



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e. g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Social Usage of Scottish Gaelic in Modern Glasgow

Christopher Oates

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy in Celtic and Scottish Studies

2025

Department of Celtic and Scottish Studies
University of Edinburgh

Table of Contents

Table of Contents	2
List of Tables.....	7
List of Figures	8
Acknowledgements.....	10
List of Abbreviations	11
1: Introduction	12
2: A History of Gaelic in Glasgow	17
2.1: The Burgh of Glasgow: 12 th to Late 17 th Century.....	17
2.2: Urban Highlanders: Late 17 th to 19 th Century.....	19
2.3: Decline: 1891-2011	27
2.4: Key Observations	32
3: Gaelic in Modern Glasgow	34
3.1: Policy.....	35
3.2: Demographics	37
3.3: Economics	43
3.4: Education	48
3.5: New Speakers and Adult Learners	51
3.6: Usage of Gaelic	53
3.7: Conclusions	55
4: Theoretical Background	57
4.1: The City and Reversing Language Shift	57
4.1.1: The City in Traditional Reversing Language Shift Theory.....	58
4.1.2: Modernity, Economy, and The City	61
4.2: People and Language and The City.....	64

4.2.1: The Relationship between Gaelic and English in Glasgow	64
4.2.2: Understanding the Individual in The City	67
4.2.2.1: Capacity to Speak: Speech Community	68
4.2.2.2: Motivation to Speak: Market Theory.....	69
4.2.2.3: Opportunity to Speak: Social Network Theory and Communities of Practice	70
4.2.2.4: Digital	74
4.2.2.5: Linguistic Landscapes.....	78
4.3: Conclusions	79
5: Methodology.....	82
5.1: Ethical Approval	85
5.2: Ethnographic Fieldwork	86
5.3: Interviews.....	89
5.4: The Gaelic in Glasgow Survey	91
6: Making a Life in Gaelic Glasgow.....	99
6.1: Finding a Place in Gaelic Glasgow	100
6.1.1: Reasons for Migrating to Glasgow	101
6.1.2: Developing a Gaelic Social Network	103
6.2: Gaelic Usage by Context	105
6.2.1: At work.....	106
6.2.2: With relatives	110
6.2.3: With friends	113
6.2.4: At Gaelic cultural events and community events/meetings.....	115
6.2.5: In Gaelic class.....	118
6.2.6: Social media	118
6.2.7: Discussion	121
6.3: Gaelic Interests.....	122

6.4: Issues of Community.....	125
6.4.1: A Gaelic Centre.....	128
7: Gaelic and Religion in Glasgow	130
7.1: A History of Gaelic and the Churches in Glasgow.....	131
7.1.1: Gaelic and the Presbyterian Churches in Glasgow	132
7.1.2: Gaelic and the Catholic Church in Glasgow	140
7.1.3: Sociology of Gaelic and the Churches in Glasgow, 18 th Century to Present.....	142
7.2: Gaelic Religious Practice in Present-Day Glasgow	149
7.2.1: St Columba Gaelic Church.....	152
7.2.2: Gaelic in the Catholic Archdiocese of Glasgow.....	160
7.2.3: Other Churches	163
7.2.4: Prospects for Gaelic worship in Glasgow	163
7.3: Discussion	168
8: Gaelic Arts Events.....	170
8.1: Demographic Observations – Attendance, Age and Geography	172
8.2: Social Networks and Communities of Practice	176
8.2.1: Social Networks: Artists and Audiences.....	178
8.2.2: Notable Communities of Practice	185
8.3: Gaelic Prevalence and Usage	187
8.4: Who are Gaelic arts events for?.....	193
8.5: Going Online: a brief observation of Gaelic arts activity in the Covid-19 Pandemic..	196
8.6: Discussion	198
9: The University of Glasgow	204
9.1: Gaelic at the University of Glasgow	205
9.1.1: The Gaelic Offering at the University of Glasgow	208
9.1.2: An Comunn Oiseanach.....	213

9.1.3: Taigh na Gàidhlig.....	215
9.2: Discussion	216
10: Other Sites of Gaelic Usage.....	220
10.1: Pubs.....	220
10.1.1: The Gaelic Pubs of Glasgow	221
10.1.2: The Park Bar	223
10.1.2.1: The Park Bar through Time	223
10.1.2.2: Some Nights at the Park.....	226
10.1.3: ‘Long Live the Park’	229
10.2: Associations	232
10.2.1: Regional Associations.....	234
10.2.2: The Highlander’s Institute.....	239
10.2.3: Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu	241
10.3: Adults in Relation to Gaelic Education.....	243
10.3.1: Parents and Carers	245
10.3.1.1: Gaelic Proficiency, Learning, and Motivation	245
10.3.1.2: The Lack of “a School Gate”	246
10.3.2: Graduates of GME.....	247
10.3.3: Discussion	249
11: Discussion	251
11.1: Gaelic in Glasgow as a Language in a City.....	251
11.1.1: Glasgow as a Gaelic network city.....	252
11.1.2: Glasgow as a site of Gaelic-English contestation.....	255
11.2: The Social Usage of Gaelic in Glasgow.....	258
11.2.1: A Social Network Theory of Gaelic Usage in Glasgow	261
11.2.2: The Quiet Majority.....	266

11.2.3: Gaelic-permissive Spaces	268
11.3: Proposals for Strategy and Future Research.....	271
Bibliography	281
Appendices.....	294

List of Tables

Table 2.1	Number of Gaelic Speakers in Glasgow enumerated in Censuses over time...27
Table 3.1	Number of Gaelic speakers by Local Authority in Glasgow City Region + Total for Scotland (2022)...37
Table 3.2	Comparison of number of Gaelic speakers by age in Glasgow between Census 2011 and Census 2022...40
Table 6.1	Demographic information of interviewed Gaelic speakers...100
Table 6.2	Mean and median levels of interest in all Gaelic activities expressed by respondents by proficiency...124
Table 7.1	Number of Gaelic services held at St Columba Gaelic Church by year...136
Table 7.2	Level of interest of Christian fluent speakers of Gaelic background in Gaelic religious services by denomination...165
Table 8.1	Summary of arts fieldwork events...171

List of Figures

- Figure 3.1** Number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow by age (2022)...38
- Figure 3.2** Number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow City Region by age (2022)...39
- Figure 3.3** Number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland by age (2022)...39
- Figure 3.4** Number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow by age (2011)...41
- Figure 3.5** Sectoral breakdown of Gross Value Added by Gaelic to the Glasgow economy...44
- Figure 3.6** Sectoral breakdown of Gaelic-essential jobs (FTE) in Glasgow...46
- Figure 3.7** Sectoral breakdown of Gaelic-related jobs (FTE) in Glasgow...46
- Figure 3.8** Sectoral breakdown of estimated total jobs (FTE) in Glasgow attributable to Gaelic...47
- Figure 5.1** GiGS respondents by Gaelic proficiency...92
- Figure 5.2** GiGS respondents by gender and Gaelic proficiency...93
- Figure 5.3** GiGS respondents by age...93
- Figure 5.4** GiGS respondents by age and gender...94
- Figure 5.5** GiGS respondents by age and Gaelic proficiency...94
- Figure 5.6** Postcode area of GiGS respondents...95
- Figure 5.7** Gaelic usage frequency by respondents overall and by usage context...96
- Figure 6.1** Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage at work by respondent proficiency...107
- Figure 6.2** Gaelic usage frequency by fluent respondents of Gaelic background by usage context...108
- Figure 6.3** Gaelic usage frequency by fluent respondents of non-Gaelic background by usage context...109

- Figure 6.4** Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage with relatives by respondent proficiency...111
- Figure 6.5** Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage with friends by respondent proficiency...114
- Figure 6.6** Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage at Gaelic cultural events by respondent proficiency...116
- Figure 6.7** Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage at community events by respondent proficiency...117
- Figure 6.8** Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage in Gaelic class by respondent proficiency...119
- Figure 6.9** Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage on social media by respondent proficiency...120
- Figure 7.1** Lineage and Gaelic worship status of Gaelic chapels extant post-1900...135
- Figure 7.2** Religious identification of fluent respondents of Gaelic background...150
- Figure 7.3** Religious identification of the population of Glasgow (2022)...151
- Figure 7.4** Religious identification by respondent proficiency...151
- Figure 7.5** Photographs from exterior and interior of St Columba Gaelic Church, St Vincent Street (Highland Cathedral)...155
- Figure 7.6** Levels of interest in Gaelic religious services of Christian respondents by proficiency...165
- Figure 8.1** Levels of interest in Gaelic arts activities...174
- Figure 8.2** Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage at community events by respondent proficiency (repeated figure)...192

Acknowledgements

My first thanks go to the AHRC Centre for Doctoral Training in Celtic Languages whose funding made this research possible. I would especially like to thank my primary supervisors, Professor Rob Dunbar and Professor Wilson McLeod, for their unfaltering support and encouragement over a challenging period in which to be completing social research. In addition, I would like to thank my cross-institutional supervisors Professor Steve Morris and Professor Bernie O'Rourke for their support and expertise at many points in the conception and final execution of this project.

Thank you to Donald MacPhee and Donna MacLean at Glasgow City Council for supporting me during my time working on the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey, and for generously agreeing to the further analysis of its data within this work.

I would like to thank all of the many members of the Gaelic community of Glasgow who have welcomed me into their world and their trust over the course of this research. This research is ultimately for you, and I hope it will serve you well.

Thank you to Matt, Adam and Sarah for being firm friends for almost the entire duration of this project, and especially in the pandemic when so many things were in doubt. Thank you to my family for so enthusiastically engaging with Gaelic, the Islands, and this unexpected part of my life.

Finally, a special thank you to my wife Holly, for your love and frankly unreasonable patience, and unconditional support in whatever path this research took.

List of Abbreviations

Fluent speakers w/ GB – Fluent speakers of Gaelic background

Fluent speakers w/o GB – Fluent speakers of non-Gaelic background

FTE – Full-time equivalent

GIDS – Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale

GiGS – Gaelic in Glasgow Survey

GME – Gaelic medium education

GVA – Gross value added

RLS – Reversing language shift

1: Introduction

For more than 300 years, Scottish Gaelic speakers have travelled to Glasgow seeking work, education, and a new life. Over time, many settled in the city, contributing to a unique Glasgow Highland culture characterised by Gaelic chapels, regional associations and a variety of poems and songs demonstrating the cultural impact of Glasgow, a primarily English-speaking city, on the Gaelic world. This impact is such that Glasgow has been known in Gaelic as *Baile Mòr nan Gàidheal*, the city of the Gaels (Kidd 2009).

Scottish Gaelic is a minoritised language, spoken by 1.3% of the Scottish population according to the 2022 Census (National Records of Scotland 2024b). The majority of the fluent Gaelic-speaking population of Scotland is resident in the Hebrides, where one can also find the greatest concentrations of Gaelic speakers as a portion of the overall population. However, more than 8,000 Gaelic speakers were enumerated as living in Glasgow in 2022, with a further 9,005 living in the surrounding local authorities. 12.9% of all recorded Gaelic speakers in Scotland live in Glasgow, and 25.8% in the overall Glasgow City Region. In the context of a minority language, with a history of language promotion efforts and an active policy landscape (McLeod 2020), this concentration of Gaelic speakers is nationally significant. Indeed, Glasgow has been at the heart of advances in Gaelic education and entertainment, constituting '[...] a Gaelic "power centre" of sorts'. (Walsh and McLeod 2011: 161).

Despite this, the sociolinguistic situation of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow is relatively unclear. While data is available on broad demographics, and notable research has been conducted on Gaelic's role in the Glasgow economy (Chalmers et al. 2022), most social research has targeted specific demographics of Gaelic speaker, including adult learners and graduates of Gaelic medium education (GME). There is a particular shortage of research into where and how Gaelic is used socially in the city. This is an important topic to address, as without active opportunities to speak Gaelic in an otherwise Anglophone city, Gaelic usage is constrained to the household for those who have Gaelic-speaking close family, or to the workplace for the minority of Glasgow Gaelic speakers who work in Gaelic language roles. As will be explored in Section 4.2.2, the existence of minority language social connections is important to the maintenance of the language in a majority language city.

Glasgow is an important city to understand for the purposes of Gaelic language promotion. Traditional theory of reversing language shift regards cities as a site of dislocation and language shift, not without good reason. However, the nature of demographic flows in modern Scotland, and the world as a whole, means that Glasgow will continue to draw in Gaelic speakers from the linguistic heartlands of the Gàidhealtachd just as it has done for centuries. Language policy which does not engage with the large and likely growing proportion of the Gaelic-speaking population which lives in Glasgow is missing a substantial piece of the language promotion puzzle and faces an uphill battle against urbanisation. Rather than consider those Gaelic speakers who leave more homogeneous heartlands for Glasgow “lost” to language promotion efforts, it is important that we gain a fuller understanding of their experiences of Gaelic, and how Gaelic may be promoted within the urban environment which they now call home.

This research was designed to contribute to that understanding. Through ethnographic fieldwork, interviews, and analysis of data generously shared by Glasgow City Council, I have endeavoured to complete the first broad-spectrum study into the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow in the present day. To achieve this, I have drawn theory from across the fields of sociolinguistics, economics and anthropology to provide a lens by which we can understand Gaelic in Glasgow, and explored a wide variety of contexts in which Gaelic is used socially in the city.

In Chapter 2, I outline a history of Gaelic in Glasgow, focusing on modern-era migration to the city and the social structures developed by Highlanders and Islanders to support themselves and, by association, Gaelic. I explore the process of and reasons for decline in the numbers of Gaelic speakers in the city, and the social changes of the 20th Century. In Chapter 3, I turn to the present day, and review existing research relating to Gaelic in Glasgow. Chapter 4 is divided into two major sections. In the first, I examine theory of reversing language shift and theory relating to urbanisation and the economic and social role of the city in the modern world, and argue that the field of minority language promotion must engage with the city as a site for language maintenance. In the second, I assemble the theoretical tools needed to begin to understand the nature of minority language socialisation in urban centres. Social network theory and communities of practice are key

concepts for understanding urban language usage, as are models of speakers' opportunities and motivations to speak Gaelic, and these theories are all examined within this chapter.

In Chapter 5 I lay out my methodology, and in Chapters 6-10 I present my research findings. Chapter 6 contains a variety of observations based on interviews and the data generated by a survey conducted by Glasgow City Council (see Chapter 5). The experiences of Gaelic speakers moving to Glasgow from the Western Isles, patterns in Gaelic usage and interest, and normative issues of community are explored here. Chapters 7-10 are organised by sector. I intend each of these chapters to stand on their own to a great extent – the reader should find that each chapter is a full treatment of my findings for their respective sector, and so if the reader's interest lies primarily in, for instance, the arts sector they will find the totality of my findings for this sector in Chapter 8.

Chapter 7 focuses on Gaelic and religion in Glasgow. It differs from the other chapters in that it contains substantial historical research. I analyse the history of Gaelic religious provision in Glasgow and its effects on Gaelic speakers, and bring up to date the story of the Protestant Gaelic chapel in Glasgow, having researched the eventual fates of all remaining such chapels. I also present a deep ethnographic study of St Columba Gaelic Church, the last of Glasgow's Gaelic chapels, which sadly lost its church building during my period of research. Though I wish it were not the case, this chapter contains the final ethnographic observations of the last dedicated Gaelic church in mainland Scotland. I also examine the presence of Gaelic in other churches and explore prospects for development in Gaelic religious provision in Glasgow.

Chapter 8 concerns Gaelic arts events. A great deal of Glasgow's public Gaelic activity is in the form of arts events, and this chapter primarily presents the results of fieldwork conducted from 2019-2022 investigating Glasgow's Gaelic music scene, in addition to insights from interviewees. Gaelic arts support multiple interesting social networks and communities of practice, and the features and conditions of these are analysed. Chapter 9 examines the University of Glasgow, where a Gaelic-speaking minority have studied since the university's founding. Through primarily interview evidence I explore the opportunities to speak Gaelic at the university, and the structures and spaces which enable a rich Gaelic social life for students.

Chapter 10 brings together three contexts of smaller scope or for which I have less data. Pubs, in particular the Park Bar, occupy an important niche in the Gaelic culture of Glasgow, and provide interesting opportunities for Gaelic usage under the right conditions. The regional associations and Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu constitute very different communities of practice – the former, while predominantly Anglophone-majority bilingual spaces, support the usage of Gaelic by their fluent membership, whereas Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu is a small but intensely Gaelic-speaking organisation with a unique offering of Gaelic lectures. Though education was not a focus of this research, I also present findings relating to the relationships of parents of children in GME with Gaelic and one another, and the involvement of graduates of GME in Gaelic life after education.

Finally, in Chapter 11 I draw several high-level conclusions based on my research. I explore the extent to which the sociolinguistic and anthropological theory of Chapter 4 applies to Gaelic in Glasgow, providing a model useful for comparative study of minority languages in other urban contexts. I set out my overall conclusions in relation to the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow, arguing that Gaelic usage is largely mediated through social networks of speakers spread across the city and focused in key communities of practice, and that the conditions of these networks and communities are greatly influential on whether Gaelic is spoken. I also discuss the extent to which many Gaelic speakers in Glasgow may not actively use their Gaelic in social situations outside of their close friend or family groups, and outline a theory of Gaelic-permissive spaces, environments which while not predominantly Gaelic-speaking do support the free social usage of Gaelic within them. Finally, I make proposals for future research and language promotion strategies based on my findings.

This thesis provides important theoretical and practical contributions towards understanding how Gaelic is mediated through social networks and communities of practice in Glasgow. These advances will be of value to both researchers and language planners, contributing to not only Gaelic language promotion efforts, but also more broadly to understanding of the sociolinguistics of minority languages in urban centres. In particular, Gaelic-permissive spaces are an important theoretical innovation which I hope will be adopted and explored further through application to other contexts in Scotland which, while not majority Gaelic-speaking, nonetheless support the usage of Gaelic. The findings of this research will be of value in themselves to any researcher, professional or activist active in, or with an interest in,

the sectors in which I have conducted fieldwork. I hope that this thesis will, therefore, be just the beginning of a renewed engagement with and understanding of Scottish Gaelic in the urban context.

2: A History of Gaelic in Glasgow

Gaelic has a long history in Glasgow, dating back to the city's formal founding as a burgh. It has, however, always been a minority presence, first as the language of the early burgh's outskirts, and later as the language of waves of migrants from the Highlands. The history of Gaelic in Glasgow is reviewed here in three parts, detailing what is known of Gaelic's presence in the pre-migration era of the Middle Ages through to the 17th Century, the complexities of migration into Glasgow from the 18th Century through to the turn of the 20th Century, and the decline of Gaelic in the city from its numerical peak in 1901 to the present day. In particular, the work of Withers (1998) and others helps to demonstrate that the migration of Gaelic speakers into Glasgow was no simple matter, with issues of language shift, socioeconomic and regional differences, and personal networks all contributing to the complexity of individuals' experiences of Gaelic. Most notable is the necessity of continued migration to maintain the demographic density of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, the consequences of which would become increasingly apparent in the 20th Century.

The decline of Gaelic in Glasgow over the 20th Century is less well-documented academically than the language's earlier history in the city, but I present here a narrative of the numerical decline in speakers and an assessment of likely causes, as well as known social changes of the time. The main features of the history of Gaelic in Glasgow are a reliance on migration, social complexity, and long-term changes in density of social interaction over the 20th Century. These features provide important context to the situation of the language in modern Glasgow, and invite inquiry into whether the key issues facing Gaelic in Glasgow now are so different to those of the past.

2.1: The Burgh of Glasgow: 12th to Late 17th Century

The Burgh of Glasgow was formally established in 1176, granting rights to an existing township which had formed around the nucleus of an ecclesiastical community dating back to at least the Early Middle Ages (MacDonald 1995: 1; Maver 2000: 3-8). It is likely that during the ecclesiastical community's earliest existence, the dominant language of the Strathclyde area was a variant of Common Brittonic, as evidenced by local place names such as Govan (potentially "Guovan"), Partick ("Peartoc"), and of course Glasgow ("Glascau") itself (Taylor 2009: 2). By the 1100s, however, Gaelic is believed to have largely supplanted

Brittonic as the dominant spoken language of the modern Greater Glasgow area (Taylor 2009: 5; Withers 1984: 18).

The foundation of the formal burgh of Glasgow would bring another wave of linguistic change to the area. The Lowland Scottish burghs were generally Anglophone, and likely predominantly non-Celtic in their linguistic character: Older Scots-speaking Lowlanders, Germanic merchants from further afield, and later Anglo-Normans were amongst these early burgesses (Withers 1984: 20-21). Evidence of Glasgow's particular linguistic character can be gleaned from surviving names of the city's medieval burgesses, as well as from those street names whose etymologies date back to the historic burgh. While there are some Gaelic names recorded, they form a minority against the backdrop of a burgh which followed the pattern of others across Scotland (Taylor 2009: 5-8). Glasgow was ultimately an Anglophone burgh surrounded by a Gaelic countryside. The demographic impact of the early burgh should not be overstated; the population of the burgh is only estimated to have been around 2,000 by 1450, and so the balance of population between city and countryside would have been more equal than it would become in later centuries (Maver 2000: 7). However, the economic and sociological impacts of the city were profound.

It is impossible, now, to do much more than guess at the lived expressions of Gaelic in Glasgow during the pre-modern period. What is known is that burghs likely accelerated cultural and language shift across the Lowlands in the Middle Ages, the economic dominance of Older Scots cities necessitating the acquisition of the language by neighbouring communities (Withers 1984: 18-21). Certainly, by the end of the Middle Ages, Glasgow fell outside what is generally held to have been the boundaries of the Gaelic-speaking parts of early modern Scotland (Withers 1984: 26, Fig. 5). Perhaps one could have seen the processes of language shift which are so familiar now playing out in the streets of the medieval city.

Gaelic was certainly not absent from Glasgow in this period, however. Gaelic-speaking Highlanders were prevalent within the student body of Glasgow University from its founding in 1451, and continuously through the 16th and 17th Centuries (Ó Maolalaigh, Forsyth, and MacCoinnich 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). Waulking songs dating back to the late 16th Century make reference to Glasgow, indicating that the city already had a presence in Highland culture (Black 2009: 20-21). This era of Gaelic in Glasgow can be distinguished from the next

by virtue of scale, however. While Gaelic would have been no stranger to Glasgow from the city's founding through to the 1500s, the large-scale migrations which established Glasgow's modern relationship with Gaelic would only begin towards the end of the 17th Century.

2.2: Urban Highlanders: Late 17th to 19th Century

Glasgow grew rapidly in both size and economic power over the 17th and 18th Centuries (Maver 2000: 11-20, 24-29). Where wealth consolidates, so often do people, and patterns of seasonal migration for employment from the Highlands to Glasgow had developed by the end of the 17th Century (Withers 1998: 61-80). While no rigorous analysis of permanent migration patterns is possible prior to the 1851 census (Withers 1998: 84), the activities of the Church of Scotland provide evidence of permanent settlement of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders in the city by the early 18th Century. Rev. Neil Gillies provided Gaelic-language ministry from Tron Kirk between 1690 and 1701, and was followed by Rev. John MacLaurin from 1723 to 1754 (MacDonald 1995: 6-9). The Synod of Argyll noted in 1717 the considerable number of Gaelic speakers living in Glasgow, and more than a century later Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod would conduct the city's first Gaelic language census in 1835 in an attempt to enumerate Glaswegians who would benefit from Gaelic language ministry (Withers 1998: 85; 2009: 130-31).

The existence of a Gaelic publishing industry in Glasgow in the early 18th Century, driven by Highland family businesses such as those of James Duncan and the Orr family, provides further evidence of a growing settlement of Highlanders in the city (Black 2009: 25-27; Glaschu 2018h). Individuals of note can be identified in Glasgow during this early period of migration, such as Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, in attendance at the University of Glasgow, and Màiri NicPhàrlain, the first known female employee of the Burgh of Glasgow, employed from 1697 to 1709 (Ó Maolalaigh, Forsyth, and MacCoinnich 2014d; Glaschu 2018k).

It is not until the 19th Century that more detailed insights into Gaelic in Glasgow than its inferred presence can be uncovered. Withers' (1998) analysis of the 1851 and 1891 Censuses provides invaluable information on the points of origin of Highland migrants to Glasgow, and also, in the case of the latter census, on Gaelic. The 1891 Census was the first to provide reliable information regarding the ability of Glasgow's populace to speak Gaelic.

Prior to this, Rev. Dr. Norman MacLeod had enumerated 22,509 Gaelic speakers in Glasgow in the aforementioned census of 1835-6, but this church attendance-focused survey provides little associated data for useful analysis (Withers 2009: 130-31). The 1881 Census included a question relating to Gaelic language usage, but the formulation of the question was misleading. Rather than asking whether respondents *could* speak Gaelic, it asked whether respondents made *habitual use* of Gaelic, which Withers argues to have resulted in under-reporting of Gaelic proficiency (Withers 1998: 207-08). For this reason, Withers' analysis is focused on the 1891 Census.

The 1891 Census recorded 17,978 individuals in Glasgow who claimed an ability to speak Gaelic, constituting 2.73% of the city's population (Withers 1998: 207, Table 7.1). Withers' (1998: 221, Table 7.7) analysis of Partick, a particularly Highland area of the city, identified 2,099 Gaelic speakers in the parish, amounting to 4.16% of Partick's population. It is worth noting that even close to the numerical peak of Glasgow's Gaelic-speaking population, Gaelic speakers constituted a fairly small minority within the city. Also notable is that only 51.45% (1,778) of the 3,456 respondents who identified as Highland-born in Partick claimed to be Gaelic speakers (Withers 1998: 221, Table 7.7) Not all Highland migrants to Glasgow could speak Gaelic, as language shift was already in progress in the Highlands. This is discussed in greater detail below. Equally, not all Gaelic speakers recorded in Partick were born in the Highlands. In this section, I follow Withers in taking care to distinguish between specifically Gaelic speakers and Highlanders by birth or culture more generally.

Of the 321 Gaelic speakers who were not born in the Highlands, 252 were born elsewhere in Scotland, and of those 141 were born in Glasgow (Withers 1998: 223, Table 7.9). Of the 69 foreign-born Gaelic speakers, 63 were born in Ireland. It is likely, though not certain, that they were in fact *Irish* Gaelic speakers mistakenly enumerated as Scottish Gaelic speakers, an issue observed in the Census returns for other cities (Withers 1998: 219, 23, Table 7.9). As regards the Scottish-born non-Highlanders, with the potential exception of respondents whose county of birth was Perthshire, which still contained some Gaelic-speaking areas in the 19th Century, it is likely that most of these were the result of successful passing on of Gaelic between generations in a migrant context. This does not necessarily bode well for the health of urban Scottish Gaelic in 1891. The 141 Glasgow-born Gaelic speakers constituted only 6.9% of the total population of Gaelic speakers in Partick. This would suggest that the

Gaelic-speaking population of the parish was maintained largely by continued migration of Gaelic speakers from the Highlands to Glasgow rather than by intergenerational transmission.

Patterns of behaviour amongst church-going Highlanders provide additional evidence for a lack of intergenerational transmission in the 19th Century: families with Gaelic-speaking parents, but whose children had incomplete acquisition of Gaelic, would often opt for English-language church services over their Gaelic equivalents, with associated effects on the health of Gaelic-speaking congregations (for further discussion, see Section 7.1) (MacDonald 1995: 82-83; Withers 1998: 175-76). It is likely that similar circumstances to those now so familiar to language revitalisation academics were prevalent in 19th Century Glasgow, with Withers (1998: 222-24, 26) arguing that Gaelic speaking households were likely linguistically complicated by exposure to English, and that the families of Gaelic speakers would often be of mixed competence, with a spouse or children often of limited or no Gaelic ability.

While Withers (1998: 220) does state that Partick cannot be assumed to be representative of the rest of Glasgow, the evidence is consistent with Withers' analysis of the 1891 Census returns for several other Lowland cities. In Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth and Stirling, only 40-60% of Highland-born individuals were recorded as Gaelic speakers, and as in Partick, only a small minority of speakers were born outwith the Highlands, usually in their current city of residence (Withers 1998: 209-17). In these cases, Withers (1998: 218) believes it likely that the Gaelic speaking population was being maintained by immigration. As such, I would argue that Partick was likely representative of the general state of Gaelic in Glasgow in 1891. Most speakers of Gaelic were first-generation migrants from the Highlands, but a goodly number of Highland-born residents were not Gaelic speakers. Gaelic was not being passed on consistently to the next generation.

An understanding of the nature of Highland migration to Glasgow and the social conditions of Highlanders once resident in the city through the late 18th to late 19th Centuries helps to illuminate the situation of Gaelic observed in 1891. Withers' comparison of the 1851 and 1891 Censuses allows for the observation of trends in Highland-Lowland migration, the most notable of which is the changing source location of migrants over time. In the 1851 Census, roughly 70% of the 14,959 Highland-born individuals in Glasgow were from Argyllshire, with

the remainder primarily drawn from Inverness-shire, including Skye and the southern Outer Hebrides (Withers 1998: 88, Table 4.1, 90-91, Figs. 4.1-4.2). By the 1891 Census, migration patterns had changed, with a substantially greater proportion of the 18,546 Highland-born residents of the city having been born further North and Northwest than in 1851 (Withers 1998: 105, 09, Table 4.4).

In Withers' (1998: 110-12) analysis of Partick's 1891 population, he found that while the majority of Highland-born residents were still from Argyllshire, a greater proportion than in 1851 were born on Skye, and those from Argyllshire tended to be from further North in the county than previous waves of migrants. Withers (1998: 75-78) describes this process as "stepped migration", in which Highland migrants moved within Scotland prior to their move to Glasgow, first to local towns and then to increasingly distant cities, both within individual lifetimes and across generations. This is likely why a great many of Glasgow's Highland migrants were from Highland towns by birth, reflecting earlier migrations to regional economic hubs prior to the generation which moved to Glasgow (Withers 1998: 89).

Withers' analysis demonstrates the existence of Glasgow's expanding migratory pull over the 19th Century, drawing Highlanders from increasingly further afield over time through processes of stepped migration, but this process likely started sooner, with earliest migration drawn from southernmost Highland parishes close to Glasgow from at least 1750 (Withers 1998: 84-86, 120).

The geography of migration to Glasgow would have had important cultural implications for the migrants themselves once in the city. Highland migrants, and migrants to Glasgow in general, did not form distinct ethnic enclaves or quarters, but there were broader patterns of settlement for Highlanders, with concentrations in Broomielaw, Partick and Govan (Maver 2000: 84; Withers 1998: 151-53, 97-98). While Highlanders could be found across the city, Withers' (1998: 89-96) research demonstrates a pattern of "parish-to-parish" migration, under which Highlanders tended to migrate from specific source parishes in the Highlands to particular parishes in Glasgow.

Once in the city, Highlanders often moved frequently within it, through networks of Highlanders participating in sub-letting, flat-sharing, lodging and boarding (Withers 1998: 151-53). These patterns indicate that Highlanders were following existing networks of people they knew or who had moved from the same region when migrating to Glasgow, and

drew upon those networks for support on their own arrival. These networks, based on geographical origin, played an important role in shaping urban Highlander identities and producing regional distinctiveness within Glasgow's Highland population, as evidenced by the emergence of regional associations founded on the basis of that shared common origin (Withers 1998: 127, 85; Glaschu 2018b).

Highlanders were also distinguished by socioeconomic status. The majority of Highland migrants to Glasgow were employed in manual trades, the police, or domestic service and textiles, but a significant number of Highlanders occupied skilled and professional roles (Withers 1998: 134-45). This was certainly reflected in the Gaelic-speaking population's employment patterns: while the majority of Partick's Gaelic-speaking population were engaged in heavy industry and domestic service in 1891, the Census also recorded ministers, surgeons, and a merchant among residents of the parish (Withers 1998: 221). Known Gaelic-speaking Highlanders lived at all levels of society, from the dockyards to the heads of businesses small and large, including publishing houses and a major textile factory (Black 2009: 24-36; Glaschu 2018d, 2018j).

There is evidence of social stratification along economic grounds. Wealthier Highlanders tended to attend English-language church services, which were viewed as higher status, whereas poorer Highlanders tended to attend Gaelic services, if they attended church at all (Withers 1998: 175-77; MacDonald 1995: 45). Societies such as the Glasgow Highland Society (est. 1727) and the associated Gaelic Society of Gentlemen (est. 1780), while serving philanthropic purposes, were social foci primarily for wealthier Highlanders (Withers 1984: 204-06; 1998: 185-87, 89-90). Membership of the regional associations fluctuated based on the economic circumstances of potential members (Withers 1998: 192).

The Highland population of Glasgow was not a homogeneous community. As Withers (1998: 237) states, '[...] we ought not to refer to migrant Highland culture in the singular, but to a *diversity of cultures* [...]' (emphasis original). Different Highland migrants in the 18th through 19th Centuries could live markedly different lives based on their geographical origin, the social networks which they settled into on arrival in the city, and their socioeconomic conditions. This diversity affected both the situation of Gaelic in Glasgow, as well as individuals' experiences of the language.

Point of origin was perhaps the most important factor. Over the course of the 18th to late 19th Centuries, Gaelic would decline across the Highlands, and knowledge of English would grow, particularly in some key areas of origin for Highland migrants to Glasgow. In 1705, the Church of Scotland considered all parishes in Argyll to be “Highland” parishes, which required a Gaelic-speaking incumbent, but by 1726 most of Argyll south of Craignish had been reclassified as “mixed” parishes (Withers 1998: 55-56, 61-62). Though this change does not allow us to accurately gauge the extent to which Gaelic lost speakers in this period, it does likely reflect a growing familiarity and proficiency in English amongst the population of Argyllshire, which was increasingly understood across the region by the end of the 18th Century (Withers 1998: 74).

By 1879, only 81.8% of Argyllshire’s population could speak Gaelic, indicating that not only English acquisition, but also Gaelic loss was underway (Withers 1998: 97). Pertinently for Glasgow, given the phenomenon of stepped migration discussed in this section, decline in Gaelic ability was most pronounced in Highland towns, to the extent that Durkacz’s (1983: 219-20) analysis of the 1891 Census shows that while 73% of enumerated individuals in rural areas of Argyllshire claimed to speak Gaelic, only 24% of town-dwelling individuals did so. This growing population of non-Gaelic speaking Highlanders in Argyllshire, particularly focused in the towns from which Glasgow disproportionately drew its Highland migrants, will have helped to account for the Highland-born, non-Gaelic speaking migrants counted in the 1891 Census in Partick.

In the parishes further north from which Glasgow increasingly drew migrants over the 19th Century, language shift was less advanced but still present, and more so in towns than rural areas. In Inverness-shire, only 30% of town residents and 83% of rural inhabitants were recorded as Gaelic speakers (Durkacz 1983: 220). Even in regions where language shift was less advanced in the 19th Century, towns were still more Anglicised than their surroundings. 59% of Ross and Cromarty’s town population were recorded as Gaelic speakers in 1891, and as much as two thirds of Stornoway’s late 19th Century population have been estimated to have been non-Gaelic speakers (Durkacz 1983: 220; Withers 1984: 95).

The ongoing process of Highland language shift will have meant that different migrants could have very different linguistic profiles, especially if they were from a more Anglicised parish, or if their route of migration included a generation in a Highland town. In turn, given the

geographical basis of network formation for many Highland immigrants, the overall linguistic profile of their social experience will have been affected by the status of Gaelic in their region of origin. An Argyllshire Highlander, even if a Gaelic speaker, may have found that a substantial number of their compatriots in Glasgow were predominantly or exclusively English speakers, and this may have affected their own usage of Gaelic.

Socioeconomic status will also have impacted language choice and usage. As discussed above, wealthier or upwardly-mobile Highlanders tended to opt for English language church services, which were perceived as higher status than their Gaelic equivalents. Conversely, lower class Highlanders were more likely to spend their Sunday mornings in a more Gaelic environment. Glasgow's elite Highland societies provide evidence that wealthier Highlanders had a preference towards English from an early stage: The Glasgow Highland Society sponsored and encouraged English-language education for Highland boys from its founding, an endorsement at a high socioeconomic level of the growing perception of Gaelic as an impediment and English as a source of social advancement in the 18th and 19th Centuries (Withers 1998: 185-89, 99-207). The Gaelic Club of Gentlemen initially required members to be able to speak Gaelic, but this requirement had been abandoned by 1846, perhaps indicating a growing lack of interest in preservation of a linguistic identity amongst wealthier urban Highlanders (Withers 1984: 206; 1998: 190-92).

While there is limited evidence of the details of social Gaelic usage outside of the evidence found in formal institutions such as church and society, individuals' employment likely had impacts on Gaelic usage. Gaelic speakers working in manual trades or the police, which had dense concentrations of Highlanders in individual workplaces, may well have used Gaelic as the primary language of employment (Withers 1998: 221-22). A uniquely extreme example of such a workplace was the Cudbear Manufactory, whose Highland-born owner exclusively hired Gaelic speakers to reduce the risk of dissemination of industry secrets (Glaschu 2018d). Conversely, Highlanders in professional employment or mercantile spheres, which were Anglophone-dominated, would be less likely to use Gaelic in the workplace.

The late 17th through 19th Centuries constitute the era in which the heritage of urban Gaelic in Glasgow was truly established through migration to the growing city. Most importantly for this research, the 18th and particularly 19th Centuries are the first in which more detailed insights into the state of the Gaelic language in Glasgow can be derived. These insights paint

a complex picture, in which a substantial portion of Highland migrants were not Gaelic speakers by the end of the 19th Century. While we cannot with perfect accuracy reconstruct the lived experience of Gaelic which these migrants had, we can make some broad inferences. Some Highlanders, following existing networks of migrants, may have found themselves in an Anglophone city, but generally moving amongst fellow Gaelic speakers. Their work colleagues, their chapel, and perhaps their spouse may have spoken Gaelic with them.

However, the children of such migrants were unlikely to become Gaelic-speaking adults, whether by the active encouragement of English acquisition, a mixed-language household, or the pressure of an overwhelmingly Anglophone environment. The Gaelic-speaking population, while healthy in absolute numbers, was buoyed by continued immigration from Gaelic-speaking areas, not by intergenerational transmission, as evidenced in the 1891 Census. Other Highlanders may have found themselves in an altogether more Anglophone world from the start, whether due to being from a more Anglicised area themselves, or perhaps by virtue of socioeconomic class.

In terms of formalised socialisation, the regional associations were '[...] primarily social and cultural' in purpose (Meek 2009: 170-71). Their use of Gaelic may have reflected the attitudes of their home region, though few details of the activities of these associations from the time is available to determine for sure. Higher-class social clubs such as the Glasgow Highland Society became more Anglophone over time; Withers (1998: 190) states that '[...] there is no evidence that it [...] acted to maintain either a Highland identity or the Gaelic language for all or even the majority of Urban Highlanders'.

Though limited in social reach to the student body and fringes of the University of Glasgow, the Ossianic Society conducted its debates and meetings in Gaelic from their founding in 1831, drawing praise from one 1872 letter to the *An Gaidheal* periodical: '*is fìor Chomunn Gàilig a tha ann*' (tr.: "it is a real Gaelic society") (Ó Maolalaigh, Forsyth, and MacCoinnich 2014e). There is evidence of Gaelic conversation groups from the latter half of the 18th Century, signifying that at least some Gaelic speakers wished to make a specific effort to speak their language (Black 2009: 44; Glaschu 2018c). Only at the end of the 19th Century would *An Comunn Gàidhealach* be founded with explicit concern for the preservation of the Gaelic language and Highland culture (Glaser 2007: 66-67).

The greatest impression one gains of the Gaelic experience in this period is of heterogeneity. Some Gaelic speakers may well have lived lives largely through Gaelic, while others could have swiftly adopted Anglophone careers, Anglophone churches, and Anglophone social clubs. Many likely lived linguistically mixed lives. The lack of intergenerational transmission, combined with the impending decline of Gaelic in the source regions for migration to Glasgow, meant that even though the Gaelic-speaking population of the city was due to peak in 1901, by the end of the 19th Century the situation of Gaelic in Glasgow was nonetheless precarious. The vulnerability of this situation would become very much apparent in the 20th Century.

2.3: Decline: 1891-2011

Over the 20th Century, the number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow would decline from its peak in 1901 to its lowest ebb in 2001. This was not a steady decline, but rather one featuring periods of stability and sudden collapse. During this period many of the most well-known institutions of Highland social life would develop and desist, including the gatherings under the Hielanman’s Umbrella and the Highlanders’ Institute. At the latter end of the 20th Century, and into the 21st, Glasgow would become a centre for innovation

Year	Number of Gaelic Speakers ¹
1891	17,978
1901	18,517 ³
1911	16,544
1921	16,744
1931	16,276
1951	12,566
1961	11,165
1971	12,865
1981	9,472 ^{2,3}
1991	6,018 ³
2001	5,731 ³
2011	5,907 ³

Table 2.1 | Number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow enumerated in Censuses over time
(Figures derived from: Withers 1984: 224, Table 18, 236, Table 20; National Records of Scotland 2005: Table 1; 2015a: Table AT_001_2001; 2015b: Table AT_234_2011)

¹ With the exception of the figure for 1981.

² This figure includes all Gaelic “users”, meaning those who speak, read or write the language. The figure for speakers will be lower. Given that in the following census roughly 6% of Gaelic “users” were those with an ability to read, write, but *not* speak Gaelic, I would tentatively suggest that the actual figure of speakers would be no less than 8,500.

³ Individuals over the age of 3.

in the Gaelic economy, arts and education, but these developments would occur at a time when Gaelic's presence in the city was at its lowest in centuries.

With the exception of a small decline in the number of Gaelic speakers between the 1901 and 1911 Censuses, the period from 1891 to the Second World War primarily saw developments for Gaelic in Glasgow (Withers 1984: 224, 36). In addition to the continued activities of existing societies and regional associations, including Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu (est. 1887), An Comunn Gàidhealach was founded in 1891, supported by renewed interest in the Gaelic language among urban Highlanders (Comunn Gailig Ghlascho 1891; Glaser 2007: 66-67). This interest extended to academia, where popular campaign and fundraising efforts from the Ossianic society and Glasgow's Highland associations fuelled the foundation of at first a temporary, and then permanent lectureship in Celtic at the University of Glasgow by 1911 (Ó Maolalaigh, Forsyth, and MacCoinnich 2014f). Gaelic radio had its infancy in Glasgow, as the BBC moved its Gaelic department to the city in 1938 (Glaschu 2018a).

Two social developments amongst Glasgow Highlanders stand out in the inter-war period, particularly for their presence in popular cultural memory. The first was the practice of Highlanders gathering under Glasgow Central Station bridge on weekends, earning it the name Hielanman's Umbrella, which developed in the 1920s and 30s (Glaschu 2018c). Anecdotally it is remembered as a place where Gaelic was spoken. When the practice desisted is not entirely clear, though it is likely to have been within a decade or so of the end of the Second World War. One issue of the Stornoway Gazette's Gaels in Glasgow column from 1971 states that it has been '[...] more than ten years now [...]' since Hielanman's Umbrella was recognisably Highland in character, and that the decline began more than ten years prior (Calum 1971a).

The second major development was the Highlanders' Institute, founded in 1925 to provide a place for Highlanders to meet, find employment, housing, and entertainment (The Highlanders' Institute ; Glaschu 2018g). Relatively little has been written of the Highlander's Institute in an academic context, or indeed in popular historical writing. Through my fieldwork I have come to understand that it served as a hub and venue for the activities of many of the regional associations over its 54-year lifespan, hosting dances, cèilidhs, competitions and other community events. The extent to which it supported Gaelic is hard to determine. One source indicated to me that towards its latter years in the 60s and 70s,

some considered Gaelic not to be spoken enough at the Institute. Nonetheless, I have found it to be a fondly remembered institution dating from this era.

The first major decline in the number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow is recorded in the 1951 Census, contrasting with relative stability from 1911 to 1931. It should be noted that given the lack of a 1941 Census under wartime conditions, it is difficult to perceive the rate of this decline over the preceding 20 years. Glasgow appears to have been insulated from national patterns of decline in Gaelic speakership for some time; the number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland fell dramatically from just over 250,000 in 1891 to under 100,000 by 1951, with the most rapid decline occurring between 1911 and 1921 (MacKinnon 1990: Figure 1; McLeod 2020: 20, Table 1).

The exact mechanics of this pattern of decline in Glasgow have not been researched in depth, and fall outwith the scope of this research, but I am inclined to suspect that the primary cause of decline in this instance was the Second World War, both by the removal of Gaelic speakers from the city through enlistment in the armed forces and by disruption of the patterns of migration into the city which sustained the Gaelic-speaking population, and potentially any impacts of the Great Depression upon the economic desirability of Glasgow for both current and prospective Highland and Island migrants. The next two decades after 1951 constitute another period of stability in the number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow. This may indicate that the disruption of the 1931-1951 period was the result of specific factors rather than reflecting overall decline in number of Gaelic speakers in Scotland, but there is also evidence that growing identification with Gaelic may have bolstered the representation of Gaelic in the Lowlands in the 1971 Census in particular (McLeod 2020: 142).

The period between the 1951 and 1971 Censuses was important for the development of Gaelic publishing: *Gairm*, the '[...] most significant Gaelic periodical of the 20th Century', was first printed in Glasgow in 1951, and *Comhairle nan Leabhraichean* (The Gaelic Books Council) was founded in Glasgow in 1968 (Glaschu 2018h). The Highlander's Institute was evidently in good health by the end of the 50s, as it moved to a larger building on Berkeley Street in 1961 (Glaschu 2018g). The dance hall of this new building was reportedly routinely full on Friday nights. These conditions would not persist, however. By the 1981 Census the number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow had substantially decreased, the start of a steep decline which would continue into the 21st Century. There is evidence that the 60s, 70s and

80s were decades of not only demographic decline, but also marked social disruption and a decline in Gaelic social participation.

The overall decline of Gaelic in Scotland caught up with Glasgow in 1981. I would identify two likely factors contributing to the timing of this decline: the economic difficulties of the city in the 70s and 80s, and the reliance on immigration for the maintenance of Glasgow's Gaelic population. Glasgow had been in economic decline since the end of the First World War, with the exception of a brief recovery in the 1940s and 50s, and the city's heavy industrial economy had largely been maintained since the late 1950s through government subsidy (Maver 2000: 203-16). Political developments prior to, and under, the Thatcher government would famously bring this strategy of subsidy to an end, and Glasgow's manufacturing and heavy industry sectors finally collapsed over the course of the 1970s and 1980s (Maver 2000: 216-18). High levels of unemployment contributed to outmigration from the city, with as many as 25,000 people leaving Glasgow annually during this period, and the urban renewal projects and the development of suburbs around the city caused a rapid decline in the city's central population throughout the post-War period (Maver 2000: 218, 64-68).

Outright departure of Gaelic speakers from the city will have played a factor in the declining number of speakers on the Census, but the decreased desirability of an economically stricken Glasgow as a place to live and work will also have impacted immigration from the Highlands, themselves suffering from long-term language shift. Suburbanisation and other disruptions to dense urban communities made it more difficult to achieve intergenerational transmission of Gaelic within Glasgow itself (McLeod 2020: 204-05), and as such it is reasonable to assume that the Gaelic-speaking population's reliance on immigration to maintain stability remained. The combined structural issues of Gaelic decline in the Highlands, decreased economic potential of migration to Glasgow, and emigration may be what finally caused Glasgow's demographic situation to catch up with the broader picture of Gaelic decline in the late 20th Century.

Issues of social disruption are inter-connected with demographic issues. MacKinnon (1991: 195-96) asserts that the removal of Gaelic speakers to new suburbs of Glasgow was greatly damaging to Glasgow's Highland culture, placing strain on many institutions. I have heard similar opinions from older Gaelic-speaking and lapsed speaker residents of Glasgow,

indicating that suburbanisation impacted the social density of Highlanders in the city and so reduced the viability of Gaelic social endeavours. The Highlander's Institute was a casualty of this era, closing its doors in 1979, unable to pay rates raised by Glasgow City Council (The Highlanders' Institute). There is evidence that social decline began as early as the 1960s and 70s. One 1971 issue of the Stornoway Gazette commented on the impacts of suburbanisation on event attendance, and a 1972 issue lamented that regional association events which were full to capacity in prior years were receiving notably lower turnouts (Calum 1971a, 1972). In another issue the same correspondent castigated the Gaels of Glasgow for producing a turnout of "only" 500 to the Annual Gaelic Drama Festival at the Highlander's Institute, which would be quite the enviable audience at any Gaelic drama event or regional association gathering today (Calum 1971b).

Just as a confluence of factors likely caused Gaelic's demographic contraction, it is likely that a complex series of factors contributed to declining social participation in culturally Highland institutions. Suburbanisation certainly appears to play a role, and it is likely that other social factors now harder to discern were present. One individual interviewed for this research identified the rise of the nightclub as having a substantial impact on the attendance of association dances in Glasgow. Another individual I met through ethnographic fieldwork cited television as a factor, and there are doubtless many other social factors one could unearth through focused ethnographic research of the era.

Since 1981, Glasgow has undergone a series of regeneration projects, and there have been efforts to reinvent the city as a post-industrial services hub (Maver 2000: 281-86; Chalmers and Danson 2009: 10-11). Gaelic has also undergone a renaissance of sorts over the last 40 years, in which Glasgow played a notable role in education and entertainment, becoming what Walsh and McLeod (2011: 161) term '[...] a Gaelic "power centre" of sorts'. In response to grassroots campaigning, the first Gaelic medium education (GME) unit in Scotland would be founded in Glasgow in 1985, and would be followed by a GME primary school in 1999 and the first and only full GME secondary school in 2006 (Rogers and McLeod 2006: 368-69; Fraser 1989: 161-65; Glaschu 2018f). Prior to this, Gaelic had been taught to some extent in Glasgow schools from 1947 onwards with limited uptake particularly among children of native speakers, and so the development of GME in the city would represent a substantial change in the educational landscape (McLeod 2020: 165).

Gaelic arts, culture and media received growing public attention and funding over the late 20th and early 21st Centuries, with Glasgow's history of Gaelic broadcasting continuing through the BBC's Gaelic television unit and its successor BBC ALBA, and local arts benefiting from the work of Glasgow Life, an arms-length external organisation of Glasgow City Council (Chalmers and Danson 2009; Glasgow Life 2017; Glaschu 2018e). Despite this activity and the seeming progress being made in education, in terms of speaker numbers, Gaelic in Glasgow reached its lowest ebb in 2001, with only a moderate recovery in the 2011 Census. As shall be explored in greater depth in the next chapter, the situation of Gaelic in Glasgow remains precarious.

2.4: Key Observations

Gaelic in Glasgow is a migrant phenomenon. With the exception of toponymic echoes of a medieval Gaelic culture, the legacy handed down to modern Gaelic speakers in Glasgow is that of the generations of migrants from the Highlands who made the city their home. The nature of this migration is important: waves of Gaelic speakers from the Gàidhealtachd continuously migrated over centuries, maintaining a Gaelic culture *of* each generation, but seemingly rarely passing it to the *next* generation. Intergenerational transmission has demonstrably been low since at least the 19th Century, leaving the long-term health of Gaelic in Glasgow highly dependent on continued migration from the language heartlands, themselves undergoing language shift. To what extent is this the case today, even with the development of GME and modern attention to language promotion?

The role of Gaelic in Glasgow and amongst Highland migrants has been complicated. Not all Highland migrants, and particularly few Glasgow-born children of Highland migrants, appear to have spoken the language by the late 19th Century. Factors of social and geographical background affected an individual Highlander's likelihood of knowing and using Gaelic. Highland migrants moved in varying networks, and as such no blanket statement can be made about a "Gaelic community". The extent to which social ties based on family, region of origin, and social background still inform Gaelic usage is worth exploration.

Finally, it is notable that while Gaelic's demographic decline in Glasgow appears to start with the 1981 Census, the social role of Gaelic in the city already appears to have been in decline for 20 or so years by that point. Changing patterns of residence and social habits evidently

disrupted the existing order, but the mid-to-late 20th Century is somewhat of an academic blind spot in terms of a detailed ethnography of Gaelic and Highlander socialisation.

Additional research in this area, though beyond the scope of this project, would be of great value in both understanding the mechanisms of change and preserving the experiences of Glasgow's Gaelic speakers in a period which, while one of impending decline, was socially rich and fondly remembered.

The importance of migration, the complexity of Gaelic in individuals' social lives, and the longstanding changes to socialisation amongst Glasgow's Gaelic minority are important historical factors to consider as we turn our attention to an academic understanding of the situation of Gaelic in Glasgow in the present day.

3: Gaelic in Modern Glasgow

Current data and research on Gaelic in modern Glasgow give us broad demographic knowledge and some more focused insights into the Gaelic economy, Gaelic education, and the phenomenon of adult learners of Gaelic in Glasgow, all of which are examined in this chapter. According to the 2022 Census, 8,962 Gaelic speakers live in Glasgow, with a further 8,732 living in the surrounding local authorities. This constitutes a significant share of the total number of Gaelic speakers enumerated nationally, though Gaelic speakers make up only 1.5% of the population of Glasgow, and a lesser proportion of its surrounding area.

The Census data does not provide great detail: the proficiencies and backgrounds of enumerated speakers are not recorded, and trends in the 2022 data are uncertain. My hypothesis based on available data is that the majority of recorded Gaelic speakers are likely from a Gaelic-speaking family background and moved to the city as adults, and a minority are learners of varying degrees of fluency. There is an unclear population of Gaelic-speaking children in the city, consisting of a certain core of GME-educated children who can be enumerated through school records, and a larger, less certain population of children whose Gaelic proficiency is more questionable.

Gaelic plays a notable role in Glasgow's economy, focused in the arts and education. More important perhaps is the role which Glasgow plays in the Gaelic economy as a major hub of Gaelic-language employment (Chalmers et al. 2022). However, it must be understood that Gaelic-specific employment engages only a small minority of the total number of Gaelic speakers estimated to be resident in Glasgow. Glasgow is also a leading hub of Gaelic education, and so within this chapter research relating to the outcomes of Gaelic medium education in the city and nationally are considered, including the extent to which graduates of such education are willing and able to find opportunities to continue using Gaelic in their adult lives. Finally, there has been substantial research into adult learners and new speakers of Gaelic in Lowland cities, including Glasgow.

This body of research highlights, amongst other things, a need for social opportunities to use one's Gaelic to develop in proficiency. It is striking, therefore, that there has been only limited and irregular research into the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow, which is reviewed at the end of this chapter.

3.1: Policy

Before analysing available research on Gaelic in modern Glasgow, it is useful to briefly outline the policy context in which the language and the city are situated. The primary legislation governing policy towards Scottish Gaelic is the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005. The passing of this act was a significant milestone in a long history of incremental legislative developments well-documented by Dunbar (2005: 466-71). The main purposes of the Act are the statutory establishment of Bòrd na Gàidhlig as the Gaelic language promotion body for Scotland, and the grant of several powers and responsibilities to this body. The sections of the Act most relevant to this research are the Bòrd's responsibility to prepare a national Gaelic language plan for approval and adoption by the Scottish Government, and the power to require public bodies to prepare their own Gaelic language plans, with the other powers contained in the Act possessing lesser relevance (Dunbar 2005: 472-73; McLeod 2006: 21-23).

It is within this context that the primary policy documents relating to Gaelic in Glasgow exist. The National Gaelic Language Plan directs Gaelic language promotion in Scotland, and Glasgow City Council's own Gaelic Language Plan outlines policy direction for Gaelic language promotion in Glasgow, including commitments to Gaelic and initiatives in support of Gaelic in the city. Glasgow's current language plan is the fourth such document, with the first dating to 2009 (Glasgow City Council 2023). During the period of research, however, the Council's third plan (2018-2022) was in effect, and so it is this document which will be briefly considered in this section (Glasgow City Council 2018). Likewise, while Scotland as a whole is currently under the 2023-2028 plan, the 2018-2023 plan covered the period of research (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2018, 2023).

Within both the national and Glasgow language plans, certain objectives and sectors stand out as being foci of policy attention. The 2018-2023 national plan focused on increasing usage of Gaelic, increasing the learning of Gaelic, and promoting a positive image of Gaelic in Scotland (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2018: 16-18, 39-53). The former two objectives received substantially greater detail and attention within the plan than the latter, at least by wordcount. Gaelic education, and in particular Gaelic medium education, was the leading focus in Glasgow's 2018-2022 Gaelic language plan, which is most apparent in its share of

pages in the “Background and Context” section of the document (Glasgow City Council 2018: 22-27, 30-33). Development of Gaelic usage in workplaces and communities was also a notable focus in the Glasgow plan, as was development of Gaelic arts and culture (Glasgow City Council 2018: 72-79).

As part of the latter objective, Glasgow Life, an arms-length arts and culture body of Glasgow City Council, has published Gaelic Arts Strategies, of which the 2018-2022 strategy covered the research period (Glasgow Life 2017). These documents set out in greater detail the practical ambitions of Glasgow Life to develop and promote Gaelic arts in Glasgow. The University of Glasgow also has a Gaelic language plan in its own right detailing its policy aims for Gaelic within the university (University of Glasgow 2018).

Gaelic language plans give an indication of the current priorities of public bodies, which in Glasgow appear to be on education and the arts, but this present research is not intended to be focused through the lens of existing policy. While local Gaelic language plans are prepared in line with the national plan and Bòrd na Gàidhlig guidance, Bòrd na Gàidhlig has few powers to control the content of, or enforce the implementation of, each plan (McLeod 2006: 23-25; Dunbar 2018: 157-62). To a great extent, public bodies may set their own agenda and measure their own results, and there is little data available to enable analysis of actual implementation and effect of Gaelic language plans (Dunbar 2018: 162-68).

The ambition of plans, and the extent to which they are implemented, is largely a function of political and institutional will. It is hoped, therefore, that this research may inform future policy direction, but within the remainder of this thesis I endeavour to consider my findings within the theoretical framework of this research rather than in reference to current policy aims.

3.2: Demographics

Data from the 2022 Census was made available just in time to be incorporated into this research, allowing for the use of demographic data accurate to the period in which most of this research’s fieldwork was completed. The Census recorded whether individuals have an ability to understand, speak, read, or write Gaelic. For the purposes of this research I have focused on the total number of speakers recorded in the Census, which here is calculated as all individuals over the age of 3 recorded as having an ability to speak Gaelic, or an ability to speak Gaelic in any combination with ability to read, write or understand Gaelic. Please note that there is a small discrepancy between the total number of Gaelic speakers recorded and the total number of Gaelic speakers when broken down by age and sex (the most granular age breakdown available) in the 2022 Census data tables, which is reflected in this analysis.

The Census recorded 8,962 Gaelic speakers over the age of 3 in the Glasgow City Council Area (National Records of Scotland 2024b). This constitutes 12.85% of the 69,701 Gaelic speakers recorded nationally in the 2022 Census, and so Glasgow’s share of Scotland’s Gaelic speakers must be recognised as significant. Glasgow’s sphere of influence does not stop at its local authority borders, however, and so it is worth also considering the presence of Gaelic speakers in the surrounding local authorities, which contain many towns connected by public and private transport to the city.

Taking into account the entire Glasgow City Region,⁴ the total figure for recorded Gaelic speakers living in and around the City of

Glasgow rises to 17,967, or roughly a quarter of Gaelic speakers nationally (Table 3.1). Gaelic

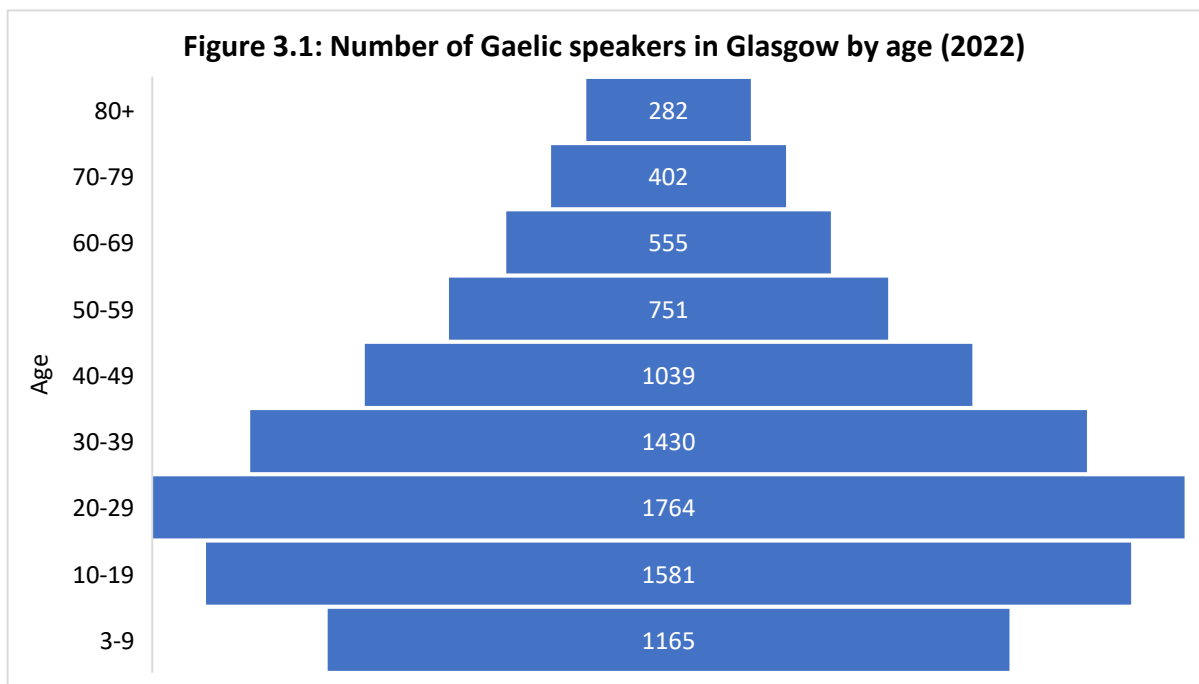
Local Authority (LA)	No. of Gaelic speakers (over the age of 3)	Percentage of total LA population
Glasgow City Council	8,962	1.5%
North Lanarkshire	2,469	0.7%
South Lanarkshire	2,109	0.7%
Renfrewshire	1,433	0.8%
East Dunbartonshire	1,039	1.0%
East Renfrewshire	740	0.8%
West Dunbartonshire	684	0.8%
Inverclyde	531	0.7%
Total Glasgow City Region	17,967	1.0%
Total Scotland	69,701	1.3%

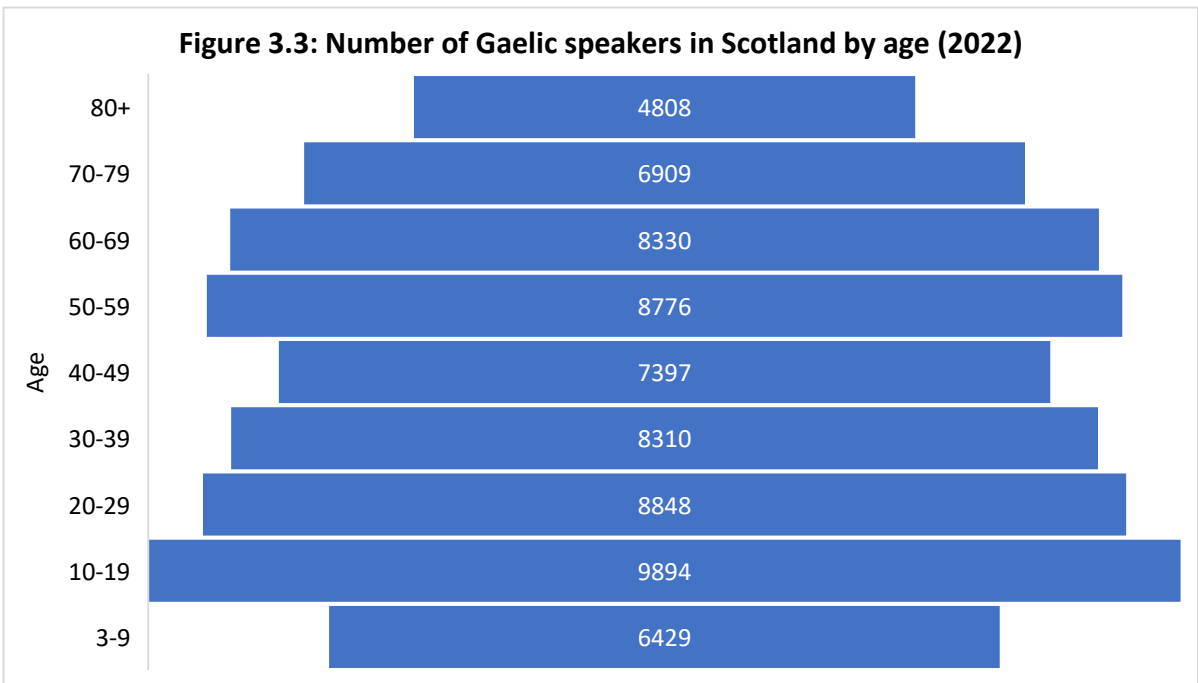
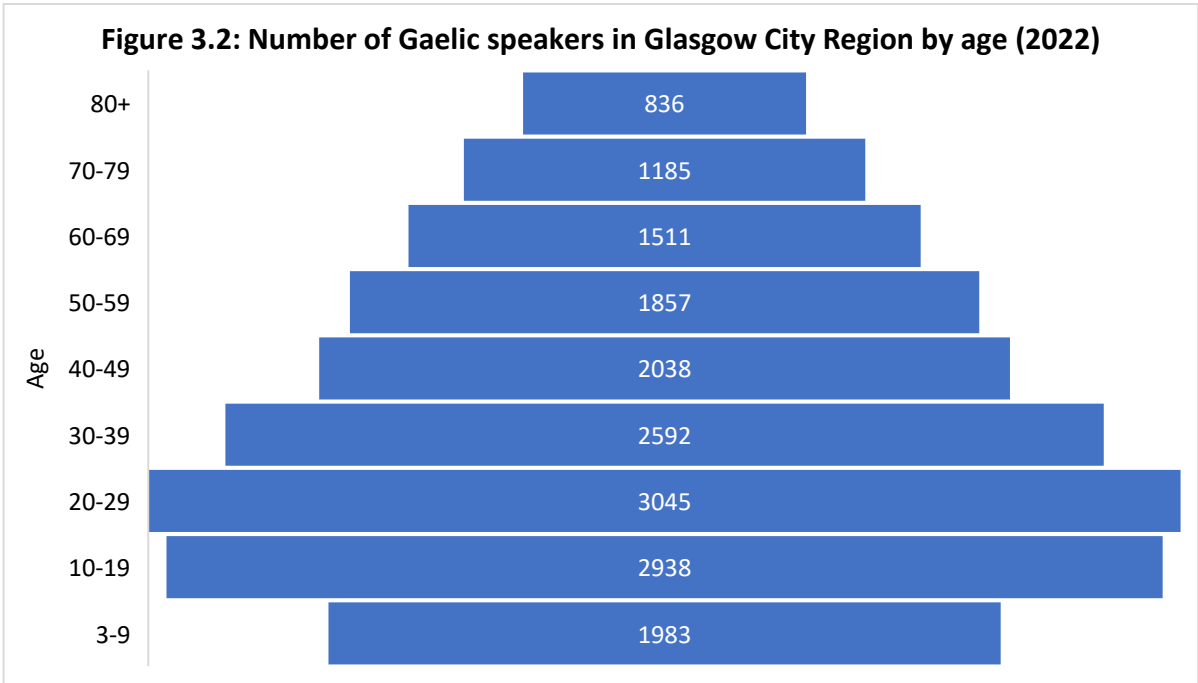
Table 3.1 | Number of Gaelic speakers by Local Authority in Glasgow City Region + Total for Scotland (2022)

⁴ Comprised of East Dunbartonshire, East Renfrewshire, Glasgow City Council, Inverclyde, North Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, South Lanarkshire and West Dunbartonshire

speakers constitute only a small minority of the total population in any of these local authorities, and of these areas it is only in Glasgow that they constitute a greater proportion of residents than their representation in the national population. While study of those Gaelic speakers in the Greater Glasgow City Region is important and encouraged, to limit scope this analysis will focus primarily on speakers enumerated in Glasgow itself.

The age profile of Glasgow’s Gaelic-speaking population, and that of the Glasgow City Region, differs to that of the Gaelic-speaking population of Scotland as a whole (National Records of Scotland 2024c). Most notably, speakers are less evenly distributed by age, with speakers under the age of 40 substantially better-represented in Glasgow and surrounding areas than in the national population (Figures 3.1-3.3).





There are two features to these demographics which I would highlight: the prevalence of speakers aged 3-19, and the prevalence of speakers aged 20-40. However, first it is important to understand key differences in the returns to the 2011 and 2022 Censuses. The 2022 Census saw an overall 22.5% increase in individuals identifying as Gaelic speakers across Scotland, along with more substantial increases in individuals claiming an ability to

read or passively understand the language, the reasons for which are hard to discern (McLeod 2024). This growth was most pronounced in the 3-15 age range, and this national trend appears to have been reflected in Glasgow. Table 3.2 compares the Census returns by age from 2011 and 2022, and while there are substantial

Age	No. of Gaelic speakers (2011)	No. of Gaelic speakers (2022)	Percentage change (%)
3-9	422	1,165	+176.1
10-19	656	1,581	+141.0
20-29	1,411	1,764	+25.0
30-39	975	1,430	+46.7
40-49	723	1,039	+43.7
50-59	585	751	+28.4
60-69	436	555	+27.3
70-79	351	402	+14.5
80+	332	282	-15.1
Total	5,891	8,969	+52.2

Table 3.2 | Comparison of number of Gaelic speakers by age in Glasgow between Census 2011 and Census 2022

percentage increases in reported speakers in all age groups except 80+, enumerated speakers aged 3-9 and 10-19 increased by 176% and 141% respectively (National Records of Scotland 2014b, 2024c).

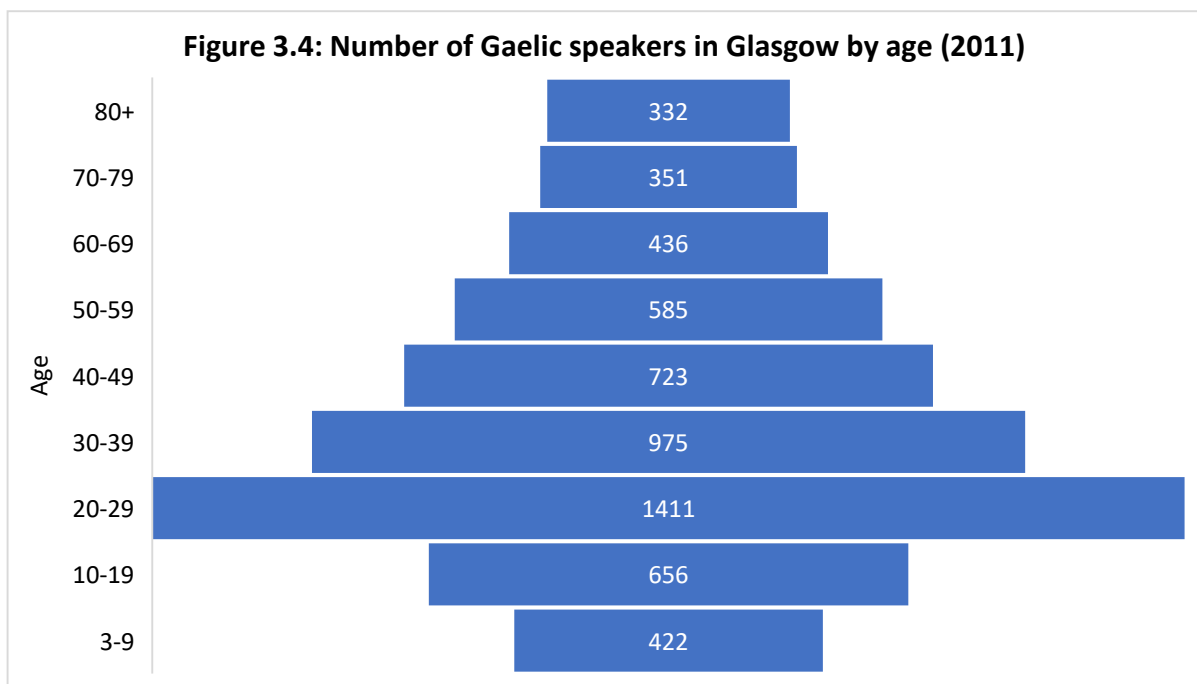
This increase is a complicated matter. There is no clear social or policy reason for this increase in identification as Gaelic speakers among children, which will have been made on their behalf by adults (McLeod 2024). This increase is most notable in areas of Scotland in which there is no substantial Gaelic educational provision, and so it is likely that Glasgow is part of a national phenomenon which is currently, and no doubt will continue to be, under scrutiny by researchers. Given the lack of granularity to the Census, in that respondents could not identify the degree of proficiency with which they speak Gaelic or the regularity with which they speak it, this increase does not necessarily equate to a noticeable increase in active regular speakers of Gaelic in Glasgow.

The extent to which the number of primary-age Gaelic speakers in the 2011 Census correlated with the number of pupils in primary-level GME in the city at the time perhaps serves to highlight the unexpectedness of the 2022 increase. In the 2011 Census, a total of 424 5-11 year old Gaelic speakers were enumerated in Glasgow, while the primary GME cohort numbered 371 (National Records of Scotland 2015b: Table AT_236_2011; Scottish Government 2023).

Since 2011, GME provision in Glasgow has expanded, with the opening of Bunsgoil Ghàidhlig Ghleann Dail and Bunsgoil Ghàidhlig Bhaile a' Ghobhainn to join Sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu's primary offering. By 2020 there were 750 pupils in primary-level GME, and there were 802 in

the 2023 academic year (Chalmers et al. 2022: 32; Scottish Government 2023). GME has been a driving force for growth in the number of Gaelic speakers under the age of 18, both in Glasgow and nationally (Glasgow City Council 2014: 10-14; MacKinnon 2011: 216-21). However, the increase in GME capacity can hardly account for the more than doubling of the number of child Gaelic speakers between the 2011 and 2022 Censuses. It remains, therefore, unclear as to what prompted this development. I would speculate that, as with the 1971 Census, a change in willingness to identify as Gaelic-speaking may be a key factor, but my research has not produced evidence which could illuminate this matter further.

The number of actual Gaelic-speaking children in Glasgow is important, as it determines the self-sustainability of the Gaelic-speaking population of the city. The number of young speakers of a language required for sustainability is an inexact science, but MacKinnon (2001: 256) asserts that for a linguistic community to be intergenerationally self-sustaining, there must be at least 1 speaker under 25 for every 3 over that age. Should the 2022 Census be accurate, then we may rest easy, but should the figure of fluent Gaelic-speaking children in Glasgow be closer to the 2011 figure, as I suspect is more likely, then there would be only 1 Gaelic speaker under 25 for every 5 over that age. It is readily apparent from Figure 3.4 that the number of Gaelic-speaking children in Glasgow as enumerated in 2011 cannot support the number of adult speakers alone.



The dramatic increase in child Gaelic speakers in the 2022 Census slightly diminishes the visibility of the second notable feature of Figure 3.1, which is more pronounced in the 2011 Census (Figure 3.4): There is a “bulge” in the 20-39 age range of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, in contrast to the national population pyramid. Given that this feature cannot be supported by the number of Gaelic-speaking children in the city, it is clear that Gaelic speakers arrive or develop in Glasgow as adults. I would argue that this is a symptom of Glasgow’s continued attractiveness as a destination for young adult Gaelic speakers for work and education (Campbell et al. 2008: 24-25). As the Census does not provide detailed information on a respondent’s proficiency in spoken Gaelic, nor whether they are a native speaker or a learner of the language, it is impossible to determine to what extent this population bulge consists of migrant native speakers primarily from the Hebrides, new speakers and learners in the city, or indeed migratory learners.

However, based on estimates by academics and providers of Gaelic education, I would argue that Gaelic learners in the city likely number in the hundreds at most. 2009 research concluded that there were approximately 332-352 active adult Gaelic learners in Glasgow, the majority of whom were of beginner or lower intermediate proficiency (Chalmers and Danson 2011: 24-25, 37-39). Glasgow Life, the primary purveyor of Gaelic learning opportunities in Glasgow, is estimated to have provided ‘Gaelic learning opportunities’ to around 1,000 total individual learners over the 2017-2022 period, suggesting that the number of active learners is still in the hundreds (Chalmers et al. 2022: 37-39; Glasgow City Council 2023: 28).

The relatively low proportion of advanced or fluent learners recorded by Chalmers and Danson, approximately 9%, reflects estimates in national research on the low numbers of fluent learners in the general Gaelic-speaking population. McLeod, O’Rourke and Dunmore (2014: 4) estimated that there were no more than a few hundred active new speakers in Edinburgh and Glasgow combined. Estimates of the number of fluent Gaelic learners in Scotland in the 2000s range from 700-1500 (McLeod 2001: 19-20; MacCaluim 2007: 231).

Based on these estimates, I would conclude that the number of current Gaelic learners is likely in the hundreds, with those of advanced or fluent proficiency constituting a minority of that figure. There is evidence that Gaelic learners in Glasgow tend to be younger, with 40% in the 16-34 age bracket in 2011 (Milligan, Chalmers, and Danson 2011: 26), but even then

learners would still account for only a minority of recorded speakers in the 20-39 group that is of interest here.

Taking into account both the 2011 and 2022 Census data, and the above analysis, I hypothesise that the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow continues to be maintained to a great extent by ongoing in-migration of existing Gaelic speakers from other parts of Scotland, with the majority most likely arriving from the Gàidhealtachd. However, given the aforementioned lack of granularity to the Census, it is hard to know in detail the exact makeup of the population of recorded Gaelic speakers in the city. The degree of proficiency of incomers, for instance, is a question which cannot be answered through analysis of the Census data.

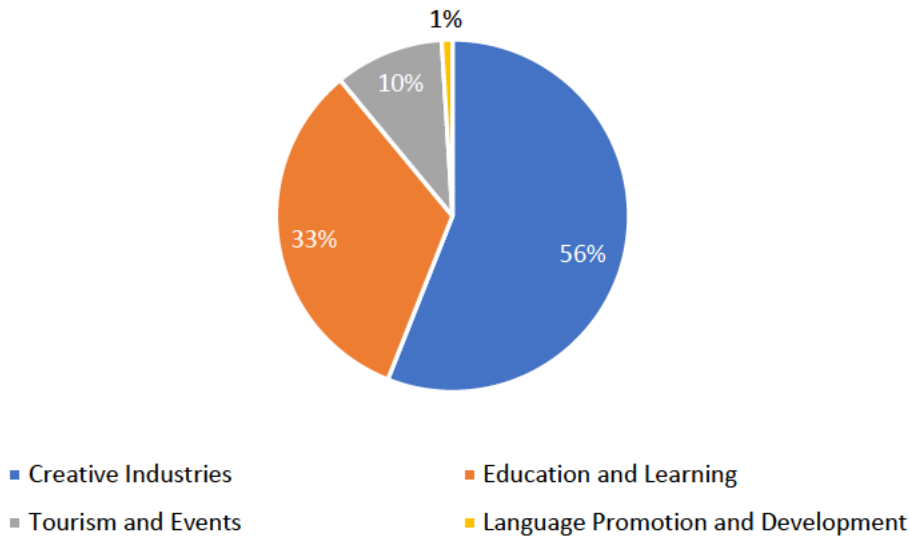
Beyond the broad conclusions that it is likely that Glasgow's Gaelic-speaking population is substantially contributed to by adults moving to the city, and that Glasgow-based education of both children and adults likely does not sustain the present number of speakers, demographic data can yield only numerical insight into Gaelic in Glasgow. Deeper qualitative and quantitative research has focused on several key areas: economy, GME schooling, and adult learners and new speakers of Gaelic.

3.3: Economics

Gaelic has a notable economic relationship with Glasgow, both in terms of its value to the city, and the city's role as a significant employer of individuals with Gaelic. Two economic studies, one from 2009 and another from 2022, are the main sources of data relating to Gaelic and Glasgow's economy. The first focused on the arts and culture sector, whereas the second aimed to encompass the totality of Gaelic-related economic activity in the city (Chalmers and Danson 2009: 8; Chalmers et al. 2022: 5).

