However, differently to the 38-year-old, he claimed to feel neutral about the use of English. The third subject who had not been aware of the visibly perceptible constructed-ness of Irishness in The Claddagh was one of the companions from the group of three between twenty and thirty years old who had been to Ireland already. Authenticity, in his opinion, plays a role, yet it proved difficult for him to name individual aspects contributing to it. After a while, he mentioned the hospitable and casual atmosphere, friendly people, and the way staff members interact with customers in interplay with an 'Irish interior' as decisive factors for the pub's Irishness. Even though those three subjects could not identify many individual visible features of Irishness in The Claddagh, the cordial, homelike atmosphere and friendliness of staff and customers had been spotted by all of them.

Six of the respondents perceived and distinguished the intentional creation of Irishness in the singularity of individual segments. One of the customers who were in the pub by themselves mentioned several reasons for coming to The Claddagh once or twice per month: live music, the "good atmosphere, pleasant and Irish" and the positive connotations of Irish culture. The 38-year-old named numerous features constituting the Irishness of the pub, amongst them the sayings on the walls, "the pleasant wood", whiskey bottles along the walls, Irish beer, and the green colour in the bar area. Despite valuing the representation of Irish culture in the pub, she stated feeling indifferent about the usage of English as the language of communication. The couple who visited the pub as tourists, both about 50 years of age, mentioned the uncomplicatedness of any Irish pub, Irish music, Kilkenny, Irish English, quotes on the walls, whiskey bottles, and tea towels as decisive factors for the pub's Irishness. One of the customers who were there in company referred to the homelike feeling, a notion of nostalgia, the "beautiful story of the Claddagh ring", "typical Irish symbols" and decoration, dark wood, music and the use of English as elements of Irishness. However, like her 25-year-old companion, the 27-year-old woman had the impression that those components were difficult to identify. Fi-

nally, two patrons from the group of three proved to be aware of the decoration and listed empty bottles of whiskey and the green colour, the music, “rusticity, non-modernity”, and “honesty” as the constituents of Irishness. One of these two subjects also mentioned the authenticity established through the use of English. The other displayed extensive knowledge about the history of the Claddagh ring and its meanings, despite having never been to Ireland. Thus, the music, the use of English and visible elements including the empty bottles of whiskey, the colour green, and quotes on the walls have turned out to be elements noticed frequently.

The findings of this case study may not be representative without reservation, but the results were unexpected nevertheless. The limitations of the study are at least twofold. On the one hand, the fairly low number of respondents diminishes the representative extent of the results. On the other hand, the questions directed at the respondents were designed to avoid suggestive undertones which, however, might have led to incomplete observations on the interviewees’ end as ‘Celtic’ or ‘Celticness’, for instance, were not even mentioned once. Surprisingly, the majority of The Claddagh’s customers were able to identify a significant number of features and elements contributing to the construction of Irishness through palpable and non-palpable means. There were constituents which had been taken notice of more often and which thus appear to play an important role in the perception and popularity of the pub on the consuming end. Even more astonishingly, these components as singled out by the customers are mostly of intangible quality.

## **::6. DISCUSSION**

### **::6.1. Interpretation and Evaluation of the Field Study**

The aim of this research project was to investigate the validity of the hypothesis that the intentional and planned construction of Irishness by means of certain features such as ‘visible’ language both utilises and creates a ‘typically Irish’ identity of and within The Claddagh, but is not being noticed in the singularity of individual elements by its customers. Hence, the main objective was to disclose a link between evidences of written English and Gaelic and traces of Irish culture, the thereby created Irishness of the pub and everything in it, and the popularity of the establishment amongst patrons grounded in this solely subconsciously perceived interplay between language, nationness, and identity. Unexpectedly, none of the premises could be affirmed in their entirety.