The authors of the 2022 report calculated a gross value added (GVA) for Gaelic in Glasgow, incorporating investment, employment, and total spend, of £21.6 million per annum (Chalmers et al. 2022: 19-20). The creative industries, including media such as MG ALBA and the performing arts, contributed 56% of this value, with education and learning providing a further 33% (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: Sectoral Breakdown of GVA by Gaelic to the Glasgow economy (Chalmers et al. 2022)



Performance arts and cultural activities form a major part of Glasgow City Council’s Gaelic strategy, featuring prominently in both the city’s and Glasgow Life’s Gaelic plans (Glasgow City Council 2018: 76-79; Glasgow Life 2017). Events, usually in the arts and culture sector, constitute an important part of Gaelic’s economic contribution to Glasgow’s economy, with Celtic Connections, FilmG, the Scottish Gaelic Awards, Fèis Ghlaschu and others all containing major Gaelic elements (Chalmers et al. 2022: 24-30).

Chalmers et al. (2022: 24) do acknowledge that it can be hard to define what exactly constitutes “Gaelic arts”, particularly in the case of piping events such as the World Pipe Band Championships, which they include in their analysis. Nonetheless, through a methodology intended to calculate the portion of events’ value attributable to Gaelic, they estimate that Gaelic festivals and events contribute £7.2 million to Glasgow’s economy per year (Chalmers et al. 2022: 42-45). By contrast, the broader tourism and hospitality industry does not appear to make great use of Gaelic to generate value, with some restaurants and pubs making use, at most, of Gaelic names or decoration (Chalmers et al. 2022: 47-48).

The calculation of Gaelic’s economic contribution to Glasgow is a valuable metric by which to understand Gaelic’s importance, particularly given common rhetoric querying the financial value of language promotion. However, it is less useful in indicating the actual language practices and social impacts of Gaelic in the city. As alluded to above, the authors of the

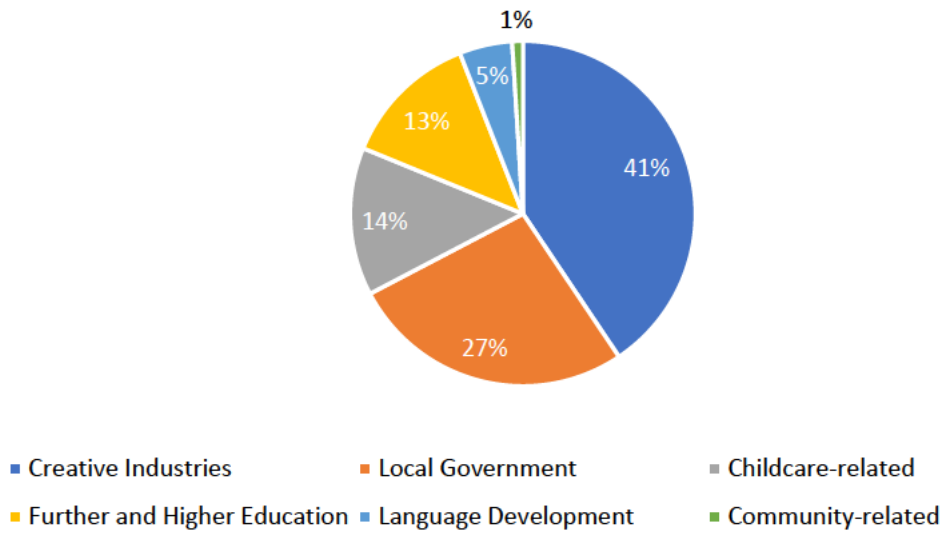
2022 report include events in their calculations which, while relating to Gaelic or Highland culture, may contain relatively little Gaelic usage. There were, for instance, no fluent Gaelic speaking piping tutors at the National Piping Centre as of the report's publication, nor was Gaelic considered an essential skill for tutor roles (Chalmers et al. 2022: 25).

Analysis of Gaelic employment in Glasgow allows for a more person-oriented understanding of the economic role of Gaelic in the city. In 2009, Glasgow was host to a sixth of all jobs requiring an ability to speak, read and write Gaelic (Chalmers and Danson 2009: 11). Gaelic speakers in the city tended to have stable employment, and to occupy proportionally higher-level occupations than Gaelic speakers elsewhere in the country and the general population of Scotland (Chalmers and Danson 2009: 13-14). The findings of the 2022 report indicate that Glasgow is still an important Gaelic employer, identifying more than 200 posts in which Gaelic was considered an essential skill, equivalent to around 154 full-time equivalent (FTE) jobs (Chalmers et al. 2022: 10). In addition, the authors identified roles for which Gaelic proficiency was desirable, roles which involved delivery of Gaelic services or goods, and roles currently filled by a Gaelic speaker or which were intended to be filled by a Gaelic speaker in the future, which brought the total number of identified jobs to almost 300 posts, or 235 FTE roles, though the authors suspect, due to incomplete response to their research, that the true total is higher than this (Chalmers et al. 2022: 9-10, 12-13).

Based on their counting of jobs and analysis of investment and economic data from the Scottish Government and Office for National Statistics (ONS), Chalmers et al. (2022: 17-18) estimate that there may be as many as 700 FTE jobs attributable to Gaelic. While notable within the Gaelic employment market, it is important to understand that in the wider context of Glasgow's employment market even this estimate makes up a fraction of a percent of the total number of jobs in Glasgow, estimated at 476,000 by ONS in 2022 (Office of National Statistics 2024: Labour Demand - Jobs density (2022)).

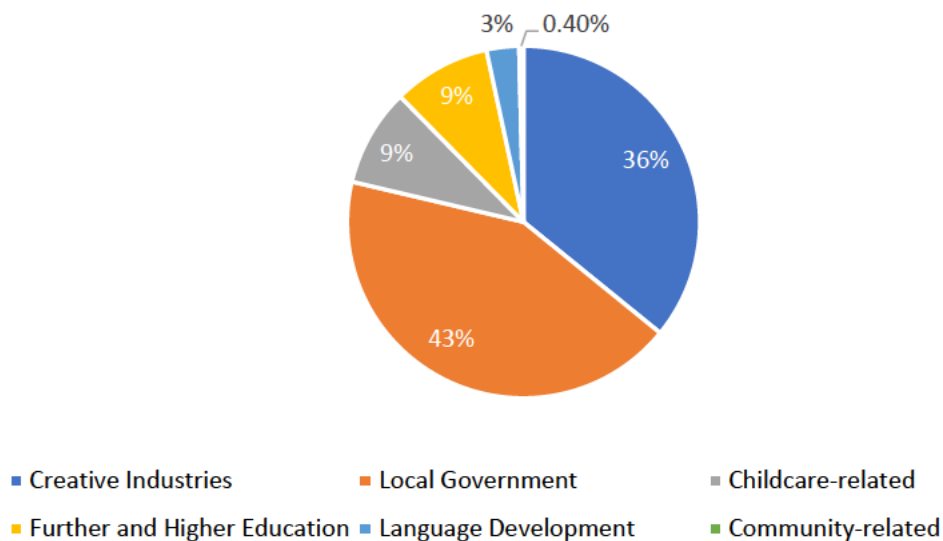
These roles are distributed unevenly across sectors. In terms of those jobs specifically identified by Chalmers et al. (2022: 10-11), the creative industries are the biggest source of Gaelic essential roles, with the majority of these roles in Glasgow's Gaelic media industry (Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6: Sectoral breakdown of Gaelic-essential jobs (FTE) in Glasgow (Chalmers et al. 2022)



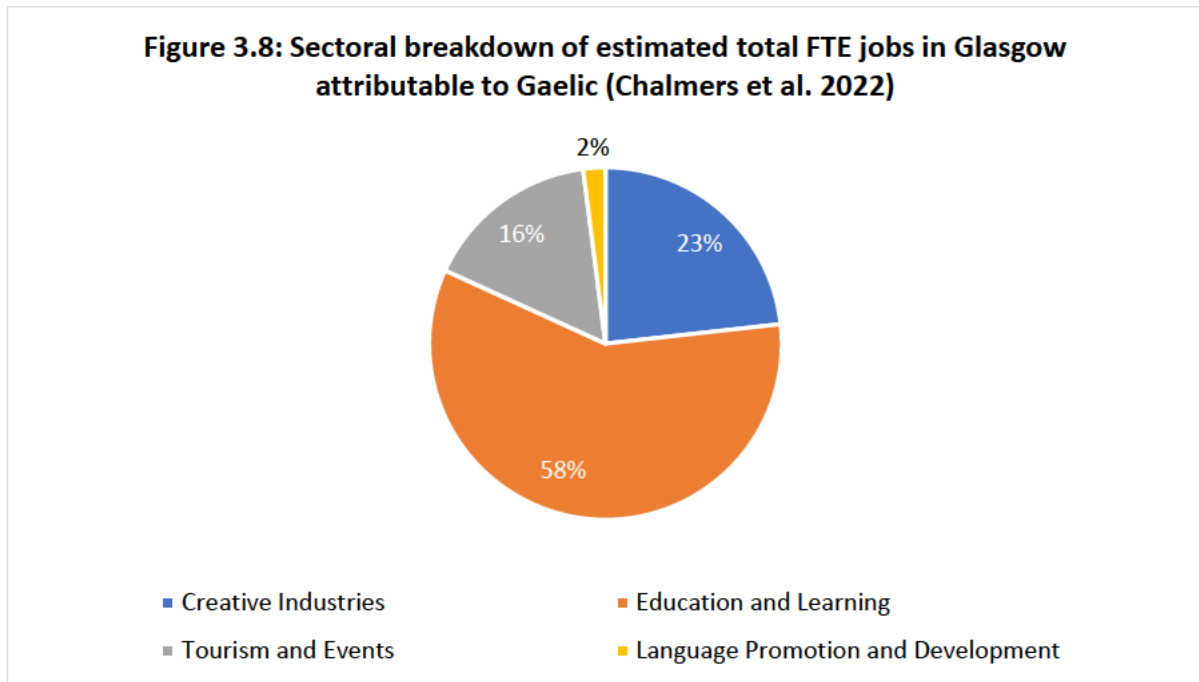
Local government, primarily in primary and secondary education, constitutes the next largest employer, followed by childcare and higher and further education. When the authors' larger category including Gaelic-desirable roles is considered, local government constitutes a larger share of employment, but educational and media-related roles still dominate (Chalmers et al. 2022: 12-13) (Figure 3.7).

Figure 3.7: Sectoral breakdown of Gaelic-related jobs in Glasgow (FTE) (Chalmers et al. 2022)



Chalmers et al.'s (2022: 19) larger estimation of roughly 700 total FTE jobs attributable to Gaelic purports the greatest share of roles to be in education and learning, which covers

childcare through to further and higher education, with creative industries and tourism and events accounting for fewer jobs (Figure 3.8). It is worth comparing this figure to Figure 3.5 and noting that while projected to provide less employment than the education sector, the creative industries account for greater financial value contributed to Glasgow’s economy.



Within the creative industries, the main employers are related to television and radio. BBC ALBA and MG ALBA alone account for 50 Gaelic essential roles, employing a further 15 fluent individuals in non-Gaelic essential roles (Chalmers et al. 2022: 24). Arts organisations such as Glasgow Life, Ceòl ’s Craic, An Lòchran, Comhairle nan Leabhraichean and Theatre Gu Leòr each employ small numbers of Gaelic-speaking staff (Chalmers et al. 2022: 24-30). Chalmers and Danson (2009: 23-29) observed that arts organisations also support the incomes of additional individuals involved in the sector, such as musicians and tutors, on a more casual basis.

The other focus of Gaelic employment in the city, education, employed 38 teachers at the primary level and 28 at the secondary as GME teachers, and a small number of other staff across educational support roles as of 2022 (Chalmers et al. 2022: 32-34). Glasgow’s GME schools have been reported to attract teaching talent to the extent that some schools in the Western Isles feel that they lose staff to them (FEScott Associates Ltd 2013: 30-31, 80). There is a small concentration of Gaelic essential roles in the further and higher education sector,

with the University of Glasgow accounting for 18 such roles, and a smaller number existing at Glasgow Kelvin College and the University of Strathclyde (Chalmers et al. 2022: 36-37).

When considering the nature of Gaelic-related jobs in Glasgow, it is worth noting that many of these roles are directly or indirectly public-funded, which is not atypical of Gaelic employment in Scotland (Chalmers and Danson 2009: 14-15; McLeod 2002: 52; 2009: 155). In this regard, the Gaelic economy of Glasgow is not free-standing, though economic contribution is not so simple as the profitability of individual roles. It is also important to note that the vast majority of Glasgow's approximately 9,000 Gaelic speakers are not engaged in Gaelic-related employment, given the number of roles available, and this is without considering that not all of these identified roles will be filled by individuals who live in Glasgow itself.

Chalmers et al. (2022: 13, 56-57) found in a survey conducted as part of their economic research that there was a near 50-50 split between respondents for whom Gaelic was critical, highly important or moderately important to their employment, and those for whom it had only minor importance or no role whatsoever. Given the small number of Gaelic jobs available, I would suggest that those for whom Gaelic was important to employment may have been over-represented in this survey's sample. Gaelic employment does have the potential to provide minority language community and usage opportunities (MacLeod 2009: 144-50). Even so, the number of Gaelic speakers to whom this benefit is afforded in Glasgow can only form a small minority of the total speaker population. While Gaelic certainly plays an important economic role in Glasgow, and in turn Glasgow plays an important economic role in the wider Gaelic world, the extent to which this economy affects the lived experience of Gaelic speakers is less clear.

3.4: Education

Glasgow is a focal point for Gaelic Medium Education, host to three GME primary schools, with a fourth opening soon, and Scotland's only GME secondary school. In addition, there are three public and two private GME nurseries. Glasgow City Council reports continuous annual growth in demand for GME, and expansion of capacity has been a pressing issue in the Council's previous Gaelic plans, and remains an aim in the current plan (Glasgow City Council 2014: 34-45; 2018: 22-25; 2023: 21-23, 51-57). More than a thousand pupils

currently attend GME schools at the primary or secondary levels in Glasgow (Glasgow City Council 2023: 21-23). However, research has challenged the focus on education as a solution to language revitalisation which is common in Scottish Gaelic language planning (McLeod 2001: 14-15). Concerns have been raised that Gaelic education does not necessarily lead to short-term or long-term Gaelic usage outside of the school environment.

National research has noted the frequency of reports that GME students rarely use Gaelic outside of the classroom, particularly as they grow older (O'Hanlon, McLeod, and Paterson 2010: 79-82). While her research was primarily focused on phonetic variation in Glasgow's GME schools, Nance (2015: 571) observed that she never heard a young person spontaneously using Gaelic outside of a classroom environment, and at least one student suggested in interview that extracurricular Gaelic usage was a rarity. This suggests that the national observation applies in Glasgow. Irish parents of children attending GME schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh reported varying levels of interest amongst their children in using Gaelic outside of school (McLeod and O'Rourke 2015: 26).

In addition to issues of extracurricular Gaelic usage during schooling, there is also the question of whether GME graduates continue to use Gaelic in their daily lives. Dunmore (2017: 731) found, in a study focused on GME graduates who had begun school between 1985 and 1995, that the majority of respondents made only limited use of Gaelic in their adult lives. Those respondents who did make frequent use of Gaelic primarily did so through their work, and not through social and home usage. Dunmore observed an important correlation: those who made more frequent use of Gaelic as adults often grew up in a Gaelic household. This is consistent with research which suggests that Gaelic proficiency outcomes for children are strongly dependent on the language of the home. Williams's (2005: 103) analysis of the 1991 Census indicated that in families where both parents spoke Gaelic, 75% of children could also speak the language, whereas in families with only one Gaelic-speaking parent or carer, only 13% of children could speak Gaelic.

This has potentially troubling implications for the sustainability of Gaelic in Glasgow regardless of the efficacy of GME schooling, as only 2,392 individuals in Glasgow reported Gaelic as a language used at home in the 2011 Census (National Records of Scotland 2015b: Table AT_261a_2011). This constitutes under half of the total population reporting an ability to speak Gaelic in the 2011 Census. There is evidence that few GME students in Glasgow

come from households in which Gaelic is spoken: Lamb (2011) found that 6% of the students entering their first primary year of GME in Glasgow in 2010 came from Gaelic-speaking households. This may be compared to the average of 31% of primary GME entrants from Gaelic households in the Outer Hebrides and Skye in the same year. Given the difference which a Gaelic-speaking home appears to make in terms of language outcomes, the fact that ‘Only a minority of pupils come from homes where Gaelic is the main language [...]’ may not be beneficial for Glasgow’s GME outcomes (Glaschu 2018f).

In those households which do not have Gaelic, but the children attend a GME school, it appears unlikely that many parents will learn Gaelic to a sufficient level to provide a Gaelic home environment for their child. The perceived benefits of a bilingual education are often a more important factor in parents’ decision to choose GME for their child than concerns of Gaelic-speaking identity or Gaelic family heritage (O’Hanlon, McLeod, and Paterson 2010: 46-69; Chalmers et al. 2022: 35-36). In a study of six GME students in Glasgow, Oliver (2006: 161) found that all six were in GME for similarly instrumental reasons, rather than for reasons of language ideology or cultural heritage. These motivations almost certainly impact on the likelihood a parent will learn Gaelic alongside their child. For those who do learn, as mentioned in Section 3.2, relatively few learners achieve an advanced or fluent ability in Gaelic (Milligan, Chalmers, and Danson 2011: 34, 37-39), and this is reflected in more targeted research. Of the 23 Irish-speaking parents of children in GME in Glasgow and Edinburgh McLeod and O’Rourke (2015: 27-29) surveyed, only one had achieved fluency despite all 23 having made some effort to learn the language.

While Glasgow has been at the head of major strides in Gaelic education, these successes must be considered critically. In terms of pure volume, GME alone does not currently produce enough adult speakers to afford Glasgow a home-grown replacement rate of older speakers; even assuming that all of the roughly 800 GME primary students in 2023 were to go on to identify as Gaelic speakers as adults, they would not be sufficient to replace in whole the 3,045 speakers aged 20-29 recorded in the 2022 Census. The short- and long-term outcomes of GME in terms of Gaelic usage in everyday life must also be considered – is the goal of Gaelic education in Glasgow solely educational achievement, or the production of lifelong Gaelic speakers?

3.5: New Speakers and Adult Learners

Adult learners of Gaelic have been a focus for research in Glasgow and nationally. In particular, those adult learners who have achieved fluency without a Gaelic household background, often termed “new speakers”, are a phenomenon of interest. As established in Section 3.2, there are likely several hundred active Gaelic learners in Glasgow, of whom the majority learn through Glasgow Life, with others learning through institutes of higher or further education and distance learning. (Milligan, Chalmers, and Danson 2011: 27; Chalmers et al. 2022: 36-39).

Gaelic learners in Glasgow trend younger than the national average: 40% of learners in Glasgow in 2011 were between the ages of 16 and 34, whereas 2010 national research found that 28% of learners were aged 15-34 (Milligan, Chalmers, and Danson 2011: 26; McLeod, Pollock, and MacCaluim 2010: 22). The presence of the University of Glasgow, as well as the general youth of Glasgow’s population, likely play roles in this difference. Gaelic learners in Glasgow may be more likely to have been raised outside of Scotland, with a third of new speakers surveyed by McLeod, O’Rourke and Dunmore (2014: 5) identifying as such. Residentially, learners are also more likely to be found in the south and west of the city, likely reflecting the concentrations of Gaelic educational opportunities in those areas (Milligan, Chalmers, and Danson 2011: 34-36).

Research into the motivations of Gaelic learners has produced insights which suggest both similarities and differences between Glasgow’s learners and the national average. 48% of those learners surveyed by Milligan, Chalmers and Danson (2011: 34-36) in Glasgow stated that leisure interests, such as Gaelic music and cultural events, were important factors in their interest in learning Gaelic, and 25% stated that learning Gaelic was important to their career. This contrasts with 2018 national research, which found that only a small minority of respondents considered career prospects to be a motivator for learning Gaelic (Sellers, Borge Consulting, and Carty 2018: 16, Chart 4).

The proportion of learners in Glasgow motivated by Gaelic usage in their family is similar to that observed at the national level. 34% of those surveyed by Milligan, Chalmers and Danson (2010: 34-36) agreed that regular use of Gaelic by family and friends motivated their learning, with 48% actively disagreeing. On the national scale, one study found that 57% of

surveyed learners had no Gaelic-speaking relatives, and in another, 48.6% of new speakers surveyed in Glasgow and Edinburgh reported no known Gaelic family (McLeod, Pollock, and MacCaluim 2010: 23-24; McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014: 6). These statistics indicate that at least half of Gaelic learners in Glasgow are motivated by personal interests rather than close personal connections or a family heritage of Gaelic.

There is conflicting data on how many learners are motivated by a desire to contribute to Gaelic's survival as a language, with one survey finding that 90% of respondents had this desire, another finding motivations of language survival to be the second most common motivation for learning Gaelic, and another reporting that only 17% considered Gaelic's survival to be a key motivation in their choice to learn (MacCaluim 2007: 229; Sellers, Borge Consulting, and Carty 2018: 16, Chart 4; McLeod, Pollock, and MacCaluim 2010: 25-26). Given that during McLeod, O'Rourke and Dunmore's (2014: 11-13) research into new speakers in Glasgow and Edinburgh none of their interviewees mentioned a desire for the survival of Gaelic as motivating their learning, I would argue that the proportion of Glasgow learners with strong ideological motivations is likely to be closer to the latter national figure, but given the inconsistency of national and regional research on Gaelic learner motivation it may be more principled to conclude that there are no clear answers on which motivations are dominant on a population level.

As discussed in Section 3.2, many learners don't achieve an advanced or fluent status in Gaelic, with Glasgow learners being no exception. Milligan, Chalmers and Danson (2011: 50-58) identified difficulties in finding classes of the right level, varying quality of tuition, low awareness of learning opportunities and the cost of learning as key barriers to development for Glasgow-based Gaelic learners. A lack of opportunities to speak the language also appears to be a limiting factor. In national research, 80% of learner respondents claimed to never or very infrequently use Gaelic in social settings (McLeod, Pollock, and MacCaluim 2010: 26-28). Even fluent learners have encountered such problems, with new speakers in Glasgow and Edinburgh reporting that they struggled to access opportunities for informal Gaelic usage until they had found a Gaelic social network or Gaelic language employment (McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014: 8-11, 18-20).

While research on adult learners and new speakers in Glasgow is far from comprehensive, it is possible to draw some provisional conclusions. From a language promotion perspective,

Gaelic learners are only a minority of the Gaelic speaking population of Glasgow, and are not learning to fluency in sufficient volumes to do more than supplement the numbers of fluent speakers who are likely from more traditional Gaelic backgrounds. There are a number of obstacles to achieving fluency which could be addressed, including issues with finding lessons both in general and of an appropriate level, and a lack of opportunities for informal Gaelic usage outside of lessons. Learners appear to be more often motivated by interest in Gaelic cultural or leisure activities than heritage or language promotion ideology. This perhaps further highlights the relevance of Gaelic social opportunities to learners.

3.6: Usage of Gaelic

There is little dedicated research into the actual language practices of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow. Walsh and McLeod (2011: 167) articulate an impression against which I have seen little evidence to the contrary:

[...] the prevailing hypothesis, [...] is that compared to speakers in “traditional” Gaelic communities with a high density of speakers, Gaelic speakers in urban Scotland tend to use the language relatively infrequently, with a relatively small number of interlocutors and within very loose social networks.

Limited research supports this view. Interviewed new speakers in Edinburgh and Glasgow, though describing Glasgow as a somewhat easier city in which to become involved socially with Gaelic, still described a lack of an identifiable “Gaelic community”, and said that a learner must pro-actively seek out networks in which to socialise through Gaelic (McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014: 45-47). Schmal and Scholten's (2016: 38) ethnographic research in Glasgow produced similar insights, with some interviewees expressing that unless a learner actively sought out opportunities they were unlikely to organically encounter opportunities to use Gaelic often in their daily lives.

A number of additional insights into Gaelic usage can be gathered from existing research. As discussed above, the 2011 Census indicates that a little under half of Gaelic speakers enumerated use Gaelic at home, though the extent to which they do so is not known. Some new speakers in Glasgow and Edinburgh found that the workplace was important not only as a site of Gaelic usage, but also a means to connect with Gaelic social networks (McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014: 18-20, 45-47).

The University of Glasgow is a key site for Gaelic usage, with Gaelic used in both educational and social settings. The university reports that it was able to deliver at least 24 Gaelic events over the 2020-21 academic period, with a total attendance of 961 students, staff, and members of the wider Gaelic community (Chalmers et al. 2022: 36-37). The university's Taigh na Gàidhlig project provides accommodation where the main spoken language of the block is Gaelic, and is perceived to have generally been a success (University of Glasgow 2018: 12-13; Schmal and Scholten 2016: 38). However, some informants told Schmal and Scholten (2016: 38) that their experience was of Gaelic often being used within the university context, but that people often did not use Gaelic with other Gaelic speakers outside of that context. The type and location of social connections seems just as important to whether Gaelic is used as finding other Gaelic speakers in the first place.

Several sectors are presumed sites of Gaelic usage but suffer from a lack of recent academic inquiry or clarity. Glasgow's Gaelic churches were historically prime social sites, but the most recent academic treatment of them dates to 1995, and documented steep decline in the Gaelic character of the churches and their provision of Gaelic services (MacDonald 1995: 66-81). Twenty-five Highland associations remain extant in the city, though having suffered great decline in membership, and the extent to which Gaelic is at the forefront of their activities varies (Chalmers et al. 2022: 25-26, 51).

I have witnessed a popular perception that certain pubs are the best places to find social Gaelic in Glasgow. Pubs bearing this reputation include the Park Bar, Islay Inn, Ben Nevis and The Snaffle Bit, contained within the "Gaelic Triangle" in the west of the city, and the Lios Mòr located next door to the Gaelic Books Council shop (Glaschu 2018i). This impression is supported by research; learners and new speakers have identified pubs as a good place to practice Gaelic and find Gaelic social circles (Schmal and Scholten 2016: 9; McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014). These pubs are some of the relatively few places in Glasgow where Gaelic signage is prominent. There has been no formal linguistic landscape study of Glasgow, but Chalmers et al. (2022: 49) note the paucity of written Gaelic in the environment outside of Glasgow University, the Glasgow Gaelic School neighbourhood and some train stations.

3.7: Conclusions

Existing research on Gaelic in modern Glasgow is patchy. Broad demographics and economics are relatively well-researched thanks to the efforts of the Census and two waves of economic studies. Gaelic-medium education and adult learners have received the lion's share of research outside of these two sectors, revealing valuable insights into parent and learner motivation, and a shared question of where Gaelic is used by students and learners outside of their studies, if at all.

Where and how Gaelic is used appears to be the greatest blind spot in research on Gaelic in Glasgow, which is understandable given the difficulty of engaging with such a comprehensive question. Also notable is that despite making up the great majority of the Gaelic-speaking populace, Gaelic speakers who arrive in Glasgow already proficient have received relatively little research focus. The behaviours of native speakers are less studied than those of learners, beyond insights that they may be less involved in Gaelic events in Glasgow than learners and new speakers (McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014: 29-30, 45-47). As such, we are in a position where relatively little is known in the academic context of how many Gaelic speakers in Glasgow use the language in their daily lives, which is an inherent stumbling block to the formulation of effective Gaelic language policy.

This research serves, therefore, to address the question of where Gaelic is used socially by Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, outwith the home, classroom and workplace. If the great majority of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow are not engaged in Gaelic employment or in Gaelic education, then it is only within their personal lives that they are likely to make use of Gaelic. This usage may be in the home, but as observed in Section 3.4, home usage of Gaelic is far from guaranteed. As such, social usage of Gaelic outside the home will constitute a substantial proportion of the Gaelic spoken in Glasgow, and so academic inquiry into its nature should be of value.

Furthermore, social opportunities to use Gaelic appear to be of great importance to key demographics for language maintenance. There is evidence of Gaelic learners and Gaelic speakers in education seeking or feeling a need for opportunities to speak Gaelic outside of their studies. Such opportunities can likely only be found through socialisation with other Gaelic speakers. In this regard, study of the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow should provide

valuable data which may inform future language promotion policy in Glasgow and other Scottish cities with Gaelic-speaking minorities.

4: Theoretical Background

Approaching as broad a question as where Gaelic is used socially across an entire city requires a substantial base of theory. The field of minority language sociolinguistics, in particular reversing language shift (RLS), constitutes an obvious starting point, but it is necessary to understand not only Gaelic as a minority language, but also the city as a sociological and geographical concept. In this chapter I draw together theory from the fields of RLS, urban sociology and geography, and economics, to form an understanding of the relationships between minority languages and urban centres in the modern world.

I also engage with the theoretical tools which enable an understanding of the way in which Gaelic is used within Glasgow. Mac Giolla Chríost's (2007) theory of critical ecolinguistics allows us to understand the competitive relationship between Gaelic and English in Glasgow, and the active role which individual choice plays in this competition. Individual language use can in turn be understood through Grin's (2003) model of capacity, opportunity and desire. The questions of who can speak Gaelic, where opportunity can be found to speak Gaelic through social connections, and why an individual would choose to speak Gaelic in certain situations require their own theoretical lenses, which are drawn from across a range of linguistic, sociolinguistic and anthropological works including linguistic market theory, social network theory and the community of practice model.

Finally, innovations in digital minority language usage provide useful tools with which to understand modern social network dynamics and the digital space, and linguistic landscape theory demonstrates the importance of the visual environment for minority sociolinguistics. This combination of theoretical concepts forms a toolkit with which I engage with Gaelic and Glasgow at multiple levels, from the high-level nature of the relationship between language and city, to the actions, motivations and social connections of Gaelic-speaking individuals.

4.1: The City and Reversing Language Shift

This research is inherently concerned with reversing language shift. While primarily intended to contribute to the general academic understanding of Gaelic in Glasgow, it is also my intention that this research should support those Gaelic speakers, activists and policy makers engaged in the promotion of Scottish Gaelic, and the slowing of its demographic decline. The

arguments for averting the death of minority languages, and therefore the benefits of their maintenance, are well-established elsewhere (e.g. Crystal 2000: 35-87; Fishman 2001b: 2-5). This research follows in the theoretical footsteps of RLS literature which precedes it. Where this research becomes theoretically complicated, however, is that it is also situated in study of the city, a site which is traditionally problematic for the promotion of minority languages.

4.1.1: The City in Traditional Reversing Language Shift Theory

Urbanisation is not often considered to be a beneficial process for minority languages in the foundational literature of this field. The languages with which this literature deals are often rural in their demographic focus, with the city often a majority language stronghold which exerts a negative influence on the social, economic and linguistic viability of the communities studied.

Fishman's (1991) *Reversing Language Shift* is of continuing and unparalleled influence in the field of minority language revitalisation, and Lewis and McLeod (2021b: 13-15) argue that it is to a great extent still the basis of theoretical approaches to language revitalisation, despite the intervening years since its publication. Fishman (1991: 55-65) presents language shift as occurring as a result of physical, social and cultural dislocation. Speakers of a minority language ("Xish" in Fishman's work) gradually become, through contact with another, dominant language (Yish), speakers of the dominant language, and as this process occurs the remaining minority language speakers lose demographic density in their own communities, further accelerating language shift. They are presented with the choice of learning the dominant language in order to participate in an economy controlled by speakers of the dominant language, or to remain excluded from this larger, wealthier economy. This dichotomy often leads to the association of X with disadvantage, and to a desire to acculturate to the norms of Y speakers. Most important of all is the perceived value of one's children growing up to be Y speakers.

Fishman developed an influential heuristic, the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS), the 8 stages of which, in ascending order, detail the steps towards language death, but which in turn can also highlight the path to language recovery. These stages are summarised here (Fishman 1991: 87-109):

8. Use of Xish restricted to the socially isolated and elderly.
7. Use of Xish amongst socially integrated and active speakers who are older than childbearing age. Oral fluency not reliably passed to children.
6. Intergenerational transmission of oral fluency within the Xish speaking family, neighbourhood and community.
5. Widespread literacy in Xish in the home, school, and community, but without external reinforcement of language ability (i.e. in formal schooling).
4. Use of Xish as language of education, in accordance with state education laws (i.e. not private schooling outwith the state education system).
3. Use of Xish in employment outside of Xish neighbourhoods and communities.
2. Use of Xish in lower governmental services and mass media, but not in the higher spheres of either.
1. Use of Xish (the minority language) in higher level educational, occupational, governmental and media sectors.

Fishman (1991: 92-95) asserts above all the importance of achieving and maintaining GIDS Stage 6, the intergenerational transmission of the spoken language as mother tongue within the community. Importantly, he considers transmission just within the home to be insufficient, and that '[...] Xish must also become the language of interfamily interaction with playmates, neighbours, friends and acquaintances.' The institutions and processes of what he characterises as a "home-family-neighbourhood-community" nexus are positioned at the core of successful reversal of language shift. Notably, Fishman (1991: 111-14, 373-75) argues that without this Stage 6 in place, "higher-order" interventions such as formal education, representation in media and governmental services will have limited effect. Other foundational authors in the field echo this assertion of the importance of neighbourhood and community language transmission (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 177-78; Fishman 2001a: 470-77).

In the fields of Celtic language revitalisation in particular, a concern with the preservation of a demographically dense "heartland" for the language has accordingly been prevalent (See in the Irish context: Williams 1988; Ó Riagáin 1997: 95-146; in the Welsh context: Williams 2000: 30; Aitchison and Carter 2004: 133-37). In the Scottish Gaelic context, the primacy of Fishman's focus on neighbourhood and community, and the priority of maintaining a

Scottish Gaelic heartland over other national language promotion activities, were recently vigorously asserted in Ó Giollagáin et al.'s (2020: 384-85, 410-12) discussion-provoking research. Fishman's understanding does not go unchallenged in the Scottish Gaelic context, however. MacLeod (2009: 141-42) questions how easily Fishman's view of community can be applied to more modern, unbounded Gaelic communities such as those formed around a workplace in urban environments. More broadly, Lewis and McLeod (2021b: 13-17) argue that the substantial changes in patterns of residence, socialisation and family structure over the last few decades necessitate a revisiting of Fishman's assumptions about the home-family-neighbourhood-community nexus. It is within this context of re-appraisal that I approach the modern city.

It must be noted that Fishman does address the city in his work. Indeed, he cites urbanisation as a classic example of the dislocation which causes language shift, physically and socioculturally dislocating minority language speakers as they enter an environment in which the vast majority of their social interactions will be in the urban majority language (Fishman 1991: 58). Fishman (2004: 414-15) does not consider it impossible for a minority language group to achieve long-term intergenerational transmission within an urban setting, but his example of success, Khasidic Yiddish-speaking Jews, he characterises as being due to residential concentration and relative social insulation from the majority population, in effect constructing a home-family-neighbourhood-community domain within the city. Barring rare exceptions, Fishman portrays the city as a site of language shift rather than language preservation. The experiences of the Celtic languages do lend support to this – for instance, with the rare exception of the Shaw's Road Gaeltacht in Belfast, attempts to create urban, self-sustaining Irish language communities, "urban villages" of sorts, have yielded little success (Walsh and McLeod 2011: 159-60).

I do not contest the facts at the core of Fishman's concerns. Urbanisation does, in general, cause minority language speakers to move into environments where they are dramatically outnumbered by majority language speakers, and in which the majority of interactions will by necessity be in the majority language. There is a challenge here, however, in that an engagement with the city is at once economically necessary for the survival of minority languages, and also a great risk, given the capacity for cultural absorption through language shift and breaks in intergenerational transmission which the city contains (McWhorter 2003:

272-74). Furthermore, where rural heartlands are themselves economically and sociolinguistically fragile, cities may prove to be an unexpected last refuge for minority languages (Mac Giolla Chríost 2007: 209). I present here the case that regardless of the dangers which cities present for minority language maintenance, a theoretical re-engagement with the city as a site for language revitalisation is not an option, but a necessity.

4.1.2: Modernity, Economy, and The City

We live in an urban age, dominated by the city. Castells (2010: 443-45) models our globalised world as a “space of flows”, channelled through and mediated by a network of hubs and nodes. These flows may be economic, in the form of goods or services, but they may also be cultural, or demographic. The hubs through which these flows are mediated are almost exclusively cities, which are connected in a global network to other cities of greater or lesser influence, and to outlying nodes, the supporting, sub- or non-urban regions of those cities.

The position and power of these hubs within the global network is determined by their influence over the economic and cultural flows which pass through them, or rather, by the influence exercised by the people who operate from those hubs. In this regard, cities are ‘[...] the points at which the lines of authority and influence meet’ (Allen 1999: 187). Those who wish to exert influence, or to capitalise upon the access and authority offered by cities over the cultural and economic flows of the modern world, will be inclined, even necessitated, to position themselves near, or within, powerful hubs of the global network (Allen 1999: 187-88; Castells 2010: 445-48). This process drives the consolidation of not only power and capital, but also of people, within urban areas, to a more developed extent in the Global North, but increasingly worldwide.

Recognising and grappling with the economic consequences of urbanisation is key to understanding why the city must be engaged with as a site for language maintenance. Economics is ‘[...] the single strongest force influencing the fate of endangered languages’ (Grenoble and Whaley 1998: 52-53). The domination of economic flows by majority language-dominated cities contributes to all of the processes of language shift described by Fishman. It is economic dominance which causes perceptions of a minority language as an

obstacle to prosperity, and the demographic flows, influenced by economics, contribute to the physical dislocation and dispersal amongst majority language speakers of the minority language population.

On a structural level, investment and the distribution of resources within global society are biased towards urban areas and their inhabitants (Nettle and Romaine 2000: 158-60; Danson 2021: 231-34). To draw on common terminology in the field of globalisation, minority language heartlands are often peripheral to an urban core. This core is privileged at the expense of the periphery, often drawing away its human and material resources. These effects are readily apparent in the Gaelic context. There is a long history of city-bound migration from Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland, which continues to this day (Withers 1984, 1998; MacKinnon 2009: 166-68). As of the 2011 Census, 19.4% of recorded Scottish Gaelic speakers lived in the City Council Areas of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, or Dundee, the four largest cities of the Scottish Lowlands (National Records of Scotland 2014a).

Pietikäinen, Kelly-Holmes and Rieder (2019: 294-96) argue that just as market forces frequently drive a minority language's decline, so must economics be addressed in attempts at language revitalisation. It is on the basis of this understanding that I argue the need to engage with the city. It has been observed that minority languages tend to see positive developments if their speakers are able to increase their wealth relative to the speakers of the dominant language (Crystal 2000: 175-77). Certainly, complete lack of access to wealth and structural power by exclusion from the city can only harm minority language maintenance. This being the case, it is vital that an understanding is developed of how, if possible, minority languages can exist beneficially in the city, in a manner which does more for language maintenance than it contributes to language shift. The city cannot be ignored as a site for language revitalisation. Walsh and McLeod (2011: 157-58) formulate this in clear and practical terms:

Given the economic and social dominance of urban areas, especially the largest cities, successful strategies for language maintenance and revitalisation in Ireland and Scotland may well depend on building a stable foundation for the language in the urban environment [...]

This is not a new project in the context of Celtic language revitalisation. "Natural" processes of migration and market interventions by government language policy have produced

noteworthy concentrations of active Celtic language speakers in several cities. In the Republic of Ireland, public and professional Irish-language employment in Dublin has long been incentivised, causing a shift in the distribution of not only Irish speakers towards the capital, but critically of active daily Irish speakers (Ó Riagáin 1997: 145-46, 232; Mac Giolla Chríost 2005: 203). In Wales, Cardiff has been the site of a 'quiet revolution', driven by Welsh-speaking young professionals in the media, education, financial and public services sectors (Aitchison and Carter 2004: 71-72). In both of the above cases, however, the same authors contrast this urban growth with further faltering of the language heartlands. Chalmers and Danson (2011: 181-86) identify Glasgow as a hub for degree-level employment for Gaelic speakers, particularly in the media sector, but also highlight the tensions of focusing this development in the urban core over the rural periphery.

It is apparent that an engagement with the city in minority language revitalisation is, certainly in the case of the Celtic languages, a matter of engaging with inevitability. Macroeconomic patterns, far beyond the control of language policy, drive urbanisation, and so it is necessary to consider how these factors may be mitigated or even harnessed for language revitalisation. It must be kept in mind that the city brings both opportunity and risk, in the form of disruption to language heartlands and immersion of the individual in a majority language environment. Inquiry in this field should consider the connections between heartland and urban diaspora, as well as how individuals in the city find, or do not find, opportunity to use their language. Strategically, the potential for cities to be augmentative rather than disruptive to the existing minority language communities of their periphery, and the potential for long-term survival of a minority language within an urban environment, should be at the forefront.

More optimistic conceptions of the city's future in minority language revitalisation raise the prospect of beneficial circular core-periphery flows of funding and people, in which harnessing of the economic potential of the city by a minority language community can support, rather than detract from, the language heartlands (Danson 2021: 234-35). More pessimistic predictions position the city as an eventual last refuge of minority languages as their heartlands finally falter (MacKinnon 2009; Mac Giolla Chríost 2007: 209). Whichever is to be the case, increased understanding of the social situation of a minority language in each urban context can only benefit language revitalisation attempts.

4.2: People and Language and The City

To study Gaelic in Glasgow, theoretical approaches and tools which are appropriate for the specific task of understanding the sociology of urban minority language usage are required. Traditional sociolinguistic research has tended not to engage with the city as a distinct site, and so there is a need for novel theoretical approaches in this research (Smakman and Heinrich 2018: 1-5). Starting from the highest theoretical level, the relationship between English and Gaelic as languages in Glasgow requires clarification, in a manner which accounts for the heavily minoritised position of Gaelic in the urban environment. Mac Giolla Chríost's (2007) model of critical ecolinguistics presents itself as the model which most satisfactorily represents the situation, with a focus on the actions of individuals which propagate Gaelic in the city in the face of substantial Anglonormative pressure. This focus on individuals raises, then, the question of who we are intending to study, how and where those individuals find opportunities for the use of Gaelic, and what may cause them to take, or not to take, those opportunities.

4.2.1: The Relationship between Gaelic and English in Glasgow

A theoretical model appropriate for the study of Gaelic in Glasgow must account for the fact that English and Gaelic exist in a state of competition on the personal level; for every potential interaction an individual could conduct in Gaelic, there is also the option to conduct it in English. Ecological approaches have become an influential way of understanding the sociology of language interaction (Tollefson 2010: 470). Such approaches have their origins in the work of Einar Haugen (1972), but there exists a proliferation of theories and approaches applying ecological concepts to languages to model their interaction with each other or with the environment in which they exist (Pennycook 2004: 217-18). For the purposes of this research, the broad family of theories which Pennycook terms "ecology of language" is of relevance; those theories which apply the metaphor of species within a natural ecology to model the interactions between languages within a social or geographical context. Different languages exist within a given environment, seeking to make best use of available resources to ensure survival and "reproductive success", or in this case intergenerational transmission.

Ecological theories have varied in focus and purpose over the years since their conception, and the scope of this work precludes a full review. I will briefly review, however, those theories considered by Mac Giolla Chríost (2007: 88-101), whose own theory of critical ecolinguistics, tailored for use in urban sociolinguistics, I find to be best-suited to this work. Their advantages and shortcomings serve to illustrate the specific needs of this research, and the appropriateness of Mac Giolla Chríost's own theory. I defer to Mac Giolla Chríost in much of his critique and so will not elaborate fully on the content of each theory here.

The first is Haarman's (1986: 1-31) linguistic ecology, which focuses on interethnic relations, taking into account the totality of factors in the social and political environment in which those ethnic groups exist. Kaplan and Baldauf's (1997: 269-320) linguistic ecosystem focuses more on the inter-relation of languages, with particular attention paid to the way in which change in the condition of one language, particularly as a result of language planning, inherently impacts upon all other languages in the eco-system. The pre-eminent recent advocate of ecological modelling is Mühlhäusler (2000: 310-11), who presents languages as naturally existing in peaceable, self-regulating ecologies which, absent disruption by outside human action, are largely sustainable. These theories generate useful ideas: the notions that the situation of language must be considered with a comprehensive understanding of the sociopolitical and physical environment in which it exists and that there is a complex inter-relationship of languages in proximity to one another are of great importance.

However, Mac Giolla Chríost (2007: 100-01) highlights ways in which these theories are not quite satisfactory for the urban context. He finds Haarman and Kaplan and Baldauf to be too macro-scale in their approach, with Haarman (1986: 6) focusing on fixed ethnolinguistic groups, and overtly excluding the individual as a unit of analysis for reasons of scale. Kaplan and Baldauf's work is focused on top-down language planning, appropriately for their field. Mac Giolla Chríost argues that greater granularity is necessary for urban study. In particular, for this work, it is important that the individual is considered in the relatively atomised urban context. Indeed, it is possible to take the ecological metaphor too greatly at face value, and forget that languages are not natural entities but rather social constructions through the individual (May 2012: 3-5).

Mühlhäusler (2000: 318-20) does offer greater consideration of the individual, but in a manner which is in its own way unhelpful to the present research, working from the

principle that in a natural language ecology, individuals will possess partial repertoires from multiple languages, going so far as to argue that the notion of discrete languages is itself a misleading Western concept. Though I cannot comment on the validity of this approach in the non-European contexts on which Mühlhäusler bases his theories, in the context of Gaelic language promotion in Glasgow, delineation of language is a much simpler matter. This work, as with minority language revitalisation in general, focuses on the speaking of Gaelic or English, for which clarity of category is required.

Another point of critique raised by Mac Giolla Chríost is on matters of contestation and power, which he and May argue theories of ecology of language can be innocent to (Mac Giolla Chríost 2007: 100-01; May 2012: 3-5). Mühlhäusler's (2010: 425-28) presentation of language ecologies as largely peaceful, and languages' pursuit of survival as non-detrimental to the survival of their neighbours, is hard to reconcile with the reality of the relationship between English and the Celtic languages. Indeed, Mac Giolla Chríost (2007: 177-78) argues that languages in proximity to one another tend to have unequal power dynamics. A theoretical approach which makes use of ecology of language's attention to environment and inter-language relations, while also sufficiently representing the role of the individual and the contestation of resources and space, would be most appropriate to model the position of Gaelic in Glasgow. It is such a perspective which Mac Giolla Chríost's critical ecolinguistics provides.

Mac Giolla Chríost's (2007: 101-07) theory draws heavily upon Giddens' (1986) theory of structuration, which understands society as consisting of structure and action. The first of these captures the order of society, of rules and resources, and the latter encompasses the actions of agents within the structure. The structure of society both enables and can be changed by the actions of those within it. Within this model, Mac Giolla Chríost proposes that actors, by action, manipulate the environment which they inhabit to further their social reproduction and transformation, and inhibit that of competitors. This may be in the form of acquisition of resources, or the power to award or deny resources, such as through influence of political structures of governance. In doing so, they can modify the structure of society, and this constitutes the process of structuration.

The concepts of structure and action are to be understood broadly. Structure may be conceptualised at both a high level, of the state or city, and at the personal level, the small

units of social organisation which make up the social world. Likewise, all behaviours of actors within society constitute action, regardless of whether the actor has conscious intent to act upon the structure of society around them. This theory is therefore satisfactory for the urban context of this research on the grounds that it captures the fundamentally interconnected nature of language competition, while also focusing on personal agency and contestation of the urban space.

The model of conflict portrayed in the theory may, at first, seem hyperbolic, but in the context of Gaelic in Glasgow, all gains for Gaelic are in a fundamental opposition to English. At the very highest level, the gaining of allocative power in governmental lobbying diverts resources which are by default Anglophone to Gaelic purposes. The creation of Gaelic-enabling spaces is the creation or modification of societal structure to the benefit of Gaelic. Even on the personal level, the choice to use Gaelic in public or private is to carve out time and space for Gaelic in an environment which is, in almost all cases, Anglophone. A critical ecolinguistic approach highlights that Gaelic is in conflict with English in Glasgow, not as a conscious actor, but through the choices of individuals and the structures within which their language choices are made. Accordingly, this research focuses on the individuals making those choices, and the social contexts and structure within which their choices are made.

4.2.2: Understanding the Individual in The City

Having established the importance of the individual and their actions in maintaining Gaelic in Glasgow, it is necessary to define these individuals, and to consider how we may understand their actions, including how these actions exist within and affect the structure of the urban society. Grin's (2003) theory of capacity, opportunity and desire forms the core of this inquiry, due to its appealing breadth, directness, and focus on successful language policy outcomes on a personal level. Grin (2003: 43-44) states that in order for language promotion policy to be effective, three conditions must be met at the level of the individual:

1. Capacity: the individual must know the language and/or have opportunities to develop their knowledge of the language,
2. Opportunity: the individual must have both private and public spaces and scenarios in which individuals can use the language,

3. Desire: the individual, often bilingual in the majority language, must choose to use their minority language instead of another in any given instance.

The understanding of Glasgow's Gaelic speakers which this research seeks will be informed by these three conditions. Who in the city is able to use Gaelic? What and where are the groups or spaces which enable usage of the language? Most critically, what motivates Gaelic speakers to seek out and make use of these spaces, and to use Gaelic in their lives over English?

Several theories from across the fields of sociolinguistics inform my approach to these questions, providing theoretical clarity and directing my methodology. Many of these theories address several of Grin's conditions, and their content and application are discussed below.

4.2.2.1: Capacity to Speak: Speech Community

The condition of capacity brings with it the question of who has capacity in Gaelic. This question is more complicated than it may seem. To define the population which is the subject of study, I use Corder's (1973: 53) definition of a speech community: 'A speech community is made up of people who regard themselves as speaking the same language; it need have no other defining attributes'. In this, I am following Dorian (1982), who found in her study of East Sutherland fisherfolk that Labov's (1972: 120-21) classic definition of speech community was unsatisfactory in the context of the Gaelic community which she was studying.

The population which Dorian studied consisted of a number of fully bilingual Gaelic and English speakers, as well as passive bilinguals, who could understand but could or would not produce spoken Gaelic, and what Dorian terms 'semi-speakers', who could produce Gaelic but with varying competence. Semi-speakers and passive bilinguals interacted frequently in Gaelic-medium environments with their more fluent peers, but would often be in breach of social and grammatical norms observed in the fully fluent speakers. This manifested as "mistakes", in terms of cues and linguistic performance, or silence in the case of passive bilinguals. These individuals were, however, very much integrated members of the village community. Corder's definition captures these individuals, and so will also be of value in defining the Gaelic speech community in Glasgow.

I have observed that, as with Dorian's fisherfolk, there are people in Glasgow possessed of a partial proficiency in Gaelic, or who would define themselves as non-speakers but who evidently possess a developed passive understanding, yet who are integrated members of bilingual communities. This was particularly observable in St Columba Church (see Chapter 7). By contrast to Dorian's context, Gaelic learners are a noteworthy demographic in Glasgow. They possess partial repertoires in Gaelic yet are socially involved in Gaelic activities in the city. This broader definition of speech community is inclusive of these fringes, and serves to highlight the complexity hidden within the condition of capacity.

4.2.2.2: Motivation to Speak: Market Theory

Bourdieu's (1992) theory of linguistic markets is a useful high-level theoretical tool for understanding the conditions of both opportunity and desire. Under his theory, different instances of use of a language can be understood to have different value, or varying capital, on a linguistic market. This linguistic capital can be used to acquire another form of capital, which could be purely economic, but is more likely to be symbolic capital, not strictly explicable by economic gain but offering intangible social or cultural reward (Bourdieu 1977: 171-83). The valuation of utterances by a specific market guides the use of language by individuals, who will seek to maximise returns on their linguistic capital, or to avoid loss by offence or miscommunication, based on the perception of the value of their speech act (Bourdieu 1992: 67-69, 76-81).

Minority language speakers face the additional complexity that the value of their use of that language will generally be judged against the value of the dominant language of the society, and therefore market, which they inhabit (Bourdieu 1992: 52-57). The markets themselves follow their own rules and structures on a societal level, and it is by this process that the value of utterances is established in any given context (Bourdieu 1992: 81-89). Bourdieu's theory of linguistic markets is influential, and has been drawn on by May, Mac Giolla Chríost, Nettle and Romaine, and others in the fields of minority language scholarship (May 2012: 164-65; Mac Giolla Chríost 2007: 65-69; Nettle and Romaine 2000: 87-88; Blommaert 2010: 28).

The concept of the linguistic market aids in understanding the linguistic behaviours of individuals in Glasgow. Put simply, understanding social contexts as linguistic markets entails

maintaining an awareness that the usage of Gaelic has certain value. Where Gaelic has high value, it is more likely to be used. The decision to use Gaelic is not entirely within the capacity and motivation of the individual speaker, nor is desire a fixed factor. Within a market which places high value on Gaelic, individuals will potentially feel a greater desire to use Gaelic. Where this is the case, more individuals making use of Gaelic will provide accurate perceptions of opportunity to speakers who may not have known that they had an opportunity to speak Gaelic. Within this research I focus on the practical outcomes of Bourdieu's linguistic market: what value is placed upon the speaking of Gaelic in a social context, and to what extent does this affect the use of Gaelic in that context?

The value of this theory is more than merely descriptive. It is possible to intervene in the linguistic market, and in so doing motivate Gaelic usage. This can be seen through a critical ecolinguistics lens as the modification of the structure of society to enable greater Gaelic usage. Understanding the current conditions of the marketplace informs potential interventions, or in practical terms, it is important to analyse the extent to which Gaelic usage is valued in social contexts in order to understand how this impacts the prevalence of spoken Gaelic therein. To understand such social contexts and the interpersonal relationships which bring about language usage and value formation, however, requires an additional layer of theory.

4.2.2.3: Opportunity to Speak: Social Network Theory and Communities of Practice

The context in which Gaelic speakers use their language should be understood not only in a geographical context, but also a social one. Particularly in the urban context, there is evidence that both geographical and social factors inform minority language maintenance. Sofu's (2009: 256) study of three different families of Arabic-speakers in urban Turkey across multiple generations found that three of the biggest factors in successful intergenerational language transmission were individual attitudes towards language, the cultural character of the neighbourhood, and the presence of extended family. An Arabic-speaking local urban neighbourhood and contact with an Arabic-speaking extended family provided a space in which not only youth but all ages would use Arabic. In the cases of third-generation speakers whose use of Arabic declined, those families had often moved into non-homogeneous city districts, and no longer had frequent contact with extended family.

Pauwels (2005: 127) likewise found that immigrant language maintenance in Australia was heavily dependent upon the attitudes of the local community, family investment and experience in language maintenance. In both studies, a social “band”, as Sofu terms it, can be seen: a social space within which the minority language can be used beyond the home, constituted of extended family and community members. Pauwels (2005: 128-29) highlights that adolescents particularly benefit from community activities in their minority language, when their educational and social environments are predominantly majority language medium and the primary burden of language maintenance falls upon their close family. Though the communities studied in these instances lived as minorities within cities, the structure of their social ties and local environment formed a home-neighbourhood-community nexus not unlike that proposed by Fishman in more traditional communities. Loss of this supportive structure correlated with personal language shift.

Scottish Gaelic speakers in Glasgow share some similarities with those populations studied by Sofu and Pauwels, but differ in some significant respects. They are likely to be first-generation migrants, in single- or two-generation households, and living in an overwhelmingly majority-language environment; they will not have a culturally homogeneous Gaelic immigrant neighbourhood to rely upon, unlike some of the Arabic speakers in Sofu’s study. In these circumstances, social connections are important for language maintenance. Wei, Milroy and Ching (1992) found that, above all other factors, the strength of Chinese-speaking social networks was the main predictor of language choice, and therefore long-term language use, in Chinese communities in Britain. As such, it is helpful for this research to engage not necessarily with the geographical distribution of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, but with the way in which they connect to one another. Jones (2021: 38, 53-59) discusses the way in which Welsh language usage in urban Wales does not follow a territorial logic, but rather is influenced by who one interacts with and in what context around the city. For this reason, this research draws upon two related theoretical models for understanding both interpersonal relationships and social space: social network analysis and communities of practice.

Social network analysis is, as with many theoretical tools, not so much a unified theory as a broad school of research approaches and techniques (Scott 2017). The use of social network analysis in sociolinguistics was popularised by Milroy (1980) and Milroy’s (1981) variationist

studies of English speakers in Belfast. Their method focused on discovering and mapping the social connections between individuals, which collectively constitute an ever-expanding network of ties. Such a network can be understood from the perspective of the individual or can be viewed “from the outside” as the structure of a social group.

Important features in a network are the strength and complexity of ties and the density of the network as a whole (Milroy and Llamas 2013: 410-12). The strength of ties represents the closeness of the social bond, with strong ties often being those to family, or close friends, and weak ties connecting the individual to acquaintances. The complexity of a tie represents the purposes that tie serves and in how many contexts. For instance, a tie from an individual to somebody they only meet briefly in one context would be simple, whereas a tie to a friend with whom they work and socialise, who also lives in the same neighbourhood, could be described as more multiplex. Finally, a network’s density is determined by how interconnected the individuals are to one another. A traditional Fishmanian community likely exists as a dense, multiplex network, whereas individuals in urban areas may tend to have a broader but sparser network of weaker, less multiplex social ties. In the urban context it is important to note that a dense social network is not necessarily geographically dense; a tightly interconnected social group may live spread across a city.

The Milroys’ work focused on language variation, and found that linguistic innovation tended to be transmitted along weaker ties, and that dense networks tended to limit language change (Milroy and Milroy 1985; Milroy and Gordon 2003: 128-30). The nature of social networks has also been found to influence language shift, by Wei, Milroy and Ching discussed above, and by others. Gal (1979) found that the extent to which individuals maintained Hungarian-German bilingualism in Oberwart, Austria was strongly correlated with the extent of that individual’s integration into traditional agrarian Hungarian social networks. In a more urban context, minority language social network density and strength has been found to correlate with language maintenance (Zentella 1997; Wei 1994).

As Milroy states: ‘a body of evidence emerges from several different kinds of society to suggest that a close-knit network structure is an important mechanism of *language maintenance*’ (Milroy 1987: 182, emphasis original). This being the case, it is important to gain insight into what networks Gaelic speakers in Glasgow may maintain, and more broadly

the shape of the Gaelic-speaking networks of the city, in order to further understand the impact these networks have on both opportunity to use Gaelic, and the desire to do so.

The concept of community of practice was introduced to sociolinguistics largely through the work of Eckert (1989, 2000). Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1992: 464) definition of a community of practice, which shall be followed in this research, is as follows: 'A community of practice is an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavor'. A community of practice could be as organised as a sports team or workplace, or more informally, such as a group of friends who attend the pub together, and any given individual will be a member of multiple communities of practice on a long-term or transient basis. Society is built of many overlapping communities of practice, and so they are the sites in which an individual negotiates their connections to both that community, and the wider world (Eckert 2000: 171-72). They are therefore also the site of societal reinforcement or change of language behaviours, where sociolinguistic identities are formed and performed (Eckert 2000: 39-41).

Just as society is built of many overlapping communities of practice, so are the lives of individuals, and the sociolinguistic complexity of their lives can be understood through them (Wenger 1998; Oliver 2010: 73-75). Grenoble and Whaley's (2021) Language Vitality Network Model effectively illustrates the concerns of language choice inherent to this layering of communities of practice. An individual's life is built of social interactions in different communities of practice, each of which includes complex considerations of language choice. In this regard, insights into communities of practice can aid in understanding Gaelic usage, as they are the site of opportunity, and also the sites of desire, in that they constitute linguistic marketplaces in the Bourdieuan sense, with their own specific valuation of linguistic capital, through which individuals move and conduct their lives. They can be understood as constituting structure in the critical ecolinguistics sense. They are part of the social ordering of society, and action may affect the nature and conditions of a community of practice.

Social network analysis and communities of practice complement one another as theoretical approaches. While social network analysis describes the ties which join individuals to one another, communities of practice focus on specific clusters within networks (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 118-19). Used together, network theory and communities of practice allow for

the exploration of how individuals relate to one another on an individual level, on a broader, city-wide scale, and how they interact in the specific contexts which build Glasgow's Gaelic social world. This, in turn, potentially allows for informed response for the purposes of language revitalisation. From a theoretical perspective, social networks and communities of practice are the means by which this research will explore structure – these are the building blocks of the societal space in which Gaelic is used socially in Glasgow.

Jones (2021: 55-56), in his network-based approach to mapping language use through social connection, proposes the concept of approaching language promotion by network node, increasing the proportion of an individual's social life which occurs in the minority language. If social network structures are encouraged in which many interactions are in Gaelic, an individual's Gaelic usage should increase. Lewis and McLeod (2021a: 110-12) develop this, and adapt Cunliffe's (2021, see below) digital breathing spaces, to raise the question of whether physical breathing spaces for minority languages can be made within the context of network-based socialisation. In essence, they propose the encouragement of minority language-permissive communities of practice. This is a plausible aim, and one which this research supports (see Section 11.3).

The extent to which Gaelic is used, and how, in people's personal networks and in the communities of practice which they inhabit can be examined to build evidence as to what network and community factors are conducive to Gaelic usage. In turn, this may inform attempts to build more conducive network structures and communities of practice for Gaelic usage. To return to Bourdieu, if communities of practice constitute the marketplace in which Gaelic's value is determined, intervention in the market can be achieved through the encouragement of community conditions which place higher value on Gaelic. Individuals change and are changed by the networks and communities of practice which they inhabit, and so it is within these structures that behaviour can be both understood and enabled.

4.2.2.4: Digital

The potential of the internet and new media for supporting minority languages has been discussed since a relatively early stage in the proliferation of internet access, with Crystal (2000: 188-91) predicting the importance of minority language speakers' access to the internet many years before widespread usage of social media or the advent of the

smartphone. The potential of maintaining language through digital contact with wider networks of speakers has been particularly discussed in work focused on urban diasporas (Blommaert 2010: 6-8; Smakman and Heinrich 2018: 9).

However, as Fishman (2001a: 458-60) and Cormack (2010: 134-35) both argue, digital communities are dependent on, and cannot substitute for, the existence of real-world speaker community. The “online Gàidhealtachd” is not a convincing replacement for offline community (Glaser 2007: 264-65). This said, online activity frequently supplements and supports offline social activity, and so while this research focuses on in-person social interactions, it was important to understand some key concepts relating to the sociology of the digital world. In addition, the COVID-19 pandemic and the effects of its associated lockdowns caused substantial disruptions to the existing in-person activities which were the subject of my research. Many of my research contexts adapted by augmenting or partially replacing their offerings with online activity, and socialisation as a whole fundamentally changed for many people, for the duration of several years. In Section 8.5 I examine some of the nature of this lockdown-era digital interaction in the context of online arts events, and in doing so draw upon the following body of theory.

Cunliffe (2007: 135) identifies two broad types of online community: passive communities and active communities. The former are broadly oriented around consumption of author-to-audience content without further interaction, whereas the latter are more interactive and densely networked. Typical examples of active communities would include social media, forums, or wiki communities. In the present day, however, I would argue that there is a blurring of this typology in many contexts; one can consume a YouTube video passively, but one can also engage with a community actively through the comments section, or by reposting and circulating the content to peers. Nonetheless, it is in active community creation that the potential benefit for minority language speakers lies, offering language usage opportunities and the potential for social network formation (Cunliffe 2007: 136-37).

Online social networks generally possess very different characteristics to their offline equivalents. While offline networks are often geographically associated, have a limited density and strong contextual divisions, for instance between home, school, the workplace, online networks have the potential to be dense, due to close and constant contact between

many individuals who would normally be separated by geography or social context (Cunliffe 2021: 77-79). This presents risks from a minority language perspective.

The volume of majority language content on the internet, in this case English, dwarfs that of minority language content, and the nature of the internet can bring minority language speakers into far closer and more regular contact with dominant languages than they experience offline (Cormack 2007: 58-59; Cunliffe 2007: 137-39). Active internet communities have the potential to connect otherwise socially isolated minority language speakers to one another, and to propagate the language, but they can equally connect minority language speakers to non-speakers at equal, if not higher rates (Cunliffe 2007: 145-6; 2019: 452-53). The network density of the internet can have an impact on language choice; beyond overt pro-majority language policies, the constant potential presence of non-minority language speakers can chill minority language usage due to concerns of exclusivity (Cunliffe 2019: 456-60).

Given the potential and drawbacks of internet activity to minority languages, it is important to have a framework in which to consider the value of online spaces within this research. Cunliffe's (2021) work on digital breathing spaces provides several useful tools. The first is the seven levels of engagement with minority language content in a digital space:

1. Receive – content is received (note: they may not be an “active” participant – content is often sent to passive recipients, particularly on social media or in comments sections) but the recipient does not recognise the language.
2. Recognise – content is received, the recipient recognises but cannot understand the language.
3. Like – content is received, the recipient recognises and understands the language, and reacts affirmatively in a non-linguistic way (e.g., “liking” or “upvoting”).
4. Share – content is received and understood, and the recipient propagates the content onwards through their own networks (e.g., “shares” on social media, or forwarding viral content).
5. Reproduce – content is received and understood, and the content is copied and reused by the recipient as content, propagating further through the network.
6. Reply – content is received and understood, and the recipient responds interactively to the sender in the minority language.

7. Create – content is received, understood, and the recipient creates original content in the minority language in response which they propagate through their network.
(Cunliffe 2021: 80-81)

The higher the level of engagement occurring in a given social media space or network, the more recognised and valued the minority language is in that network. Importantly for this research, the higher levels of engagement represent minority language usage and interaction rather than just consumption, and it is interaction which best simulates real-world socialisation.

The second concept which will be used in this research is the digital breathing space, which serves as a model for how minority languages may successfully occupy space on the internet in the face of near-constant contact with majority languages. Inspired by Fishman (1991) and drawing on Belmar and Glass (2019), Cunliffe (2021: 82-86) establishes a series of criteria for a digital breathing space, an online space in which a minority language may safely and effectively dominate social interaction:

1. A defined or bounded space.
2. The space is occupied by individuals who interact with one another.
3. The minority language is predominant in interactions within this space. Cunliffe offers two potential formulations of this condition, weak and strong, of which the strong formulation is generally assumed and preferred here:
 - a. Strong: 'The minority language is predominant in terms of its use in interactions within the space'.
 - b. Weak: 'The minority language is predominant in terms of its use in interactions within this space, or in terms of it being the focal topic of interactions within this space'.
4. The minority language is unharassed in its interactions within this space.
5. The space is demographically concentrated, the density of minority language speakers is high.
6. Interaction within the space is authentic and regulated by minority language speakers.

The applicability of these conditions to physical breathing spaces in real-world networks has been discussed (Lewis and McLeod 2021a, see above), and so this concept is perhaps the most influential of those discussed in this section.

When examining the online offerings which developed over the COVID-19 pandemic, and which are in some instances still relied upon, I shall take into consideration whether the associated communities are active or passive, the level of engagement which the content in those communities receives, and the extent to which any such communities could be described as inhabiting a digital breathing space. This will provide insight into both the extent to which a digital presence has supported communities of practice through the pandemic, and the extent to which lockdowns were deleterious to social usage of Gaelic in those specific contexts.

4.2.2.5: Linguistic Landscapes

Language is not only audible; it is often written, and the written environment of a city can both reflect and influence the use of minority languages. Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) first described linguistic landscape:

The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

In summary, linguistic landscape is the totality of written language in any given space.

Written language can serve two main functions: the informational and the symbolic (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 25-27). Informational signage is functional, aiming primarily to impart its message to as many readers as possible. Symbolic signage, however, is more relevant to the context of Gaelic in Glasgow, as rather than serving to maximise comprehension, it aims to demarcate space where the language used is important.

In our case, wherein no monolingual adult Gaelic speakers exist for whom Gaelic signage would be necessary for informational purposes, any written Gaelic in the landscape is the result of a conscious choice, and so symbolic. In addition to the purpose of signage, it is also important to consider who is responsible for that signage. It is possible to distinguish between “top-down” and “bottom-up” signage, the former being the decision of state or

local authority in an area, and the latter being the result of private or commercial choices (Landry and Bourhis 1997: 26-27).

An analysis of linguistic landscape can be helpful for understanding the cultural capital of a language community in a space: the presence of a minority language, particularly when it is not necessary for informational purposes, signifies a deliberate choice to promote the language. This choice can both reflect, and also influence, language behaviour in a space (Cenoz and Gorter 2006: 67-68). The motivations behind language choice in written signage are important (Spolsky 2009: 30-32). This is particularly the case in the urban multicultural context, where symbolic usage of minority languages in signage can be part of a 'symbolic economy', wherein written language is used as a marker of the ethnolinguistic identity of a space for commercial purposes, including appealing to speakers of that language or portraying a sense of authenticity to non-speakers (Leeman and Modan 2010: 185, 91-95). The linguistic landscape is itself a site of language competition, and in a city such as Glasgow we can understand any instances of written Scottish Gaelic to be a manifestation of competition between Gaelic and the dominant English of the written landscape (Mac Giolla Chrìost 2007: 126-27; Shohamy and Waksman 2009: 314, 20-22).

This research does not contain a formal linguistic landscape study. Written Gaelic, while noticeably present in Glasgow, is scarce enough that the sort of quantitative surveys conducted in some of the research cited in this section would not produce particularly valuable results within the short timeframe I could have afforded such an endeavour alongside my other research goals. However, an understanding of the theory of linguistic landscape is used in this research to analyse the presence of written Gaelic in research contexts and has informed my awareness of choice of written language while conducting my fieldwork. Unless otherwise stated many of the contexts of my fieldwork had an overwhelmingly Anglophone linguistic landscape, and so within my findings chapters I focus on exceptions where I found them.

4.3: Conclusions

The city has, for good reason, traditionally been regarded as a dislocating, disruptive force for minority languages. However, globally and particularly in the case of Gaelic and Glasgow, it is necessary to consider how minority languages function and may persist in modern cities.

The macroeconomic structures of the modern world, the space of flows and the core-periphery dynamics of city and countryside, make the primacy of the city and urbanisation inevitable for the foreseeable future. It falls to language policy makers to find ways in which the process of the city can be harnessed for minority language maintenance, to mitigate the disruptive force it brings and potentially discover sustainable long-term settlements for minority language survival in and around urban centres.

In the case of Gaelic in Glasgow, we can understand Gaelic and English to be in a competitive relationship, in which individuals, organisations and policymakers must actively create space for Gaelic against the pressure of the Anglophone norm. Within this research, this act of structuration is rooted in individual choice, the personal action of possessing capacity to speak Gaelic, finding opportunity to speak Gaelic and being motivated to do so. The units of analysis by which we may understand structuration are communities of practice and social networks. These are at once the avenues of action by which structuration occurs, and the structure within which Gaelic may be spoken. Capacity, opportunity and desire to use Gaelic are the key factors which will be considered in the analysis of the data generated by this research.

Capacity is the simplest of these factors to understand. A broad definition of speech community, incorporating not only those who can speak Gaelic but also those who can passively understand it, is important to understanding some of the mixed linguistic spaces explored in this research, and the role which those who may passively participate in Gaelic can play in supporting Gaelic language spaces. Desire is more complicated, governed by not only individual motivation but also the social conditions of the linguistic marketplace. The context in which a Gaelic speaker finds themselves is important, and so observation of the value placed on Gaelic is vital to understanding language choice in the social contexts on which this research focuses.

These contexts, the sites of opportunity to speak, can in turn be understood through the paired lenses of social networks and communities of practice. Social network theory allows for the understanding of how individuals are interconnected, and how in turn these connections constitute the fabric of broader social structure and society itself. It is within these connections that social Gaelic usage can be found, and there is strong evidence that it is the strength and density of these networks which determine the durability of minority

languages in majority language cities. Communities of practice are a lens by which we may understand individual social contexts, their conditions and the impacts these have on members of the community. The two theories complement one another; through them, I will explore the relationships between individuals and the contexts within which they interact, and the impacts of both on social Gaelic usage.

In the following Methodology chapter, I will outline the practical approach which I took during my research, but here I will briefly summarise in plain language the strategy which is the sum of the theory reviewed in this chapter: This research will examine how people use Gaelic in their social lives outside the home, with a focus on the individual choices which constitute language usage, and the social connections and contexts which impact those choices.

5: Methodology

The objectives of this research necessitated a methodology which would meet several requirements:

- The methods needed to facilitate understanding of both individuals and groups,
- The methods needed to collect both broad and deep data on a wide variety of social contexts,
- The methods needed to enable discovery of additional research opportunities, in order to explore a relatively undocumented social landscape.

The methodological answer to these requirements became apparent through my theoretical research. I found that my research fell within the broad umbrella of what Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 596) describe as “sociocultural linguistics”: ‘[...] the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture, and society’, within which one can find the field of linguistic anthropology, or the study of ‘[...] speakers as social actors, in languages as both a resource for and a product of social interaction [...]’ (Duranti 1997: 6). My research is concerned not with the effect of social interaction on Gaelic as a language, such as is the case in variationist studies, but rather with the broader social behaviours of Gaelic speakers. Language choice is therefore the main area of traditional linguistics of most relevance to my research.

An ethnographic methodology is greatly suited to linguistic anthropology, in that it allows one to capture the totality of society and language, from the behaviours and attitudes of individuals through to the social context of communication (Duranti 1997: 84-85; 89-90). The core activities of ethnography – observation, elicitation and collection – allow the researcher to generate dense, rich data through observing the behaviours of individuals and groups, eliciting accounts and narratives from them, and collecting visual, material and aural data from the environment in which ethnography takes place (Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018: 77-96). The comprehensiveness of the methodology was a clear advantage given the breadth of my research.

In order to engage in these activities, the researcher must enter the communities and contexts which they wish to study, and herein lay another feature of ethnography which

made it suitable to this research (Hoffman 2014: 32-33). Ethnographic entry requires the building of interpersonal relationships with participants to gain insights (Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018: 74). Eckert's (1989: 25-35) work, from which I drew some inspiration in formulating this methodology, demonstrates the benefits of becoming a routine and accepted part of a participant community, allowing one to observe more natural behaviour than if individuals are more consciously aware of the observation of an external researcher. Eckert found that mere presence as an observer in the research context yielded rich qualitative data, not only benefiting initial research aims but also highlighting opportunities for further inquiry.

Recursivity has been a key feature of the ethnography in this research. Recursivity is the process of reflection on the research process and ongoing modification of the research method itself, allowing for an adaptive research strategy in which research aims are refined and developed as the researcher's understanding of the areas of study develop (Heller, Pietikäinen, and Pujolar 2018: 13-15). Most notably for my research, ethnography naturally lends itself to "snowballing", the expansion of a researcher's network of participants through social contacts and existing participants (Schilling 2013: 191-92). Being able to develop my own network of research contexts and individual participants through the social connections I formed was invaluable in uncovering contexts for Gaelic usage of which I was not initially aware, and expanding my access to certain social groups within Glasgow.

A final benefit of an ethnographic methodology is that researching from within the participant community allows one to gain a better understanding of the group and individual behaviours which may be harder to discern from an outside perspective. In particular, issues of personal identification with culture or language, and internal social categories within the participant community, can better be perceived from the "semi-insider" status which can be achieved through ethnographic entry (Schilling 2013: 10; Hoffman 2014: 28). This allows for a richer understanding of the social dynamics of a speech community, which was of value throughout this research given the variety of types of Gaelic speaker and their varying social experiences which I encountered in Glasgow.

The advantages of an ethnographic method for my research were clear. My research objectives were broad, and so a rich method of data collection would allow for similarly broad data to be generated. At the outset of my research I would be entering the

community “blind” beyond my existing social connections, and so the recursivity and immersion of ethnographic entry would allow me to not only explore research contexts but to branch from them into areas of Gaelic usage of which I was not initially aware. As a Gaelic learner of a non-Gaelic background, the manner in which a semi-insider status can be achieved through ethnography would allow me to gain more insight than presenting as an external researcher without social connection. Of particular value was the inherent social nature of the research, as I intended that the deep qualitative data generated by ethnographic fieldwork would be supported by quantitative data generated through a survey. Connections made during fieldwork would aid in recruitment for and distribution of the survey, and potentially in recruitment for planned group interviews to develop upon any themes and issues observed during primary fieldwork. However, these plans were severely disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic.

By the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, and the associated government responses which severely impeded any social research for several years, I had made some progress on my primary ethnographic fieldwork. Over the course of November 2019 through to March 2020, I had entered a variety of arts contexts and begun the process of observation and expansion of my research network. My most advanced research was within the context of St Columba Gaelic Church, where I had been a member and observer of the congregation for several months. With the pandemic lockdowns came cessation of almost all in-person social activities, and so also my fieldwork. This is not the place for a history of the COVID-19 pandemic, and so it suffices to say that with some tentative false starts, eventually a degree of social normalcy returned, and from 2022 onwards I was able to conduct some further in-person fieldwork, largely relating to arts contexts which I had not yet visited such as Comhairle nan Leabhraichean, and the regional associations. The pandemic ended prospects of distributing a survey, and substantially diminished the potential to organise any form of in-person group interviews, and so this element of my methodology required adjustment. Fortunately, the pandemic also brought unexpected boons in the form of collaboration with Glasgow City Council.

During my research I had gained contacts with Glasgow City Council, and to productively use my time while research was at a standstill I completed an AHRC-funded 6-month internship with the Council supporting their analysis of data generated from the Gaelic in Glasgow

Survey. This survey was conducted in early 2021, and covered broad topics relating to Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, including demographics, Gaelic language proficiency, geographical distribution, interests, usage patterns, impact of the pandemic, and experience of GME. Following my work on this survey, the Council and I were able to form an agreement for continued use of the survey data in my own research, on the following grounds:

- Any attempt by myself to distribute a similar survey would be duplicated effort, would likely be impacted by survey fatigue, and would be unlikely to reach as broad a population as the Council could,
- Further analysis of the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey (GiGS) data within my theoretical framework and alongside the data gathered through my own research would add to the value of the survey data itself,
- Collaboration and sharing of research outcomes would allow academic research to support the work of the Council's Gaelic language unit, and vice versa.

This agreement has allowed me to restore a quantitative element to this project. The data generated by the GiGS is broad in scope, and so for the purposes of maximising the proportion of original fieldwork in this thesis, only a few key sections of the GiGS are utilised in depth in this research, detailed below.

The interviews which were initially planned for this research were not entirely dispensed with, but their purpose and contents were modified to meet the new requirements arising from the disruptions of the pandemic. While some expanded upon issues identified during fieldwork, others were intended as expert interviews with individuals familiar with a sector which would fill gaps in my fieldwork. They also served as an opportunity to develop an understanding of individual experiences of social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow. The broad strategy and contents of these interviews are also discussed in greater depth below.

5.1: Ethical Approval

All research methods utilised during this project were approved through the University of Edinburgh's research ethics review process. The ethnographic fieldwork was approved in November 2019 through a Level 1 research ethics review application, requiring a self-assessment of ethical considerations to be submitted to the university's School of

Literatures, Languages and Cultures.⁵ The self-assessment identified a low likelihood of involvement of vulnerable participants or participants under the age of 16, and negligible risk to researchers and participants. Ethnographic fieldwork necessitates study without prior individual formal consent from participants. This consideration was mitigated by all fieldwork being planned to occur in public spaces, by the anonymisation of participants, and by the researcher readily informing members of the public of their research on-site. The Level 1 application was approved without escalation to external ethical review.

The interview portion of the research methodology was submitted for a second ethical review prior to participant recruitment, under the University of Edinburgh's current ethical review process. The proposed methodology, as well as a Participant Information Sheet and Participant Consent Form, were reviewed by the School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures Ethics Officer and approved. Copies of the Participant Information Sheet and Participant Consent Form can be found in Appendix A.

Data gathering for the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey was conducted by Glasgow City Council in partnership with the University of Glasgow, under their own ethical review processes. As part of the agreement to use data from GiGS in this thesis, Professor Bernie O'Rourke of the University of Glasgow joined the doctoral supervision team to provide guidance on data usage.

All data from each research method was processed and used in accordance with the University of Edinburgh's GDPR policies and guidance.

5.2: Ethnographic Fieldwork

In this section I will detail the broad strategy and activities which characterised my ethnographic fieldwork. Given the nature of this research it is difficult to provide a clear, defined list of specific excursions. In the case of some more events-based sectors I can pinpoint specific events which I attended, and these are indicated in the relevant findings chapters. Here, however, I detail the methods by which I identified and entered fieldwork contexts, and my activities and objectives within those contexts.

⁵ This ethical review process was superseded by a new process in 2022.

I found research contexts through four primary pathways. The first was through existing knowledge, based on my literature review and prior engagement with Gaelic in Glasgow. Through my own personal social interactions in Glasgow, I was familiar, for instance, with the University of Glasgow's An Comunn Oiseanach, and through prior research I was aware of St Columba Gaelic Church. The second pathway was through additional research. Publicly accessible events usually had a material presence often in the form of social media advertising, and so by searching for upcoming events and organisations which met regularly I was able to identify further avenues for fieldwork.