All three segments of the hypothesis require refinement if not rectification. The assumed intentionality and deliberate planning of the construction of Irishness could not be substantiated. The interview with the pub owner uncovered that only a small number of the pub’s characteristics such as the general interior design had been planned deliberately. The vast majority of details, however, had not been intended and arranged for in advance. Especially objects of decoration like the Celt-

ic cross which partly also allude to the Celtic past of Ireland or the quotes on the ceilings and the metal plates with inscriptions which constitute manifestations of English or Gaelic have been accumulated incrementally. As a result, coincidence plays a role in the evolvement of the pubs appearance. Nevertheless, these objects are deliberately used to communicate Irishness. Simultaneously, there are items such as the menu which are meant to not only evoke Irishness and make use of stereotypes but also to inform customers about the culture of Ireland and, by extension, the pub. The presumption of the customers' unawareness of what they expose themselves to in detail mostly, too, proved to be wrong. The majority of the respondents was capable of naming several individual visual components contributing to the Irishness of The Claddagh. Some of them also stressed the impalpable elements such as the live music events taking place on a regular basis, whereby they hinted at the relative unimportance of tangible items for the Irishness of the pub. While this research and the scrutinisation of the pub initially focused on the visibility and visualisation of Irishness in The Claddagh, the interview with the pub owner and, even more so, the mini-interviews with the customers showed that, at least on a conscious level, intangible components such as music are of greater significance. These impalpable elements seem to contribute to the atmosphere which influences yet also derives from the interaction between the people in the pub. Interestingly, in other studies, the intuitionally sensed relevance of all the impalpable constituents contributing to the ambience has mostly been identified by Irish subjects rather than respondents of other nationalities (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 231). The implications of these findings are twofold. On the one hand they suggest the need for an adjustment of the focus of the study away from the visibility of Irishness towards the more latent intangible and invisible elements contributing to Irishness, on the other hand they impart that, contrary to the initial believe, Celtic heritage, which is manifested solely in palpable objects scattered around the pub, is of minor importance for present-day Irishness.

As the field study has revealed, the most significant elements which constitute the experience of Irishness in The Claddagh are tied to the intangible atmosphere created by the Irish staff members and their use of English as the language of communication. Blommaert and Varis (2015) claim that “[a] pub which is so Irish that customers are required to speak English in order to get their orders passed, [...] would not be too long in business in a town such as Zottegem” (13). A quick online-research has shown that the culturally fairly homogeneous town of Klagenfurt is about four times the size of Zottegem (Service public fédéral Intérieur, 2018), therefore the town's potentially even less significant cultural diversity might account for the suggested unwillingness of Zottegem's pub-goers to accept English as the language of communication. Speculations aside, the interviews with customers of The Claddagh demonstrated that not only do they not mind the usage of English, most of them even value this custom as a contribution to the pub's Irishness and authenticity. This does not mean that the patrons switch to English also in their con-

versations with friends. German is still the most commonly heard language in the pub. Nevertheless, in accordance with the pub owner's assertion, The Claddagh seems to be a well-accepted meeting point also for non-German-speaking customers, as, compared to other establishments in Klagenfurt, people of different nationalities can be encountered frequently. Based on the suggested importance of informality in themed environments (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 236), the general acceptance of English as the mode of expression might be explained by the fact that through the absence of the German "Sie", that is the formal "you", a more informal atmosphere is established. As former research has maintained (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 83–84; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 224) and Julian has confirmed, the atmosphere is of crucial importance for the production and consumption of a good pub-experience. Consequently, the use of English as a language of communication mixed with the thereby established informal context of interaction and the alleged openness of Irish bar staff seem to be the main factors of what is deemed to be Irishness amongst customers.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to claim that Celtic heritage is utterly irrelevant to the construction of the Irish identity of The Claddagh and the people and material as well as immaterial occurrences in it. As discernible from the interview, the pub owner feels strongly about items such as the metal plates featuring "céad míle fáilte" and the equivalent of the Gaelic word for "goodbye" beneath an image of a Celtic knot from The Book of Kells. While talking about these objects, he began to develop awareness for the role the Irish minuscule and Celtic imagery subconsciously play in his selection of decorative items. Notwithstanding these observations, he assessed the narrative about past hardships and the darkness and warmth of pubs along with certain habits to be of greater importance for Irishness than the (manifestations of) Celtic past and heritage. Therefore, it would be too easy an equation to make that the Irish are Celts and vice-versa. The Irish are of Celtic descent, yet there used to be different inhomogeneous groups of Celts whose descendants and cultural and artefactual remains can be traced in various parts of Europe (Edwards and Macpherson, 2001). The common assumption that the Celts as a homogeneous group of people stem from Central Europe (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 81) has started being contested by recent findings which suggest that biologically, unlike linguistically and culturally, the insular Celts are not related to what would be considered the Celts in Central Europe (Edwards and Macpherson, 2001: 36.15–50.17). Hence, the expression 'Celts' is a broad term which includes more than just 'Irish'. Undeniably, the Gaelic language and traces of Celtic culture are still present in Ireland, thus influencing the discursively created 'roots' and national identity of the Irish people. This explains the constant recurrence of Gaelic and Celtic symbols in Irish pubs such as The Claddagh even if they are not deemed as important for the pub's Irishness neither by the pub owner nor its patrons. After all, the objects of decor are visible manifestations of the narrative the Irish people have created about their national identity, thus reflecting but also generating and promoting it.

The Gaelic language and Celtic symbols along with other items of decoration not only reflect and generate Irishness but also serve its commodification. Despite the absence of premeditated planning, the construction of Irishness through the objects in the pub is deliberate, which is demonstrated by the display of artefacts only present due to the pub's location outside of Ireland. These items include, as was shown in the results section, the Irish blessings and the leprechaun as well as the Celtic cross. Stereotypically, such symbols have come to be representative of Ireland and Irish culture around the world due to popular and market-generated culture (Lego et al., 2002: 70–71; Negra, 2006b; Casey, 2006: 84). As other research has shown, however, they are not much taken notice of by Irish people (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 229) and are clearly being utilised to pander to popular images about the Irish and fulfil expectations of non-Irish customers. Thereby, the conceptions people of other nationalities have about the Irish, their culture, and Irishness are taken up and mirrored back to the non-Irish customers. Or in other words, what is supposed to be Irishness in the non-Irish consumers' perception is adopted, if only superficially, by the Irish pub owner and re-projected into The Claddagh. Basically, this represents how identity is formed through discourse and the discursive qualities of written language and symbols. To put it simply, the idea someone has about their Self is constantly being amended by the idea the Other has about this very Self, which, in consequence, means that identity is never stable and needs to be continuously discursively (re)negotiated through the narrative about the Self (Praprotnik, 1999: 153). Despite the emotional value of some features of the decor such as the Irish minuscule and Celtic designs, which Julian confirmed, the various tangible, palpable objects are mainly decoration to the understanding of the pub owner and the customers. However, the Irish minuscule, symbols of Ireland, and even the fact that next to the pub's name it says "est. 2006" all evoke a long past and create some sort of constructed continuity. Tradition, in the end, is just another form of narrative that adds to the formation of national identity. Therefore, on a subconscious level, these artefacts are important to the formation of the Irishness of The Claddagh and its content, including the people who interact with the surroundings. At length, the concept of the pub only works through "an artful combination of artifacts and experiences (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 225). The thereby constructed Irishness is part of what customers consume along with the beverages they pay for and a constituent of the overall experience they are provided with upon visiting The Claddagh.

## **::6.2. Contextualisation of Outcomes**

The deductions presented in the previous chapter require further contextualisation in order to fully understand the mechanics of the phenomenon 'Irish pub' investigated in this case study. In particular, three questions are still in need of clarification. Firstly, Celticness and Irishness are not interchangeable as the field study



and revision of existing research have shown. As affirmed by the pub owner, Celtic heritage is deemed to be of lesser importance to Irishness than other factors. Why, then, are both the Celtic and the Irish identity evoked in an Irish pub? Secondly, The Claddagh as an Irish pub is an example of engineered reality (Solomon and Englis, 1994: 1) and a realisation of a themed environment (Lego et al., 2002: 62; Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 223). What, though, are the characteristics of an ethnically themed environment (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 242–243) and why is Irish theming so common? Thirdly, Irish pubs such as The Claddagh are highly frequented establishments. What are the reasons of their popularity amongst customers?