The third pathway was snowballing, as described in the above section. The interactions of my fieldwork often resulted in learning of additional opportunities for fieldwork, either through individual social connections or through connections between communities of practice. Finally, I sometimes learned of additional opportunities for fieldwork through my own personal life. It was not uncommon that a social engagement with Gaelic-speaking peers would develop into, or signpost towards, a fieldwork opportunity. Such spontaneous opportunities are part of why it is difficult to isolate specific, formal fieldwork episodes, as in some regards much of my personal life became part of my research.

Entry to fieldwork contexts usually entailed a cold approach. Most contexts I explored were inherently open to strangers. Any ticketed arts events, or even regional association events, were easily accessed by arriving as any member of the public would. Other fieldwork contexts were entered with an existing social contact. Sometimes this was by coincidence, when I happened to know an individual also planning to attend a context, but in the case of informal social occasions such as a visit to the pub, the company of others involved in Gaelic social networks in the city was beneficial, given the inherent spontaneity of social engagement which I observed in that context.

In terms of my personal presentation during fieldwork, I would endeavour to attend events and other social contexts without overtly flagging my status as a researcher. Upon engaging in any deeper conversation with individuals, particularly if I was to elicit information from them, I would, however, readily indicate that I was engaged in research of the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow. In so doing, a balance between the informality of ethnographic fieldwork and the ethical requirement of researcher transparency was maintained.

Once within the fieldwork context, I would engage in the three research activities described by Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar (2018) above. Observation was the most critical – I would endeavour to observe the size and demographics of communities of practice, the patterns of language choice and usage, and the social dynamics of the participants. My observations were informed by my research theory; I aimed to understand the social networks active within and beyond the fieldwork context, and the impact which social groupings had on Gaelic language choice. This required a degree of judgement, and the reading of complex social cues.

In some instances my method would not go beyond observation of a fieldwork context, but in others I would proceed to elicitation. I would interact with individuals in the community of practice, preferably in Gaelic. I would observe how individuals in the context engaged with me, in particular noting features such as initial language of address and the ease of switching to and staying in Gaelic. I was able to build rapport in some contexts and in doing so ask more probing questions about the individual and their place in the community of practice, join conversations with their social network within the context, or perhaps gain a contact for future fieldwork. Finally, the collection of material was limited primarily to noting, where relevant, the visual and aural presence of Gaelic within a fieldwork context. The visual presence of Gaelic was uncommon in my fieldwork, and so notable when present.

Some of my fieldwork entailed multiple exposures to the same community of practice, whereas other contexts I visited only once, either due to time demands or the nature of the event; a given concert or social occasion, for instance, may only occur once. In those contexts which I was able to attend more regularly, I was able to build upon my initial observations over time. I gained deeper understanding of the individuals and groups involved in the context, and was able to develop greater social connection and therefore familiarity with the research participants, yielding richer data.

I also found that in some sectors I achieved a depth of understanding of individuals and networks present across multiple communities of practice. While many arts events were singular instances, as I came to know more people in the Gaelic arts scene, I was more likely to meet existing contacts at future events, and in so doing further develop my own research network. This also came with the advantage of giving me pre-made social connections at events which would ease entrance to the fieldwork context. I found over the course of my

research that deep, longer-term observation of a context developed my understanding of a community of practice, but broader and shallower observation of several contexts across a sector increased my understanding of social networks.

The data generated from ethnographic fieldwork activities largely took the form of notes taken during and after fieldwork events. This was dense qualitative data, which as highlighted in the research theory presented above provided rich insights into the communities of practice observed and the wider social context into which they fit. These observations have been analysed, refined, and greatly narrowed down into the conclusions which are presented in the following chapters. The ethnographic observations performed during this project gave me both the broad and deep knowledge which I sought, developing my awareness both of the fieldwork contexts and the wider Gaelic social world in Glasgow, which helped to inform me of the information which I needed to acquire through my interviews.

5.3: Interviews

My interviews were the last stage of my research to be completed, and were formulated to fill gaps in my fieldwork, addressing contexts which I had not gained direct access to, as well as develop upon observations which I had made during my fieldwork. Potential interviewees were identified through a mix of methods. Some were individuals whom I had identified through my fieldwork as figures with advanced knowledge of a certain sector. Others were people suggested to me as individuals perceived to know a great deal about Gaelic in Glasgow. Others were individuals I had made direct contact with and who were receptive to contributing further to my research.

In total I conducted thirteen individual interviews over a period from November 2022 to February 2023. These ranged in length from 45 minutes to 1.5 hours. Of these, I would characterise seven as “expert” interviews, with an individual who possessed authoritative sectoral knowledge. A further three I would characterise as “generalist” interviews, with individuals who possessed a broad experience of Gaelic in Glasgow, were socially well-connected in Gaelic circles, and who often had a longer-term view of Gaelic in Glasgow. Finally, three interviews were specifically with young Gaelic speakers from the Western Isles,

from whom I hoped to gain greater insight into the experiences of young Gaelic-speaking migrants to Glasgow.

While these interviewees were often selected with a specific purpose and with specific research outcomes in mind, the interviews themselves were designed to be only semi-directed. I limited scripting to core outcomes, and practised recursivity within the interviews themselves. Every interviewee, in addition to their specific knowledge, was also themselves a source of deep experiential data on living a life through Gaelic in Glasgow. I would lead my interviews with questions about the interviewee's personal experiences with Gaelic and their relationship with Glasgow both to gain further ethnographic data, and to settle them into the interview. This gave me not only context on their lives, but also sometimes opened additional avenues of inquiry.

I would then move towards the core research outcomes for the interview, particularly with the expert interviewees, or more complex issues of personal usage and relationship with Gaelic. Towards the end of the interview, I would often explore "big questions" relating to Gaelic in Glasgow, such as community and prospective futures for the language and city, based on the topics developed during the interview. These interviews were recorded, and from these I could develop notes which inform the following chapters. Some interviewees were able to suggest further interviewees, and I was able to further develop upon avenues of inquiry raised in early interviews with later interviewees.

As several of my interviewees are potentially identifiable within the relatively small world of Gaelic in Glasgow, and as some points of contention raised in interviews are explored in the following chapters, I have aimed to maximise anonymity of my interviewees in the presentation of this data. Interviews were conducted under assurance of pseudonymity, with the exception of one interviewee, Dr Duncan Sneddon, who was happy for his expertise on the Church of Scotland to be associated with his full name. However, within the following chapters I have presented most data from my interviews anonymously, with the exception of two sections in which pseudonyms are used for certain interviewees. The reasonings for this variation are explained in the relevant chapters. These interviews yielded rich data not only about Glasgow, the social usage of Gaelic across a variety of sectors, and current discourses in the urban Gaelic world, but also about the interviewees themselves, their experiences, and how the Gaelic language is lived in Glasgow by the individual.

5.4: The Gaelic in Glasgow Survey

The Gaelic in Glasgow Survey was conducted in early 2021, having been prepared in collaboration with the University of Glasgow prior to my involvement with Glasgow City Council, and with data gathering completed early in my internship. The survey received 363 responses from a variety of language demographics, including learners, native speakers, and lapsed and non-speakers of Gaelic. The survey covered a broad range of topics, and the analysis of its findings primarily fed directly into Council briefings and internal reports to inform future policy directions and the next Council Gaelic language plan.

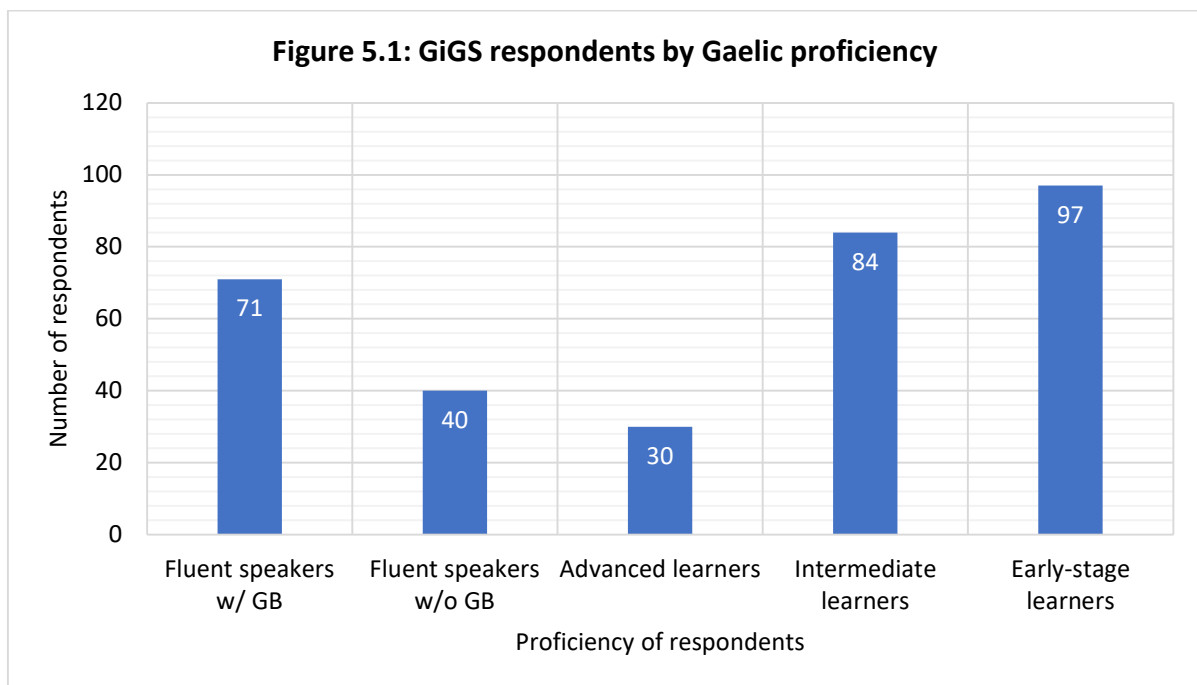
For the purposes of this research, I have focused on the data gathered on Gaelic usage, and on interest in various Gaelic activities and services. This data is analysed in depth primarily in Chapter 6, but it is first necessary to explain how this data has been isolated and prepared. First of all, it was necessary to modify the way in which the GiGS presented Gaelic proficiency data. In order to maximise options for self-identification, the original survey allowed respondents to select multiple options from the following list:

- Native speaker
- Lapsed native speaker
- Fluent speaker
- Advanced learner
- Intermediate learner
- Early-stage learner
- No proficiency

Several respondents selected multiple options, and for the purposes of Glasgow City Council's work we used the "highest" identified proficiency to categorise respondents. This was unsatisfactory, however, for the purposes of this research, as the difference between a "fluent" and "native" speaker is a complex one laden with ideological background. A more objective means of categorising fluent speakers was desirable, in order to distinguish which speakers are from a Gaelic-speaking family or cultural background and which are not, and who are therefore likely to be fluent learners who gained the language through education or adult study. Fortunately, the survey also queried whether respondents had grown up in a Gaelic-speaking family or community. So, for the purposes of this research, respondents are

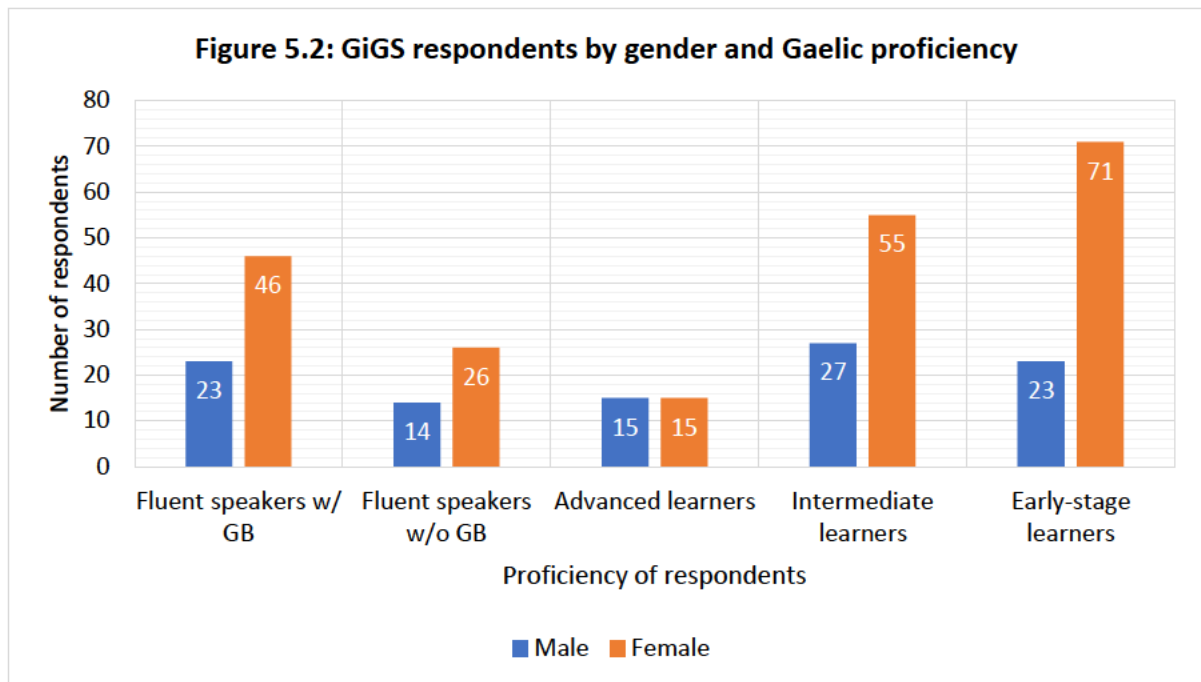
identified by either the most advanced “learner” category with which they identified, or if they identified as a native or fluent speaker, as a fluent speaker of Gaelic background or a fluent speaker of non-Gaelic background. Individuals who identified as lapsed native speakers were removed from the survey population due to their small numbers (14), and individuals who identified as being of no Gaelic proficiency were excluded for irrelevance to the outcomes of this research, producing a final survey sample of 322 respondents in the following categories of proficiency (Figure 5.1):

- Fluent speaker of Gaelic background (Fluent speakers w/ GB)
- Fluent speaker of non-Gaelic background (Fluent speakers w/o GB)
- Advanced learner
- Intermediate learner
- Early-stage learner

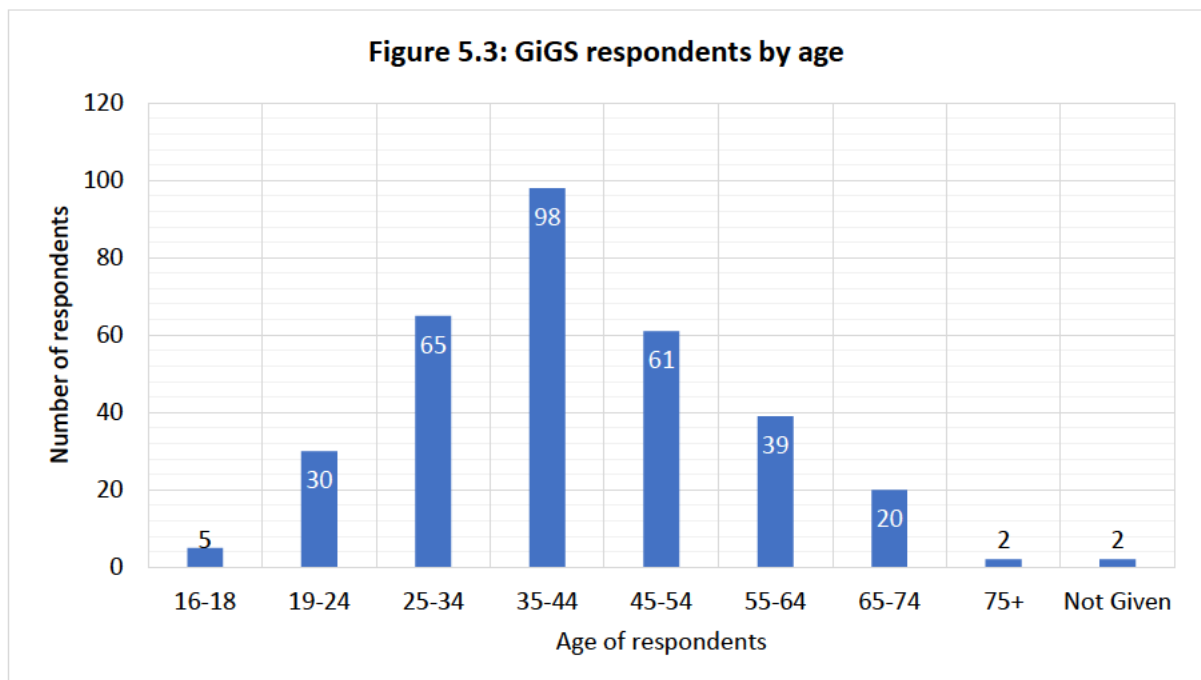


When considering the data presented from the GiGS in the following chapters, it is important to understand the biases in the sample population. In terms of both age and gender the sample population is not representative of the overall Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow. While I cannot say whether there is a gender imbalance amongst Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, female respondents seem to be over-represented in all

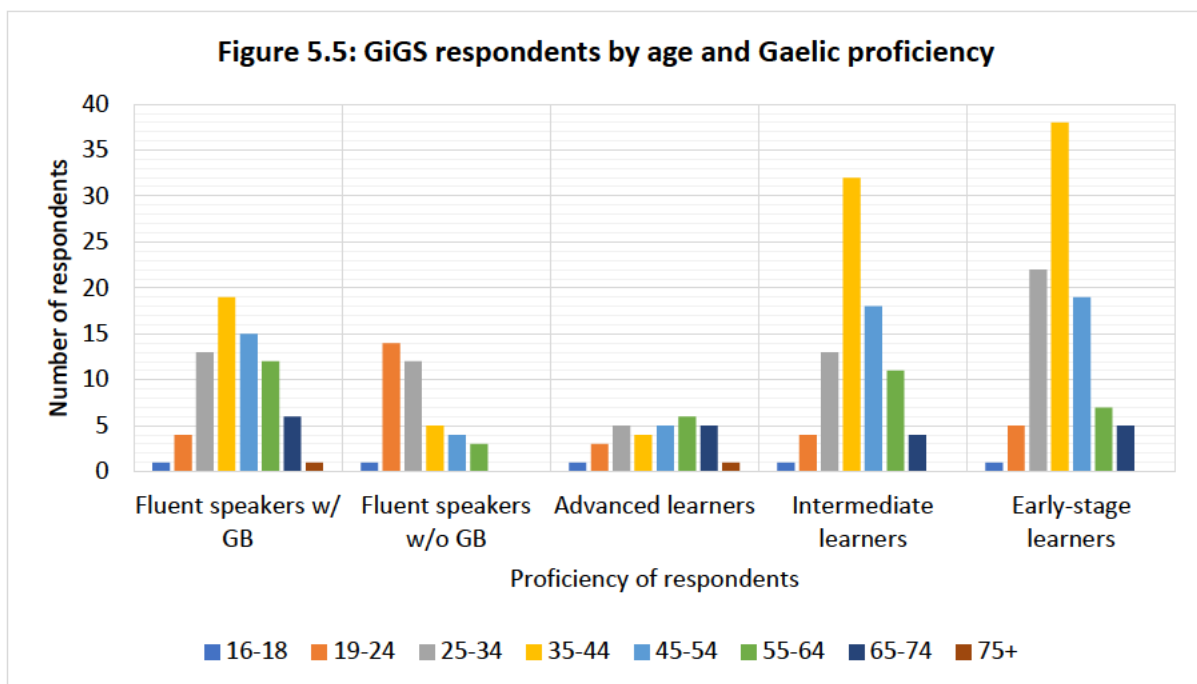
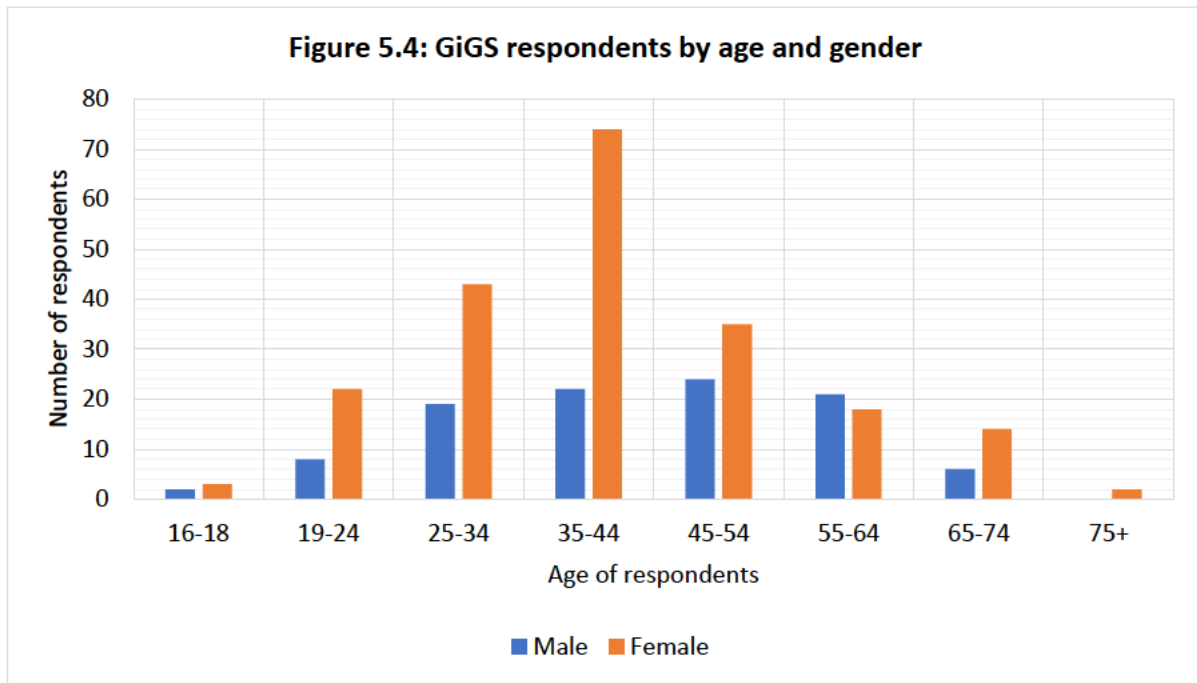
proficiency groups of the GiGS survey except advanced learners, with a particular imbalance amongst intermediate and early-stage learners (Figure 5.2).



Age distribution is not in line with the indications of the Census (National Records of Scotland 2024c, see Figure 3.1), with a concentration of respondents in the 35-44 age bracket and a comparative lack of respondents over 65 and aged 16-24 (Figure 5.3).

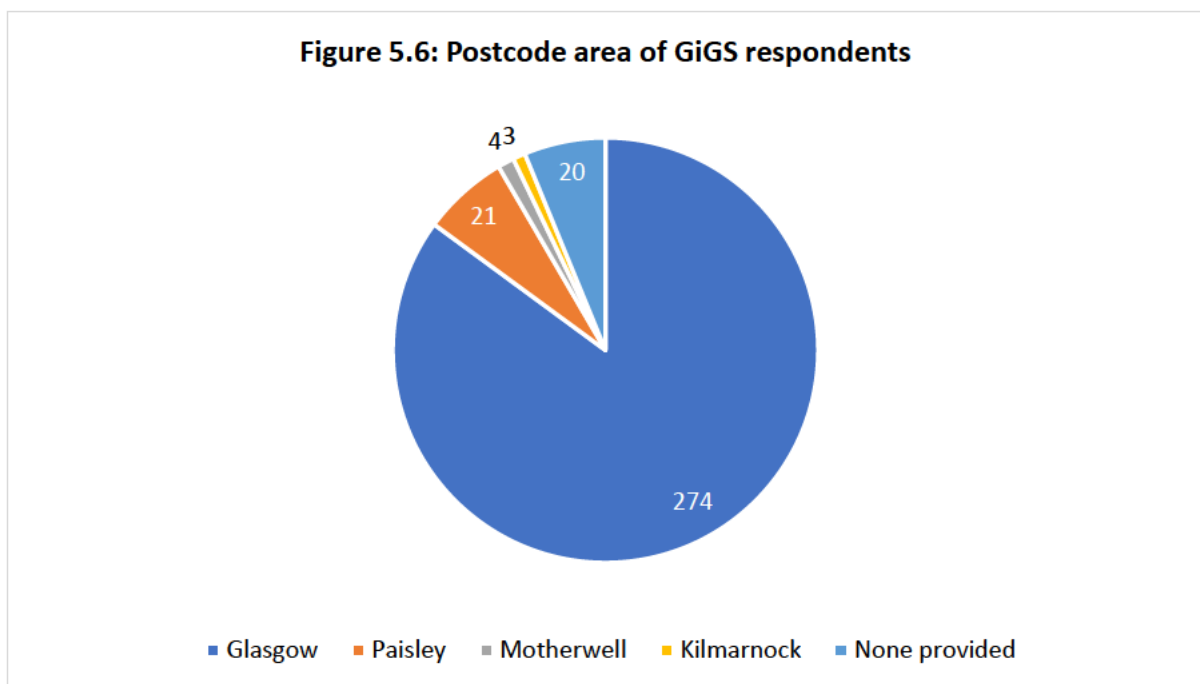


This phenomenon is more pronounced among female respondents (Figure 5.4). Most notably, and considered in greater depth in internal analysis during my work with Glasgow City Council, this focus of speakers in their 30s-40s is most pronounced amongst learners, while fluent speakers from a Gaelic background have a somewhat more balanced age distribution, more in line with the Census data (Figure 5.5). Fluent speakers from a non-Gaelic background appear to trend young in the sample population.



Due to this research focusing on social usage of Gaelic, which benefits from a greater degree of proficiency in the language, my analysis of this data focuses on those respondents who identified as fluent or as advanced learners. For this reason, the fact that any potential deviations from the overall demographics of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow in this data are largely isolated to intermediate and early-stage learners is something which should be kept in mind by the reader but does not substantially impact the findings of this thesis.

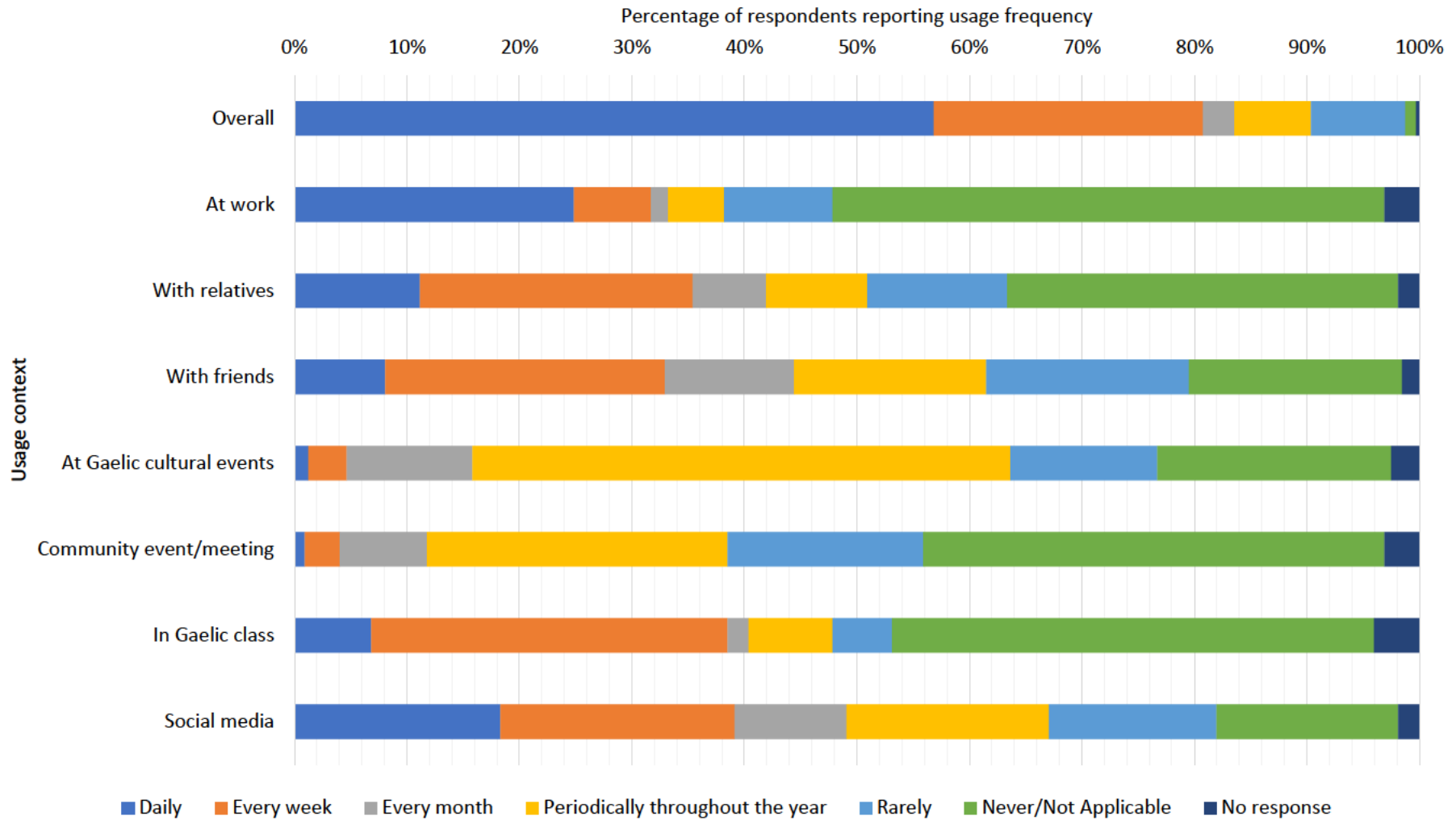
Almost all respondents in this population who provided a postcode of residence were resident in the Glasgow postcode area, with a small minority living in the adjacent postcode areas of Paisley, Motherwell and Kilmarnock (Figure 5.6).



In the GiGS, respondents were asked to report the frequency with which they use Gaelic in certain contexts. For each context, they could respond:

- Daily
- Every week
- Every month
- Periodically throughout the year
- Rarely
- Never
- Not applicable

Figure 5.7: Gaelic usage frequency by respondents overall and by usage context



For the purposes of this research, responses of “never” and “not applicable” have been grouped. The original list of contexts included several categories not presented here. They have been excluded due to lesser relevance to the objectives of this research to identify social spoken usage of Gaelic. Respondents were also asked to estimate the frequency of their Gaelic usage “overall”. Across all proficiencies, respondents estimated daily usage at a higher frequency than seemed possible when considered in the context of their professed usage in specific contexts. This is illustrated in Figure 5.7, in which “overall” daily or weekly usage is reported at a rate which is difficult to reconcile with the reported rates of Gaelic usage in specific contexts. I consider it likely that respondents overestimated their Gaelic usage in the abstract, but are more likely to provide insightful data on specific contexts, and so usage data for the following contexts is presented here (Appendix B):

- At work
- With relatives
- With friends
- At Gaelic cultural events
- Community event/meeting
- In Gaelic class
- Social media

Analysis of this usage data has allowed for the development of a broad overview of the usage patterns of those Gaelic speakers who engaged with the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey, highlighting patterns which can be illuminated and explored through the richer qualitative data gained through the ethnographic portion of this research.

Respondents provided information on their interest in certain Gaelic activities and opportunities by indicating whether they were very, fairly, not very, or not at all interested, or had no opinion, on the specific activity. The initial list of activities was narrowed down for this research to exclude passive activities with little social content, such as media consumption. The full list of activities and total interest levels can be seen in Figure C.1 of Appendix C. To allow for comparison of the levels of interest of different demographic groups in certain activities, a modified Borda score method was used to assign a percentage

level of interest to each activity. This was formulated by assigning a numerical score to each response to an activity:

- Very interested = 3
- Fairly interested = 2
- Not very interested = 1
- Not at all interested/don't know/no opinion/no response = 0

The total score for an activity from all respondents was then converted into a percentage of the theoretical maximum score which the activity could receive from the population sample. As a result, all "Level of Interest" scores presented in this thesis are directly comparable to one another regardless of the number of respondents in any given proficiency group. For the benefit of interpretation of the figures in Appendix C, the reader may consider that if every respondent responded with "very interested" to an activity, then the level of interest would be 100%. If every respondent answered "fairly interested" then the level of interest would be 66.7%, and so on. We can therefore broadly group responses into the following categories, should readers wish to gain a quick sense of the popularity of certain activities:

- High interest: 66.7-100%
- Medium interest: 33.3-66.6%
- Low interest: 0-33.2%

The interest data analysed in this research cannot be held to be the final word on what Gaelic speakers in Glasgow want; the GiGS only captured a portion of the Gaelic-speaking population of the city, and it is impossible to say to what extent they represent the interests of speakers whom the survey struggled to reach. However, insight into the interests and desires of a relatively engaged group of Gaelic speakers provides indications of priority and perhaps of broader social patterns which informs the rest of this research.

6: Making a Life in Gaelic Glasgow

Having amassed data covering such a breadth of contexts, topics and themes, it was difficult to decide where to begin presenting my findings. This chapter is appropriately broad in scope, and begins, as the experience of Gaelic in Glasgow does for many speakers, with the motivations and experiences of moving to Glasgow and finding Gaelic social connections in the city. While not all Gaelic speakers in Glasgow are migratory, and many will have experiences of being raised in or close to Glasgow and may have learned Gaelic through education or as adults, the evidence presented in Chapter 3 suggest that speakers migrating from the Highlands and Islands make up a plurality of Glasgow's Gaelic speakers.

The data in this first section is drawn from my interviews with native speakers from the Islands, and broadly affirms existing impressions that social and cultural connections, and the draw of work and education, bring Gaelic speakers to Glasgow from the Islands. Finding Gaelic social connections can be a matter of easily finding friends and social activities which put one in touch with other speakers, but can also be something which individuals fail to achieve or actively avoid. The challenges of finding Gaelic-speaking social opportunities which impact these interviewees will be equal or greater for those learning Gaelic and attempting to find fellow speakers.

Friendship can be an important support for Gaelic usage, as can the workplace and family; the second section of this chapter analyses the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey data on respondents' professed Gaelic usage frequency in a variety of contexts. Differing patterns by context and speaker proficiency reveal the contexts which may most support Gaelic usage in the city for many residents. The third section of the chapter focuses on the interests of respondents to the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey. Music, Gaelic in the visible landscape, physical spaces to use Gaelic and hospitality sites focused on Gaelic are of great interest to these Gaelic speakers, raising possible avenues of exploration for language planners and civic bodies. Finally, the last section of this chapter focuses on discourses identified in my interviews around issues of community in Gaelic Glasgow. Lack of speaker community, lack of integration between different types of speaker, and anxieties over the dependence of Glasgow's Gaelic culture on the survival of the language elsewhere arose in many interviews.

One suggestion for positive change was raised and explored here: that of a community centre for Gaelic.

While constituting interesting findings in themselves, these topics will also serve to frame the experience of Gaelic in Glasgow, providing useful context for the succeeding chapters which explore key research areas in greater depth.

6.1: Finding a Place in Gaelic Glasgow

As I conducted my interviews, what began as asking interviewees about their backgrounds to develop rapport and make them comfortable with the interview format developed into an opportunity for data collection. I realised that I had the opportunity to discuss with a variety of individuals, mostly native speakers from the Western Isles, their experiences of coming to Glasgow and developing their social network in the city. The information I gathered aligns with common perceptions of the motivations for Gaelic speakers to move to Glasgow, and offers an impression of how such speakers may develop their Gaelic-speaking social connections once in the city.

In this sub-chapter, I break from the general trend of complete anonymity for my interviewees due to the benefit to the reader in understanding the continuous experiences of certain individuals. The pseudonyms used are indicated in the below table, which also provides some demographic information about these Gaelic speakers for context.

Speaker	Demographic Information
A	Native speaker, Islander, 30+
B	Native speaker, Islander, 20+
C	Native speaker, Islander, 20+
D	Native speaker, Islander, 50+
E	Native speaker, Islander, 20+
F	Native speaker, Islander, 30+

Table 6.1 | Demographic information of interviewed Gaelic speakers

6.1.1: Reasons for Migrating to Glasgow

The factors which interviewees cited as drawing them to Glasgow were varied and interconnected. The leading themes were the pursuit of work or education, a familiarity with the city through family and friends already there or moving to the city, and a broader perception of a concentration of Gaelic activity in Glasgow, of Glasgow being the right place to go as a Gael.

Work and study were the leading practical causes which brought most of my interviewees to Glasgow. Three came to Glasgow specifically to take up a Gaelic-language job available in the city. Another, here identified as “A”, chose to live in the city due to its centrality to support their activities in the arts, noting that they found it easier to get to and from any specific island from Glasgow than it was to travel between islands. Four of my interviewees, all native speaker Islanders from Gaelic-speaking backgrounds, came to Glasgow for university studies, across a timespan ranging from the 70s to the 2010s, showing the long-term appeal which Glasgow’s universities have had to Islanders. Of these, three (B, C and D) also discussed other motivations for their choice to study in Glasgow, which will be examined further below. B left university in Glasgow and returned to their home island, only to take up a full-time Gaelic-language job in Glasgow a few years later, demonstrating a durable interest in being in Glasgow.

Several interviewees who had come to Glasgow from the Islands cited the presence of friends and family in the city as a motivating factor for their move. A, in addition to their arts motivation, also had many friends and multiple siblings who lived, or had lived, in Glasgow, which they felt made them very familiar with the city. B’s motivation to study briefly, and then later work in, Glasgow appears to have been primarily driven by social factors rather than conditions of study or employment. They described their motivations as such: “[...] and all of my friends were moving down, so I thought “oh, well you know if I move to Glasgow, I’ll have all my friends and I’ll be able to see them [...]”’. For C, who had multiple cities from which to choose for their course of study, family was an influencing factor on choosing Glasgow. They had visited family regularly in the area since childhood, and felt this was a common occurrence amongst people they knew:

I think this is a thing about being from the Islands, because people can spread about the place; you've got people nearby no matter where you go. So, I feel like in Glasgow, although they're not maybe in Glasgow, they're definitely surrounding Glasgow and close enough to visit [...]

One interviewee was able to present a narrative from the other side of interviewee C's experience: as a Glasgow-born Gaelic speaker with Islander parents, they were the Glasgow relatives who their Island cousins would visit!

The movement of peers to Glasgow, and a sense of going with others, seems to also be important among Islanders I interviewed, as seen with interviewee B. Interviewee D described it as follows:

So, coming to Glasgow in [year] was very exciting for me, lots of people that I knew from school came here, you know, mostly to go to university or to go to college or some employment, but mostly it was further education.

It is interesting that though the commencement of B, C and D's studies are separated over four decades, all three expressed secondary social factors for moving to Glasgow which appear to have been stronger motivations than the nominal primary reason of study or work which brought them to the city.

Interviewee E, one of the interviewees who moved for employment, was candid that they took a job in Glasgow to be in the city for social reasons, rather than for the job itself:

[...] I could've gone anywhere for a job, but Glasgow seemed the obvious choice because there's so much more happening here. A lot of my friends were on the mainland, or indeed in Glasgow, so to be able to see them more regularly I would maybe base myself in a place like Glasgow [...]

Beyond specific social connections and professional or educational opportunities, some of the interviewees also spoke of the reputation of the city, and actively understood the influence of this reputation on their home islands. C stated that 'I've always had thoughts of moving to Glasgow, because I feel like Glasgow and the Islands have quite a strong connection [...]', while B felt that among other young people in their home community it was 'the dream' to '[...] get to the big city.' Another interviewee, F, from an island where Gaelic is now less widespread, was drawn to the perception of Glasgow as a place with a density of like-minded Gaelic speakers who would share their passion as a young speaker. Above all,

even where there are professional and educational reasons for a move to Glasgow, social and reputational factors continue to be a significant motivating factor for young Gaelic speakers in moving to Glasgow.

6.1.2: Developing a Gaelic Social Network

Once in Glasgow, my interviewees had varying experiences of developing a social network of other Gaelic speakers with whom to speak the language. Whatever process of formation of a Gaelic social network they underwent will, of course, have been in parallel to non-Gaelic-specific social processes. Several interviewees were able to elaborate on the extent to which they had or lacked social networks in the city already on arrival, and many had narratives of how they formed their current social connections to other Gaelic speakers. Some developed upon the networks they already possessed, and others built anew.

B and E were both motivated to move to Glasgow specifically in order to be socially closer to friends, and so the Gaelic networks they inhabited at the time of interview were broadly based on those initial friends from their home island, and people they had met through that social network. E commented on how, as an Islander, they always felt very aware of the movements of people from their and nearby islands, and who was in Glasgow. They felt confident of finding a familiar social network in Glasgow:

[...] because with a large Gaelic population, I suppose, or plenty migration from the Islands out to there, there's... I didn't feel like I was ever going to feel alone, and that's very much true, especially with working in [workplace], because there are so many Islanders, or people with Island connections there.

A, as an already quite socially well-connected individual, had the basis of a substantial friend network already in the city on arrival. By contrast, C mentioned that while they had family connections, it was their experience coming to study in Glasgow that, despite many same-age peers coming to the city with them, people dispersed socially rather than staying in familiar circles:

But when I moved here, it was definitely that you don't directly go with, you don't hang out with the people you went to school with, it's kind of just... you spread out elsewhere I find, that's what I found anyway.

Quite contrary to the experiences of A, B and E, one professional who moved to the city from the Islands in the 2000s clearly asserted that they had no social network in Glasgow when they moved. D provided an interesting perspective which highlights that experiences may differ greatly for different migrants to the city. They found, arriving in the 70s, that while they socialised primarily with other Islanders, some people they knew in a similar situation actively avoided doing so, with an attitude of '[...] I'm trying to get away from that kind of thing [...]'. Such Gaelic speakers may well undergo a process of assimilation, becoming Gaelic speakers uninvolved in the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow. As a result, these individuals are inherently unlikely to be represented in my research and present an important challenge for Gaelic language promotion in Glasgow, discussed in greater detail in Chapter 11.

C's experience, dating to the 2010s, demonstrates that some arrivals from the Islands still seek a new social circle as in D's time. C related that they largely built an Anglophone social circle through their university for the first couple of years, during which time they felt their Gaelic proficiency degraded. However, the Covid-19 lockdowns served as a social reset for them, following which they sought out a new social network through university and musical activities, explored in greater detail in Section 9.1.2.

Three of my interviewees described meeting new Gaelic-speaking acquaintances through their Gaelic language job. A knew a number of people when they arrived, but also built further social connections through their arts activities, which entailed making both English- and Gaelic-speaking friendships. As an example of developing their own social network through their existing connections, A joined a Gaelic choir in Glasgow in which they already had four friends, making further Gaelic-speaking social connections through this. F, on the other hand, knew relatively fewer people on arrival, and described acquiring a social circle of like-minded individuals, for whom Gaelic only later became the normal social language. They also made connections through arts events, and described a snowballing effect as more and more of their social network was Gaelic: '[...] bit by bit (it) just became the norm to address people in Gaelic and start conversations in Gaelic more and more [...]']'.

The experiences of my interviewees speak to a common pattern for many Gaelic-speaking migrants to Glasgow from the Islands. Many have existing social networks with which they can connect, likely constituted of family relations, or of friends from home who have moved

to the city. This, and a cultural impetus of sorts, a sense that Glasgow is where one should go, are strong influences on decisions to move to Glasgow. However, such influences do not necessarily cause migrants to integrate into or develop Gaelic social networks. While some will build a social network of Gaelic speakers and fellow Islanders, it appears that others will seek to build non-Gaelic social networks. Based on the data that will be outlined below on Gaelic usage with friends, I suspect that many native speakers who move to Glasgow will have an experience like that of C, in which they initially seek to develop new urban social connections rather than staying with Gaelic, Island-based social circles. They may also share an experience with E, who by their own admission is not a “social butterfly” and for the most part stuck to the friends for whom they moved to Glasgow in the first place. People are not necessarily actively expanding their social connections, and if they are there is every likelihood that Gaelic language is not a prerequisite feature of their friendships.

On the other hand, some individuals evidently do actively seek out other Gaelic speakers, and A and F’s experiences indicate that knowing some Gaelic speakers can make it easier to come into contact with more. This suggests that there is a certain density to Gaelic-language and Islander social networks in Glasgow; such snowballing effects are typical of denser social networks. This does require a migrant to specifically seek out these networks and expand their social contacts through them. These insights are worth keeping in mind from a language planning perspective. It is likely that many native speakers from the Islands will arrive in Glasgow knowing at least some potentially Gaelic-speaking peers. While there is likely little that can be done if somebody actively wishes to diversify their social experience away from Gaelic language and culture, there may be ways in which these nascent networks can be drawn upon or promoted to maximise opportunity for Gaelic language social connection for those who are open to it.

6.2: Gaelic Usage by Context

The Gaelic in Glasgow Survey provided an opportunity to explore the sort of quantitative data which the conditions of the pandemic prevented me from collecting on Gaelic usage in a variety of contexts. There is nuance which should be considered when using this data: In addition to any demographic biases in the data outlined in Chapter 5, it is important to keep in mind that individual reporting of language usage is subject to the biases of the

respondent, and they may underestimate, or more likely overestimate the frequency of their Gaelic usage. Furthermore, this data does not inform us of the extent or quality of Gaelic usage; a daily pleasantry with a work colleague before switching to English may be registered the same as speaking solely in Gaelic on a daily basis with friends.

The data itself suggests that those working full-time in a Gaelic role are over-represented amongst survey respondents, and so this data is not used here to accurately depict the Gaelic usage of the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow as a whole, but rather to gain some insights into differences in Gaelic usage between those of various proficiencies who responded to the survey. In this regard, we gain insights into, at least, those speakers and learners who are sufficiently invested to engage with the survey, which may provide broader indications of differences in the wider Gaelic speaking and learning population of the city. Figures outlining the full results of this survey are provided in Appendix B, including the overall results, and the more useful results by proficiency. Within this chapter the results are also presented by context, separated by proficiency. These observations are supported by information gained from my interviews.

6.2.1: At work

While this research focuses on social usage of Gaelic, specifically outwith the contexts of the workplace and formal education, the survey produced interesting results in relation to Gaelic workplace usage which provide insight into the importance of the workplace as a site of regular Gaelic usage for fluent speakers (Figure 6.1). Usage of Gaelic in the workplace correlated strongly with fluency in this sample. The majority of speakers who were identified as fluent and from a Gaelic-speaking background, and fluent from a non-Gaelic speaking background, reported using Gaelic at work on a daily basis. A substantial portion of the fluent speakers in this sample are likely engaged in Gaelic employment, making them unrepresentative of most Gaelic speakers in Glasgow.

It is itself noteworthy that these individuals should be over-represented in this survey. This speaks towards the mechanisms of distribution, and overall interest in responding, correlating with Gaelic employment, and from this I would hypothesise that being in Gaelic work is likely to make one more integrated into the personal and civic networks which distributed the survey.

Figure 6.1: Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage at work by respondent proficiency

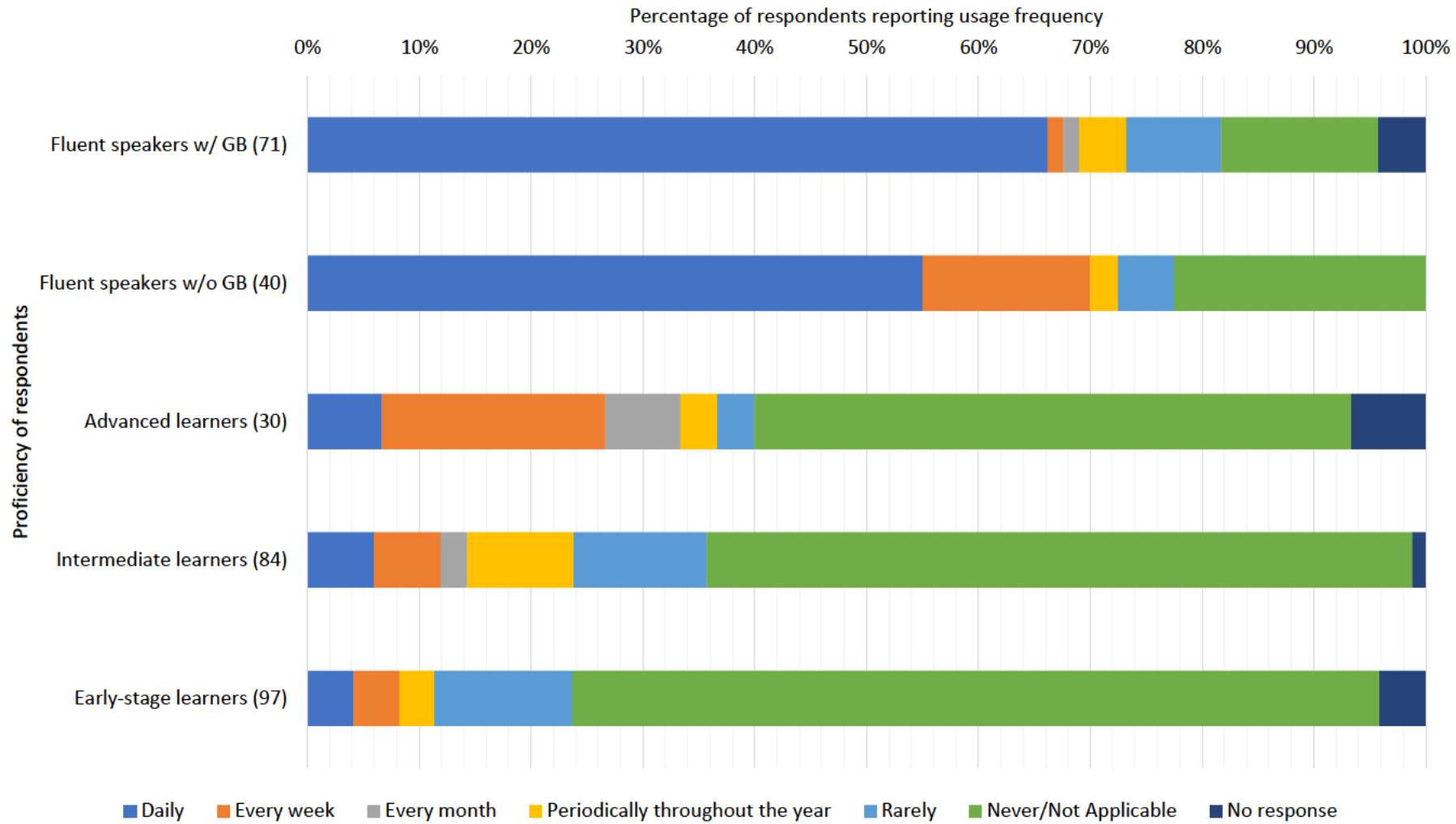


Figure 6.2: Gaelic usage frequency by fluent respondents of Gaelic background by usage context

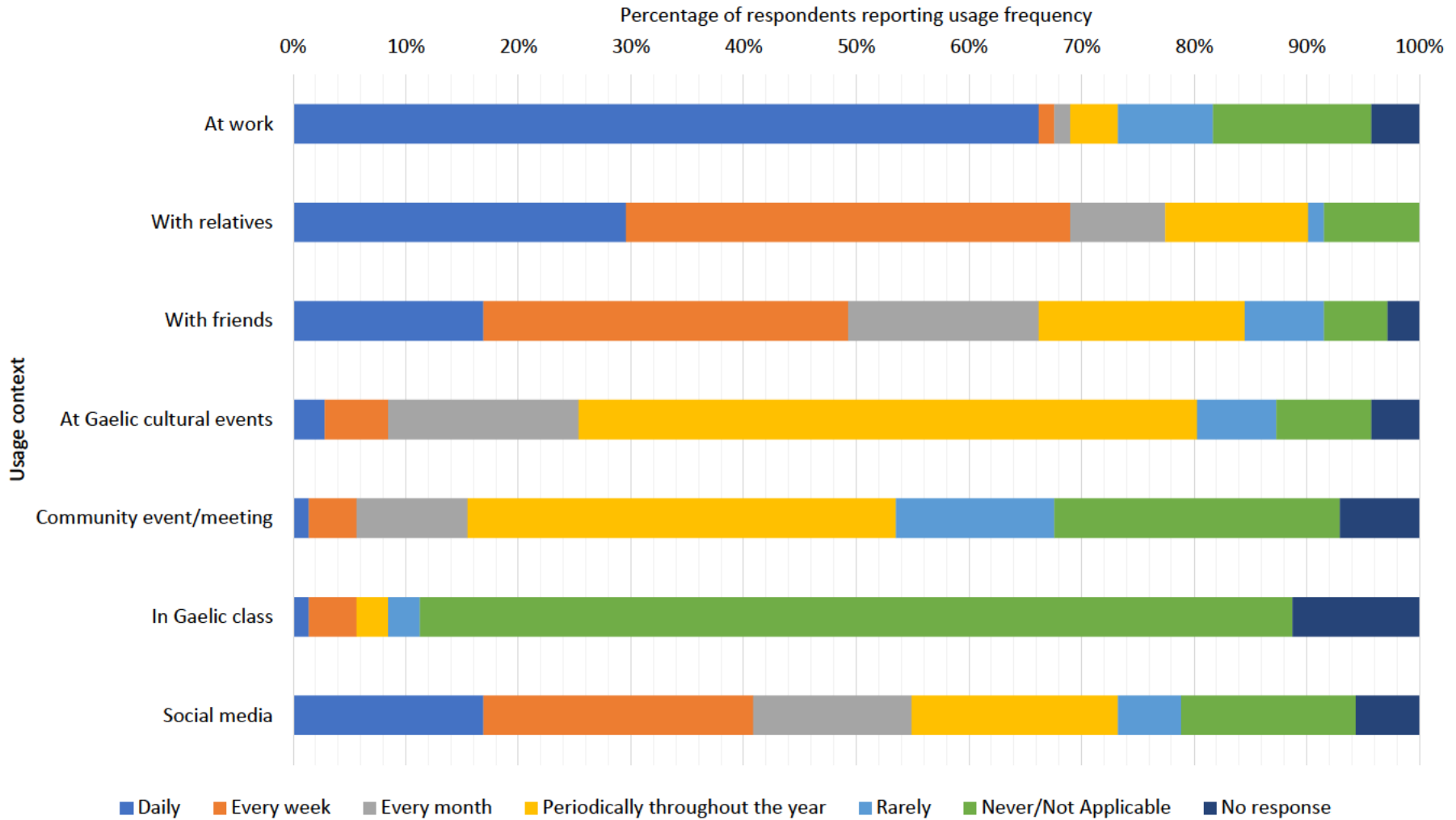
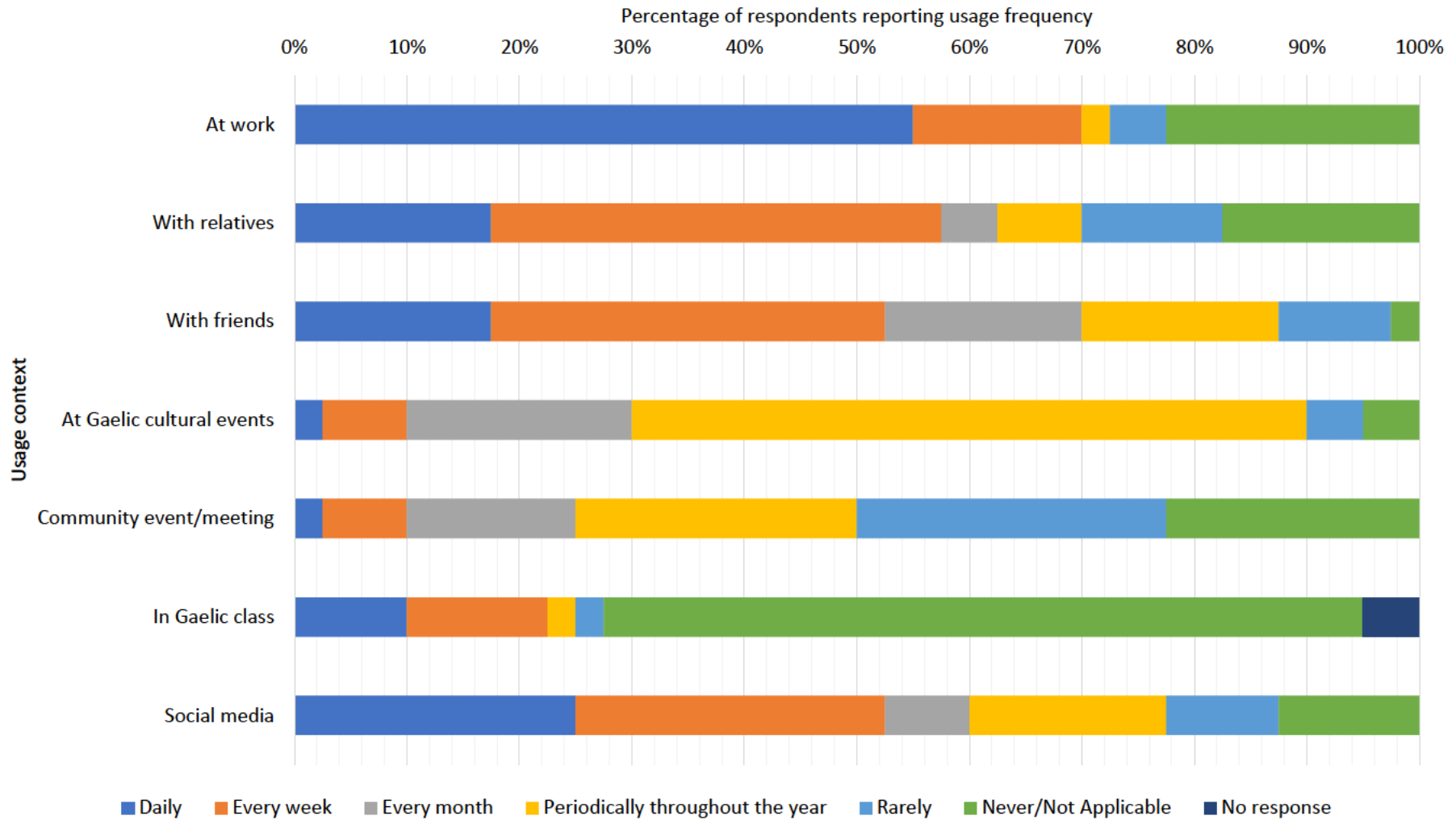


Figure 6.3: Gaelic usage frequency by fluent respondents of non-Gaelic background by usage context



Work was an important site for Gaelic usage for multiple interviewees of native-speaking background, tying into their social life as well. They spoke of not only using Gaelic daily at work, but of also meeting Gaelic-speaking friends through work. In this way, a Gaelic workplace can be important in providing Gaelic speakers the opportunity to expand their Gaelic-speaking social network, an experience also reported by new speakers in Glasgow and Edinburgh (McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014: 18-20, 45-47).

The importance of a Gaelic workplace for opportunity to use Gaelic can also be seen when one compares the reported frequency of Gaelic usage at work to the reported frequency of usage in other categories for both types of fluent speaker (Figures 6.2 and 6.3). The respondents report Gaelic usage at work as being markedly more frequent overall than in any other context. One interviewee commented on this, saying that if not for work they would likely speak Gaelic once or twice a week with friends:

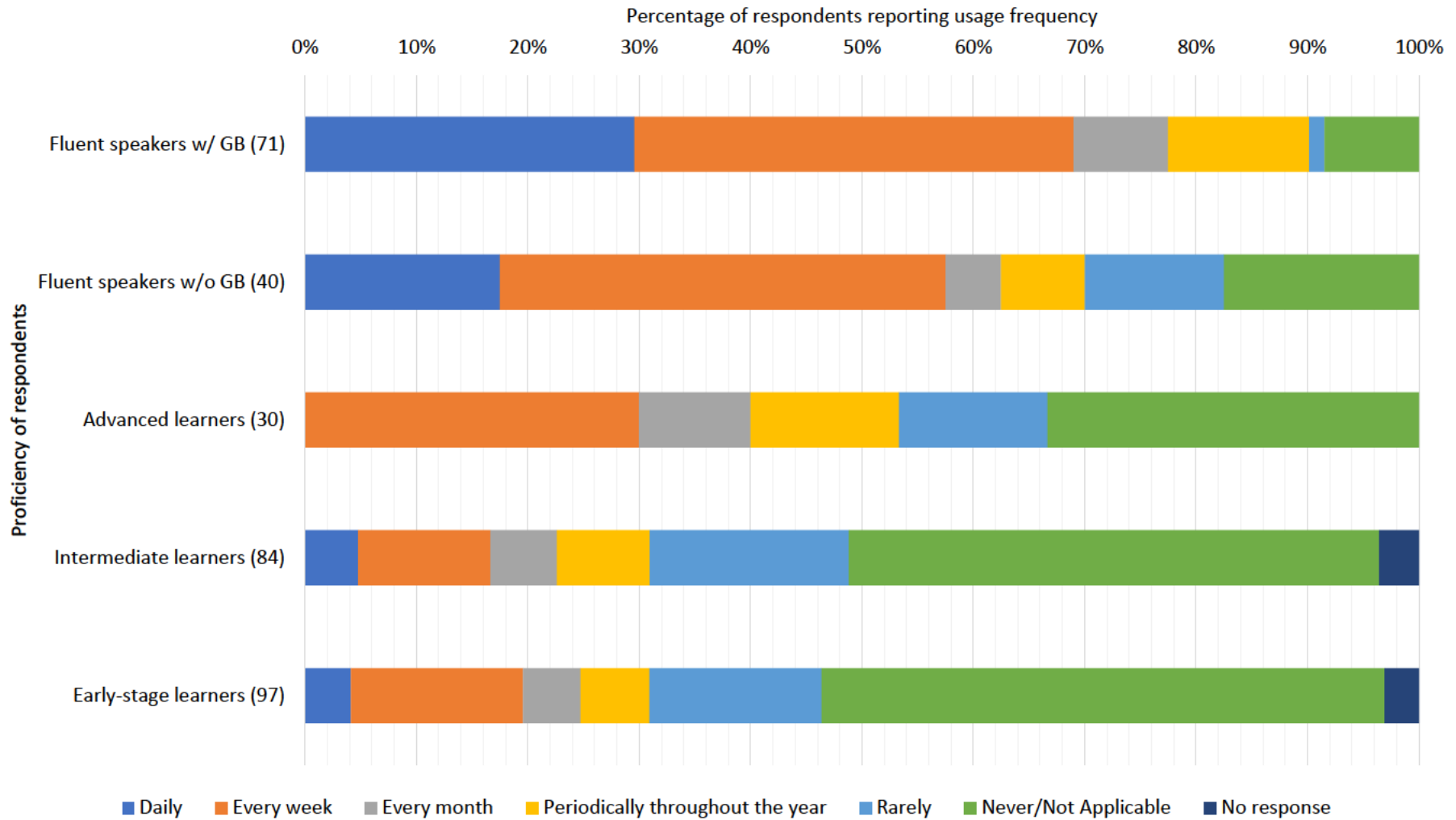
I actually think with living here and working here I use Gaelic more than I did back home, or certainly (to) a different extent I'm using it at work and in an educational setting, something I didn't do back home.

They do note, however, that this usage is different to the community and family usage they would experience on their home island: 'But back home I would be using it with family and in the community, so a different set of vocabulary for each place.' They acknowledge a qualitative difference between community and work Gaelic usage, which should be kept in mind when considering the value of workplace usage; professional Gaelic usage may be useful in developing social connections, but it does not necessarily lead to usage outside of work.

6.2.2: With relatives

Responses to the usage of Gaelic with relatives offered few surprises. Frequency of speaking Gaelic with relatives largely correlated positively with respondent proficiency (Figure 6.4). Fluent speakers from a Gaelic language background were more likely to report daily or weekly usage with relatives than those from a non-Gaelic background, which seems reasonable given their inherent family connection to Gaelic. The reported frequency of

Figure 6.4: Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage with relatives by respondent proficiency



Gaelic usage with relatives by fluent speakers from non-Gaelic background was, however, still reasonably high, with a majority reporting weekly usage. It is possible that having Gaelic family connections, even if one did not have a direct Gaelic upbringing or grow up in a Gaelic community, correlates with the most successful Gaelic learning outcomes, or it may be that greater speaking confidence causes one to engage more regularly even with less-advanced relatives in Gaelic. Another possibility, which may also explain those learners who report daily or weekly Gaelic usage with relatives, is the presence of a child in GME in the household, with whom the respondent regularly uses some Gaelic. Most learners, however, reported only occasional or no usage of Gaelic with relatives. This aligns with the findings discussed in Section 3.5, that between a little under or over a half of Gaelic learners have no Gaelic-speaking relatives (McLeod, Pollock, and MacCaluim 2010: 23-24; McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014: 6). I have no theory other than advancing confidence or perhaps simply small sample biases as to why advanced learners reported more frequent usage with relatives than other learners.

Usage with relatives was the second most frequent usage context overall for fluent speakers in the survey. For some this will constitute regular usage with household relatives – one interviewee was such an example, with an entirely Gaelic household. For others this constitutes regular contact with more distant relatives. Two other interviewees reported regularly using Gaelic with their grandparents, who in both instances were more regular Gaelic speakers than their parents. One described this in more detail:

[...] I'll phone my parents and I'll try and speak with them in Gaelic, my grandparents I try a bit more to speak Gaelic to them, and there's a couple of old ladies from home I call up from time to time to catch up and chat to them in Gaelic as much as I can [...]

In this instance, the social contact is distant, by phone, constituting a fundamentally different social interaction to in-person socialisation in Glasgow itself. While my interviewees often discussed relatives as a motivating factor in coming to Glasgow, none mentioned being regularly socially engaged with them now that they are in Glasgow. I suspect that much of Gaelic usage with relatives outside the household is remote. Nonetheless, this provides an important opportunity for Gaelic usage, and though it falls beyond the scope of this research, the importance of remote contacts in offering social Gaelic usage opportunities for

speakers in urban environments away from the heartlands is worth further study, particularly given the recent and continued growth of video calling and social media.

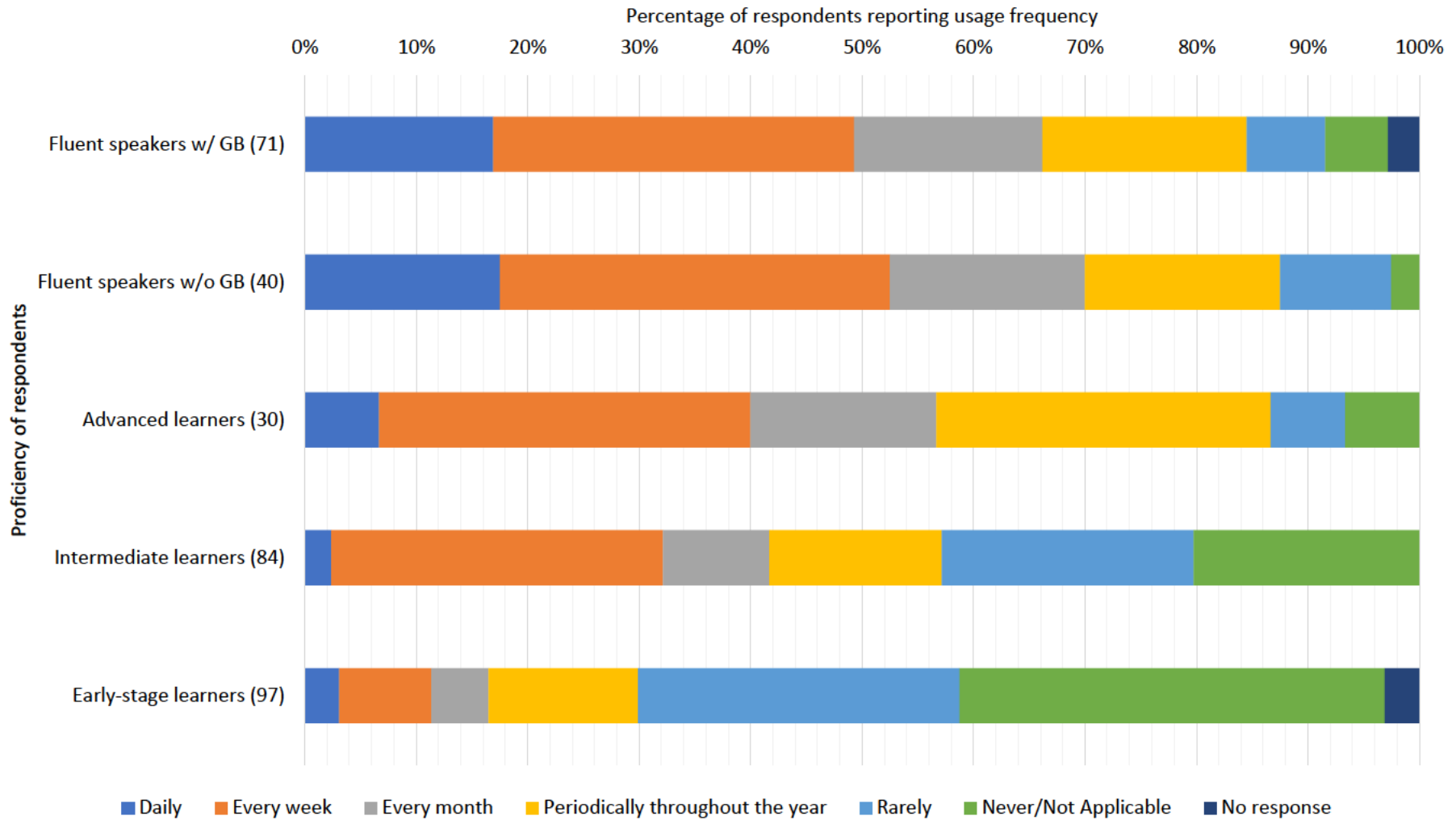
6.2.3: With friends

My broad approach to fieldwork, aiming to cover many contexts rather than specific groups of individuals in depth, meant that one of the contexts for Gaelic usage which was hard to gather information on was the extent to which Gaelic speakers use Gaelic with friends, outside of more formal events and communities of practice. The survey data provides useful insights into this context of usage (Figure 6.5). Fluent speakers from both Gaelic and non-Gaelic backgrounds reported using Gaelic with friends with similar frequency. For these proficiencies, usage with friends was one of the more frequent usage contexts. However, the most important insight here is that only around half of fluent speakers reported using Gaelic with friends on a weekly basis or more frequently. Particularly given how many reported workplace usage, the fact that many of these speakers do not engage in Gaelic with friends on at least a weekly basis is a concern from the perspective of maintaining Gaelic social networks which go beyond the home and workplace.

My interviewees were relatively frequent in their Gaelic usage with friends, with two even claiming daily Gaelic usage. These two are particularly well-networked with wide Gaelic social circles, which alongside the snowball effect described in Section 6.1, indicates the benefits for Gaelic usage of being densely connected into Gaelic social networks. One of the younger interviewees discussed a desire to meet more Gaelic speakers and was actively trying to do so through work or friends of friends. As an example of the end goal of such aims, one older native speaker attested to having many Gaelic friends, who they have met throughout the course of their life through mutual connections and their work and social endeavours, again highlighting that a Gaelic-speaking network is something one builds. Other interviewees claimed to use Gaelic weekly with friends outside of work. One interviewee, however, noted the important consideration that even when they were spending time with Gaelic-speaking friends, they weren't necessarily speaking Gaelic.

Learners reported less frequent usage of Gaelic with friends, with increased frequency of usage broadly correlating positively with proficiency. Understandably, the longer one has

Figure 6.5: Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage with friends by respondent proficiency



been learning Gaelic the more likely one is to have both acquired a social circle with whom one can speak the language, and developed an ability to hold conversation in Gaelic. Only a minority, and a small one at that for early-stage and intermediate learners, reported weekly or more frequent usage, which reflects previous research on the difficulty learners can have finding opportunity to use Gaelic socially (McLeod, Pollock, and MacCaluim 2010: 26-28; McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014: 8-11, 18-20).

It is difficult to say to what extent this data reflects the wider learner population beyond this sample, but it reinforces the importance of enabling learners to find Gaelic social networks where they have opportunity to use the language if they choose. The data from fluent speakers suggests that this is a need for speakers of all proficiencies, and I would hypothesise given the high rates of Gaelic workplace usage reported by this sample, that their rates of Gaelic usage across the board may be higher than that of the general fluent population, emphasising the potential lack of regular Gaelic conversation many fluent Gaelic speakers in Glasgow may be enjoying outside of the home.

6.2.4: At Gaelic cultural events and community events/meetings

The original wording of the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey listed “At Gaelic cultural events” and “Community event/meeting” as two different contexts for Gaelic usage. I find these labels to be vague, and very open to respondent interpretation, but taken together the two broadly cover formal organised Gaelic events ranging from arts events to cèilidhs and association gatherings. Given the breadth of the categories, I will not attempt deeper analysis than that respondents of all proficiencies reported overall infrequent usage of Gaelic at events (Figures 6.6 and 6.7). Frequency of usage broadly correlated with more advanced Gaelic proficiency, but reported usage of monthly or more was similar and low even amongst advanced learners and fluent speakers. The great majority of respondents made only periodic usage of Gaelic at events. Whether this entails rare attendance of events or rare opportunities to use Gaelic at those events is another question – as will be discussed in Chapter 8, arts events which may feature Gaelic do not necessarily see much Gaelic spoken in the audience by attendees.

Either outcome is of note for language planners. Having been to some events, including high-profile, high-attendance ones described in later chapters, and based on conversations

Figure 6.6: Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage at Gaelic cultural events by respondent proficiency

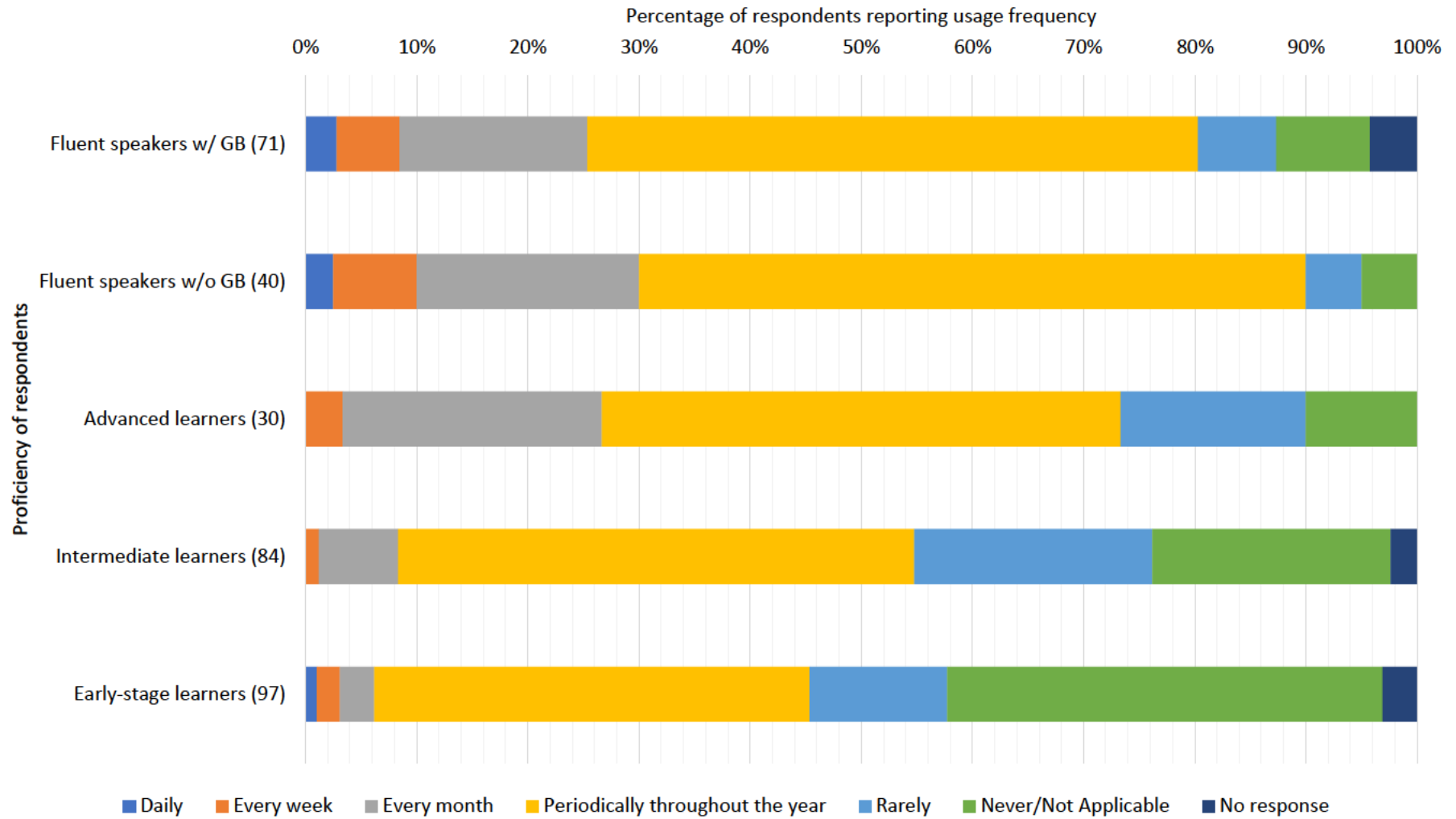
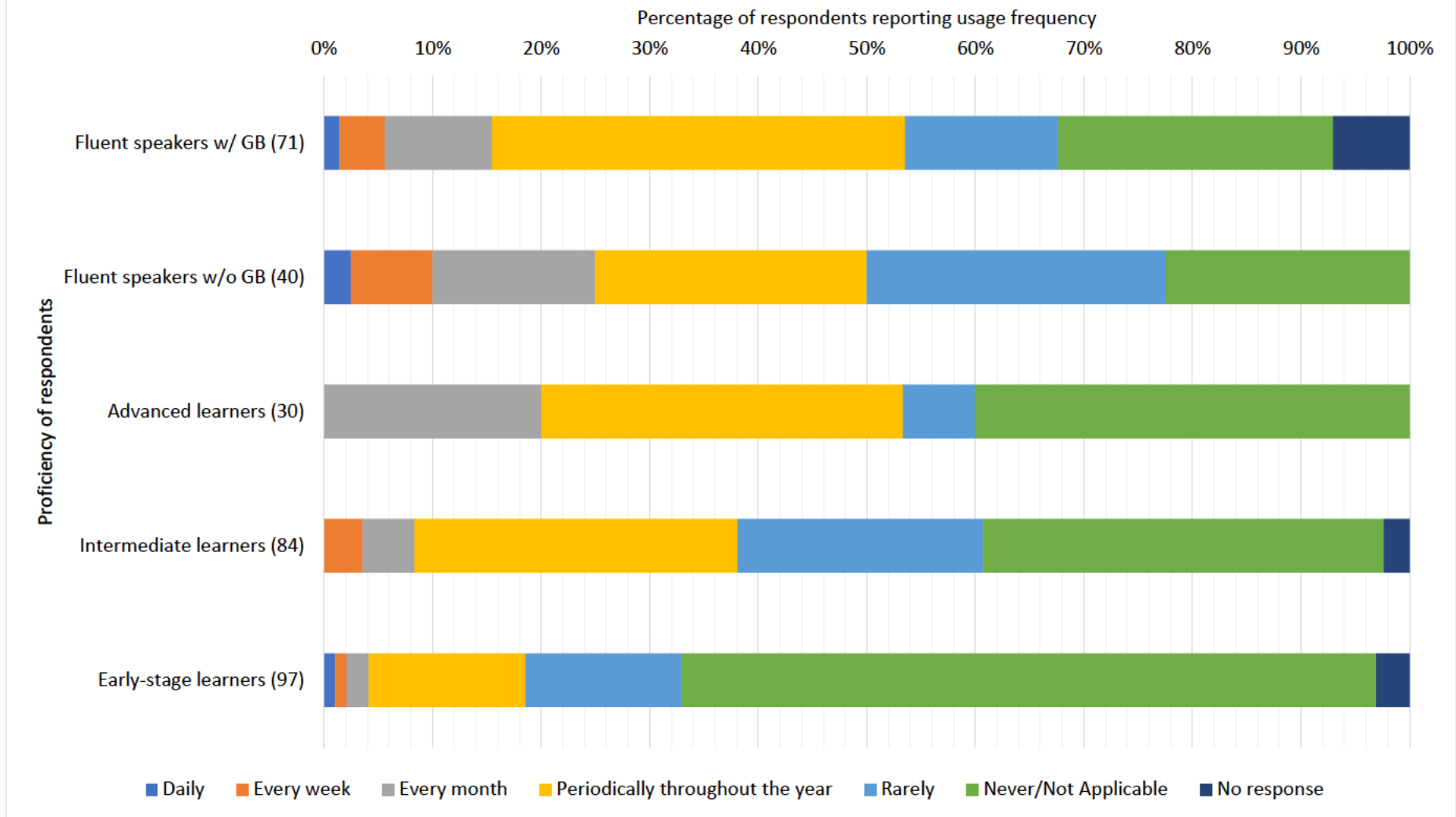


Figure 6.7: Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage at community events by respondent proficiency



during my fieldwork asserting such, I believe that only a small minority of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow are attending Gaelic events monthly, never mind using Gaelic at them. Events are potentially good spaces to make broader social connections and meet other Gaelic speakers, and are a key way in which public and semi-public bodies can actively offer opportunity and motivation to Gaelic speakers to use the language, and so the fact relatively few of this sample make use of Gaelic more than irregularly at such events indicates potential for development.

6.2.5: In Gaelic class

Findings for usage frequency in Gaelic classes were unsurprising. Learners tended to make use of Gaelic in classes, often on a weekly basis, at much greater frequencies than fluent speakers (Figure 6.8). The percentage of each learner proficiency making use of Gaelic weekly or more in classes was very similar, around 50%. The other half of each proficiency making rare or no use of Gaelic in classes would suggest that they are pursuing a more informal learning trajectory. Review of the overall results for early-stage and intermediate learners (Appendix B) will show that both proficiencies are highly dependent on Gaelic classes for weekly Gaelic usage, with intermediate learners more likely to also be able to draw upon friends to support weekly usage. It is understandable that classes would be an important usage site for many learners, though the fact so much of this sample are not making use of such at low proficiency levels suggests that there are plentiful individuals who either cannot or choose not to find formal Gaelic classes. Gaelic classes would be a logical place for Gaelic learners to meet other learners, and in doing so expand the range of social opportunities they have to speak Gaelic, to the advantage of their learning trajectory. Any understanding of potential unmet need, or ways in which formal learning can be encouraged, could therefore be of value.

6.2.6: Social media

This research has not entailed in-depth research of digital or social media Gaelic usage, and so insights in this area are largely limited to the data provided in the survey. Reported frequency of Gaelic usage on social media is notably more consistent across all proficiencies than in the other categories, and relatively frequent (Figure 6.9). Early-stage learners were less likely to report frequent usage of Gaelic on social media, but a majority of all other

Figure 6.8: Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage in Gaelic class by respondent proficiency

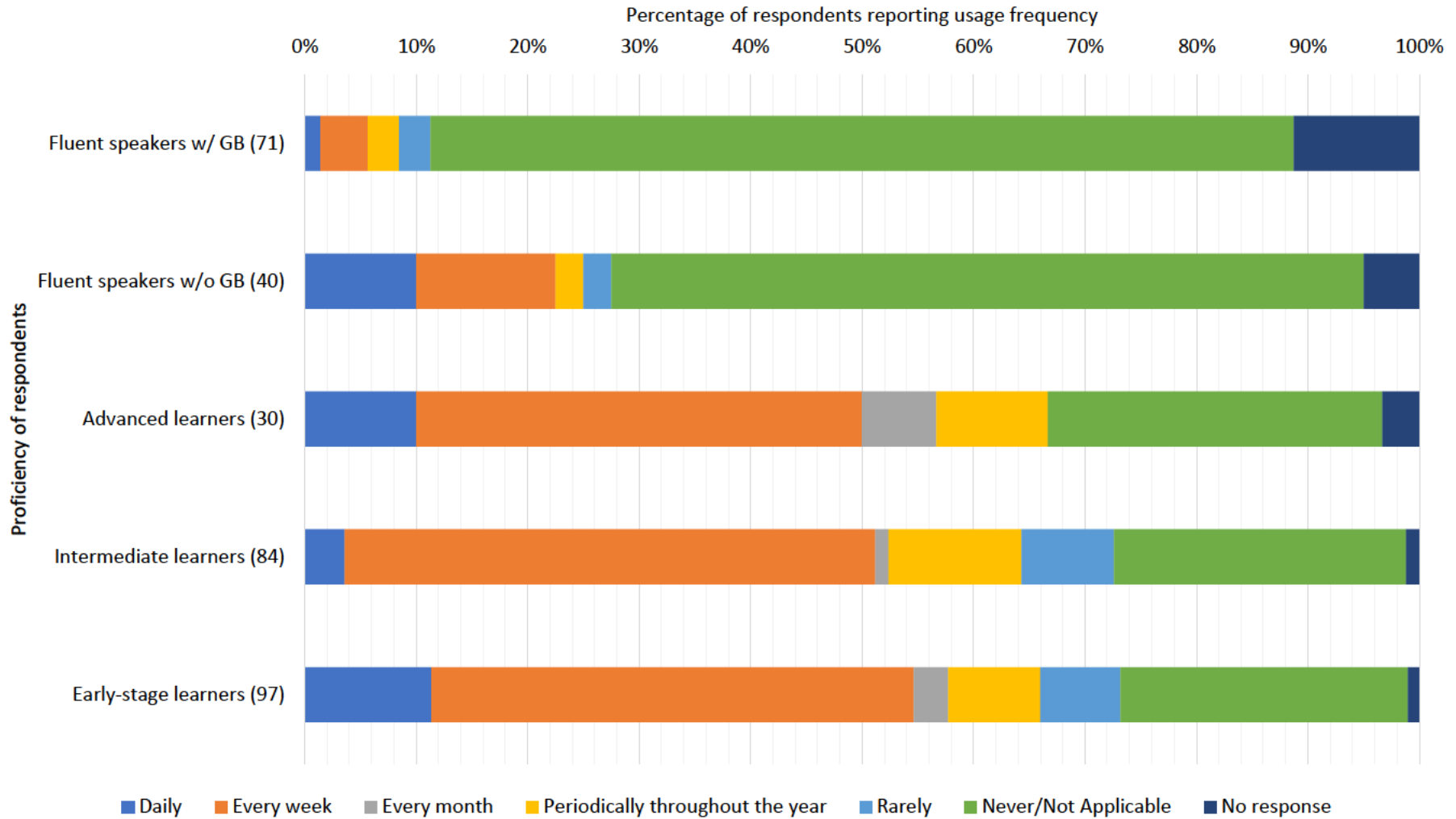
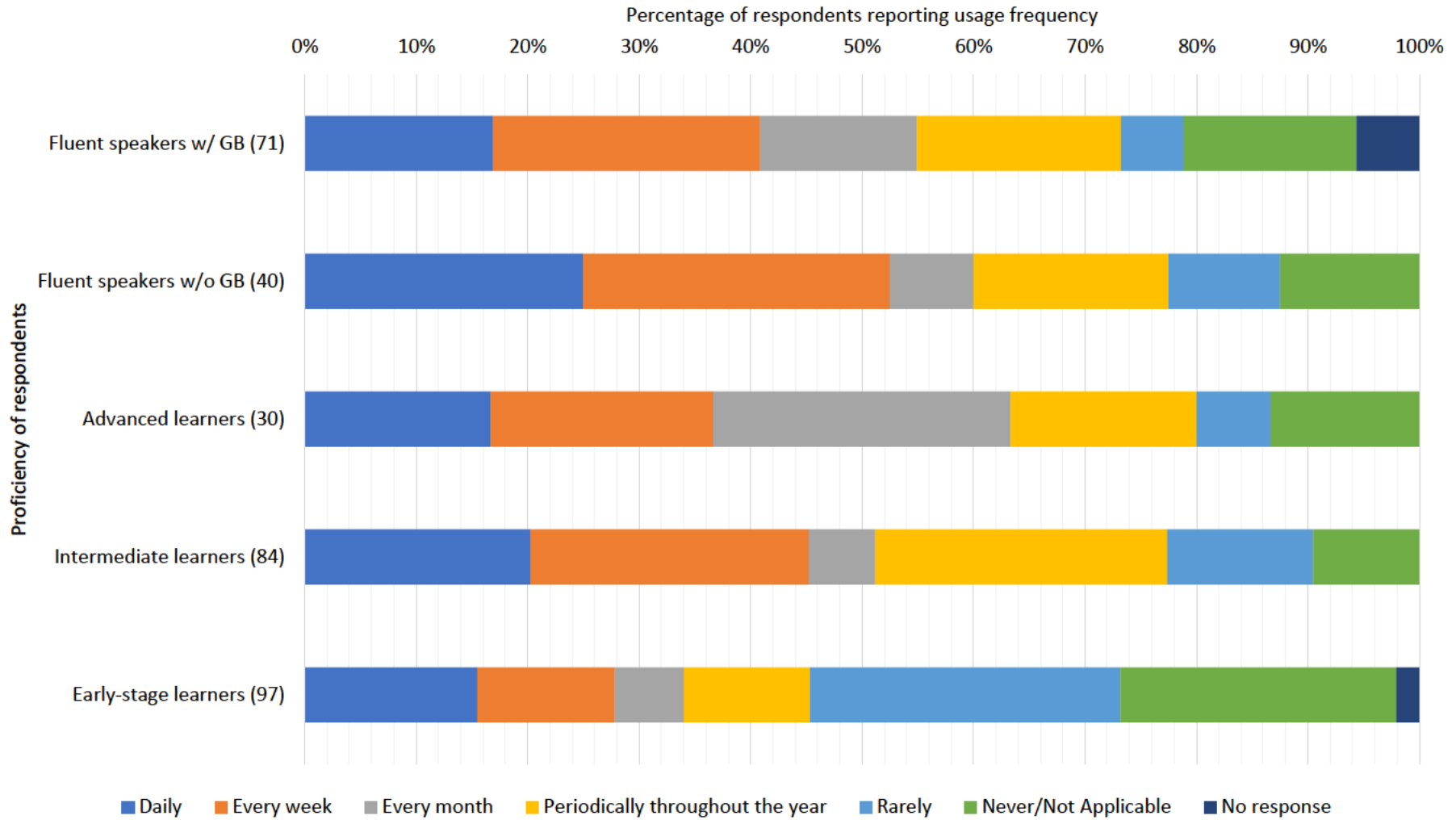


Figure 6.9: Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage on social media by respondent proficiency



proficiencies reported at least monthly usage. The nature of this usage cannot be determined. It may constitute regular posting and active text-based interaction with other speakers, or could be limited to passive consumption of Gaelic content online. However, it does suggest a moderate prevalence of Gaelic in the digital social lives of many Gaelic speakers. I will not draw too advanced a conclusion from this sample, but it is interesting that fluent speakers from a non-Gaelic background were more likely to use Gaelic on social media weekly or more than fluent speakers from a Gaelic background. Determining whether this represents a wider pattern would require more focused research on Gaelic social media.

6.2.7: Discussion

The data from the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey reinforces some of the core concerns which motivated this research to learn more about social Gaelic usage in Glasgow. Within this sample, Gaelic-speaking workplaces were a very important site for enabling regular Gaelic usage amongst fluent speakers, but the majority of fluent Gaelic speakers in Glasgow are not engaged in Gaelic employment. Work can potentially help individuals find Gaelic-speaking social connections, though this is not guaranteed. Relatives are another important context in which native fluent speakers in particular use Gaelic, but such contact is not necessarily in-person in the city. Only around 50% of fluent speakers using Gaelic weekly or more with friends suggests that, for many Gaelic speakers, Gaelic usage is infrequent and their social networks of Gaelic-speaking friends are relatively sparse, as per Walsh and McLeod (2011: 167).

Learners appear to be highly dependent on Gaelic classes for regular Gaelic usage. The correlation between advancing proficiency and Gaelic usage with friends suggests that some learners are able to develop Gaelic social connections as they develop their language ability, and the two are likely mutually reinforcing. This makes it all the more unfortunate that much of the sample, particularly early-stage learners, did not make such regular usage of Gaelic in classes, and I would speculate that, more often than not, those who do attend weekly classes are likely to be those who continue to advance in their proficiency. Frequency of usage of Gaelic at events was low across all proficiencies. This correlates with my ethnographic findings at arts events (Chapter 8). Overall, the survey data paints a picture of Gaelic usage being less frequent for many speakers than is ideal, particularly amongst friends and at the sorts of public gathering which would allow for spontaneous formation of

new social connections with other Gaelic speakers. This highlights the need to understand the dynamics at play in social Gaelic usage if there is any possibility of enabling and incentivising greater social language usage.

6.3: Gaelic Interests

The data gathered by the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey through asking respondents to rate their interest in a variety of Gaelic activities and interests provides some insight into the priorities of Gaelic speakers and learners in the city. As with Gaelic usage data, I do not take this data as an authoritative source on the interests of the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow as a whole, but it does give an insight into the interests of those sufficiently civically engaged to complete the survey. Two factors may inflate the professed levels of interest beyond the practical engagement each option may receive in reality: respondents to the survey may be more generally enthusiastic about Gaelic than the average speaker, and of course it is easier to express interest for hypothetical Gaelic activities than it is to actually engage in them. Nonetheless, this research is to my knowledge the first of its kind and may be of general use. For this reason, the full breakdown of interests is provided in Appendix C, including breakdowns by proficiency. Due to the size of these figures, they are not reproduced within this chapter. Please refer to Section 5.4 for details of the methodology employed in analysing this data, and for direction in understanding the significant milestones in “levels of interest”. For reasons of scope, I will only be highlighting here my key observations regarding this data.

Some of the options presented in the survey received high rates of interest with high agreement across proficiencies, granting them a universal popularity which made them worth exploration. The first one is relatively simple but conceals complex issues of language ideology: Visibility of Gaelic signage. As noted in Section 4.2.2.5, the linguistic landscape is an important element of language planning, influencing and reflecting sociolinguistic behaviour and being a site for language competition. The high interest from all respondent proficiencies suggests that there is desire for more presence of Gaelic in the written landscape of Glasgow. Three different interviewees, when asked about any changes they would make regarding Gaelic in Glasgow, expressed a feeling that Gaelic and its presence were not as apparent in the city as they could be, and that a greater presence in the visual environment of the city could help with that. Presence of a minority language in the

linguistic landscape is indeed theorised to have a legitimising, confidence-granting effect on speakers (Landry and Bourhis 1997). Interest in this issue was moderately higher among learners and fluent speakers from a non-Gaelic background than for fluent speakers from a Gaelic background, and it may be such a feeling of legitimisation and confidence which these respondents seek to feel from seeing the language they are learning or have learnt in the city around them.

Traditional music, and to a slightly lesser extent non-traditional music, were both of very high interest to all proficiencies. Music is perhaps the best-known and most popular cultural expression of Gaelic in Glasgow, and this is reflected in it receiving markedly higher interest than the other art forms offered in the survey. This is examined further in Chapter 8.

Traditional social events also received high interest from all proficiencies. This professed interest in both traditional music and traditional social events shows a degree of durability in the appeal of tradition, which may contrast with sentiments that Gaelic needs to find fresher expressions to appeal to urban populations. Media-based events such as film screenings received high interest, though slightly less so for fluent speakers from a Gaelic background than for other proficiencies. Academic events also had higher interest than I might have expected, though given actual attendance at groups such as Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu I feel this datapoint may be a good example of expressed interest being exaggerated over actual practice.

Some of the interests presented to respondents follow a pattern of being generally popular, but notably less popular with fluent speakers from a Gaelic background. These include commercial outlets selling Gaelic products, hospitality sites featuring Gaelic language and culture, and dedicated physical spaces for Gaelic. It should be noted that interest amongst this proficiency was still high, but the greater enthusiasm amongst those who are likely new speakers and learners may reflect a greater interest in opportunities for expanding their usage of Gaelic. In particular, hospitality sites featuring Gaelic and dedicated physical spaces for Gaelic would constitute important social sites of a sort not currently offered in Glasgow. Gaelic social media accounts also fall in this category, being of greater interest to those not of a Gaelic background. It may be that respondents from a Gaelic background in this survey sample, and perhaps more generally, have more realistic outlooks on Gaelic opportunities in the city, or are more satisfied with current provision. This may be reflected in the lower

mean and median levels of interest in all activities expressed by fluent speakers of Gaelic background in response to this survey question (Table 6.2). When an average is taken of the interest levels across all analysed activities (see Section 5.4), it appears that fluent speakers of

Respondent Proficiency	Mean Level of Interest	Median Level of Interest
Fluent speakers of Gaelic background	59.0%	56.8%
Fluent speakers of non-Gaelic background	64.2%	65.8%
Advanced learners	69.7%	75.6%
Intermediate learners	68.4%	69.8%
Early-stage learners	64.6%	68.4%

Table 6.2 | Mean and median levels of interest in all Gaelic activities expressed by respondents by proficiency

Gaelic background express somewhat lower interest in Gaelic activities overall. Whether this is a lack of enthusiasm, a contentment with existing opportunities or some other factor cannot be determined without further qualitative insight.

Finally, some options within this survey question have levels of interest which correlate clearly with certain proficiencies. Most notably, Gaelic classes and education opportunities are understandably of much greater interest to learners than fluent speakers. Conversation groups follow a more interesting pattern, however, being of great importance for learners of all proficiencies, but dropping off in interest for both types of fluent speaker. By contrast, community groups for adults are generally of interest among learner respondents, but particularly for advanced learners and fluent speakers of non-Gaelic background. I would theorise that conversation groups are of greater value to early-stage or intermediate learners than to a learner who has achieved an advanced level of fluency, on the grounds that the latter are likely seeking more advanced, freeform social opportunities for Gaelic usage than their less proficient peers.

While I hesitate to draw too strong a conclusion from this data, it highlights some interesting priorities amongst the survey sample in terms of their interests. The visibility of Gaelic signage was evidently important to many respondents, and so linguistic landscape is a factor in Glasgow which future researchers may wish to examine, and language planners may wish to develop. The resilience of the popularity of traditional Gaelic music should be no news to arts organisers, nor should the greater overall interest which music received over other art

forms. Some areas which might be worth further consideration by language planners include the prospects of commercial and hospitality sites featuring Gaelic. What form these would take and their viability is a matter for future work, but the potential interest is evidenced here. The most interesting of the expressed interests to me was that of dedicated physical spaces for Gaelic events and activity. The concept of a Gaelic community centre of some kind has been important in several Scottish cities for many years now, and there is evidently interest here. This was discussed in my interviews and will be explored further below.

6.4: Issues of Community

During some of my interviews a theme developed of a perceived lack of Gaelic “community” in Glasgow. This was a discourse which I decided to explore further with interviewees, to try to understand the deeper meanings and implications of these observations. The impression I gained through this exploration was of a sentiment that Gaelic speakers in the city are socially divided, and a separate concern that Gaelic cannot be heard and readily used in public and in daily life as it could be in some parts of the Islands. It is here noteworthy that all speakers who discussed this issue were themselves native speaker Islanders. This contrast of perception of urban and rural community connected to another strand of discourse I isolated, that of the fate of Gaelic in Glasgow being dependent on Gaelic in the Islands.

One interviewee’s thoughts capture the overall sentiment of the three interviewees who discussed this issue. They said that they saw no organisation in Glasgow which offered overall community:

But you know in terms of community there’s not a... well you know, I don’t mean to demean anyone or hurt anyone, but I’m not aware there’s too much. [...] at a community level I’m not sure there’s anything else really. But I might just be not realising that.

The interviewee again asserted that community had by some mechanism been lost, and spoke of fragmentation, of there being only specific activities or groups but a lack of connection between them. When I asked what may fix this issue, they said

[...] something that creates some sense of community. Something that can do this in an urban setting, where you have this interest, this vitality, this drive, this wonderful growth in Gaelic education.

Talking further, it was difficult to figure out specific elements to this solution, though were there an easy solution no doubt it would have been found by now.

Other interviewees spoke of a Gaelic community in Glasgow being divided. One described the Gaelic population as 'disparate', and that this state had worsened over the Covid-19 pandemic. They spoke of a heterogeneity to Gaelic speakers in Glasgow:

[...] if you're looking for a Glasgow Gael who's been speaking it from the mother's knee, that's one group of people, and that group of people will not mix with a other (sic) group of people.

Another interviewee contrasted native speakers and learners in the context of language activism. In their experience many of the more ardent language activists in the city are learners and new speakers, but by contrast to them they and, in their opinion, other native speakers are more inclined to find Gaelic important to their identity but as less of a "cause". This interviewee also commented on divisions they perceived amongst native speakers, saying that they sensed a degree of resentment between what they identified as a '[...] Gaelic professional class which we never had 50 years ago [...]' and Gaelic speakers in the Islands.

That there is discourse of division or resentment is itself interesting and important to consider, but I also wanted to find out what, in practical terms, these interviewees saw a functioning community as being. It became apparent that the key element of community they saw as lacking was presence of language and speaking opportunities. The overwhelming dominance of English was a key issue:

When you're growing up in a Gaelic community you've got all ages speaking Gaelic. You've got people speaking Gaelic out in the field, in the shop, so all the interactions between people could be in Gaelic in a Gaelic community. Here what you've got is a much more fractured experience: you've got Gaelic in the classroom, you've got English in Tesco, you've got English on Sauchiehall Street, in fact you've got English everywhere except in the classroom.

Interviewees were cognisant that they could not expect to achieve a similar social dynamic to that of a majority-Gaelic rural community in urban Glasgow, with one stating it plainly:

[...] no matter how many speakers you're going to have in the cities, it's still an urban, English-speaking environment, and we're just a tiny... You could speak to- you could walk

down Buchanan Street there and ask folk, and there'll be lots of folk who've never even heard of Gaelic and have no idea what it is [...]

However, a different interviewee, who did not talk directly on this topic, presented a narrative of their experiences dating back to the 1970s through which one can see the sort of Gaelic community which did exist in Glasgow, the ghost of which may well form part of the other interviewees' sense that something is missing. This interviewee recalled hearing Gaelic on a daily basis in Partick, the West End of Glasgow and south of the river. Features of this account which stood out to me on a sociolinguistic level included the sense of density to the community, relatively geographically focused and numerous. The interviewee described Gaelic-speaking neighbours visiting with one another on Hogmanay. The spontaneity of interaction in Gaelic was also notable and indicative of dense networks, with meetings in the street common:

There were certain people I used to meet, on Byres Road or Partick, I would never have dreamed of speaking to them in English, it would always be in Gaelic, and I think it was a natural thing for those people, when they got together, to speak in their own tongue.

The interviewee emphasised the unselfconsciousness of Gaelic usage, and contrasted it to their sense that in more recent years people choose to speak Gaelic due to awareness of its minoritisation. They said: 'We always spoke Gaelic, it was just a given. We didn't particularly think about it, but that was the way it was.' To apply social network theory briefly to this account, the interviewee describes a densely connected, multiplex network with an associated strong unselfconscious preference for Gaelic usage. This contrasts to the concerns of the other interviewees, whose perception of the modern Gaelic experience in Glasgow is of a sparse network, of little multiplexity; isolated groups and demographics with limited contact tying them together.

The discussions of community above implicitly and explicitly drew on experiences of, or perceptions of, Gaelic usage in the Outer Hebrides. This was not the only point of discourse relating to the Islands: There was also concern amongst the same interviewees as to the relation between Glasgow and the Islands, and the interconnected fates of Gaelic in both contexts. One interview summarised plainly: '[...] if Gaelic disappears from the Islands, then yeah, I think that's disastrous. Then it really is the death knell [...]' They said that Gaelic speakers were too much of a minority to survive in Glasgow without the Islands.

Furthermore, they spoke of a paradox in Glasgow's relationship with the Islands. Many young people leave the Islands to go to Glasgow, often only returning in older age, and in so doing the Islands are deprived of the young people who interviews thought to be keeping Gaelic alive. Another speaker, pitching their concerns more neutrally, diplomatically described native speakers as "lived experience Gaels", and noted that there will be fewer and fewer of them in Glasgow over the next hundred years. They raised the question of how Gaelic promotion efforts in Glasgow will respond to that change, itself an inherent result of language shift in the native speaking population.

This having been said, all of these interviewees were positive about efforts to support Gaelic in Glasgow. Two rounded off their concerns about the loss of Gaelic in traditional native speaking areas by asserting the need for a twofold approach: continued promotion of Gaelic in Glasgow, but the primary importance of preserving Island Gaelic communities. This captured the heart of these interviewees' sentiment:

Because you know we can shout out about Glasgow, and it is doing great things, and I know about the Gaelic plan for the city and all of that, and I've been here all my life myself... You know, you have to be realistic about it, it's never going to... Gaelic in Glasgow is not going to save the language, you know.

6.4.1: A Gaelic Centre

The prospect of a Gaelic community centre of sorts, a physical space which could house opportunities to use Gaelic and be a central social hub for Gaelic speakers, was not something which I aimed to discuss with interviewees unprompted, and so it was itself interesting that the topic developed organically with two interviewees, and it is discussed here as, thematically, it relates to the problem identified by interviewees above. Both of these interviewees identified a lack of central spaces where events or opportunities to socialise could be primarily in Gaelic. Their visions of what sort of venue could remedy this issue were similar, with one describing such a centre as follows:

I think it would be brilliant to have a space where you could just go in and socialise and, I don't know, buy a coffee and cake, get a drink from the bar, and do that through the medium of Gaelic, and know that you're going to be able to go there, even just on your own, and meet people that you haven't seen for a while that are Gaelic speakers and kind of know that they're going to be there.

The other interviewee also suggested that there be a café, as well as a bookshop. They emphasised the importance of variety of offerings in the space, and appeal to both native speakers and those of a non-Gaelic background. They also expressed the importance of such a building in being central and serving to legitimise Gaelic. One interviewee said that the building must be clearly Gaelic in purpose to onlookers. The other thought that it was important to showcase the presence of Gaelic in the city: 'So I would love to see a physical space, or spaces, where we really drive that message home and turn heads and change attitudes towards Gaelic, when we still too often hear this "Gaelic was never spoken here".' They highlighted their desire for such a space to depict not only Gaelic's past in the city, but also current activities. These proposals align with the high interest expressed in the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey for physical spaces for Gaelic.

The concept of a Gaelic community centre seeks to provide an answer to both the sense of diffuseness described earlier in this chapter, and to the lack of spontaneous Gaelic usage afforded to speakers in the city; note one interviewee's emphasis on the opportunity for unplanned Gaelic social interactions in the centre. The hypothetical centre which is being discussed here aligns with those I have heard of being proposed by activist groups in other cities in Scotland. They largely align with the model of the successful Cultúrlann in Belfast, and so I suspect there is a strong degree of standardisation in the ideal model for such a centre based on both what is perceived to work and from cross-pollination of ideas between activists. That discourse exists around such a centre shows that it is perceived by some to be a potential solution to issues of social fragmentation and shortage of opportunity for spontaneous social Gaelic usage. For this reason, the theoretical function and effectiveness of such a centre is briefly considered in Chapter 11.

7: Gaelic and Religion in Glasgow

It is generally believed that Christianity was established in Glasgow by the end of the 6th Century at latest, long before Anglophone language shift in the region, and so it would be only a mild romanticism to say that Christianity was Celtic in Glasgow long before it was Anglophone. However, there is little continuity between the medieval church of Glasgow and the vernacular Gaelic chapels of the modern era. These were a migrant phenomenon, founded as Gaels moved from the Highlands and Islands to the city. From the 17th Century onwards, these chapels, dedicated to serving a Gaelic speaking minority in their own language, were founded, proliferated, navigated religious upheaval, and then declined. Now, as of time of writing, Gaelic worship in Glasgow is at its lowest ebb, represented only in a joint congregation preserving the St Columba Gaelic Church congregation after the loss of their church building, and occasional Catholic masses.

Over its history, and to this day, Gaelic worship provided a social structure through which Gaelic social networks were sustained. The extent of this support historically is interrogated here, revealing the limits of the chapels' reach but nonetheless highlighting the importance these chapels once held as social hubs. Likewise, the extent to which Gaelic worship still provides any social anchor for Gaelic in the city is explored. While limited in numbers and in capacity for growth, churches still serve a social purpose for Gaelic speakers in the city, and support a degree of Gaelic usage. Acknowledging the social limitations of these chapels, and the reality that Gaelic speakers have been and are scattered across the many churches of the city which do not have an overt Gaelic identity, the role which churches may have played for those Gaelic speakers who did not find or necessarily even seek Gaelic provision is also considered throughout this chapter.

The first part of this chapter presents a history of Gaelic worship in Glasgow from the late 17th Century, charting the course of the many Gaelic chapels which were founded and then faded in either their health or Gaelic identity by the present time. Original research which draws the narratives of most of these chapels to their close over the late 20th to early 21st Century rounds out existing research on their history. Some inquiry into the history of those Gaelic speakers who did not have reliable dedicated provision for much of this period, including the Roman Catholic Gaelic population of the city, is made. The social role of these

chapels, the reasons for their decline, and the concordant effects of this decline are analysed.

The second part of this chapter examines the state of Gaelic and worship in the present day. In particular, ethnographic fieldwork conducted in St Columba Gaelic Church in the final months in which it had a church building of its own allows for the presentation of the last Gaelic church in Glasgow's situation as a congregation. The extent to which a Gaelic church even undergoing language shift still supported Gaelic language social networks is notable, as is the strong cultural connection to Gaelic that the church tried to preserve. Nonetheless, the challenges facing the church were substantial and the current situation in which it finds itself are detailed also. The role of the Roman Catholic Church in supporting Gaelic networks is explored, based on ethnographic research, revealing a little of the extent to which Gaelic speakers may be connected to one another through patterns of proximity to specific Catholic churches, a phenomenon that may be instructive in understanding the situation of Gaelic speakers attending other Anglophone churches.

Finally, drawing on conversations with stakeholders and an expert, I examine the prospects of expansion or revival of Gaelic language worship in Glasgow, and the benefits it may serve. Many issues, from the personal, to the geographical and the institutional, present serious challenges to potential development in this field. However, while in the scheme of Gaelic activity in Glasgow, churches no longer have the scope and scale they once had, their role is not over.

7.1: A History of Gaelic and the Churches in Glasgow

While it is entirely likely that Gaelic speakers worshipped in Glasgow at some point prior to the modern era, the continuous history of Gaelic worship which is to be addressed here started in the late 17th Century, with Highland migration into Glasgow, and developed over the 18th and 19th Centuries, before the role of the Gaelic chapel and Gaelic worship in Glasgow declined over the 20th Century and into the 21st. A great many chapels founded for the needs of Gaelic-speaking Highlanders and Islanders have existed in Glasgow over these centuries, almost exclusively in the Presbyterian traditions of Scotland. Their stories have been thoroughly researched by Ian R MacDonald (1995), but his history is complete only up to 1995. The first portion of this chapter summarises that history and completes the

narratives of the Gaelic chapter of many of these church's existence, as by time of writing only one such church remains that still holds to an overtly Gaelic identity: St Columba Gaelic Church.

There are also histories which are harder to isolate and record, those of Gaelic speakers who did not attend Gaelic chapels, perhaps attending churches that were part of the wider Anglophone culture of the city. Most notable amongst these histories is that of Catholic Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, who have received little dedicated provision in their first language over the centuries.

The social role played by Gaelic chapels and worship in Glasgow over the 18th-20th Centuries was of an anchor for social networks of migrant Gaelic speakers. However, this was not a universal experience, and the limits of this role interacted with processes of language shift, demographic and geographical change to produce the decline of Glasgow's Gaelic chapels. The nature of this social role and the processes of this decline are explored here.

7.1.1: Gaelic and the Presbyterian Churches in Glasgow

The history of Glasgow's Gaelic chapels can be traced to the close of the 17th Century and the early 18th Century. From 1690 through to 1754 there was inconsistent provision of Gaelic-speaking ministers to Glasgow's Gaelic immigrant population (MacDonald 1995: 6-9; Withers 1998: 160-61). This developed into a more permanent arrangement with the founding of Ingram Street Gaelic Chapel in 1770, which would in time become the modern St Columba Gaelic Church, and Duke Street Gaelic Chapel in 1796 (Withers 1998: 162). Prior to the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, a number of Church of Scotland Gaelic chapels and two non-establishment Protestant Gaelic churches would arise; of all of these, only Ingram Street, Duke Street, Hope Street Gaelic Chapel, and a newly-established Argyle Gaelic Church are understood to have still provided or intended to provide Gaelic ministry by 1843 (MacDonald 1995: 9-30). All four of these congregations, sometimes under different names, would maintain Gaelic worship to some extent into the 20th Century.

These early chapels were at first founded to meet perceived need for Gaelic language ministry. Ingram Street Gaelic Chapel was campaigned for and funded through the efforts of the Gaelic Chapel Society, an offshoot of the Glasgow Highland Society (MacDonald 1995: 9-11). Duke Street Gaelic Chapel in turn would be founded by petition and subscription by an

evangelical party within Ingram Street (MacDonald 1995: 12-16). Wealthier Gaels were heavily involved in the founding of both chapels, as was the case for many future chapels (Withers 1998: 163-66). The involvement of the Glasgow Highland Society, itself an organisation largely of the Highland well-to-do in the city, and the prevalence of known Gaelic merchants at Ingram Street demonstrate this, and while Duke Street appears to have represented the efforts of a larger but less wealthy population who would go on to constitute its congregation, notable industrialists could be numbered among its attendees (MacDonald 1995: 9-16; Withers 1998: 163-66, 85-87).

The aim of these early initiatives was, first and foremost, the securing of ministry to the Gaelic-speaking population of the city rather than what we could now call language planning. This aim was only partially achieved; an attempt by the three Protestant chapels to enumerate the Gaelic-speaking population of the city in 1835 identified 22,509 “native Highlanders”, identified by Gaelic proficiency rather than place of birth, of whom around half lacked a seat in a Gaelic chapel (Withers 1998: 172-75). Future developments would more often have their roots in disagreements and division than in expressed desires for greater provision of religious services. Hope Street Gaelic Chapel was formed over disagreements around ministerial appointments at Duke Street, and in turn Argyle Gaelic Church would be formed following the formation of a rift in the Hope Street congregation, again over ministerial appointments (MacDonald 1995: 20-24).

The Disruption of 1843 between the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland brought great change to these Gaelic chapels, with all but Ingram Street and a short-lived minority of the Duke Street congregation leaving the Church of Scotland (MacDonald 1995: 30-32). The Disruption was particularly focused and intense in the Highlands and Islands, with significant proportions of both ministers and laity joining the Free Church (Brown 1997: 25-26; Ansdell 1998: 99-104). In this regard, it is unsurprising that changes in the Highlands and Islands would be reflected amongst the Highland population in Glasgow. When the Free Presbyterian Church split from the Free Church in 1893, the movement was again centred on the Highlands and Islands (Ansdell 1998: 108-11). Dissent to the merging of the Free Church and United Presbyterian Church to form the United Free Church was strongest in the Highlands and Islands, and many congregations there remain to this day with the Free Church (Brown 1997: 30-31; Ansdell 1998: 111-12). Accordingly, the churches founded to

serve a Highland population in Glasgow were notably heterodox from 1843 onwards, and Gaelic chapels could be found in the Free Church, United Free Church and Free Presbyterian traditions in Glasgow through the 19th and 20th Centuries.

During that period between the Disruption and the Union of the Free Church and United Presbyterian Church in 1900, there was a proliferation of distinct Gaelic churches and chapels, as existing congregations split over disagreements or sought local provision of their preferred denomination (MacDonald 1995: 45-58). A number of missions to areas of the city were also established, which didn't result in permanent congregations, but which are instructive in indicating where there may have been concentrations of Gaelic migrants to the city with unmet religious demands (MacDonald 1995: 59-64; Withers 1998: 179). Only some of these congregations remained overtly Gaelic in worship into the 20th Century, and as this complicated period is covered in depth by MacDonald the exact developments of this era will not be explored here.

Twelve distinct Protestant Gaelic congregations are identifiable in Glasgow by the 20th Century, either surviving into it from the 19th Century, or being founded during the period (MacDonald 1995: 66-81). By the time of writing, at most 8 of these congregations exist in their own right, or as constituent parts of a merged church, of which only one overtly identifies as a Gaelic congregation and still endeavours to provide a Gaelic service on any regular basis. Their histories from 1900 through to the, in most cases, cessation of Gaelic worship within the congregation are detailed below, based on MacDonald's work through to 1995, and my own fieldwork thereafter. A visual depiction of the lineages and eventual fates of these congregations is also provided in Figure 7.1.

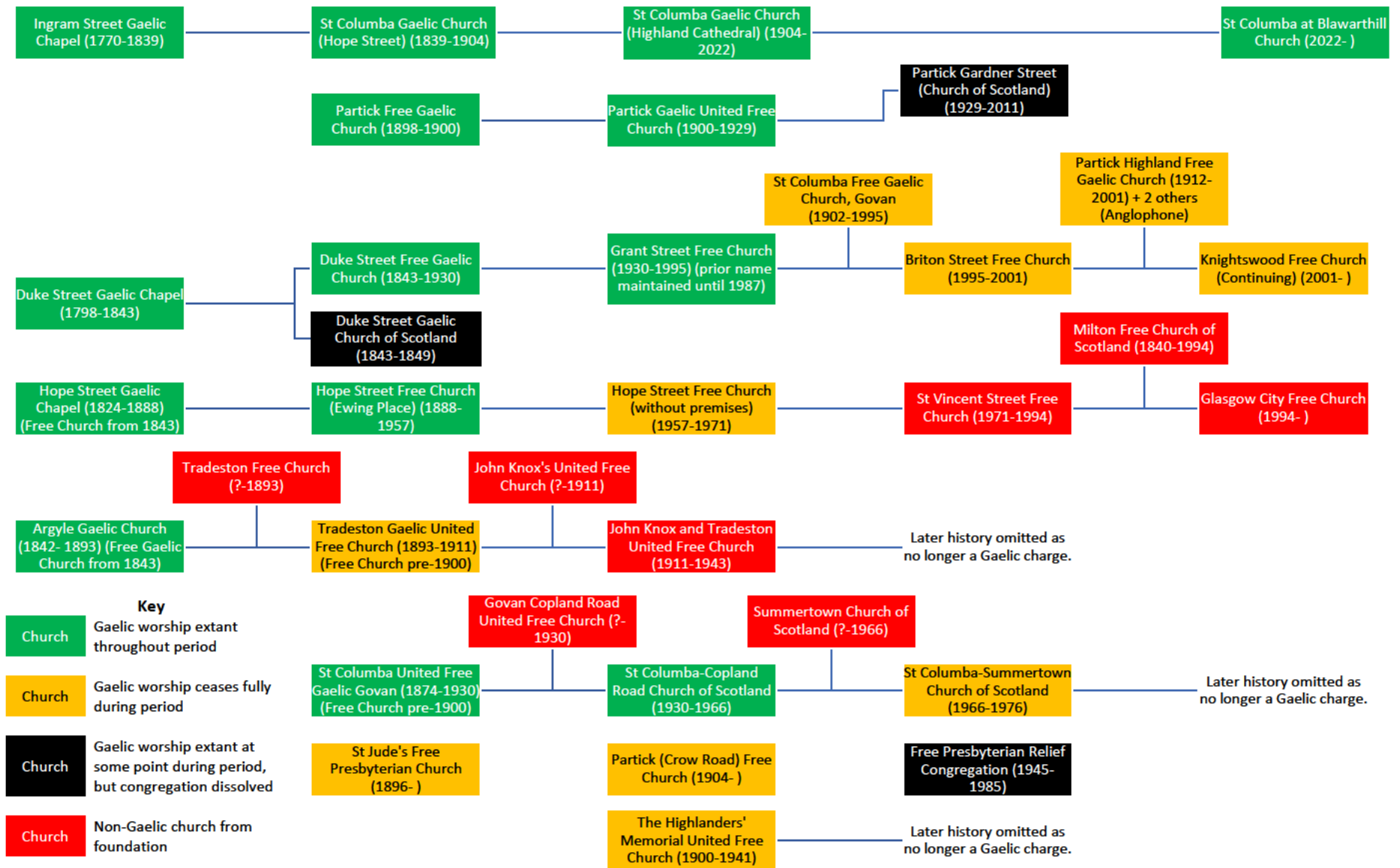


Figure 7.1 | Lineage and Gaelic worship status of Gaelic chapels extant post-1900. Horizontal lines signify lineal descent, left-to-right, of chapels, with notable changes of location, denomination, name and merges recorded. Churches joining lineage via a connecting vertical line are congregations merged with the preceding church to form the succeeding church. Status of Gaelic worship at church during period indicated according to key.

St Columba Gaelic Church

Ingram Street Gaelic Chapel, on moving to a new premises in 1839, adopted the name of St Columba Gaelic Church, which it holds to this day. In 1904 it moved to the “Highland Cathedral” on St Vincent Street, where it remained until 2022. MacDonald (1995: 68) recorded at his time of writing that the church was the only congregation remaining which held its main service in Gaelic in mainland Scotland, with a regular attendance of 30. However, the congregation’s last full-time minister departed the post in 2009, and from 2010 to 2019 a Locum provided Gaelic and English ministry. While I have not gathered a full account of the patterns of Gaelic and English services over this period, the regular uploading to YouTube of recorded services by one congregant from late 2015 to early 2020 provides some insight.⁶

As shown in Table 7.1, between 2016 and 2018 St Columba Gaelic Church was able to have a Gaelic service most weeks, with a service almost weekly in 2017 once one accounts for the fact that major festivals were usually celebrated with a joint Gaelic-English service. By the research period, however, Gaelic worship was less regular. In 2019 there appear to have been only 15 Gaelic services, unevenly spread through the year. There was a Gaelic service most weeks from January through to April, but from June through to December only 4 appear in a mostly complete catalogue of weekly services, likely reflecting the end of the Locum’s tenure. When Gaelic services were held, they were held at 10am, prior to an 11am English language service. When they were not, there was a joint Gaelic-English service, delivered primarily in English, which was the norm during my period of fieldwork from December 2019 to March 2020.

Year	Number of Gaelic Services
2019	15
2018	34
2017	43
2016	39

Table 7.1 | Number of Gaelic services held at St Columba Gaelic Church by year

The onset of the pandemic caused considerable disruption for the St Columba congregation, as with many churches, but particularly in their case. During the pandemic the church, in co-operation with Greyfriars Kirk in Edinburgh, launched a series of online Gaelic worship, Eaglais Air-Loidhne. However, in October 2020 the Glasgow Presbytery made the decision

⁶ <https://www.youtube.com/@kennethmacdonald3015/videos>

that the Vincent Street building occupied by the church would not be reopened for services, pending investigation of the state of the building, a report on which was made to the General Trustees of the Church of Scotland in 2021.

From December 2021 to the present, St Columba would hold its services in Blawarthill Parish Church, charge of its then-interim moderator. The Church of Scotland resolved to dispose of the Highland Cathedral in February 2022, and following congregational vote on the matter, St Columba Gaelic Church officially left its home of 118 years. The congregation still meets at Blawarthill Parish Church, though in a reduced capacity, and as of February 2023 the visiting and host congregations are officially linked under one minister in one building. For a period of at least a year the two congregations held separate services on a Sunday, but now to my understanding they hold one joint service with “Gaelic elements”. St Columba-Blawarthill still endeavours to have Gaelic services, though they are sporadic. My fieldwork at St Columba, before and after its removal from the Highland Cathedral, will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

Partick Gardner Street

Partick Gardner Street started its existence as Partick Free Gaelic Church in 1898, joining the United Free Church in 1900, and becoming known as Partick Gardner Street following the 1929 merge with the Church of Scotland (MacDonald 1995: 57-58, 76). As of MacDonald’s research, the church maintained a weekly Gaelic service, and appears to have maintained some level of provision up until the congregation’s dissolution in 2011. St Columba Gaelic Church’s former website considered Partick Gardner Street to have been the last other church in Glasgow to offer a regular Gaelic service at time of dissolution, an assertion which appears to be correct by my own research (Mitchell 2023). The building was taken over by Glasgow Reformed Presbyterian Church, and a portion of the former congregation apparently joined the new congregation (Glasgow Reformed Presbyterian Church).

Knightswood Free Church (continuing): Duke Street Free Gaelic Church/Grant Street Free Church, St Columba Free Gaelic Church, Govan, and Partick Highland Free Gaelic Church

Duke Street Free Gaelic Church, St Columba Free Gaelic Church, and Partick Highland Free Gaelic Church, while originating as three separate Gaelic congregations, would enter the 21st Century as part of one church, Knightswood Free Church (Continuing). Duke Street Free

Gaelic Church remained a Free Church past 1900, and moved to a Grant Street site in 1930. There, the weekly Gaelic main service would slowly be supplanted by an English main service, and the congregation would officially rename the church Grant Street Free Church (MacDonald 1995: 68-70). In 1995, they would merge with St Columba Free Gaelic Church in Govan, a 20th Century Gaelic foundation to provide Free (as opposed to United Free) Church provision in Govan, which had discontinued its own Gaelic services in 1987 (MacDonald 1995: 74-75). MacDonald recorded that the combined church, Briton Street Free Church, on its Govan site, maintained a monthly Gaelic service with an attendance of around 30.

However, by 2001 the congregation was without a minister of any language, and during the divide between the Free Church and the Free Church (Continuing), Briton Street merged with Partick Highland Free Gaelic Church, which also lacked a minister, and two Anglophone congregations, to form Knightswood Free Church (continuing) (knightswoodfcc 2010). In correspondence with the congregation I have learned that Knightswood has amongst its congregation a number of Gaelic speakers, and that between 2006 and 2021 the church's minister Revd William Macleod, a Gaelic speaker from Skye, would hold occasional Gaelic language services, and would sometimes use words of Gaelic in sermons. Since his retirement in 2021, the congregation has lacked a minister, though Revd Macleod still preaches at the church on a regular basis. The congregation's correspondence stressed that language choice was not a primary concern of the congregation, and so it remains to be seen whether such sporadic provision will resume.

Hope Street Free Church

Hope Street Gaelic Chapel, which by 1900 was Hope Street Free Church at Ewing Place, maintained Gaelic services in some capacity even beyond the loss of their church building in 1957, but in 1961 Gaelic services were discontinued by choice of the congregation (MacDonald 1995: 70-71). The congregation eventually acquired a permanent site opposite St Columba Gaelic Church in 1971, taking the name St Vincent Street Free Church, and in 1994 merged with Milton Free Church to form Glasgow City Free Church which is extant to this day, though no longer on the same site and having long lacked Gaelic worship.

Argyle Free Gaelic Church

Argyle Free Gaelic Church united with a non-Gaelic church in 1883 to form Tradeston Gaelic Free Church, and joined the United Free Church in 1900. The Gaelic minister of Tradeston Gaelic United Free Church died in 1911, and the church merged again with another congregation, John Knox's United Free Church. MacDonald (1995: 72-73) believed that, while the first three ministers of John Knox and Tradeston United Free Church were Islanders, it is unlikely that they were employing Gaelic in a ministerial capacity. Over the 20th Century the congregation underwent a complicated series of mergers with other small congregations which will not be recounted here, any overt Gaelic provision having already ceased in the early 20th Century.

St Columba United Free Gaelic Govan

St Columba Free Church, founded 1874, joined the United Free Church in 1900, becoming St Columba United Free Gaelic Church. It merged with Copland Road Church in 1929 as part of the reunion with the Church of Scotland, then with Summertown Church in 1966. Gaelic preaching ended at St Columba-Summertown Church in 1972, and the congregation has since gone through further merges with other churches (MacDonald 1995: 52-55, 73-74).

St Jude's Free Presbyterian Church

St Jude's Free Presbyterian Church received its first minister in 1896, and had Gaelic preaching in some capacity from its founding (MacDonald 1995: 79-80). Though at time of writing MacDonald described Gaelic preaching to have been passed down to the end of the 20th Century, correspondence with the current minister of the church indicates that to his understanding Gaelic services had changed from being weekly to monthly at some point in the 20th Century. He estimated that these services had an attendance of around 14, but were discontinued by 1982. Due to congregational interest, a fortnightly Gaelic service resumed in 2010, with a similar congregation of around 14, but was discontinued in 2011. The church continues to this day, though with no Gaelic worship as of time of writing.

Partick Crow Road Free Church

Partick Free Church, often known as Crow Road, was formed in 1904 as a non-Gaelic charge, but Gaelic entered its ministry in 1956 with the arrival of a Gaelic-speaking minister

(MacDonald 1995: 78-79). By 1995 it was still holding a Gaelic service on Fridays of communion weekends, but there is no indication that this is still the case in the church's public-facing media.

Highlanders' Memorial United Free Church

The Highlanders' Memorial United Free Church was formed as a result of the Duke Street and Hope Street congregations choosing not to join the United Free Church. MacDonald (1995: 71-72) determined that they likely did not have any Gaelic ministry beyond 1940, and the congregation merged with another church in 1941.

Free Presbyterian Relief Congregation

Glasgow's Free Presbyterian Relief Congregation was a short-lived church, extant 1945-1985. However, Gaelic worship persisted for almost the entire lifespan of the church, surviving to a limited extent until 1982 (MacDonald 1995: 81).

7.1.2: Gaelic and the Catholic Church in Glasgow

The history of Catholic Gaelic speakers in Glasgow is, by contrast to the history of Protestant Gaelic churches, less studied and substantially harder to track in terms of discrete congregations. This is in no small part due to the small number of post-Reformation Catholics in Glasgow, and Scotland in general, prior to the growth of Irish immigration. In 1755, Catholics constituted around 1% of the Scottish population, focused primarily in the North of Scotland in Gaelic-speaking areas (Brown 1997: 31). Gaelic speakers therefore likely formed a majority of the late-18th Century Catholic resurgence in Glasgow, with a small congregation moving regularly between premises during the latter half of the century (MacDonald 1995: 27-28).

This revival appears to have started small but developed rapidly, with 20 Catholics meeting in a private house for worship in Glasgow in 1778, growing to 60 congregants by 1791 (Brown 1997: 32). There is evidence that the Catholic Church recognised the need for Gaelic-speaking clergy in Glasgow on an organisational level, in the form of a 1795 letter from the Bishop of the Highland District which estimated that there were at least 500 persons in the Glasgow mission, only a small minority of whom could not speak Gaelic (MacDonald 1995: 28-29). This nascent congregation gained a chapel in 1791-1792, under Father Alex

Macdonald, but the man himself and much of his following left for Canada in the early 19th Century, and following his departure, dedicated Gaelic Catholic ministry appears to have been on a visiting basis only (Withers 1998: 166; MacDonald 1995: 27-29).

In the ensuing decades, the Highland and Island Catholic population in Glasgow was substantially outnumbered by Irish Catholic immigration as the total Catholic population rose to 27,000 (13% of the city's population) by 1831, and so the Scottish component of this population becomes difficult to isolate as a demographic (Brown 1997: 32). The numerically superior Irish population appears to have claimed greater attention from the Catholic Church, though as late as 1826 a Highland priest is known to have been visiting Glasgow to give confession to Gaelic speakers (MacDonald 1995: 29).

There is not a great deal written in academic sources specifically about Gaelic Catholic congregational history in Glasgow from the 19th Century into the 20th Century. A permanent vocational post does not seem to have been devoted to ministering to the Scottish Gaelic population at any point since the early 19th Century. Towards the end of the 19th Century, a Father Archibald Campbell appears to have provided Gaelic services for Highlanders and Islanders every other Sunday at least in the years immediately up to 1887 (The Catholic Telegraph 1887). This was under the auspices of the Glasgow Caledonian Catholic Association, which formed circa 1876 with the aim of providing Catholic services specifically for Scottish Gaelic speakers rather than Irish speakers (Glasgow Herald 1900).

In the post-Vatican II period there have been more dedicated Gaelic services provided by the Catholic church in Glasgow. One informant, speaking of their experiences in the 1970s through to 1990, was not aware of any Gaelic Mass in Glasgow on a regular or semi-regular basis, but would be able to attend Mass in Gaelic on their island of family origin. This concurred with the impression of another informant, that there were no Gaelic services in the 1980s, but that a monthly Gaelic Mass occurred at St Leo's Church in Govan in the 90s and early 2000s. In more recent times visiting Gaelic ministry has occurred – currently this is on an occasional basis through the University of Glasgow's Catholic Chaplaincy by Father Ross Crichton.

The existence of worship through Gaelic at a church, and the prevalence of Gaelic speakers in the congregation, however, are two separate issues. Informants identified some Catholic

churches, including the former St Margaret Church in Kinning Park, and St Peter's Church in Partick, which they considered to be particular focal points for Catholic Island migrants and those Catholics of an Island background during the later 20th Century, while not being in any way designated Gaelic churches. This focus was, in both cases, based on migration and residential patterns. One informant identified the process as more focused on geographical than religious assortment, stating that '[...] it wasn't really centred around religion, but with Uist and Barra being much more Catholic, it was Catholic-y people that you kind of got to know [...]'. It was their understanding that a similar phenomenon occurred for Protestant Islanders from Lewis and Harris.

While full study of this phenomenon in a historical context is outside of the scope of this research, it seems reasonable to suggest that if Catholic churches served as such a social focus for Gaels in the 1970s, then it is likely that they did so in earlier years, according to their geographic proximity to areas of Catholic Islander settlement. The extent to which Gaelic was prominent in these networks, if not in worship, however, is lost to history.

7.1.3: Sociology of Gaelic and the Churches in Glasgow, 18th Century to Present

In addition to its primary function of religious outreach, Gaelic language ministry served a complex social role for Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, one with a great deal of resonance in popular memory, but decreasing importance from the mid-19th Century, and particularly over the course of the 20th Century. The nature of this social role, and its decline, is fundamentally a function of immigration, language shift, and urban geography. Due to the lack of detailed historical information on the social impact of the Catholic Church on Gaelic in Glasgow, and that there was no concept of a Gaelic Catholic chapel in the city beyond the early 19th Century, much of the ensuing analysis is ultimately about the Protestant Gaelic churches. This already highlights a limitation in the social role of Gaelic chapels that will be explored further below: the Gaelic chapel was by no means a universal experience shared by all Gaelic speakers in the city.

It is important to emphasise the original purpose of the Gaelic chapel. Chapels such as Ingram Street and Duke Street were founded to provide Gaelic-language ministry to a Gaelic-speaking population, with future chapels founded to provide that same service to increasingly sub-divided portions of that population, on grounds of denomination and

occasionally point of origin (Withers 1998: 163; MacDonald 1995: 45-46). The linguistic element of the Gaelic chapel was a matter of necessity and Protestant philosophy, intended to aid in bringing the Gospel to Highland and Island immigrants in their first, and potentially only, fluent language. For most of the lifespan of the Gaelic chapels, it does not appear that there was any great degree of pro-Gaelic language ideology as we would identify it in the present day, and across Scotland English was often introduced to chapels in both Lowland cities and the Highlands and Islands (Withers 1998: 172; 1984: 247). In the present day, elders and congregation members expressed to me a degree of pride that St Columba Gaelic Church remained a Gaelic church in identity and ideally partly in worship, but my impression is that this is a modern development, stemming from the decline of all the city's other Gaelic chapels and modern interest in Gaelic revitalisation.

Glasgow's Gaelic chapels served as important social hubs in the urban networks of Protestant Gaelic speakers in the 19th Century, and to a diminishing extent the 20th Century. Chapels provided a rare space in which Gaelic speakers could meet in their own space, and in their own language (Withers 1984: 200-02). One could consider them the sort of Gaelic breathing space in an Anglophone city which modern language policy endeavours to create, despite this not being their intended primary function. There was an important geographical element to the function of chapels as social hubs. The patterns of migration from Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland to Glasgow meant that migrants from the same points of origin often moved to the same areas of Glasgow, and the social networks of the chapels would reflect these concentrations of specific Highlanders or Islanders (Withers 2009: 136-38; 1998: 89-96, 127; MacDonald 1995: 96-97). As MacDonald (1995) demonstrates in his history, chapels and missions were founded to serve areas with high Gaelic immigration, and the movements of chapels to different premises over the 19th and 20th Centuries sometimes reflected the settlement patterns of the congregation.

The relationship between Gaelic chapels and migration contains within itself one of the fundamental weaknesses of the chapels as Gaelic social hubs. Gaelic chapels were reliant on a continued supply of immigrants more proficient in Gaelic than in English to maintain their linguistic character, due to ongoing language shift of the Gaelic speakers already in the city, and increasingly over the 19th and 20th Centuries, of those arriving from the Gàidhealtachd. In Glasgow itself in the 19th Century, while Gaelic speakers may initially have availed

themselves of a Gaelic chapel, it was frequently the case that as they integrated further with the Anglophone majority, they would seek English-language religious services, particularly if they were of a higher socioeconomic status (MacDonald 1995: 89-90; Withers 1998: 173-76).

Intergenerational language shift also played an important role, with families choosing to attend English-language churches due to their children being more proficient in English than Gaelic, or Gaelic chapels themselves introducing English services to allow families to worship together, thereby leaving continued migration to maintain demand for Gaelic ministry (MacDonald 1995: 82-83; Withers 1998: 175-76). The Gaelic language social networks which the Gaelic chapels could support were in a constant state of erosion and replacement by the effects of language shift and migration. This situation would be exacerbated over time, as increasingly chapels in the South and East of the Highlands moved over to English services themselves during the 18th and 19th Centuries, meaning that an increasing number of Gaelic-speaking immigrants would arrive in the city already conditioned to English language worship, degrading the demand for Gaelic services (Withers 1998: 200-07).

Beyond the process of language shift, other factors restrained the reach and influence of Gaelic chapels as social hubs for the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow in the 18th and 19th Centuries. In the early years of Gaelic chapels, Withers' (Withers 1998: 166, 76-79) research indicates that many Highlanders in the city simply weren't able to attend chapel, often due to being unable to afford the seat rent or appropriate clothing for attendance. While there would be greater availability of chapels over the years, demand for such peaking in 1855 (MacDonald 1995: 82), other issues would narrow the scope and reach of chapel social networks.

The first of these was the increasing denominational division of the churches over the 19th Century and into the early 20th Century, dividing Gaelic-speaking congregants amongst chapels rather than providing more universal social landmarks. This by no means meant complete severance between congregations, with instances recorded of attendance by members of one Reformed denomination at churches of another on an occasional basis, and in particular a degree of "sermon-tasting", whereby individuals would gravitate towards chapels based on the movements of popular preachers (MacDonald 1995: 74-75, 98-99). However, these trends would cause many churches to have smaller core congregations with

a fringe of peripatetic attendees, which would have the effect of loosening the social networks they anchored. Gaelic chapels would have formed a social hub for *some* of the Gaelic-speaking population at any one time, but not have provided a universal, unifying hub for the entirety of the city's Gaelic speakers, an issue noted also by Withers (1998: 193-94). Again, it is important to remember that Catholic Gaelic speakers will have been entirely outwith the social sphere of the Gaelic chapels, before one even considers the extent to which Protestant Gaels were socially networked through chapels.

All of the above issues affecting the social impacts of Gaelic chapels persisted into the 20th Century. An increasing proportion of immigrants to the city from formerly monolingual Gaelic areas wouldn't need a Gaelic language service, if they attended church at all, as English became increasingly familiar in the Gàidhealtachd. MacDonald (1995: 83-84) identified growing secularisation through the 19th and 20th Centuries as a key factor impacting the vitality of Gaelic chapels. It is unknown whether the decline in church attendance of the general population and the Gaelic population of the city differed in extent and pace. In addition to this, MacDonald also identified a movement away from the Protestant church by a certain class of educated Gaelic speaker who perceived it as a suppressor of Gaelic culture, a sentiment which, while concealing a great deal of nuance in Highland Presbyterian history, was nonetheless widely accepted over the 1900s (MacDonald 1995: 89-90; Meek 1996: 58-62).

The latter half of the 20th Century brought additional challenges. On a local level suburbanisation had a huge impact on many elements of Glasgow's Gaelic culture (MacKinnon 1991: 195-96), and chapels were no exception. In interview, Dr Duncan Sneddon, former Gaelic Language Development Officer at the Church of Scotland, identified the loss of geographical focus and dispersal of the Gaelic-speaking population of the city as a core challenge for Gaelic language churches. Elders at St Columba Gaelic Church talked about the challenges of the church's St Vincent Street location. The city centre site, once well-located in a densely-populated area, had in more recent decades become a problem, as Glasgow city centre is nowadays comparatively sparsely populated, the church's surroundings are primarily commercial, and much of the congregation were travelling into the city from more residential areas to attend worship. Gaelic churches, once located for

proximity to their potential congregations, became poorly situated for modern patterns of urban habitation.

On the national level, a lack of clergy with adequate Gaelic of an appropriate register for ministry was another challenge which faced Gaelic chapels across Scotland over the 20th Century (Withers 1984: 247; Meek 1996: 57). This remains a concern to the present day. Dr Sneddon made it clear that not only is there an absolute lack of clergy in all Protestant denominations in Scotland proficient in Gaelic, but there are also issues of distribution across the country. Furthermore, there are clergy who are fluent Gaelic speakers, but who are not comfortable delivering services or preaching in Gaelic due to lack of confidence in the appropriate register of language. This is the end result of a long-term shortfall in Gaelic-speaking students for ministry and a lack of strategy to compensate for this across Presbyterian denominations (Meek 1996: 41-42).

This shortage of appropriate ministers and worship leaders impacts not only the likelihood that a congregation can secure reliable Gaelic ministry, as became apparent at St Columba Gaelic Church after the departure of their Locum from post, but can also lead to more existential impacts on the congregation as a whole. The loss of a minister can be a precursor to amalgamation with another congregation, as seen in the cases of Tradeston Gaelic United Free Church, Briton Street Free Church and Partick Highland Free Gaelic Church, and ultimately of St Columba Gaelic Church. As Gaelic ministers became increasingly hard to replace over the 20th Century, the risk of a Gaelic charge with declining attendance being merged with another congregation would have increased, and as can be seen through the history of Gaelic chapels over the 20th to 21st Centuries above, such merges could impact the site of the church, the language of preaching, and more broadly the linguistic character of the congregation.

Finally, in the latter half of the 20th Century, the spread of English in the source populations for migration to Glasgow and their home chapels intensified. From 1950, Gaelic ministry was increasingly supplemented with, and then replaced by English ministry on a national scale, and the number of Gaelic-essential charges for ministers collapsed during that period (Meek 1996: 33, 39). Maintenance of Gaelic worship has not been a priority for any denomination nationally, on top of which there has been absolute decline in the membership of the very Highland churches which Glasgow's chapels were founded to provide a second home for

(Meek 1996: 63-65; Macleod 1998: 171-72). The migration which Gaelic chapels were founded to cater for increasingly lacked need for them as the 20th Century progressed.

From our perspective at the tail end of the life of the dedicated Glasgow Gaelic chapel, it is possible to see the interactions of migration, language shift and urban geography which produced the social impacts and legacy of Glasgow's Gaelic chapels, but which also contributed to the long decline of the institutions they had created. The first Gaelic chapels, founded to provide vernacular ministry to an immigrant population with greater confidence in Gaelic than English, also served as hubs in the social networks of that demographic in the city, where there were few other breathing spaces of the type. However, their impact should not be overestimated, as due to reasons of socioeconomic division and religious differences, by no means was the entire immigrant Gaelic population connected through these chapels. Furthermore, urban Gaelic speakers, either in their own lifetimes or over generations, tended to gravitate towards English religious provision, departing for Anglophone chapels or being catered for in English within a Gaelic founding.

Over the later 19th Century, demand for Gaelic services would decline even as the number of congregations increased due to divisions in the Church of Scotland. In the 20th Century, all of the trends of the last Century would continue and be compounded by seismic changes to urban residence patterns through suburbanisation, and by the chronic shortage of ministers willing to deliver services in Gaelic, a shortage which church establishments made little effort to address. Chapels which had once anchored a sizable, if not complete, portion of the Gaelic speaking population of the city declined, hosting shrinking congregations equally comfortable with Gaelic or English services, and on the loss of ministers proficient and confident with Gaelic faced cessation of Gaelic services, or amalgamation with other diminished congregations. In most cases, Gaelic ministry did not long survive such changes, and one by one, the Gaelic chapels of Glasgow became churches with a legacy, rather than a living experience, of Gaelic worship.

While the end of a chapel's independent life as an overtly Gaelic church, or the holding of its final Gaelic service, are convenient points which we may use to demarcate "the end of an era", these moments are better understood in most cases as the end of a process of Anglicisation, a process which began as early as the 19th Century and intensified over the 20th. In all of the churches whose Gaelic provision was followed to its end in MacDonald's

(1995) research or my own, Gaelic religious provision was, by time of final offering, at very best conducted as an equal alternative to the English service, as in the case of St Columba prior to the departure of their Locum, and in most cases conducted as a secondary service, or on an occasional basis.

It is important to remember that within these institutions, even as they ceased to be “Gaelic” in a formal sense, there were and are Gaelic speakers, whose lives continued as Gaelic worship ceased. There is no readily available data, other than the continuation of congregations beyond their last Gaelic service, which could illuminate the extent to which churches retained Gaelic speakers after they became fully Anglophone in worship, but I have gathered limited evidence that indicates such churches do maintain at least some Gaelic capacity amongst their congregation. A congregant of Knightswood Free Church of Scotland (continuing) indicated to me that there are still several Gaelic speakers in the congregation, who can speak Gaelic with one another, despite the distance between Knightswood’s current site and those of the former Gaelic churches which formed a portion of its combined congregation. The minister of St Jude’s Free Presbyterian Church related that, when a Gaelic service was reinstated between 2010 and 2011, a congregation of around 14 attended, a not-dissimilar number to that which he recalled attending Gaelic services in the 1980s. Finally, and as will be examined in closer detail in the ensuing section, while St Columba Gaelic Church did not have regular Gaelic services during my period of observation, the lack of a Gaelic service by no means meant a lack of spoken Gaelic in the church.

Beyond the doors of those churches which became increasingly Anglophone, there would also have been Gaelic speakers who moved to other chapels to worship in English, as well as those who immigrated in later years when English was already familiar in churches of their point of origin, who may not have felt any need to seek out a Gaelic church in the first place. The stories of these individuals, and the sociological roles which their churches may have played in their lives as Gaelic speakers, are hard to pick out from those of the majority population of Glasgow, but more recent experiences of Catholic Gaelic speakers in Glasgow may provide some insight.

In a way, Catholic church-attending Gaelic speakers “skipped” much of the historical process discussed here for Protestant Gaelic chapels; from the early 19th Century onwards, there were no overt Gaelic Catholic churches to go to, and language of worship was not in

question. The churches of St Margaret in Kinning Park and St Peter's in Partick which two informants identified as being particular focal points for Catholic Islanders were, in both cases, considered by the informant to serve this role due to the demographic concentration of Catholic Islanders in the districts surrounding the churches. In the case of St Margaret Church, the informant said that through the 1970s and 1980s the church was a gathering point not only for worship, but also for Islanders going to dances on a weekend. If specific Catholic churches in areas with a high concentration of Catholic Gaels served such a social purpose, as gathering places prior to going to a social occasion, then it is likewise possible that some Protestant churches may have done the same for Protestant Islanders.

More research in this area would be required, but it seems likely that there is a hidden history of Gaelic social networks based around Anglophone churches. The extent to which the language of worship will have impacted the sociolinguistic profile of those networks is unknown, and the disruption of residential patterns over the later 20th Century through suburbanisation and increased urban mobility will have had its own impact on these churches.

7.2: Gaelic Religious Practice in Present-Day Glasgow

As of time of writing, while there are many Gaelic speakers attending churches in Glasgow, only one still identifies as a Gaelic church. In this sub-chapter I first examine what limited population-scale observations or inferences can be made about the religious, Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow, before conducting closer examination of St Columba Gaelic Church, the Roman Catholic Church in Glasgow, and other churches more generally within which I have found current or historic Gaelic activity. I consider the social impacts these institutions have for their Gaelic speaking members. Finally, I assess the future prospects of Gaelic language worship in Glasgow, based on discussions with multiple stakeholders, informants, and Dr Sneddon. While there is potential for developments in this space, a great many factors stand opposed.

There is no population-wide assessment of the religious affiliations and practices of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, and as such no way to authoritatively or accurately state the prevalence of Gaelic speakers across the various Christian denominations of Glasgow. It is worth clarifying at this stage that neither my own investigations, Dr Sneddon's observations, or the

Gaelic in Glasgow Survey (GiGS) indicated any organised non-Christian Gaelic religious activity whatsoever in the city, and as such this discussion is exclusively focused on Christian denominations.

While it is not a substitute for larger-sample population data, GiGS data on the religious identification of fluent Gaelic speaking respondents with a Gaelic background indicated a higher rate of identification with a Christian denomination than the general population of Glasgow in the 2011 census (Figures 7.2, 7.3). These speakers are primarily divided amongst the Church of Scotland and the Roman Catholic Church, with a minority of “other Christians”, many of whom are likely members of the Free Church of Scotland; Dr Sneddon stated in interview that many Free Church members ‘[...] have Island background, might be from Lewis or Harris, or be Glaswegians from an Island background [...]’, and the Free Church has historically accounted for most of the dedicated Gaelic religious institutions in Glasgow. By contrast, learners and fluent speakers from a non-Gaelic background identified as being of no religion at a markedly higher rate than the total population of Glasgow (Figure 7.4).

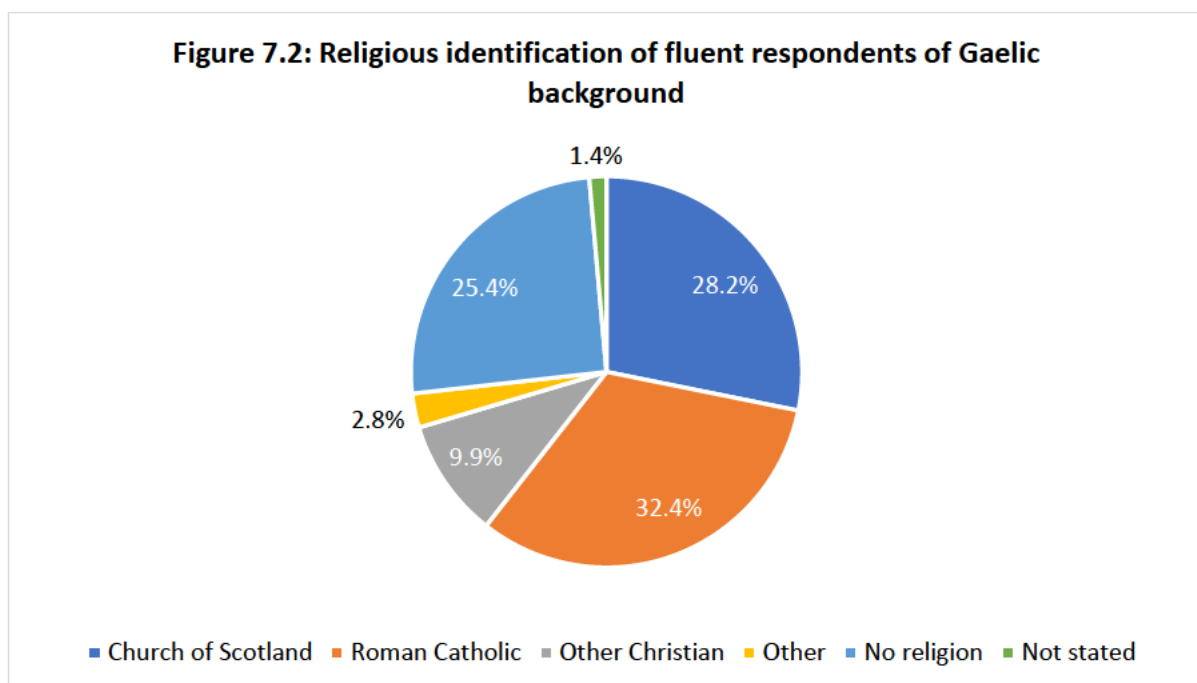


Figure 7.3: Religious identification of the population of Glasgow (2022)

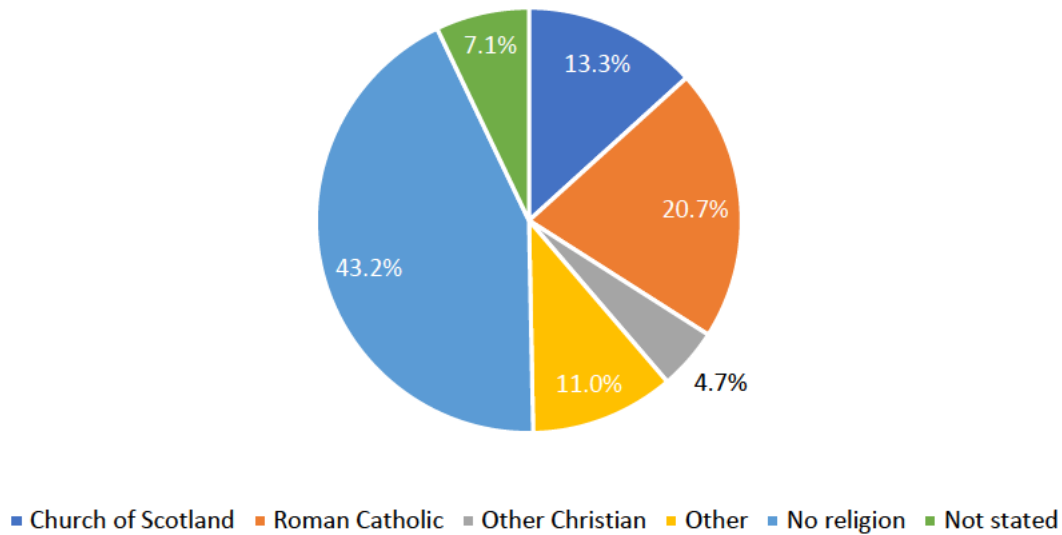
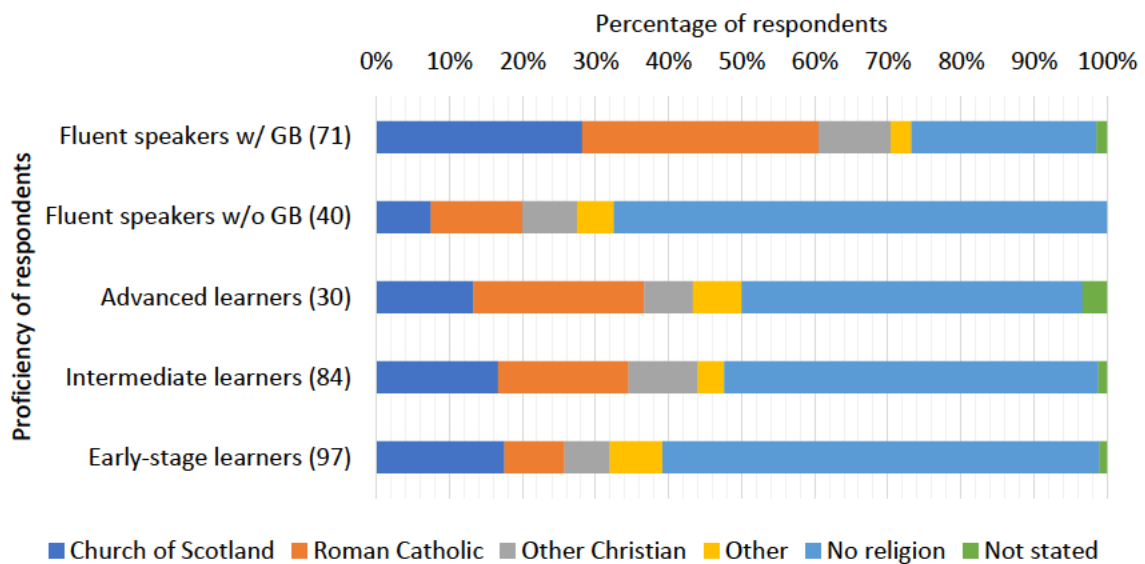


Figure 7.4: Religious identification by respondent proficiency



It is possible that Gaelic speakers are on average more likely to be affiliated with a denomination of Christianity than the overall population of Glasgow. However, without deeper insight into the religious affiliations of the broader Gaelic-speaking population, I am hesitant to draw any demographic conclusions based on the GiGS data. The GiGS does provide a small sample of 50 Gaelic-speaking Christians of Gaelic background, and smaller

numbers of other proficiencies of speaker, whose interest in Gaelic language religious provision is analysed in Section 7.2.4. The bulk of the data was gathered through ethnographic fieldwork, and it is to these observations which we now turn.

7.2.1: St Columba Gaelic Church

My primary period of observation of St Columba Gaelic Church spanned from December 2019 to March 2020, and was brought to an end by the introduction of lockdowns due to the Covid pandemic. During this time I attended 6 services, and also went on a more extensive tour of the church with one of the elders of the congregation. Observation, and the congregation's openness and willingness to talk about their community, yielded many insights into the demographics of the congregation, the presence of Gaelic in the church, and the dynamics of the community itself within the wider context of Gaelic in Glasgow. I was also able to visit the congregation for a Gaelic service at Blawarthill in March 2022, where I attended a meeting regarding official steps forward for the congregation. This event provided an opportunity to ascertain how the congregation had weathered the pandemic and the loss of their building, and to hear from elders and the interim minister about prospects for the future.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, by the time of my period of observation, the congregation had not been able to maintain a regular schedule of parallel English and Gaelic services every Sunday since early 2019. I only experienced full-congregation bilingual services. There had been no regular minister in the charge since 2009, and so services which I attended were led by visiting ministers, none of whom were Gaelic speakers. One fully Gaelic language service was held during my period of observation as a one-off occurrence, but regrettably I could not attend.

The congregation was stable in number over the 2019-2020 period of observation, fluctuating slightly around 30 individuals in attendance based on both my own observations and the understanding of the elders. By my estimates, generally around half of attendants at any service were 60 or older, with younger adults entirely 35+. Around a quarter of the congregation at any one service were children, though the demographic of children and parents was the most subject to fluctuation in number, with one time as many as a dozen children present. I was informed that approximately 22 children are associated with the

church, though that full number was never all in attendance at once, which from my experience of churchgoing is a surprisingly high number for a congregation of St Columba's size.

The presence of Gaelic as a language at St Columba Gaelic Church was in many ways typical of minority language sociolinguistics. There was less usage than capacity, compromise in social usage of the minority language to ensure inclusivity, but also active symbolic usage in both worship and the linguistic landscape. In terms of prevalence, English was the default social language at every bilingual service which I attended. When I arrived, I was greeted in English, by self-professed non-Gaelic speakers, and this was a regular pattern at future services for others I saw arriving. The service itself, though technically bilingual, was heavily balanced towards English, with all elements of the service except one Bible reading conducted in English. The majority of social interactions which I observed before and after the services were in English.

It was the exceptions that proved most informative in my observations. I identified a small social cluster of 6 elderly Gaelic speakers who attended regularly, though their number was diminished by illness over the course of the period of observation. These individuals interacted before and after the services and sat together during. They spoke to one another exclusively in Gaelic. Individuals from this group would speak to other congregants in English, so far as I could observe. In one instance I spoke to two other elderly congregants who, upon learning I could speak some Gaelic, talked with me and each other in Gaelic for a few minutes, before returning to speaking English both with me and notably with each other. In another, a native speaker from Islay likewise chatted for a little while with me in Gaelic, but generally spoke English with other members of the congregation.

The usage of Gaelic by families in the congregation was perhaps the most unexpected finding. I observed two different families in which the parents spoke Gaelic with one another and their children. Conversation with one of these parents made it clear that the family had a conscious language policy in that regard. However, the parents and children seemed to speak English to other congregants. The church provided a Sunday school for children during the bilingual service. While children's language practices were outside of the scope of my research, I did learn that the Sunday school was bilingual, with a commitment towards teaching in Gaelic to some extent, and I became aware that the teachers were themselves

fluent Gaelic speakers. I was informed that most of the children at the church have some degree of Gaelic proficiency, ranging from basic vocabulary to first-language proficiency.

The Gaelic capacity of the congregation, and the disparity between that and the frequency with which Gaelic was used amongst the congregants, should be a familiar pattern to any scholar of minority languages. While it was hard to objectively assess how many of the congregation had Gaelic, I was informed by a long-standing elder that around 50% of the adult congregation had full, fluent Gaelic, and that many of the “non-speakers” actually had partial or passive understanding of Gaelic as well. His latter assertion I judge to have been accurate – I observed evident, complete comprehension of things said in Gaelic by others by at least three older members of the congregation who only spoke English themselves, ironically including the elder himself, who identified as a non-speaker of Gaelic. That there was Gaelic capacity amongst the congregation which went unused in a setting in which, due to actual or perceived inability to speak Gaelic, most participants communicated in English, was not surprising. Gaelic speakers at St Columba appeared to use Gaelic with those they knew to have Gaelic and assumed English as language of preference in all other cases.

Gaelic was not only audible, but also visible in the church. While the great majority of written text in the church was English, there was a notable presence of Gaelic in largely symbolic, rather than communicative, usage on various signs within and without the building, typical examples of which are included in Figure 7.5. The first category of written Gaelic was the archetypal symbolic use of Gaelic alongside communicative English. This included the use of the inescapable “*ceud mile failte*” as a cultural marker on the church’s main external sign, which otherwise presented all operational information in English (Figure 7.5.a).