As mentioned above, Celtic and Irish identity cannot be equated. The ‘Celts’ is a wide-ranging expression which includes the Continental as well as the Insular Celts and these likewise broad terms are collective names for peoples such as the Irish. Many of the ideas surrounding the term ‘Celts’ lack evidence, which is partly due to deficient written history (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 82). A wide interest in all things Celtic has been driven forward by the so-called ‘Celtic Revival’ of the eighteenth and nineteenth century (Gibson, Trower and Tregidga, 2013: 3–4) which originated in the “need for the Irish to remove [...] negative stereotypes by reclaiming their own past” (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 43). Different studies draw on various sources, yet the recurring stereotypes about a diverse conglomerate of people such as the Celtic seem oddly repetitive (Gibson, Trower and Tregidga, 2013: 7). Thus, recurring expressions referring to the Celtic used to be “childlike, effemized by unreasoning spirituality and doomed to nostalgic impotence” (7), “less energetic, less independent, less industrious” (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 43), and “care-free, approximate, [...] dangerous and mystical” (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 82). By now, these stereotypes have been overcome due to their reappropriation through Celtic nationalism (Gibson, Trower and Tregidga, 2013: 8) and, in consequence, the Irish have become a popular ethnic group. As a nation, the Irish have accepted their roots to be in their Celtic past, nevertheless, the creation of a national identity has not been easy. The main factor influencing the difficulties in creating an identity can be located in their history as a postcolonial country (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 43), even though other studies suggest that the need to protect and preserve the Gaelic language (Featherstone, 2009: 3) and the threat of oppression actually fuel nationalism and the construction of a national identity (Kumar, 2010: 478). Strenuous or not, like any other nation, the Irish one, too, is an imagined, invented, and created community (Anderson, 2005: 49) which manifests itself by means of the discursive, performative shaping of reality underlying any process of identity formation. Because of its discursive nature and, exceptionally strongly also, owing to the unique history of significant emigration into other parts of the world (Foster, 1992: 203–204; Fitzpatrick, 1992: 213), the Irish national identity as well as Irishness is a slippery concept. As such, however, it is adaptable and transferable (Negra, 2006b). Moreover, it is unproblematic since the Irish as a postcolonial na-

tion are not associated with the role of the oppressor (Negra, 2006a: 363) and function as an “underdog” in historical terms (Eagan, 2006: 51). As a result, Irishness is operative as a “moral antidote to contemporary ills” (Negra, 2006b: 3). Despite Celticness and Irishness not being interchangeable, they are connected through the still spoken Gaelic language, relics of Celtic culture, and, most importantly, the narrative about the Irish nation as the descendant of Celtic ancestors. In order to preserve and continue this (hi)story which is supported by the general agreeableness of the Irish and the accessibility of Irishness, Irish pubs such as The Claddagh deploy both identities.

Like nations and identities, themed establishments such as pubs are based on the imagination and creation of a narrative which, ultimately, becomes what is considered to be reality and which nowadays in many instances involves Irishness. To go even further, similar to nations and identities, themed establishments are the product of “reality engineering”, whereby the only difference is that the engineering of reality in the case of themed establishments is controlled by marketers whose aim is to create “communications environments” to “influence consumers’ perception of social reality” (Solomon and Englis, 1994: 1). These “socially constructed, built environments [...] are designed to serve as containers for commodified human interaction” and as the materialised image of culture they “are aimed at investing constructed spaces with symbolic meaning and at conveying that meaning to inhabitants and users through symbolic motifs” (Gottdiener quoted in Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 223). Or in other words, a pub such as The Claddagh is an engineered, constructed place which is designed to commodify its customers’ interactions by embedding them in the pub’s interior lumbered with symbolic cultural decor that, in turn, is supposed to influence the customers’ involvement with each other. While an Irish pub can be reminiscent of a theme park also with negative implications (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 47; Negra, 2006b: 9), differences in furnishing establishments with specific topics should not be disregarded. Basically, there are four types of design, namely reliquary, parodic, ethnic, and reflexive theming (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 240–243). In the creation of an environment with a distinct concept one or more of these approaches can be used and combined in various ways. The Irish pub is a clear example of an ethnically themed establishment grounded in “the use of ethnic art, decor, music, external facade, name, and various stereotyped signals” (242), yet can, at times, display parodic theming which is based on fake artefacts (241). In the case of The Claddagh, apart from ethnic theming also features of reliquary and reflexive theming are present. The Aran jumper could be seen as an example of a “precious artefact[...] of known provenance” (240), whereas the reoccurrence of the pub’s logo functions as a theming utensil itself (243). It should be noted that consumers are aware of the constructed-ness of such environments and visit them deliberately (251), as the field study in The Claddagh has confirmed. With regard to the globally popular Irish pub, the constructed-ness of its Irishness has become so popular that the simulated versions have come to oust even the indigenous

pubs in Ireland (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 224). The theming of establishments is based on the creation of a hyperreality by the means of simulacra (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 253) and it seems that the thereby idealised variations of indigenous pubs are preferred by customers (Lego et al., 2002: 72). The reasons for the worldwide presences of Irish themed products such as pubs must be searched in the emergence of the Celtic Tiger and the notion of Ireland as “a new frontier for American and global business” (Negra, 2006b: 10). The unproblematic postcolonial national identity of the Irish serves as a legitimisation of whiteness and is as such highly marketable (Negra, 2006a: 355–356). This only partly explains why an Irish pub should be so successful in a place such as Klagenfurt where whiteness is not problematised at large by society.

Irish pubs as a form of a themed environment are popular amongst customers for several reasons. Even if the knowledge about Ireland and the Irish is at a minimum and mainly informed by popular culture, Irishness is perceived as agreeable because it is unproblematic. This is especially true when Irishness is contrasted with Englishness, Britishness, or Americanness, all of which can be contested due to the role of the oppressor frequently assumed during history. Additionally, owing to significant dimensions of Irish emigration, many Irish people and people who claim Irish descent are scattered all around the world (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 81). Instead of causing feelings of annoyance or displeasure, the Irish and Irishness are regarded as “unthreatening and familiar” (Cheng quoted in Negra, 2006b: 2). Most importantly, however, Irish pubs such as The Claddagh bring people together and are an opportunity for escapism. Within the boundaries of a pub, customers can escape their boring everyday and engage in interactions which differ from those in other settings (Beardsworth and Bryman, 1999: 250, 254). While consuming the setting of the pub and the interactions with other customers together with their drinks, patrons create a new identity (Muñoz, Wood, and Solomon, 2006: 225). They become part of “a story that is continually retold in countless adaptations” (Patterson and Brown, 2007: 47), continue the tradition of storytelling and thereby uphold the narrative about Irishness. By entering the pub and engaging with and contributing to the narrative about Irishness and absorbing it along with their beverages, customers create a positively marked pub-identity which is enjoyable yet only existent and operative within the context of the pub.

## **::7. CONCLUSION**

All three parts of this paper’s hypothesis have, at least in part, been repudiated. The initial focus on the visibility of Irishness constructed in The Claddagh has turned out to be too partial. Owing to the too narrow focus, insufficient attention was directed towards impalpable, intangible features which have been recognised as decisive factors for a pub to be deemed an Irish pub. Based on the interview with the pub owner, a shift of attention has been undertaken and, in addition to visible