Within the church, Gaelic writing mostly served either an educational role or as, again, a cultural marker of sorts. For instance, there were almost a dozen pamphlets or children’s projects which served to provide translations for words (Figure 7.5.b-c). Gaelic was also used in a bilingual role in presentations of church activities or seasonal art, most often in providing a bilingual title to the display or key words (Figures 7.5.d-e). While most displays were entirely comprehensible in English, and the Gaelic purely symbolic, the display in Figure 7.5.f was an exception, being purely in Gaelic, the only example of such. Notably, there was no communication of complex information in Gaelic, even alongside English

Figure 7.5 | Photographs from exterior and interior of St Columba Gaelic Church, St Vincent Street (Highland Cathedral), taken 2019-2020



Fig. 7.5.a | Exterior Signage



Fig. 7.5.b | Educational Poster



Fig. 7.5.c | Children's Art



Fig. 7.5.d | Charity Display



Fig. 7.5.e | Display



Fig. 7.5.f | "Sith" Display



Fig. 7.5.g | Bilingual "No Smoking Sign

translations, other than a bilingual no smoking sign (Figure 7.5.g). By contrast there was a three-panel history of the church entirely in English along one wall of the church's hall. As a written environment, St Columba Gaelic Church was majority Anglophone, but the prevalence of Gaelic as a secondary written language in almost every display made the cultural emphasis placed on Gaelic by the congregation abundantly clear.

My observations of St Columba Gaelic Church through the theoretical lenses of this research fall into three broad categories: the purpose and values of the community of practice, the network dynamics within the congregation, and the connections between the congregation and the wider Gaelic speech community of Glasgow, both on an organisational and personal level. As a community of practice, it was clear that, beyond the obvious purpose of Christian worship, there was a strong cultural component to the community's purpose, reflected in both the consistent cultural backgrounds of congregants and accordingly in the church's valuing of Gaelic. With the sole exception of an organist from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland and the visiting ministers, every adult congregant that I talked to or was told of had a direct cultural association with Gaelic or the Gàidhealtachd. Many of the congregants were born in the Hebrides, whether they spoke Gaelic or not, and the relatively few who weren't were of recent Hebridean background, with three different congregants of varying ages telling me that their parents were Islanders who did not pass Gaelic on to them.

At least two elders were Glasgow-raised children of Gaelic speakers who had only passive proficiency, and one parent had learnt Gaelic to proficiency as an adult having received only partial fluency from their own parents. I would be told in 2022 that many members of the congregation had family in the Hebrides, and that it was not uncommon for congregants to return to a home island for long periods of time, impacting the stability of congregation numbers. While inherently all congregants must have been motivated by some extent to come to St Columba Gaelic Church for religious reasons, I did not meet a single individual for whom that was the sole motivation: St Columba's history as a Gaelic church was important to its modern cultural identity.

The importance of this cultural identity to the congregation is evident in the symbolic importance placed on Gaelic. Two elders expressed pride that St Columba was still able to maintain a Gaelic identity, even if it currently lacked Gaelic ministry. The commitment to a degree of bilingualism in the written environment and in the Sunday school, as well as using

Gaelic elements in the Sunday service, all demonstrated a desire for Gaelic to be part of the church's identity despite a substantial portion of the congregation not being fluent speakers. Above all, despite lack of provision during the period of observation, there was a desire to return to two Sunday services, one in English, one in Gaelic. However, while I occasionally heard sentiments relating to the ideological importance of Gaelic worship continuing, I do not believe from my observations that an ideology of overt language promotion lay behind the congregation's commitment to Gaelic. Rather, the heavily symbolic usage of the language, and the acceptance of its secondary bilingual role, indicates that the presence of Gaelic to some extent in the church was important to the congregation's cultural identity as a distinctly Gaelic Hebridean faith community.

This identity was reflected in the connections between congregants, the internal network of the community of practice. Within the context of Sunday services and associated social activity, the congregation was densely networked. Most congregants remained after the service to socialise. While there were clusters of individuals, such as families or closer acquaintances like the 6 Gaelic speakers mentioned above, most congregants appeared to know and interact with most others, without strong cliques or clear social divisions. Certain church activities also brought certain congregants closer together, such as the children and the Sunday school teachers, the elders involved in church management, and a small group of individuals involved in charity work. In the round, however, the congregation seemed to be familiar, consistent and cohesive.

The strength of these ties and their associated importance outside of the context of Sunday service was more open to question, however. While one cannot account for all external interactions between congregation members, I was made aware multiple times in conversation that the congregation as a whole travels from all over the city and its suburbs to attend; there is no local geographical community. This suggests a network which, while dense within its community of practice, is thinly distributed geographically, presenting an archetypally urban structure: a network which despite apparent multiplexity lacks complex social interconnections outside of the community of practice. The members were all tied to one another by purpose, and while there were some clear friendship groups within the church, overall mutual ties outside of the Sunday context were sparse. That it was not local community which drew people to the church evidences the cultural purpose of the

community; primarily religious, but importantly religious in a certain culture, if not associated language.

The external social connections of the church further reflected the congregation's nature and purpose, as a faith community with secondary cultural focus. The church did not seem heavily connected with other Gaelic social organisations in Glasgow as a cohesive social unit, in that external connections were predominantly individual rather than on a congregational level. The personalities involved and the history of the church meant that there were some personal connections between a church elder, the former Highlander's Institute, and the regional associations, with the church having been used for meetings between multiple associations' managements. I did meet one of the congregation members alone at other events in Glasgow, at one or two music events, but they were there in their own social capacity. However, given the relatively small congregation, its age, and its geographical distribution, it is unsurprising that I did not meet many of them in my ethnographic work outside the church. I did not gain the impression that St Columba Gaelic Church had a strong social impact on Glasgow's Gaelic speech community by the period of observation, though from my limited experience there seemed to be general awareness of its existence. I would argue, however, that this is to be expected, as the church was, again, not so much of a Gaelic cultural institution as a faith community with a cultural element.

The pandemic, closure of the St Vincent Street church building, and subsequent removal of the congregation to Blawarthill Parish Church have been damaging to the social health of St Columba Gaelic Church's congregation. During my visit I was told by elders that the congregation had fallen from a regular attendance of 30 to around 10, at a bilingual service held after the Blawarthill congregation's Sunday service each week. In particular many of the older congregants had not resumed attendance at the new location. Likewise, many of the families with children had not made the move, and the Sunday school was no longer well-attended.

The service which I attended was a Gaelic service with a visiting worship leader, attended by 7 adults, and a smaller number of children who attended the Sunday school. Of those adults, 3 were of the group of 6 elderly Gaelic speakers I had previously observed in 2019-20, with the remainder middle-aged, two of whom were parents of children at the Sunday school and one the teacher. The service was entirely monolingual, in Gaelic, and notably all of the

relatively brief socialisation which occurred after the service was also in Gaelic between all present. The visual environment of Blawarthill, by contrast to the old St Columba Gaelic Church building, was entirely Anglophone. The full impacts of the more official linkage of St Columba and Blawarthill as congregations are not yet fully apparent, and will develop in the coming months and years, but it was clear from visiting and talking with remaining congregation members that the move to another congregation's church, far from their old home, has brought great change, and not for the better. Nonetheless, the congregation continues, and still has a broader age range, and more families and young children than one might expect for such a small congregation.

St Columba Gaelic Church's role in the Gaelic life of Glasgow was a nuanced one. Firstly, as a community of practice, it was not predominantly Gaelic by the period of observation, but rather squarely bilingual with English dominant. This reflected the purpose of the community: a particular faith through a particular cultural lens. From a strictly language revitalisation point of view, the congregation could be seen as straightforwardly a site of advancing language shift, containing a mixture of speakers and lapsed speakers increasingly operating in the common language rather than the minority one. However, there was ideological commitment to Gaelic in the church, as evidenced by the attitudes of the congregation, the efforts of the Sunday school, the decoration of the church and the desire for Gaelic worship to resume even by a broadly Anglophone church management. To an extent, the non-Gaelic speaking element of St Columba Gaelic Church reflected Fishman's (1991: 16-17) concept of X-ians through Y: Gaelic was a dearly-held cultural marker for a church with only partial proficiency in the language. As a whole, the church could not be said to meet the requirements of a breathing space for Gaelic, due to the lack of predominance of Gaelic in its interactions (Cunliffe 2021: 82-86).

On the other hand, St Columba Gaelic Church did provide a place for Gaelic language usage. When considered through the networks it supported, it is clear that the church did provide a place where some groups of individuals could converse entirely or partly in Gaelic. Though I witnessed a Gaelic service in the reduced capacity of Blawarthill, it leads me to believe that the weekly Gaelic service at St Columba likely supported a social environment in which Gaelic was more dominant. Even at the bilingual services, St Columba was a place where usage of Gaelic by small groups amongst themselves was ideologically tolerated by those

with no or partial proficiency, and where those groups felt comfortable to speak in the minority tongue. Would the same be true of these individuals in a church with a less overt Gaelic cultural identity? For a certain proportion of the congregation, St Columba represented a Gaelicised node in their social networks, as per Jones (2021), one which I believe to have been the last of its kind as the final Gaelic chapel surviving in Glasgow. Its importance from a language preservation perspective should not be overstated; St Columba Gaelic Church supported a very small number of Gaelic speakers in the greater scheme of the Glasgow population, and as an English-dominant church, was well along the lifecycle which can be observed in the many cases of St Columba's departed fellow Gaelic chapels.

The move to Blawarthill Parish Church can be seen as another step along that road trodden by so many other Gaelic congregations: the loss of site and merge with an Anglophone congregation. While initially the congregations were only formally "linked" under one minister and maintained distinct identities in the same building, the two congregations now share a single Sunday service and Sunday school, which appears to have Gaelic elements. Merging with an Anglophone congregation will inevitably dilute the Gaelic character of the congregation, in addition to the impacts of the geographical move from the Highland Cathedral and the disruptions of the pandemic. The story of Gaelic worship in Glasgow is not yet quite concluded, but the loss of St Columba Gaelic Church as a distinct entity closes a chapter for the very first Gaelic chapel in the city, and while this change likely will not cause any great ripple in the vitality of the Gaelic language in Glasgow, it should be considered a cultural and historic loss.

7.2.2: Gaelic in the Catholic Archdiocese of Glasgow

As summarised in Section 7.1.2, despite a long history of Catholic Highland and Island immigration to Glasgow, there has been relatively little dedicated Gaelic religious provision aimed at this population. My investigations indicate this to still be the case. I contacted the Archdiocese of Glasgow regarding the role of Gaelic in their charge, and the answer was informative both in content but also in assumptions. I was informed that Gaelic '[...] is used regularly at major Archdiocesan occasions', but that this usage was very much in the music of the Archdiocesan choir, particularly in an annual Mass of our Celtic Roots. This was confirmed by an informant who is both a practicing Catholic and has had involvement in Catholic church music in Glasgow, who said that the Archdiocesan choir, the St Mungo

Singers, does have a history of singing occasional works in Gaelic and of working with Gaelic singers. It was their opinion that the choir's director has a fondness for Gaelic and that the choir has brought some awareness to the language, but that more broadly the Catholic church in Glasgow does not do much to support or promote Gaelic on an institutional level.

Indeed, it would appear that at the organisational level, the Archdiocese of Glasgow does find some value for Gaelic as a cultural marker in music, but takes relatively little interest in the language's potential broader place in the church. There is potential for change in this sector: a Gaelic Society of the Catholic Church convened for the first time at St John the Baptist's Church, Uddingston on Saturday 13th July 2019 (Wolff 2019). The extent to which its work impacts the presence of Gaelic in the wider Catholic Church in Scotland will be worthy of observation in the coming years.

However, while there is no overt "Gaelic church" in the Catholic tradition in Glasgow, there is evidence that there are still churches with Gaelic character as a function of geography and history, as discussed above in a recent historical context. One informant spoke of a number of Gaelic speakers at Our Lady of Lourdes Church in Cardonald in the 2010s, at least one of whom they regularly conversed with in Gaelic after the service. As with those churches identified by other informants in the late 20th Century, a clear geographical connection based on migration from Catholic-majority islands to certain parts of Glasgow was asserted:

[...] I found a lot of folk in Our Lady of Lourdes because of the Southside connection, there's a lot of people went to the Southside of Glasgow, I found a lot of folk that were really from South Uist, from Barra [...]

There is also a clear Gaelic presence at the Church of the Immaculate Conception, Maryhill, where a 'Mass with the Gaelic community' was held on 30th September 2022. This mass was in celebration of the retiring head teacher of Sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu, who is a member of the Maryhill congregation, and was well-attended by both regular congregants and visitors, judging by what the priest said on the day. As such, it is hard to say the extent to which Gaelic speakers are prevalent in the congregation on a weekly basis, but the existence of the event, and the discourse within the service, indicated that there is a valued Gaelic-speaking presence in the congregation. The mass itself was mostly in English, but with some Gaelic songs and a bilingual address by a former head teacher of Sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu at the end. I heard conversational Gaelic after the service amongst attendees, though not

exclusively. This church, like others discussed here, appears to follow a similar pattern of being an English-dominant community, with a notable Gaelic sub-culture within.

Though I cannot claim to have made a comprehensive survey of Catholic churches in the city, I believe it is accurate to state that certain Catholic churches have served, and continue to serve, as focal points for Catholic Gaelic speakers. Though each community of practice is predominantly Anglophone, the church will nonetheless play an important role in the social networks of those churchgoing Catholic Gaels, allowing for social connections to form between individuals who may not otherwise have met in Glasgow despite sharing similar geographical roots. As evidenced by the account above, these connections clearly can support Gaelic usage, though the extent to which this is the case on a regular basis and across churches would require more focused research.

More recently there have been dedicated Gaelic masses in Glasgow, held by Fr Ross Crichton on an irregular basis through the University of Glasgow's Catholic Chaplaincy. I have not directly observed these masses, but an informant who did attend told me that a number of Catholic Gaelic speakers from various congregations were present. This irregular Gaelic mass, and its social dynamics, would be worthy of further observation if it continues in the long term. It carries the potential of forming interconnections on the basis of Gaelic proficiency between Catholic Gaelic speakers otherwise dispersed amongst Anglophone congregations, thereby adding a degree of complexity to Catholic Gaelic-speaking networks in the city. Furthermore, the work of the Gaelic Society of the Catholic Church should be watched for potential positive outcomes in the representation of Gaelic in the Catholic Church.

As it stands, however, it is clear that the Catholic Church has some impacts on the Gaelic social networks of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, connecting Gaelic speakers of similar geographical backgrounds through common faith in Anglophone environments. Though it would only be an estimate, I would not be surprised if many more Gaelic speakers were networked to one another in this way than were brought together at St Columba Gaelic Church in the late 2010s.

7.2.3: Other Churches

Beyond St Columba Gaelic Church and the Roman Catholic churches of Glasgow, there are also Gaelic speakers worshiping in churches of other denominations. To account for all of them would be a difficult task, but my fieldwork has uncovered some examples.

Knightswood Free Church (continuing) has, according to a member of the congregation, several Gaelic speakers left from the Gaelic churches which merged to form it. It is entirely likely that the same can be said for some of the other modern congregations whose ancestry can be traced to 20th Century Gaelic churches. St Jude's Free Presbyterian Church, covered above, is another such example, able to draw a similar portion of its congregation to Gaelic services in 2010 as in the 1980s.

I found at least one example of a new church, with no lineal connection to earlier Gaelic chapels, that showed evidence of Gaelic activity. Govan Free Church is a relatively recent church "plant" in Govan, and while very much an Anglophone foundation, it has offered Gaelic lessons to local mothers of children in the nearby GME school as part of an outreach effort by a Gaelic speaking member of the congregation (Free Church of Scotland 2022). In my own church, St Mary's Episcopal Cathedral, I have met two fluent Gaelic speakers, though outside of one brief chat I have never seen them speak Gaelic spontaneously at the church, which is entirely Anglophone in its ministry outside of an encouragement to speak the Lord's Prayer in one's own language at Pentecost.

There will be many such Gaelic speakers in churches which once had, or never had, a Gaelic tradition. As Dr Sneddon stated that to his knowledge '[...] there are actually quite a large number of Gaelic speakers who are in other congregations around the city [...]'. However, there is likely relatively little connection between the speaking of Gaelic and the social aspects of religious life of these individuals. For these people, church will be just another context in which they are a minority language speaker blending into an Anglophone world, and the social connections therein part of the Anglophone portion of their social network.

7.2.4: Prospects for Gaelic worship in Glasgow

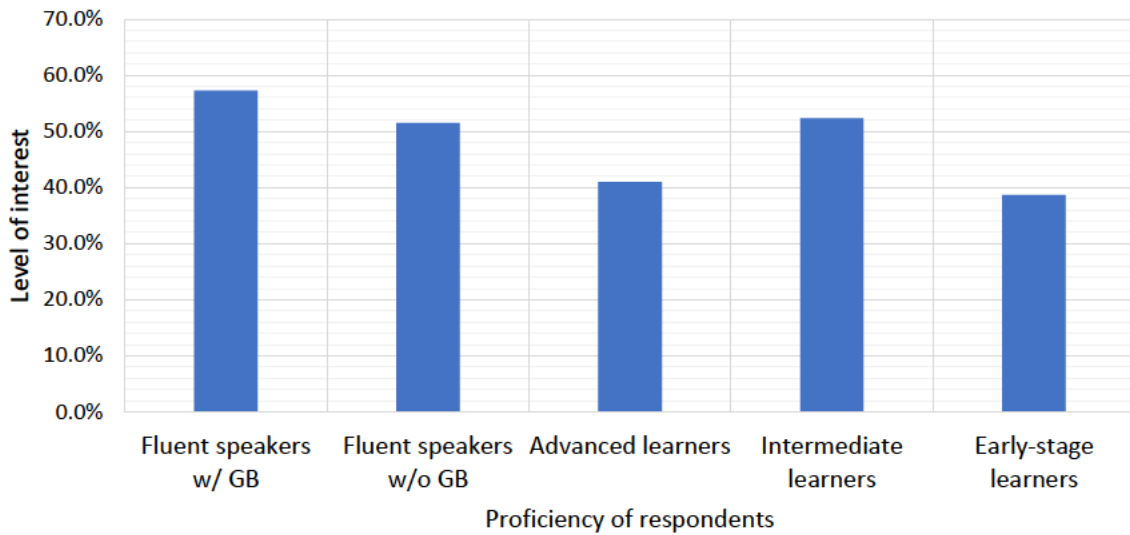
Given the limited provision and state of decline in Gaelic worship in Glasgow, at a time when there is popular interest in language revitalisation, it was therefore not unexpected when discussion of the prospects for redevelopment of Gaelic worship came up in a meeting on

the future of St Columba and Gaelic worship in the Church of Scotland, and later in interview with Dr Sneddon. Given that, by my limited observations, Gaelic worship appears to be conducive towards building a degree of Gaelic language usage in who it brings together, this is not an unwelcome suggestion from a language planning perspective. Due to issues of interest, capacity, and institutional support, however, it does not appear likely that there will be substantial growth in this space in either Protestant or Catholic denominations, and certainly not in the traditional form of a regular Gaelic-medium Sunday service.

It would be inaccurate to say that there is no demand for Gaelic language worship in Glasgow in the present day. As Dr Sneddon said, '[...] that's demonstrated by the fact that the Gaelic congregation at St Columba's continues to exist [...]', and amongst Catholics evidenced by the existence of the occasional Gaelic mass. Data from the GiGS provides a degree of evidence to support the notion that there is moderate demand for Gaelic language worship in the city. Christian respondents can be isolated from the survey sample, providing sub-samples whose interest in Gaelic language religious provision can be assessed: 50 fluent speakers of Gaelic background, 11 fluent speakers without Gaelic background, 13 advanced learners, 37 intermediate learners and 31 early-stage learners. Given the relatively high proficiency required to engage with vernacular religious provision, and the small samples sizes of religious advanced learners and fluent speakers without Gaelic home or community background, analysis, including by denomination, will focus on the fluent speakers of Gaelic background.

Figure 7.6 breaks down the levels of interest expressed by GiGS respondents who identified as Christian in Gaelic religious services. Fluent speakers of Gaelic background expressed the highest level of interest in Gaelic religious services, with fluent speakers without Gaelic background and intermediate learners expressing lesser interest and early-stage and advanced learners expressing lower interest still. Within the framework of analysis of levels of interest set out in Section 5.4, it is important to keep in mind that all proficiencies express a level of interest which would fall within the medium interest band. The level of interest expressed by Christian fluent speakers of Gaelic background is close to the mean and median levels of interest across all categories for that proficiency, and levels of interest among Christians of all other proficiencies are markedly below the mean and median levels of interest for those proficiencies as a whole (see Table 6.2 and Section 6.3 generally).

Figure 7.6: Levels of interest in Gaelic religious services of Christian respondents by proficiency



Examination of fluent w/ GB Church of Scotland and Roman Catholic respondents, the only proficiency to give a large enough sample worth analysing of both, indicates moderately higher interest in Gaelic religious services amongst Catholics than Church of Scotland adherents, but not to a particularly noteworthy extent (Table 7.2). Other Christian

Denomination	Level of interest
Church of Scotland	51.7%
Roman Catholic	59.4%
Other Christian	66.7%
All Christians	57.3%

Table 7.2 | Level of interest of Christian fluent speakers w/ GB in Gaelic religious services by denomination

fluent speakers w/ GB returned a level of interest of 66.7%. However, there were only seven respondents in this category, and so I would be hesitant to draw any conclusions from so small a sample.

The most important observation to be made of this data is that even amongst fluent speakers, of a Gaelic background and of faith, who are sufficiently invested to have participated in the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey, Gaelic religious provision was of middling interest as far as Gaelic activities go. It must further be recognised that all of the above interest is from those who are actually religiously inclined, themselves a minority of all proficiencies in the survey sample except fluent speakers of Gaelic background; the whole-sample levels of interest in Gaelic religious provision are some of the lowest of all activities included (Appendix C). While it is difficult to translate this data into predictions of the extent

of real-world interest in Gaelic religious provision, it serves to demonstrate that interest, while extant, is hardly overflowing.

In addition, what interest individuals have in Gaelic worship will compete with other factors. On this topic, Dr Sneddon asserted that distance, existing patterns of church attendance, and denominational differences inhibit prospects of developing Gaelic language worship further in Glasgow. Gaelic speakers are widely distributed across modern Glasgow and its surrounding suburbs, necessitating travel for many if they were to attend a Gaelic service in the city. In addition, many Gaelic speakers inclined to go to church already do, and so an irregular or monthly Gaelic service on a Sunday would disrupt their existing schedules at their current churches. If their family is of mixed proficiency, they may also be more inclined to attend an English church together than to split, a phenomenon that, as discussed earlier in the chapter, is by no means modern. Finally, churchgoers may not be inclined to cross denominational divides to attend a Gaelic service, an issue most pronounced across the Protestant-Catholic divide but nonetheless affecting inter-Protestant co-operation as well. Some of these obstacles can be overcome, for instance by services which do not compete with regular Sunday worship, a route taken by the Catholic Gaelic mass more recently, or by other expressions of worship such as bible study and prayer meetings, which Dr Sneddon identified as areas currently unexplored through Gaelic in the city.

A further obstacle to expansion of Gaelic worship in Glasgow is that of a shortage of clergy and other worship leaders able or willing to lead Gaelic worship. In the meeting on the future of St Columba Gaelic Church, it was discussed that there were an estimated dozen ministers with Gaelic in the Church of Scotland, but that most were already committed to an Island parish or don't preach in Gaelic. Those in the meeting could, between them, think of only one fluent Gaelic speaker currently in training to be a minister. Indeed, St Columba Gaelic Church had been unable to fill the role of minister with a Gaelic speaker since 2009, and the problem was by no means a new one then; shortages of ministers able or comfortable to preach in Gaelic are apparent through the 20th Century, intensifying towards its close (Withers 1984: 247; Meek 2000: 43-45). This issue is not restricted to the Church of Scotland either, as there is no Gaelic-speaking priest currently in a Catholic charge in Glasgow, with Fr Ross Crichton visiting from Eriskay on the occasions he conducts a Gaelic mass.

Interconnected with the issue of a lack of Gaelic-speaking clergy is a lack of institutional support for Gaelic from the denominations themselves, 'an inherent ambivalence' dating back to the mid-late 20th Century (Meek 1996: 65). There is no dedicated role or training for a Gaelic worship leader in the Church of Scotland's Glasgow Presbytery, and though Dr Sneddon indicated that there are a variety of more ad-hoc funds for language training and Gaelic written resources at a national level, this does not remedy a problem apparent since the 90s (Meek 1996: 63-64). The Church of Scotland's relative lack of concern at the prospect of the mainland's last dedicated Gaelic church closing its doors is self-evident, but in addition to this an elder expressed a sentiment that the church management felt as if they had been fighting off efforts by the Presbytery to close the building and amalgamate the congregation with a larger charge since as early as the 1980s, when there was a Gaelic minister and a healthier congregation than in the present.

Attitudes at an institutional level of the Presbyterian churches towards Gaelic have for some time been characterised as more or less benign neglect, with the Free Church and Free Presbyterian Church more developed in their disinterest (Meek 2000: 43-46). As in the 18th through 19th Centuries, it remains the truth that the first concern of these churches is not Gaelic language and culture, and that as such the churches will change to reflect the shifting language of the community (Meek 1996: 65-66). This attitude towards Gaelic was typified in the response I received from a congregant at Knightswood Free Church (continuing), who while not expressing antipathy towards Gaelic itself, made it clear that communication of the Gospel was the purpose of the church, not language promotion.

The Catholic Church in Glasgow appears to adopt a recognisable stance of polite interest in Gaelic. The Archdiocesan response to inquiries is informative in that regard: Gaelic was immediately associated with choral music and ceremonial usage to celebrate history, both symbolic uses. Provision of Gaelic worship and religious support through the late 20th Century and into the present seems to work on the same model that it has since the early 19th Century, relying on the initiative and willing of visiting Gaelic-speaking clergy.

It is clear that there is still a potential place for Gaelic worship and faith provision in Glasgow. There is a degree of interest, and though scattered by geography a viable number of practicing Christian Gaelic speakers who could take advantage of such provision. However, there is evidence that interest is only moderate, and this interest has a series of structural

and institutional issues to contend with. Distance between congregants and existing Sunday routine and community present obstacles to introduction of regular traditional worship in Gaelic, though this may be overcome by the exploration of forms of worship at other times of the week, or which can respond to the geographical distribution of worshippers. Though Dr Sneddon believes there to be a sufficiently large Gaelic-speaking congregation scattered just amongst the Church of Scotland in Glasgow, interdenominational divides present a further challenge to reaching Gaelic speakers with such ideas. A shortage of trained worship leaders fluent in Gaelic faces all denominations, and whatever efforts are made are likely to be on the initiative of a small, motivated group of clergy and laypeople, as none of the churches in Glasgow demonstrate serious institutional support for Gaelic as a language.

I would predict that, while there is potential for new and interesting developments in this field, Gaelic worship in Glasgow will remain occasional and draw low volumes of speakers, who for the most part spend their Sundays in broadly Anglophone congregations. The desire for Gaelic worship appears largely to be the domain of native speakers, and in that regard, I doubt that there will be any substantial growth in congregation numbers driven by learners. Development in this space would be welcome, as evidence gathered here suggests that Gaelic worship spaces can provide environments which are Gaelic language dominant, and promote and develop networks of Gaelic speakers, even if those spaces are provided on an occasional basis. Gaelic worship in Glasgow may well be at its lowest ebb since the 1700s, but it has not yet faded.

7.3: Discussion

For more than 300 years churches have served a social role for Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, whether dedicated institutions founded to minister to Gaels in their first language, or at the many churches where Gaels found themselves as part of a wider Anglophone congregation. Gaelic chapels and churches served as important social hubs for networks of Gaelic speakers, but language shift, changes in urban geography and demographics caused the decline of these chapels. Either dependant on continued migration and congregational turnover, or adopting English for increasingly Anglicised congregations, these chapels lost their social importance and their Gaelic character over the 20th Century.

In addition, many of Glasgow's Gaels were always outwith these chapels and the social networks focused around them. Whether by transience, reasons of denomination, or simple absence, many Gaels did not receive Gaelic language religious provision, but may have instead formed their own social networks around Anglophone churches like the Catholic Gaels of St Margaret, Kinning Park in the later 20th Century.

Come the present day, little trace of the Gaelic chapels that typified Gaelic Protestant worship in Glasgow in the 18th and 19th Centuries remains. There is no shortage of Christians who are Gaelic speakers, but those conducting their faith through Gaelic are now few in Glasgow. Challenges of a scattered populace, both geographically and in terms of denominational affiliation, a lack of qualified worship leaders willing or able to work in Gaelic, and ambivalent church hierarchies all stand before potential Gaelic congregations which are universally bilingual and may not consider Gaelic language worship to be a priority.

Nonetheless, Gaelic's relationship with faith in Glasgow continues. It is clear that some churches still connect Gaelic speakers, in particular those Catholic churches which, by reasons of historical migration, maintain a Gaelic minority. Initiatives like the Gaelic mass provide an opportunity to bring together these groups of Gaelic speakers around a common interest and form city-wide Gaelic social networks, but for now the infrequency of these measures limits the strength and density of such a network.

St Columba Gaelic Church, first and last of the Gaelic chapels, had walked much of the path of decline that its siblings had by the time I reached it, having recently lost reliable provision of the Gaelic half of its schedule of bilingual Sunday worship. St Columba was a welcoming and safe space for Gaelic, if not a Gaelic-dominant one. It did support Gaelic speakers and their networks, even if in a reduced capacity, and the circumstances which have befallen the congregation are a loss to Gaelic in Glasgow, and constitute a sombre milestone in the long history of the Gaelic chapel. Whether fresh expressions of Gaelic worship can emerge from the conditions of present day Glasgow remains to be seen.

8: Gaelic Arts Events

Gaelic arts are an important sector in Glasgow, and Glasgow's Gaelic arts sector is nationally significant. As discussed in Section 3.3, Gaelic creative industries provide the largest economic contribution to the city of any Gaelic-related industry, with Gaelic festivals and arts events in particular contributing millions to the city economy (Chalmers et al. 2022). The sector supports a number of individuals in permanent employment, often as organisational and facilitative staff within arts bodies, as well as providing supporting income to artists on a more intermittent basis (Chalmers et al. 2022: 24-30; Chalmers and Danson 2009: 23-29).

There are a great variety of organisations involved in the organisation, promotion and delivery of Gaelic arts events in Glasgow, ranging from music festivals such as Celtic Connections, to Gaelic choirs, to children's events like Fèis Ghlaschu. Since 2004, Glasgow Life (Glaschu Beò), an Arms Length External Organisation of Glasgow City Council, has been the main vehicle through which Glasgow City Council promotes Gaelic arts in the city (Glasgow Life 2017: 4-5). It is the body responsible for Glasgow's Gaelic Arts Strategies, discussed in Section 3.1, and so fulfils a key organisational and promotional role for arts activity in Glasgow. It is closely involved with several other public and publicly-supported arts bodies, in addition to managing its own initiatives (Glasgow Life 2017: 6-7).

Two such bodies precede Glaschu Beò's arts strategies. Comhairle nan Leabhraichean, the Gaelic Books Council, was founded in 1968 (Glaschu 2018h). It maintains a book shop in Glasgow, and also hosts and organises literature events such as book launches. An Lòchran, founded 1999, organises and develops musical and other Gaelic arts events in the city, as part of its broader objective of developing and promoting Gaelic language and culture in Glasgow (An Lòchran 2025). Other arts organisations active in Glasgow were founded more recently. Ceòl 's Craic, founded in 2004 and spun out from Glaschu Beò as an independent organisation in 2011, offers an annual concert series of Gaelic and Gaelic cultural fusion music as well as a film club (Glasgow Life 2017). Theatre Gu Leòr, founded 2014, aims to develop Gaelic language theatre nationally, and is based in Glasgow (Brown 2023). Given this density of creative activity, it is unsurprising that Glasgow is also host to various awards ceremonies for Gaelic arts, including the Scottish Gaelic Awards.

There is great depth to Glasgow’s Gaelic arts world, and so while a comprehensive understanding of the scene was not possible within a single doctoral project, I aimed to complete substantial ethnographic fieldwork in this sector focused on the experience of attending the many arts events occurring in the city. The aim was to discover to what extent Gaelic arts events supported the social usage of Gaelic in the city. Unfortunately, my planned long-term incursion and observation of the Gaelic arts scene was substantially disrupted by the Covid-19 pandemic and associated response, with my fieldwork events divided on either side of the 2-year period of absolute lockdown and my capacity to deeply immerse in the sector disrupted.

Event	Date	Description
Mòd Ghlaschu	11-19/10/2019	National Gaelic cultural festival
Celtic Connections: Pàdraig Moireasdan	19/1/2020	Small Celtic Connections concert
Aiseirigh	23/1/2020	Medium Celtic Connections concert
Gaels le Chéile 2020	25/1/2020	Ceòl 's Craic concert
Music at the University lunchtime concert	27/2/2020	Weekly lunchtime concert at the University of Glasgow; this one was Gaelic-themed for the university's Latha na Gàidhlig
Baile air Bhoil	27/2/2020	Evening concert at the University of Glasgow, part of the university's Latha na Gàidhlig
Na Gàidhealmailtich	10/3/2020	Ceòl 's Craic film screening
Glasgow Gaelic Music Association (GGMA) concert	13/3/2020	Concert by Glasgow's largest Gaelic choir
MAIM	14/3/2020	Theatre performance
Gaelictronica	14/3/2020	Ceòl 's Craic concert
Celtic Connections at the Euros 2020	24/6/2021	Open-air Celtic Connections concert in Glasgow Green
Gaels le Chéile 2021	18/9/2021	Ceòl 's Craic concert
Niteworks	22/6/2022	Large Celtic Connections concert
BBC ALBA recording session	24-25/8/2022	Music recording for television in Paisley, involving many Glasgow based artists and production crew
Book Launch	16/11/2022	Comhairle nan Leabhraichean event

Table 8.1 | Summary of arts fieldwork events

To make up for the loss of deep observation and contacts over the pandemic, I made remaining questions about the Gaelic arts sector a priority in my interviews. Eight different interviewees provided insights into Gaelic arts in Glasgow discussed within this chapter,

some of whom are experienced Gaelic arts professionals, others amateurs, and others involved in arts organisation in the city. In the end, my fieldwork and therefore my observations focused primarily on Gaelic music events, the dominant expression of Gaelic creative arts in the city. Table 8.1 outlines all of the fieldwork events which contributed data to this chapter and a brief summary of their nature for the benefit of the reader, and within this chapter these events will be cited in the format of “Event (date)” where necessary.

This chapter is intended to distil conclusions from an extensive body of observations and insights, and so rather than engaging too deeply with individual research contexts this chapter is structured by topic. The first section details observations of demographics, noting attendance figures, patterns in age and the geographical pull of Glasgow’s arts events for the benefit of arts bodies and language planners. The second section, concerning social networks and communities of practice, provides perhaps the most valuable insights of this chapter: most audiences at Gaelic arts events are socially diffuse, with limited interactions with one another, but the arts sector as a whole supports a large and densely-connected network of Gaelic artists and arts professionals, as well as smaller social groups within specific communities of practice. The third section engages with the prevalence of Gaelic at arts events, noting that it is less prevalent than English as a spoken language at most arts events, but also arguing the importance of the aforementioned social groupings and networks in influencing Gaelic usage at these events. Finally, additional issues identified during my interviews are discussed relating to perceived tensions between accessibility and Gaelic language and tradition within events, and a brief observation of online arts activity during the pandemic is provided.

The observations made in this chapter are high-level. The scale of Gaelic arts activity in Glasgow provides great opportunity for follow-up on this research, but my findings indicate that the Gaelic arts sector in Glasgow supports usage of Gaelic, if not within whole audiences, then amongst certain groups in the city where otherwise Gaelic may not be spoken at all.

8.1: Demographic Observations – Attendance, Age and Geography

The range of events which I was able to attend during my fieldwork was broad, and so I have had the opportunity to make high-level observations of some demographic patterns of

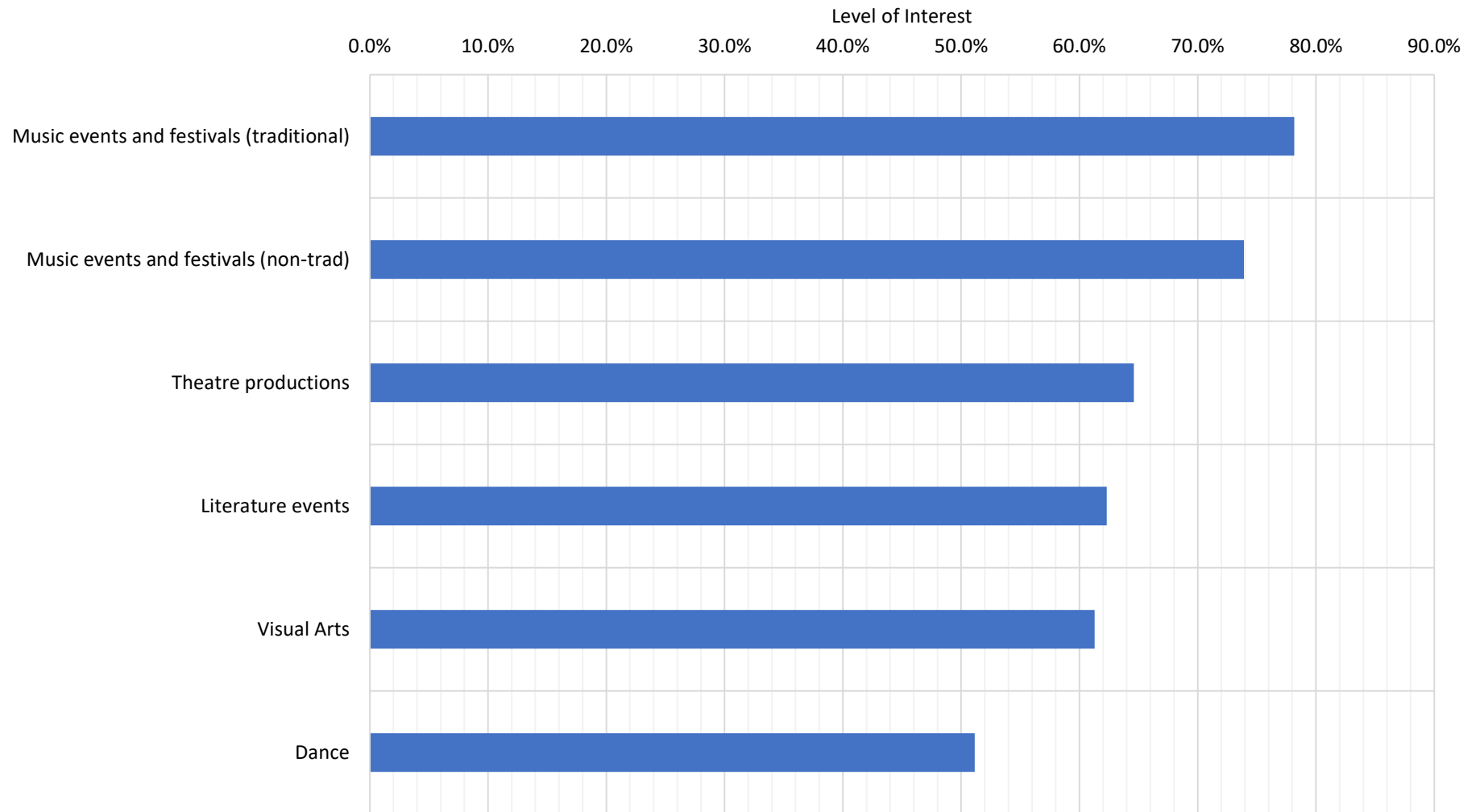
Gaelic arts audiences in Glasgow. Numbers in attendance at Gaelic arts events vary, with musical events seeing greater attendance than the film and literary events I was able to attend. I also observed that audiences tended to be older on average than would be representative of the age demographics of the 2022 Census for Glasgow Gaelic speakers. Finally, multiple events provided evidence of substantial travel for arts events in Glasgow from the Highlands and Islands. The snapshot nature of these observations, and the breadth of events covered, makes these insights far from comprehensive, but my findings suggest the central importance of musical events in Glasgow's Gaelic arts scene, potential room for discussion around the prevalence of young people at Gaelic arts events, and the function of Glasgow as a national Gaelic arts hub.

The numbers in attendance at different types of Gaelic arts events in Glasgow during the period of observation varied greatly. My estimates of attendance are by no means comprehensive, but give some indication as to the relative numerical strengths of different events in the city. Celtic Connections concerts had the greatest attendances of those I could estimate with any accuracy – at a concert by Pàdraig Moireasdan on 19 January 2020, there were more than 200 in the audience, and at *Aiseirigh* (23/1/2020), a concert in tribute to the works of Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair, featuring a number of well-known figures in Gaelic music, there were a little under 200 present.

Ceòl 's Craic is capable of drawing smaller, but still substantial audiences: I estimated an attendance of roughly 130 at *Gaels le Chèile* on 25 January 2020, and about 80 at *Gaelictronica* on 14 March 2020. Ceòl 's Craic's film club events attract smaller numbers, varying from around 20 at the March 2020 screening of *Na Gàidhealmailtich* to a notably high showing of 50+ at an event reported by one interviewee in early 2023. Other arts events appeared to draw smaller audiences. The performance of *MAIM* which I attended (14/3/2020) had an estimated audience of 35, and Comhairle nan Leabhraichean events which I attended were small gatherings, with one drawing 12 including staff and speakers for a book launch, and another drawing 11 including staff and speakers. One interviewee commented on the small size of the regular audience for poetry events, remarking that '[...] I could name you the 8 people who are probably likely to be there [...]'].

It would appear that music events have more reach than any other Gaelic arts event, and this is supported by the findings of the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey (Figure 8.1). Music events

Figure 8.1: Levels of interest in Gaelic arts activities



were of greater interest to participants than other arts events, receiving some of the highest levels of interest of any event in the survey (Appendix C). Other factors will influence the relative attendance of Gaelic art forms in Glasgow, of course. Most important of these is accessibility; no particular proficiency in Gaelic is required to enjoy music, whereas at least some degree of proficiency is likely required to make the most of a literature or theatre event. It should be noted however, even from this limited perspective on audience numbers at Glasgow's Gaelic arts events, that each event is still small in the context of the overall population of Glasgow's professed Gaelic speakers. Arts events drawing 200 attendees, while the largest events in present times, can be contrasted to the thousand-strong attendances of regional association events of the past described in Section 10.2.

As part of my observations of Gaelic arts events, I endeavoured to form an impression of the age demographics represented in attendance. The broad pattern observed is of Gaelic arts events attendees being mostly 30+, with a skew towards middle-aged and older and a minority of young (18-30) attendees. The Celtic Connections 2020 events fit this profile perfectly, and by my estimate around a quarter of the GGMA concert (13/3/20) attendees were under 40. The Niteworks concert on 22nd June 2022 was attended by a broader range of ages. It is possible that the profile and content of the concert attracted this more balanced age demographic.

Ceòl 's Craic's audience trends younger than that of the Celtic Connections concerts: Attendees at observed events were focused in the 30-60 range, with a larger proportion of the crowd under 30. The youngest audience was at *Baile air Bhoil* (27/2/20), where around two thirds of the audience appeared to be aged 18-35, skewing towards the younger end. There were only perhaps a dozen attendees I would have placed as over 40. The hosting of this gig at the University of Glasgow was undoubtedly influential on the age demographic. By contrast, the lunchtime concert at the University of Glasgow (27/2/20) drew a large retiree audience, many of whom I understand to be regulars. There was a small cluster of Gaelic speakers aged 30-40, several of whom I knew to be staff, and a group of 7 undergraduate-aged students who spoke Gaelic. It is likely that this portion of the audience was specifically drawn to the content of the concert, unlike much of the regular audience. The age demographic of the Comhairle nan Leabhraichean events averaged older than other arts events, with most of the attendees at the 16th November 2022 book launch appearing 55+.

Given the age distribution of Gaelic speakers recorded in the 2022 Census (Section 3.2), young people seem under-represented at many of the events described above. Several factors likely affect the age demographic of the crowd at any given event, including content, context, and network dynamics. Less traditional concert series, such as Ceòl 's Craic, appear to draw an audience on average younger and broader in age range. The youngest audience was at *Baile air Bhoil 2020*, and given the university context of the concert the pull for students is clear. Pricing of events may also be a factor, with younger people generally having less disposable income for events such as Celtic Connections concerts, which are among the more expensive Gaelic arts events in Glasgow. Based on my observations during my fieldwork, I suspect that the Gaelic arts event-going population in Glasgow generally skews older, and that younger Gaelic speakers are under-represented in these audiences.

A final demographic details which I observed during my fieldwork is the geographical pull of Gaelic arts events in Glasgow. Some events, in particular Celtic Connections, drew artists and audiences from the Highlands and Islands, highlighting the role of Glasgow as a national hub for Gaelic activity. At *Aiseirigh (23/1/20)*, for instance, the fear an taighe made many call-outs for people coming from specific islands or Highland towns, which received enthusiastic and quite widespread response from the audience. At the 2022 Niteworks concert (22/6/22), the fact that I now know more people in the broader artistic networks allowed me to recognise that a notable minority of them had evidently travelled from the Islands to attend. People travelling to specific events from far afield seemed less prevalent outside of Celtic Connections, which is a major annual event, but at Ceòl 's Craic events, the GGMA concert, and *Baile air Bhoil*, the majority of people I talked to about their background were still originally from the Highlands and Islands. It is clear that Glasgow exerts a geographical pull in terms of audiences at major Gaelic arts events, and that somewhat inherently even those attendees who are resident in and around Glasgow will often be of Highland and Island background.

8.2: Social Networks and Communities of Practice

The variety of arts events which I attended were perhaps the best area of my fieldwork in which to observe the impact on Gaelic of social networks and the character of communities of practice in Glasgow. In this context, it is easy to conceptualise each individual arts event,

or event series, as a community of practice, with individuals forming a bounded gathering for a shared purpose. Key social networks, in particular a network of Gaelic arts performers, loosely hold these communities together to varying extents, and the internal cohesion of these communities also varies. Below I outline my understanding of the Gaelic artist social network and a lesser but notable Gaelic performer-fan network dynamic, as well as the community dynamics of those events which were exceptions to the observed norm, but first it is important to outline that norm, which is of low intraconnectivity within communities of practice and apparent limited network connectivity between individuals at multiple events.

In almost all events I observed, a common pattern could be identified in the behaviour of most of the audience. The majority of audience members would arrive as individuals or small family or friendship groups, and would express familiarity with few or any other attendees. Almost all social interactions with individuals with whom they had existing social network ties were evidently chance, though not entirely unexpected given the relatively small world of Gaelic arts events. Intra-community networks tended to be sparse and consist of weak ties. Some events had groups of what could be considered core attendees, covered in Section 8.2.2, who were more strongly and densely tied to one another. Where the exceptions to these general observations occurred, the influence of either such a core group or the outside influence of one of the social networks described below was quite apparent.

It is difficult to prove absence when it comes to the social diffuseness of the Gaelic arts event audiences which I perceived through my fieldwork, but some of my interviewees commented on this. One interviewee, discussing event attendance, highlighted the heterogeneity of arts tastes of Gaelic speakers, that speakers could not be expected to attend arts events simply because they are in Gaelic. One, a regular arts performer, identified more specific patterns, stating that ‘[...] traditional Gaels in Glasgow who are in their 80s now, you’re not going to see them (at Ceòl ’s Craic). It’s a different audience.’ They contrasted their perceived “traditional” and Ceòl ’s Craic audiences, and used this as an example of two groups which seldom meet in their patterns of Gaelic arts consumption.

A notable divide in the Gaelic arts “community” which I perceive both through my own experience and discussed during my fieldwork is between Gaelic choirs and other Gaelic arts groups. As one interviewee put it: ‘So you know, the choir community is a thing in and of itself as well.’ Another interviewee heavily involved with both Gaelic choirs and wider Gaelic

arts also noted that many Gaelic speakers and non-speaking artists involved in Gaelic arts have no connection or contact whatsoever with Gaelic choirs. While I did not complete as much research into Gaelic choirs as I had hoped during my fieldwork, I believe it is important to highlight that they do appear to occupy their own niche, with varying degrees of engagement with the rest of the Glasgow Gaelic arts scene, largely driven by individuals rather than systematic overlaps in practitioners or audiences.

8.2.1: Social Networks: Artists and Audiences

Through my fieldwork I became aware of a layer of Gaelic speakers involved to varying degrees in Glasgow's Gaelic arts scene who are largely familiar with one another, or within two or three degrees of social separation. This network was represented in almost all the events discussed in this chapter, both amongst performers and attendees. Members of this network were mostly performers of some kind, of a range of ages, and usually involved in traditional or semi-traditional music. Some were composers or independent artists. The network contains both professional and amateur performers, with the line between these two categories somewhat permeable – many of those individuals identified by Chalmers and Danson (2011: 184-85) as receiving supplemental income from Gaelic arts activities will be represented in this network. Some members of this network are key organisers or professionally engaged with arts bodies, and so this network dovetails with the broader structure of Gaelic public organisation in Glasgow. The network also connects to the broader arts networks of Glasgow and beyond.

Within the constraints of this thesis, the best way to illustrate the nature of this network is by examples of observed groups of individuals and their interconnections, both on personal and more systemic levels. At *Gaels le Chéile* (25/1/20) I was able to identify a clear group of eight young Gaelic speakers, a mix of artists and those professionally involved in arts organisation in Glasgow, who knew each other well. I would see several of these eight at other Gaelic arts events, in both attending and organisational capacities, including at Celtic Connections concerts that year. Most of them were at *Baile air Bhoil* (27/2/20), hosted at the University of Glasgow, and were clearly familiar with and well-known to many of the other young people there. The social connections of these individuals tie them into and beyond the arts sector. At *Baile air Bhoil* (27/2/20) they mingled with attending musicians, and at *Gaels le Chéile* (25/1/20), the group of eight knew several members of Misneachd, a

Gaelic language activist group, thereby connecting them to other young people engaged with Gaelic in Glasgow, in this case on a political level.

Social ties between performers constitute a great proportion of this Gaelic arts network. Performers not only work together, but also support the performances of their peers. As an example, one Gaelic-speaking band, Dìù, drew an audience at *Baile air Bhoil* (27/2/20) of whom a certain contingent were fans and friends (discussed further below), but were also present at a Ceòl 's Craic event (14/3/20) as audience members supporting a friend. In turn, they were performers again at the first live Ceòl 's Craic event of 2021 (18/9/21), after which they and other performers and organisers went to the venue bar to socialise. It was notable here that it was a confluence of performers and organisers who socialised after the event, and not members of the general audience.

On a further occasion, members of this band arrived at the Park Bar with other Gaelic performers from a gig I had not attended. I was present at the Park Bar with fellow members of a Gaelic choral collective, and it quickly became clear that several members of this collective were only a degree of social separation from the Dìù members. This fieldwork event is discussed further in Section 10.1.2, and serves to illustrate the potential for Gaelic usage when the correct confluence in Gaelic social networks occurs in a space, though here better illustrates the density of the Gaelic performing arts network; though there was a lack of professional overlap for Dìù and Gaelic choristers, the semi-professional singers in the choral collective were nonetheless friends of friends by multiple connections to the Dìù performers and engaged in the same social grouping as them in the pub.

There exists a cluster of individuals within the Gaelic performing arts network who could be characterised as the “big names” of the scene. These individuals are connected by various degrees to those involved in arts organisation and performance in the Glasgow Gaelic arts sector, and also have wider-reaching, national and international professional ties. Individuals such as Joy Dunlop, or Mary Ann Kennedy, are well-known and have a broad portfolio of involvement in national Gaelic music production, performance, broadcasting and education, whereas others are lesser known to the music event-going public but similarly well-established and heavily involved across a swathe of arts activities. Such artists are not necessarily resident in Glasgow but are greatly involved in arts activity in the city. I have

observed, and been informed, of the extent to which these artists are broadly socially interconnected due to the relatively limited size of their sector.

The extent of interconnection of these more established figures was apparent at the 2022 Niteworks Celtic Connections concert at Glasgow Royal Concert Hall (22/6/22), where such individuals were well-represented, and I observed a higher than normal extent of spontaneous social interaction than at most events, usually in Gaelic, largely focused on those I knew to be high-profile individuals in the Gaelic arts scene. One interviewee who could be considered one of these higher-profile artists related their understanding of a growing distinction between what they considered a more professionalised and a more traditional, semi-professional class of performers in the city. In particular, they highlighted what they believed to be a growing separation between what could be termed “community” singers whose circuits consist of regional associations and pubs, and the more full-time artists who primarily play performing arts venues. This notion of a growing professional/community divide was interesting when considered alongside the recollections of an older interviewee, who fondly recalled Gaelic theatre being largely conducted through the remit of the regional associations. Now, Gaelic theatre in Glasgow is predominantly the domain of bodies such as Theatre gu Leòr, led by performing arts professionals, though involving amateurs in its community theatre programmes.

A number of the higher-profile individuals described above form an important bridge between the Gaelic choral scene and the broader Gaelic arts world. Many are involved in the composition of music for Gaelic choirs, and in some cases the conducting of choirs, and in doing so are connected to one another in yet another context, forming what one interviewee described as a layer of Mòd politics and organisation which connects choirs to one another and to the broader Gaelic creative world. The extent and effect of these networks was observable at the National Mòd in Glasgow (2019) during social periods around the main competitions – these important figures were connected to the choirs, but also importantly formed their own network layer separate to the more geographically-dispersed general membership of the choirs.

It is impossible to capture the nature of this artistic social network in the snapshot of any singular event. Representation of this network was not even across all observed contexts during my fieldwork. For the most part, only a small portion of the broader network I

identified would be present at any one event, such as related above in the case of Ceòl 's Craic gigs, or at the Park Bar. Only through long-term observation did the level of interconnection between artists and arts professionals become apparent. For instance, there was notably nobody that I recognised from this Gaelic arts network at the Ceòl 's Craic film club (10/3/20) who was not also an organiser for Ceòl 's Craic and Glaschu Beò there in their official capacity. Being a small, and not directly music-related event, the film club may have held less appeal to the music artists who form much of the network.

By contrast, several events had a notably high concentration of members of this identified network in the audience and on stage. As mentioned above, the National Mòd had a focus of more established composing artists, as well as performers associated with Gaelic choirs in addition to their other commitments. *Aiseirigh* (23/1/20), a Celtic Connections concert featuring a number of well-known figures in Gaelic music, was particularly well-attended by individuals in the network involved in music organisation in a professional and private capacity, as well as many individuals involved in traditional Gaelic music. *Baile air Bhoil* (27/2/20) was most noteworthy for the strikingly high proportion of the audience made up of members I have identified in this network, as well the proportion of younger members of the network represented at the event. The Niteworks concert (22/6/22) had an exceptionally high representation of members of this network, of all ages and levels of establishment in the arts sector.

I hypothesise that the profile of an event was an important factor in the high representation of the Gaelic arts network at *Aiseirigh* and Niteworks – both were major events drawing on several high-profile performers, hosted by Celtic Connections, a major civic arts organisation, in Glasgow's Royal Concert Hall. There are few higher-profile events in the Glasgow Gaelic arts calendar. By contrast Ceòl 's Craic events tended to have smaller portions of the network present, more closely related to the current performers. Content of events is likely also important. Different portions of the network tended to be present at more or less traditional events, likely reflecting not only personal connections but also the musical interests of the individuals concerned.

As mentioned above, this Gaelic performing arts network dovetails with wider networks in and beyond the city of Glasgow. At the more senior, organisational end of the network, individuals of importance in bodies such as Glaschu Beò and associated public and semi-

public arts organisations are connected professionally and personally to other civic organisers. Some senior Gaelic artists are held in high regard amongst Gaelic speakers locally and nationally, and are well-known at the regional associations.

The arts network interconnects with the Gaelic media sector to a great extent. Several notable Gaelic performers are heavily involved in broadcasting, but there are more widely spread and deeper connections such as those I observed at a BBC ALBA recording I attended with a Gaelic singing collective (24-25/8/22). Over the two days of recording I observed multiple members of the collective to be familiar with BBC ALBA recording staff. One of the individuals in question regularly works with BBC ALBA, another is a high-level semi-professional performer with associated television experience, but also with casual social connections to BBC ALBA staff. It is substantially more likely than in Anglophone broadcasting for any given Gaelic performer to have some involvement in radio or television even on an occasional, short-term basis, and this contributes to connections between the Gaelic performing arts and broadcasting communities in Glasgow.

A final point of connection between the Gaelic performing arts network and the wider world is with the non-Gaelic arts sector. While many of the individuals I have observed during my fieldwork have general Anglophone friendships, I have observed more systematic connections between performers in the Anglophone and Gaelic traditional music scenes. One interviewee, an experienced arts professional, stated that 'I do see there's, I suppose, one big folk music and Gaelic music scene'. In terms of performer connections, Celtic Connections represents an interface between the Gaelic and non-Gaelic traditional music scenes. While Celtic Connections is an important part of the Gaelic musical calendar in Glasgow, the majority of the events in each festival are non-Gaelic. There is a substantial degree of post-show socialisation amongst performers across the city during the festival, contributing to inter-performer ties. Such social bonds were evident at the Celtic Connections Euros 2020 concert (24/6/21).

Professional connections between Gaelic and non-Gaelic performers are a core aim of Ceòl 's Craic, with *Gaelictronica* (14/3/20) a good example, bringing a German composer and Anglophone choir together with Gaelic artists. Two interviewees who had been involved with Ceòl 's Craic commented on this aim, and the concert series' purpose in driving artistic innovation through forming such connections. Finally, connections between artists are

formed through musical education. The Gaelic act at *Gaelictronica* (14/3/20) attracted a substantial Anglophone audience of fellow musicians from the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland, who attended to support classmates in the band. Several musicians familiar to me through my own involvements in the Gaelic arts scene are or were students at the Royal Conservatoire, and have substantial social and professional connections with non-Gaelic musicians through their studies and work. To a great extent, the fact that individuals in this network are artists and performers is as, if not more, important as a marker in their social practices than their Gaelic language.

This network of Gaelic arts professionals and artists, ranging from established, high profile national performers and composers, to early-career artists, to arts organisers, and to involved amateurs, is formed by and is formative of Glasgow's Gaelic arts scene. Though present to varying densities across different arts events, the ubiquity of this network is one of the most striking features of my fieldwork, as are the features of the network itself. It is impossible here to provide the definitive description of this network, given its scale and the limited perspective which my brief time of observation can afford, but I offer here a preliminary analysis for the benefit of future research and policy consideration.

I believe it would be correct to state that the network is primarily composed of relatively weak ties, as most performers have passing social relations prompted by shared interests and professional interactions. That said, it is clear from my fieldwork that stronger, closer relationships can and do develop through these network connections. Even the weaker ties which make up the majority of the network, however, are importantly stronger than those between the performers and the average audience member, and indeed stronger than ties between most of the audience members themselves. Multiplexity is more difficult to gauge. Some performers appear to have substantial overlap in their activities and meet in many different circumstances. Most striking about this network is its density. I rarely met two performers who were more than two or three degrees of social connection from one another, often interconnected through multiple mutual connections, and I often found myself already possessing one or more mutual acquaintances with people I met through my fieldwork. This was commented upon by one interviewee: 'Very small world I think, if you don't know them, you know someone who does, you know what I mean?'

My interviews provided an opportunity to learn a little more about the long-term factors at play which help to form this social network. Some connections between performers are long-established, with three interviewees involved in Gaelic music crediting involvement in local and the national Mòds for introducing them to other people with whom they are socially connected in Glasgow, long before either they or those peers lived in the city. Especially in the Islands, the next generation of Gaelic musicians often meet in childhood, and the impact of musical events such as mòds on later, adult social networks is worthy of further consideration.

Fèisean also appear to be an important way for young adults to meet fellow Gaelic musicians. Two different musicians I interviewed spoke of how fèisean put them in contact with other Gaelic musicians in the Islands in their youth, as they would travel to fèisean and meet new contacts, and recommend peers to one another to cover as tutors if they were unavailable. This process provided not only professional opportunities but connections which they maintained and drew upon in Glasgow. This highlights both the importance for Glasgow's arts scene of the groundwork laid outwith the city, in the Highlands and Islands, but also the pull which Glasgow has on a cultural level; it is evident that while these networks are formed outwith the city, there is a certain gravity pulling network constituents to Baile Mòr nan Gàidheal, in addition to and interconnected with the economic and other lifestyle factors which drive migration to Glasgow.

While the foundations of the network may in part be formed further afield, interviewees were clear that the network is also actively developed within the city itself, through mutual connections and shared spaces. Importantly for the present research, the Gaelic performer network constitutes a means to meet other Gaelic speakers. One interviewee spoke of music being the predominant means by which they had established contact with Gaelic speakers in Glasgow: 'I think most of the people I know who are Gaelic speakers are also Gaelic singers, and will dabble in other instruments as well.' The extent to which this network supports Gaelic usage in Glasgow on a more systemic basis will be examined later in this chapter.

A secondary network dynamic which I have observed in my fieldwork is that of the performer-based network. At some events, there was a clear subset of the audience who were there because they knew the performer or performers personally. In the instances I will detail here, most of the people concerned were fellow performers; one arts professional

interviewed remarked upon feeling a social duty to support fellow Gaelic artists. At *Baile air Bhoil* (27/2/20), a lot of the audience were evidently there to support the band Dìù, evidenced by audience behaviour after their act. Dìù were clearly well-integrated into a crowd that included a high percentage of other young performers from the network discussed above, and this crowd largely moved to the bar after Dìù had finished their performance as the first act of the night. At *Gaelictronica* (14/3/20), a large portion of the audience were peers of one of the bands at the Royal Conservatoire who were not otherwise regularly in the audience of Ceòl 's Craic, and at *MAIM* (14/3/20) one small group of attendees knew actors in the show.

These small networks of individuals connected directly to the performers behaved differently at these smaller shows to other attendees, interacting with the performers and one another more closely, and being more likely to interact with other peers of the performers, in contrast to most audience members who had limited interactions outside the group they arrived with. Performer-based networks play their own role in characterising the community of practice of any given event, and likely also impact the extent to which a density of the Gaelic arts network is present at an event, as network constituents turn out in support of their peers.

8.2.2: Notable Communities of Practice

As discussed at the start of this section, most individual events, which we can conceptualise as communities of practice, were characterised by low internal connectivity, sparse and weak networks. There were, however, exceptions to this pattern, which each shed light on different ways by which more networked, cohesive communities of practice can form in events. The presence of a greater density of the Gaelic arts social network, or a performer-based network, grants a pre-built connectivity between audience members. *Baile air Bhoil* (27/2/20) appears to have been a good example of this. The high representation of Gaelic arts network members, in addition to apparent connection of many of these individuals to one of the bands, will have influenced the more dense social dynamic of the community. Furthermore, having been hosted at the university, student attendees also contributed their own pre-established social connections to the internal network of the event. The Niteworks concert (22/6/22), as discussed above, likewise benefited socially from the presence of a density of Gaelic performing arts professionals. It should be noted, however, that the

majority of the audience still arrived, spent the interval, and departed solely in the company of those they arrived with.

Regular events sometimes formed a closer community of their own. Ceòl 's Craic had an observable core attendance group of around a dozen who were more sociable with one another than the audience average, who evidently knew one another primarily through Ceòl 's Craic, and who I saw at both 2020 concerts (25/1/20; 14/3/20) and at the smaller film event (10/3/20). Once I had interacted a couple of times with this core group, they recognised me and engaged with me socially at future events. It was harder to discern their presence at the post-lockdown concert (18/9/21), but audience dynamics were different and socialisation less popular under the conditions of the pandemic. An interviewee described Ceòl 's Craic as having a consistent core audience, and so I would presume that Ceòl 's Craic has managed to re-establish this core attendee group within its community of practice, to the benefit of social interaction at its events.

At the Comhairle nan Leabhraichean book launch I attended (16/11/22), it was apparent that a good number of the attendees knew one another from previous Gaelic literature events. As with other events in which I observed pre-existing social connections throughout the audience, this correlated with more dense social interaction between individual attendees and a livelier social environment. To demonstrate this principle further, Glasgow University's *Latha na Gàidhlig* lunchtime concert (27/2/20), and more broadly the lunchtime concert series which it was part of, had an audience many of whom were evidently regular attendees. This was apparent from the familiar conversations I observed between a substantial number of attendees, characterised largely by greeting and inquiries into wellbeing. I would theorise that a majority of this audience were present due to their regular attendance of the concert series rather than because of the specific Gaelic content of the concert.

Regularity of events, and the extent to which an event draws upon existing social networks, are both evidently factors in the density and character of social interaction at any given Gaelic arts event. Social networks and the dynamics of an individual community of practice both inform the nature of social interactions at a Gaelic arts event, which is of great importance to this present research, as amongst the features of a community of practice affected by these factors can be counted the prevalence of Gaelic language usage.

8.3: Gaelic Prevalence and Usage

My observations of the extent to which Gaelic was prevalent, both in terms of proficiency and usage, at Gaelic arts events in Glasgow indicated a generally low level of Gaelic usage across most events, despite evidence of higher Gaelic proficiency in the audience than the soundscape of the event would indicate. Some events were exceptions, however, and such exceptions correlated strongly with the influence of the Gaelic arts network and internal networks of regular, Gaelic-proficient attendees described above.

Many Gaelic events which I observed could be described as “English-dominant”. Into this category would fall the various Ceòl ‘s Craic concerts (25/1/20; 14/3/20; 18/9/21) and the 2020 Celtic Connections concerts. At such events, Gaelic may be used bilingually in an official capacity, often used first and followed by English when welcoming the audience, introducing artists or announcing the interval. English was socially dominant in the crowd – with uncommon exceptions which will be discussed below, almost all conversation I overheard in arts event audiences was in English. When I interacted with others, I was not presumed to be able to communicate in Gaelic unless the converser knew that of me already.

Gaelic was not socially absent from such English-dominant events, however. For instance, the core group of attendees at Ceòl ‘s Craic identified in the preceding section, despite being of varying Gaelic proficiencies, used Gaelic with one another at a much higher rate than could be heard in the general audience. Certain groups of attendees, such as couples or friends, could also sometimes be observed speaking Gaelic with one another. However, as a general rule, just as audiences were generally socially fragmented, so were they also predominantly Anglophone in their interactions. That those events with more developed social networks were an exception to this does not appear to be coincidence.

I estimate from my observations that Gaelic capacity in most audiences which I studied was more widespread than the low prevalence of spoken Gaelic would indicate. At many events there was clearly at least substantial minority understanding of, and response to, Gaelic used in an officiating or performing capacity. At *Aiseirigh*, the GGMA Concert and a variety of Ceòl ‘s Craic events, there was good response to Gaelic announcements or to the Gaelic banter of the band or fear an taighe.

Perhaps the best illustrations of this phenomenon which I observed were at *MAIM* (14/3/20). The audience of 30 was small enough that I had a comprehensive view of attendee behaviour, and I heard no spoken Gaelic from any other attendees from my arrival to the start of the show. The show was preceded by an announcement in first Gaelic and then English inviting the audience to turn off or silence their phones. A substantial minority of the audience visibly reacted to the Gaelic announcement, reaching for their phones as instructed. In addition, following the show, which dealt with themes of cultural and linguistic loss in the Gaelic world, two middle-aged men who had been speaking English prior to the show commented that they should speak Gaelic to each other more often, and switched their language of conversation to Gaelic for the remaining duration of my observation. Clearly these men, and others who reacted to the Gaelic phone announcement, had adequate capacity to use Gaelic socially in this situation, and indeed in the case of the two men opportunity, yet motivation had to be stirred.

Those arts events in which Gaelic was more prevalent are also those which were noted for their exceptional social qualities above. At *Gaels le Chéile* (25/1/20), the group of eight arts professionals consistently spoke only Gaelic amongst themselves and the Mìsneachd members with whom they were familiar. There was substantial, though by no means majority, conversational Gaelic usage in the foyer of the Niteworks concert (22/6/22), with the interlocutors familiar with one another, and often individuals I know to be part of the Gaelic arts network. At *Baile air Bhoil* (27/2/20), I heard the most spoken Gaelic at any arts event I had attended. Individuals and groups engaged in conversational Gaelic, and it was one of the few fieldwork sites where I saw unfamiliar interlocutors interact in Gaelic where they shared social connections with a third Gaelic speaker.

The influence of the Gaelic arts network in these instances is clear, in particular at *Baile air Bhoil*. Individuals connected through this Gaelic arts network who know one another to speak Gaelic have opportunity and motivation to do so when they meet at these events. At *Baile air Bhoil*, the density of individuals interconnected within the arts social network allowed for additional, spontaneous Gaelic social interactions to develop, in turn no doubt broadening and strengthening the network itself. I believe that the unexpected density of Gaelic interaction at this event is, similar to the sudden increase in Gaelic interactions at the Park Bar described in Section 10.1.2, a function of the right Gaelic-speaking individuals being

present to connect a wider network of Gaelic-speaking friends and arts peers. Beyond offering opportunities to individuals to connect with other Gaelic speakers, I would argue that the Gaelic arts social network also increases the social usage of Gaelic systematically across the city by providing a density of motivated Gaelic speakers where the network concentrates.

At *Na Gàidhealmailtich* (10/3/20), despite mixed Gaelic proficiencies at the small event, there was a clear desire to use Gaelic as extensively as possible in conversation and when questioning the panel in the Q&A following the film screening. Those with sufficient capacity asked questions in Gaelic and received answers in Gaelic, and when questions were asked in English, the event did not drop into English monolingualism, but rather returned to Gaelic for the next question. As those with less Gaelic departed earlier, over the last half hour Gaelic became increasingly dominant. Ceòl 's Craic regulars made up a substantial proportion of this audience, and spoke Gaelic with me by default, having met me at other events.

While I was not familiar to the Comhairle nan Leabhraichean book launch attendees (16/11/22), they were, as discussed, familiar with one another, and almost all conversation I heard was in Gaelic. Both the attendees of this book launch and the core attendance group of Ceòl 's Craic are examples of the better-networked internal social groupings discussed in the previous section. Their familiarity with one another mean that they know there is opportunity to speak Gaelic and they likely share and encourage motivation through these friendships. Purpose of event is also likely important here – both of the above events required at least basic conversational Gaelic to fully enjoy, and as such they will have attracted attendees with Gaelic proficiency and interest. In this regard they differ from most Gaelic arts events. However, both events had every possibility of defaulting to English, but a core group of motivated attendees with knowledge of Gaelic and confidence in their peers' proficiencies will have helped ensure that the events remained linguistically Gaelic despite the attendance of any lower- or no-proficiency audience members.

In addition to my observations of Gaelic usage, and its correlations with observed social network dynamics, I also observed some practical obstacles to Gaelic usage during my fieldwork which are worthy of note. The first is that, in contrast to the audience at *Baile air Bhoil*, or at the Comhairle nan Leabhraichean or Ceòl 's Craic film events, most Gaelic arts

events don't require any proficiency in Gaelic to enjoy, and as such are, though there may be silent speakers in the audience, seldom filled with high-proficiency Gaelic speakers. While spontaneous social interaction with unfamiliar attendees in any language is rare according to my observations, the knowledge that there is a high likelihood another individual doesn't speak Gaelic will of course inhibit individuals' likelihood to speak the language. Just as social network dynamics can assure audience members that they *can* speak Gaelic, the default absence of these dynamics will do the opposite. Beyond audiences, in the domain of Gaelic choirs, one experienced chorister I interviewed noted that Gaelic choirs usually contain '[...] a great mixture of Gaelic speakers, very intermediate folk, and then there's a lot of people who are beginners who wouldn't be able to hold a conversation with you.' In my experience of the National Mòd in Glasgow and membership of Gaelic choirs, this has the overall effect of making Gaelic choirs socially mostly Anglophone, even though there may be a substantial minority of fluent speakers and conversational learners present.

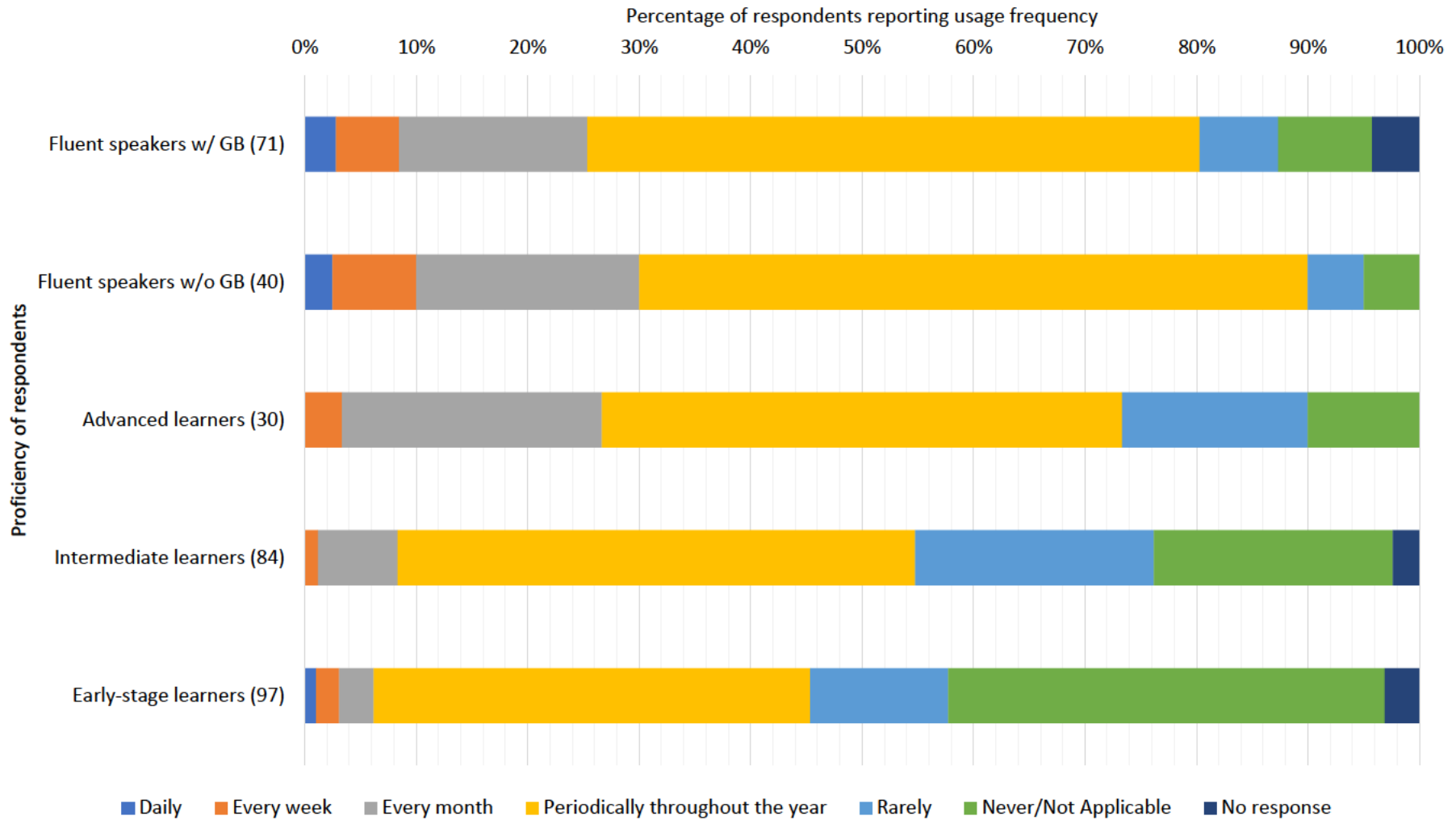
The Anglophone framing of events is also an issue which I identified auto-ethnographically. At almost every musical event I went to, regardless of officiating language, interactions which could only be in English were inevitable as one showed tickets to event staff, purchased drinks, or heard foyer announcements. The only event related in this chapter in which I was immersed in Gaelic from the moment of arrival was the Comhairle nan Leabhraichean book launch (16/11/22), where I was greeted in Gaelic. Comhairle nan Leabhraichean has its own offices in which to host such an event, but concerts must use Anglophone venues, thereby ensuring that the audience experience starts in English. I was not alone in this observation, as an arts professional I interviewed related their dissatisfaction at this inevitable Anglophone framing for arts events.

Finally, having noted the importance of social connection in influencing Gaelic usage at arts events in Glasgow, it is important to also consider how much opportunity these events themselves offer to make and develop Gaelic social connections. Glasgow does not enjoy a reliable weekly formal arts event calendar. Ceòl 's Craic concerts and film screenings are perhaps the most regular formal Gaelic arts events in the city, and these constitute at most two events a month. This stands in contrast to, for instance, the multiple weekly dances and cèilidhs of the latter 20th Century described in Section 10.2.

Furthermore, attendance at Gaelic arts events by no means guarantees a Gaelic-language social experience. The Gaelic in Glasgow Survey, when asking individuals to report their frequency of Gaelic usage, asked about frequency of usage at Gaelic cultural events. While not a category which exclusively contains arts events, arts events are the dominant form of Gaelic cultural events in Glasgow. The data gathered indicates that the vast majority of respondents used Gaelic at a cultural event once a month or less, with a great majority in each category of proficiency indicating that they used Gaelic “periodically throughout the year”, “rarely”, or “never” at cultural events (Figure 8.2). For many Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, it is likely that Gaelic arts event attendance is irregular at best, and even if attendance is more regular, Gaelic usage at such events is uncommon. This is not news in itself, and reflects the findings of my fieldwork, but it is also important to understand that network formation and strengthening benefits from frequency of social contact, and that the infrequency with which many Gaelic speakers likely engage with Gaelic arts events limits the overall scope of the arts sector to support social usage of Gaelic at a city-wide level.

The network of Gaelic arts performers and professionals, and the formation of internal groupings of faithful attendees at specific events, both appear to grant opportunity for individuals to speak Gaelic with one another, and bolster the presence of Gaelic at certain events, but the number of individuals impacted is relatively small in the scheme of the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow, and the nature of the Gaelic arts calendar in the city will make it difficult to form broader networks of any strength amongst more sporadic attendees.

Figure 8.2: Frequency of respondent Gaelic usage at Gaelic cultural events by respondent proficiency



8.4: Who are Gaelic arts events for?

While conducting my interviews, I identified a point of tension focused on perceived divides in potential Gaelic arts events audiences. These divides were on familiar lines for those involved in Gaelic language advocacy: “traditional” vs “modern” art and audiences, and native speakers vs new speakers and learners. Across four of my interviews with those involved in the Gaelic arts sector, these issues arose largely unprompted by myself, giving me the impression that the tensions described here are relevant and current concerns to the interviewees. As some of my interviewees are themselves deeply embedded in Gaelic arts on a personal and professional level, it is likely these questions are being discussed at many levels of the Gaelic arts community in Glasgow. I explored these tensions with my interviewees, and so am able to elaborate on some of the themes and particulars of these issues here.

One of the more fundamental observations, made by an arts professional, is that of there being two broad audiences in the city: those who the interviewee characterised as more traditional, drawn to traditional music such as one might hear at the regional association gatherings, cèilidhs or more trad-focused Celtic Connections concerts, and those who the interviewee considered more “modern”, interested in more experimental forms of Gaelic music such as Ceòl ’s Craic, and also more recent Gaelic bands combining traditional musical heritage with more global styles. As discussed above, not only are these audiences relatively discrete and separated by their tastes, but the interviewee also perceived these audiences to potentially bear strong opinions of one another, viewing one another’s favoured expressions as either overly traditional and plain, or to have compromised on the authenticity of Gaelic art in pursuit of larger audiences:

Well, one idea would be that one group is very old fashioned, set in their ways, boring cèilidhs. The other one might say that collaborations take away the Gaelic elements, they’re not Gaelic, they’re not traditionally Gaelic.

While I cannot give a final answer as to how divided the Gaelic arts scene is in Glasgow between modern and traditional expressions, it is notable that differentiation from traditional forms is an objective of some forms of art in the city. One artist argued the importance of not being traditional, but rather pushing the boundaries of Gaelic art to

maintain cultural vitality and relevancy, revealing a degree of antipathy towards what they perceived as traditional music when arguing for art that is '[...] contemporary, cutting-edge, and is not necessarily a Gaelic singer standing up in a drafty village hall.'