elements, intangible components contributing to the pub's Irishness have been taken into consideration. More specifically, apart from visible constituents such as written marks of English or Gaelic, also features like the atmosphere deriving from the presence of Irish staff members and the resulting usage of English as the language of communication have been explored. Unexpectedly, the interview disclosed that despite The Claddagh's inherent quality as a pub marketing its Irishness, Celtic heritage is of minor significance to this procedure. Regardless of the pub's essence as a commercial institution which commodifies its cultural origin and background, many of the processes for the construction of the central notion of originality or 'realness', are happening latently and unintentionally. Presuming the speculative existence of distinctively Celtic ways of marketing (McAuley and Pervan, 2014: 86) grounded in a "lack of strategic consciousness" (84) as plausible, this notion could also be applied to The Claddagh. In this sense, The Claddagh is arguably truer to the pubs in Ireland than could have been expected due to its location in Austria and its dependence on marketing its cultural and national identity. After all, marketing nationness can result in the consistent strategic appropriation thereof, as, for instance, in the case of the globally operating Irish Pub Company (83). National identity, or nationness, is perceived subconsciously when deemed 'normal' in a certain environment because of its unreflected everyday presence. As soon as it is juxtaposed to occurrences which mark it as unusual, as would typically happen in an establishment like the Irish pub where items, habits, or ideas are taken out of their usual surroundings and placed into another context, nationness tends to be discerned. Once it has been noticed, it can be utilised for various reasons, including commerce. The perception of The Claddagh's 'unusual' Irishness has been confirmed by the mini-interviews with the pub's customers. The majority of them, contrary to prior expectations, in fact are aware of the elements which contribute to the construction of Irishness. Not less surprisingly, they proved to pay attention mainly to impalpable components as intended by the pub owner. Nevertheless, the visible elements which influence their pub experience unnoticed, play an important role for the formation of the pub's status as an Irish pub. Only the combination of tangible and intangible elements, the interplay between setting and people ultimately constitutes a pleasant consumer experience which invites the customers to interact with their surroundings. Thereby, they create a positively marked pub-identity which only exists and operates within the boundaries of the Irish pub. This pub-identity, in turn, absorbs the intended Irishness of the pub and ensures the continuance of the narrative, which accounts for the popularity of an Irish pub such as The Claddagh in a town like Klagenfurt and elsewhere.

## ::REFERENCES

- Anderson, B. (2005):** “Imagined Communities.” In: **Spencer, P. and Wollman, H. (Eds.):** *Nations and Nationalism: A Reader*. New Brunswick: Rutgers, pp. 48–59.
- Beardsworth, A. & Bryman, A. (1999):** “Late Modernity and the Dynamics of Quasification: The Case of the Themed Restaurant.” In: *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 228–257. Accessed January 4, 2018. doi: 10.1111/1467-954X.00171.
- Blommaert, J. & Varis, P. (2015):** “Enoughness, Accent and Light Communities: Essays on Contemporary Identities.” In: *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, pp. 1–15. Accessed June 13, 2017. [https://www.tilburguniversity.edu/upload/5c7b6e63-e661-4147-a1e9-ca881ca41664\\_TPCS\\_139\\_Blommaert-Varis.pdf](https://www.tilburguniversity.edu/upload/5c7b6e63-e661-4147-a1e9-ca881ca41664_TPCS_139_Blommaert-Varis.pdf).
- Casey, N. (2006):** “The Best Kept Secret in Retail’: Selling Irishness in Contemporary America.” In: **Negra, D. (Ed.):** *The Irish in Us. Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture*. Durham, London: Duke University Press, pp. 84–109.
- Eagan, C. M. (2006):** “Still ‘Black’ and ‘Proud’: Irish America and the Racial Politics of Hibernophilia.” In: **Negra, D. (Ed.):** *The Irish in Us. Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture*. Durham, London: Duke University Press, pp. 20–63.
- Edwards, C. & Macpherson, J. A. (executive producers) (2001):** *The Celts. In the Beginning*. Thomas, G. (research). UK: Opus Television Production for S4C and S4C International. Accessed February 7, 2018. Documentary film. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AU1dKfMIEUQ>.
- Featherstone, S. (2009):** “Introduction: Being English.” In: *Englishness. Twentieth-Century Popular Culture and the Forming of English Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 1–8.
- Fitzpatrick, D. (1992):** “Ireland since 1870.” In: **Foster, R. F. (Ed.):** *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 213–274.
- Foster, R. F. (1992):** “Ascendancy and Union.” In: **Foster, R. F. (Ed.):** *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 161–212.
- Gibson, M., Trower, S. & Tregidga, G. (2013):** “Mysticism, myth and Celtic identity.” In: **Gibson, M., Trower, S. and Tregidga, G. (Eds.):** *Mysticism, Myth and Celtic Identity*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 1–20.
- Grantham, B. (2009):** “Craic in a box: Commodifying and exporting the Irish pub.” In: *Continuum*, Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 257–267. Accessed June 26, 2017. doi: 10.1080/10304310802710553.
- Kiberd, D. (1992):** “Irish Literature and Irish History.” In: **Foster, R. F. (Ed.):** *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 275–337.
- Kumar, K. (2010):** “Negotiating English Identity: Englishness, Britishness and the Future of the United Kingdom.” In: *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 469–487. Accessed January 17, 2018. <https://de.scribd.com/document/257428734/Negotiating-English-Identity>.
- Lego, C. K., Wood, N. T., McFee, S. L. & Solomon, M. R. (2002):** “A Thirst for the Real Thing in Themed Retail Environments.” In: *Journal of Foodservice Business Research*, Vol. 5, No. 2, pp. 61–74. Accessed June 26, 2017. doi: 10.1300/J369v05n02\_05.
- McAuley, A. & Pervan, S. (2014):** “Celtic Marketing: Assessing the Authenticity of a Never Ending Story.” In: *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, Vol. 13, pp. 81–87. Accessed June 26, 2017. doi:10.1002/cb.1462.
- McGrath, P. (2007):** “Knowledge Management in Monastic Communities of the Medieval Irish Celtic Church.” In: *Journal of Management History*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 211–223. Accessed February 2, 2018. doi: 10.1108/17511340710735591.
- Moriarty, M. (2014):** “Contesting language ideologies in the linguistic landscape of an Irish tourist town.” In: *International Journal of Bilingualism*, Vol. 18, No. 5, pp. 464–477. Accessed February 2, 2018. doi: 10.1177/1367006913484209.