The first instance in my interviews of the expression of difference between native speakers and Gaelic learners in Glasgow's arts scene was a criticism of the native speaker population of the city. The interviewee lamented the relative lack of attendance they perceived at a variety of arts events by native speakers, despite the great number of such speakers the interviewee believed to be in the city. They noted the perceived comparative enthusiasm of learners: '[...] I'm afraid that is one of the morals of this story, is that Gaelic learners – and you can understand why – are far more enthusiastic about attending book events, other sorts of events whether they're language circle events or whatever.'

I have also received the impression of greater proportional involvement of Gaelic learners and new speakers in a creative capacity in Glasgow's arts scene. Strikingly, one native speaker interviewee stated that '[...] the lived experience Gael is minoritized within Gaelic arts'. This interviewee was very positive about learners and their contribution to art, and enthusiastically advocated for modern and non-traditional forms of Gaelic. Their very careful avoidance of the term "native speaker" further highlighted that ideologically they did not wish to alienate non-native speakers. Nonetheless, they explained that while there is a very assertive and active learner community involved in Gaelic arts, they feel that many native speakers lack artistic confidence in comparison.

On the organisational level, within arts bodies themselves, there is an awareness of difference between non-speaker, learner and fluent audiences. Two interviewees spoke positively of Ceòl 's Craic and Theatre gu Leòr as proactive access points for non-Gaelic speakers into Gaelic language and culture. Both expressed an ideological approval of these organisations having a mission of accessibility to Gaelic language and art, with one summarising that:

[...] Ceòl is Craic is also about drawing people from outwith the Gaelic speaking world into events in Glasgow, and hopefully that will have a knock-on effect with them learning a bit more Gaelic, gaining an interest in Gaelic culture, which is an important thing for any organisation in Glasgow, I think, to cater for both.

The “both”, however, appears to be an issue. The same interviewee also discussed their feelings, as a fluent speaker, that there aren’t enough Gaelic arts events aimed at fluent Gaelic speakers with the aim of providing a majority Gaelic environment. To summarise their issue, the accessibility of many Gaelic arts events also inevitably led to most audiences being majority non-speakers or beginner learners, which limits the potential for fluent Gaelic speakers to find an event in which the majority of content and social opportunity is in Gaelic. This interviewee also commented that, from a performing perspective, arts productions varied greatly in the extent to which Gaelic was used by the entire cast and crew. Some projects on which they had worked had been almost entirely made up of Gaelic speakers, whereas in others Gaelic was largely restricted to the performers. They argued that ‘[...] we need to do more of the fully Gaelic not only performance, but also the development and rehearsal of things as well.’

Multiple Glasgow arts initiatives and bodies which I discussed with my interviewees, some of which I cannot name without reducing the anonymity of my interviewees, actively aim for cultural hybridity with the aim of artistic innovation, and so inherently will not be majority Gaelic-speaking in their organisation. Ceòl ’s Craic is one such body which institutionally prioritises cultural crossovers in its programming. While achieving an artistic aim, this focus will inevitably impact the linguistic dynamics of not only the rehearsal process but also the audience. *Gaelictronica* (14/3/20) featured a German artist of higher profile than the Gaelic portion of the programme, and it was apparent in my observations of the audience that this had drawn a substantial number of attendees who were here primarily to see that artist and were unfamiliar with the Gaelic element of the performance.

While Ceòl ’s Craic’s organisational aim of expanding the appeal and exposure of Gaelic to a wider audience was achieved, this will also reduce the familiarity and prevalence of spoken Gaelic in the crowd. In this regard, there are tensions between accessibility, cultural hybridity, and language outcomes in Gaelic arts strategy. Though this went unmentioned by my interviewees, it is worth considering that the economic viability of arts events will be a relevant concern for arts organisers; larger audiences generate more revenue, and so linguistic accessibility will always be desirable, and perhaps necessary, for the sustainability of Gaelic arts events. The “nativeness” of the arts sector, and whether events are

linguistically accessible to larger audiences, appear to be inter-related in complex ways which only further investigation could decipher.

Having outlined all of the above, it is important to reiterate that I would consider all of these interviewees to be ideologically highly in favour of the accessibility of Gaelic arts and the importance of learner contribution to Gaelic arts. These misgivings only emerged after relatively deep discussion on the topic. Having discussed these issues with several interviewees, I asked one if they had any thoughts on how divides in Glasgow's Gaelic arts audiences could be bridged. To my surprise, they asked why we should seek to do that at all. They argued that one would not try to bring together audiences of such diverse characteristics and taste in another language's arts culture, and so beyond perhaps some shared social gatherings it would be artificial to try and force greater unity in the Gaelic arts scene.

It would appear that not only is there no clear solution to the "problem" of divides in Glasgow's Gaelic arts scene, but a solution may not in fact be desirable. It is inevitable that differing demographics and tastes will produce diversity and difference in the Gaelic arts audience of the city. However, the prospect of division based on traditional and non-traditional artistic expressions, and more importantly based on speaker proficiency and cultural background, has potential ramifications for social dynamics and language promotion and should be explored critically by both language planners and Gaelic arts organisers.

8.5: Going Online: a brief observation of Gaelic arts activity in the Covid-19 Pandemic

During the Covid-19 pandemic, in-person arts activity, like most in-person activity, was entirely suspended for several years. During this period some of the organisations I had been studying provided online alternatives to their usual offering. For the most part, this consisted of livestreamed or recorded concerts on Facebook and YouTube: Ceòl 's Craic uploaded six concerts and Celtic Connections' 2021 concert series was hosted entirely online, with pre-recorded concerts airing at specific times in imitation of the usual timetable of a Celtic Connections festival.

While of great benefit to those Gaelic arts audiences stuck at home during the pandemic response, these online events had fundamental social limitations. Ceòl 's Craic's events had capacity for social interaction through the comments sections, by virtue of being hosted on social media platforms. There was no interaction mechanism for audience members using Celtic Connections' streaming service. While exact figures for engagement with the Gaelic-related Celtic Connections 2021 concerts are not accessible, it is apparent from a review of viewing figures that the Ceòl 's Craic offerings received a substantial number of impressions, with some registering views in the thousands and several in the hundreds. Despite this reach, they did not support digital social interaction in English or Gaelic to any substantial extent. No video received more than 100 comments between their Facebook and YouTube uploads, and though both English and Gaelic were represented in these comments sections, almost all comments were one-off, asymmetrical interactions with the uploader rather than conversations between audience members.

The limitations of digital events of this format to support social Gaelic usage, and social interaction at all, are readily apparent. The offerings of both Ceòl 's Craic and Celtic Connections during the pandemic fall substantially short of Cunliffe's (2021: 82-86) model for digital breathing spaces. Celtic Connections, by providing no provision for social interaction whatsoever, immediately fails to meet the second criterion for a digital breathing space, and its viewership should be considered a "passive" digital community (Cunliffe 2007: 135). I would argue that Ceòl 's Craic's streams, while theoretically allowing for social interaction between audience members, would also fail to meet this second condition, as almost all interaction was vertical, between viewer and channel, and not between peers. Furthermore, Ceòl 's Craic's digital offering did not meet the third of Cunliffe's requirements, that the minority language be predominant in the space: the majority of the comments sections were English-dominant, even if a high proportion of the streamed content was Gaelic, nor was Gaelic 'the focal topic of interactions within this space' either (Cunliffe 2021: 84-85).

However, in terms of interactivity, these videos achieved a level of digital engagement between 2 and 4 on Cunliffe's (2021: 80-81) engagement scale, proliferating these videos through social media networks. It is important to keep in mind Cunliffe's (2021: 87-91) assertion of the importance of purpose, people and policies. The purpose of these online

events was not to support Gaelic language interaction, but rather to share music. While important to many participants and audience members of the event, Gaelic was a secondary concern, which is no failing of the arts bodies themselves but should be kept in mind when considering the potential of online events to support real social Gaelic usage on a systemic level. Indeed, support of spoken Gaelic was at best a secondary purpose to all of the live arts events described in this chapter. However, the gathering of individuals for a live event allows for the spontaneous social interaction which can produce and support spoken social Gaelic in Glasgow; such social proximity and spontaneity was not replicated in online concert streams. It is likely that, if online activity can meaningfully develop Gaelic-medium socialisation, it will be on a very different model to that exhibited here.

8.6: Discussion

Of all the sectors and contexts examined in my research, the Gaelic arts sector in Glasgow is the best example of Glasgow's role as a network city of the sort discussed in Section 4.1.2 (Allen 1999: 187-88; Castells 2010: 443-48). Glasgow occupies a central position in the Scottish Gaelic arts world. Arts-based social networks are anchored to the city, events draw attendees from across Scotland, and networks develop and deepen within the city itself. The economic and cultural centrality of Glasgow for Gaelic arts discussed in Section 3.3 inherently influences these social elements. Glasgow is host to a great number of economic opportunities for artists and arts professionals (Chalmers and Danson 2011: 184-85), which will play a significant role in drawing a density of Gaelic artists to the city.

As explored in this chapter, these artists are often already socially and professionally connected to other artists within and beyond Glasgow, and their presence in the city may be another pull to, or at least a normalisation of, the city for their peers. The density of Gaelic artists in Glasgow and its geographical centrality contribute to the focus of festivals and events of national importance in the city, including Celtic Connections and others not explored in this research, such as FilmG, the Scottish Gaelic Awards, and the Gaelic Literature Awards (Chalmers et al. 2022: 24-30). In this we can see the drawing in and channelling of demographic, economic and cultural flows from the Gaelic world into the city of Glasgow, as per Castells' (2010: 443-45) space of flows. Glasgow is undeniably central to

the Gaelic arts world, which makes understanding the effects it may have on Gaelic usage within that world all the more important.

My fieldwork identified three social network-based phenomena which contributed to greater social interaction and cohesion at arts events: the broad Gaelic artist and arts professional social network, the network of friends and fans which a performer may bring into an arts event audience, and the intra-community of practice networks of regular attendees which may form at a regular arts event. Of these three, the first and the last stood out as having an impact on Gaelic usage at events. As regards the latter, Ceòl 's Craic's core, fluent and Gaelic-learning attendee group spoke Gaelic at a higher rate than most audience members across the sector, and though my observations were limited, Gaelic literature events may attract a more networked group of fluent attendees who are comfortable and willing to use Gaelic as a primary language with one another.

The formation of this core group at Ceòl 's Craic is of greatest interest to my research; it has allowed a group of largely intermediate to advanced learners to find a regular speaking community with a shared interest. Though impacting a small number of people in the scheme of the wider city, this is a valuable thing, and likely provides further opportunity to those seeking to find such a social opportunity themselves who come to Ceòl 's Craic. This may be a language promotion advantage of Ceòl 's Craic's aim of opening up and developing Gaelic arts for broader audiences: it can provide an opportunity for an interested learner to find a supportive social group. The extent to which such groupings within arts audiences may encourage greater Gaelic usage across the audience is worth further study, as would be inquiry into whether these groupings do draw any substantial numbers of learners into more Gaelic-speaking social networks.

Given my observations that social interaction across arts events audiences is sparse in all languages, I would suggest that only a small minority of attendees are open to community-building at such events; consuming arts and seeking community are two separate desires, and I would argue that the great majority of any audience isn't actively seeking to make friends at most Gaelic arts events. Furthermore, the relative infrequency of any given event inherently limits the potential for community-building on a wider scale through the arts. Lastly, arts events are not universal. Large portions of the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow do not engage with these events, and even those who do attend arts events are by

no means cohesive or connected. Arts events are not a social club and so while individual communities of practice may be host to, and even actively nurture, small Gaelic-speaking clusters of individuals, this will always be a secondary purpose to providing audience entertainment.

The most important observation from my fieldwork in this sector is the existence of the Gaelic artist and arts professionals social network, and its impact on Gaelic usage both for the individuals involved and the environments with which they interact. Membership of this network contributes to both opportunity and desire to use Gaelic. The network is dense and often multiplex, with members interconnected in complex and various ways. It clearly supports Gaelic usage, not only providing Gaelic-speaking artists contact with other Gaelic speakers, but also clearly contributing to willingness to speak Gaelic. Sufficient densities of members of this network at an event correlate with a significantly increased prevalence of social Gaelic usage. I believe this network to be deep-rooted and durable, as it became apparent through my interviews that many of the connections in this network are forged young and extend beyond Glasgow itself. An area for future inquiry, requiring a closer ethnographic lens, could be determining the internal dynamics of the network which prompt Gaelic usage: Are there key network members who have greater ideological commitment to Gaelic who are particularly influential in Gaelic being used across this network?

The benefit which this network offers on a personal level to Gaelic speakers is of great importance when one considers the rarity and value of social Gaelic usage opportunities in Glasgow, and this value can be best explained with Jones' (2021) network node map of language usage. Consider Gaelic arts events and the social opportunities present within as nodes within the artist's social network. These nodes are, to a likely greater extent than many other nodes in the artist's social network, Gaelic rather than Anglophone, which is otherwise the default in Glasgow. The existence of this Gaelic artistic network, therefore, helps to keep more of the nodes in those artists' social networks Gaelic, in turn facilitating greater usage of Gaelic as a proportion of their social experience. Without the arts sector cultivated in Glasgow and the dense network of Gaelic-speaking artists which it supports, those points of Gaelic-conducive social contact would be eroded, with their artistic purpose removed.

This distributed network of language opportunity could be an exemplar of Lewis and McLeod's (2021a) concept of physical minority language breathing spaces. While not constituting a fixed and bounded physical space, interactions of this network occur in a series of fairly consistent spaces, both venues and preferred social locations. Gaelic is prominent in this unfixed space, unharassed, the participant demographic is very much a concentration of fluent and native speakers, and the space is authentic, born of shared cultural and artistic backgrounds. Through these features, Glasgow's Gaelic arts sector supports a network of individuals who would otherwise make less use of Gaelic in their urban life than they currently do. The potential value of this is discussed further in Section 11.2.3.

There are apparently tensions in the Gaelic arts sector over the purpose and accessibility of arts projects and events in Glasgow. Amongst issues identified by interviewees were perceptions of division between "traditional" and "modern" audiences, a desire for Gaelic arts programming to push boundaries rather than use traditional forms, and a potential under-representation of native speakers in the city's Gaelic arts scene, both in audiences and as artistic voices. My research did not dig deep enough to make any authoritative claims on the accuracy and specifics of my interviewees' perspectives, and so I will go no further than to acknowledge that there is clearly discourse on these subjects. Divides between what a more traditional audience wants and the desires of an audience which more progressive artists and arts bodies wish to appeal to will impact the potential for wider community formation through the arts sector. In particular, if interviewees' observations are accurate, it may present a native speaker/learner rift in tastes and interaction, which is of concern from the perspective of language revitalisation.

Linguistic accessibility of events is very important if events are to have sustainable audience numbers, and it may aid the "normalisation" of Gaelic arts in society as well as giving Gaelic learners opportunities to engage with the language and other speakers. However, as I observed throughout my fieldwork, a linguistically accessible event is ultimately a majority-English event. In an ideal world there would be a full spectrum of events which are accessible to non-speakers and learners, as well as similarly frequent and developed arts activity entirely through the medium of Gaelic for advanced learners and fluent speakers.

Whether this is practically achievable, or desirable from the perspective of current arts bodies, is another question.

In conclusion, Glasgow's Gaelic arts events sector provides a supportive structure for the social usage of Gaelic by certain segments of the population. Most notably it provides opportunity for Gaelic artists and arts professionals to maintain a dense network of Gaelic-speaking contacts, and individual communities can emerge from within the sector which support Gaelic usage. Though I have noted that the individuals involved are few in number in the context of the city and Gaelic arts audiences as a whole, I must assert the importance and value of these structures. Without them a great deal of social Gaelic usage would not occur, and any Gaelic-supportive social network is vital in a minoritised context.

There is enormous potential for further research into the structure, dynamics and lived experiences of the Gaelic arts network in Glasgow and nationally. In particular, the specifics of how this network forms and replicates, including the importance of childhood Highland and Island music education and events, deserve greater focus, and could help to illuminate the formation of other networks whose web spreads beyond Glasgow itself. The next generation of this arts network is likely already forming across Scotland, and so there is potential to ensure that this network remains as supportive for Gaelic in the coming years as it is now.

My inquiry into the Gaelic arts sector has by no means been comprehensive. Many organisations and events were beyond the reach of my research, and of those I have studied many deserve deeper attention. Gaelic theatre was, as a result of time and the pandemic, a blind spot in my research. I gathered enough insights from interviews and hearsay to know that this is a relatively small but vigorous sector supporting some community initiatives and a small number of professionals, but not enough that I felt I could give it the attention it deserves here. An Lòchran was another notable oversight in my fieldwork, due in large part to fieldwork windows not aligning with their disrupted events programming on either side of the pandemic. They are important players in the Glasgow arts sector and likewise deserve greater attention.

There is great potential to follow up on the work started here, and within that potential is an opportunity to interrogate more closely the ideologies of the Gaelic arts sector as regards

language promotion. Tensions between old and new, accessibility and Gaelic usage, and the competing purposes of arts bodies charged with the care of a minority language are ripe for exploration. The extent to which Gaelic arts, perhaps the most visible face of Gaelic in Glasgow, can support language promotion depends on how such tensions are resolved.

9: The University of Glasgow

The University of Glasgow fills an important role in the history of Gaelic in Glasgow, and continues to serve an important role in the present day, not only as a site of Gaelic learning, but also as a hub of Gaelic social activity. Hundreds of students take courses through Gaelic at the university each year, in addition to an unknown further number of Gaelic-speaking students on other courses (Chalmers et al. 2022: 36-37). The university has an active Gaelic policy and events group, UoG Gàidhlig, and a Gaelic student society, An Comunn Oiseanach. During my research I had the opportunity to engage in limited in-person ethnographic fieldwork at the university itself, attending the entirety of a *Latha na Gàidhlig* programme on 27 February 2020. Most of my findings in this chapter, however, are derived from my interviews. This includes three interviews with individuals who are or were members of staff at the university, two interviews with former students, an interview with a current student and an interview with a parent of students at the University of Glasgow. The findings of these interviews are synthesised with my fieldwork and the findings of other recent research below in Section 9.1, and considered through the theoretical lenses of this paper in Section 9.2.

It must be noted that the University of Glasgow is not the only higher education institution with some Gaelic-speaking presence in Glasgow. Certainly, the University of Strathclyde offers teacher training in Gaelic, and there is every likelihood that Gaelic speakers do attend other higher education providers in the city. However, other studies such as Chalmers et al.'s (2022) economic study found only limited information on Strathclyde's Gaelic offering, and the University of Glasgow has a far more developed cultural reputation and presence in the city. To my knowledge, Glasgow Caledonian University makes no official Gaelic offering either academically or in terms of extracurricular activity. For these reasons, given the already expansive scope of this work and the relative inaccessibility of the university environment to an outsider, the presence and role of Gaelic in other institutions of higher education in Glasgow is left to future researchers for inquiry.

Focus on the University of Glasgow yields plentiful insight in itself. My findings make it clear that there has been great development and a sense of growth in the social offering and profile of Gaelic in the last decade at the university. The social networks of Gaelic-speaking

students, and the personalities who are connected by and enrich these networks, are important to the vitality of Gaelic at the university. Likewise, the focus of organised activity, such as that of UoG Gàidhlig and An Comunn Oiseanach, appears to provide the density of speaking and socialisation opportunities which supports the formation of those networks. The University of Glasgow appears to be of value not only to the Gaelic experience of its students, but also to that of the city as a whole.

9.1: Gaelic at the University of Glasgow

Gaelic speakers have maintained a presence in the University of Glasgow since its foundation, forming a minority portion of the university's population through the 15th to 17th Centuries (Ó Maolalaigh, Forsyth, and MacCoinnich 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). Notable figures such as Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair attended in the 18th Century (Ó Maolalaigh, Forsyth, and MacCoinnich 2014d). The existence of An Comunn Oiseanach (The Ossianic Society), described as 'is fìor Chomunn Gàilig a tha ann' ('a real Gaelic society') in an 1872 letter to the *An Gaidheal* periodical for conducting their debates and meetings in Gaelic since their founding in 1831, evidences a certain vitality to the Gaelic-speaking student population in the 19th Century (Ó Maolalaigh, Forsyth, and MacCoinnich 2014e).

Advocacy and fundraising by both An Comunn Oiseanach and the Glasgow regional associations would lead to the foundation of a temporary, and then permanent, lectureship in Celtic at the University of Glasgow by 1911 (Ó Maolalaigh, Forsyth, and MacCoinnich 2014f). The Gaelic history of the University of Glasgow is the subject of ongoing research, and so my research focuses on the present situation of the language in this context. However, some insights into the more recent history of the university were gained from interviews, which highlight that there appears to be a growing vitality to the university's Gaelic-speaking student population.

In terms of pure numbers, Chalmers et al. (2022: 36-37) present the most recent summary. 270 students took courses in Celtic and Gaelic in 2021. Of these, 119 were taking a course in the Gaelic language. Chalmers et al. report growth in both the number of students and available courses. This is evident when comparing the 2021 figure of 119 students to the recorded 55 students who took courses in Gaelic language in the 2017-18 academic year (University of Glasgow 2018: 14). It is important to note that these figures do not indicate

the extent to which those students study Gaelic; these students may be fully engaged in a Gaelic-related degree, or they may be only taking these courses as elective choices alongside a degree in a different department. Gaelic is present amongst the staff also: there are 18 FTE posts considered “Gaelic essential” at the university, and 64 staff reported possessing Gaelic language skills. While notable within the context of the Gaelic language economy of Glasgow, it is also important to understand that these Gaelic professionals constitute only a small portion of the 9,000+ staff of the university.

My interviews gave an overall impression that there is growth and a sense of increasing vitality to Gaelic at the University of Glasgow. One staff member at the university described a sense of momentum in recent years, which has ‘[...] largely been due to the student cohort we’ve had.’ Another staff member perceived growth in the number of overt Gaelic speakers at the university, describing how they nowadays regularly encounter Gaelic-speaking students with whom they are not familiar, whereas earlier in their career they felt that they generally knew almost all the Gaelic speakers at the university. The extent to which this correlates with any changes in student numbers is not clear from figures I could access from the University of Glasgow, and so the subjective impressions of interviewees are hard to substantiate with statistics.

Based on the testimony of interviewees and my own observations, it is clear that substantial innovations occurred following the University of Glasgow’s adoption of its first Gaelic Language Plan and the introduction of the role of Gaelic Development Manager. Much of this development occurred during Fiona Dunn’s tenure as the first Gaelic Development Manager at the university from 2009 to 2021. A staff member active during this period described Gaelic prior to this period as having a strong reputation as an academic subject but less of a social presence. Several major developments were credited to this 2009-2021 period. Broadly, the activities of UoG Gàidhlig, the body responsible for the university’s extracurricular Gaelic offering, intensified and expanded. UoG Gàidhlig’s main projects include the residential scheme Taigh na Gàidhlig, an annual programme of Gaelic events, staff training and learning opportunities, and digital and in-person engagement activity (University of Glasgow 2018: 11).

The present state of this offering is well-illustrated in Chalmers et al.’s (2022: 36-37) findings: in 2021, UoG Gàidhlig delivered 24 Gaelic events, which received engagement from 961

individuals, including staff, students and the wider public. 148 members of staff participated in Gaelic language courses or awareness training. Improved awareness of Gaelic amongst non-Gaelic speaking staff was highlighted as a particular improvement during Fiona Dunn's tenure by an interviewed member of staff. They claimed that internal staff and the university's communications office had become much more aware of Gaelic and willing to accommodate the language in both internal and external communications over the last 10 years.

When describing this period of development, interviewees consistently highlighted the role of students and the importance of the personalities involved in Gaelic at the university. The same staff member who credited Gaelic's momentum at the university to the student cohort described them as a 'vibrant, dynamic bunch', speaking positively of their pro-activeness in speaking Gaelic to one another and organising projects such as a Gaelic-language magazine. They spoke of the importance of the specific mix of personalities at the university in recent years, crediting progress to '[...] a good few years of having quite strong characters involved.' Another staff member likewise highlighted that '[...] there's a bunch of students who are actively pro-Gaelic, which is really positive I think.' They contrasted their own experiences as a student in the 1990s to their present observations; they felt that Gaelic-speaking students of their generation were much less inclined to use the language informally with one another outside of academic settings, while more recent students '[...] were happy to talk with me in Gaelic and happy to talk to each other in Gaelic [...]'. In their own words, modern students displayed 'a quiet activism about using the language.'

The perceived increase in the willingness of students to use Gaelic publicly was observed by another interviewee from a non-academic context, who related having overheard two University of Glasgow students speaking in Gaelic in a café. They felt that this was part of a broader pattern which they had observed, that younger speakers seemed more confident in using their Gaelic in public than those of older generations. One interviewee noted that it was the students, through An Comunn Oiseanach, who maintained a momentum for Gaelic activity at the university even in the interim between Fiona Dunn's departure from her role and the appointment of a new Gaelic Development Manager.

My findings in relation to where and how Gaelic is used at the university are detailed below. It is hard to gain through direct observation an accurate impression of the experience of

Gaelic usage at an institution like a university, where even a well-integrated researcher still would not have the student or staff experience. For this reason, direct fieldwork is limited, and much of the evidence in this chapter is drawn from the impressions of interviewees. General findings are discussed first, with An Comunn Oiseanach and Taigh na Gàidhlig given particular focus.

9.1.1: The Gaelic Offering at the University of Glasgow

The most obvious context of usage with which to start is that of the Gaelic department itself. One interviewed staff member highlighted 3 University Gardens, home of the Gaelic department, as a site of extracurricular Gaelic usage. Staff generally speak Gaelic in the department to one another in the experience of two interviewees. 10 of the 18 Gaelic-essential roles at the university are in the Celtic and Gaelic department (Chalmers et al. 2022: 36-37), which should make it a natural focal point for Gaelic usage. Teaching and events were highlighted as more formal instances for speaking Gaelic, but this interviewee considered the daily informal usage of Gaelic by students between classes which they had observed to also be of great value.

In a rare sentiment of loss of progress in these interviews, they noted that the incorporation of 3 University Gardens into the centralised academic room booking system of the university had reduced the observed spontaneous Gaelic usage by students in the department. Rooms within 3 University Gardens, formerly reserved primarily for the teaching activities of the Gaelic department, now host classes and student from other departments, and the interviewee observed that this injection of non-Gaelic speaking students impacted the soundscape of the department. The dilution of a minority language space leading to reduced spontaneous usage is a familiar situation to both other minority language university departments, and to minority language contexts in general.

Remaining within the university building context, Gaelic signage is in use at the university, often on bilingual building names. Chalmers et al. (2022: 36-37) enumerated 15 sites with Gaelic signage. While I have not conducted a statistical linguistic landscape analysis of the university, it is my observation that Gaelic, while present in greater volume than in the rest of the city, is still very much a small minority of written text and largely symbolic in purpose. Almost all written Gaelic in the university is, to my observation, limited to bilingual building

names, and I have seldom seen deeper or more extensive informational usage of the language on the university site. While interviewees were, as mentioned, generally very positive about the university's treatment of Gaelic, the desirability of more Gaelic signs around the university site was expressed by one interviewee.

Beyond academic spaces, another important site of Gaelic usage for staff members is the Digital Archive of Scottish Gaelic (DASG), operated by the university since 2006. Six of the 18 Gaelic-essential posts at the university are in DASG, and the university reports it to be a 'predominantly Gaelic-speaking work environment' (Chalmers et al. 2022: 36-37; University of Glasgow 2018: 17). During my fieldwork prior to the pandemic I met two DASG employees at *Baile air Bhoil* in the evening of the university's 2020 *Latha na Gàidhlig* programme (27/2/2020) who had become aware of the event through the university's Twitter promotion, indicating that to at least a certain extent DASG employees are positioned to take advantage of Gaelic events held in the wider university.

Such events, organised through UoG Gàidhlig, are varied in their nature, ranging from small conversation circles to large-scale events with hundreds of attendees. While we have the figure of 961 individuals engaged with 24 events in 2021 (Chalmers et al. 2022: 36-37), an interviewed member of staff explained that it is hard to enumerate exactly how many people are "involved" in Gaelic socially at the university. Conversation circles may only involve three or four individuals, whereas a major event may have an attendance of up to 400. Likewise, they highlighted that the nature of Gaelic engagement is different at each event. In the former case, all individuals involved may be communicating entirely through Gaelic, whereas in the latter case not all individuals are likely to be using Gaelic but are engaging with Gaelic cultural activity.

The interviewee estimated that what they identified as 'very core Gaelic activity', including *Taigh na Gàidhlig* (covered in greater depth below), may involve on average four or five students a year, but asserted that this was important, high-quality work and that over time these numbers lead to a great many individuals. In summary, they asserted the equal importance of both high-volume Gaelic cultural events and higher-intensity small-group activity. Given the importance of core personalities in driving the sense of momentum identified by other interviewees, this investment in "core Gaelic activity" for a small group of students may have additional value for Gaelic at the university as a whole.

It was made clear to me in interviews that the University of Glasgow's influence on Gaelic events and Gaelic usage cannot be cleanly delineated from wider activity in Glasgow itself. Institutional ties relate to employment, such as a particularly strong relationship between the university and the BBC, who look for young Gaelic speakers for auditions. I was informed that Gaelic childcare organisations also recruit from the student population. UoG Gàidhlig formally co-operates with various organisations in the city on events, and I was provided with many examples by an interviewee. Comhairle nan Leabhraichean collaborates on book launch events and writing workshops for students, Sgoil Ghàidhlig Ghlaschu accepts university students for work experience, An Lòchran has collaborated with UoG Gàidhlig on events, and Glasgow Life has both collaborated with the university and made use of students for its projects. It is clear that the university does not stand separate to the Gaelic institutions of the city.

Beyond institutional connections, multiple interviewees highlighted to me the extent of the personal connections which students have across the city. A tendency of Gaelic-speaking students to congregate at the Park Bar was highlighted. Involvement in Gaelic arts in the city was highlighted by one interviewee, stating that some students are musicians and as such have connections with Celtic Connections and the broader arts scene of the city, and another interviewee referenced the involvement of students in cèilidhs in the city. Some students are members of Gaelic choirs or regional associations, and both choirs and associations make occasional use of university venues.

Some of the impressions given by interviewees of the nature of Gaelic and its usage at the University of Glasgow are supported by my ethnographic notes from participating in the university's 2020 *Latha na Gàidhlig* programme (27/2/2020). I observed four distinct events on university premises over the course of the day: a flag-raising ceremony, an open Gaelic conversation circle, a lunchtime concert, and an evening gig. The musical events have been discussed (see Chapter 8) to a certain extent, but here analysis focuses on the nature of these events specifically in relation to students and the university.

In the morning of *Latha na Gàidhlig*, at 9.30, there was a small ceremony on the university site to raise a flag bearing the Gaelic name of the university. I observed six students and staff participating, including Fiona Dunn the Gaelic Development Manager at the time, as well as two university communications staff who were present to publicise the event digitally. With

the exception of the two communications staff, participants spoke Gaelic to one another, and so the event was predominantly in Gaelic when the Gaelic speakers were not conversing with the communications staff.

From 10.30 to 11.45, a combination of live music and a conversation circle was held in a public area of a university building. There were 8 conversation circle attendees other than myself, of whom 2 were staff. There were also 3 musicians providing the live music session, one of whom was employed by DASG. From interaction it became clear to me that there were, myself included, 3 or 4 early-stage or intermediate learners, and that around half of attendees were advanced or fluent speakers. At least two that I was able to speak to were fluent speakers from the Western Isles. All 3 musicians spoke fluent Gaelic to us and one another. These attendees appeared generally familiar with one another, and to a great extent hosted those attending with lesser fluency, prompting conversation in Gaelic and ensuring flowing conversation. Appropriately for a conversation circle, Gaelic was almost exclusively used except when occasionally explaining to interested passers-by the purpose of the event.

From 13.10 to 14.00, a lunchtime concert was held as part of the university's regular *Music in the University* series. Due to the concert being held on the university's *Latha na Gàidhlig*, the artists booked were SIAN, a Gaelic vocal trio. As discussed in Chapter 8, I estimated an audience of around 100, the majority of which were middle-aged through elderly, many of whom were likely a regular audience for the concert series. I observed perhaps a dozen individuals who I profiled as undergraduate-age students. I identified one particular group of seven students attending together who spoke Gaelic with one another, one of whom was present at the earlier conversation circle. In addition, the DASG employee from the prior event was present. The soundscape of the audience was largely Anglophone, though I heard Gaelic being spoken between the aforementioned students and between a small number of elderly attendees. The concert was announced bilingually, and from my observations there were evidently further members of the audience who were following the Gaelic section of announcements.

Finally, the evening gig, *Baile air Bhoil: WHYTE & DLÙ*, starting at 19.30, contrasted to the lunchtime concert in its much younger audience and the far greater prevalence of observable Gaelic in the crowd. I would estimate that 2/3rd of the audience were aged 18-

35, and less confidently would venture that a full 1/3rd were aged 18-25. As mentioned in Chapter 8, Gaelic was prevalent by the standards of such events, with around half of conversations I heard being in Gaelic. I met or saw individuals with whom I was familiar from a variety of other contexts, including the music scene and Gaelic choirs, as well as individuals from DASG and other university staff and students I had met earlier in the day.

The events of *Latha na Gàidhlig* illustrated the spectrum of events which were described by one interviewee as ranging from “core activity” to mass-audience events. The number of students at the flag-raising event and facilitating as much as participating in the conversation circle correlates with the assertion that a small core group of dedicated Gaelic-speaking students is intensively involved in Gaelic activity. By contrast, the two musical events had attendances of 100+, and had lesser concentration of Gaelic. In particular, the lunchtime concert was primarily an English-language environment, but those attendees were, as one interviewee described, engaging with Gaelic culture.

I believe *Baile air Bhoil* also illustrates the important element of student social connections described by two interviewees. I took particular note of the variety of young people from beyond the student body present at the event, and the generally high rates of Gaelic usage and familiarity amongst audience members. I believe that this difference from many other arts events may be explained by the denser social connections which the Gaelic student body has both internally and with the wider arts world. Indeed, I noted in Chapter 8 that the social dynamics of supporting fellow artists were observable at this event; it is likely that the social connections between musically-inclined students dovetail with broader artist networks in the city.

One interviewee, when asked what they thought the role of the university was in relation to Gaelic in Glasgow, stated that ‘[...] it offers space where the language is taught, is spoken. [...] a go-to place where Gaelic can be spoken and heard [...]’. The events of *Latha na Gàidhlig* demonstrate the capacity for the university to at least provide a platform for large-scale social events at which Gaelic can be heard and spoken, and indeed at seemingly higher rates than at equivalent events elsewhere in the city.

9.1.2: An Comunn Oiseanach

I was fortunate to receive a multi-generational perspective of An Comunn Oiseanach from my interviews. The contrasts which are drawn between previous generations of the society and the present are informative of the character of the modern Comunn. One interviewee, familiar with the history of the society, highlighted that despite the praise of the 1872 letter mentioned above, An Comunn Oiseanach became bilingual in the 1890s and declined in its overt Gaelic character. A non-academic interviewee, a member of the society in the 1970s, described the Comunn as having been 'somewhat more insular' than its present form, serving primarily as a site of socialisation for native Gaelic speakers at Glasgow University. While the society visited the Gàidhealtachd, including staging a touring drama and sketch show once a year, the interviewee considered the modern society to be both larger and to be more active, with a much-elevated public profile.

An interviewee who was a member of An Comunn Oiseanach in the 1990s said that, in their time, the Comunn's activities largely focused on both singing and dancing cèilidhs, as well as on offering Gaelic lessons to students and staff. The membership consisted mostly of students, and most students were from or had connections to Gaelic communities, or were studying Gaelic. The committee and the more active members were almost exclusively Islanders. They described it as '[...] really a social club with language and music and song as well.' By contrast, they described the modern society as having '[...] come back to its roots in many ways [...]'. They consider it to nowadays be more active in terms of teaching and organising music events, and most notably to be more politically active and engaged as regards the Gaelic language. They also noted that, by contrast to the 1990s, when most of the membership of the Comunn were studying Gaelic, nowadays there are more members who aren't studying Gaelic as a subject, and that often these members are GME graduates.

This correlates with the observation of another interviewee, whose two children study at the University of Glasgow, one of whom is studying Gaelic and the other a non-Gaelic subject. The interviewee reported that nonetheless, both are involved in An Comunn Oiseanach, and that around $\frac{3}{4}$ of their friends are 'Gaels'. They credited these social connections in one part to the University of Glasgow's position as a focal point for higher education in the Gaelic world, but also to the impacts of GME. They asserted that the shared experience of GME between their children and others at university provided a shared connection which led to

social opportunity later in life. It is possible that, with growing numbers of students graduating from GME and going to university, new social patterns will develop based on shared educational background rather than shared geographic or cultural background. While this phenomenon is only evidenced here by the observations of two interviewees, it is worth further exploration and attention in future research.

In terms of activities, an active member of An Comunn Oiseanach informed me that the society holds events or gatherings reliably every fortnight, if not every week, during academic term. The go-to social opportunity is a gathering at the Park Bar. In that regard, little has changed since the 1970s! Another student informed me that drinking events are the most well-attended of An Comunn Oiseanach's offering, but the society does also hold music sessions and cèilidhs. An additional event highlighted by a current student is Cafaidh Còmhraidh, a Gaelic-language meetup at the Bodach café near the university. The extent to which all gatherings are in Gaelic is not known to me and would require more intensive ethnographic work focused on the university. However, from my occasional experiences with An Comunn and the testimony of my interviewees, I would hypothesise that An Comunn's activities are mostly through the medium of Gaelic.

The potential benefits of An Comunn in promoting Gaelic usage may lie in its status as a known focal point for Gaelic-speaking students, and its capacity to connect those students. This is illustrated in the account of one of my interviewees (here referred to as UGS) of seeking to acquire a Gaelic social circle following the Covid-19 pandemic. UGS is a native Gaelic speaker from the Western Isles, who has been an undergraduate student of a non-Gaelic subject at the University of Glasgow since 2018. When they first moved to Glasgow, they drifted socially from friends they knew from back home. Instead, they acquired a new social circle based primarily upon who they met in university halls, at freshers week events, and on their course. The outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic in 2020 made socialisation difficult and disrupted existing social connections. As society re-opened, they sought out Comunn Oiseanach with a desire to make Gaelic social connections. As they put it:

'[...] previously, I was totally unbothered by Gaelic to be honest, and I was just, I didn't really have that much interest in it when I moved away from home, interestingly, but that has since changed.'

They have found that contact with An Comunn has improved their speaking confidence, which had decreased after leaving home, and that it provided them with more opportunities to speak Gaelic. Prior to this, their primary Gaelic language contacts had been family and a couple of friends from home.

Their contact with An Comunn also led to the formation of additional social networks beyond the activities of An Comunn itself. UGS made a group of friends through the society who would meet regularly for dinners, at which they would try to use Gaelic. They estimated that around 50% of conversation was in Gaelic at these meet-ups, '[...] because it's so easy to go back into English [...]'. Nonetheless, through interaction with An Comunn UGS was able to form in-person social networks with Gaelic, where formerly they had few opportunities to speak the language. Just as was highlighted with the university as a whole, An Comunn Oiseanach's greatest value may be in providing a ready-made structure through which Gaelic speakers moving to Glasgow for university can meet fellow speakers in an otherwise predominantly Anglophone city.

9.1.3: Taigh na Gàidhlig

Taigh na Gàidhlig is a UoG Gàidhlig programme established in 2009, in which a student residence is designated as a Gaelic household. The students in that accommodation are expected to use Gaelic as the primary household language, and in return receive a rent subsidy. As of 2018, 40 students had taken part in Taigh na Gàidhlig, including students from other higher education institutions in Glasgow (University of Glasgow 2018: 12). Staff who commented on the programme in interview were positive, considering it an important and successful development for the university. One interviewee spoke of it as falling into the vital "core" Gaelic activity of UoG Gàidhlig, and described its focus as being on changing how young fluent speakers use Gaelic. They considered a particularly important breakthrough to be when students not studying towards Gaelic degrees began to participate in Taigh na Gàidhlig. The extent to which students on non-Gaelic degrees participate in Taigh na Gàidhlig on an annual basis is unclear, and likely varies from year to year.

Another interviewee, while positive about Taigh na Gàidhlig, did identify what they considered room for improvement. They highlighted that Taigh na Gàidhlig isn't a consistent building. Rather, it is a shifting site, often a privately rented flat in which Gaelic speakers live.

Noting that many students develop their friendship groups in first year university-owned accommodation or in other first year activities, and often form their future living arrangements from those friendships, they argued that some students may not want to break those bonds to join Taigh na Gàidhlig. Furthermore, Taigh na Gàidhlig may be seen as a commitment that is hard to move away from. They proposed that it would be beneficial if Taigh na Gàidhlig were to grow and to incorporate a university-owned accommodation block, so that students could both commit to the linguistic element of Taigh na Gàidhlig and gain the first year halls of residence experience. In addition, though not mentioned by the interviewee, this would have the additional benefit of expanding the scope of the programme, given the capacity of university halls of residence in comparison to private rental accommodation.

9.2: Discussion

The University of Glasgow provides an archetypal example of the network city dynamic described in Section 4.1.2. Universities are a fundamentally core institution that draw expertise, investment, and population from the surrounding periphery. The prevalence of Highland students at the University of Glasgow since its foundation is symptomatic of this. In this regard, it is fortunate that the present-day university appears to be a broadly benevolent and supportive presence for Gaelic in Glasgow. In addition to providing a site for academic Gaelic usage, the university appears to be a focal point for non-academic Gaelic usage and the formation of Gaelic-speaking social networks, which benefits both Gaelic-speaking individuals and the general cause of Gaelic promotion.

The social conditions promoted at and by the University of Glasgow provide opportunity for Gaelic usage, but critically also impact on the factor of desire positively. An increase in the latter has been observed by interviewees in this chapter: A sense of momentum, a 'quiet activism', or the perception that young people are more comfortable using the language in public. Whether this increased desire to use Gaelic drives or is driven by the increase in opportunity provided by the developments at the university over the last decade is hard to determine, and I am inclined to suggest here that opportunity and desire likely form a virtuous circle given interviewees' observations of the continued momentum of student organisations in the years following Fiona Dunn's departure from the university.

The University of Glasgow can be understood as containing a number of overlapping communities of practice for Gaelic. The academic Gaelic department at the university forms the first of these. Formal Gaelic usage in teaching, while not the focus of this research, clearly provides a context of Gaelic usage and is a substantial contributor to regular Gaelic usage in the lives of Gaelic-speaking students as indicated by the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey data. The department also constitutes a community of practice in the form of its corridors and offices for both students and staff, where Gaelic conversation occurs. The impact upon the linguistic practices of this community observed by one interviewee through the intrusion of outside students is typical of such disruptions.

A variety of social communities of practice of varying permanence are supported by the university. Some, such as Taigh na Gàidhlig, regular conversation circles or core membership activities of An Comunn will be quite consistent, while others, such as large arts events, are more transient. Most importantly for this analysis, some of these communities are quite overtly focused on the usage of Gaelic. The modification of language behaviour, which could perhaps be formulated as the creation of language desire, is the purpose of Taigh na Gàidhlig. Others such as the gatherings at the Bodach café aim to carve out spaces for Gaelic usage, generating opportunity where desire exists. Even at those events which were not focused on promoting Gaelic usage, opportunity was still present due to the prevalence of Gaelic speakers, a function of the density of activity and network ties at the university. Gaelic-speaking students have a boon that few Gaelic speakers in Glasgow possess in the variety and density of Gaelic usage contexts they may enjoy: The density of Gaelic-focused communities of practice at the University of Glasgow allows one, in theory, to go from Gaelic-speaking Taigh na Gàidhlig to Gaelic-speaking classroom to Gaelic-speaking Comunn Oiseanach.

This density of communities supports and is supported by the social networks it propagates. The importance of social networks to the vitality of Gaelic at the university was highlighted repeatedly through the evidence given by interviewees. The importance of key personalities and the make-up of the student body which drives the momentum of Gaelic activity are functions of social network dynamics. Communities of practice such as those outlined above, with formalised, regular activity, provide a framework within which individuals can join the Gaelic-speaking social networks of the university. This can be seen with UGS, and

the way in which they were able to develop a Gaelic-speaking social network through the connections they made at An Comunn Oiseanach. Network formation is to a great extent a fundamental purpose of some university activities, such as Cafaidh Còmhraidh, and such activities are vital in the university social environment due to the annual turnover of the student population.

Though this is not directly observed in my findings, I would theorise from my own experiences of university that the density of communities of practice and the intensity of activity at the University of Glasgow cause the social networks formed there to be dense and likely consisting of a high proportion of strong and multiplex ties. Such networks have strong impacts on language behaviour, and so I would suggest, given the observed pro-Gaelic attitudes of the Gaelic-speaking student body, that there are likely positive effects on desire to speak Gaelic associated with the social networks formed amongst Gaelic speakers at the University of Glasgow.

The reliable provision and maintenance of communities of practice amenable to Gaelic, and the social networks which can form through and around these communities which then propagate them to future generations of students, appear to be the secrets to the success of Gaelic at the University of Glasgow in the present day. In this regard, the university, or at least elements thereof, could be seen as the sort of physical breathing space for Gaelic which Lewis and McLeod (2021a: 110-12) propose. Certainly, Gaelic is predominant in a number of its teaching, professional and social spaces. The language goes unharassed, with the sense of growing acceptance amongst the university's communications and internal staff constituting a diminishing of the passive resistance which Gaelic can encounter in large organisations. Finally, language usage is clearly "authentic" in the sense meant by Cunliffe (2021: 82-86), as the language is used and regulated by real language speakers. The university appears to have become a place for Gaelic in the city of Glasgow.

This has benefits beyond the university itself. The social reach of the university, both as a site for events and as a home for individuals with social networks which expand into the city, impacts Glasgow as a whole. Closer ethnographic study of the connections between Gaelic-speaking students and the organisations and activities of Glasgow would almost certainly uncover the richness of connections described by interviewees, and I consider it likely that if the social conditions of the university are proving beneficial for Gaelic-speaking students,

there will be benefits for Gaelic in their interactions with the wider city's Gaelic-speaking community, such as the regional associations or the arts scene. The role of the university as a hub in a nexus of Gaelic activity reaching into the city is one worth considering in future research and policy, as a site of Gaelic usage of any vigour in an urban setting cannot be discounted.

My final observation here, for future monitoring rather than the drawing of any conclusions, is that of the perceived changing composition of the Gaelic-speaking student body of the University of Glasgow. Should there be a shift from a primarily native speaker, Gaelic-studying cohort such as that observed in An Comunn Oiseanach in the 70s and 90s, to a more GME-educated, potentially more diverse in subject student body, it will be worth considering the impacts this will have on the usage of and attitudes towards Gaelic at the university.

10: Other Sites of Gaelic Usage

Over the course of my research, I gained insights into a variety of other social contexts in addition to those covered in more depth above. Though I have less data on these contexts, they are nonetheless an important part of the Gaelic social world in Glasgow, and so in this chapter I present the information I was able to gather on Gaelic pubs, the regional associations, and adults in relation to GME, including both parents and former students. The following three sections, while grouped together here, are self-contained and provide both valuable insights for this research as well as a useful resource for any future researchers wishing to focus on any of these sectors.

10.1: Pubs

Pubs swiftly established themselves as a feature of Glasgow's Gaelic social landscape during my research. This is perhaps unsurprising, given that they serve as social hubs across urban Scottish society. The role of pubs for Highlanders in Glasgow in particular is notable enough that it has been observed from outside the culture. For instance, an article in the *Glasgow Evening Times* in 2009 identified a 'triangle' of pubs towards the West end of Argyle Street ('Gael force in the west' 2009). This constellation of pubs, referred to as the 'Gaelic triangle' by Glaschu.net, consists of the Islay Inn, Ben Nevis, Snaffle Bit and most famously the Park Bar, all of which are within 5 minutes' walk of one another on Argyle Street or adjacent Sauchiehall Street (Glaschu 2018i). The proximity of these pubs to the former site of the Highlanders Institute is considered to be significant in their success (Glaschu 2018i).

That pubs fulfil a social role for Gaelic of some import is evidenced to a degree in existing research. In McLeod, O'Rourke and Dunmore's (2014: 9) research on urban new speakers of Gaelic, at least one participant found that pubs were a place to find valuable speaking opportunities. Schmal and Scholten (2016) conducted fieldwork with Gaelic speakers in the Lismore, a pub close to the concentration of Gaelic organisational offices on Mansfield Street in Partick. In my research, pubs and their role in the social experience of Gaelic in Glasgow have been explored through my interviews, where they were mentioned by seven individuals. I have also had the opportunity to make ethnographic observations of the Park Bar specifically on multiple separate occasions, one of which yielded valuable insights into

the way in which certain individuals and groupings of individuals may drive the linguistic environment of public social spaces in the city.

10.1.1: The Gaelic Pubs of Glasgow

Through my background reading and my research, a small stable of pubs established themselves as the core “Gaelic pubs”, those which seemed by observation or reputation to be frequented by Gaelic speakers, or at least people from the Highlands and Islands. The aforementioned “Gaelic triangle” of the Park Bar, Islay Inn, Snaffle Bit and Ben Nevis constitute a portion of that list. All of these pubs except the Islay Inn were mentioned by at least one of my interviewees, and I was aware of these pubs by reputation through my ethnographic fieldwork. The Lismore, in addition to the evidence contained within Schmal and Scholten’s (2016) research, is well-reputed in my experience as a pub in which one may hear Gaelic, and though my personal experiences in the pub predate the research period, I know that An Comunn Oiseanach has taken social gatherings there due to its Gaelic character.

An interviewee, referring to social experiences from the 70s, mentioned that there were also some hostelries in Govan and at Paisley Road Toll which were popular, but indicated that these were less so than those on Argyle Street. No such pubs in those areas of the city were referred to in a more recent context by any interviewee, nor have I picked up on such establishments in more recent ethnography, though this does not preclude their survival. Another establishment worth addressing is the Òran Mór. I have heard it referred to as a “Gaelic pub” occasionally by laypersons looking to help with my research, and indeed, by way of example it is referred to as such in The Evening Times article referenced at the start of this chapter. However, it does not share a character with the other pubs described here. It lacks their historical pedigree, having been founded only in the 2000s as a conversion from a church, whereas the others tend to date to the mid-1900s, and it is more of a mixed events venue and bar than traditional pub. While the Òran Mór does host occasional Gaelic cultural or musical events, that is not the focus of its scheduling, nor of the presentation of its offering to the public, and I do not believe it holds anything like the reputation amongst Glasgow’s Gaelic speakers that the Gaelic triangle pubs and the Lismore do. It was not once mentioned by any of my interviewees, and I have not heard it raised as an example of a typically Gaelic pub during my ethnographic fieldwork. It may be that the venue’s Gaelic

name and high profile as an arts venue in the city may cause non-Gaels to assume it holds higher cultural importance among Gaels than it does.

For the purposes of this research, I would narrow down my list of culturally significant, extant “Gaelic pubs” to the following:

- The Park Bar
- The Snaffle Bit
- The Ben Nevis
- The Islay Inn
- The Lismore

Of these, the Park Bar holds a particular significance. In my experience from my ethnographic work, when one hears of a Gaelic drinking establishment, it is far more often than not “the Park”. The Park Bar was mentioned explicitly in all seven of the interviews in which pubs were discussed. By contrast, the Snaffle Bit was mentioned in only two, and the Ben Nevis was mentioned in one. One interviewee asserted that in their multi-decade experience of Gaelic drinking haunts in Glasgow, ‘[...] the most popular one by a long chalk was the Park Bar [...]’. This correlates with the observations of Chalmers et al. (2022: 47-48) on the Park Bar’s centrality to the limited Gaelic hospitality economy in Glasgow. Given the long cultural shadow which the Park Bar casts, it is appropriate that my fieldwork and interview notes focus upon it, though where I have observations upon the other establishments they are also included.

Given the lesser focus of my research upon those other pubs, I will not attempt to estimate their relative hierarchy of importance or impact in the Gaelic or Highland social scene in Glasgow. I suspect that, beyond the primacy of the Park Bar, one’s individual experience of the other drinking establishments will vary based on social circle. For instance, of the two interviewees who mentioned the Snaffle Bit, one clearly gave it secondary importance to the Park Bar, while the other frequently mentioned the two as “the Park and Snaffle Bit”, affording them more equal importance. The latter interviewee evidently spent a greater share of their time at the Snaffle Bit in their youth whereas the former, while perhaps the most rounded of my interviewees in their experience of the Gaelic triangle, clearly considered the Park Bar to be the primary establishment. It is also worth noting that both

interviewees were of a similar age. It is entirely plausible that there may be generational patterns of preference and other demographic factors in which of the pubs other than the Park Bar, if any, are popular amongst different Gaelic speakers.

10.1.2: The Park Bar

My findings on the Park Bar are drawn from a combination of my interviews and in-person fieldwork. As mentioned above, seven interviewees mentioned the Park Bar, and through them I had the good fortune to receive insights through time into the situation of Gaelic at the pub. The impression given is one of declining Gaelic vitality from the 1970s to the present, but nonetheless of a pub where one can still find Gaelic spoken if one is known to be a Gaelic speaker. There is also substantial continuity in the social role filled by the Park Bar, as the pub shares a reputation as a place to go for Islanders new to Glasgow now as it did then.

My fieldwork consisted of three separate visits to the Park Bar over 2020 and 2021 (2/2/20, 30/10/21, 27/11/21). These were with a semi-consistent social group, detailed in Section 10.1.2.2 below. Across these visits I was able to observe patterns in socialisation and Gaelic usage in my own group and among patrons more broadly, as well as a significant Gaelic usage event prompted by the arrival of high-profile patrons. Gaelic usage at the Park Bar appears to be driven by its role as a site for spontaneous meetings with members of speakers' social networks, and its permissiveness of this usage is a great strength. I also visited the Islay Inn (14/12/19) for limited fieldwork; due to the paucity of other data gathered on this pub only limited insights on the décor of the building are included in the following sections.

10.1.2.1: The Park Bar through Time

The earliest impressions of the Park Bar which I received from interviewees date to the 1970s. Two interviewees related their experiences of being young Islanders new to the city, and the importance of the Park Bar to their social lives. One described Argyle Street in general as a social focal point for young Islanders, saying of the Park Bar and Snaffle Bit that '[...] you could go there any night of the week, and sometimes we went every night apart from Sunday [...]'. The other described the Park Bar as the more popular of the two venues, as discussed above, considering the Snaffle Bit to be perhaps the second most popular. They

described the clientele as having a high proportion of students and young professionals of Highland and Island extraction.

Of particular note for this research is that both interviewees recalled reliably being able to hear Gaelic most nights at the Park Bar in these years, with one stating that ‘Without a shadow of a doubt, there was always Gaelic there [...]’. The other more specifically confirmed the prevalence of Gaelic throughout the week:

Interviewee: ‘You would always meet somebody in the Park Bar and the Snaffle Bit from home, and you would always hear Gaelic there.’

Researcher: ‘Every night?’

Interviewee: ‘Every night, but especially on a Friday and a Saturday night.’

The particular popularity of the Park Bar on a weekend was credited by both interviewees to the regular live music offering at the pub, which frequently included musicians well-known to Islanders. One of the interviewees also considered the owner at the time to be encouraging of the Islander-friendly reputation of the establishment.

One interviewee worked at the Park Bar for a period during the 1990s and so had some observations to make regarding the place of Gaelic at the establishment during those years. Perhaps most crucial given the observations of those interviewees who had frequented the Park during the 1970s was that this interviewee reported that they rarely heard Gaelic in the pub during the week, instead only usually hearing it on Fridays and Saturdays. That this was a decline in prevalence since the 70s would not be a novel observation, as the interviewee indicated some awareness of the fact:

‘[...] I remember stories from the past of people saying, “oh, the Park Bar”, and so we would go at the weekend, but having worked there, there wasn’t that same Gaelic input Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, but certainly Friday and Saturday there was, and possibly Sunday as well [...]’

Another interviewee suggested that, in turn, there may have been more Gaelic audible in the Park Bar 20 years ago than there is now, though did not elaborate in the same detail of other interviewees.

A fluent Islander who lived in Glasgow during the 2010s reported that they frequented the Park Bar with Glasgow Islay Gaelic Choir. A contingent from the choir would go to the Park

after rehearsals, and the interviewee reported that you *could* hear Gaelic at the Park Bar on these occasions, though indicated that there was no guarantee of such. Another interviewee, a current young Islander resident in Glasgow since shortly before the Covid-19 pandemic, was able to provide more recent insights, having been to the Park Bar both with the University of Glasgow's An Comunn Oiseanach and with their own circles of friends. Their impression was that '[...] more often than not, perhaps, there's not as much Gaelic [...]', but that they could think of a few regulars with whom they speak Gaelic. They estimated that on a majority of their visits to the Park Bar they would hear no Gaelic from other patrons, though they knew people there who spoke it. On the other hand, another interviewee, this one older and more established in the city, but less frequently a patron of the Park Bar, indicated that their experience would be that people would try to speak with them in Gaelic in the Park Bar. Given the observations which will be detailed in the next section, it is possible that social network dynamics play a larger role in whether one will hear Gaelic in the Park Bar today than in prior decades.

The key impression which I gained from my interviews was of a decline in the prevalence of Gaelic at the Park Bar over the decades from the 1970s to the present day. Assuming the reliability of the recollections of all interviewees, it would seem that Gaelic receded from being readily audible any night of the week to primarily at weekends between the 1970s and 1990s and has since become less prevalent still. On a more positive note, however, there was a strong sense of continuity to the Park Bar's place in Gaelic social life. The Park Bar holds a multi-generational appeal. One interviewee who first frequented the Park in the 70s noted that their children have done the same. The Park Bar remains popular with students (see Chapter 9), and one interviewee joked that all the younger Gaels who patronise the establishment risked making them feel old should they go. One interviewee related a charming anecdote, that a taxi driver told them they liked weekend pickups from the Park Bar, as they knew that the customers would likely be young Islanders, who the taxi driver generally found to be courteous and well-spoken even if a little worse for wear. The Park Bar has managed to maintain a significant cultural position amongst Gaels in Glasgow for at least 50 years, giving it substantial continuity in an era of dramatic urban change.

10.1.2.2: Some Nights at the Park

The three visits to the Park Bar which inform this section allow for some observations regarding the presence of Gaelic in the visual and auditory landscape of the Park Bar, as well as the social dynamics informing Gaelic usage in the pub. These visits occurred with a consistent social group of young musicians, mostly between the ages of 20-30 with one over the age of 30. Our exact number varied in the visits between around eight and twelve, of whom the great majority were fluent speakers and one or two (myself included) were intermediate or advanced learners. All present in each instance, bar myself, were from the Western Isles or Highlands.

Gaelic is present in abundance in the linguistic landscape of the Park Bar. The exterior and interior are decorated with many Gaelic phrases, largely making reference to the Highlands and Islands or to the purpose of the establishment. “Taigh osda nan gaidheal” prominently adorns the exterior of the pub. This is a shared trait with other pubs in the Gaelic triangle. I observed much the same in the Islay Inn – Gaelic phrases often associated with drinking such as “slàinte” marked the ceiling beams of that pub, though by contrast to the Park Bar, in the Islay Inn the Gaelic phrases were often juxtaposed with English translations. Schmal and Scholten (2016: 36-37) observed similar usage of Gaelic in the written environment in the Lismore. The purpose of this Gaelic usage is clearly symbolic rather than communicative. It serves as a cultural marker, denoting the Gaelic character of the pub. As discussed in Section 4.2.2.5, presence of language in the written landscape can serve a beneficial purpose in promoting language usage, and it is clear from my interviews that there is a sense of belonging in the Park Bar for some Gaelic speakers. The prevalence of Gaelic in the décor constitutes an active effort on the part of the owners to cultivate such a sense of belonging.

In terms of spoken Gaelic, my experience in the Park Bar varied greatly. All nights on which I attended were weekend nights, with the first a Friday and the latter two Saturdays. In all instances, we arrived relatively early in the evening and so I was able to observe the pub as it became increasingly busy until it reached peak capacity. While I was not engaged in a thorough observational study of the environment, given that I was in a social group of my own, it was my impression from moving around the pub in the earlier hours of business that there was little Gaelic being spoken during the first two visits outside of my social group. As the pub became busier and louder it became harder to make a fair judgement of the

linguistic balance in the later evening. The changes which did occur are perhaps best described through how I experienced them in relation to the social group with which I was in attendance.

My social group had mixed levels of familiarity with one another, with varying levels of connection from childhood through to adulthood based on point of origin and shared musical backgrounds, including the current arts project which had brought us together. Most conversation within the group was in English, with frequent switching into Gaelic for brief exchanges. I was not able to observe a specific logic as to what topics or what constellations of interlocutors tended to produce Gaelic portions of conversation. Familiarity between the two speakers seemed to play some role, but speakers also seemed comfortable using Gaelic to individuals they had met only through this arts project. I did speak to a member of the social group about the patterns of Gaelic usage observed here and asked for their reflections on any internal decision-making process regarding language choice; their response indicated that choice of language was not self-conscious but rather spontaneous in the situation, though they suspected that there was a degree of bias towards English due to it being their default social language in daily life.

More interesting was how members of the group interacted in Gaelic to those outside the group who entered the pub through the night. Some of the fluent speaker Islanders in our group are well-connected in Glasgow through arts and professional circles, and so through the evening were recognised by various other patrons arriving with other social groups. They would frequently, though not exclusively, speak with these new arrivals in Gaelic. These contacts were of a range of ages, including peers in their 20s to 30s and older speakers in their 40s to 50s. Towards the end of the second of the three visits, once the Park Bar was quite busy, it was clear that a substantial number of patrons were known to members of my social group, as when they went to the bar they would become caught in conversation with various people who I had not yet seen earlier in the evening. A more mixed and fluid standing crowd developed at the bar towards the end of the night as social groups intermingled based on existing connections between group members, and I gained the impression that this “melting pot” occurred regularly towards the end of a night at the Park Bar. In this regard, the Park Bar clearly maintains its status as a hub of social networks for certain Gaels in Glasgow on a weekend evening.

The third evening (27/11/21) which informs this research yielded the most important observations, and so deserves a more in-depth description. The social group with which I attended and its behaviours for most of the night were broadly consistent with that described above. The first notable difference was in the staff. That Saturday evening, a well-known traditional singer was working behind the bar, and recognised a member of our group as we entered. They spoke in Gaelic and we were served in Gaelic, and the bartender made a point of engaging with the whole group in Gaelic first for the rest of the night. I observed that the bartender evidently treated others who he knew similarly that night, addressing them in Gaelic if they were familiar to him as a Gaelic speaker. As a result, Gaelic was substantially more present in the pub's soundscape than on the other two occasions related here. The Park Bar has a historical reputation for Gaelic-speaking staff (Glaschu 2018i). The extent to which this reputation can be consistently lived up to in the present day is unclear, but it certainly impacts the linguistic environment of the establishment.

The most striking event of the night occurred quite late in the evening. A group of musicians, some of whom were well-known within and without the Gaelic cultural sphere, arrived from other events at which they had been performing. This arrival prompted a swift and profound shift in the soundscape of the pub. Quite suddenly there was an increase in Gaelic conversation in the bar area, and to my observation an increase in the interconnectivity of the crowd in general. Existing social groups seemed to increasingly break down into a broader, more fluid crowd. In my second attendance I had observed that as the pub became busier there were more seemingly spontaneous connections being made as the crowd grew denser, and it is likely that a similar factor was at play here. Furthermore, the musicians were, as mentioned, well-known and clearly socially well-connected to the crowd. The sudden increase in the proportion of Gaelic conversation in the pub continued up until closing time.

I discussed this phenomenon with one interviewee, who related that they had observed similar. They talked about a different high-profile and well-connected Gaelic artist who, when they came to the Park Bar with their social group, would often cause a great deal more Gaelic conversation to occur. They speculated that the confidence of the artist's social group to use Gaelic inspired confidence in others they know at the Park Bar. An explanation can be found in social network theory. It is apparent from my observations that the Park Bar is a

place where individuals with capacity and desire to use Gaelic meet and do use Gaelic with one another. It is a site where individuals meet members of their networks in a spontaneous manner, as evidenced by the chance meetings of members of my social group observed in my fieldwork. I hypothesise that the more socially well-connected individuals with high motivation to speak Gaelic gather in the Park Bar over the course of a night, the higher the density of spontaneous Gaelic interactions, and so the more likely it is one will experience the sort of shift I saw during my third fieldwork event, where a sufficient critical mass of people know one another that free-form Gaelic social interaction occurs between a large group of people rather than solely the individuals connecting social groups to each other.

Another notable observation arising from the third visit to the Park Bar was that, as the patrons were politely but firmly encouraged to depart, many of the younger individuals, including some from my original social group, began to make ad-hoc plans to go on to further parties. There was no indication that any of them had planned for such an event at the start of the evening, nor indeed that they knew the people they had met at the Park were out that night, further highlighting the social fluidity which had been achieved towards the end of the evening in comparison to the start. There was a certain sense of continuity to all this, in that one of the interviewees who had frequented the Park Bar in the 1970s remarked that there was always another party to go on to nearby from the Park, often in Partick, as many students and young professionals had flats nearby. Again, the Park Bar displays a remarkable consistency on two nights separated by 50 years.

10.1.3: 'Long Live the Park'

Prior to reviewing my observations relating to the Park Bar and the broader pub industry relating to Gaelic in Glasgow, a couple of matters are worth addressing which were referenced in interview but which I didn't have opportunity to examine in my personal fieldwork. The first of these is the importance of musical culture to the Gaelic pubs scene. Both interviewees with a view of Gaelic pubs from the 1970s onwards made it clear that the frequency with which popular singers performed at the Park Bar on weekends was an important draw for young Islanders to the establishment. The Park Bar is still very much a music pub, though while there was music on the nights I was in attendance the acts were not well known and were not Gaelic. One interviewee told me that they had attended a specific Gaelic music night at the Park Bar in 2022, and that this had been accompanied with

a great deal of Gaelic conversation in the pub. The likely correlation is obvious, as are the opportunities. There is room for further research in this area.

Another point observed in interview is that, while the role of the Park Bar as a social hub has been highlighted here, there will be many Islanders and Gaelic speakers who do not engage with the pub, and indeed some who don't engage with it precisely because of its cultural reputation. One interviewee explained:

Now some people deliberately didn't go to the Park Bar because of that reason, they didn't want to associate with stuff they kind of considered to be from home, you know, the language, the culture and all of that, so they would quite deliberately avoid going to the Park [...]

Conversely, it must be remembered that the appeal of the Park Bar is not specifically linguistic, but rather cultural. In many ways it is more accurate to call it a Highlanders and Islanders pub rather than a Gaelic pub. Interviewees noted this, with one making clear that they would meet both Gaelic and non-Gaelic speaking peers from their home island at the Park Bar. Another interviewee more overtly stated that though you may go into the Park Bar some evenings and only hear English, they felt that the culture of the pub was still very important and went deeper than linguistic choices.

Three older interviewees expressed that, due to changes in their life circumstances, the availability of time, and simply changing tastes, the Park Bar had become less frequent a social occasion for them. One described it quite candidly, saying that they 'outgrew' the pubs of the Gaelic triangle, recognising that they served a purpose when they were young and seeking a community in a new city, but that 'Eventually things quieten down, so you might just go once a week, and then as the years go by suddenly you haven't been in the Park Bar for years [...]'.

One must keep in mind, as with all of the social contexts explored in this paper, that there are limits to how much of the Gaelic-speaking population the Park Bar and other Gaelic pubs will socially impact. Not all speakers will engage with these pubs, and not all individuals engaging with the pubs' culture need be Gaelic speakers. However, it is clear that the Park Bar does have substantial community reach. The extent of awareness of the Park Bar I witnessed in my fieldwork shows its cultural impact, and it would seem from my interviews that many Gaels in Glasgow have had some contact with the establishment at some point in

their time in the city. It is impossible to place exact numbers on this impact, but it can be presumed to be substantial in order to have generated the cultural reputation the Park Bar is afforded.

My observations within the Park Bar itself, as well as the accounts of my interviewees, show that the pub serves as a site of spontaneous social connection, where individuals run into members of their social networks on an unplanned basis. More than that, it also serves as a site where networks interconnect and individuals expand their network. In many cases I observed this occurring in Gaelic. A site where spontaneous Gaelic social network interaction occurs is hard to acquire in an urban setting, further affirming the social significance of the Park Bar.

The outbreak of larger-group, spontaneous Gaelic social interaction which occurred on my third visit to the Park Bar is perhaps the most important takeaway from this chapter. The right constellation of individuals can trigger a dramatic shift in the linguistic environment of the Park Bar. That this is driven by the dynamics of the social networks of those individuals involved is clear. It is also important to highlight that the Park Bar itself provides a permissive environment in which this can occur. The Park Bar is a private business in which a large group of Gaelic speakers felt comfortable operating primarily in Gaelic; there are few such establishments in the city, or indeed in Scotland. Though English is the primary language of the Park Bar, for a few hours it was a natural, unself-conscious breathing space for Gaelic. Perhaps there is inspiration to be taken from such events.

The intergenerational continuity of the Park Bar is notable in a city that has undergone as much change as Glasgow. There are many similarities between the observations I have made of the Park Bar and those made by my interviewees of the 1970s. That a culture's preference for one drinking establishment remained constant throughout this period is notable. On the other hand, the decline of Gaelic community in the city can perhaps be tracked through the declining vitality observed at the Park Bar through my interviewees' accounts. From Gaelic being a near-guaranteed experience at the Park, to a guarantee on weekends, to being something you will hear on a minority of visits, Gaelic at the Park has clearly declined. Given that one can have a very Gaelic night at the pub, as evidenced by the efforts of the bartender and patrons on 27 November 2021, this likely reflects changes to the Gaelic population of Glasgow rather than the pub itself. Pub-going tastes have likely changed, of

course, as has civic participation in all aspects of society, but so has the density of Gaelic speakers. As mentioned, the Park Bar is not just for Gaelic-speaking Islanders, and any changes in the density of Gaelic proficiency among those inclined to drink in the Gaelic triangle will affect the sociolinguistics of its pubs.

To end on a positive observation, though the frequency with which one may hear Gaelic in the Park Bar may have declined, the Park still hosts spontaneous Gaelic social interaction of a sort which is difficult to encounter elsewhere in Glasgow. As one interviewee noted, the cultural importance of the Park Bar does go deeper than just language. Without that cultural importance I suspect that the Park Bar could not exist as an establishment which is at once commercially viable and yet also culturally permissive and indeed encouraging of the use of Gaelic on its premises. The constraints of the scope of my research have meant that I could not explore all the pubs of the Gaelic triangle and the Lismore. There is potential for research investigating the extent to which any of my observations of the Park Bar are true of these other pubs, and of the extent to which Gaelic still holds a social role there. As for the Park Bar, there is a final quote from my interviews which I feel summarises perfectly the overall sentiment of continuity afforded to the establishment in my fieldwork, and so deserves reproduction in full to round out this chapter:

[...] lots of people had been there before me, lots of people have come after me, and I think if you speak to anybody, there are very few people who will have come down from the Islands who won't have been to the Park Bar [...] at some point in their lives.

10.2: Associations

The regional associations – social societies serving as points of connection and commonality for migrants to Glasgow from certain islands and areas of the Highlands – occupy an important place in the social imagination of Gaelic in Glasgow. Based on my observations, there are few Highlanders and Islanders who are not at least aware of their relevant regional association, even if they do not themselves attend the association's events. These associations are the surviving evidence of the development of social associations by Highland migrants, which occurred from the 1700s onwards (Withers 1998: 185-87). The earlier societies tended to be focused on the wealthier Highland population of the city, with a focus on networking and charity, and included amongst their ranks the Glasgow Highland

Society (est. 1727) and the more overtly social Gaelic Club of Gentlemen (est. 1780) (Withers 1984: 204-06).

However, from the 1830s onwards societies of a more regional character emerged, their aim social and cultural, serving to connect and support migrants from specific parts of the Highlands and Islands (Meek 2009: 170-71). The 1860s constituted the heyday of foundations of regional associations, with the still-extant Glasgow Skye Association, the Tiree Association, the Mull and Iona Association and the Glasgow Islay Association all dating from this decade. Eleven of these societies persist to the present, though Withers (1998: 185) considered it likely that other regional associations were founded and shortly declined, leaving little trace in the historical record.

The following Glasgow and Greater Glasgow societies and associations navigated the 20th Century to the present day (Glaschu Beò 2014; Glaschu 2018b):

- Comunn Catach Ghlaschu (Glasgow Sutherland Association)
- Comunn Diùrach Ghlaschu (Glasgow Jura Association)
- Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu (Gaelic Society of Glasgow)⁷
- An Comunn Ìleach Ghlaschu (Glasgow Islay Association)
- Comunn Leòdhais agus na Hearadh (Glasgow Lewis and Harris Association)
- Comunn Mhuile agus Idhe (Mull and Iona Association)
- Comunn Sgiathanach Ghlaschu (Glasgow Skye Association)
- Comunn Gàidhleach Sgìre Bhail'eilidh (Helensburgh and District Highland Association)⁸
- Comunn Gàidhealach Sgìre Bhruaich Chluaidh (Clydebank and District Highland Association)⁸
- An Comunn Tirisdeach (Tiree Association)
- Comunn Uibhist agus Bharraidh Ghlaschu (Glasgow Uist and Barra Association)

⁷ Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu differs from the other societies in this list, and is discussed in greater detail in Section 10.2.3.

⁸ These two societies function differently to the others. Rather than representing Highland and Island communities, these formed based around the collective identities of individuals in their respective districts of Highland and Island origin.

Defining which of these are functional and extant as of writing is a difficult task which my research does not permit me to do with authority. All societies were forced to cease in-person activities during the Covid-19 pandemic, and I know from contacts that more than one society has struggled to maintain regular events in the years since. Having done no full survey of all of these associations, however, I will not claim to know the health of each one.

One society which is certainly, and notably, no longer with us is the Highlander's Institute. Founded in 1925 at 27 Elmbank Street, and moving to its fondly-remembered final site at 34 Berkeley Street in 1961, the Highlanders' Institute was a key social venue and point of organisation for Glasgow's Highland population, until its closure in 1979 (Glaschu 2018g; The Highlanders' Institute). Another society to which I would draw the reader's attention is Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu, which unlike the other surviving societies was not founded as a regional social organisation, but rather to host lectures on matters relating to Gaelic, which it has done from 1887 to the present day (Comunn Gailig Ghlascho 1891).

Given the scope of my research, I cannot do justice to all of the Gaelic associations of Glasgow and their histories. Due to the conditions of the Covid-19 pandemic, my ability to attend any great number of association events was limited, and so my fieldwork consists largely of attending the 2022 Annual Gathering of the Glasgow Skye Association, which is one of the larger associations, and an account from an interviewee of the Tìree Association's Annual Gathering of the same year. I have also had opportunity through my interviews to gather a longer view of the role of the regional associations in Glasgow, and to learn of the fondness with which the Highlander's Institute is remembered. I was able to attend Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu lectures both before and during the pandemic, and to speak with a knowledgeable interviewee about its activities. My findings indicate that while such associations continue to play a role in the city, their audience is much reduced in recent decades, restricting the scope of their social purpose for the Gaelic-speaking population of the city.

10.2.1: Regional Associations

I had the good fortune to attend the 2022 Annual Gathering of the Glasgow Skye Association. Annual gatherings are, and have been for living memory, the largest social events for each association according to the impressions I have gained from conversation

with older Glasgow Gaels, and for this reason it seemed an appropriate way to gain a snapshot of association activity amidst the pandemic. The observations which I made of the Skye Annual Gathering are supported by the observations of those I have spoken to both informally as part of my ethnographic fieldwork and formally in interview.

The Skye Annual Gathering followed a format common to most such association gatherings: a 2-3 hour concert of traditional music from a mixture of solo singers with direct or family connections to the island or instrumentalists, followed by a dance. I was present for the entire concert and departed early in the dance. There was also a dinner held the evening before, which I did not witness. The concert was attended by around 70-80 people, which, according to an interviewee, was considered to be a good turnout, especially given it was the first annual gathering since the pandemic. An estimated two dozen or more attendees arrived for the dance, and it is possible more may have arrived after I departed. Another interviewee reported to me that the Tiree Association Annual Gathering earlier that month had an attendance of around 60-80 people. Skye and Tiree are by reputation healthy associations, and as stated above Skye's organisers were happy with their attendance figures, so these numbers give an indication of the attendance expected at such events.

In terms of age, the demographic of the gathering skewed heavily older. Most attendees appeared to be 50+, and I would estimate that a dozen or so were under 40 including those who arrived at the start of the dancing. This correlates with the observations of several of my interviewees. One interviewee with experience of performing at multiple annual gatherings described audiences as '[...] older and more traditional, more fluent Gaelic speakers, or native Gaelic speakers or family of native speakers [...]', and was sceptical of the number of younger people I estimated were at the Skye Association event. Another interviewee estimated that '[...] it's maybe people in their 60s and 70s and 80s [...]'.

Interviewees also noted that the organising committees of the associations tend to be towards the older end of this range. One in particular highlighted the organisational issues this presented to associations. They perceived that this older generation did not have younger association members to pass on their roles to, and that this could lead to a faltering in associations' abilities to maintain their events calendar. By way of example, the Lewis and Harris Association struggled to organise a committee in 2022 following the pandemic. Though they have since managed to resume activities, the fact that one of the larger

associations faced such a discontinuity in management indicates the plausibility of this interviewee's concerns.

As regards language, the Skye Association Annual Gathering was a bilingual, majority Anglophone event. While vocal music at the event was entirely in Gaelic, the presentation of the concert was initially 50-50 bilingual, with English becoming increasingly dominant as the evening progressed. Most conversation which I overheard was in English; I would estimate 25% of conversations I heard were in Gaelic. At least some of these conversations were between speakers who were either unfamiliar or only passingly familiar with one another, and so it was at least a community of practice in which it was socially permissible to discover shared Gaelic and to switch conversations into the minority language. A substantial portion of the audience was able to sing along to the choruses of songs in Gaelic.

The interviewee who attended the Tiree Association gathering reported, similarly, that there was 'a good mix of both' Gaelic and non-Gaelic speakers at their event. This is not to be unexpected – as one interviewee highlighted based on their experience of the Lewis and Harris Association, association attendees consist not only of first-generation migrants from the Highlands and Islands, but also multi-generational Lowland residents with migrant ancestry. Language shift both in the family context of the Lowlands and in the source population in the Islands will mean that at any given association event it is unlikely for Gaelic to be the dominant language. As with other social institutions examined in this research, it is important to keep in mind that Gaelic language promotion was not a primary founding aim of the regional associations, but rather support and social connection for those from a specific geographical region.

As nodes in social networks, what I saw at the Skye Association Annual Gathering indicated that the associations do serve a role in connecting people. In my observations, several of the conversations which I observed were spontaneous between people who either were not attending together or appeared to meet only sporadically. As noted above, some of these conversations were in Gaelic, or switched to Gaelic when two interlocutors realised they both spoke Gaelic. Given that events as large as the one I observed are only annual, I would not consider them sufficient to anchor a particularly strong network for Gaelic speakers in the city, but they do add a degree of interconnectivity and multiplexity to an individual's network, allowing for the meeting of new people and existing connections in a new context.

It is potentially a space for Gaelic speakers to expand their Gaelic-speaking social network, though determining the strength and permanence of any such connections made at this event would require closer examination than I have been able to engage in.

While the regional associations deserve a more rigorous and detailed examination than I have been able to give them, my fieldwork and interviews are sufficient to paint a picture which should be recognisable to anybody with a passing familiarity with these organisations. The attendance and organisational body of the associations skew towards older demographics, and attendances of 50-200 seem plausible for the annual gatherings of healthy associations. Gaelic is culturally important and the community of practice is highly permissive of Gaelic usage, in a manner similar to that observed of St Columba Gaelic Church, but only a minority appear to comfortably use Gaelic conversationally. This current state can be contrasted to the activities of the regional association in living memory, as several of my interviewees recalled a greater vivacity to the associations in terms of both absolute and Gaelic-language activity, declining through the 90s onwards.

Three of my interviewees gave specific recollections of various associations in the 1970s and 80s. Each felt there was a greater strength, numerically and in terms of the prevalence of spoken Gaelic, than can be perceived now. One interviewee remembered the Uist and Barra Association as being predominantly Gaelic-speaking in the 80s and 90s. Another spoke of a general prevalence of Gaelic in association social gatherings in the 70s and 80s, but also highlighted that this was not conscious on the part of the associations:

I don't know whether they were- they probably weren't aware that they were doing it for Gaelic, but you know it was just a given thing, that when Gaels got together they spoke in their own language. It was quite- it was the obvious thing to do.

The same interviewee spoke of a more developed social calendar than that currently presented by most associations: '[...] they met probably, maybe two or three events a month, maybe more, depending on the month [...]'. The associations' activities were varied, including charitable events, dances and regular cèilidhs. Most striking were the interviewee's descriptions of annual gatherings when they first moved to the city in the 1970s. They estimated that attendances of more than 1000 were to be expected at most annual gatherings, with attendances over 2000 possible for larger associations such as the Lewis and Harris Association. Attendees would often be not only from Glasgow and its

surroundings, but also from the Islands themselves, travelling for the event. Attendance at the events of associations to which one was not affiliated was not uncommon, which would have served to connect elements of the Highland community in the city. This interviewee was of the opinion that a great deal of any given Glasgow Gael's socialisation would have been filtered through the associations in some respect during this period.

The two interviewees who had experienced the regional associations in the 70s felt that they had observed an ongoing decline in association event attendance since then. It would be interesting to discover if attendance numbers of the 1970s were themselves a reduction from those of the 1950s and 60s. As mentioned in Section 2.3, complaints of lacklustre attendance at association events were made as early as 1971 (Calum 1971a). Nonetheless, given the marked difference between claimed attendances in the low thousands and the sub-200 attendance I observed at the Skye Association Annual Gathering, it is clear that decline has been precipitous in the last four decades.

Interviewees spoke of why this decline may have occurred. The most commonly advanced reason was a simple one: there are many options for entertainment in Glasgow and Gaelic is not necessarily a Gaelic speaker's primary interest. One interviewee argued that if people have limited time, they may be more inclined to pay more for 'a high quality show' rather than engage with cheaper community entertainment which may be considered to be of a lower quality. This reminded me of an observation by another interviewee, who highlighted that the original purpose of the associations, as they saw it, was to provide often less economically prosperous Gaels with affordable socialisation and activity. They observed that fashions changed, and the activities of the associations faced competition from nightclubs, which broadly ended dance hall culture in the Anglophone world too.

This discourse echoes some of the patterns highlighted in Section 7.1.3, of a correlation between increased wealth and integration into majority cultural norms, and raises the question of whether such patterns are recent. This interviewee also suggested that suburbanisation may have removed a critical mass of attendees from the city itself. There is little better summary of their perspective than their own:

Habits change, and the numbers dwindled, and also, I think maybe the associations didn't play such an important role in the lives of Gaelic speakers anymore. I think maybe that all changed.

It goes without further elaboration that the potential for the regional associations to connect and provide social activity for Glasgow Gaels, whether speaking Gaelic or English, is substantially curtailed in the present day compared to the latter portions of the 20th Century. This pattern broadly reflects that observed in Chapter 7, and as both the Gaelic chapels and the regional associations were founded in the same era to provide social fabric and services to Gaels when they were a broadly less affluent, more socially distinct population, the similarities are logical. Fashions, patterns of habitation, an aging population and a reduction in the density of Gaelic speakers will all have impacted regional associations just as they did the remaining Gaelic chapels.

However, as with St Columba Gaelic Church before its final misfortune, diminishment does not entail defeat. The regional associations continue to provide a social calendar and social connection for a population which is, if not all Gaelic-speaking, then Gaelic-sympathetic. A closer study of the social dynamics within all of these associations, and the extent to which they can constitute social space permissive of Gaelic, would be useful for academia, the future of these remaining institutions, and for urban Gaelic development in general.

10.2.2: The Highlander's Institute

Not all institutions of the mid to late 20th Century Glasgow Gaelic social scene have survived: The Highlander's Institute is fondly remembered by those who experienced it, and its shadow loomed prominently over my fieldwork. During my fieldwork I was able to speak informally with an individual who was a member of staff during the Institute's final decade, and with two of my formal interviewees about the Institute. Both of the formal interviewees considered it to have remained very popular even into the 70s when it would face closure, and that dances were held reliably every weekend. One interviewee stated that there were usually events at the Institute every Friday and Saturday night, and highlighted its centrality as a social hub for the community, illustrating the point with: 'Many a marriage came out of the Highlander's Institute'. Beyond serving as a social hub, the Institute also supported incoming Gaels, with a number of affordable, short-term let rooms available for those finding their feet in the city, according to the staff member.

However, the Institute nonetheless became financially non-viable over the 70s, closing in 1979. I received a variety of opinions as to what drove the Institute's decline. I heard from

the staff member that there were tensions between management and some figures in the Gaelic community over the extent to which the Gaelic language should be prioritised at the Institute. The manager and 50% of the staff were, I was told, supposed to have Gaelic, but this was not the case in practice. The staff member also felt that, while there were many connections between the Institute and the regional associations, there was insufficient co-operation between the associations and the Institute itself, and that this may have contributed to its decline. Another individual I met in my fieldwork had a simpler proposal: that the gaining of an alcohol licence changed the character and finances of the Institute for the worse. However, a more decisive issue appears to have been a substantial increase in the rates which the Council charged the Institute after classing the building as a public dance hall (The Highlanders' Institute). It is interesting that while the economic change which prompted the Institute's closure appears to be quite clear, discourse around other contributing factors persists.

In all the discussion of the Highlander's Institute I experienced during my research, it was clear that it was regarded as both a geographical and social hub, around which events and community focused. The benefits of this from a social network perspective are clear, drawing people from across the city and focusing events into a single place. While some of those I spoke to found it difficult to clearly articulate, there was a sense that some social density had been lost with the closure of the Highlanders' Institute. However, a question which I would raise for future inquiry would be: was the decline of the Highlander's Institute a cause of loss of social density amongst Gaelic speakers, or a symptom of the patterns of suburbanisation and changing fashion which seem to have affected so many other elements of Glasgow life in this era?

The Highlander's Institute occupies an important space in the social memory of mid-20th Century Glasgow, and yet has received fairly little academic attention outside of Glasgow Life and the University of Glasgow's Glaschu project (Glaschu 2018g). It is regrettable that the scope of this research did not justify deeper ethnographic study of the Institute, because such research would be useful and timely. Those with first-hand memory of particularly the early days of the Institute are in declining number, and this element of Glasgow's Gaelic history should not go unrecorded.

10.2.3: Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu

Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu stands apart from the other associations discussed in this chapter. While the regional associations served to represent Highlanders of a certain regional background, Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu was founded in 1887 to provide monthly lectures on topics of relevance to Gaelic language and culture. It has continued in this role to the present day, and I was able to attend two in-person meetings on either side of the peak of the Covid-19 pandemic, and three online meetings during the pandemic. I was also able to interview an individual familiar with the management of the Comann who could provide a broader view of the organisation's activities.

The first event which I attended at Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu was on 16 January 2020, and was a fully Gaelic poetry lecture held, as almost all of the Comann's recent and current lectures are, at Sgoil Gàidhlig Ghlaschu. There were 12 attendees, and notably all conversation which I heard and participated in was in Gaelic, even when it was clear that I was a learner. This event was one of the few I attended in which only Gaelic was spoken throughout, and the ideological commitment to using Gaelic was clear. I perceived a strong degree of social interconnection, as many of the attendees spoke familiarly with many others while socialising before and after the event. To my knowledge all present spoke Gaelic. Most attendees were 50+ by my estimation, though there were a small number of younger attendees.

The other in-person event I attended on 27 October 2021 had slightly different social qualities. Around 30 attended for a Gaelic film screening. There was a slightly greater proportion of under-50s attendees. Most of those present were Gaelic speakers, engaging in Gaelic in the questions and answers session after the film. There were a small number of non-Gaelic speakers in attendance at this event who asked questions in English, but notably this did not push the Q&A into being English-dominant. To a lesser degree than in the first event described here, I observed social network density in the form of familiar attendees engaging one another in Gaelic conversation spontaneously following the film.

My observations of attendance and language at these events correlated with what the interviewee had to say regarding audience numbers: '[...] on a good night we can have 30, 30 people coming along, which is pretty good, and most of the events tend to be in Gaelic,

rather than just people talking in English about Gaelic [...]'. They went on to say that attendance can vary greatly at the lectures, from that higher estimate of 30 to single figures. They asserted that there was no clear pattern to attendance, with high-profile speakers sometimes getting the lowest turnouts. They claimed that it is ultimately difficult to get people to reliably attend a lecture on a weeknight.

The three online lectures which I attended were held in November and December 2020 and March 2021. There was a higher average attendance at these events than the in-person ones (31, 38, and 21), and the interviewee noted that one advantage of the online lectures had been an expansion in audience reach. Two of the lectures were in Gaelic and the third in English, though the social language used before and after all lectures was Gaelic. In contrast to the dense socialisation which occurred in person, however, only a few attendees spoke socially on these calls. As the interviewee noted, online calls are less social than in-person events.

The interviewee provided greater insights into the attendee demographics of the Comann. They said that attendees are mostly, and traditionally, first-language Gaelic speakers. However, they had observed the beginnings of a change, that more second-language speakers now attend. Appealing to this group presents complexities, as '[...] they don't have as much connection with the things, topics that first-language Gaelic speakers might have, I guess'. Those who I spoke to during my in-person contact with the Comann were mostly from the Islands, with the exception of one fluent learner and an individual of Lowland birth but Island background.

Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu constitutes a functioning Gaelic community of practice within an urban context. Its audience appears to be well-networked with one another socially, and most importantly the community of practice itself exhibits strong language loyalty towards Gaelic. In this regard, the Comann's monthly lectures attract individuals with a strong desire for high-proficiency Gaelic usage, and provide great opportunity for Gaelic usage. The Comann meets in most regards the requirements of a Cunliffean (2021: 82-86) breathing space, given the durability of Gaelic's dominance in the Comann's activities and the density of fluent speakers engaging with these lectures.

The offering of regular lectures on Gaelic topics, in Gaelic, is unique in the city and, as the interviewee was proud to note, in Scotland. Comunn Gàidhlig Inbhir Nis (The Gaelic Society of Inverness) boasts a slightly older pedigree and is perhaps better-known due to its biannual publication of transactions, but offers specifically Gaelic lectures much less regularly than its Glasgow cousin (Gaelic Society of Inverness 2024). However, it must also be considered that the reach of Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu is limited as a proportion of the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow. The Comann's digital offering during the pandemic did achieve a greater reach, and was a laudable form of minority language media, achieving the first six levels of engagement on Cunliffe's (2021: 80-81) engagement scale. However, the capacity for social interaction was more limited than at in-person meetings, and formation of in-person network ties impossible. The interviewee expressed a desire to hold both in-person and online lectures, but acknowledged that the challenges inherent to this made it unlikely to occur.

Overall, Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu, in spite of its limited reach, offers an important and unique offering, both socially and educationally, to Glasgow and the Gaelic world, and is indicative of the sort of community of practice that can be achieved when high commitment and proficiency in Gaelic align with opportunity to engage at a high level in the language.

10.3: Adults in Relation to Gaelic Education

Gaelic medium education and Glasgow share a history, with the first GME unit and first and only dedicated GME secondary school, and the first GME primary school, being founded in the city (Rogers and McLeod 2006: 368-69; Fraser 1989: 161-65; Glaschu 2018f).

Notwithstanding questions around the 2022 Census data, GME schools are likely a significant contributor to the number of reported Gaelic speakers in Glasgow under 20, making Gaelic schooling undeniably significant for language planning in the city. For reasons of research scope, and due to the substantial additional ethical considerations which research with minors entails, my research does not directly engage with the schools themselves or with their pupils. However, with more than a thousand pupils in GME in Glasgow (Glasgow City Council 2023: 21-23), there are therefore a substantial number of adults in some way connected to Gaelic education in the city, including parents and carers, and those who are themselves graduates of Glasgow's Gaelic schools.

As highlighted in Section 3.4, research focused on parents and carers of GME students has found that motivations for placing children in GME vary, and are more often focused on the perceived benefits of a bilingual education than concerns of Gaelic-speaking identity or culture (O'Hanlon, McLeod, and Paterson 2010: 46-69; Chalmers et al. 2022: 35-36; Oliver 2006: 161). A 'minority' of GME pupils in Glasgow come from Gaelic-speaking households (Glaschu 2018f), and there are indications that few non-speaker parents achieve fluency alongside their children (McLeod and O'Rourke 2015: 27-29). Given the likely importance of household and parental language for long-term Gaelic outcomes of children (Dunmore 2017; Williams 2005: 103), I endeavoured to gain some insight into the social conditions of parents and carers connected to Glasgow's Gaelic schools.

As a non-parent and under the conditions of research present throughout this project, I had few opportunities for natural ethnography amongst GME parents and carers, and from my findings it appears likely that I would have struggled to find a "community" to study either way. My findings derive from discussion with interviewees, amongst whom were four parents of current or former GME students at Glasgow Gaelic School, and two individuals professionally connected to Gaelic schools in Glasgow. All of these interviewees were fluent Gaelic speakers from Gaelic family backgrounds, which should be borne in mind when considering these findings. While I did not talk directly to any graduates of GME in Glasgow, discussion of the long-term prospects for former GME students arose in several of these interviews, and the parents had a variety of observations and opinions on what sort of speakers and what sort of culture were being created by Gaelic schooling.

I received a consistent impression that the parent community of Glasgow Gaelic School is socially and culturally diffuse. There was a perception of varied outcomes for GME graduates in terms of their engagement with Gaelic language and culture in the long term, reflecting Dunmore's (2017) findings about older generations of GME graduates, and a sense that the exact legacy of GME for Gaelic language revival is yet to be determined. While these findings are limited in that they are based solely on the observations of a small number of interviewees, the consistency of their observations was such that these findings should provide lines of inquiry for future study.

10.3.1: Parents and Carers

My primary findings regarding the parents and carers of students at Glasgow Gaelic School are that, as suggested above, the great majority of families are not of Gaelic linguistic or even cultural background, and that acquisition of Gaelic by those who do not already have it is limited. Furthermore, a lack of social connection between parents was observed by several interviewees.

10.3.1.1: Gaelic Proficiency, Learning, and Motivation

One interviewee, a parent, succinctly described the parents and carers of children at Glasgow Gaelic School as ‘disparate’, coming from a wide variety of backgrounds. Both this parent and an education professional made an estimate of the percentage of families with a degree of Gaelic cultural background, with one suggesting a quarter or slightly more of children having Gaelic background, and the other suggesting around 30%. Both clarified, however, that by this they did not necessarily mean to imply a Gaelic-speaking household, but rather Gaelic-speaking family ties, with the school professional elaborating:

It wouldn't be that they have it used in the household as the main language, or one of the main languages, it's that they may have family who are fluent and from the Islands, or different parts of Scotland where Gaelic is spoken. Yeah, so culturally more than linguistically.

Two different interviewees invoked the cultural trope of the “Gaelic granny” in describing the background of pupils. Like the above quote, they described families in which a grandparent or other two generations-removed relative was the last fluent Gaelic speaker in the family prior to the entry of the child into GME. However, regardless of these generational connections, it was the observation of one school professional that the majority of parents they had interacted with weren't Gaelic speakers, and that by their reckoning only a small minority of parents engaged with teachers in Gaelic at parents' evenings.

If it is the case that most parents and carers of GME students do not speak Gaelic, then the natural next question is what efforts are made to learn the language. On this topic, one parent observed that:

There are people who send their children to the Gaelic school that'll probably say that they have very little interest in Gaelic culture themselves. Others do, and they're learning and they're very keen, and others are kind of somewhere in the middle.

The exact distribution of these levels of commitment are hard to determine. A school professional with experience of the primary intake of Glasgow Gaelic School estimated that, during their period of employment, around 20%-25% of parents enrolled in school Gaelic classes to develop language proficiency. The interviewee also expressed doubts as to the effectiveness of a single course of evening classes for maintaining a long-term learning trajectory. The same source also commented on the motivation of parents in choosing GME, having found that some parents were primarily interested in the free transport which placing their child in the school could provide. Another motivation they observed was those '[...] who would like a second language for their child – in my opinion, it could be any language, but they're hearing the benefits of bilingualism.' They felt that this was not the right reason to be pursuing Gaelic education for the child.

Based on the evidence given in these interviewees, it appears likely that only a minority of parents and carers of children in GME in Glasgow are Gaelic speakers, that a larger minority are of some level of Gaelic cultural background, and that the majority of parents and carers are non-Gaelic speakers, of whom a minority pursue opportunities to develop their own Gaelic proficiency.

10.3.1.2: The Lack of “a School Gate”

In two separate interviews with parents, when asked to comment on the sense of parent community at Glasgow Gaelic School, the interviewees spoke of the lack of a “school gate”:

1. So, the school is unusual in that we don't have a school gate, as such. We don't have a local community where folk can walk to and from the school [...]
2. [...] so you don't have that school gate experience for us [...]

Sensing that there was a common sentiment encapsulated in this phrasing, I questioned a third parent on the matter, who recognised and agreed with the concept of “no school gate”. In explaining their meaning, all three interviewees articulated a lack of social contact between parents. Families are distributed across the city, and many of the children travel to

school by bus. One parent commented on the difficulty of taking children to see their friends outside of school, who may live quite some distance away. This will likewise affect how frequently parents meet one another, and so limit the capacity for formation of social ties through the common ground of having children in GME.

There were indications that level of parental social engagement may initially be higher and decline over a child's school career. One parent said that they made more social connections when their child was in GME nursery, as parents and carers dropped off and picked up their children at the nursery, whereas from primary age onwards it was more normal for the children to take the bus. Another parent felt that Glasgow Gaelic School itself did more at the primary level than secondary to organise parental social activities.

A layer to the picture missing from my research is that of extracurricular activities which may connect parents and carers through the activities of their children. I became aware through my ethnographic investigations that some clubs and activities, such as Gaelic sports clubs and the child-oriented activities of Comhairle nan Leabhraichean, provide potentially important support to GME students' language development, and likely also constitute additional points of contact between parents and carers invested in the linguistic development of their children. Future research with a greater focus on children and families connected to GME would benefit from engaging with these activities and their impact upon both child and adult Gaelic development and usage.

10.3.2: Graduates of GME

The results of my interviews do not add a great deal to the picture of GME graduate outcomes already discussed within academic literature. GME students seem to go on to mixed levels of Gaelic usage and social investment in Gaelic spaces, with indications that Gaelic household background supports usage in later life. In this regard, my findings follow those of Dunmore's (2017) more focused and more deeply evidenced research on the matter. However, observations of the development of social networks based on shared GME experiences provide an avenue for inquiry into what motivates graduates to maintain Gaelic usage. Furthermore, the thoughts of parents interviewed highlight areas of concern which should be kept in mind when considering the long-term goals of GME for language revitalisation, and how these goals may be achieved.

One parent stated that, based on the perspective of their children who had graduated GME, '[...] plenty of children who went to school with them, once they left the school they didn't really engage thereafter with the language in any great degree [...]'. The impression they had was that some children became engaged long-term in Gaelic whereas others moved permanently away from Gaelic after leaving school. This correlated with the observation of another interviewee, a young Gaelic-speaking Islander, who while not schooled in Glasgow also reported that many people they went to GME school with ceased to engage with Gaelic after graduation. The first interviewee considered the extent of students' family connections to Gaelic language and culture to be an important factor in long-term engagement, stating that:

[...] in general I think for pupils who come from families where Gaelic was not the language of the household, I think it has been difficult for them to find a community outwith school in Glasgow and probably other places too. They don't seem to have the same ties with it, potentially, as people from the Gaelic speaking homes.

Another interviewee spoke of their children's experiences beyond school, noting that they formed social ties at university with other GME graduates, their shared educational experience providing a social bond as discussed in greater depth in Chapter 9. Whether the continued opportunities for usage of Gaelic in, for instance, university play a factor in usage outcomes for GME graduates is worth further exploration; Adam Dahmer's (2023) doctoral research presents evidence that undergraduate study in Gaelic does not necessarily change the language ideologies and behaviours of students, and further work examining the life journeys of specifically Glasgow GME students in a similar way may be of value. The same interviewee did raise concerns about the durability and impact of these networks, however, stating that 'it's not enough to save the language unfortunately', but praising the organic emergence of these networks and the evident motivation of the GME graduates themselves to form them. Another interviewee commented more pessimistically on post-graduation GME networks, contrasting them unfavourably to 'a Gaelic community', instead highlighting that '[...] we have perhaps, if you're lucky, Gaelic networks once these kids leave the system, but they'll be floating in the Anglophone world.'

All interviewed parents expressed some level of concern over the long-term purpose and outcomes of GME for language revitalisation. In addition to the reservations expressed

above, one parent speculated on whether those who go through GME will put their own children into GME schools, and establish an inter-generational project. Another similarly questioned how many GME graduates will have Gaelic-speaking partners, whether they will pass on the language to their children. Though it was not overtly stated, there was a clear sense that GME could not function independently as a tool for language maintenance, and that it must in some way feed into intergenerational transmission to be effective. One suggestion raised by an interviewee was whether the motivation of parents to place their children in GME was determinative of the long-term outcomes for GME pupils. What factors do and don't influence whether GME graduates continue to engage with Gaelic in their adult lives cannot be determined with any finality in this thesis, but the observations of these parents suggest avenues for further inquiry into the matter.

10.3.3: Discussion

While I consider this element of my work to only scratch the surface of an important element of Gaelic in Glasgow within which there is great potential for deeper study, it is important to note that the findings of this research broadly align with what is already known of the families of GME students. Motivations for placing children in GME schools tend not to be based in an attachment or commitment to the Gaelic language, and are often more instrumental. The majority of households with children at Glasgow Gaelic School, and likely the other Gaelic schools in the city, are not Gaelic-speaking or even Gaelic by cultural background, suggesting that Lamb's (2011) observations of the 2010 GME primary intake in Glasgow reflect overall reality. In this regard, the Gaelic speaking capacity of the parent and carer population is thinly-spread, and evidence presented here indicates that only a minority of this population seek to advance their Gaelic knowledge, while other research highlights that most learners do not achieve an advanced or fluent level of proficiency (Milligan, Chalmers, and Danson 2011: 34, 37-39). This should be considered critically from a policy perspective: what impacts will this have on the long-term Gaelic outcomes for the average GME student?

Opportunity for Gaelic usage is also a point of interest. There was a strong, shared sentiment amongst interviewees that there was something lacking in the social experience amongst parents and carers at Glasgow Gaelic School. While the scale of this research is not such that I would say their view is conclusive, given the importance of social opportunities to use a

language in both learning and maintenance, this observation is one which should likewise be interrogated. Is a greater degree of school-encouraged social investment amongst the student families plausible, helpful, or indeed desirable? An interviewee engaged in teaching highlighted that any more extra-curricular engagement than already takes place would be a substantial burden on school staff.

It is apparent that GME, while producing undeniably strong educational outcomes, produces mixed results, or a perception thereof, in terms of lifelong Gaelic speakers who engage with Gaelic socially. This is a known concern with the 1980s-90s cohorts studied by Dunmore, and so the persistence of such issues requires further study from the perspective of language promotion. The strength and endurance of the putative networks of GME graduates is a plausible lead to follow, and potentially a point of light in future research.

11: Discussion

In this thesis, I have detailed findings from a great variety of contexts of social Gaelic usage in Glasgow. It is my intention that Chapters 6-10 broadly stand on their own, providing the totality of my research and my conclusions in relation to each subject. For that reason, I will not summarise my findings in this final chapter, but rather address several high-level issues arising from my research.

This thesis draws together, for the first time, a body of theory with which we may understand the nature of Gaelic in Glasgow as a minority language in a city. In the first section of this chapter, I apply these theories directly to Gaelic in Glasgow, demonstrating the role of Glasgow as a network city for Gaelic, and the relationship of contestation between Gaelic and English within Glasgow. In the second section of this chapter, I outline my overall conclusions on the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow, and argue for the vital importance of social networks in influencing and enabling Gaelic usage. I also address the complicated issue of non-participation in Gaelic social activities by many of Glasgow's Gaelic speakers, and propose a new sociolinguistic structure for the understanding of Gaelic usage in English-majority communities of practice: the Gaelic-permissive space.

Finally, by way of conclusion, I set out my proposals for actions which can be taken based on this research, both in terms of language policy and future research direction. This thesis constitutes an extensive and valuable exploration of the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow, but as is the nature of all such research, it reveals many further seams of inquiry for future researchers and sets the challenge of developing practical language policy responses based on its findings.

11.1: Gaelic in Glasgow as a Language in a City

In Chapter 4, I reviewed theories relating to the social, economic and linguistic role of cities. These theories greatly influenced the conceptualisation of this research, and the analysis of my findings in prior chapters, but they also form frameworks through which we can articulate the nature of Glasgow's role in Gaelic culture in the language of broader sociolinguistic theory. In this section I will argue for Glasgow's role as a network city for Gaelic language and culture, providing a theoretical explanation of the inexorable

socioeconomic and cultural pull which the city exerts on Gaelic throughout Scotland as a whole. I will also explore the relationship between Gaelic and English within Mac Giolla Chríost's (2007) theory of critical ecolinguistics, arguing that Gaelic must be understood to be in constant and direct competition with English to carve out space for itself in society.

The practical conclusions of this application of theory to the current context of Gaelic in Glasgow provide the first holistic, evidenced analysis of both the relationship between the language and the city, and the dynamics which underly it. Furthermore, this constitutes a thorough consideration of the dynamics of an autochthonous minority language in an urban context, and so this section will be of value to future research, particularly of a comparative nature, of the sociolinguistics of minority languages in urban settings.

11.1.1: Glasgow as a Gaelic network city

My findings and research reviewed in Chapter 3 form a well of evidence that Glasgow takes a pivotal role as a network city within the model outlined in Section 4.1.2, based upon the works of Allen (1999) and Castells (2010). Within this model, it is apparent that Glasgow is '[...] the point(s) at which the lines of authority and influence [...]' (Allen 1999: 187) over many of the cultural, economic and demographic flows within the Gaelic world meet. The economic importance and control which Glasgow holds for the Gaelic world was explored in Section 3.3. The work of Chalmers and Danson (2009: 11-14; 2011: 181-86; 2022) highlights the extent to which Glasgow is important for skilled Gaelic employment, particularly in media and education.

This economic importance is also evident in my research. On the personal level, employment and education were primary or at least important factors in the choice of many of the interviewees in Section 6.1.1 to move to Glasgow. Employment reflects the concentration of economic power in the city, and as the largest city in Scotland, Glasgow is a key site of economic interaction between urban and rural Scotland and the wider globalised world. Education also reflects this centrality. Universities are a part of the focusing of resource and opportunity in powerful urban centres, and so the draw of study, and of access to the pooled resources and expertise of a university (Danson 2021: 231-34), is itself a function of and contributor to the demographic and economic flows from the Island periphery to the Glasgow core.

Within the Gaelic arts, a major economic feature of Gaelic in Glasgow, the concentration of artists, performances and opportunities for professional employment further demonstrates the intertwined cultural and economic centrality of the city for Gaelic culture. In this way, we can see that demographic, cultural and economic flows broadly channel towards Glasgow from the rest of Gaelic-speaking Scotland, and so individuals position themselves to take advantage of the concentration and control over these economic flows which Glasgow can command.

Demographic flows therefore go hand in hand with economic flows. Migration from Gaelic-speaking parts of Scotland to Glasgow is well-documented and explored in Chapter 2 and Section 3.2. The stories of interviewees form continuing testimony to the draw of the city, and perhaps more importantly the cultural impact which this has. Several of the interviewees in Section 6.1.1 expressed the sentiment that moving to Glasgow is simply what one *does*, that their peers were moving, that they had always thought of going. The economic and demographic flows between the Gaelic heartlands and Glasgow are easy to evidence and relatively straightforward, and of course are not at all culturally exclusive to Gaelic.

However, it is the cultural flows informed by centuries of tradition which make the relationship between Gaelic and Glasgow special. The ideology that Glasgow is somehow an obvious, natural destination for migration is in part informed by demographic flows, such as the friends and family of interviewees already being present in the city, and visits to these connections normalising the city's presence in one's life. There is also the broader sense, outlined by one interviewee, that in Glasgow a young Gael will meet people like themselves. On the other hand, the testimony of some interviewees suggests an alternative, paradoxical, negative cultural pull: Glasgow is a place where like many Gaels before, one can reinvent oneself and meet people who aren't from home.

On a broader, systematic level, the cultural flow of Gaelic speakers into and through Glasgow is well-recognised. The history of migration and its influence on broader Gaelic culture forms the background for this flow, but the patterns observed in this research demonstrate how this cultural flow from the Highlands and Islands to Glasgow is continuous and renewing, driving the city's role as '[...] a Gaelic "power centre" of sorts' (Walsh and McLeod 2011: 161). These cultural flows inherently encompass all elements of Gaelic in Glasgow, and so

here I seek only to illustrate examples based on this research rather than attempt to capture the totality of Glasgow's role in the space of flows.

The arts sector is perhaps the best large-scale example within my research. The great focus of arts activity, best portrayed in Chalmers and Danson's economic research, is not merely an economic flow of funding and employment, but also a centralisation of Glasgow in the national Gaelic arts scene. Concerts such as *Aiseirigh*, which celebrate nationally important figures in Gaelic arts, are held in Glasgow. As described in Section 8.1, a major Glasgow Gaelic arts event can constitute a microcosm of the Gaelic world, with individuals from across the Highlands and Islands present, and can also concentrate culturally influential Gaelic artists in one place, as at the Celtic Connections Niteworks concert.

The cultural significance of Glasgow in the arts is important for artists themselves. The social network of artists active in the city is anchored in Glasgow not just by economic opportunity but also by the production of art, of the innovation driven by interaction with one another and the conscious efforts of the arts bodies in Glasgow. Glasgow is a place where Gaelic artists are drawn in from across Scotland, meet, and develop, in turn attracting others to participate and innovate. The social density of the Gaelic arts in Glasgow is both symptom and propagator of the intensity of arts activity, a perfect example of specialists positioning themselves in the city where authority and influence over the cultural flow is most developed.

The University of Glasgow and An Comunn Oiseanach also illustrate the cultural flows between the Islands and Glasgow, and the self-reinforcing nature of such flows. The history of Gaelic speakers at the university, embodied by the long life of An Comunn Oiseanach, forms the basis of its cultural value, but it is the ongoing efforts of the university and the student body described in Chapter 9 which help to draw in other Gaelic-speaking students socially, who in turn constitute the next generation of those culturally active speakers who were described by interviewees as so pivotal in powering the Gaelic social activity at the university. That, according to interviewees, An Comunn Oiseanach has developed in the last 50 years from primarily engaging those studying Gaelic, to involving more Gaelic speakers studying subjects across the university, indicates that Gaelic maintains an influence and vitality at the University of Glasgow, an influence which extends into the surrounding city through the connections of the students.

Finally, the regional associations are perhaps the most direct illustration of the geographical component of cultural flows. These organisations exist on the basis of a cultural interplay with their home islands and regions. It is striking that Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu should be the only organisation reliably producing regular Gaelic-medium public lectures, not in the Islands, but in Glasgow. Even pubs represent the cultural flow, with the Park Bar known by migrants from the Highlands and Islands often long before they move to Glasgow. Glasgow looms large in the culture of Scottish Gaelic and the Highlands and Islands, and in almost any sector or context one can find evidence of Glasgow's influence over the cultural flows of the Gaelic world.

Glasgow is a special place for Gaelic language and culture. Its position in the network of globalised cities, close in both geographic and cultural proximity to the Gaelic heartlands, makes it the upstream hub through which a preponderance of Gaelic's economic, demographic and cultural flows are drawn, making it a site of power and influence in the Gaelic world. With this nature comes both opportunity and danger – the network city is where the vast flows of the globalised world may be tapped and harnessed to the benefit of Gaelic speakers, but it also grants Glasgow, a predominantly Anglophone city, an inexorable pull on Gaelic in terms of demographics and culture. Any high-level proposal for Gaelic language revitalisation policy must recognise the inescapability of Glasgow's influence, and endeavour to capitalise upon this reality.

11.1.2: Glasgow as a site of Gaelic-English contestation

In Section 4.2.1, I adopted Mac Giolla Chríost's (2007: 101-07) theory of critical ecolinguistics, and outlined how, within this theory, the relationship between Gaelic and English can be understood through structure and action. Structure encompasses the order of society and its resources, while individuals act singularly or collectively to change that structure to achieve social reproduction. In our context, we can consider the actors to be Gaelic speakers and the aim of social reproduction to be continued usage of Gaelic, or more broadly survival of Gaelic as a living language. I asserted the applicability of this theory in Chapter 4, but here I demonstrate by example the way in which the opportunity to speak Gaelic is something which can only be secured through direct contestation with the majority language. Furthermore, within Glasgow we can see the process of structuration at play, as the usage of Gaelic is not solely an individual choice and effort, but an outcome which can

be supported by the actions of groups and organisations to create communities of practice and social networks in which Gaelic can thrive. In doing this, they modify the structure of society.

On the individual level, the accounts from Section 6.1 begin to illustrate the process of contestation. Consistently, interviewees described the process of cultivating Gaelic-speaking social connections. That this process is active, requiring the seeking out of certain social circles, is itself evidence of the action individuals must take to speak Gaelic rather than English in Glasgow. This effort must be continuous. Both the testimonies of interviewees and the survey data presented in Section 6.2 demonstrate that, even for fluent speakers who appear to have high rates of Gaelic usage in their lives overall, using Gaelic with friends weekly or more frequently can be difficult, and not only due to the makeup of one's social network: more than one interviewee described how it required conscious choice to speak Gaelic even with Gaelic-speaking friends. The two men at *MAIM* are illustrative of this. They could have spoken Gaelic before they did so, but without conscious action English prevails. Gaelic speakers often must make additional effort to use Gaelic with others, whereas an equivalent Anglophone speaker may make use of their language with minimal effort as the structure of Glaswegian society is already enabling of the usage of English.

Groups of speakers can participate in structuration by acting in ways which allow for individual communities of practice to become more conducive to the usage of Gaelic. This can be informal – the combined action of the attendees of *Baile air Bhoil* (Chapter 8), or the night at the Park Bar observed in Section 10.1.2.2, caused Gaelic to become more prevalent throughout the community of practice. Through this theoretical model, we can understand that the correct constellation of socially networked Gaelic speakers acted upon the local structure of society, in this case the community of practice, such that it was easier to make use of Gaelic socially for many within that community. Structuration which enables the usage of Gaelic can also be formal. Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu overtly operates primarily in Gaelic, and this will impact who attends and the linguistic framing of the entire event. Accordingly, I observed Gaelic being spoken nearly universally at their events. Comhairle nan Leabhraichean operated similarly at the book launches I attended.

Organisations can, through structuration, create spaces which enable and indeed encourage Gaelic usage. The University of Glasgow's Celtic department is another good example of an

institution in which there is a conscious official effort to make Gaelic-conducive structure: Taigh na Gàidhlig is perhaps the most obvious example, but the range of internal and public-facing activities organised through the university's Gaelic development efforts all serve to create space within which Gaelic can be used. Structuration here can be understood to be not only the creation of social space, both physical and temporal, in which Gaelic *can* be used, but also where the use of Gaelic is desirable, and therefore rewarding for individual speakers. To revisit Grin, effective structuration not only provides a window of opportunity to use Gaelic, but also cultivates desire to do so. The fundamentals of Bourdieu's linguistic marketplace are clearly in play here: action modifies structure to create a space the marketplace of which rewards Gaelic usage.

The maintenance of Gaelic-conducive societal structure, like the individual choice to speak Gaelic, requires constant effort, and the loss of this structural support can have substantial impact on Gaelic usage. One example of loss of conducive structure is that experienced by GME graduates as described in Section 10.3: some graduates struggled to continue their regular usage of Gaelic, being no longer in the structure maintained within the institution of the school. Instead, they had to operate within the English-dominant structure of the outside world or through their own action find or create spaces within which to use Gaelic. On a more institutional level, the decline of St Columba Gaelic Church's offering of Gaelic services, an experience shared with many other chapels, is an excellent illustration of both the effort required to maintain structure conducive to minority language usage and the impact of losing that structure. Maintaining Gaelic-language worship required the continued availability of Gaelic-proficient clergy, a substantial challenge which ultimately required the institutional power of the Church of Scotland. Without this institutional support, the congregation alone lacked the power to maintain the societal structure which allowed for Gaelic language worship, and so the dominant Anglophone structure of Scottish society asserted itself in the form of a default to English language worship.

There are a great many threats to the formal and informal structure which is conducive to Gaelic usage in Glasgow. These can be individual, such as the personal inhibitions to using Gaelic in public born of negative public language ideologies, or a resistance to changing the language in which an existing friendship operates. They can be societal: the pressure of the broader structure of society against which Gaelic-conducive acts of structuration must push,

such as the Anglophone framing inevitable to arts venues through ticket and bar staff, or indeed the economic realities that arts events feel a need for Anglophone accessibility to be successful. The key understanding one should gain from considering Gaelic in Glasgow through the lens of critical ecolinguistics is that any action to use Gaelic or enable the use of Gaelic in Glasgow is an uphill struggle against dominant societal structure.

Successful language planning interventions will recognise the effort which individuals must expend to make space for Gaelic and seek to ease the burden on the individual, using the greater resources available to public bodies to cultivate structure within which it is easy and desirable to use Gaelic. The data discussed in Section 6.3 supports this assertion: those who do not have a Gaelic-speaking family or community background expressed interest at higher rates than native speaker peers in organised sites and spaces within which Gaelic can be used. Pre-existing networks of family and friends who speak Gaelic are themselves a feature of society's structure within critical ecolinguistics, and so it is not surprising that those speakers who do not have access to these structural features are more likely to desire the sort of policy intervention which would provide spaces within which they may use Gaelic. The next step, then, for effective intervention is understanding the nature of Gaelic usage in Glasgow to see what units of social organisation exist which successfully engage in structuration conducive to Gaelic usage, and to consider how official intervention may assist, enhance and perhaps even replicate these successes.

11.2: The Social Usage of Gaelic in Glasgow

This research was constructed with the stated aim of understanding the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow, and within the preceding chapters of this work a great many contexts in which Gaelic is spoken have been explored and analysed. I cannot and could not hope to capture and neatly summarise the totality of Gaelic social interaction in Glasgow. Chapters 7-10 each provide deep, specific analysis of those things which I can claim to have observed, and so within this section rather than revisit these observations at length, I instead seek to advance a broader theory inspired by my findings which should inform the reader and future researchers of the overall nature of the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow.

A significant point which I should like to reinforce is the continuing importance of immigration for the maintenance of Gaelic in Glasgow. As argued in Section 3.2, learners likely

constitute only a small minority of the total number of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow, and it seems doubtful from the number of speakers under 20 recorded in the 2011 Census that the present generation of young adult speakers are largely Glasgow natives. There are substantial questions to be answered in relation to the 2022 Census, including the extent to which enumerated speakers can be presumed to be fluent. However, I consider it most likely that the majority of fluent Gaelic speakers in Glasgow emigrate to the city from the Highlands and Islands in their adulthood, for work or education. The personal narratives explored in Section 6.1 provide evidence that, just as in centuries past, it is economic and educational opportunity, combined with the existing cultural pull of Glasgow, which draws people to the city. This has important demographic implications which cut two ways, as observed by interviewees in Section 6.4: Glasgow is both dependent upon the Highlands and Islands for the continued demographic health of its Gaelic speakers, and a draw away from those communities. As such, any policy initiatives on the national scale must reckon with this ongoing migration and its effects, which as discussed above is an unavoidable pattern in the globalised world.

Despite the preponderance of native-speaking migrants in Glasgow's speaker community, new speakers and learners appear to have a disproportionate impact on the public Gaelic social sphere in the city. Interviewees identified them as being prevalent in arts audiences and social groups, and my own fieldwork identified a dynamic social group of learners forming the social core of Ceòl 's Craic. It is also apparent from this research that new speakers and GME graduates of non-traditional backgrounds are playing a transformative cultural role at the University of Glasgow and within An Comunn Oiseanach. There have been indications in other research of a disproportionate presence and influence of new speakers and learners at Gaelic events (McLeod, O'Rourke, and Dunmore 2014: 29-30, 45-47), and my data corroborates these findings.

I would advance two potential and non-mutually exclusive explanations for this phenomenon. First, native speakers are more likely to have existing social networks and family ties within which they may use Gaelic, should they wish to, whereas learners are much more likely to need to seek out opportunities to use Gaelic, and so be more attracted to and reliant upon formal social events. Secondly, while new speakers and learners may be disproportionately represented at public events as a share of the overall speaker population,

this does not mean that they are necessarily disproportionately represented as a share of the *socially active* speaker population. As will be discussed in greater length in Section 11.2.2, it may well be the case that many of Glasgow's native Gaelic speakers are not greatly socially active in Gaelic outside the private sphere.

This captures a degree of the complexity inherent in this research. My findings can only detail what is observable, by myself or by informants. Analysis of the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey data gave some insights into personal Gaelic usage in the contexts of work or family. For some speakers, the workplace can be a vital site of regular Gaelic usage, as seen in Section 6.2. Connections made at work can also help to integrate speakers into social networks with other speakers. However, by the estimates discussed in Section 3.3, the number of Gaelic speakers engaged in Gaelic employment in Glasgow is likely numbered in the high hundreds at most, and so we cannot assume that the workplace is a site for Gaelic usage for most Gaelic speakers in the city. Relatives also appear to be an important opportunity for Gaelic usage for those with Gaelic-speaking families, though these connections may be remote or limited to the household. Gaelic classes are a vital point of Gaelic contact for learners. However, this research aimed primarily to explore the usage of Gaelic which constitutes more than just usage within isolated households or for economic utility.

As highlighted in Section 4.2.2.3, minority languages in cities must exist within a broader social context if the language is to survive in the long term. The social interactions of a broader community of speakers form a structure within which Gaelic may be used by all speakers, and so it is the usage of Gaelic with friends, acquaintances and the wider public which has been the focus of this research. The quantitative data analysed in this research indicates that even in a sample of fairly active fluent Gaelic speakers, only half spoke Gaelic with friends once a week or more, and most made only occasional use of Gaelic at public events. This aligns with the hypothesis of Gaelic usage in Glasgow which I cited in Chapter 3:

[...] the prevailing hypothesis, [...] is that compared to speakers in "traditional" Gaelic communities with a high density of speakers, Gaelic speakers in urban Scotland tend to use the language relatively infrequently, with a relatively small number of interlocutors and within very loose social networks. (Walsh and McLeod 2011: 167)

At the conclusion of my research, I am inclined to agree with this hypothesis. My findings, however, provide detail to the nature of Gaelic usage in the city, and highlight just how important social connection is for Gaelic usage, and in particular the vital role which social networks play in providing social space for Gaelic in Glasgow.

11.2.1: A Social Network Theory of Gaelic Usage in Glasgow

Social networks perform a crucial function in the social usage of Gaelic in Glasgow outwith the home and workplace. Evidence across my research indicates that social networks not only enable speakers to use Gaelic, but that their presence correlates with heightened usage of Gaelic. Though my work has not included the type of attitudinal research which could demonstrate such for certain, I hypothesise that Gaelic social networks not only contribute to opportunities for Gaelic usage, but also motivate that usage.

This is consistent with the theoretical underpinnings of this work detailed in Section 4.2.2.3: Gaelic-speaking social networks are perhaps the only social space in Glasgow where a linguistic marketplace favourable to Gaelic can exist, and social networks have been observed in other research to be a crucial factor in urban minority language maintenance (Wei, Milroy, and Ching 1992; Pauwels 2005; Sofu 2009). Social networks which enable and motivate the usage of Gaelic in Glasgow are therefore of paramount importance in any effective future language policy. I have identified three primary types of social network conducive to Gaelic usage in my research, and an understanding of these should prove beneficial not only in engaging with those social networks, but also in seeking out and developing networks of similar structure and function which exist elsewhere in the Gaelic social world.

The first of the network types is that of the large network united by common interest. The primary network of this type in my research has been the Gaelic artist and arts professional network described in detail in Chapter 8. In summary, this network is broad, reaching throughout the Gaelic arts scene in Glasgow and dovetailing with the broader arts community of the city, in particular that of traditional music, and also connecting to the national Gaelic arts network, with many artists maintaining only a semi-permanent presence in Glasgow. This network appears to be characterised by inter-personal ties of limited complexity, mediated primarily through engagement in arts events, though the same

individuals may meet in the context of several different events. Most importantly, the network is dense, with a high degree of interconnectivity such that very few individuals are more than two or three degrees of separation from any other member of the network. This network, by my own observations and those of my interviewees, provides opportunities for speakers to use Gaelic. Most excitingly for this research, sufficient densities of members of this network appeared to cause spontaneous events of exceptionally high social Gaelic usage.

I theorise that this network's strength is in its density. Those who enjoy membership of this network, so long as they seek out Gaelic arts events and opportunities, are rarely far from another speaker with whom they are at least passingly familiar, and who, given the nature of this network, is likely a Gaelic speaker. The individual benefit of this is described effectively by Jones' (2021: 55-56) network-based mapping of language use. A hypothetical Gaelic artist in Glasgow is likely to meet, at any given arts event, somebody from the network with whom they may speak Gaelic, and should they do so this interaction constitutes a Gaelic node in their social network. Observations of arts audiences would suggest that, as is the overall conclusion of this research, Gaelic usage is the aberration, not the norm, and so without the support of this network in such contexts it is likely that artists would have fewer opportunities to speak Gaelic and thus fewer Gaelic nodes in their personal social networks.

Another strength to this network is its depth. The foundations of this network appear to be of a national scope, and develop as early as childhood for some members, through Highland and Islands arts activities, mòds and fèisean. This existing familiarity with other artists who have moved to or through Glasgow likely contributes to the sense of a "small world" in the Gaelic arts community, as connections are not only made afresh, but rekindled, or mediated through somebody one knew when they were younger. With growing opportunities for youth arts activity in Glasgow, it would be interesting to see if young Gaelic speakers in Glasgow will also benefit from early exposure to this network in their adult social lives.

Finally, a valuable feature of this network is its purpose. The nature of Gaelic music and arts requires at least some degree of Gaelic proficiency, and the motivation to engage with Gaelic culture rather than the dominant Anglophone or globalised culture of the city. While members of this network are not all motivated by strong language ideologies, membership of this network likely correlates with high receptivity and positive attitudes towards Gaelic,

which almost certainly plays a role in the rate of Gaelic usage within the network. In addition, there is evidence in my research that certain users of high language motivation and network influence can motivate Gaelic usage within the network – their connections and charisma impact the linguistic market of the network, but it is only the density of the network which can facilitate their impact.

The second type of network I have observed is the context-specific network, one which is broader in its scope than a single community of practice, but which is nonetheless rooted to a specific place or places. The network of Gaelic speakers rooted in the University of Glasgow is my example of such a social formation. The university network is a vibrant one consisting of young speakers who appear, from my observations and the testimony of interviewees, to make use of Gaelic at an elevated rate compared to the general Gaelic-speaking population. This network appears to be, like the Gaelic arts one, dense, at least where mediated through An Comunn Oiseanach. This density allows for individuals to make social connections which lead in turn to further Gaelic-speaking social opportunities, as demonstrated by the experience of UGS in Section 9.1.2. Another feature of this network is the frequency of events at which members of this network can be found; the University of Glasgow's Gaelic events calendar is busy, providing additional social opportunities with a Gaelic focus on top of the existing spontaneous social opportunities which are inherent to the Gaelic department and the geographical focus which the university site and student lifestyle offer.

Perhaps, then, it is not only density, but frequency of opportunity to meet which is the primary feature of the university Gaelic speaker network. Motivated Gaelic-speaking students have plentiful opportunities to meet other speakers and use the language, and so in this regard the University of Glasgow's Gaelic promotion efforts offer the critical opportunity element in Grin's tripartite formula. The density of different opportunities to interact in Gaelic is important. Grenoble and Whaley's (2021) Language Vitality Network Model depicts an individual's linguistic life as built of the social interactions in varying communities of practice of which they are part, and the totality of these interactions constitutes their lived language usage. The life of a Gaelic-speaking university student in this network can be built out of a variety of regularly offered Gaelic interactions, allowing for considerable Gaelic usage and social connection. Should a student take advantage of these

opportunities, they could possess a linguistic network map in the manner of Jones (2021) in which many of their social nodes are Gaelicised.

It is clear that this network and the associated communities of practice offer much Gaelic opportunity, and the educational opportunities at the University of Glasgow can help Gaelic learners develop capacity. I believe that motivation may also be developed through Gaelic promotional activities at the university. Programmes such as Taigh na Gàidhlig and other “core activities” as described by interviewees in Chapter 9 develop a small inner network of fluent Gaelic speakers, whom I theorise to be both densely and strongly connected. This core likely serves as an anchor for the rest of the university Gaelic social network, and has influence on the character of the network. To use Bourdieu’s linguistic market as a metaphor, such individuals, being at the heart of the network and heavily socially involved in many of its activities, probably help to make Gaelic socially desirable, and therefore valuable in the linguistic market.

This in turn provides motivation for others to not only develop but deploy their Gaelic language ability socially, particularly in an environment such as university where students are often keen to develop their place in social clubs and events. The focus of the university’s Gaelic policy both on large-scale and smaller, more focused Gaelic promotion has likely contributed greatly to this effect. However, the nature of the network must be acknowledged to derive partly from the unique conditions of the university around which it orbits. The University of Glasgow has a certain density of Gaelic speakers, and student life offers a dense, even hectic social life which any graduate can attest is rarely achieved elsewhere. Furthermore, Gaelic-speaking students have the benefit of a clear geographical centre for their social activities, in both the university department and the social facilities offered by the institution.

I do not know if there are other networks of this exact character outside of the University of Glasgow, nor if the conditions for their formation can be easily met outside of this specific context. However, the lessons which can be learned from this network are valuable – frequency of opportunity can offer motivated Gaelic speakers a social life conducted to a great extent through Gaelic even within the bounds of a predominantly Anglophone environment. This offers a simulacrum of the “social band” described by Sofu (2009) (see Section 4.2.2.3): a sufficiently dense and multiplex network of minority language speakers

can offer a distributed social space within which the minority language can be used beyond the home, even within a predominantly majority language environment.

The final type of network which I have observed is the simplest. The small internal Gaelic-speaking networks formed within a community of practice that I have observed within several contexts are typical of the opportunities available for speaking Gaelic in Glasgow. The group of fluent and semi-fluent learners at Ceòl 's Craic is useful in illustrating the nature of this type of network. They are densely networked with one another, within the larger context of the Ceòl 's Craic audience, but their ties are simple, with their social interactions mostly limited to Ceòl 's Craic. The frequency of their interactions as a whole group is largely dictated by the schedule of the concert series. However, they share capacity and motivation to speak Gaelic, and their connection provides them with the opportunity. While the purpose of the community of practice is not primarily to facilitate Gaelic speaking opportunities, the Gaelic cultural element of the event is important in attracting the individuals who would then form a network such as this.

Though I have less evidence about their context, I would imagine that the individuals who meet through organisations such as Comhairle nan Leabhraichean and Comann Gàidhlig Ghlaschu are networked with similar dynamics, but in a context which is more densely Gaelic-speaking. While different in some regards, the relationship between Gaelic speakers at St Columba Gaelic Church functioned similarly to the Ceòl 's Craic network. Within the community of practice of the church, certain Gaelic speakers were more closely tied to others, and used Gaelic with one another. However, by comparison to the Ceòl 's Craic inner network, these speakers were much more densely and strongly connected to other members of the community of practice who were either non-Gaelic speakers or did not use their Gaelic socially.

I believe networks of this final type may make up the majority of Gaelic-language social networks in publicly accessible events and activities; few events and their associated communities of practice are exclusively Gaelic-speaking, and as such it is inevitable that most public usage of Gaelic will be within a partially, or more likely majority, Anglophone context. However, there is certainly potential for the public social usage of Gaelic to achieve a degree of good health within these limitations, which will be discussed in Section 11.2.3. First, however, it is important to acknowledge an important observation from my research

which can be inferred only through its absence: the limited participation of large numbers of Glasgow's Gaelic speakers in the networks described here, and as such their relative absence from Gaelic-speaking public life in the city.

11.2.2: The Quiet Majority

The networks and communities of practice which I have described in this thesis are observable by virtue of being exceptional. These Gaelic language social connections are notable for their distinction from the majority Anglophone interactions of public space not only in Glasgow as a whole, but even in the Gaelic-related social contexts which I set out to study. Though I cannot claim to have a universal view of Gaelic activity in the city, the numbers of individuals I have observed engaged in the social usage of Gaelic across all of the contexts of my fieldwork cannot number higher than several hundred. By contrast, there are more than 8,000 people in Glasgow, who, in the 2022 Census, claimed to be Gaelic speakers, and even more in the surrounding local authorities from which people may travel into the city. Of these people, many will be native speakers as previously discussed, most likely first-generation migrants from the Highlands and Islands. There are signs, primarily in Gaelic arts and in tertiary education, that new speakers and fluent learners are over-represented as a share of the Gaelic speaking populace at events and social gatherings. I would encourage the reader to consider this issue from the opposite perspective: Glasgow's native speakers are likely *under-represented* at Gaelic events.

This is not to say that such speakers do not actively use Gaelic in their lives. Indeed, it is a key problem that we cannot, with presently available data, know much at all about their lived experiences of Gaelic. Such speakers are presumably networked in some capacity to other speakers, whether friends or family members. They may exist at the fringes of those denser Gaelic-speaking networks discussed here, by virtue of connection to more socially active Gaelic speakers. However, it is also possible that they are isolated, with few active Gaelic social contacts. In Chapter 6 an interviewee spoke of peers who, unlike them, actively distanced themselves from their home culture upon moving from the Islands to Glasgow. In Chapter 9, UGS did much the same, forming exclusively Anglophone friendships and seeking new experiences in a new city. How many fluent Gaelic speakers travel to Glasgow and pursue such trajectories, integrating into the city just as any non-Gaelic speaker might, and so for all purposes of this research leave Gaelic public life? I cannot draw any final

judgement on the numbers of individuals who may be Gaelic speakers but have limited Gaelic social connection beyond potentially their family or some friends in the city, but I suspect it to be a majority.

While this phenomenon may be deleterious to the public life of Gaelic in Glasgow, it is important to understand the individual challenges which limit the capacity for any one Gaelic speaker to be part of wider Gaelic-speaking networks in the city. The urban experience is fundamentally atomised, and social association requires positive effort. The opportunities to use Gaelic socially are limited, as evidenced by only around half of fluent GiGS respondents having weekly Gaelic conversation with friends. The organised social opportunities in the city are specific and, in many cases, limited to the arts, or irregular meetings of regional associations. Spontaneous social opportunities are likewise limited, with the lack of a “school gate culture” described by interviewees in Section 10.3 providing an example of the difficulty of forming the sorts of denser social connections which build supportive networks. The Gaelic in Glasgow Survey’s data on interests outlined in Section 6.3 shows that there is great interest in spaces or activities which allow for spontaneous public socialisation in Gaelic, and I would argue that this is symptomatic of a perceived lack of accessible contexts where one can build Gaelic social connections.

Even when one does attend Gaelic-related events and contexts, the component of motivation presents another hurdle to Gaelic usage. Does the context reward the speaking of Gaelic? Is it normal or encouraged to speak Gaelic here to other attendees? Is there an existing social network which is willing to induct new members in the space? I have no doubt that there were many more Gaelic speakers in arts audiences than I was able to observe, but a concert audience is not a normal social context for meeting new people and expanding one’s network, and such events constitute the majority of the public calendar for Gaelic in Glasgow.

My research leads me to the conclusion that there is a deep and untapped potential in Glasgow. There must be many Gaelic speakers in the city who are in the exact situation described by Walsh and McLeod: using Gaelic sporadically with few people in loose networks. However, this research has also demonstrated conditions under which Gaelic-speaking social networks can be built and maintained, which in turn have beneficial effects on Gaelic usage. As has been highlighted by more than one interviewee, Gaelic speakers are

individuals and for many the Gaelic language is not in itself a primary interest, and so there will be no go-to activity or social space which can draw publicly inactive Gaelic speakers out into denser social networks in the city and build a greater Gaelic civic life. However, acknowledging the need for a diversity of activity and forms of social opportunity, and drawing lessons from the existing contexts which maintain healthy social structures, will be of value in developing Gaelic social participation amongst those who may otherwise be physically present, but uninvolved in Gaelic life in Glasgow.

Dense social networks and fully Gaelic-speaking communities of practice would be an ideal for any large-scale language policy intervention, but such conditions are, as demonstrated by this research, uncommon and the result of specific social factors which are hard to replicate. For this reason, I would argue for the importance of a feature of the urban Gaelic social world which my research indicates supports a great deal of the social Gaelic usage in the city, and which may be more achievable in the mid-term through the structuring of social opportunities and interventions of language policy: the Gaelic-permissive space.

11.2.3: Gaelic-permissive Spaces

In this section I will discuss the existence of Gaelic-permissive spaces as a feature of the social landscape of Glasgow, providing examples from my research and describing the features by which such spaces may be recognised. My understanding of these spaces was informed by the consideration given by Lewis and McLeod (2021a) to the application of Cunliffe's (2021) theory of digital breathing spaces to physical spaces. However, while Cunliffe's breathing spaces constitute digital spaces in which a minority language is predominant, or the focus of interactions within the space, the Gaelic-permissive space which I propose is a physical one wherein Gaelic is freely spoken by a proportion of individuals within the space, without concern of social judgement by the non-Gaelic speaking members of the space inhibiting language choice. It is a space in which, though not all individuals may be Gaelic speakers or choose to speak Gaelic, it is socially acceptable and even encouraged for elements of the community of practice to conduct their socialisation in Gaelic.

By way of example, several spaces explored in my fieldwork supported Gaelic socialisation while not necessarily hosting predominantly Gaelic-speaking communities of practice. St

Columba Gaelic Church is the context which first inspired this concept. The community of practice formed by the congregation was perhaps 50% Gaelic speaking, and most interactions were in English, but certain networks of individuals comfortably spoke Gaelic to one another as their first choice without judgement from other members of the community of practice, nor self-consciousness prompting them to keep conversation accessible to non-Gaelic speaking members of the church. The social dynamics which I observed more briefly at the Skye Association appeared similar to those at St Columba Gaelic Church: individuals were able to hold fully Gaelic conversations within the broader context of a majority Anglophone event. Ceòl 's Craic is a third example, within which I have personally felt the social ease of speaking in Gaelic. I did not feel that in speaking Gaelic with the internal Gaelic-speaking network I was needing to work against the overall majority Anglophone nature of the event. This is an important component of the contexts which I consider to be Gaelic-permissive spaces.

Drawing the line between a Gaelic-permissive space and what we may call a Gaelic-dominant space is not simple. I would be inclined to state that once a space has a majority of Gaelic social interactions, or a majority of individual interlocutors speaking Gaelic, then it has left the category of Gaelic-permissive space. Examples of these would include the Comhairle nan Leabhraichean events I attended, the Comunn Gàidhlig Ghlaschu lectures, or the exceptional night at the Park Bar described in Section 10.1.2. It is easy, however, for spaces to move between these two states, and an advantage of a Gaelic-permissive space is that it provides the potential for a majority Gaelic-speaking space to develop. For instance, the Park Bar was often a place where one could, and often would to a limited extent, speak Gaelic, but on certain occasions it became a Gaelic-dominant space. Without the comfort to use Gaelic which the space offers, it is difficult to imagine the event observed during my fieldwork in Section 10.1.2 occurring. Gaelic arts events could, if the example of *Baile air Bhoil* in Chapter 8 is instructive, constitute similar such spaces with potential to develop from Gaelic-permissive to Gaelic-dominant, should the right constellation of networked Gaelic speakers be present.

Gaelic-permissive spaces which I observed were often characterised by their cultural association with Gaelic. St Columba Gaelic Church had deep cultural attachments to Gaelic, Gaelic arts events have a clear cultural focus, the Park Bar has long-standing cultural

associations, and the relevance of Gaelic to the regional associations need hardly be stated. The fondness for Gaelic which I observed at St Columba Gaelic Church is likely a key component in the comfort which Gaelic speakers feel in engaging with one another in Gaelic in Gaelic-permissive spaces, despite the prospect of non-Gaelic speakers being excluded from comprehension. Where there is an acceptance of the use of Gaelic, even if one does not speak it oneself, there is a lowered social barrier to its use. These spaces have high proportions of individuals who are from Gaelic-speaking families but are themselves lapsed or non-speakers, and so from a language policy perspective, there is a value in the demographic density which these individuals, though not possessed of fluent Gaelic, may offer. Organisations such as the regional associations require a degree of numerical strength to continue, and so lapsed or non-speakers can aid in the preservation of spaces where Gaelic can be spoken by continuing to support those spaces and remaining tolerant and supportive of the use of Gaelic within them.

Another necessary factor for the utilisation of these Gaelic-permissive spaces, however, was the presence of a social network. I have observed in prior chapters the network dynamics in all the contexts which I have used here as examples of Gaelic-permissive spaces. While I believe that the nature of a Gaelic-permissive space enables the usage of Gaelic in a particular environment, lowering the social obstacles to usage and perhaps providing an anchoring space for Gaelic social networks, actual usage is dependent on individuals knowing one another and that they speak Gaelic. This may constitute another key difference between a Gaelic-permissive and a Gaelic-dominant space: within the former individuals still do not presume that others speak Gaelic unless they know them or are invited into their network, whereas in the latter, individuals are more likely to assume any given other individual will understand Gaelic.

Having described these features of Gaelic-permissive spaces, I would propose the following definition for such spaces, based in part upon Cunliffe's description of digital breathing spaces. An urban Gaelic-permissive space meets the following conditions:

1. A defined or bounded physical space
2. Individuals interact socially with one another in this space
3. A proportion of these individuals can speak and understand Gaelic

4. A minority of individuals overall within the space interact socially in the medium of Gaelic
5. Gaelic speakers within the space do not feel influenced by social pressures of the space to use English instead of Gaelic with other Gaelic speakers

While the following are not conditions for a Gaelic-permissive space, they are frequently present and likely beneficial:

- a. The purpose of the space relates to Gaelic language and culture, and/or the space has significant cultural associations with Gaelic language and culture
- b. A majority of non-Gaelic-speaking individuals within the space have personal, cultural, social or familial connections to or an interest in Gaelic language and culture

A Gaelic-permissive social space serves a number of valuable purposes within the broader sociolinguistic theory which informs this research. It is a space of opportunity for those with Gaelic capacity to speak. It will be a physical location in which members of a Gaelic-speaking social network can meet, and where the network may grow. Those present regularly in such a space will constitute a community of practice, and the availability of such a community may be an important source of Gaelic content in an individual's life. While such spaces, unlike Gaelic-dominant spaces, do not themselves constitute fully Gaelic spaces, they will constitute Gaelic-language nodes in the personal language network maps of the individuals who use Gaelic within them (Jones 2021).

Finally, within the fundamental framework of contestation outlined in this chapter, Gaelic-permissive spaces represent small acts of structuration, creating limited shelters within which Gaelic may be spoken despite the Anglophone pressure of the city beyond the bounds of the space. From this position, it would be useful to consider the Gaelic-permissive space an effective deployment of cultural resources which carves out valuable space in Glasgow for the use of Gaelic outside the home and workplace.

11.3: Proposals for Strategy and Future Research

This research was designed to answer the question of how Gaelic is used socially in Glasgow, with the aim of furthering efforts to promote the survival of the Gaelic language within the sociolinguistic conditions of a modern Anglophone city. A focus on social usage outside the

home and workplace was chosen for multiple reasons. On a practical level, it is more readily observable to the researcher than home usage, and the public sphere is one in which language promotion bodies and actors can more easily act than the private. It was also because theory and research indicated that the existence of a healthy public social world, consisting of social networks, of communities of practice, of a form of distributed community, is both sign and cause of a healthier speaker community.

My findings have demonstrated both the existence of public usage of Gaelic and that structures such as social networks based upon activities and interests, and communities of practice in which Gaelic may be spoken, are to the benefit of Gaelic speakers in Glasgow. The existence of social networks such as the Gaelic arts network appears to both enable and encourage individuals to use Gaelic socially in a variety of contexts. A variety of organisations offer space where Gaelic is dominant, or where Gaelic may be used freely by a minority of attendees. Social networks offer those migrants from the Highlands and Islands who take advantage of them the opportunity to connect with a variety of Gaelic speakers and conduct more of their life in the medium of Gaelic, and such networks enable learners and new speakers to make the social connections which they need to advance both as speakers and as members of a community. Social connection correlates with Gaelic usage, and so in making recommendations for future research and policy I shall focus on this theme.

Given the broad scope of this research, and the great potential for further inquiry into the details of all sectors and topics which I have covered, my recommendations will likewise be broad. Some suggestions of research opportunities in each sector can be found within their respective chapters, and here I will outline more strategic priorities for development and research. My findings lead me to the conclusion that effective intervention in Glasgow will focus on understanding and cultivating social network formation, and preserving and building the spaces which anchor these networks. This inherently entails further research, and first and foremost I would highlight the potential benefits of serious quantitative research of the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow.

The Gaelic in Glasgow Survey results presented here demonstrate the potential of quantitative research to reveal patterns in Gaelic usage, such as the revelation that even motivated and fluent speakers do not necessarily have regular social contact in Gaelic with friends. Deeper understanding of the demographics of Gaelic in Glasgow would be useful,

potentially revealing the proportions of speakers of each level of proficiency and demonstrating conclusively the balance of native speakers and learners in the city. Data on the backgrounds of speakers would also be useful, allowing us to quantify the importance of first-generation migration from Gaelic-speaking areas to Glasgow. An understanding of how many Gaelic speakers are in family units or single, whether they tend to stay to raise children in the city, and other insights concerning families would help guide educational policy and provision of family-focused learning opportunities. Finally, a usage survey of greater reach and depth than that included in the GiGS would be invaluable for understanding urban Gaelic language behaviours.

While I strongly argue for the value of generating this data, I do also acknowledge that this goal is easier argued for than achieved. There are substantial logistical difficulties in reaching a representative sample of Glasgow's Gaelic-speaking population, as indicated by the over-representation of fluent individuals in Gaelic employment in the GiGS sample. Such difficulties were clear to me in my own experience working with Glasgow City Council on the survey. A concerted effort by well-connected researchers may be able to overcome the inherent difficulties in generating interest in a survey amongst Gaelic speakers in Glasgow who are less engaged with the language on a regular basis.

This research has demonstrated the importance of social networks in providing opportunity and motivation for Gaelic usage in Glasgow. I would encourage future researchers to focus on network structures as a model for analysis of Gaelic speakers in the city, both conceptually and as an aid to ethnographic work. Furthermore, I would argue that any successful policy measure or activist programme must consider its impact in terms of the networks it will impact or create. There are networks which may be tapped into and leveraged to increase Gaelic usage amongst existing social groups, and an understanding of social networks which already support Gaelic may help in further developing such networks.

My fieldwork has identified a number of specific Gaelic-supportive social networks, such as that in the Gaelic performing arts. There will be more such networks supporting Gaelic usage, or with the potential to support Gaelic usage, and an ethnographic approach such as that taken here may allow researchers to identify, explore and describe these networks. This approach allows one to understand the way in which any factor influencing Gaelic usage may travel through a network. The work at the University of Glasgow, and my observations in

multiple contexts, suggest that the Gaelic usage of networks can be strongly influenced by the behaviours of key, densely-connected individuals. The encouragement and support of core Gaelic users strategically located within social networks may be a useful tool for language intervention in Glasgow.

Gaelic-permissive spaces, as described in this chapter, form what I believe to be an important social layer for the Gaelic language in Glasgow. There are spaces which, while not primarily Gaelic-speaking, do provide opportunities for Gaelic speakers to use their language in public, and provide anchoring points for social networks. There will be further spaces in Glasgow beyond those I have identified, and it would be beneficial for these to be found, studied, and recognised. They are a resource, an element of Gaelic's cultural capital in the city. They are also, however, in many cases built on decades of tradition and continuous effort, making them difficult to easily replicate and rendering those which exist all the more valuable. St Columba Gaelic Church's decline is a warning sign that these spaces are fragile and must be maintained if their benefits are to be enjoyed. The regional associations have a predominantly aging attendee demographic, and this research would not be the first to highlight their vulnerability. Language policy makers and activists should seek ways to reinforce these spaces, as the cultural capital contained within these institutions cannot easily be replicated.

However, attention should also be given to how we can create new Gaelic-permissive spaces, or adapt spaces such as arts events so that they possess the features of a Gaelic-permissive space. They constitute a desirable floor which we can aim to achieve where the harder to create Gaelic-dominant spaces are implausible or will require further investment. They also offer a point of contact for learners and the culturally sympathetic with spontaneous Gaelic language usage, which may help in incorporating learners into Gaelic social networks. Finally, from a pragmatic perspective of recognising the limited human resources which language policy makers have to work with, Gaelic-permissive spaces allow for non-speakers, lapsed speakers and early stage learners to contribute to the viability of spaces where the smaller number of advanced and fluent speakers may find Gaelic social opportunities. I would encourage further research into the specifics of these spaces and their sociolinguistic impact, and would welcome refinement or development of my initial definition of their nature.

Though I have not chosen to dive too deep into the potential ramifications of the strands of discourse surrounding concepts of community cohesion and perceived division between “new” and “old” communities of Gaelic speakers, the tensions which were highlighted by interviewees in Chapters 6 and 8 will not be unfamiliar to anybody active in the Gaelic policy community. I cannot speak to the veracity of any perceptions of division between traditional and newer speakers, or lack of events focused on fluent speakers, but the existence of these perceptions is an important fact in itself. There are not many Gaelic speakers in Glasgow as a proportion of the total population, and from a language revitalisation perspective every one of them is a resource which must be capitalised upon.

To some extent, certain concerns are the perception of a passing of old community structures – the modern world no longer supports neighbourhoods, dances and gatherings such as those described by interviewees in Section 6.4, whether Gaelic or Anglophone. It is hard to turn such narratives of loss into something positive, for the loss is real, but the change is also beyond any individual’s control, and focus must be on reinvention of forms of community. I believe that there is a need to address with sensitivity concerns over the compatibility of the traditional and the new. There is a desire for a sense of overarching community across all Gaelic speakers, though as multiple interviewees highlighted there is a great diversity in interests and experiences amongst Gaelic speakers, and so whether in the arts or elsewhere it is unlikely that there is a single unifying site or activity which could knit together all Gaelic speakers in Glasgow. What may be achieved, however, is the development of broader and more interconnected social networks which ensure that there is potential for points of connection between speakers young and old, native and learner, and of varying tastes in social venues and activities.

The perceived tension between the new and the traditional of Gaelic in Glasgow ties into one major issue which is a source of ongoing discourse. The demographics and sociology of Gaelic in Glasgow are currently dependent on the continued flow of Gaelic speakers from the Highlands and Islands to the city for work and study. It is likely that Lowland-born Gaelic speakers, GME graduates and new speakers will grow as a proportion of the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow. However, for now the demographic density of Gaelic speakers in the city relies on the health of Gaelic in the Hebrides. It is important that the development of rural and urban Gaelic policy is not viewed as an “either-or” dichotomy. The nature of the

space of flows and the network city makes clear that Glasgow and the Gàidhealtachd are inextricably connected, and so any intervention, or lack thereof, in either context will be felt in both. Both policy and public messaging which grasp the interconnected nature of Glasgow and the Gàidhealtachd may have the added benefit of bridging perceived divides between the traditional migrant experience in Glasgow and the modern wholly urban story of some learners, new speakers and Glasgow-born Gaels.

Beyond these broad strategies for research and development of Gaelic in Glasgow, there are certain topics on which I would recommend a specific focus. The first of these is both the most important and perhaps the most difficult. There is a great need for further ethnography focused on migrant native speakers in Glasgow, in particular those who are amongst the shadow population of extant, but not heavily socially active, Gaelic speakers in the city. These speakers are inherently difficult to reach. An apparent lack of interest in Gaelic activities, as suggested by rates of participation in events and networks detailed in this research, makes it difficult to meet them in public, and likely correlates with low interest in participation in Gaelic research. For this reason, I suspect this research could best be carried out by researchers who are themselves of Island background and who may have autoethnographic leads into this community.

The research aims which I would propose, based on my findings, would be to analyse the life paths of these speakers and determine, from the point of moving to Glasgow, what the key branching points were which led them into or out of Gaelic social networks. What factors constitute the difference between my interviewees who stayed socially active in Gaelic, and their peers who drifted away? How many individuals experience turning points such as those of UGS in Chapter 9? A better understanding of what causes these Gaelic speakers to not participate actively in the Gaelic social sphere outside the home could inform future initiatives to build community participation and reach people who are not currently catered to by events and social spaces in the city.

The arts are a vitally important site of Gaelic engagement at varying levels, from mass music events with relatively little Gaelic social content, to more intimate events requiring high fluency and which build small communities. The Gaelic in Glasgow Survey data quantifies the high levels of interest in music across all proficiency groups, and it should be clear that music will be a part of Glasgow's Gaelic strategy going forwards. I would recommend that

Glasgow's arts bodies, including Glaschu Beò, An Lòchran, and Ceòl 's Craic, consider the extent to which their events can be developed into Gaelic-permissive spaces. The nature of most Gaelic music events, with mass appeal and large, English-dominant audiences, means that it would be unreasonable to expect them to ever become reliable Gaelic-dominant spaces, and so creating spaces in which Gaelic speakers can and do engage freely in the language amongst an Anglophone majority is a more realistic goal. As to how this may be achieved, I would direct attention towards the example of Ceòl 's Craic's Gaelic-speaking core group. Consistency and regularity of events, and events which allow for the formation of a core, high-interest group, may build the nucleus of a Gaelic-speaking internal network which lends confidence and community to other speakers who attend.

Within the arts sector there is discourse about the position of native speakers versus new speakers and learners, and the availability of events which are tailored primarily towards fluent speakers. These are sensitive issues likely best addressed by individuals versed in both the arts and Gaelic culture. However, if there is the possibility of developing more events aimed specifically at fluent speakers without detriment to existing programming, this can only be a positive. There is high interest in spaces in which Gaelic can be used spontaneously amongst the higher-proficiency respondents to the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey; arts events may play a role in providing this.

The Gaelic arts professional and performance social network is one of the most vibrant social structures which I observed during my research. There is rich potential for further ethnographic work to understand this important source of Gaelic speaking opportunities for a great many speakers. It would be beneficial to gain a greater understanding of the formation of this network. If I am correct that connections made in youth in the wider Gàidhealtachd through fèisean and mòds provide an important framework for this network, then it will underline the importance of youth Gaelic arts activities across Scotland for language promotion, and further highlight the interconnectedness of outcomes for the Isles and Glasgow. Further research into the nature of the network in Glasgow itself, and the potential broader impacts it has on Gaelic socialisation and the Gaelic social structure of the city as a whole, could generate valuable insights for language promotion.

The University of Glasgow is an important element in the Gaelic culture of Glasgow, and there is of course scope for further research into what I have approached largely through

interview and limited observation. More useful, however, would be research into the outcomes and trajectories which time spent in the Gaelic social network of the university brings about for the individual student. One spends but a brief time at university, and so it would be useful for language policy makers to understand what potential impact a rich Gaelic social experience as a student may have on longer-term Gaelic usage outcomes, and on future participation in Gaelic civic life, such as through employment, enjoyment of Gaelic activities and language activism.

In particular, given the data in this research about the changing character of Gaelic-speaking students at the university, and the rising number of GME graduates, the role which university socialisation plays for different backgrounds of Gaelic speaker may be a useful avenue of study. It appears that the University of Glasgow's Gaelic strategy can generate dense and impactful groupings of committed Gaelic speakers, at least within the context of the university. If it were the case that such speakers go on to be impactful in the wider world, this could represent a substantial opportunity for language promotion through the university.

On the related note of education, this research highlights some concerns amongst interviewees over community building at Glasgow Gaelic School. The school has potential to be a point of social connection for both parents and pupils. My research touched only lightly upon this sector, and so there is great potential for further inquiry here, and great potential benefit to be had. GME has been perhaps the most significant language policy intervention in support of Gaelic over the last forty years, and so there is efficiency in leveraging existing institutions to their maximum potential social benefit. There are signs that, while GME pupils may not consistently graduate into an adult Gaelic social life, there are pipelines from school to university or adult social groups. Deeper understanding of the factors influencing social outcomes for GME students would be of great value.

Finally, some of the Gaelic in Glasgow Survey data discussed in Chapter 6, combined with the suggestions of some interviewees, offers insights into policy interventions which may be in demand amongst the Gaelic-speaking population of Glasgow. There appears to be substantial desire for some form of physical space devoted to Gaelic, particularly amongst speakers who are not from a Gaelic-speaking background. The advantages of such are clear within the theoretical framework of this research: a well-located consistent space in which

Gaelic is privileged could serve as a place where social networks can be anchored, where individuals can find and expand on their Gaelic social network, and where network density can be built. In addition, interviewees suggested that such a site would serve a purpose of cultural legitimation and prestige development, raising awareness of Gaelic's presence and asserting its place in Glasgow.

The prospect of a Gaelic community centre in Glasgow is not a novel idea, and has been a stated goal for more than one campaign group over recent decades. My research did not explore in any depth the ideal form of such a site, the specifics of the demand for physical spaces for Gaelic, nor the potential viability of this endeavour, and so I shall leave the process of determining what specific features a Gaelic community centre could have to those community groups who advocate for the creation of such an institution. I will, however, highlight the broad sociolinguistic purposes of such a centre which would be of benefit to the city within the framework of this research.

The first should be self-explanatory to anyone with an aim of Gaelic language promotion: the physical site, or sites, must have a robust ideology and policy encouraging the use of the Gaelic language. This is not a simple task, and requires investment by both organisers and consumers. A related characteristic, then, is that the centre should cultivate a sense of ownership by Gaelic speakers. The centre must achieve the sense of being "our" place to Gaelic speakers, in the way that cultural institutions such as the Park Bar have, without the benefit of history to support it. This may cut across tensions in present ideologies of Gaelic language promotion; while outreach to non-speakers is an important policy aim, should the centre become a place primarily associated with interested non-speakers or very early-stage learners, then it may create perceptions not unlike those expressed in Chapter 8 of not being for advanced and fluent speakers.

The space must aim to serve a social function, allowing free-form socialisation and in doing so facilitating social network formation and development. It would be useful for such a centre to co-operate with and gain buy-in from existing organisations and sectors which already support Gaelic social networks. Hosting of arts events, or Comhairle nan Leabhraichean events, lectures, usage by An Comunn Oiseanach, or perhaps the associations, could allow for denser interconnections to form around existing networks. Drawing in existing communities of practice, and finding opportunities to develop additional

communities, should help to structure a calendar of activity, and the layering of these communities increases the likelihood of spontaneous network formation and strengthening.

Of course, it is one thing to state these objectives and quite another to achieve them.

Academic involvement may be able to support attempts to establish a Gaelic community centre or centres with theory and observation, but there will also be need for serious, community-led scoping research to ensure that the project doesn't just follow theoretical objectives, but also meets the requirements of Gaelic speakers themselves. Without this, there is the risk of a lack of community investment. Matters of location, form and management are further concerns which require a mix of expert and community input; co-ordinating such an endeavour will not be an enviable task!

It is hard to capture within a single chapter the full potential for further work in this area of study. This project has covered a broad range of the spectrum of Gaelic social activity in Glasgow, and there is potential for deeper research into every sector explored in the preceding chapters as well as coverage of sectors which this research will doubtless have missed. This work is innately based in linguistic anthropology and modern language revitalisation, and there is rich potential for research outside of this disciplinary framework, in linguistics and history. There is a particular opportunity at this juncture for an ethnographic project to capture the social history of Gaelic in Glasgow in the latter half of the 20th Century. Glasgow has a rich history, inextricably interwoven with that of the Gàidhealtachd for several hundred years, and the city and the Highlands and Islands are no less interlinked today. As we develop our understanding of the role which Glasgow plays for the Gaelic language, and the role which Gaelic plays in Glasgow, we may begin to see how these connections will play a role in the future of the city, the language, and the people who live through both.