- Muñoz, C. L., Wood, N. T. & Solomon, M. R. (2006):** "Real or Blarney? A Cross-cultural Investigation of the Perceived Authenticity of Irish Pubs." In: *Journal of Consumer Behaviour*, Vol. 5, pp. 222–234. Accessed June 26, 2017. doi: 10.1002/cb.174.
- Negra, D. (2006a):** "Irishness, Innocence, and American Identity Politics before and after September 11." In: **Negra, D. (Ed.):** *The Irish in Us. Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture*. Durham, London: Duke University Press, pp. 354–371.
- Negra, D. (2006b):** "The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture." In: **Negra, D. (Ed.):** *The Irish in Us. Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture*. Durham, London: Duke University Press, pp. 1–19.
- Ó Corráin, D. (1992):** "Prehistoric and Early Christian Ireland." In: **Foster, R. F. (Ed.):** *The Oxford Illustrated History of Ireland*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1–52.
- Patterson, A. & Brown, S. (2007):** "Inventing the pubs of Ireland: the importance of being postcolonial." In: *Journal of Strategic Marketing*, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 41–51. Accessed June 26, 2017. doi: 10.1080/09652540601129999.
- Praprotnik, T. (1999):** *Ideološki mehanizmi produkcije identiteta. Od identiteta k identifikaciji*. Ljubljana: ISH – Fakulteta za podiplomski humanistični študij in ŠOU – Študentska založba.
- Russel, P. (1995):** "The Historical Background to the Celtic Languages." In: *An Introduction to the Celtic Languages*. Essex: Longman Group Limited, pp. 1–24.
- Service public fédéral Intérieur (2018):** "Chiffres de Population au 1<sup>er</sup> Janvier 2018 (.pdf)." Last modified January 31, 2018. Accessed February 13, 2018. <http://www.ibz.rn.gov.be/fr/population/statistiques-de-population/>.
- Solomon, M. R. & Englis, B. G. (1994):** "Reality Engineering: Blurring the Boundaries between Commercial Signification and Popular Culture." In: *Journal of Current Issues and Research in Advertising*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 1–17. Accessed January 4, 2018. doi: 10.1080/10641734.1994.10505015.