Bibliography

- Aitchison, John, and Harold Carter. 2004. *Spreading the Word: the Welsh Language 2001* (Talybont: Y Lolfa Cyf).
- Allen, John. 1999. 'Cities of power and influence: settled formations', in *Unsettling Cities: Movement/Settlement*, ed. by John Allen, Doreen Massey and Michael Pryke (London: Routledge), pp. 181-218.
- An Lòchran. 2025. 'An Lòchran: Mar Deidhinn / An Lòchran: About Us', An Lòchran. <<https://www.anlochran.com/mar-deidhinn>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Ansdell, Douglas. 1998. 'Disruptions and controversies in the Highland church', in *The Church in the Highlands*, ed. by James Kirk (Bristol: Scottish Church History Society), pp. 89-113.
- Belmar, Guillem, and Maggie Glass. 2019. 'Virtual communities as breathing spaces for minority languages: Re-framing minority language use in social media', *Adeptus*, 14.
- Black, Ronald. 2009. 'Some Notes from my Glasgow Scrapbook, 1500-1800', in *Glasgow: Baile Mòr nan Gàidheal: City of the Gaels*, ed. by Sheila M. Kidd (Glasgow: Roinn na Ceiltis, Oilthigh Ghlaschu), pp. 20-54.
- Blommaert, Jan. 2010. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Bòrd na Gàidhlig. 2018. *National Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2023 / Am Plana Cànnain Nàiseanta Gàidhlig 2018-2023* (Inbhir Nis/Inverness: Bòrd na Gàidhlig). <<https://www.gaidhlig.scot/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/BnG-NGLP-18-23-1.pdf>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2023. *National Gaelic Language Plan 2023-2028 / Plana Nàiseanta Na Gàidhlig 2023-2028* (Inverness/Inbhir Nis: Bòrd na Gàidhlig). <https://www.gaidhlig.scot/wp-content/uploads/2023/12/FINAL_BnG_National_Gaelic_Language_Plan_ENGLISH.pdf> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- . 1992. *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, ed. by John B. Thompson (Cambridge: Polity Press).
- Brown, Callum G. 1997. *Religion and Society in Scotland since 1707*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- Brown, Mark. 2023. 'Theatre Gu Leòr's Muireann Kelly on 10 things that changed her life', *The National*. <<https://www.thenational.scot/news/23491730.theatre-gu-leors-muireann-kelly-10-things-changed-life/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]

- Bucholtz, Mary, and Kira Hall. 2005. 'Identity and interaction: a sociocultural linguistic approach', *Discourse Studies*, 7, 585-614.
- Calum. 1971a. 'Gaels in Glasgow', *Stornoway Gazette and West Coast Advertiser*, June 1971, pp. 2.
- . 1971b. 'Glasgow Gaelic Drama Association', *Stornoway Gazette and West Coast Advertiser*, May 1971, Gaels in Glasgow, pp. 2.
- . 1972. 'Gaels in Glasgow', *Stornoway Gazette and West Coast Advertiser*, April 1972, pp. 2.
- Campbell, Iain, Marsaili MacLeod, Michael Danson, and Douglas Chalmers. 2008. *Measuring the Gaelic Labour Market: Current and Future Potential* (Inverness: Hecla Consulting). <<https://www.gaidhlig.scot/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Campbell-et-al-2008-Margadh-luchd-obrach- CR08-01 -Employment-market.pdf>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Castells, Manuel. 2010. *The Rise of the Network Society*, 2nd (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell).
- Cenoz, Jasone, and Durk Gorter. 2006. 'Linguistic Landscape and Minority Languages', *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 3, 67-80.
- Chalmers, Douglas, Stephen Connolly, Eilidh Danson, and Mike Danson. 2022. *Gaelic Economy in Glasgow: Final Report* (Glasgow: DCResearch).
- Chalmers, Douglas, and Mike Danson. 2009. *The Economic Impact of Gaelic Arts and Culture within Glasgow* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Council). <www.douglaschalmers.com/ImpactOfGaelicInGlasgowFeb09.docx> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2011. 'The Economic Impact of Gaelic Arts and Culture in Glasgow', in *Sustaining Minority Language Communities: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*, ed. by John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona), pp. 176-87.
- Comunn Gailig Ghlascho. 1891. *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair).
- Corder, S. Pit. 1973. *Introducing Applied Linguistics* (Harmondsworth: Penguin).
- Cormack, Mike. 2007. 'The Media and Language Maintenance', in *Minority Language Media: Concepts, Critiques and Case Studies*, ed. by Mike Cormack and Niamh Hourigan, Multilingual Matters, 138 (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters), pp. 52-68.
- . 2010. 'Gaelic in the New Digital Landscape', in *Coimhearsnachd na Gàidhlig an-Diugh / Gaelic Communities Today*, ed. by Gillian Munro and Iain Mac an Tàilleir (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press), pp. 127-37.
- Crystal, David. 2000. *Language Death* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

- Cunliffe, Daniel. 2007. 'Minority Languages and the Internet: New Threats, New Opportunities', in *Minority Language Media: Concepts, Critiques and Case Studies*, ed. by Mike Cormack and Niamh Hourigan, Multilingual Matters, 138 (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters), pp. 133-50.
- . 2019. 'Minority Languages and Social Media', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Minority Languages and Communities*, ed. by Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Bernadette O'Rourke (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 451-80.
- . 2021. 'Minority Languages in the Age of Networked Individualism: From Social Networks to Digital Breathing Spaces', in *Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation*, ed. by Huw Lewis and Wilson McLeod, Language and Globalization (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan), pp. 67-97.
- Dahmer, Adam. 2023. 'Language-use patterns and ideologies among graduates of Scottish Gaelic undergraduate degree programmes in Scotland', unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh.
- Danson, Mike. 2021. 'Gàidhlig, Gaeilge, Cymraeg and Føroyskt Mál: Minority Languages as Economic Assets?', in *Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation*, ed. by Huw Lewis and Wilson McLeod, Language and Globalization (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan), pp. 225-58.
- Dorian, Nancy C. 1982. 'Defining the speech community to include its working margins', in *Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities*, ed. by Suzanne Romaine (London: Edward Arnold), pp. 25-33.
- Dunbar, Robert. 2005. 'The Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005', *Edinburgh Law Review*, 9, 466-79.
- . 2018. 'Organisational Language Planning: Gaelic Language Plans in the Public Sector', in *Gaelic in Contemporary Scotland: The Revitalisation of an Endangered Language*, ed. by Marsaili MacLeod and Cassie Smith-Christmas (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press), pp. 156-72.
- Dunmore, Stuart S. 2017. 'Immersion education outcomes and the Gaelic community: identities and language ideologies among Gaelic medium educated adults in Scotland', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 38, 726-41.
- Duranti, Alessandro. 1997. *Linguistic Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Durkacz, Victor Edward. 1983. *The Decline of the Celtic Languages* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers).
- Eckert, Penelope. 1989. *Jocks & Burnouts: Social Categories and Identity in the High School* (New York: Teachers College).
- . 2000. *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice* (Oxford: Blackwell).

- Eckert, Penelope, and Sally McConnell-Ginet. 1992. 'Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21, 461-90.
- FEScott Associates Ltd. 2013. *Study into the Iarrtas airson Foghlam tron Ghàidhlig* (Inverness: Bòrd na Gàidhlig). <<https://www.gaidhlig.scot/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/FEScott-2013-Iarrtas-airson-FtG-CR11-11-Demand-for-GME.pdf>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Fishman, Joshua A. 1991. *Reversing Language Shift* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters).
- . 2001a. 'From Theory to Practice (and Vice Versa)', in *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?*, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters), pp. 451-83.
- . 2001b. 'Why is it so Hard to Save a Threatened Language?', in *Can Threatened Languages be Saved?*, ed. by Joshua A. Fishman (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters), pp. 1-22.
- . 2004. 'Language Maintenance, Language Shift, and Reversing Language Shift', in *The Handbook of Bilingualism*, ed. by Tej K. Bhatia and William C. Ritchie (Oxford: Blackwell), pp. 406-36.
- Fraser, Anne. 1989. 'Gaelic in Primary Education: A Study of the Development of Gaelic Bilingual Education in Urban Contexts', unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Glasgow.
- Free Church of Scotland. 2022. 'Gaelic Lessons in Govan', Free Church of Scotland. <<https://freechurch.org/gaelic-lessons-in-govan/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- 'Gael force in the west'. 2009. *The Evening Times*, 29th May 2009.
- Gaelic Society of Inverness. 2024. 'About', Gaelic Society of Inverness. <<https://www.gsi.org.uk/about>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Gal, Susan. 1979. *Language Shift: Social Determinants of Linguistic Change in Bilingual Austria* (New York: Academic Press).
- Giddens, Anthony. 1986. *Sociology: A brief but critical introduction*, 2nd edn (Basingstoke: Macmillan Education).
- Glaschu. 2018a. 'Broadcasting', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/broadcasting/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018b. 'Clubs and Associations', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/clubs-and-associations/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018c. 'Coming Together', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/coming-together/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]

- . 2018d. 'Cudbear Manufactory', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/cudbear-manufactory-of-george-macintosh-co/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018e. 'Gaelic Arts', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/gaelic-arts/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018f. 'Gaelic Education in Glasgow', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/gaelic-education-in-glasgow/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018g. 'Highlander's Institute', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/highlanders-institute/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018h. 'Printing and Publications', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/publications/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018i. 'Pubs'. <<https://glaschu.net/pubs/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018j. 'Shipbuilding on the Clyde', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/industry-on-the-clyde/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018k. 'Women's Paid Employment', Glaschu. <<https://glaschu.net/womens-paid-employment/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Glaschu Beò. 2014. *Glaschu Gàidhlig: A Map of Gaels and Glasgow* (Glasgow: Glasgow Life).
- Glaser, Konstanze. 2007. *Minority Languages and Cultural Diversity in Europe: Gaelic and Sorbian Perspectives* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters).
- Glasgow City Council. 2014. *Gaelic Language Plan 2013 to 2017 / Plana na Gàidhlig 2013 gu 2017* (Glasgow/Glaschu: Glasgow City Council). <https://citizen.glascc1-prd.gosshosted.com/media/268/2013-2017-Gaelic-Language-Plan-onscreen-viewing-version/pdf/2013-2017_Gaelic_Language_Plan_-_onscreen_viewing_version.pdf?m=1681391925240> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2018. *Gaelic Language Plan 2018 to 2022 / Plana Gàidhlig 2018 gu 2022* (Glasgow/Glaschu: Glasgow City Council). <https://citizen.glascc1-prd.gosshosted.com/media/269/Gaelic-Language-Plan-2018-to-2022/pdf/Gaelic_Language_Plan_2018_to_2022.pdf?m=1681393351417> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2023. *Gaelic Language Plan 2023 to 2028 / Am Plana Gàidhlig 2023 gu 2028* (Glasgow/Glaschu: Glasgow City Council). <https://www.glasgow.gov.uk/media/14791/Glasgow-City-Council-Gaelic-Language-Plan-2023-to-2028-Comhairle-Baile-Ghlaschu-am-Plana-G%C3%A0idhlig-2023-gu-2028/pdf/GaelicLanguagePlan_Combined.pdf?m=1728389010730> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Glasgow Herald. 1900. 'Caledonian Catholic Association', *Glasgow Herald*, 30th November 1900.

- Glasgow Life. 2017. *Gaelic Arts Strategy 2018-2022 / Ro-innleachd na h-Ealain Gàidhlig 2018-2022* (Glasgow/Glaschu: Glasgow Life).
<<https://www.glasgowlife.org.uk/media/2788/00794-gaelic-doc-21-june.pdf>>
[Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Glasgow Reformed Presbyterian Church. 'About Us: Where We Meet', Glasgow Reformed Presbyterian Church. <<https://www.glasgowrpcs.org/about-us>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Grenoble, Lenore A., and Lindsay J. Whaley. 1998. 'Toward a typology of language endangerment', in *Endangered Languages: Current issues and future prospects*, ed. by Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), pp. 22-54.
- . 2021. 'Toward a new conceptualisation of language revitalisation', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 42, 911-26.
- Grin, François. 2003. *Language Policy Evaluation and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Haarmann, Harald. 1986. *Language in Ethnicity: A View of Basic Ecological Relations* (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter).
- Haugen, Einar. 1972. *The Ecology of Language*, ed. by Anwar S. Dil (Stanford: Stanford University Press).
- Heller, Monica, Sari Pietikäinen, and Joan Pujolar. 2018. *Critical Sociolinguistic Research Methods: Studying Language Issues That Matter* (London: Routledge).
- Hoffman, Michol. 2014. 'Sociolinguistic Interviews', in *Research Methods in Sociolinguistics: A Practical Guide*, ed. by Janet Holmes and Kirk Hazen (Chichester: Wiley Blackwell), pp. 25-41.
- Jones, Rhys. 2021. 'The Geography of Minority Language Use: From Community to Network', in *Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation*, ed. by Huw Lewis and Wilson McLeod, *Language and Globalization* (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan), pp. 37-66.
- Kaplan, Robert B., and Richard B. Baldauf. 1997. *Language Planning: From Practice to Theory*, *Multilingual Matters*, 108 (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters).
- Kidd, Sheila M. 2009. *Glasgow: Baile Mòr nan Gàidheal: City of the Gaels* (Glasgow: Roinn na Ceiltis, Oilthigh Ghlaschu).
- knightswoodfcc. 2010. 'History of the Knightswood Congregation', Knightswood Free Church of Scotland (continuing). <<https://knightswoodchurch.org/2010/04/13/history-of-the-knightswood-congregation/>> [Accessed 2 March 2023, no longer available]
- Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press).

- Lamb, William. 2011. 'Is there a future for regional dialects in Scottish Gaelic?', Oral paper presented at the FRLSU Colloquium
- Landry, Rodrigue, and Richard Y. Bourhis. 1997. 'Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study', *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 16, 23-49.
- Leeman, Jennifer, and Gabriella Modan. 2010. 'Selling the City: Language, Ethnicity and Commodified Space', in *Linguistic Landscape in the City*, ed. by Elana Shohamy, Eliezer Ben-Rafael and Monica Barni (Bristol: Multilingual Matters), pp. 182-98.
- Lewis, Huw, and Wilson McLeod. 2021a. 'Communities, Networks and Contemporary Language Revitalisation', in *Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation*, ed. by Huw Lewis and Wilson McLeod, Language and Globalization (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan), pp. 99-116.
- . 2021b. 'Introduction: Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation', in *Language Revitalisation and Social Transformation*, ed. by Huw Lewis and Wilson McLeod, Language and Globalization (Cham: Palgrave MacMillan), pp. 1-34.
- Mac Giolla Chrìost, Diarmait. 2005. *The Irish Language in Ireland: From Góidél to globalisation* (London: Routledge).
- . 2007. *Language and the City* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- MacCaluim, Alasdair. 2007. *Reversing Language Shift: The Social Identity and Role of Adult Learners of Scottish Gaelic* (Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona).
- MacDonald, Ian R. 1995. *Glasgow's Gaelic Churches: Highland Religion in an Urban Setting 1690-1995* (Edinburgh: The Knox Press).
- MacKinnon, Kenneth. 1990. 'A Century on the Census: Gaelic in Twentieth-Century Focus', in *Gaelic and Scots in Harmony: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on the Languages of Scotland*, ed. by Derick S. Thompson (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Department of Celtic), pp. 78-94.
- . 1991. *Gaelic: A Past and Future Prospect* (Edinburgh: Saltire Society).
- . 2001. 'Fàs no Bàs (Prosper or Perish): Prospects of survival for Scottish Gaelic', in *Linguistic politics: Language Policies for Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*, ed. by John M Kirk and Dónall P Ó Baoill (Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona), pp. 255-58.
- . 2009. 'Celtic Languages in a Migration Society: Economy, Population Structure and Language Maintenance', in *Language and Economic Development: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*, ed. by John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill, Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics, 19 (Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona), pp. 166-74.

- . 2011. 'Growing a New Generation of Gaelic Speakers', in *Strategies for Minority Languages: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*, ed. by John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill, Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics, 22 (Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona), pp. 212-22.
- Macleod, Donald. 1998. 'The Highland churches today', in *The Church in the Highlands*, ed. by James Kirk (Bristol: Scottish Church History Society), pp. 146-76.
- Macleod, Marsaili. 2009. 'Gaelic Language Skills in the Workplace', in *Language and Economic Development: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*, ed. by John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill, Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics, 19 (Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona), pp. 134-52.
- Maver, Irene. 2000. *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- May, Stephen. 2012. *Language and Minority Rights: Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Politics of Language*, 2nd edn (Abingdon: Routledge).
- McLeod, Wilson. 2001. 'Gaelic in the New Scotland: Politics, Rhetoric and Public Discourse', *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, 2, 1-33.
- . 2002. 'Language Planning as Regional Development? The Growth of the Gaelic Economy', *Scottish Affairs*, 38, 51-72.
- . 2006. 'Securing the Status of Gaelic? Implementing the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005', *Scottish Affairs*, 57, 19-38.
- . 2009. 'Expanding the Gaelic Employment Sector: Strategies and Challenges', in *Language and Economic Development: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*, ed. by John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill, Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics, 19 (Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona), pp. 153-65.
- . 2020. *Gaelic in Scotland: Policies, Movements, Ideologies* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press).
- . 2024. 'A' Ghàidhlig ann an cunntas-sluaigh 2022: ceistean poileasaidh / Gaelic in the 2022 census: some policy questions', Presentation
- McLeod, Wilson, and Bernadette O'Rourke. 2015. *Irish parents and Gaelic-medium education in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Soillse). <<https://www.uhi.ac.uk/en/t4-media/one-web/university/research/lsi/soillse/publications/Irish-parents-and-GME-Soillse-Report-2015-WM-BOR-FINAL.pdf>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- McLeod, Wilson, Bernadette O'Rourke, and Stuart Dunmore. 2014. *"New Speakers" of Gaelic in Edinburgh and Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Soillse).
- McLeod, Wilson, Irene Pollock, and Alasdair MacCaluim. 2010. *Adult Gaelic Learning in Scotland: Opportunities, Motivations and Challenges* (Inverness: Bòrd na Gàidhlig).

- McWhorter, John. 2003. *The Power of Babel: A Natural History of Language* (London: Arrow).
- Meek, Donald E. 1996. *The Scottish Highlands, Gospel and Culture*, 11 (Geneva: World Council of Churches).
- . 2000. 'God and Gaelic: The Highland Churches and Gaelic Cultural Identity', in *Aithne na nGael: Gaelic Identities*, ed. by Gordon McCoy and Maolcholaim Scott (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies), pp. 28-47.
- . 2009. 'Radical Romantics: Glasgow Gaels and the Highland Land Agitation, 1870-1890', in *Glasgow: Baile Mòr nan Gàidheal: City of the Gaels*, ed. by Sheild M. Kidd (Glasgow: Roinn na Ceiltis, Oilthigh Ghlaschu), pp. 161-85.
- Milligan, Lindsay, Douglas Chalmers, and Mike Danson. 2011. *Gaelic Language Development Strategy* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Council).
- Milroy, James. 1981. *Regional Accents of English: Belfast* (Dundonald: Blackstaff Press).
- Milroy, James, and Lesley Milroy. 1985. 'Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation', *Journal of Linguistics*, 21, 339-84.
- Milroy, Lesley. 1980. *Language and Social Networks*, 1st edn (Oxford: Blackwell).
- . 1987. *Language and Social Networks*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Milroy, Lesley, and Matthew Gordon. 2003. *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation* (Oxford: Blackwell).
- Milroy, Lesley, and Carmen Llamas. 2013. 'Social Networks', in *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, ed. by J. K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling, 2nd edn (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell), pp. 407-27.
- Mitchell, Duncan. 2023. 'History of the Congregation - Timeline', St Columba Gaelic Church, Glasgow. <<https://www.blawarthillchurch.org/copy-of-timeline>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Mühlhäusler, Peter. 2000. 'Language Planning and Language Ecology', *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 1, 306-67.
- . 2010. 'Ecology of Languages', in *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, ed. by Robert B. Kaplan (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 422-34.
- Nance, Claire. 2015. '"New" Scottish Gaelic speakers in Glasgow: A phonetic study of language revitalisation', *Language in Society*, 44, 553-79.
- National Records of Scotland. 2005. 'Supporting Tables, 2001 Gaelic Census Report', National Records of Scotland. <<https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/files/statistics/gaelic-rep-english-tables.xls>> [Accessed 24 February 2023]

- . 2014a. 'Area Profiles', Scotland's Census 2011. <<http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/ods-web/area.html>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2014b. 'Table DC2120SC - Gaelic language skills by sex by age', Scotland's Census 2011. <<https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2015a. 'Supporting tables (2001 data)', Scotland's Census 2001. <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/media/noepuzxv/at_001_2001_to_at_012_2001.xlsx> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2015b. 'Supporting tables (2011 data)', Scotland's Census 2011. <https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/media/dlop0i33/at_234_2011_to_at_290_2011.xlsx> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2024a. 'Table UV205 - Religion', Scotland's Census 2022. <<https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2024b. 'Table UV208 - Gaelic language skills', Scotland's Census 2022. <<https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2024c. 'Table UV208a - Gaelic language skills by sex by age', Scotland's Census 2022. <<https://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Nettle, Daniel, and Suzanne Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing Voices: The Extinction of the World's Languages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press).
- O'Hanlon, Fiona, Wilson McLeod, and Lindsay Paterson. 2010. *Gaelic-medium Education in Scotland: choice and attainment at the primary and early secondary school stages* (Inverness: Bòrd na Gàidhlig). <<https://www.gaidhlig.scot/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/OHanlon-2010-Taghadh-coileanadh-FtG-CR09-05-GME-choice-attainment.pdf>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Ó Giollagáin, Conchúr, Gòrdan Camshron, Pàdruig Moireach, Brian Ó Curnáin, Iain Caimbeul, Brian MacDonald, and Tamás Péterváry. 2020. *The Gaelic Crisis in the Vernacular Community: A comprehensive sociolinguistic survey of Scottish Gaelic* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press).
- Ó Maolalaigh, Roibeard, Katherine Forsyth, and Aonghas MacCoinnich. 2014a. '15th & 16th Centuries', Sgeul na Gàidhlig aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu. <<https://sgeulnagaidhlig.ac.uk/15th-16th-c/?lang=en>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2014b. '17th Century - Clans and the University', Sgeul na Gàidhlig aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu. <<https://sgeulnagaidhlig.ac.uk/17-th-c-clans-at-gu/?lang=en>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2014c. '17th Century - the Church and education', Sgeul na Gàidhlig aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu. <<https://sgeulnagaidhlig.ac.uk/17thc-argyll-the-synod/?lang=en>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]

- . 2014d. '18th Century - Jacobites & Whigs', Sgeul na Gàidhlig aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu. <<https://sgeulnagaidhlig.ac.uk/18th-c-jacobites-whigs/?lang=en>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2014e. '19th & 20th Century: The Ossianic Society', Sgeul na Gàidhlig aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu. <<https://sgeulnagaidhlig.ac.uk/ossianic-society/?lang=en>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- . 2014f. '20th Century: The Department of Celtic', Sgeul na Gàidhlig aig Oilthigh Ghlaschu. <<https://sgeulnagaidhlig.ac.uk/20th-c-department-of-celtic/?lang=en>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Ó Riagáin, Pádraig. 1997. *Language Policy and Social Reproduction: Ireland 1893-1993* (Oxford: Clarendon Press).
- Office of National Statistics. 2024. 'Labour Market Profile - Glasgow City', Nomis. <<https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/reports/lmp/la/1946157420/printable.aspx>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Oliver, James. 2006. 'Where is Gaelic? Revitalisation, language, culture and identity', in *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland*, ed. by Wilson McLeod (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press), pp. 155-68.
- . 2010. 'The Predicament? Planning for Culture, Communities and Identities', in *Coimhearsnachd na Gàidhlig an-Diugh / Gaelic Communities Today*, ed. by Gillian Munro and Iain Mac an Tàilleir (Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press), pp. 73-86.
- Pauwels, Anne. 2005. 'Maintaining the Community Language in Australia: Challenges and Roles for Families', *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 8, 124-31.
- Pennycook, Alastair. 2004. 'Language Policy and the Ecological Turn', *Language Policy*, 3, 213-39.
- Pietikäinen, Sari, Helen Kelly-Holmes, and Maria Rieder. 2019. 'Minority Languages and Markets', in *The Palgrave Handbook of Minority Languages and Communities*, ed. by Gabrielle Hogan-Brun and Bernadette O'Rourke (London: Palgrave Macmillan), pp. 287-310.
- Rogers, Vaughan, and Wilson McLeod. 2006. 'Autochthonous minority languages in public-sector primary education: Bilingual policies and politics in Brittany and Scotland', *Linguistics and Education*, 17, 347-73.
- Schilling, Natalie. 2013. *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Schmal, Matthias, and Roos Scholten. 2016. 'Speaking about Gaelic: The Meaning of Language to Gaelic Speakers in Scotland', Utrecht University.
- Scott, John. 2017. *Social Network Analysis*, 4th edn (London: SAGE).

- Scottish Government. 2023. 'Primary School Information Dashboard', Smarter Scotland. <https://scotland.shinyapps.io/sg-primary_school_information_dashboard/> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Sellers, Daniel, Borge Consulting, and Nicola Carty. 2018. *Inbhich a tha ag ionnsachadh Gàidhlig - 2018/Adults learning Gaelic - 2018* (Inverness: Bòrd na Gàidhlig). <<https://www.gaidhlig.scot/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/G%C3%A0idhlig-do-dhInbhich-AM-FOLLAIS-2018-PUBLIC-Gaelic-for-Adults.pdf>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Shohamy, Elana, and Shoshi Waksman. 2009. 'Linguistic Landscape as an Ecological Area: Modalities, Meanings, Negotiations, Education', in *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, ed. by Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 40-54.
- Smakman, Dick, and Patrick Heinrich. 2018. 'Introduction: Why cities matter for a globalising sociolinguistics', in *Urban Sociolinguistics: The City as a Linguistic Process and Experience*, ed. by Dick Smakman and Peter Heinrich (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 1-11.
- Sofu, Hatice. 2009. 'Language shift or maintenance within three generations: examples from three Turkish--Arabic-speaking families', *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 6, 246-57.
- Spolsky, Bernard. 2009. 'Prolegomena to a Sociolinguistic Theory of Public Signage', in *Linguistic Landscape: Expanding the Scenery*, ed. by Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter (Abingdon: Routledge), pp. 25-39.
- Taylor, Simon. 2009. 'Gaelic in Glasgow: The Onomastic Evidence', in *Glasgow: Baile Mòr nan Gàidheal: City of the Gaels*, ed. by Sheila M. Kidd (Glasgow: Roinn na Ceiltis, Oilthigh Ghlaschu), pp. 1-19.
- The Catholic Telegraph. 1887. 'Notices', *The Catholic Telegraph*, 8th December 1887.
- The Highlanders' Institute. 'The Highlanders' Institute: Aitreabh nan Gaidheal', ooCities. <<https://www.oocities.org/ysainstitute/highlanders/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Tollefson, James W. 2010. 'Perspectives on Language Policy and Planning', in *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, ed. by Robert B. Kaplan (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 464-72.
- University of Glasgow. 2018. *Gaelic Language Plan 2018-2021 / Plana Gàidhlig 2018-2021* (Glasgow/Glaschu: University of Glasgow). <https://www.gla.ac.uk/media/Media_712290_smxx.pdf> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Walsh, John, and Wilson McLeod. 2011. 'The Implementation of Language Legislation in Dublin and Glasgow', in *Sustaining Minority Language Communities: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*, ed. by John M. Kirk and Dónall P. Ó Baoill (Belfast: Cló Ollscoil na Banríona), pp. 156-75.

- Wei, Li. 1994. *Three Generations, Two Languages, One Family* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters).
- Wei, Li, Lesley Milroy, and Pong Sin Ching. 1992. 'A two-step sociolinguistic analysis of code-switching and language choice: the example of a bilingual Chinese community in Britain', *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 2, 63-86.
- Wenger, Etienne. 1998. *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*, Learning in Doing: Social, Cognitive and Computational Perspectives (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
- Williams, Colin H. 1988. 'Language Planning and Regional Development: Lessons from the Irish Gaeltacht', in *Language in Geographic Context*, ed. by Colin H. Williams (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters), pp. 267-301.
- . 2000. 'On Recognition, Resolution and Revitalization', in *Language Revitalization: Policy and Planning in Wales*, ed. by Colin H. Williams (Cardiff: University of Wales Press), pp. 1-47.
- Williams, Glyn. 2005. *Sustaining Language Diversity in Europe: Evidence from the Euromosaic Project* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan).
- Withers, Charles W. J. 1984. *Gaelic in Scotland 1698-1981: The Geographical History of a Language* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers).
- . 1998. *Urban Highlanders: Highland-Lowland Migration and Urban Gaelic Culture, 1700-1900* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press).
- . 2009. 'Highland Migration to Glasgow in 1851', in *Glasgow: Baile Mòr nan Gàidheal: City of the Gaels*, ed. by Sheila M. Kidd (Glasgow: Roinn na Ceiltis, Oilthigh Ghlaschu), pp. 130-49.
- Wolff, Andreas G. 2019. 'Comann Gàidhlig na h-Eaglaise Caitligich/A Gaelic Society of the Catholic Church', Andreas Wolff. <<https://andreaswolff.org/2019/07/06/comann-gaidhlig-na-h-eaglaise-caitligich-gaelic-society-of-the-catholic-church/>> [Accessed 4 June 2025]
- Zentella, Ana Celia. 1997. *Growing up Bilingual: Puerto Rican Children in New York* (Malden, MA: Blackwell).

Appendices

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Social Usage of Scottish Gaelic in Modern Glasgow

You are being invited to take part in research on the social usage of Scottish Gaelic in modern Glasgow. Christopher Oates, doctoral student at the University of Edinburgh, is leading this research. Before you decide whether to take part it is important you understand why the research is being conducted and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY?

The purpose of the study is to learn more about how, where, and why Scottish Gaelic is used socially in Glasgow, with a focus on usage outside of education and work. The findings of this research will help inform policy-makers, academics, community organisers, and activists as to the role of Scottish Gaelic in modern Glasgow, and support future research into the status of Scottish Gaelic in urban environments in Scotland.

WHY HAVE I BEEN INVITED TO TAKE PART?

You are invited to participate in this study because you have experiences and/or knowledge of Scottish Gaelic in Glasgow and the surrounding area which would provide insight into the use of the language in modern Glasgow.

DO I HAVE TO TAKE PART?

No – it is entirely up to you. If you do decide to take part, you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

Please note that your data may be used in the production of formal research outputs (e.g. journal articles, conference papers, theses and reports) prior to your withdrawal and so you are advised to contact the research team at the earliest opportunity should you wish to withdraw from the study.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I DECIDE TO TAKE PART?

If you do decide to take part, please keep this Information Sheet. You will be asked to complete and sign an Informed Consent Form to show that you understand your rights in relation to the research, and that you are happy to participate.

You will be asked a number of questions regarding your personal experiences of use of Scottish Gaelic in Glasgow, and your understanding of the role of Scottish Gaelic in areas of society with which you have experience. The interview will take place in a safe environment at a time that is convenient to you, likely by video call. Ideally, we would like to audio record your responses (and will require your consent for this), so

Appendix A

the location should be in a fairly quiet area. The interview should take around 45 minutes to complete.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE BENEFITS OF TAKING PART?

There are no direct personal benefits, but by sharing your experiences with us, you will be helping the researcher, other academics, policy-makers, community organisers, and activists to better understand the social usage of Scottish Gaelic in modern Glasgow.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS OR DISADVANTAGES ASSOCIATED WITH TAKING PART?

There are no significant risks associated with participation.

WILL MY TAKING PART BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL?

All the information collected during the course of this research will be kept confidential and there are strict laws which safeguard your privacy at every stage.

HOW WILL WE USE INFORMATION ABOUT YOU?

We will need to use information given during your interview for this research project.

This information will include:

- your name,
- any personal information given during the interview.

We will keep all information about you safe and secure.

Your personal data will only be viewed by the researcher, Christopher Oates. Unless you specify otherwise, your name will not be used in any publicly available research outputs, and any information given during interviews will only be associated with a discrete participant identifier (eg “G stated during interview that...”) for the purposes of identifying individual contributions to this research. If your interview is recorded, all recordings will be destroyed once they have been transcribed.

All electronic data will be stored in a password-protected file on a password-protected computer. No physical copies of your data will be produced. Your consent information will be kept separately from your responses in order to minimise risk.

Following the study, your data will be stored for a minimum of one year and may be used in future research outputs.

What are your choices about how your information is used?

- You can stop being part of the study at any time, without giving a reason, but we may keep information about you that we already have.

Appendix A

- You will be sent a copy of the transcript of your interview for your own reference, and in case there are any points you would like to clarify with the researcher.

Where can you find out more about how your information is used?

You can find out more about how we use your information at <https://www.ed.ac.uk/records-management/privacy-notice-research>, or by contacting the researcher at

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WITH THE RESULTS OF THIS STUDY?

The results of this study will be submitted for doctoral examination, and if successful, the dissertation will be available along with other doctoral dissertations through the University of Edinburgh Library Website. It may ultimately be published as a book, and results may also be published in articles, reports, or disseminated through presentations. The researcher will endeavour to maintain your anonymity in all research outputs unless otherwise specified by yourself, but due to the nature of the research topic and the Gaelic community in Glasgow it is possible that an informed reader may be able to suspect your participation. Quotes or key findings will be made anonymous in any formal outputs unless we have your prior and explicit written permission to attribute them to you by name.

WHO IS ORGANISING AND FUNDING THE RESEARCH?

This study has been organised by Christopher Oates and a supervision team of Professors Rob Dunbar and Wilson McLeod at the University of Edinburgh, and Professor Bernadette O'Rourke at the University of Glasgow.

The study is being funded by the Centre for Doctoral Training in Celtic Languages, part of the Arts and Humanities Research Council.

WHO HAS REVIEWED THE STUDY?

The study proposal has been approved through a research ethics review by the School of Literatures, Languages and Cultures of the University of Edinburgh.

WHO CAN I CONTACT?

If you have any further questions about the study, please contact the lead researcher, Christopher Oates, at

If you would like to discuss this study with someone independent of the study please contact Dr Anja Gunderloch, at

If you wish to make a complaint about this study, please contact: College of Arts, Humanities and Social Science Research Governance Team at cahss.res.ethics@ed.ac.uk

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Study Title: Social Usage of Scottish Gaelic in Modern Glasgow

Researcher's name and contact details: **Christopher Oates**

Participant ID: _____

Please tick box

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I have been given the opportunity to consider the information provided, ask questions and have had these questions answered to my satisfaction. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can ask to withdraw at any time. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I understand that my anonymised data will be stored for a minimum of 1 year and may be used in future research outputs. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. I agree to my interview being audio/video (delete as appropriate) recorded. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. I agree to take part in the above study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Name of person giving consent

Date

Signature

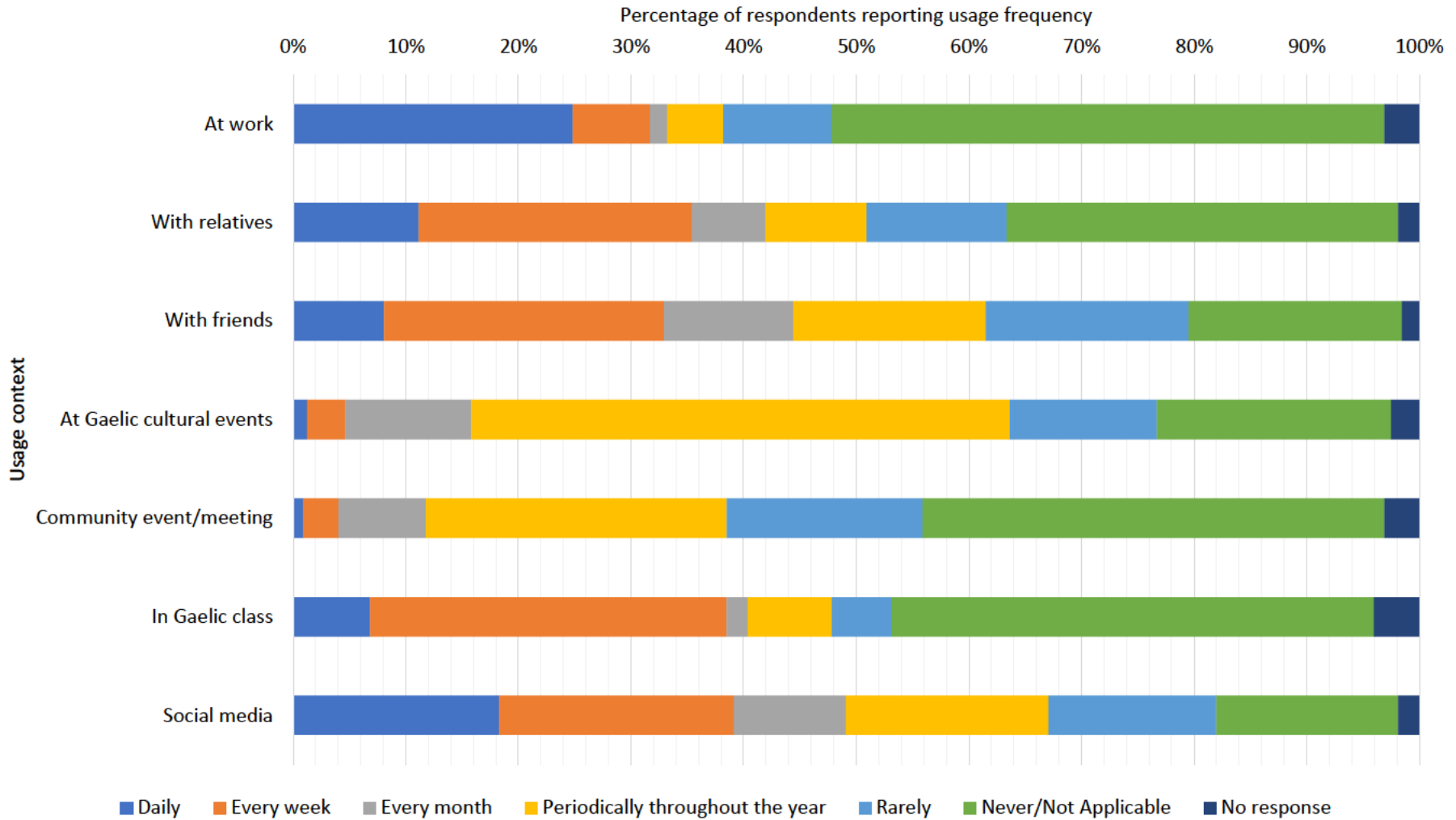
Name of person taking consent

Date

Signature

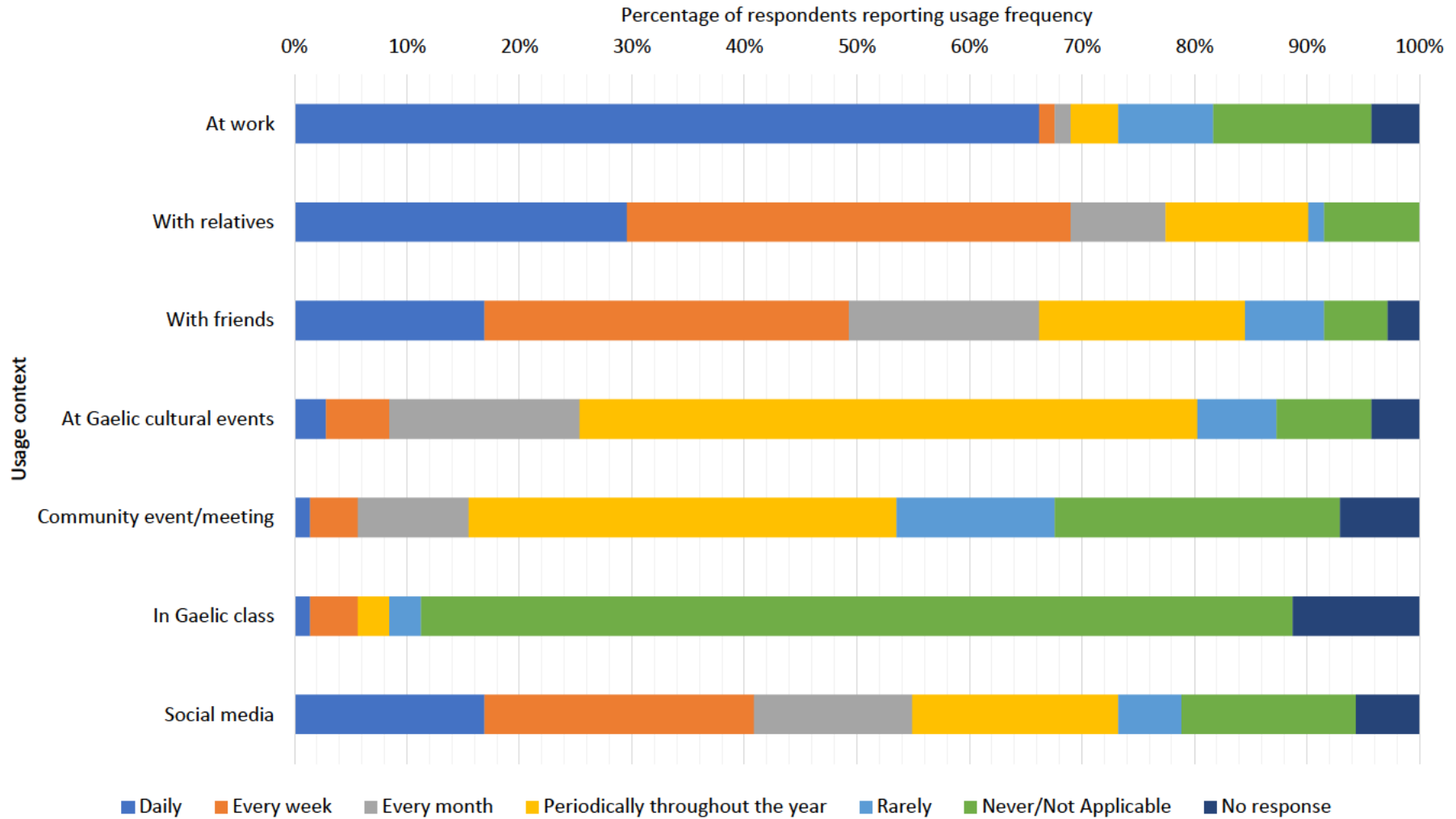
Appendix B

Figure B.1: Gaelic usage frequency by respondents by usage context



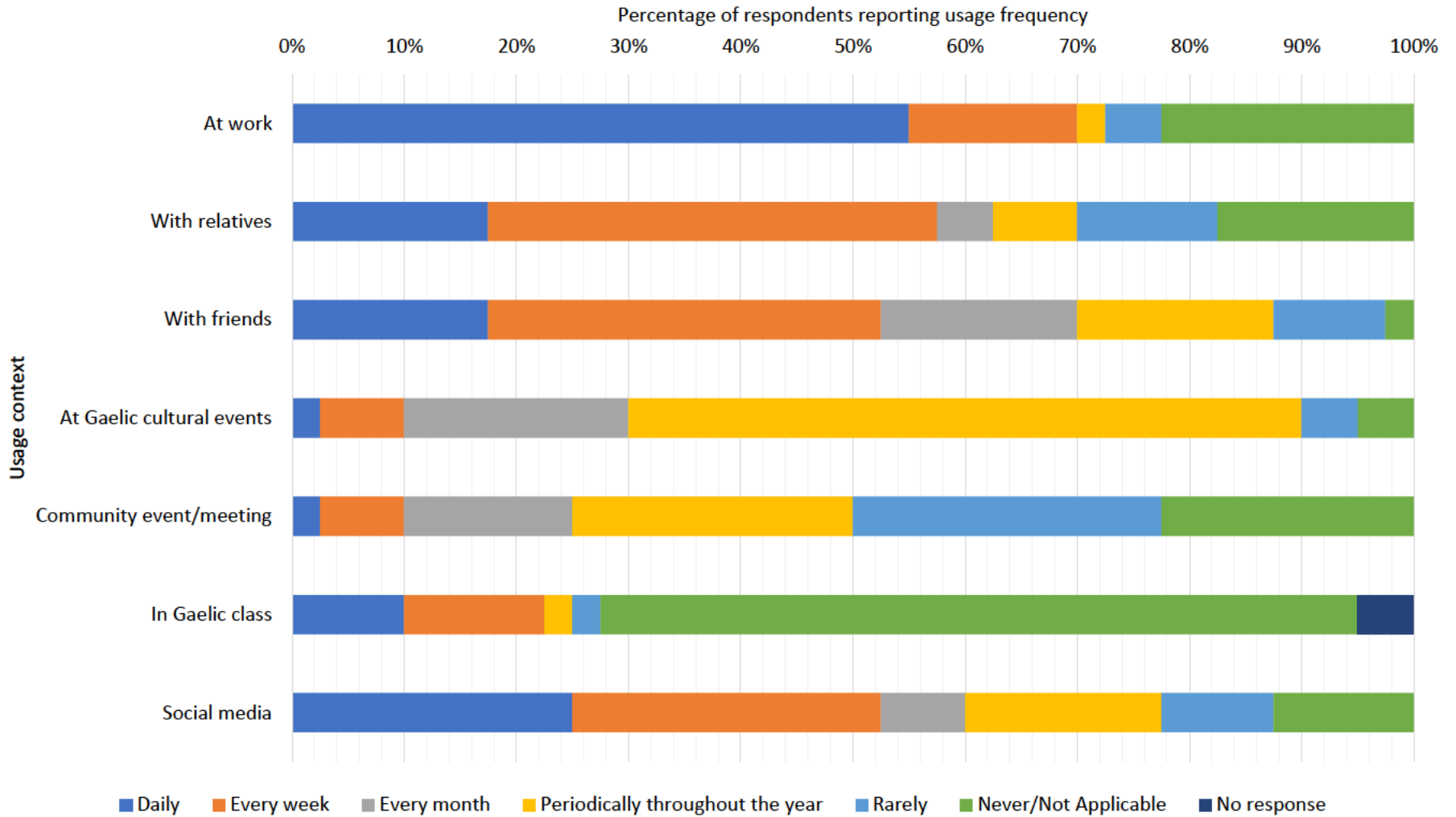
Appendix B

Figure B.2: Gaelic usage frequency by fluent respondents of Gaelic background by usage context



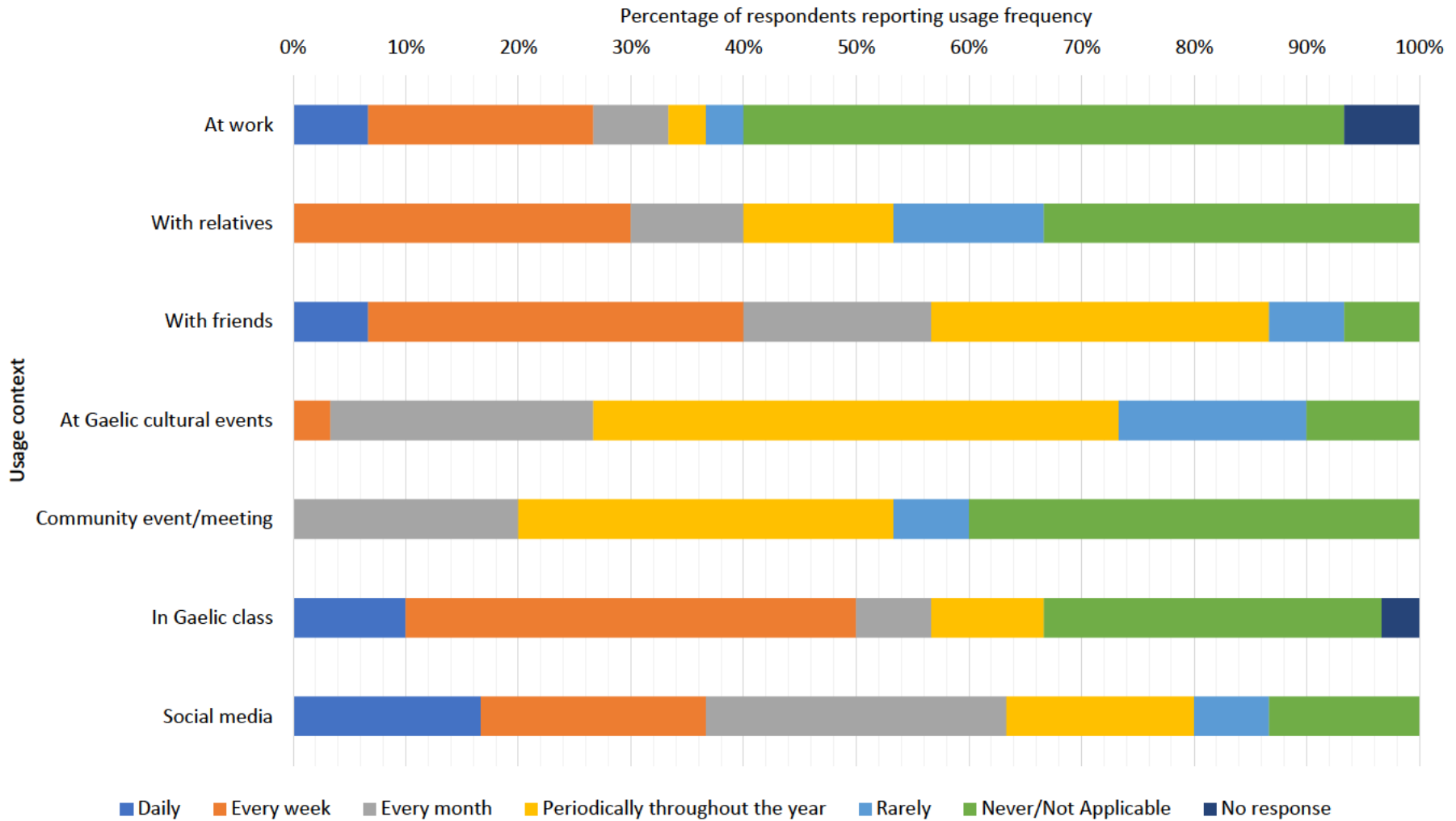
Appendix B

Figure B.3: Gaelic usage frequency by fluent respondents of non-Gaelic background by usage context



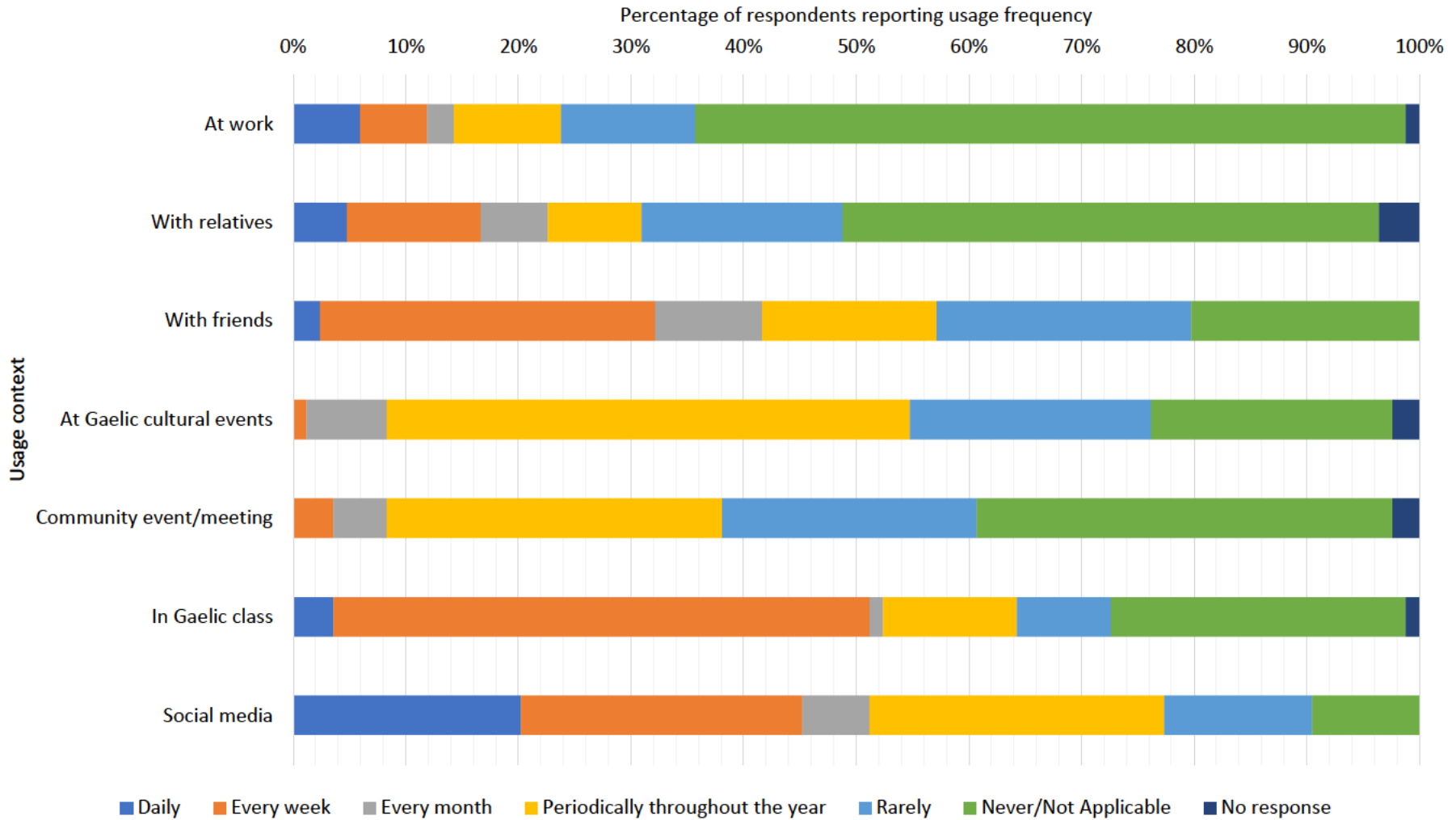
Appendix B

Figure B.4: Gaelic usage frequency by advanced learner respondents by usage context



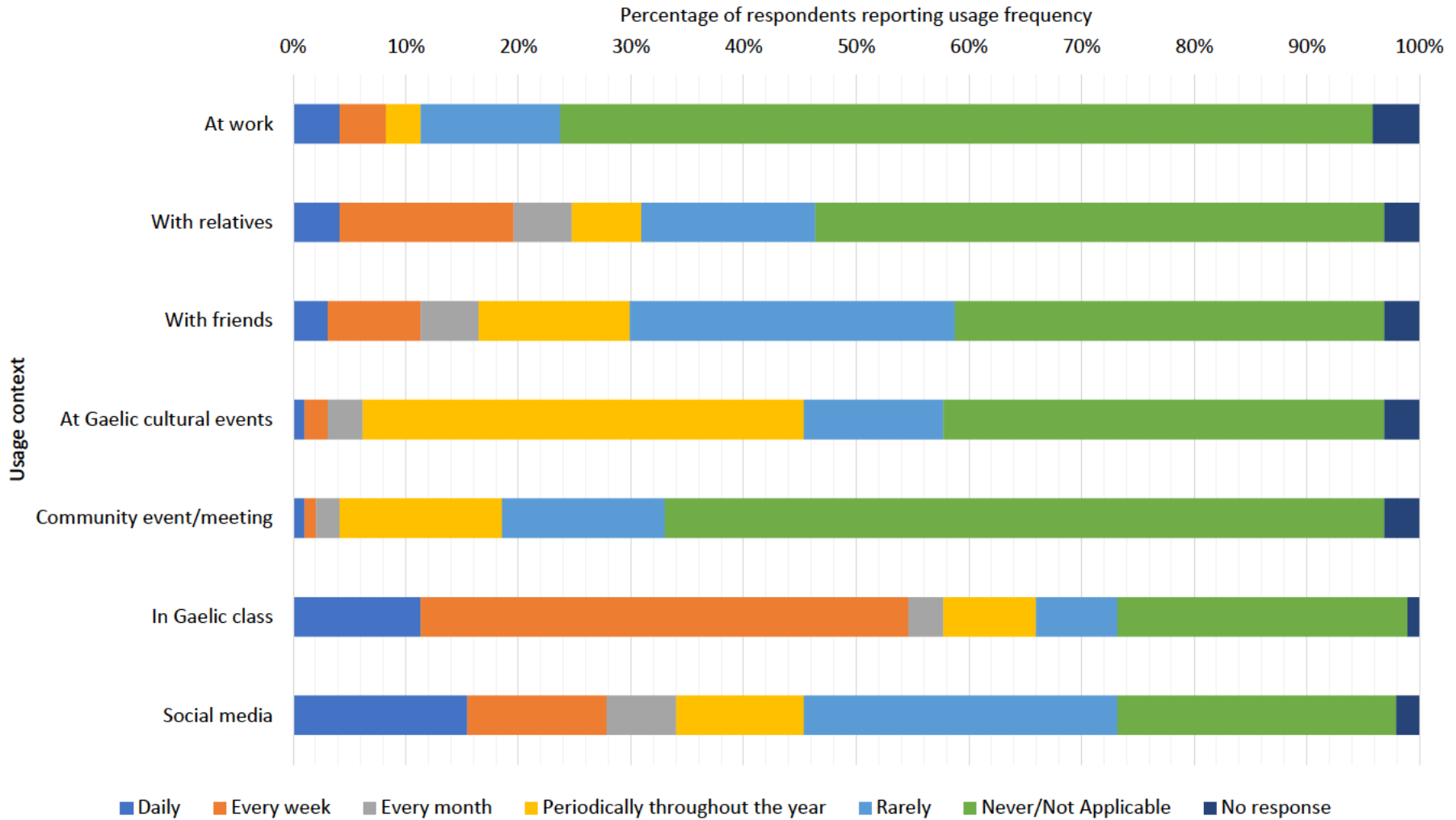
Appendix B

Figure B.5: Gaelic usage frequency by intermediate learner respondents by usage context



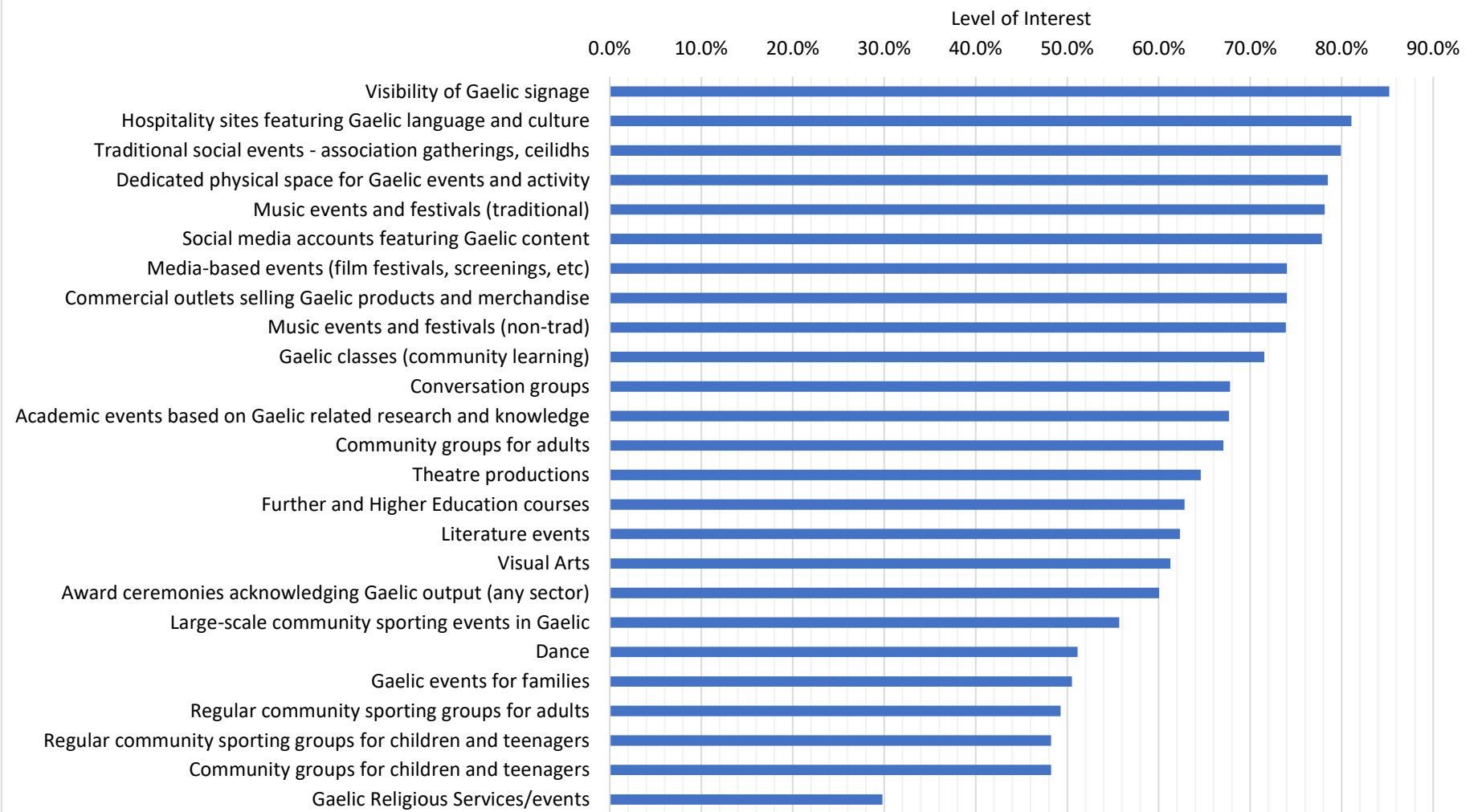
Appendix B

Figure B.6: Gaelic usage frequency by early-stage learner respondents by usage context



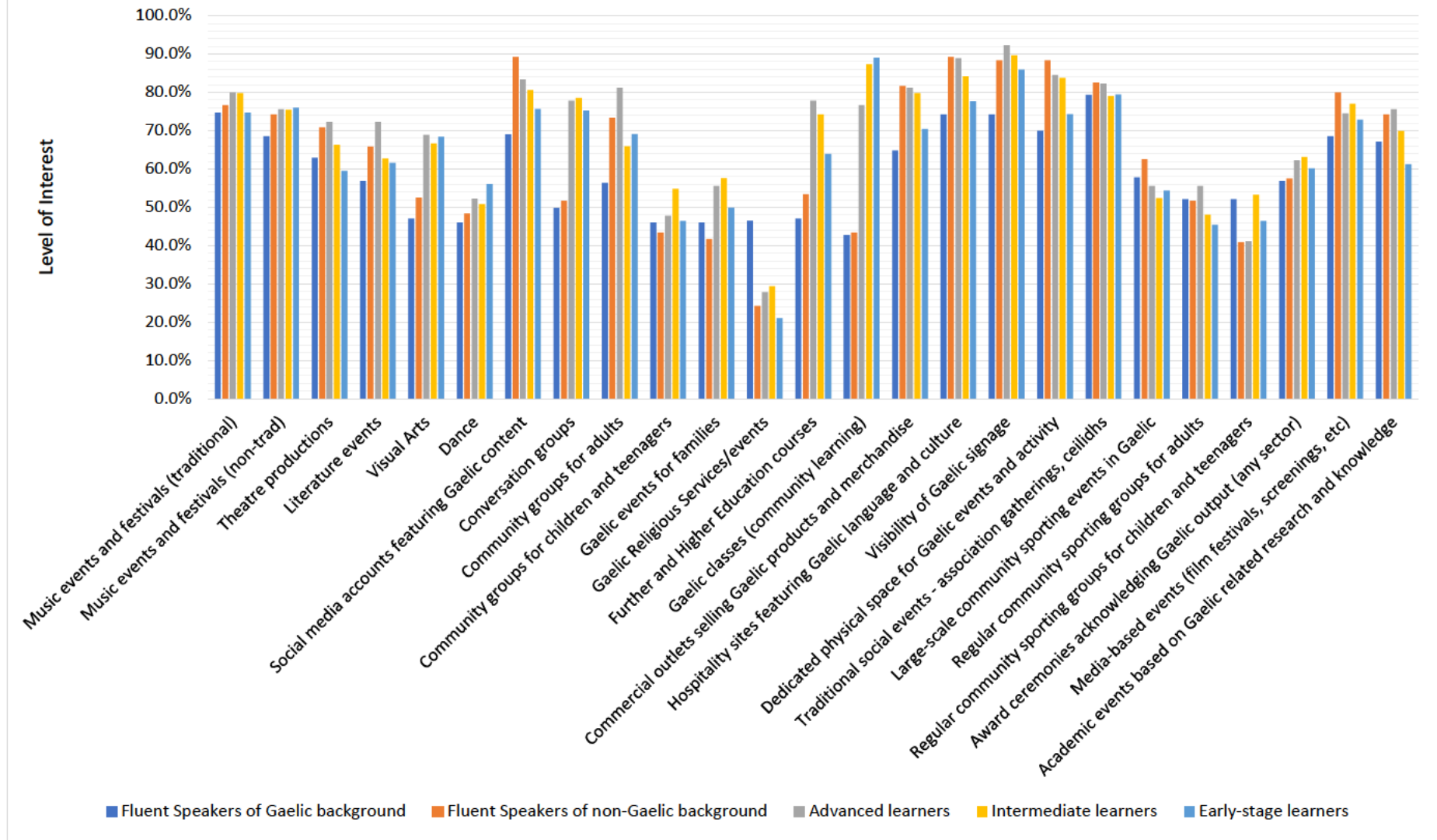
Appendix C

Figure C.1: Respondent levels of interest in Gaelic activities



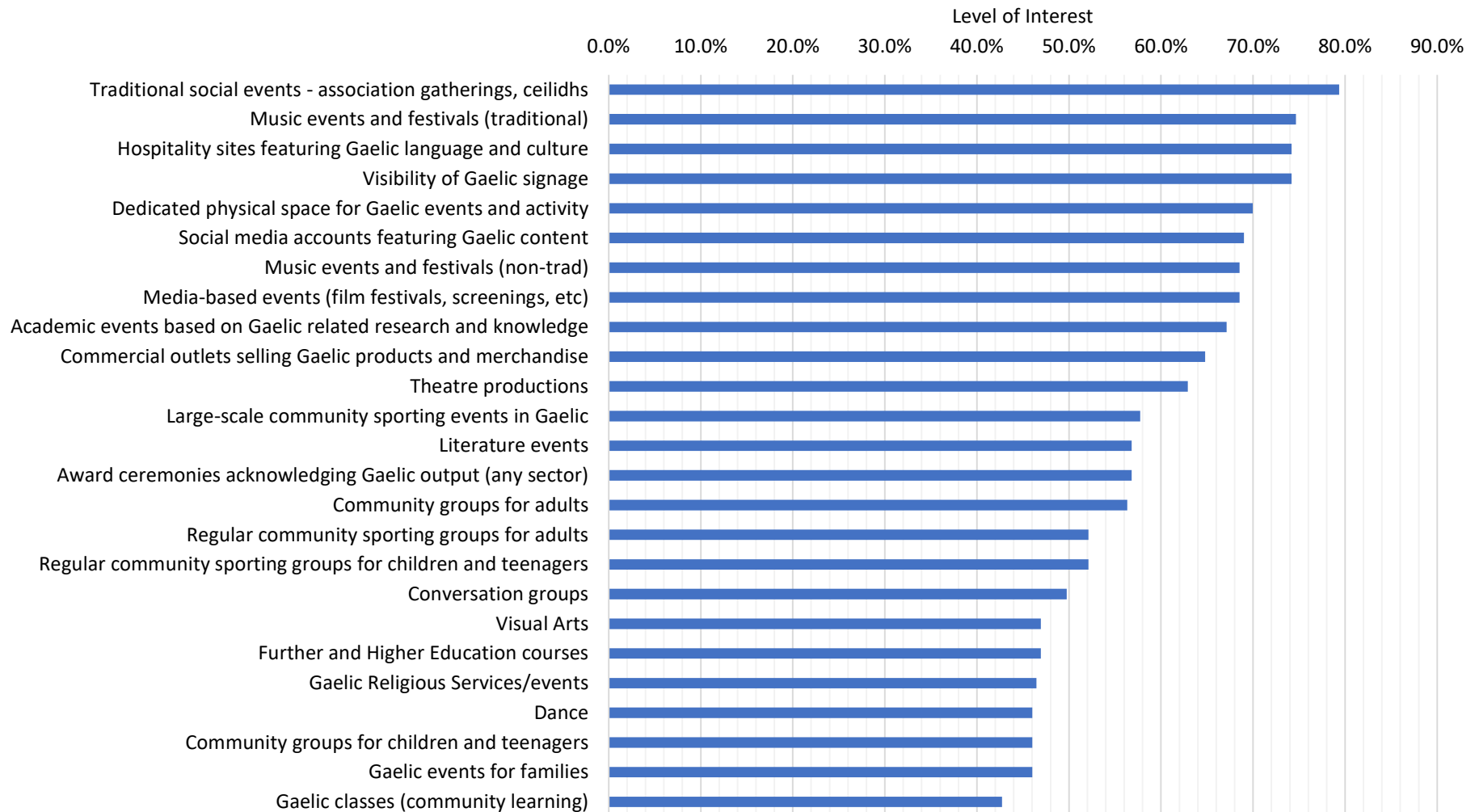
Appendix C

Figure C.2: Respondent levels of interest in Gaelic activities by proficiency



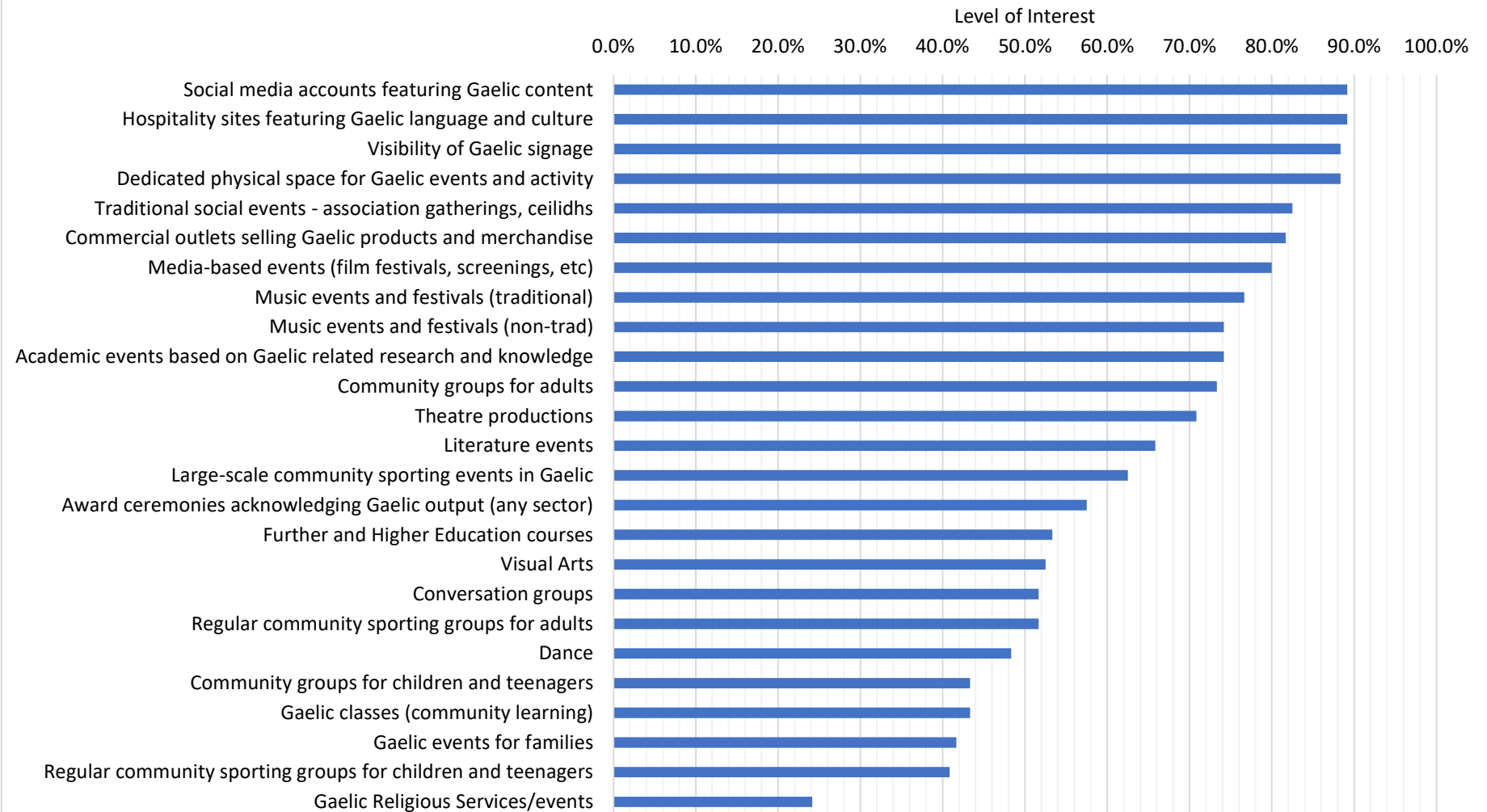
Appendix C

Figure C.3: Levels of interest in Gaelic activities of fluent respondents of Gaelic background



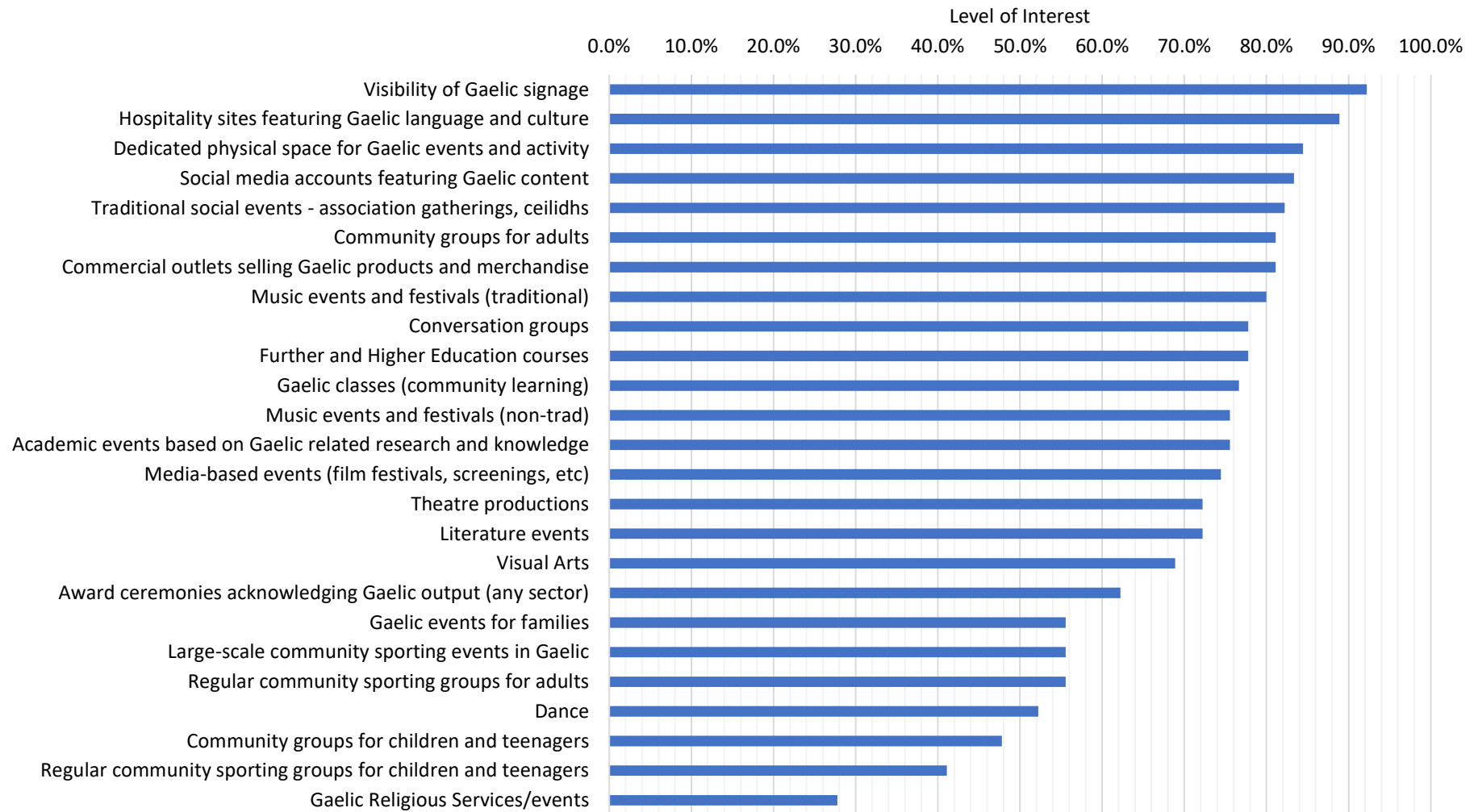
Appendix C

Figure C.4: Levels of interest in Gaelic activities of fluent respondents of non-Gaelic background



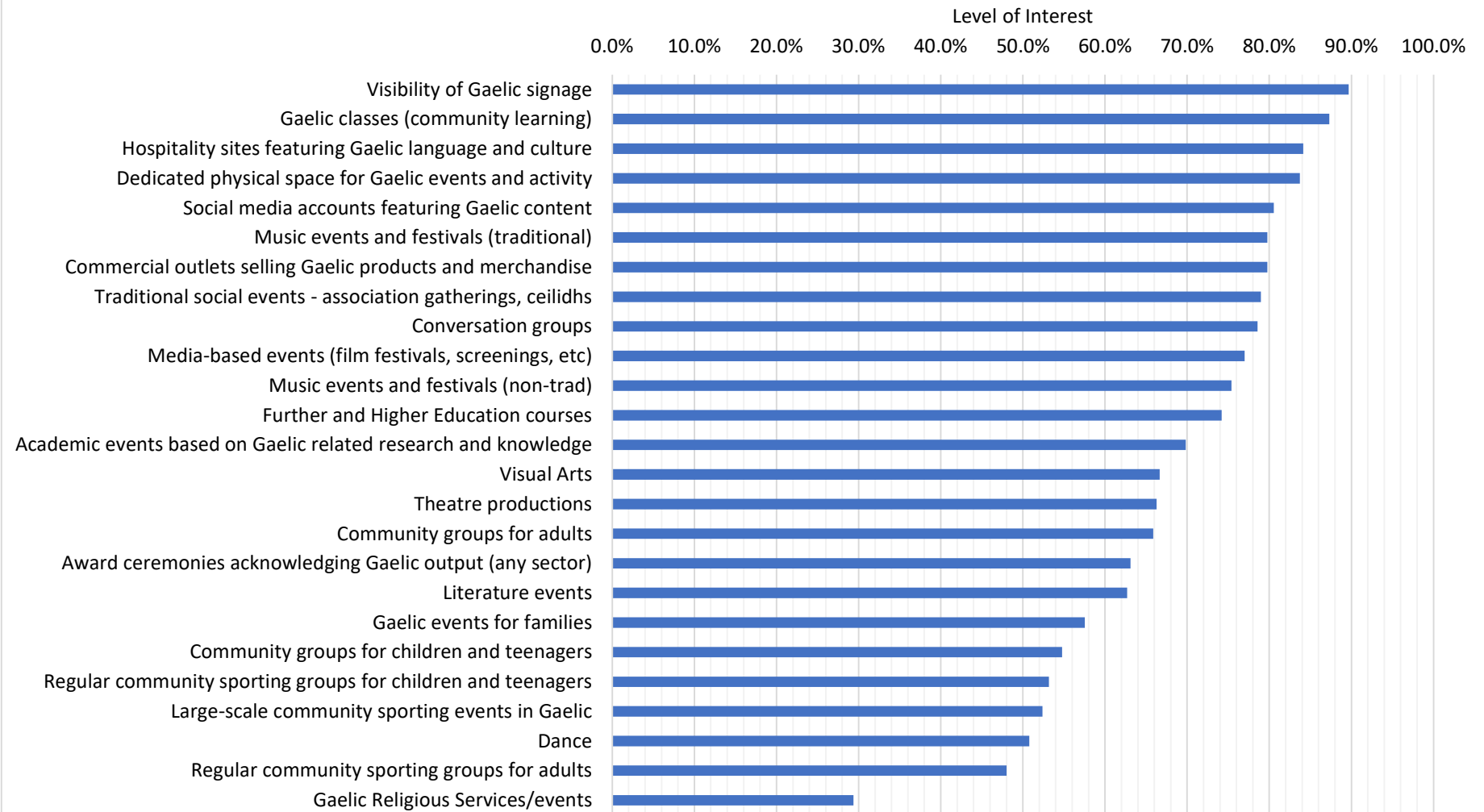
Appendix C

Figure C.5: Levels of interest in Gaelic activities of advanced learner respondents



Appendix C

Figure C.6: Levels of interest in Gaelic activities of intermediate learner respondents



Appendix C

Figure C.7: Levels of interest in Gaelic activities of early-stage learner respondents

